The Social Traditions During the Reign of Queen Anne

M. Benedicta Koller

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THE SOCIAL TRADITIONS

DURING

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

BY

SISTER M BENEDICTA KOLLER, O.S.B.

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

in

Loyola University, 1940.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Genealogical Table of the Stewarts</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Stuarts of England</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I: The Character of Queen Anne</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II: Queen Anne's England</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III: Social Life of the Reign of Queen Anne</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV: Characteristics of the Age of Anne</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. **WALTER FITZALAN**
Son of Alan Fitz Flaald and Avelina Heading. First Steward of Scotland; founded the Abbey of Paisley in 1164. Died in 1177.

2. **ALAN, THE HIGH STEWART**
Son of Walter, whom he succeeded in 1177. Died in 1204, leaving two sons, Walter and David.

3. **WALTER, THE HIGH STEWART**
Son of Alan, whom he succeeded in 1204. Died in 1246, leaving several sons.

4. **ALEXANDER, THE HIGH STEWART**
Eldest son of Walter. Succeeded his father in 1246. Died in 1283, leaving two sons and a daughter.

5. **JAMES, THE HIGH STEWART**

6. **WALTER, THE HIGH STEWART**

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married Marjory Bruce, daughter of King Robert Bruce, by whom he had one son, Robert. Also married Isabel Graham by whom he had one son, John. Died April 9, 1326.

7. **ROBERT, THE HIGH STEWART**
Son of Walter and Marjory Bruce. Born March 2, 1316. Succeeded his father in 1326. On the death of his uncle, King David Bruce, February 22, 1327, he was crowned King of Scotland at Scone on March 26, 1327. He died April 1390.

8. **JOHN, EARL OF CARRICK**
Eldest son of King Robert II. Changed his name from John to Robert and became King Robert III of Scotland. Succeeded his father in April, 1390. Died at Rothesay, April 4, 1406.

9. **JAMES I**
Son of Robert III. Murdered at Perth, February 21, 1436 or 1437.

10. **JAMES II**
Son of James I. Killed at the siege of Roxburgh, August 3, 1460.

11. **JAMES III**
Son of James II. Killed near Bannockburn, June 11, 1488.

12. **JAMES IV**
Son of James III. Killed at Floudon Field, September 9, 1513.
13. **James V**

Son of James IV. Died at Faulkland, December 13, 1542.

14. **Mary, Queen of Scots**


15. **James VI of Scotland and I of England**

Son of Queen Mary and Lord Darnley. Succeeded to the Crown of Scotland on the death of his mother in 1586, and to the Crown of England, March 24, 1603.
THE STUARTS OF ENGLAND

JAMES I = ANNE OF DENMARK
(1603-1625) (died 1619)

HENRY CHARLES I
(d. 1612) (1625-1649)

ELIZABETH = FREDERICK OF
THE PALATINATE

CHARLES II JAMES II MARY = WILLIAM OF
(1660-1685) (1685-1688) (d. 1660) ORANGE
(d. 1701) (d. 1650)

JAMES (the old) ANNE MARY = WILLIAM III
Pretender, b. 1688; (1702 - (1688 - (1688-1702)
d. 1765.) 1714) 1694)

PRINCE RUPERT PRINCE MAURICE SOPHIA = ELECTOR OF
(d. 1682) (d. 1652) (d. 1714) HANOVER

GEORGE I
(1714-1727)

INTRODUCTION

THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART

The Stuart family was first known as the Stewards of Scotland. A tradition of doubtful origin claims Fleance, the son Bancho, to be the founder of the Stewarts in Scotland. It can be definitely asserted, however, that the origin of the royal Stuarts cannot be traced back on firm ground farther than the reign of David I, who ruled Scotland between 1124 and 1150. Walter Fitzalan, Steward of Scotland, during this reign is a real historical character and there is no doubt regarding his existence, but there is reason to suspect the existence of the four generations preceding him. The evidence concerning the first four generations has been criticized by Sir David Dalrymple in his Annals, Vol. I, p. 358, although he acknowledges Walter living in the twelfth century to be a Steward of Scotland. In his conclusive remarks on the origin of the House of Stuart, Sir David Dalrymple states:

"In the reign of David the First, before the middle of the twelfth century, the family of the Stewards was opulent and powerful; it may, therefore, have subsisted for many ages previous to that time, but when and what was its commencement, we cannot determine."

The name "Stewart" is a derivation from the title of Seniscalcus meaning steward, which originated from the German word "seniscalc" or "oldest

2. Ibid., p. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 1.
5. Ibid., p. 2. (Quoted from Dalrymple, Annals, I, p.358.)
This title entailed the duties of a chamberlain who exercised supreme authority in the management of the King's household and also in the regulation of the royal revenues. In feudal times the individual holding this exalted position in the realm was empowered to administer justice and even to direct warfare. The spelling of the name, as well as the duties of the position, has undergone various changes. Originally it was spelled "Stewart" showing its derivation from "steward" (seniscalcus); then it assumed the form of "Steuart", and finally the spelling of "Stuart" which is used at present. The Genealogical Table preceding this Introduction will give brief and concise information of the members of the Royal House of Stuart from Walter, the first Steward of Scotland, to Queen Anne, the last of the Stuarts.

This work is a modest attempt to present the social traditions of the reign of Queen Anne, as well as the extent of the influence exerted by the Queen on the social conditions of her time. The theme is developed through a study of Anne's character, a discussion of the England of her day, a detailed account of the social life of her reign, and a conclusive treatment of the characteristics of her era. The whole makes an interesting study and brings into bold relief the two principles which were the mainstay and backbone of the Stuart dynasty, namely, "the theory of Divine right of kings", and "the king can do no wrong". Queen Anne adhered to both principles religiously, and that she engendered the same adherence in the subjects of her realm is evidenced only too clearly by their loyalty and fidelity to a Queen who

8. Thornton, The Stuart Dynasty, p. 3.
in many respects was nothing but a mere figure-head of power. In their opinion her few good qualities of character so far obscured her many deficiencies that to them she was known only as "Good Queen Anne".

In developing this theme there was no dearth of material, but the chief problem was to make a wise selection of the material pertaining exclusively to the topic under consideration. The best source of information, proving a veritable "gold mine" of facts was: a) the collections of the Addresses of the Queen to the Lords and Commons; b) the personal letters of Queen Anne; c) the private diaries and memoirs; d) the newspaper articles; and e) the articles in the periodicals. Special mention must be made of Samuel Pepys' Diary and Correspondence. This is a ponderous but complete work which leaves out no detail, but in an inimitable way includes all events, being flavored here and there with choice bits of gossip which throw a new light on the Age of Anne. In addition to the sources mentioned above there are several Histories of the Reign of Queen Anne which are detailed to a great extent often to the point of monotony, but useful, nevertheless, in aiding one to arrive at satisfactory data relating to the social traditions of this period.

This thesis should in no way be considered an exhaustive account of the social aspect of Queen Anne's reign. A sincere effort has been made to produce a piece of work that will be of value to students of history, a motive which prompted the insertion of a discussion of the contrast in the characters of Queen Anne of England and Louis XIV of France. Both were potentates during an outstanding era, yet, such is the irony of fate, the spirit of their age died with them, recalling the trite maxim: "Sic transit gloria mundi!"
CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN ANNE

Anne, the last Stuart monarch, was born February 6, 1665 at the Royal Palace of St. James. She was the daughter of James II and Anne Hyde, the daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. Her delicate health necessitated sending her to France where she spent a part of her childhood with her sister, Mary II, at the old Palace of Richmond. Since her parents were at the time both members of the National Church, her religious instruction was placed in the hands of a rabid Protestant, Henry Compton, Bishop of London. From her childhood days Anne was brought up in an atmosphere of prejudice and bigotry against Catholicism. This measure was in accordance with the wishes of Charles II, who never had any real religion, but knowing the incorrigibility of the English Protestants demanded that Mary and Anne be brought up as Protestants. Charles II assumed a hypocritical attitude by attending the services of the Church of England and at the same time proclaiming himself to be a Roman Catholic in accordance with the Treaty of Dover of 1670 by which he

"bound himself to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, to join his armies to those of Louis for the purpose of destroying the Power of the United Provinces, and to employ the whole strength of England, by land and sea, in support of the rights of the House of Bourbon to the vast monarchy of Spain."  

4. Paul, p. 4. (Quoted from Macaulay's Works, I, pp. 164-165.)
James II warmly supported the Treaty of Dover and had already become a Roman Catholic, but in compliance with the wishes of his brother, Charles II, did not interfere with the religious education of his daughters. In Anne's most impressionable years all circumstances tended to estrange her from the religious affiliations of her parents.

At the age of fifteen her sister, Mary, became the wife of William of Orange, a staunch Protestant and an avowed enemy of the King of France. Anne's marriage was discussed to a great extent. Her personal feelings were set aside, and at the age of eighteen, on July 28, 1683, she became the wife of Prince George of Denmark, a Lutheran prince. Anne had a tender devotion toward her husband in spite of his dull understanding and coarse habits. All the children of her large family (most authors agree that there were seventeen children in all) died in their infancy with the exception of William, the Duke of Gloucester, who died in 1699 at the age of twelve.

Anne, upon her accession to the throne in 1702, was childless. This occasion was quiet and uneventful, and is of interest because of its narrow escape of bloodshed and contest. The statesmen then living remembered Charles I, the Protectorate, the Restoration, and the Revolution, and were aware of the possibility of a civil war upon the disturbance of certain conditions. Anne's first speech in Council was a potent factor in averting any

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6. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 23.
threatening catastrophe:

“...I am extremely sensible of the general misfortune to
these Kingdoms in the unspeakable loss of the King, (William III)
and of the great weight and burden it brings in particular on
myself, which nothing could encourage me to undergo but the great
concern I have for the preservation of our Religion, and the Laws
and Liberties of my country; all these being as dear to me as
they can be to any person whatsoever. You may depend upon it that
no pains or diligence shall be wanting on my part to preserve
and support them, to maintain the succession in the Protestant Line
and the Government in the Church and State, as it is by law es-

tablished ... In order to these ends I shall always be ready
to ask the advice of my Council, and of both Houses of Parliament,
and desirous to countenance and employ all those who heartily
shall concur and join with me in supporting and maintaining the
present Establishment and Constitution against all enemies and
opposers whatsoever.”

Anne was not a brilliant woman like her mother, Anne Hyde, but she
inherited good common sense from her. It was Anne’s policy to take a middle
course in extremes of every kind, a quality much needed in a country that had
suffered from Stuart misrule. She had none of the weaknesses of the Stuarts
but inherited her characteristically English virtues from her Hyde ancestors
who were country gentlemen and great lawyers. She would have made an excel-

lent and a happy wife for a country squire, by devoting her time to good works
in church and country pursuits. The welfare of the people was the principal
motive of her reign, and her subjects loved her for they knew her to be truly
English as no other Stuart had ever been. She liked the things that they liked
and lived like them as nearly as her rank would allow. They sympathized with
her childlessness and condoned her little weaknesses. Although many believed

9. The Life of Her Late Majesty, Queen Anne, 2 Vols., Charles Rivington,
10. Marie Ruan Hopkinson, Anne of England, Biography of a Great Queen,
11. Ibid., Prologue, p. xv.
she took her brandy in a tea-cup, it was only the ribald watermen who called her "Old Brandy Shop" as she rowed in her barge down the Thames.

Anne desired to be queen of all her people and her reiterated avowal that her heart was entirely English raised a hum of approval. The Dutch element in England under William III had long been unpopular, and now there was a Queen, English by birth and at heart; a Queen who was the daughter of a commoner (Anne Hyde), and one of themselves. In her speech to both Houses she affirms:

"My Lords and Gentlemen, It shall be my constant endeavor to make you the best return for that duty and affection you have expressed to me, by a careful and diligent administration for the good of all my subjects. And as I know my heart to be entirely English, I can sincerely assure you there is not anything you can expect and desire from me, which I shall not be ready to do for the happiness and prosperity of England; and you shall always find me a strict and religious observer of my word."14

She performed her duties with vigor, and expressed "as much concern for the good of her Country as if the letter was intended to be made public . . . ." Her subjects considered themselves blest with a queen who possessed every regal quality that could contribute to make a people happy. They attributed to her

"great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors; of much discernment in choosing proper instruments, ... and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness which makes her judge of others by herself. Frugal in her management in order to contribute to the public ... from her own nature, generous and charitable to all that

12. Ibid., Prologue, p. xv.
13. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 110.
Queen Anne desired her subjects to be joined in peace and union, and extended her favor and protection to them all so that she might be the general mother of all. Anne had one great attachment, the Church of England, of which she was a sincere and devout member, although the Duchess of Marlborough states that she could not be called "a praying Godly idiot". Her zeal often reached the point of fanaticism and was fanned to a flame by bigotry, as can be judged from the estimate of the Church given by the Duchess of Marlborough.

"The word Church had never any charm for me, in the mouths of those who made the most noise about it; for I could not perceive that they gave any other distinguishing proof of their regard for the thing than a frequent use of the word, like a spell to enchant weak minds; and a persecuting zeal against Dissenters and against those real friends of the Church who would not admit that persecution was agreeable to its doctrine. And as to Affairs of State: Many of these Churchmen seem to me to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavored during the last reign, to undermine that very government which they had contributed to establish."  

Anne had a real and invariable passion for the "phantom" called the Church. The Tories were forever presenting this "darling Phantom" to her imagination, and employing it as a "will in the wisp" to bewilder her mind, to entice her, and to effect the destruction of her quiet and glory. It was

18. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 116.
because of her partisanship for the Church that her Tory inclinations were increased, and she considered this party as the High Church Party. Her religion was chiefly an implicit faith accompanied by the form and course of a sort of piety. To her the church was an infallible guide and her churchmen were the objects of devotion on her part to such a degree, as if this attitude would be sufficient to sanctify every other part of her conduct. Her piety was exemplary and her religious zeal could not be questioned by her worst enemies.

Parallel to her zeal for the Church of England was her abhorrence of Catholicism. Writing to Lady Bathurst she says:

"All the fine churches and monasteries you know I must not see, so can give you no good account of them, but those things which I must needs see as their images which are in every shop and corner of the street. The more I see of those fooleries, and the more I hear of that religion, the more I dislike it." 23

The same strain of opposition runs through her letter to her sister, Mary, Princess of Orange:

The Cockpit - April 29, 1686. "... I must tell you that I abhor the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is possible for any to do, and I as much value the doctrine of the Church of England. And certainly there is the greatest reason in the world to do so, for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures, and their ceremonies - most of them plain, downright idolatry. ... I do count it a very great blessing that I am of the Church of England, and as great a misfortune that the King (James II) is not. . . ." 24

23. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 31.
The Lords complained to the Queen of the boldness of the Romish priests and Papists who used all their devices and arts in perverting the gentry and commonalty openly and in defiance of the laws. They asked that more vigilance should be exercised over the Papists, and a distinct and particular account should be taken of all Papists and reputed Papists in the Kingdom, together with their qualities, estates, and places of abode. The Queen's answer to this appeal is another proof of her dislike for Catholicism.

"I am fully convinced that the insolent behavior of the Papists hath made what you advise necessary to be done, for the safety of my person and government, and the welfare of my people. I thank you for your care in this matter, and will give, as soon as possible, the necessary orders for everything you desire of me in this address." 25

Impulsive friendship was a strong passion in Anne and her feeble intellect was successively controlled by two women. These flames of extravagant passion often ended in indifference and aversion and were a detriment to her. Commenting on the Queen's favorites, the Earl of Chesterfield wrote to Lady Mary Coke:

(1701 - 2) March 18, London. - "My opinion is that, if Her Majesty would have no favorites but choose a wise Council, and rely upon a Parliament, she might have so happy a reign as to eclipse that of Queen Elizabeth . . . ." 26

From her eighth year Queen Anne had a special friendship for Sarah Jennings, later the Duchess of Marlborough. She seemed to feel the need of dependence on special friends and for the sake of friendship she was fond of that equality.

25. A Collection of all the Addresses of the Lords and Commons to the Queen, Since Her Happy Accession to the Throne, London, 1712, p. 70.
26. Ibid., p. 72.
which she thought belonged to it. The perfect isolation she experienced in her position as queen naturally resulted in the acquisition of personal friends who had more influence on the destinies of her reign than her husband and her nearest relations. In their private correspondence the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough adapted fictitious names, the Queen being Mrs. Morley and the Duchess, Mrs. Freeman. According to the Duchess of Marlborough this friendship deepened when Anne came to the throne:

"But from this time I began to be looked upon as a person of consequence without whose approbation at least neither places nor pensions nor honors were bestowed by the Crown . . . . She had both before and since her accession given the most unquestionable proofs, that she considered me not only as a faithful servant, but her dear friend." 30

The Queen was known to possess such easiness of temper that she gave herself up too much to those into whose hands she put herself. She wrote to the Duchess:

Winchester, Sept. 20. "... If you will not let me have the satisfaction of hearing from you again before I shall see you, let me beg of you not to call me Your Highness at every turn, but to be free with me as one friend ought to be with another; and you can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do; and if ever it were in my power to serve you, nobody would be more ready than myself . . . . " 31

Early in the spring of 1708 the Duchess began to show signs of discontent and suspicions and threatened to resign from office. Two causes contributed to this crisis - one, the difference in their opinions regarding

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matters of State; the other, the favoritism shown by Anne to Mrs. Masham, a
cousin of the Duchess. Swift describes the Duchess as a woman with three
furies reigning in her breast - sordid avarice, disdainful pride, and ungover-
able rage. He says:

"Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power,
favor, and employment is capable of acting or attempting,
and then I have said enough."33

The friendship of many years was now reduced to the state of implacable hatred.
The Duke of Marlborough hinted his disapproval of the whole affair:

"It has always been my observation in disputes, especially
in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches,
though ever so just, serve to no end but making the breach
wider . . . . "34

In person and appearance Anne was not at all ungraceful until she
became extremely corpulent. The majesty in her look was accompanied by a
sullen and constant frown, betraying her gloominess of soul and cloudiness of 35
disposition. Intellectually she is ranked below the average of her sub-
jects, a negative person, rather "a good sort of woman", than a good woman,
possessing the helplessness of a feminine mind. Marlborough claimed the
Queen's mind to be a blank,

"that she had no will of her own, or any tendencies but
such as could be directed by other people; as for her
abilities, she had a pretty knack of writing affection-
ate letters, and that was all she could do."38

33. Jonathan Swift, The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen,
A. Miller, London, 1758, p. 17.
35. William King, ed., Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, George
38. Cowper, Private Diary, p. 48.
Her memory had two peculiarities - that she could forget what others would think themselves bound to remember, while she remembered all things that others would find it a happiness to forget. She used her memory in such insignificant trifles as ceremonies and customs of courts. Her conversation was empty and uninspiring since it was concerned with such poor topics as fashions and rules of precedence. Her speech was not characterized by wit and brilliance and she had

"a certain knack of sticking to what had been dictated to her to a degree often very disagreeable and without the least sign of understanding or judgment."\(^{39}\)

The epithet of "Good Queen Anne" was justly deserved in view of her generosity to the poor. To avoid laying an additional burden on the people already heavily taxed, her generous heart prompted her to share the common burden of taxes with her subjects. For this purpose she used one hundred thousand pounds of her own personal income for public service. This generosity endeared the Queen to all the people. Her particular concern was the condition of the poor:

"My Lords and Gentlemen, ... the great dearth and scarcity under which our neighbors abroad have suffered this year, begins to affect us in some measure at home, by the temptation of profit, in carrying out too much of our corn, while it bears so high a price in foreign parts. This occasions many complaints from the poor, for whose sake I earnestly recommend to you to take this growing evil into your consideration, having not neglected anything on my part towards the remedying of it ... .\(^{42}\)

\(^{39}\) Strickland, Lives of the Queens of England, VIII, p. 543.

\(^{40}\) Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 111.

\(^{41}\) Boyer, The Reign of Queen Anne, p. 13.

She was not extravagant for it is known that she did not buy one jewel in the whole time of her reign. She never refused a request for charity and paid the salaries of her sister's servants regardless of the treatment she had received during William's reign. Her privy purse never exceeded twenty thousand pounds a year which was far less than any king or queen ever had.

Her generosity was exercised, too, in affording relief to incarcerated persons, especially those persecuted by her government and in her name. Daniel Defoe imprisoned for life for writing the pamphlet, Shortest Way With Dissenters, experienced the generosity of the Queen. She not only gave a considerable supply of money to his wife and children, but also provided him with sufficient money to pay his fine and the expense of his discharge.

"Thus obliged by the Sovereign under whose administration I was suffering, could I ever act against such a Queen? her who fetched me out of the dungeon and gave my family relief?" 45

When Defoe paid this tribute to Queen Anne she had been dead for many years. Opposed to this generosity was a selfishness displayed in her dealings with members of her own household. She was indifferent to the diligence and fidelity of her servants where she had no passionate attachment for the person; and even in the case of those she loved her gifts were few and insignificant. She was little concerned about the happiness of others and preferred her own passion and humor to the safety and happiness of her own people and all Europe.

43. King, Memoirs of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, p. 274.
44. Ibid., p. 275.
46. Ibid., VIII, p. 547.
Anne's character had in it a trait of hardness, bordering on cruelty. One revolting incident is the treatment of her son, the Duke of Gloucester. The Duke was afflicted with hydrocephalus which prevented his walking freely. When he craved the assistance of at least one person, the Queen had her husband lash the child with a birch rod until the torture of the strokes made him run alone. Vindictiveness played a major part in her character, particularly when her authority was in question. There was not one of the statesmen who had offended her who did not live to regret his actions. As she never forgot a favor, so also she zealously remembered injuries and never failed to wreak her vengeance on her offenders.

The diversified traits in Anne's character can be traced to one source - weakness. Of the four English Queens, she is the least significant. She was "little more than a bone of contention between ambitious statesmen and plotting favorites". The clouds of suspicion haunted her life and made it gloomy. She was inclined to be of an obstinate nature and her insistence in having her own way must have been trying to party leaders. Her attitude became more independent; she interfered in diplomacy; raised questions in civil appointments; and demanded a free hand in church affairs. She adhered obstinately to her own opinion and nothing could make her alter it. Her deportment was haughty except to her particular favorites to whom she displayed a temper of mind easily overcome by flattery.

47. Strickland, VIII, p. 23.
49. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 96.
50. Morgan, English Political Parties and Leaders, p. 137.
52. Swift, Memoirs of the Four Last Years, p. 78.
Anne enjoyed extraordinary popularity with all classes of her sub-
jects. This popularity arose less from her mild and benevolent character than
from the fact that her mind was in agreement with the minds of nineteen-twenti-
tieths of her people. The love of the English for Queen Anne is displayed in
the title "Good Queen Anne". She was eulogized by the pen of every writer
and her personal generosity to the church and her mildness of government made
her the favorite of the populace.

At this point it seems natural to treat of Louis XIV of France by
way of comparison with the character and achievements of Queen Anne of England.
The reason for this is that being contemporaries, they are found to be similar
in many respects, although as can be naturally expected they are also greatly
dissimilar in some respects. The matter herein contained proposes to treat of
the character of Louis XIV, and as a prelude to the succeeding chapters of
this thesis to present a summary discussion of his achievements during his
reign, familiarly known as the "Age of Louis XIV".

Louis XIV was born in 1638, the eldest son of Louis XIII and Anne of
Austria, and from the earliest years he was carefully trained for the position
he was expected to assume in the future. In order that his education might
have a regal tone, special playing cards were devised from the contemplation
of which he was to imbibe a knowledge of history, geography, and mythology.

He was taught Latin by the historian, Perenix, and read Caesar's Commentaries.

53. Frederick W. Wyon, History of Great Britain, 2 Vols., Chapman and Hall,
London, 1876, II, p. 532.
55. David Ogg, Europe in the Seventeenth Century, A. and C. Black, Ltd.,
56. Ibid., p. 282.
He may have read Don Quixote, the Roman Comique of Scarron, and the Memoires of Commines. A History of France published in 1643 was read by his valet in order to induce him to sleep at night. In addition, he was taught Italian and mathematics, but he never was a man of education. It cannot, however, be asserted with certainty that he was barely able to read and write. His mother trained him in habits of strict external piety; in addition to his tutors the governor Villeroy was concerned with his deportment and outdoor life. One result of his early education was his hatred of Protestants, the direct opposite characteristic to that of Anne, who had an undying hatred for Catholics as a result of her early education.

Louis was fitted for the leadership of a large and magnificent court by his physical and mental characteristics. He had a dignified and imposing bearing which commanded respect, and his perfect manners lent certain charm to all his actions. To strangers he was always courteous and condescending. From his mother he inherited a tendency to languor, but he cannot be accused entirely of a lack of industry and keen observation. He possessed a good memory; had some taste in the matter of art, and always insisted on having his wishes carried out. He never forgot that he was king, keeping his distance even with relatives. He had the ability to vary his moods to suit the company or the occasion; he was not a victim of gusts of passion or emotion, and only in his latter years did he show signs of sorrow or remorse.

57. Ibid., p. 282.
58. Ibid., p. 283.
59. Ibid., p. 308. (Note: A good sketch of Louis' personal characteristics is given by the Venetian ambassador Giustinian, in Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti, France, III, p. 172.
"His was the type of character which may wear out those with whom it comes in closest contact while itself sur-
ving serene and imperturbable. He was devoid of a
sense of humor, and he not only welcomed flattery but
believed it. Studiously careful of himself, he was
selfish to a degree possible only in a man of such in-
finite opportunities; moreover, the complete absence of
human affection makes his love affairs commonplace and
sordid. The sense of proportion, generally developed
in ordinary human beings by the rough-and-tumble of
everyday existence, was denied him; as a private person
he would have been deemed of mediocre abilities, an ego-
tist, and a sensual hypocrite."60

His Queen, Maria Theresa, took little part in the society of this
royal court. Being of a pious and complacent nature, she was devoted to her
husband, but was soon forced to eliminate herself in favor of his mistresses.
This detestable conduct was begun by the king less than a year after his
marriage and until 1674 he lived a life of double adultery, the queen being
forced to appear in public in the company of her rivals. The bastard child-
en of these adulterous unions held a higher place in the affections of Louis
than did his own legitimate heirs. It is to the credit of Bossuet that he
openly denounced the King's scandalous life, but the repentant moods of Louis
61
were always of short duration. Maria Theresa died in 1683, and is said to
have made the statement that her married life consisted of only twenty happy
days.

Louis exercised a strict control over the amusements of his family,
couraged them to gamble and paid their debts. He even condescended to
dance since the dances of his time were not incompatible with his personal
60. Ibid., p. 309. (Quoted from Memoires in Oeuvres de Louis XIV, II, p. 74.)
61. Ibid., p. 310. (Quoted from Gazier, Bossuet et Louis XIV, p. 58 ff.)
dignity. There was daily Mass in the palace, which Louis always attended, while the eloquence of preachers such as Bossuet and Bourdaloue charmed or disturbed him but rarely contrived to convince him.

"The etiquette of Versailles was regulated with an Oriental precision... More than any other court of modern times, the court of Louis XIV provided unlimited scope for time-serving, mediocrity, and licentiousness, in which independence of mind and character was sternly repressed and where blasphemy and hypocrisy went to such lengths as to disgust all but the most cynical or the most stupid. Lives spent in playing cards for stakes extorted from the wretched peasants, in the hunting of animals that involved no danger and little exertion, in the performance of masquerades inspired by adulation of a human demi-god, in the race for offices that brought no responsibility and much servility, were for all purposes wasted lives, and completely demoralized a nobility that had no traditions, no opportunities for usefulness, held together by their common worship of caste, and constantly reinforced by the pseudo-nobility of bought peerage."62

At the death of Cardinal Mazarin in 1661, Louis XIV ascended the throne of France, beginning as it were "the golden age of monarchy for France and Europe". From that time for a century and a half France was the most influential state in Europe, and was well adapted to assume an expansive and aggressive policy. Louis XIV himself described the general situation in his memoirs:

"Everything was quiet everywhere, no movement or semblance of movement anywhere in the kingdom that could interrupt or hamper my plans. Peace was established with my neighbors (especially Austria and Spain) probably for as long a time as I should myself desire."63

Louis was master at home and it was in his power to give peace or war to Europe. That he would choose war is not at all surprising. His imagination

62. Ibid., p. 313.
was preoccupied with the achievement of his own glory, and he believed the
world's greatest glory had always been the portion of the world's warriors and
conquerors, Alexander, Caesar, and Charlemagne. Louis had an obsession to
play a great historic role on the human stage. He said, "The praise of his-
tory is something exquisite." It was his aim to show the world that "there
was still a King on earth". His common opinion was, "To have a crown is not
everything, one must know how to wear it." The only possible result of all
this conceit and self-emulation was a continual war for over half a century,
and the earnest effort of Louis to dominate Europe by arms. Louis frankly
admitted, "The love of glory takes the precedence over everything else in my
soul"; unfortunately, to him glory and success in war were synonymous.

Just as Queen Anne had a master mind in the Duke of Marlborough who
planned her military successes for her, so did Louis XIV have a valuable aid
in his minister, Colbert, whose powers of work and concentration were so great
that he was able to accomplish as much as half a dozen ministries would do to-
day. He labored zealously for the advancement of intellectual and artistic
life in France with the one purpose in mind of exalting and glorifying the
king, which in his opinion was the only motive worthy of Frenchmen in every
line of endeavor.

"By the careful encouragement of academies of painting,
sculpture, architecture, music, and literature, by
helping scientists of every kind, mathematicians, phy-
sicists, chemists, astronomers, he sought to enrich and
refine the civilization, the culture and learning and

64. Ibid., p. 23.
65. Ibid., p. 23.
66. Carlton J. H. Hayes, A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe,
and taste of France, and to identify the person of the
king with all these high exploits. Louis entered sympa­
pathetically into all these plans of his minister. He
knew that when men spoke of the Augustan Age they meant
that Augustus had seen, in his days, what Louis intended
posterity should see in his, namely, that the promotion
and encouragement of arts and letters is one of the high­
est and most enduring distinctions of a great prince."67

The French literature of this period boasts of such distinguished names as
Moliere, Racine, La Fontaine, and La Bruyere. It was owing to this illus­
trious group that the French language made a conquest of people everywhere,
and in the modern world was accredited the high position which Greek litera­
ture had occupied in the ancient world. Louis XIV entered half-heartedly
into all these projects for his glory. He cared not for literary and artistic
achievements; his supreme interest was in the glory that war could bring him.

Louis enjoyed being king. It was a profession which gave him thor­
ough pleasure and he did not attempt to conceal the delight it gave him. He
said that "the trade of King is grand, noble, delightful", but he did not mis­
take it to be an easy trade. He studied it from every angle and did not make
important decisions recklessly without previous reflection and investigation.
He was a hard, habitual, systematic worker, and gave as close attention daily
to the pleasures and diversions of the court as he did to the policies of the
state. While everyone around him seemed active and agitated, he alone re­
mained calm. For fifty years despite more or less bad health, stomach trouble,
and acute headaches, due to his enormous eating and bad teeth, he kept up the

67. Hazen, Modern Europe, p. 35.
same routine of work, without haste and without rest in a systematic way, doing the same tasks at the same hours. "With an almanac and a watch you could tell three hundred leagues away just what he was doing." In spite of this extraordinary application and intensive activity, Louis was of ordinary ability and had an ordinary intelligence. He himself once wrote, "It is humiliating to be ignorant of things which everyone else knows." In matters of diplomacy he followed maxims of doubtful ethical quality. Three principal maxims can be listed: 1) A ruler must be ready to sacrifice every scruple, even personal honor, for the advantages of the state; 2) Every man can be bought and therefore, a ruler should seek to know every man's price; 3) distrust of every human being is the beginning of all wisdom for a monarch.

"Such were some of the traits of character, such the training of the man who was destined to give his name to his age, who took the sun for his emblem, sole source of light and life, who was known as the Sun-King, and whose pride was as the pride of Pharaoh." 72

The Age of Louis XIV was famous in the first place for its doctrine of absolutism. He believed that the government is divinely ordained so that man may satisfy the God-given natural instincts of being together in organized political society. Under God, monarchy is of all forms of government, the most useful, most-ancient, and most natural; it is analogous to the rule of a family by the father, and should therefore be hereditary. Four qualities are the just heritage of a monarch: 1) He is sacred because he is anointed at his coronation; 2) He is the father of his people, a paternal king who provides for the welfare of his nation; 3) His power is absolute and autocratic, and

70. Hazen, Modern Europe, p. 32.
71. Ibid., p. 32.
72. Ibid., p. 32.
he is accountable to God alone; 4) The king is an earthly image of God’s majesty and it is wrong to look upon him as a mere man.

"The king is a public person and in him is embodied the whole nation. As in God are united all perfection and every virtue so all power for all the individuals in a community is united in the person of the king." 73

Louis adhered strictly to the theory of absolute divine-right monarchy, a theory which had been adopted in various countries of Europe, including England. As a result of this theory, Louis developed such an organized system of centralized government, that all policies were devised by him, and it was the duty of his ministers to execute his will. No one thought of performing the least independent action without the express approval of the king. His government became the model of royal centralization, and the monarchs of Europe envied the godlike majesty of the French king.

"For Louis XIV was not content with the hard work of God’s lieutenant on earth. He must have the fame, the glory, the majesty - even the temple - befitting his divinity. The temple to himself - the crowning glory of his majesty - was the palace which he erected at Versailles, . . . . The stately palace, with its lavish furnishings and its broad parks and great groves and myriad statues and delightful fountains, was the wonder of France and Europe; the magnificent 'Hall of Mirrors' was a perfect example of the 'Grand Monarch'. In and about the palace of Versailles, Louis XIV gathered the court of France - his ministers, his central officialdom, his family, his mistresses, and his pick of French nobles and French artists - and he prescribed for all these a most rigid ceremonial, as would become the worshippers of his divinity . . . . " 75

As Louis XIV grew older, he became more vain and ambitious. He gloated over his unquestioned authority in France, the majesty of his surroundings at Versailles, and the pompous bearing of his courtiers and

74. Ibid., I, p. 293.
75. Ibid., I, p. 293.
ministers. To him Versailles was France and he was indifferent to everything outside of the palace, and never really became acquainted with his subjects or the various parts of his kingdom. He aimed to bend everyone to his will, and in ecclesiastical matters he was a pronounced autocrat. He insisted upon obedience to him rather than to the Pope, a measure which caused difficulties between him and the reigning pontiff, Innocent XI. He persecuted the Protestants and even the Jansenists and other Catholic groups whom he considered to be heretical. His idea of centralization was to make of the nobles, a useless social class without political experience, so that the French nobles were wasteful, vicious, and purely ornamental at a time, when the English nobles were in possession of full power and were directing the domestic and foreign policies of their country. The French clergy on the whole were devout, self-sacrificing priests, but the bishops and higher clergy with the exception of a few, were drawn from the nobility, and led lives of luxury apart from the common people.

"Too few of the bishops were real religious leaders, as too few of the nobles were real political leaders. The weight of Louis XIV's government was becoming ever heavier; the persons trained to bear it were becoming ever fewer." 76

France was a wealthy country, relatively speaking; its fields were fertile; its peasants hard-working and thrifty; its artisans were becoming skilled in manufacture; and its middle classes were becoming richer and more numerous. France could have borne the extravagant spending of the king without complaint, if the burden of taxation had been evenly distributed. But Louis XIV would hear of no fiscal reform; he continued to exempt the nobility

76. Ibid., p. 314.
and the clergy, and derived the state income from the peasants and the middle classes. After the War of the Spanish Succession, the masses of the French nation suffered from pestilence and famine, from taxes and the threat of bankruptcy; and from a whole array of economic and social evils. The last years of Louis XIV were years of gloom. When he died in 1715, he left his kingdom to his great-grandson, a child of five:

"And to this child he left a troubled inheritance, a country whose population had fallen from nineteen million to seventeen, a state exhausted, impoverished, and approaching bankruptcy, a people in distress and misery, already murmuring faint thoughts of revolution, all as a result of a selfish and overweening ambition. Such was the ending of the longest reign of history, a reign of seventy-two years. Saint Simon says that when his subjects heard of the death of Louis XIV they 'trembled with joy' and 'thanked God for their deliverance'." 78

Here, then, are two parallel characters in history, both actuated by fame, glory, and ambitious desires. Anne did not parade her aims and motives in an ostentatious and conceited manner as did Louis XIV, yet, it must be admitted that she, too, craved glory and exaltation, and lent a willing ear to flattery. To her cannot be imputed the open, licentious mode of living of the French monarch, but her standard of morals does not rate very high. She led an easy, indolent, characterless, unmotivated existence which often reached the edges of immorality and soft living if it did not trespass them entirely. She did not openly domineer her subjects and try to impress them at every turn by the importance of her majesty, but being a woman, she employed more subtle and suave means which formed a cloak, as it were, for her theory of absolutist monarchy. These means were an occasional bounty or donation to the clergy, and her reiterated protestations that she was "entirely

77. Ibid., I, p. 315. 78. Hazen, Modern Europe, p. 37.
English" and that her chief aim was the welfare of the people. Her undying hatred of Catholicism ran parallel to Louis' hatred of Protestants. She, too, died alone and unattended, and perhaps the only reason that can be adduced for the glory of her reign is that she held the reins of government which were attached to the master minds which plotted and planned for her, for she was too inert and too deficient intellectually to be able to guide the destinies of her nation without the aid of a Marlborough, a Godolphin, and later in her reign of a Harley and a Bolingbroke. As a feminine character her position was accorded that chivalrous deference and respect that is the portion of feminine sovereigns, and to her people she was "Good Queen Anne" more from a standpoint of esteem than any personal prerogative that merited or deserved this title.
CHAPTER II

QUEEN ANNE'S ENGLAND

The reign of Queen Anne involved great issues and the populace moved among brilliant societies, but the background of these fine achievements had its root in homely scenes. England's wars were manned by the two main nerves of iron and gold, but these mighty sinews of Britain's strength were forged in humble surroundings unknown to the world of patched cheeks and full-bottomed wigs. The needs and prejudices of the common folk living in manor house and village, in port and market towns influenced the game of politics at Kensington.

Defoe pictures England in the state of a healthy national life in which the component elements of town, country, agriculture, industry, and commerce blended into the harmonious whole of a single economic system. Good harvests and cheap food were plentiful even in the time of war, making England a prosperous and well-ordered nation. England was progressing, unconsciously yet gradually, toward the Industrial Revolution due to the expanding operations in industry, agriculture, and commerce, and even the changes in society. The peasant and craftsman of England's early life still existed during the reign of Queen Anne, but under the new and more favorable conditions. The products of

3. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 3.
4. Ibid., I, p. 3.
the peasant and craftsman found new markets through the agency of the traders and middlemen. The antagonism of sect and faction distracting England at this time was counter-balanced by the interchange of activity between town and country giving Queen Anne's England a fundamental harmony and strength. While religious disputes divided the nation, trade gaining in relative importance tended to unite it. The Bible now had a fast growing rival in the ledger.

The England of Saxon days was a wilderness of forest trees, brushwood, marsh and down. Wooden huts were the so-called homes of each village, and the straight Roman roads traversing the lands were gradually falling into disuse. Modern England presents the prospect of rectangular fields divided by hedge-rows or stone walls, with well-built farms, villages, and fenced plantations of trees. A network of busy railroads and busier roads gives the country the appearance of a thriving metropolis. The panorama of Queen Anne's England lies halfway between these two periods in character but not in time. Most of the primeval forests had disappeared, and the greater part of the land had been reclaimed as arable land or for pasturage. The appearance of a chess-board of rectangular fields was not yet a reality, since the best agricultural lands were laid out in open fields without hedges, and the inclosed fields were irregularly shaped orchards and intakes. The plow had broken up the old Roman roads and caused their disappearance, while the winding Saxon bridle tracks became muddy roads and lanes. The rivers flowing through rich cornfields and meadows carried the heaviest traffic of the land on their waterways.

5. Ibid., I, p. 3.
6. Ibid., I, p. 4.
7. Ibid., I, p. 4.
8. Ibid., I, pp. 5-6.
Rural England presented a prosperous scene in 1700. The storm of the Restoration was over, the times peaceful, trade was good, and there was a sense of security and wealth in spite of the change of rulers and an uncertain political future. At Anne's accession in 1702 England and Wales numbered 5,475,000 people of whom 1,400,000 were urban. The country was a vast expanse of millions of acres of unspoiled woodlands, and of rolling heaths purple with heather and yellow with dying bracken, and a paradise for the sportsmen with its wealth of game. Three staple crops were grown with unfailing regularity, wheat as an export and for bread for the upper classes; barley as an essential product for brewers and for the poor man's loaf; oats as food for horses and for use in making cakes and bannocks. A few beans were also raised for horses, and rye in districts where it was customary but there were no mew-fangled crops as turnips and mangolds to be kept for winter use. Harvest time always required extra labor, which in Queen Anne's time was supplied by the discharged soldier who was eager for an opportunity to keep off the highway.

A major problem of England in its rural districts was the condition of the roads and the dangers encountered thereon. The slow delivery of mail in the rural villages was due to the difficulty public messengers found in traversing the muddy roads. Another danger was the presence of highwaymen lurking in unfelled thickets and unenclosed heaths. No one began a journey in England without the possibility of encountering these two dangers. It was

10. Ibid., p. 4.
11. Ibid., p. 5.
12. Ibid., p. 8.
a common sight on the road to see a hooded wagon with passengers and luggage inside, and a carrier walking at the head of eight horses. The village roads varied from the mere mud tracks to broad green lanes and were unenclosed for the greater part of their length, which was an advantage, because the passengers were able to walk off the morass of the road through the neighboring heaths or cornfields. The farmers protested but the law upheld the distressed travelers. In some of the counties like Kent the roads were so narrow that two horsemen could scarcely pass each other at many points of the road, and a coach blocked the entire space between the hedges.

This picture given by Defoe presents an excellent idea of the difficulties of road travel.

"Going to a church in a country village not far from Lewis, I saw an ancient lady, and a lady of very good quality, I assure you, drawn to church in her coach with six oxen; nor was it done in frolic or humor, but more necessity, the way being so stiff and deep, that no horses could go in it."

The poor condition of the roads was due to the lack of adequate administrative machinery for construction and repair. Every parish through the confines of which the road passed was bound by law to maintain it by six days a year of unpaid labor given by the farmers. There was no supervision of this work except by one of the group of farmers chosen as a surveyor. It was unreasonable to expect the farmers to act as skilled makers of highways, and it was unfair to lay the burden of repair on the parishes through which the road passed.

14. Ibid., I, p. 94.
15. Ibid., I, pp. 94-95.
17. Trevelyan, I, p. 94. (Quoted from Defoe, Tour through the Island, I, p. 129.)
This condition was tolerated until commerce began to increase, and in the days of the later Stuarts the poor condition of these roads was felt as a national disgrace. A new system of turnpikes was enforced to provide money for the upkeep of the roads. When Anne came to the throne, the revenues from the turnpikes were managed by justices of peace, but later in her reign 19 Turnpike Trustees were established by statute.

Under these conditions, river traffic although slow had an advantage 20 over road traffic especially for heavy goods. The rivers were used only for purposes of commerce; people of quality found them advantageous also as a means of transportation. These people kept their own barges, and employed liveried watermen. The less favored individuals who used public barges had to endure much from the rudeness and roughness of the watermen, and a lady would certainly be safer traveling in a hackney coach.

The traveling in Queen Anne's reign was difficult in the towns also because of bad roads and unchecked highway robbers. One traveler describes 22 the roads as more perilous than the Alps. Stage coaches ran to most of the towns, and other frequently used modes of travel were conducted by pack-horses and wagons. A fashionable and much used conveyance was the sedan chair. It took its name from the town of Sedan in France and was introduced into England 23 more than a century before the reign of Queen Anne. According to taste and
means, the owner would sometimes have a finely appointed and highly orna-
mented sedan chair. A legal license was placed on all public sedan chairs
and a uniform fare of one shilling a mile was charged. There were three
hundred licensed chairs in London and in addition to the fixed charge the
chairmen would demand a gratuity, or according to modern terminology, "a tip."

In Queen Anne's time the prefix "sedan" fell into disuse, and these convey-
ances were commonly spoken of simply as chairs.

Hackney coaches filled the streets in great numbers. Like the
sedan chairs they were not protected by glass and the ladies were often mo-
lest in their expeditions for shopping or visiting by street ruffians who
amused themselves in this way. All kinds of legal ordinances were issued
for the licensing of hackney coaches and fixed rates of fare were prescribed
by the government. Private coaches owned by the wealthy were magnificent
equipages drawn by at least six horses, a number considered necessary to make
an impression on the public. Four horses were common, and the chariot, calas
and chaise were considered well equipped with two horses.

The London of Queen Anne's day was a metropolis different in size
and characteristic qualities from the present London. In the eighteenth cen-
tury the outlying districts were divided from London by wide meadows and gar-
dens, and were crossed by high-roads. Now, these same districts are merely

25. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 188.
27. Bradley, The English Housewife of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,
p. 207.
29. Ibid., p. 160.
a part of the capital. The inhabitants were bound by law to keep the roads in front of their houses and shops clean and well-swept, and under penalty to heap up the refuse to be carried away by the scavenger's carts. These ordinances were often disregarded and passengers had to pick their way through masses of neglected refuse. The sanitary arrangements were particularly defective at night, and the streets were anything but pleasant walks. A passerby remarked:

"We had not walked the usual distance between the church and an alehouse, but some odorous civet box perfumed the air, and saluted our nostrils with so refreshing a nosegay that I thought the whole city had been overflowed with an inundation of surrenervence." 33

Even at a date later than Queen Anne's reign it was reported that the body of a murdered child had been found among the dunghills lying at the bottom of Drury Lane. London is not even now rich in public buildings, but during the reign of Queen Anne it was poorer still. St. Paul's Cathedral was then a new erection and had just been open for service. Westminster Abbey and Hall lent historical and architectural magnificence to their quarter, and St. James' Palace was the center of royal ceremonial and pageantry. London had many hospitals; Bethlehem or Bedlam had been completed a quarter of a century before Anne's accession, and St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas' were well-known institutions.

30. Ibid., p. 159.
33. Ashton, p. 68. (Quoted from the London Spy.)
34. McCarthy, The Reign of Queen Anne, p. 159.
The water supply in the cities was not good. Old fashioned wells and pumps sunk in a crowded city of cesspools and graveyards furnished an unhealthful supply of water. Some of the water was brought to the city from Highgate and Hampstead and from the New River, but it was not sufficient to supply the demand of the inhabitants. The water furnished by the huge water-wheel on the Thames River was unsuitable for drinking purposes since it was taken from the tidal waters near the shore. Primitive wooden pipes with a small bore of one inch were used to carry the water supply. The river was scoured out twice a year and a staff of twelve walkers was kept between Ware and London, whose care it was to see that nothing was thrown into the river that might pollute it in any way. Lead cisterns, artistically and elaborately ornamented with flowers or classical subjects were utilized to hold the family supply of water. The few leaden cisterns now seen in London are curiosities and exemplars of art manufactures of the time.

The streets of London were often overcrowded with traffic, although the population at that time was small in comparison with the present population. The main bulk of the traffic in Queen Anne's reign was confined to the principal thoroughfares and after night set in, the smaller streets were as silent and lonely as the highways in the country. The streets were lighted by miserable oil lamps, and on some of the streets where the oil lamps could not be expected to shine, travelers carried lanterns with them at night.

37. Ibid., p. 70.
38. Ibid., p. 71.
The peaceful pedestrians were not safeguarded by a police force, but men were appointed to guard the streets without any regard for their ability, physically, morally, or mentally. They were known as watchmen or simply as the "Watch". Night travelers were molested by a band of street ruffians who called themselves Mohocks after the Mohawk Indian tribe. They were dissipated and reckless scamps belonging to the better classes of society. Their main ambition and chief pastime was to defy the civic laws and to win fame by acts of violence in the streets at night. The Mohocks would begin their evening of activity after a royster ing dinner-party by attacking the watchmen and after they had thus cleared the way for their sports, they proceeded to attack and torture peaceful wayfarers. Unarmed men were stopped and forced to fight, usually escaping with mashed features and lacerated limbs. These atrocities were not only perpetrated against male passengers, but even women were attacked and terrified. One of their choice pastimes was to throw a woman into a barrel and then roll the barrel with its victim down Ludgate Hill or Holborn Hill. Far worse than this practice was their recourse to indecencies, as also the mutilation of their captives before allowing them to return home.

In many cases these occurrences were exaggerated, because if the accounts given were exact accounts, London life would have been unendurable, and the inhabitants would have been forced to form committees of their own

to enforce order. Making allowance for this unavoidable exaggeration, there
is no doubt that the night life of London was wanton and brutal in its law-
lessness, so that it would have been a disgrace even to the rudest times of
growing civilization. These incidents were so much a public scandal that
Queen Anne issued a royal proclamation against them. The proclamation stated
that the Queen

"being watchful for the public good of her loving subjects, had taken notice of the great and unusual riots and barba-
rities which have lately been committed in the night time, in the open streets, in several parts of the cities of
London and Westminster, and parts adjacent, by numbers of evil disposed persons, who combined together to disturb the
public peace, and in an inhuman manner, without provocation, have assaulted and wounded many of her Majesty's good subjects."\(^45\)

The Queen offered a reward to anyone who would bring the offenders to prose-
cution. The very wording of the proclamation is a proof that these disturb-
ances of public peace were not as common as contemporary descriptions state,
for if the law was openly violated every night by the ruffians, it would not
have been necessary to offer a reward for their detection. Nevertheless the
very fact that the proclamation had to be issued is a conclusive proof that
lawlessness disfigured London street life at night. The Queen, always a lover
of peace and order, felt it her duty to legislate regarding the maintenance
of safety on the streets after dark. The real cause of the evil lay in
the lack of an established police force for the very appearance of the night
watchmen tempted the ruffians to behave riotously.

In contrast to the street scenes just described were other scenes,
wholesome and graceful in nature. The annual Milkmaid Festivals of early May

\(^{44}\) McCarthy, The Reign of Queen Anne, p. 163.
\(^{45}\) Ibid., p. 164.
\(^{46}\) Ibid., p. 164.
were pleasing and picturesque. On the first of May and for the five or six days following, all the pretty young country girls, who brought the milk to the towns, attired themselves neatly. They borrowed an abundance of silver plate to make a pyramid, which adorned with ribands and flowers, was carried on their heads instead of the common milk pail. Accompanied by a number of milkmaids and a bagpipe or a fiddle, they went from door to door dancing before the houses of their customers. They were followed by troops of boys and girls, and it was customary that everyone give them something. The Maypole Dance was no longer seen in London, but it was still cherished in most parts of the country. Many pleasing sights could be seen in Hyde Park everyday.

The dinner in Queen Anne's time was early, and the usual time for riding, driving, or walking in the park was after dinner. The queen issued numerous regulations for the preservation of the walks, drives, and grasses in the park. One regulation which survives to the present day was that

"no stage coach, hackney coach, chaise with one horse, cart, wagon, or funeral should pass through the park, and no one should cut or lop off any of the trees." 49

Wherever a road or path was closed for repairs, a lantern had to be placed to warn pedestrians of a possible danger.

The foregoing description of the streets is substantiated by an extract from a letter regarding travel in England:

"The town (London) is dirty and ill-paved and the reason assigned for this is, that in a free nation citizens pave as they think proper, each before his own door; it is

47. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 369. (Quoted from Sir Richard Steele, The Tatler, No. 166.)
48. The Censor, loc. cit., I, No. 4, p. 27.
49. McCarthy, The Reign of Queen Anne, p. 165."
often necessary to break up the pavement, in order to mend
the pipes; all the houses in London are furnished with water
from the Thames or the New River . . . . In the evening two
rows of lamps hang upon posts, give light and make a gay
appearance; . . . in the courtyard coaches can seldom enter
as it is exceeding narrow, and therefore they put up in a
lane behind the house."50

During the reign of Queen Anne, large cities were a minority but
there were a number of possible thriving cities in the future. One of these,
Liverpool, advanced from a medieval market to a shipping and commercial center.
Before 1700 the residents made a living by fishing and agriculture, but the
eighteenth century was not far advanced before a coasting trade had been
started, and later developed into a commercial intercourse with foreign lands.

The old rural England of Queen Anne's reign was on the eve of whole-
sale enclosures and the Industrial Revolution, and consequently is presented
to posterity in one of two rival pictures. The first picture flashes before
the imagination a land independent and self-respecting, with peasants holding
small personal rights to the soil; a quiet and contented people celebrating
their rural happiness by alehouse songs of "Harvestshome". This same land
was the land of the craftsman in the village and market towns, for his pur-
suit of industry did not divorce him from the rural pleasures. The second
picture conjured up before the mind's eye is that of harsh back-breaking labor
of the pre-mechanical days, continued for thirteen hours or more a day. Child

50. Maria Anna Du Bocage, Letters Concerning England, Holland, and Italy,
    Written During Her Travels in Those Countries, 2 Vols., Printed for E. and
    C. Dilly, London, 1770, I, p. 27.
51. Henry Peet, ed., Liverpool in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1705 and 1708, From
    a Rate Assessment of the Town and Parish, Henry Young and Sons, Liverpool,
    1908, p. 4.
52. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 16.
53. Ibid., I, p. 16.
labor displaced the primary schools; medical science and hospital provisions were inadequate to cope with the ravages of disease and early death; cleanliness and comforts were considered as superfluous; and an unimaginable harshness not only to criminals and debtors, but also to the women and children and the poor at large. Summarily speaking, the population was made up of poorly nourished people.

The publicist, Gregory King, estimated "the cottagers and paupers" and "the laboring people and the outservants" to be the largest classes in England. The cottagers and the paupers, independent of wages, picked up a living off the land where they squatted or from the small fields behind their hovel. The laboring people and outservants were wage-earners, and in addition to this had some rights to land or to small gardens without being considered yeomen. Around Halifax each cloth-worker had "a cow or two" in a field walled off on the steep hillside where his cottage stood. On the other hand there were many employees in agriculture and industry who owned no land, and whose sole means of subsistence was by wages.

The gradual emancipation of the villeins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries brought the yeoman into the foreground of the English scene. The increasing number of small land-owners and large farmers caused the yeoman to flourish under the Tudors and Stuarts. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries the yeoman was a favorite subject in prose and verse. The reign of Queen Anne was the culminating point in the prominence of the

55. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, pp. 16-17.
56. Ibid., I, p. 17.
English yeoman before his decline began. The term "yeoman" included the tenant farmer and the freehold cultivator. The freehold yeoman comprised one eighth of the population and was on the average a richer man than the tenant farmer who comprised a smaller proportion of the population. During Queen Anne's reign there was a marked difference between the types of yeomen. The difference was both a political and a social one. The freeholder was accorded a vote in Parliament, but the tenant farmer had no vote, and if, by chance, he did have a vote he would be forced to cast it for his landlord. Sir Roger de Coverley, the ideal landlord, was represented by Addison as exercising absolute patriarchal sway over his tenants. The cultivating freeholders numbered 180,000 in Queen Anne's reign, and upon their support rested the structure of the Church and State. The balance of the Whig and Tory interests was maintained by the opinions of the "40 Shilling freeholders", who were mostly yeoman agriculturists. Their name was derived from the uniform franchise of forty shillings in England and Wales, and it was with this group that political considerations were effective at election time, while intimidation had no effect whatsoever.

The country gentlemen of this period were of various grades of wealth and culture. On the topmost rung of the social ladder of this group was the duke, whose manner of life excelled that of the counts of Europe, while at the lower end of the ladder was the squire of three hundred pounds a year. His speech was a broad provincial dialect and he was distinguished from the yeoman by a small sporting establishment, by a coat of arms, and by the

57. Ibid., I, p. 21.
58. Ibid., I, p. 21.
59. Ibid., I, p. 22.
was a typical figure of the Stuart period. Hospitality was characteristic of the squire, and it is related that one squire insisted on having five tables set daily for visitors and their retinue. A Squire is usually described thus:

"His conversation is wholly taken up with his horses, dogs, and hawks; his entertainment is stale beer and the history of his dogs and horses while at the Quarter Sessions; he says little, eats and drinks much, and after dinner hunts over the last chase and so rides worshipfully drunk home again." 63

The squires attended to their estates, and to the county business on the bench of the magistrates, as well as to their hounds and horses. They devoted more time to their gardens and ponds than they did to their books, and on the whole they lived a wholesome, useful life, half public and half private, naturally, leisurely, and with dignity. It was the squire who threatened the deeply cherished independence of the freehold yeoman. He often bought out the freeholders who were ready to leave the countryside where their old independence was endangered by the increasing wealth of the squire and his tenant farmers.

A numerically small class among the English people during this period was the nobility, who were found in every form of society, in the rural districts, among the politicians, and frequently in the courts of European capitals. These aristocrats were hereditary or titled landowners, and descen-

60. Ibid., I, p. 28.
62. Ibid., p. 15.
63. Ibid., p. 15.
dants of the feudal barons of the Middle Ages, possessing rank and riches, and being in every respect capitalists. Since land was considered as a potent and impressive form of riches, the nobility had vast landed possessions, and in addition to these owned one or more pocket boroughs. This latter possession enabled the nobility to affect the legislation in both Houses of Parliament - in the House of Lords by their own votes; and in the House of Commons by the votes of their nominees. According to constitutional custom the nobles and peers were influential as a governing class and without them there would not have been enough suitable men to form the ministry, or to represent Great Britain at the foreign courts. The peers were distinguished from the squires by a cultured refinement, although their knowledge was not profound. The squires were jealous of the peers; the peers were a cultured class; the squires were boorish, illiterate, and devoted their days to field sports. This jealousy was natural since the squire possessed parochial or provincial influence and the peer exercised cosmopolitan influence. In religion and morals the peer did not differ from the squire or any other member of the middle class. The English aristocrat "like a grand seigneur" did everything on a large scale. He built magnificent houses, posed as a lavish patron of letters, spent hundreds on pictures and thousands at cards. He was a cabinet minister, a diplomatist, "a wire puller", and during Anne's reign he had reached the zenith of his influence, politically, socially, and financially.

English history in the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of the middle class, which, socially, is composed of persons who are engrossed in commerce, manufacture, law, medicine, and agriculture for a livelihood. In

67. Ibid., p. 127.
68. Ibid., p. 133.
69. Ibid., p. 144.
70. Ibid., p. 144.
position between the landowners and peasantry their influence was individual, and although living in provincial towns and London, and in the rural districts and cities, they were joined together by common ideas, feelings, and interests. Members of this class felt the pride of their class and an appreciation of their own value, considering themselves superior to the mechanics and peasants, and different from yet not less important than the English peers. The existence of certain writers at this period actuated the rise of the middle class. Defoe in his political, social, and economic writings aimed to mold the opinions of the average middle class citizen. The Tatler by Steele and The Spectator by Addison owed their existence to the middle class who read about their foibles and weaknesses in these publications. The middle class represented the genius of the English people, and were fast developing into a group of prosperous and contented individuals. Politically, they were conservative and inclined to be liberal-minded, exercising their influence in the towns by developing an honest and efficient municipal government in the cities and boroughs. Their religion was unemotional and formal, responding to teachers advocating a practical road to salvation. This class attained its maturity without revolution and with so little political or intellectual activity that the importance of the movement was hard to realize.

Pathos enters into the English scene of Queen Anne's reign at the consideration of the peasantry. As England increased in population and wealth the peasant, a victim of social and economic changes, became more indigent.

71. Ibid., p. 147. 72. Ibid., p. 156. 73. Ibid., p. 156. 74. Ibid., p. 156. 75. Ibid., p. 179.
less thrifty, less hopeful, and less sober. In every way the peasant became a helpless hireling receiving an average weekly wage of about eight shillings which was insufficient to meet his expenditures. All circumstances aided in making the peasant thriftless and hopeless. He usually married at an early age, had a large family which was forced to subsist on the meager fare of a little bread, rarely a scrap of meat, a bit of bacon, poor vegetables, weak tea, and unwholesome beer. He went to the alehouse in quest of amusement, and drink was his only source of excitement. The peasant became so much an object of charity and was so dependent on poor relief, with the result that he became so inured to his condition, that he regarded himself as a man destined for indigence and want from the cradle to the grave.

This unhealthy state of affairs was not common in every village in England, for there were villages where the cottagers still had pasturage for their cattle, as also rights to unenclosed grounds where geese and pigs could feed on the waste lands. Even though the aspect of peasantry varies in places yet it can be designated in general terms as

"a patient and hopeless class spread over nearly all rural districts of England, victims of war and its attendant taxation, of a more business-like and scientific system of farming, of the increased cost of the necessaries of life through the demands of growing towns, of accelerated enclosure of commons, of consolidation of farms, and the decrease of domestic industries." 77

A study of the classes of people naturally devolves into a consi-

deration of the types of dwellings in which they lived. The reign of Queen Anne was characterized by a strange, abnormal type of architecture expressing itself in a huge mass of stone or brick without the least attempt at ornamentation, except for a few ungainly flourishes over a door or a middle window. The idea prevalent among builders was a multiplicity of small windows to produce the effect of grandeur. All projections or angles producing the effective charm of light and shadow were omitted, as also were the wide over-hanging roofs and the shelters of the porched doors.

The houses were quaint and pretty and owed their origin to the architects' rambles in Holland giving rise to the so-called "Queen Anne style". The unpretentious exterior of the houses, even those of the better class, was due not to a lack of good architects but rather to their conformity to the spirit of the time, i.e. dull, plain, and solid. During the whole of Queen Anne's reign the resources of the people were exhausted by war, trade was poor, and the result was that there was a dearth of wealth, and very little of it could be reasonably spent on architecture and art. Such mediocre thought and feeling prevailed that if originality in architecture was attempted it was certain to be satirized, as for instance The History of Vanbrugh's House, in Meditations upon a Broomstick and Somewhat Beside written by Jonathan Swift in 1710.

The homely dignity and comfort of the rural class replaced the

80. Ibid., pp. 327-328.
82. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 60.
83. Ibid., p. 60.
squalor of the medieval village, so that during the reign of Queen Anne men were building or enlarging farmhouses in stone, brick, or half-tile according to the prevailing tradition or the material available in the district. An idea of the types of homes constructed can best be obtained from the contemporary evidence and description:

"To be let - A new Brick House, built after the newest fashion, the rooms wainscotted and painted, lofty stories, marble foot paces to the chimneys, sash windows, glazed with fine Crown glass, large half pace stairs, that two people may go abreast, in a pleasant court planted with vines, jessamine, and other greens, next door to the Crown near Sarazen's Head Inn in Carter Lane, near St. Paul's Churchyard, London."85

Another description reads:

"A Brick House with large cellars, large brew-houses, large light closets, four rooms on a floor; coach houses, stables, and barns ... with about twenty acres of pasture land or without ... ."86

This notice appeared in a daily newspaper:

"To be let or sold - A good British House with sash windows, gardens, and all necessary conveniences."87

Many beautiful country houses, well-built, warm, comfortable, were constructed during Anne's reign.

"There was an air of grandeur about it (the House), that struck you with awe, and rivalled the beauties of the best Grecian architecture, and it was as commodious within as venerable without."88

87. The Daily Courant, Tuesday, April 8, 1712, Printed by Sam Buckley at the Dolphin in Little Britain, London.
88. Bayne-Powell, English Country Life in the Eighteenth Century, p. 34.
The rooms were high and had walls wainscotted in oak, walnut, chestnut, or cedar, at times beautifully carved. In lower class homes the walls were made of painted deal. The old style of tapestry hangings were gradually falling into disuse, although advertisements of them could be still seen as late as 1727. The new vogue was to use wall paper, which was of different patterns. The Blue Paper Warehouse in Aldermanbury, London, advertised:

"True sorts of figured paper hangings in pieces twelve yards long; others after the manner of real tapestry; others in imitation of Irish stitch, flowered damasks, sprigs and branches; others a yard wide in imitation of marble and other wainscots ... embossed work ... other hangings of curious figures and colors." 91

The houses were scantily furnished, as can be easily deduced from a study of any of the few engravings of this period. The apartments have a bare look, being furnished with a table in the center, a few clumsy, high-backed chairs, and a square box-like settee. The walls were adorned with a picture or two, sometimes a looking glass, and occasionally an alcove with shelves for china and bric-a-brac. The houses of the wealthy were more elaborately and artistically furnished with specimens of pictures and furniture brought from abroad. Furniture was especially made to exhibit china. The china-ware brought from Europe by the Dutch and East India Companies was popular with the ladies, and the resulting scheme of decoration in many of the houses in the town and country was a prevalence of blue and white jars in wainscotted recesses, and tall grandfather clocks decorated with lacquer work

90. The British Spy or Derby Post-Man, Thursday, July 27, 1727.
92. Ibid., p. 73.
from the East. The English housewife prided herself on lacquered furniture which was becoming highly fashionable. The Oriental china was at its best in glass fronted lacquer cabinets. In The Spectator Steele gives the complaint of a gentleman in this respect:

"My wife next set herself to reform every room in my house, having glazed all my chimney pieces with looking glasses, and planted every corner with such heaps of china, that I am obliged to move about my own house with the greatest caution and circumspection for fear of hurting some of our brittle furniture."  

A fashion prevalent during Anne's reign was to put pictures into the paneling over the fireplace. Armorial bearings were also used as decorations in the plaster work of the ceilings. Foreign art dealers were surprised at their opportunities in England. They were able to sell for good sums of money pictures that were imported for small prices from Italy and France. Some of the nobility and gentry had purchased for their country halls as many pictures by renowned Italian artists as were to be found in the palaces and museums of Rome.

The advent of mahogany from the American Indies brought with it the furniture of lighter weight associated with the eighteenth century. There were spindle-legged sofas and chairs, and satin wood cabinets of golden luster. The grates of iron and steel were replaced by a large open hearth with a settle on either side. The old virginal and spinet gave way to the harpsi-

95. Ibid., p. 200.
chord and at the end of the eighteenth century the pianoforte was used. The bedroom was a worthwhile place to visit, and since many of the ladies followed the practice of "receiving in bed", the appointments of the bedroom were exceedingly elaborate and elegant. Swift, dining with a lady acquaintance, who was sick in bed, thus describes her bedroom:

"The tall four-post bed is upholstered with curtains and hangings of velvet, brocade, or needlework with two stools at the foot to match. There is also a high-backed settee covered in 'shadowed' needlework, and perhaps a Granny upholstered chair. For her clothes she has the chest of drawers and the tall boy. Her minute washing stand is out of proportion with the rest of the furniture, and the little jug and basin look as if they never served any other purpose except rinsing the hands. In the adjoining dressing-room would be a walnut or lacquer dressing table with many drawers."

The bedroom like the parlor was panelled, and on the walls were hung one or two pretty mirrors of the period framed in marquetry or gesso, or there might be a mirror of Venetian fashion with bevelled edge and blue glass rosettes. The "most glorified" piece of furniture in the house was the bed which could be had in prices ranging from eleven shillings to three thousand pounds. The regular price of bed furniture was six or seven pounds to forty pounds. Crimson and other colored velvet hangings were fashionable and cost at least forty pounds. The imperial couch valued at three thousand pounds was a rich bed seven feet broad, eight feet long, and fourteen feet high, into which no less than two thousand ounces of gold and silver were wrought. The four bed curtains were embroidered alike on both sides on a white silk tabby, an expensive type of material.

99. Ibid., p. 35.
100. Bradley, The English Housewife in the Seventeenth Century, etc. p. 198.
101. Ibid., p. 200.
102. Ashton, Social Life etc., p. 74.
In no piece of furniture was there a greater revolution than in the types of chairs. They were still high and straight-backed, but began to "accommodate themselves to the exigencies if not of the human figure at least of the costume." A high-backed chair or settee was needed to support the immense periwigs of the gentlemen and the elaborate headdress of the ladies. Treasured heirlooms of Queen Anne's days were the charming chairs with the wide seats, conveniently set backs, without arms to give more room for the hoop skirts.

The next interesting part of the house from the housewife's point of view was the little linen room opening out of one of the largest bedrooms. This room was lined with cupboards of finely carved paneling, which held endless shelves for supplies of fine linen. From this linen room a winding staircase led to the servants' quarters. A remarkable feature of these back staircases was that they were of the same dimensions as the front staircase, and had large lanterns on chains hanging from the ceiling. A glance into an English home of the period would give us much to envy and little to regret except the lack of modern conveniences. There was a sense of dignity and space in the house; the rooms were not overcrowded with furniture and decorations, superfluities had been cast out in favor of simplicity in household furnishings.

In The Journal to Stella Swift gives an idea of the rental charged in England during this period. Houses were not always let by agreement, but

leases were sold; and the advertisements show that the rents were low. There was no need of additional charges for modern appliances and conveniences, and none of the prices included exorbitant ground rents. The following was a common advertisement:

"To be sold a lease of thirty-three years to come in five Houses standing together on the North Side of the Pall Mall, whereon twenty-five pounds per annum rent is reserved. The houses are let at two hundred pounds a year..."107

Out of town rents are even cheaper, as low as six pounds, ten shillings per annum. It is interest to know that at this date the houses were not numbered; shops were identified by a display of large projecting signs. The street signs of this period give a characteristic and picturesque illustration of the life of the times.

The homes were heated by coals which were expensive because of importation. The coal was poor in quality and it was often mixed. Anyone buying coal in small quantities paid heavily for it. Swift in his letters to Stella is constantly grumbling at the expense of coal and decides to go to bed earlier in order to save. The stoves were small and portable, taking the place of the old andirons, and stood in the chimney pieces. The modern Queen Anne stoves bear little resemblance to the original article. The back plates of the stove were ornamental, and often bore the coat of arms.

The question that naturally arises at this time regards the economic status of the people during the reign of Queen Anne. The logical method

107. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 64. (Quoted from Swift, Journal to Stella, Letters 4 and 21.)
of procedure is a consideration of the type of apprenticeship practiced during this period. Since this part of the eighteenth century lies half-way between the domestic and factory system, it could boast of both apprentices and jour- 
neymen, operating in shops situated on large premises. The only doorway to a trade for boys and girls was apprenticeship, a system often abused by cruel masters and mistresses, who treated their charges as badly as the children were treated in the factory system. The grievances of an apprentice could not be corrected for there were no inspectors to check ill-usuage. An apprentice became a part of his master's household, and his period of apprenticeship gave him invaluable training in discipline and craftsmanship which supplied for any deficiencies in his regular school education. Children not old enough to be apprenticed were set to work spinning cloth in their parents' cottages. Their proficiency is attested by Defoe's remarks:

"There was not a child in the town or in the village of about five years old, but, if it was not neglected by its parents and untaught, could earn its bread."113

An industry typical of Anne's reign was the spinning of cloth. Spinning in the cottages was done by the women and children, while the weaving in the towns was reserved for the men. The cloth manufactured under domestic conditions required capitalist organization and supervision, either by employers or middle-men who purchased the manufactured goods from the cottagers. Although organized in the cities, the cloth industry became a potent factor in market towns, hamlets, farms, and cottages. It is noteworthy

111. Ibid., I, p. 95.
112. Ibid., I, p. 95.
113. Ibid., I, p. 96. (Quoted from Defoe, Tour Through the Whole Island.)
114. Ibid., I, p. 98.
that only a small part of this industry was under municipal control, and that the bulk of it was established amid rural surroundings. Many towns, especially London, flourished as a result of the cloth industry, but many towns, too, were at a standstill because manufacturing was not municipally but nationally controlled. Villages and open market towns became the centers of highly elaborated craftsmanship. In fact, from the reign of Elizabeth to George III, the bulk of the industrial population was rural. The typical Englishman was a villager, not a rustic boor ignorant of everything except the plow handle, but a villager conversant with men of various crafts, occupations, and classes. Not only plowmen but men of all sorts and conditions composed the society of the villages and small market towns during the Stuart and early Hanoverian reigns. For this reason Englishmen made good colonists, i.e., handy men able to adapt themselves to new conditions, and to meet the demands on their skill and ingenuity.

Wages were regulated by schedules issued by the justice of the peace for each county. The wages viewed from modern standards seem very low. A common characteristic of all Englishmen is an insistence on a high standard of life rather than on thrift. Defoe claims that good husbandry is a virtue unknown to Englishmen. The English laboring people eat and drink, especially the latter, three times as much in value as any foreigners of the same type. A Dutchman can live well and provide for his family on a wage which would spell nothing but misery to an Englishman. The usual wage paid to an English laborer was nine shillings a week, an item often refused by vagrants who knew

115. Ibid., I, p. 98.
117. Ibid., I, p. 18.
that they could amass a larger sum by begging. An idea of the amount of wages paid for various occupations can be gained from a page in the pay-book of the Tower Garrison. It gives these particulars of the daily pay in the days of Queen Anne:

"Governor, 1 pound, 18 shillings, 4½ pence; deputy-governor, 16 shillings, 5½ pence; chaplain, 6 shillings, 8 pence; town major and sergeants, 4 pence each; corporals, 3 pence each; gateman, 1 shilling, 4 pence each; hautboys, privates, etc. 2 shillings, 6 pence each; master-gunner, 2 shillings; other gunners, 1 shilling each; warders, 1 shilling, 2 pence; goaler, 1 shilling, 1½ pence; water-pumper, 7½ pence; scavenger, 7 shillings; clock-keeper, 2½ pence; chimney sweep, 1 shilling, 3½ pence; the rat killer and mole killer, got 48 pounds, 3 shillings, 4 pence; and 8 pounds, 1 shilling, 8 pence, respectively per annum. The surgeon, physician, and apothecary got per day respectively 2 shillings, 6 pence; 1 shilling, 1½ pence; 6½ pence."

In spite of the statutes forbidding trade unions, the working men formed these combinations to raise their wages. The largest group was the wool combers, who, in 1700, formed a society which spread over England. They agreed to comb wool for no price less than two shillings per dozen, and forbade the employment of non-union men. Similar unions were formed by weavers, journey-men tailors, and others, and frequently strikes broke out. Silk weavers were so unsuccessful in their union that they forced Parliament to pass laws regulating the wages. At this time news items as follows were frequent:

"By letters that came in yesterday from Strandwater, there is an account that a great number of weavers had risen in

118. Ibid., I, p. 18.
120. Bayne-Powell, English Country Life in the Eighteenth Century, p. 221."
a riotous manner, committing many disorders, which they allege they are compelled to, by the masters lessening their wages, etc. #121

The trade of England with other countries presents a complicated phase in her history. Two-fifths of the exports consisted of cloth woven in England. The Dutch and English were rivals in the carrying trade in which the latter were considered to have the advantage. To keep the general markets of the world open for English trade was the principal motive for declaring war in 1702 against the Franco-Spanish power which under the direction of Louis XIV proposed to close Spain, Netherlands, South America, and the Mediterranean to England's goods. The taking of Gibraltar by England in 1704 was more than a military achievement. Its chief glory lay in the fact that England now had free access to trade in the Mediterranean and in Turkey. Quantities of cloth were sold in this region, and in return the necessary commodity of oil was brought back to England for use in the manufacture of cloth.

During the progress of war of England against the Franco-Spanish power, England prohibited all direct trade with France and Spain. The evil effects of such prohibition can best be deduced from the statements of a contemporary:

"Everyone sees how our merchants go off daily, and how low the trade of the nation is at present. England exerts wisdom in keeping balance of power; the Dutch who are wiser and take a double view, keep balance of trade. My Lords, 'tis trade begets wealth, as wealth begets power,

#121. The British Spy or Derby Post-Man, Thursday, July 27, 1727.
#122. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 96.
#123. Ibid., I, p. 97.
#124. Ibid., I, p. 97.
and it seems very hard for England, that while the Dutch live at peace under the protection of our arms; we, if we will have any part of trade with them, must have it under the protection of their passes; but it will be much harder, if after this having the advantage of a trading war, we should make a tradeless peace.\textsuperscript{125}

The daily advance in power made by France at sea, and the neglect of English trade, put England into unsafe conditions. The large exportations made during the war would deplete England of supplies, if continued for any period of time. \textsuperscript{126}

"France may be beaten, but England must be beggared."

The condition of England was low and desperate and in general terms can be described as follows:

"The disasters at sea are many; ships are taken by enemies; merchants are beggared; commerce is broken; trade is gone; people and manufactures are ruined; the Queen has lost her customs; Parliament must make good the deficiencies; while our Allies (Holland) have an open and flourishing trade, and our enemies (France, Spain) have made use of our own ships and seamen against us."\textsuperscript{127}

The difficulties between England and Scotland were an age-old problem, but they were accentuated to a high pitch especially when Scotland endeavored to trade with English colonies. The Protectorate Government made trade absolutely free, and in matters of commerce, navigation, and colonial enterprise, England, Scotland, and Ireland were as one community. New troubles loomed after the union of the British Isles under one form of government, when the Scots claimed for themselves the benefits reaped by England. The English were strongly opposed to admitting the "sordid" Scots to a partic-

\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., p. 8.
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 27.
pation in sources of English wealth. The Scots argued that a partnership in trade between England and Scotland would increase the wealth of both, and would strengthen the Crown by enlarging the customs duties; while the increase of shipping and seamen from the united effort would increase the strength and security of the British Empire. England's reply to the request of Scotland for equal rights was that her Majesty's plantations in the East Indies and several in the West Indies belonged to corporations of Englishmen; the plantations in America had been purchased and settled by the blood and estates of Englishmen; therefore, there was no reason why Scotland should benefit.

This unsettled state of affairs persisted from 1702 to 1706 when the question of equality in trade rights was again resumed. Two proposals for a satisfactory solution were made: England advocated uniform customs, excises, and other taxes throughout the United Kingdom, with the promise of a compensation of money from the English Treasury to those who could not pay the uniform taxes; Scotland favored free trade between the two kingdoms and their colonies under such regulations as would be of advantage to both. These two proposals were debated at great length in the Parliaments of both countries with the result of the passage of the Act of Union between England and Scotland with the acceptance of the regulations regarding equality of trade. The benefit reaped by both nations was the strength and security of combined forces, an indispensable condition for successful trade.

129. Ibid., I, p. 131.
130. Ibid., I, p. 142.
132. Peter Hume Brown, Surveys of Scottish History, James Maclehose and Sons, Glasgow, 1919, p. 87.
The date for the passage of merchandise free between the two nations was May 1, 1707. The low duties charged on goods by Scotland held until this date, therefore, it was the problem of the Scots to import as much merchandise as possible into Scotland before that date. On May 1, 1707 a large stock of goods accumulated in Scotland for the English market, had been imported at low Scots' duties. Contrary to expectations, the goods did not "slide" into the English market with the usual rapidity of legitimate commerce. The fleet of forty sail departed for London in the middle of June. This was considered as an attempt to smuggle foreign goods through Scotland into England, and consequently the English Custom House officers seized the vessels and cargo. The ships could not be unloaded except on bond or other security for duties. Capable lawyers were consulted and somewhere in the recesses of the English Law was found a method for warehousing and preserving the goods, until a suitable adjustment could be made. The Customs officers saw in the arrangement nothing but an opening of the gates to wholesale smuggling, while the higher officers of the Crown considered it to be an accident that had happened once and would not happen again.

Defoe gives an accurate account of the whole situation:

"That the merchants might be made more easy, it was proposed to them that they should land their goods upon condition that they gave security to stand to the judgment of the British Parliament. This was thought but reasonable, and some complied with it and had their ships unloaden; others refused such securities, and their goods lay longer and suffered more. At length a medium was found out which was to let all merchants have possession of their goods, serving the possessors

134. Ibid., II, p. 51.
135. Ibid., II, p. 51. (Quoted from Defoe, History of the Union, p. 572.)
of the goods with the writ of 'devenirunt' out of the Exchequer. This is a kind of writ which puts the matter in a form of prosecution only, that in case of farther occasion, the Queen might recover her dues; and so the merchants had their goods, and the decision of it was left to time and to the British Parliament. Thus it continued in the course of law ... when, by a vote of the House of Commons, the whole affair was discharged, and all prosecutions ordered to be stopped."

Many evil results followed. Smuggling was encouraged by the increase of duties at the ports; Customs officers had to fulfill their duties under military escort; and in the eyes of the people the trade regulations increased the cost of living and caused an influx of a horde of English officials.

In a letter to the Pensionary Hensius of Holland, dated December 5, 1707, the Duke of Marlborough wrote:

"Though we seem at London to make a good appearance, yet if you could be thoroughly apprised of the great scarcity of money in the country, and the decay of trade in our seaports, you would not think our conditions to differ much from what you represent Holland to be in ... ."137

The difficulties experienced in trade had a direct effect on the poor. This situation is stated by Queen Anne in a speech before Parliament:

"My Lords and Gentlemen, ... the great dearth and scarcity under which our neighbors abroad have suffered this year, begins to affect us in some measure at home, by the temptation of profit, in carrying out too much of our corn, while it bears so high a price in foreign parts. This occasions many complaints from the poor, for whose sake I earnestly recommend to you to take this growing evil into your consideration, having not neglected anything on my part toward the remedying it that the law would allow."


As the Franco-Spanish War continued and the people were disappointed in their expectations of peace, they began to complain at the continuation of the war. Since all manner of trade had been stopped by the war, the poor employed in manufacturing were destitute. Many of the poor were affected by the new tax which raised the price of certain commodities. Corn was scarce and the increased price of bread added to their miseries. Various suggestions were made to alleviate the situation. For instance, it was suggested that potatoes be substituted for bread. In fact, potatoes formed a substantial part of all three meals, and some of the poor even utilized them in making pies and puddings. Another substitute for substantial foods was the use of rice with treacle.

The poor found it extremely difficult to make a living. Many circumstances tended to put the English nation on the road to ruin. The major causes contributing to this state were a depression of trade, a high national debt, and a heavy taxation. The landlords were unable to collect their rents and the farms were on their hands. The woolen trade had deteriorated, and the workers were starving. Dr. David Davies in *The Care of the Labourers in Husbandry* gives these figures:

"An agricultural laborer earned 14 pence a day or 8 shillings a week; his wife might earn 6 pence. There were five children unable to work. Every week the parents had to provide for bread and flour 6 shillings, 8 pence; yeast and salt, 4 pence; bacon and other meat, 8 pence; tea, sugar, butter,

139. Memoirs of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne, From 1710 to Her Death, T. Cooper, London, 1742, p. 55.
140. The London Chronicle or Universal Evening Post, I, No. 53, (Saturday, April 30 – Tuesday, May 3, 1757), p. 419.
141. Ibid., I, No. 66. (Tuesday, May 31 – Thursday, June 2, 1757), p. 527.
1 pence; cheese and beer, seldom any; soap, starch, blue, 2½ pence; candles, 3 pence; thread, thrum, worsted, 3 pence; total for week, 8 shillings, 4½ pence; or 23 pounds, 4 shillings, 9 pence per annum. His earnings were 22 pounds, 2 shillings.  

Besides the weekly expenses provision of approximately 7 pounds, 14 shillings had to be made for rent, fuel, clothing, lying-in, etc. There were few families that could afford more than 1 lb. of meat, 1 or 1½ oz. of tea, ½ lb. of sugar, and ½ lb. of salt butter or lard for a week. They could not afford milk or cheese, and allowed themselves some small beer only to celebrate a christening. The lot of the laborer was not a happy one, and these factors engendered universal discontent.  

A current newspaper states the reasons for this deplorable situation and advocates measures for its remedy:

"We pay vast sums yearly for foreign commodities, when we have it in our power to furnish ourselves with goods of the same kind by the labor of our own people, who for want of being employed are reduced to a poor and starving condition. While we consume such quantities of foreign commodities, we so far encourage and employ the poor of other countries, and starve our own. As the strength and riches of every country are founded on the number, frugality, and industry of its inhabitants, it should be the aim and business of every wise state to find employment for their people; where the community are fully and properly employed they will not fail to be rich; and where any great number of them are idle, the whole will be poor. It has been an usual complaint and an excuse for the idleness and poverty of our people, that we live under great restraints in our trade, and have not sufficient work to employ them in . . . there are many articles in which idle hands might be employed, and a comfortable livelihood amassed for themselves, and at the same time vast yearly sums to the Kingdom."

143. Ibid., p. 216.  
144. Ibid., p. 225.  
Evils resulting from the condition of the poor were begging and vagrancy. Defoe claimed that

"if all the beggars of this nation had a charter to join themselves in a body, they would be the richest corporation in the Kingdom."\textsuperscript{146}

A resulting phenomenon was beggars without poverty, and poverty without begging. It was often the case that men would stand with a broom in their hands to sweep a passage, and who would beg an alms for God's sake, would leave one thousand pounds in gold behind them. The laws against vagrancy were severe, and whipping beggars was a common punishment, although it defeated its own purpose since the number of beggars constantly increased. Addison in \textit{The Spectator, No. 232}, describes the tactics used by beggars in securing alms. He states that two or three beggars would hang on the doors of the chariot, and would solicit charity with the usual "rhetoric" of a sick wife or husband at home with three or four helpless little children starving and cold. The alms having been bestowed the beggars would proceed on their journey calling down blessings on their benefactors. Moralizing on this incident, Sir Andrew Freeport in his \textit{Wealth of Nations} says:

"What good have they done by their generosity? Their healths will be drunk at the next alehouse . . . . But how much wool have these poor creatures upon their backs? Will they be better dressed next time? No, they must wear rags to excite compassion."\textsuperscript{149}

In Anne's reign the parish provision for the poor was supplemented by the establishment of Alms-houses through the finances of private individuals.

\textsuperscript{147} The London Gazette, Monday, April 7, to Thursday, April 10, 1707, No. 4321.
\textsuperscript{148} Paul, \textit{Queen Anne}, p. 175.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., p. 176.
als. This age was remarkable for its foundations of this type. Besides these institutions the public policy established new work-houses, and enlarged the parish stock of materials for purposes of employment. It is significant that upon Anne's accession almost a quarter of a million people were occasionally the recipients of parochial relief, and the poor rate was about 800,000 pounds a year. This rate increased to 1,000,000 pounds before Anne died.

The execution of the law during this period was attended by the most barbarous cruelty. Small offenses were punished by whipping and by burning the hand. All felonies from grand larceny, stealing goods worth two pounds, up to murder were considered capital crimes. Prisoners were not allowed counsel; the indictment was usually carried out in haste, was read in Latin and was beyond the comprehension of the prisoners. The whole trial was hurried and the culprit was hanged without much ado, so that the jurymen would not have to postpone their dinner hour. The inadequacy of the government is illustrated by the state of the prisons. Since it was a problem to maintain prisons or public institutions with a staff of paid officers, the prisons were farmed out to jailers. These "sharks" paid the authorities high prices for the position of jailer, and reimbursed themselves by extorting money from the victims in their care.

Upon his arrival the prisoner was "struck in chains" which were removed on the payment of a sum of money. If the prisoner could not pay this "garnish money", he was removed to a cell called Tangier where he was stripped.

150. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 20
151. Ibid., I, p. 20.
152. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 163.
beaten, and abused in an inhuman manner. The poorer prisoners, especially debtors, suffered the most; often innocent men and discharged debtors remained in prison long after their term was completed, because they were unable to pay the fees incurred during their imprisonment. Bedding was rarely provided for both male and female prisoners, and the food rations were scanty. In 1711 Mary Pitt in the Gatehouse prison was

"thrown down a pair of stairs because she had not money to pay for a bed and was put where she almost died because of the poisonous odors caused by the stink of a corpse fifteen days old." The flogging of women was a regular part of the discipline practiced in prisons, and the extreme degree of inhumanity was shown lunatics who were chained and flogged. Hanging was nothing but slow strangulation, and the plight of debtors was similar to that of the worst criminals.

A modern observer would incline to incredulity upon hearing of the conditions existing in the prisons and Houses of Correction during Anne's reign, but sufficient minute descriptions of contemporary observers dispel all doubts on this subject. One of the amusements indulged in by the fashionable men and women was to visit a London prison to observe "the horrors practiced there under the name of discipline". Prisoners were like wild beasts subjected to daily brutality. The evils perpetrated in the prisons were thoroughly understood and were continually denounced by intelligent observers but very weak efforts were evident in the way of reform. A prison in the

154. Ibid., I, p. 103.
155. The London Gazette, Monday, April 3, - Thursday, April 6, 1704, No. 4007.
158. The London Gazette, Thursday March 6 - Monday, March 10, 1706, No. 4312.
160. Ibid., p. 174.
opinion of the people was a pest-house, where every physical and moral evil
could be found. The criminal law was not considered as a potent agent of re-
form, and punishment was administered only through motives of vengeance. The
idea of death was so familiar to the people's minds because of war, duels,
assassination, and small-pox, that they became callous and totally indifferent
to it. One redeeming feature of this dismal picture is that these atro-
cious practices were beginning to attract the attention and indignation of
philanthropists, and during the reign of Anne reports were made and investi-
gations were held into the conduct of jailers, at least at London.

161. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 188.
CHAPTER III

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

The women of England, particularly those of the country, are said to be beautiful, although the women of London society could not lay much claim to beauty. The prevailing type of English beauty was expressed in fair, pink and white complexions; the eyes were soft but not expressive; their figures slim and pretty, and English expended much time and care in keeping them in this condition. As to their characters, English women are said to be gentle, frank, and artless, without any attempt to conceal their passions and sentiments. As a general rule they are not coquettish, and are not inclined to assume affectedness, or to display bold or displeasing airs. They are disposed to be indolent, preferring to spend their time in eating and walking, and frequenting assemblies where cards were played. They considered needlework, cooking, and other domestic duties as necessary evils that had to be endured. They are known to be tender-hearted, and most of them lavish in showing their affections, which often resulted in "ill-assorted" marriages, although neither husbands or wives were jealous in such cases.

The men of Queen Anne's reign were humdrum and prosaic. They would be classed as the "stay-at-home" type, principally because travelling at this

2. Ibid., p. 10.
3. Ibid., p. 10.
time was fraught with perils and hardships. They rarely moved about to any
great distance unless they were obliged to do so, and they looked with dis­
favor upon anyone who did. They had a special dislike for the "traveled fop" who brought back Continental ideas and fashions. The English scene gives an impression of "topsy-turvyness" for the ladies looked like

"undaunted heroes fit for government or battle, and the
gentlemen, like a parcel of fawning, flattering fops that bear cuckoldom with patience, make jest of an af­
front, and swear themselves faithful and humble servants to the petticoat; creeping and cringing in dishonor to
themselves, to what was decreed by Heaven to be their inferiors." 5

The position of women at this time would be considered intolerable at the present time. The married woman was in reality a slave of her hus­
band, who could use force to compel her to live with him. Marriage could be
dissolved only by an Act of Parliament and no woman could obtain a divorce.
All the property acquired or earned by the wife automatically became the pro­
perty of the husband, who could squander it without any thought of remunera­tion. The husband was even permitted to beat his wife, provided he did not
use too heavy and too large a stick. Such chastisement was considered legal
in the case of both wife and children. Generally, women were considered
domestic drudges or as necessary evils. Many of them served as mere instru­
ments for the extreme indulgence of the licentiousness of the male sex, with
the result that extreme cruelty was practiced toward these seduced victims.

4. John Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, Taken From the
5. Ibid., p. 83.
especially if their offspring became a burden on the parish. On the contrary, women, of easy circumstances, led an agreeable single life, and enjoyed much practical freedom after their marriage. The beaux of Queen Anne's reign were well-versed in the art of gallantry which was equally matched by the art of flirtation on the part of the women.

The daily life of the women was filled with "a fashionable kind of gaiety and laziness" and was entirely devoid of duty or intelligent occupation, so that it gives an impression of quite extreme dullness. The women sat at home or visited their friends, drank tea, and gambled as profusely as their husbands, thus putting themselves into a constant state of debt and difficulties. If she preferred, the lady of this period could attend one of the four theatres then opened at Dorset Gardens, Lincoln's Inn Fields, The Queen's Theatre, or Drury Lane. There she would be amused by the coarse and witty plays of Congreve or Wycherley or some of the other dramatists of the period. The separation of the sexes in society tended to produce a coarseness in the men and an increasing tendency to gossip in the women. The following is an accurate description of the manner in which the women spent their time:

"Wednesday. From eight to ten. Drank two dishes of chocolate in bed, and fell asleep after them. From ten to eleven. Ate a slice of bread and butter, drank a dish of bohea and read the Spectator. From eleven to one. At my toilette; tried a mew hood."
Gave orders for Verry to be combed and washed. Memorandum - I look best in blue.
From one to half an hour after two. Drove to 'Change.
Cheapened a couple of fans.
Till four. At dinner. Memorandum - Mr. Froth passed by in his liveries.
From four to six. Dressed; paid a visit to Old Lady Blithe and her sister having before heard they were gone out of town that day.
From six to eleven. At basset. Memorandum - Never set again upon the ace of diamonds.  

Every woman of fashion kept what was called "a day" as a time of meeting her acquaintances of both sexes without the interruption of card-tables, tea-tables, or other amusements. The men and women would meet for about an hour, which proved to be very dull, since the ladies rarely were interested in politics. When the conversation died down, the men repaired to the coffee houses and the women began their card playing. Calling on each other on Sunday was considered fashionable, and on other days when the women did not call, they would send their footmen to ask a "How do ye?" or as it was commonly expressed "Howdie". All the ladies, however, were not "lie-a-beds". The pleasure of an early walk in the morning air, enticed many of the ladies to attend the morning services at St. Paul's Cathedral, a practice which soon became quite fashionable.

In the middle class domestic virtues were advocated as being most desirable, and it was the ambition of every woman to become a notable house-

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13. Ibid., p. 203.
16. Ibid., p. 207.
It was customary for the women to receive their callers "a-bed".

According to The Spectator,

"The Lady tho' willing to appear undressed, had put on her best looks, and painted herself for our reception. Her hair appeared in nice disorder, and the nightgown which was thrown upon her shoulders was ruffled with great care." 18

The women of the middle class kept themselves busy all day, but their evening life had little of domesticity or home life about it. The men spent their evenings at the coffee house, a tavern, a club, or at a play; the women engaged in such games as hot cockles, questions and commands, mottoes, similes, cross purposes, and blind man's buff. The women of the better class had musical evenings, for chamber music was popular, although the spinets and harpsichords were not very large, and therefore produced only a slight sound.

One of the amusements accompanying the musical evenings was a round of country dances, and, of course, there was always card-playing - the curse of the age. The dances were of great variety - there country dances and jigs, minuets, rigadoons, and other stately and more "stagey" dances. This gave rise to a new literature which aimed to teach the different steps and dances by means of diagrams.

The women did not favor walking to any extent, but made use of this exercise only because they could not live without gossip and had to pay visits to each other. The tea-table was often the center of scandal and gossip, and the visits often became tedious and ridiculous, because the women spent the

17. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 89.
time in "cracking or bouncing each other, or else they sat with arms crossed and said nothing". While out walking the ladies often did a little shopping or would go into a shop to look at the goods merely to while away the time.

The opinion of the shop-keeper best describes this situation:

"... These rakes are your idle ladies of fashion, who have nothing to do but employ themselves in tumbling over my ware. One of these No Customers (for they seldom or never buy anything) calls for a set of Tea Dishes, another for a Basin, a third for my best green tea, and even to the punch bowl; There's scarce a piece in my shop but must be displaced, and the whole agreeable architecture disordered ... After all this racket and clatter, this is too dear, that is their aversion, another thing is charming, but not wanted. The ladies are cured of this spleen, but I am not a shilling the better for it." 22

The coach or sedan chair was a common conveyance when the lady was not walking, but riding on horseback was a rare exercise. The ladies that indulged in horseback riding always wore masks to protect their faces against the sun's rays. The life of the women of this period can be summarized as follows:

"I lie in bed till noon, dress all afternoon, dine in the evening, and play at cards till midnight." 23

The men led the same listless type of life as did the women. They got up late, and after breakfast held a sort of levee until it was time to go to the coffee house, either to White's or to the Cocoa Tree. Occasionally the gentleman of this period would go down to the Exchange to buy a pair of gloves and a sword knot, but his chief purpose was "to ogle the shop girls". Then there would be a dinner at Pontiac's perferably; then, he would return to the coffee house or would end up at a play which was the favorite pastime of

22. Ibid., p. 96. (Quoted from Swift's Journal to Stella, Letter 23.)
23. Ibid., p. 90.
24. Ibid., p. 83.
the beaux of this period. This was the sum total of his existence, which lasted as long as his money held out, until he settled down to a married life, or if the money gave out, then he resigned himself to the fate of a debtor's jail, from which release was impossible.

Madame Du Bocage in her letters gives the following summarized account of the life of the men:

"The men go out early in the morning dressed in frocks, either to take a walk or a ride; at their return they generally dine at a tavern; they most of them go in-cognito to the Play or to Vauxhall... Men of quality resort to a Chocolate House, where the proprietor furnishes them, for three hundred guineas a year apiece, candles, firing, refreshments, and suppers plentiful enough to cause frequent indigestion; deep gaming is there common, so that a whole fortune may be easily lost..."27

"Like mistress, like maid" was an adage which was exemplified during this period. The London ladies were having serious trouble with their servants who were not slow to follow the example of pleasure-seeking that had been shown them. The lady's maid copied her Mistress' clothes, took snuff, and drank tea made from the leaves that had already been used in the parlor. A house of the upper class in London required an innumerable number of men servants, who were always a problem. There were the valet, the butler, the hall-porter, a steward, and many footmen who were insolent and demanded all kinds of privileges. It was a common practice to have little black boys

29. The Spectator, I, No. 45, (Saturday, April 21), p. 182.
brought from the Indies to be used as servants. They wore silver collars around their necks, and were the special property of the lady of the house, whose name was engraved on the collar. While they were small, they were the pet and plaything of their mistress, who fed them with sugar-plums, and made them the subject of her caprices. As they grew older and became awkward, their mistresses tired of them, and their situation was less agreeable. These black servants often ran away, but they had little hope of escape because of their owner's mark about their necks.

During Anne's reign education was not extended as a privilege to the children of poor parents, or to children of those parents who did not consider it worth while to pay for an education, or worth the trouble of attending school daily. The difficulty was counteracted greatly by the systematic organization of Charity Schools for the free education of the poor children. Such schools were greatly in demand because the State did nothing to provide education for the poor, and the parishes had no endowed schools for the purpose, although in some of the villages, dames and other unofficial persons taught the poor their letters in return for a small fee. The capable men, who headed the Charity School movement, did not depend only on the support of a few wealthy persons. It was their purpose to arouse the interest of the local parishes in setting up those schools. Artisans and shop-keepers were urged to subscribe and collect subscriptions, and to make their interest in the movement more personal, they were allowed to share in the control of the schools for which they made annual subscriptions. By the end of Anne's reign

30. The Spectator, III, No. 214, (Monday, Nov. 5) p. 177.
five thousand or more boys and girls were attending the Charity Schools in London, and about twenty thousand in the rest of England. The underlying principle of this organization was to clothe the poor children decently, and to secure an apprenticeship to a good trade for them afterwards.

There was no possibility of popular education either in day schools or Sunday schools. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were considered to be luxuries of the upper and middle classes. The lower classes were told by the clergy to obey their betters, and those who were better off than themselves. Among the classes above the poor the parents favored a classical education, especially training in Latin. Every gentleman considered it an essential part of his education to study Latin and the Latin authors, and to have an acquaintance, however slight, with classic Greek literature.

"The central theory of Anne's reign was the famous saying of Prince Bismarck, that it was better for a man to have forgotten Latin and Greek than never to have learned anything of them."34

The modern languages, French, Italian, and German, were insisted upon only on the score that they might be of practical advantage in the student's future life. Much of the early training was of a severely religious character for many thought "the end of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright". Consequently, childish faults were often magnified to an extent of grave sins.

33. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 183.
34. McCarthy, The Reign of Queen Anne, p. 149.
In the reign of Queen Anne an effort was made at educational institutions of Bethnal Green and Highgate to initiate the young ladies into the hitherto neglected arts of housekeeping, cooking, and needlework. A young lady's education consisted in learning the use of the needle, (but she did not practice it), dancing, French, a little music on the harpsichord or spinet, to read, write, and to work accounts in a small way. The art that received the most attention was dancing, so that books were written explaining the intricacies of the different steps by means of diagrams. Although the young ladies learned the use of the needle, embroidery was going out of fashion, since it was inconvenient to be cumbered with a large piece of embroidery while one was sipping tea and gossiping. Then, too, chair-covers and bedhangings no longer needed to be embroidered because chintzes and calicoes were coming into use.

The education of the girls was hardly intellectual, but was more of a domestic rather than scholastic nature. The girls learned to cook and sew, and most of them could read after fashion. Orthography was despised by fine ladies, so that spelling became a subject of guess and argument. Even proper names were composed by means of phonetic principles. It was essential to the education of a woman to have some knowledge of French just as an educated gentleman could not be ignorant of Latin. Great pains, however, were expended on training a girl to be an accomplished housewife, and the cooking of dainty

39. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 171.
dishes was considered as one of the accomplishments of a well-brought up young lady. This age produced many highly cultured women despite the difference in the general ideas concerning the education of women as opposed to the ideas concerning the education of men. The idea of having girls study Latin would have been as much a surprise to well-bred parents as to have their daughters take part in open-air contests of skill.

Among the lower classes the education of women was of an equal standard with that of the men, but the daughter of the upper classes had much less education than did her brothers. "Ladies' Academies" had not yet been instituted, and boarding schools for girls were few and for the most part in an undeveloped stage. A few of the ladies could read Italian poets and consequently merited the admiration of the "swains". At least two of the ladies could meet Dean Swift on terms of intellectual equality. This lack of education among the women was an admitted fact; and provoked two opposing views: one side advocated a meager education for women so as to keep them in due subjection to their husbands; the other side, chiefly literary men, claimed that the gambling habits and other frivolous pursuits of the women prevented giving their attention to more serious interests.

The sons of a family were accorded more opportunities for education than were the daughters. The sons of a country gentleman attended the local grammar school, and mingled with the sons of the yeomen and shop-keepers, who had been selected for a clerical career. Many of the young gentlemen were

41. McCarthy, The Reign of Queen Anne, p. 150.
42. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 35.
43. The Censor, loc. cit., I, No. 9, (Friday, April 29, 1715), p. 62.
44. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 35.
taught at home by the neighboring parson, and in wealthy families by a private chaplain. The families that could afford a tutor usually employed a Huguenot refugee who especially was welcomed for his knowledge of French. Eton, Winchester, and Westminster were patronized by many but not by most of the aristocracy. In those days a gentleman was satisfied to spend one hundredth of his income on the schooling of one boy, whereas, today he feels he must spend at least one sixth of his income to educate one son. In Anne's reign parental liabilities became heavy only when the boys left school and entered the army or pursued some other profession.

A common criticism of the schooling of the upper and middle classes was that the curriculum followed was too rigidly classical. It would be a false supposition to deduce from this fact that nothing was taught but classics. On the contrary, the schools frequented by the gentlemen offered a variety of subjects, such as Latin, French, accounts, fencing, dancing, and drawing. In truth it can be said that this period produced a larger proportion of remarkable and original men from among those who were educated in its schools.

"In spite of cruel flogging by 'those licensed tyrants, the schoolmasters', and cruel bullying by those unlicensed tyrants, 'the ill-disciplined school fellows,' there was also much happiness in boyhood that still had leisure and spent it in the free range of the countryside. Severity was not universal." 47

The national songs of this period were characterized by satire and give information on the manners of the era:

45. Ibid., I, p. 31.
47. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 34.
"O whurry Whigs awa,
But Willie's latter end did come,
He broke his collar-bone, man,
We chose another, couthy Anne,
And set her on the throne, man,
Often we had baith meal and malt,
And plenty over all, man;
We had no scant of sin and saint,
O whurry Whigs awa, man." 48

During Anne's childhood the society of the court and of fashionable London
was a reaction against Puritan strictness. Never before nor since were the
stage and the world of fashion so openly licentious and profane. Only a few,
such as Bishop Ken of the Church of England protested against the vice in the
upper classes. The standard of public and private virtue was on a par during
this period, and the only charge that was ever made against Queen Anne was
her love of brandy, although she lived in a period in which society had a
very low moral tone.

The science of sanitation scarcely existed at this time, and the
problem of drainage was in its most rudimentary stage. Even fine ladies were
known to powder and paint more than they washed. Fresh air and ventilation
of the homes were regarded as unnecessary, and baths were denounced as being
effeminate. This lack of sanitation in the towns fostered disease, particu-
larly small-pox, which being highly contagious, spread from cottage to
castle.

This was an age of speculation and gambling in cards, lotteries,
and insurance. A lottery ticket was a common present made to a lady. 53
50. Ibid., p. 153.
53. Bradley, The English Housewife in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centu-
ries, p. 209.
Queen Anne was an inveterate gambler all her life, a habit she inherited from her mother. In a letter to the Duchess of Marlborough she wrote:

"I am sorry you have had so ill luck at dice yesterday. I won five hundred pounds, but have lost about half of it again this morning."54

In London, Tunbridge Wells, and Bath, the gaming-table was the central point of interest, while in the manor house it was of less interest than the stables, and the kennel. Both sexes gambled freely, and the expenses of gambling often burdened the estate with a mortgage that proved an obstacle to agricultural improvement as well as domestic happiness. The cards they used were much smaller and thinner than those used today. They illustrated the victories of Marlborough and other events of Anne's reign. Each pack of cards was charged with a duty of six pence per pack, and dice were taxed five shillings. The passion of women for gambling provided an appropriate theme for satire in those days.

"She's a profuse lady, though of a miserly temper, whose covetous disposition is the very cause of her extravagancy; for the desire of success wheedles her ladyship to play, and the incident charges and disappointments that attend it, make her as expensive to her husband as his coach and six horses. When an unfortunate night has happened to empty her cabinet, she has many shifts to replenish her pockets. Her jewels are carried privately into Lombard Street, and fortune is tempted the next night with another sum, borrowed of my lady's gold-smith at the extortion of the pawn-broker; and if that fails then she sells off her wardrobe ...; stretches her credit amongst those she deals with, or makes her waiting woman dive into the bottom of her trunk, and lug out her green net purse full of Jacobuses in hopes to recover by a turn of fortune, that she may conceal her bad luck from the knowledge of her husband."57

56. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 103.
57. Ibid., p. 105.
Women were not the only ones who monopolized the passion of card-playing; the men were equally culpable. The lower classes followed the example set by their superiors in this regard; but among them there is only one instance of "the gaming fever", when a man played off his wife to another man with her consent. Card-playing merited the disapproval of the Dissenters who followed Puritanic principles. In 1711 the Assembly of General Baptists passed a resolution:

"That playing at cards and earnestly contending for the same in Christian families is unbecoming and unlawful for such as profess the Gospel of Christ and unfits them for Church Communion." 60

Living during Anne's reign was plentiful and plain. The only meal mentioned was dinner which usually consisted of two courses; breakfast and supper were taken but not talked about. Dinner was the meal of the day, and everyone made the most of the opportunity. The women of England prided themselves on being good cooks and served a variety of foods especially meats at their dinners. The Tatler, No. 27, gives an apt description of the propensity of eating among the English people of this time:

"The English eat a great deal of dinner; they rest awhile and then to it again, till they have quite stuffed their paunch. Their supper is moderate; they are gluttons at noon, and are abstinent at night. I always heard they were great flesh eaters, and I found it true. I have known several people in England that never eat any bread and universally they eat little; they nibble a few crumbs, while they chew the meat by whole mouthfuls." 62

60. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 38. (Quoted from The Postman, Jan. 1, 1704; Jan. 2, 1705.)
In general, the English tables were not examples of dainty and delicate appointments and table service. It was common among the middle classes, particularly, to have ten or twelve sorts of common meats which without fail took their turns at the tables. People of the middle class had their dinner at two o'clock, while people of fashion dined between four and five o'clock.

Supper was not considered much of a meal, except for the opportunity of opening the bottles again and indulging in alcoholic drinks. Breakfast was a meal that was taken at each one's convenience; the ladies usually took theirs in bed. If the mistress of the house entertained guests at breakfast, she took care of the matter in the following fashion:

"We breakfasted . . . in a closet lined with painted paper of Pekin, and furnished with the choicest moveables of China; a long table, covered with finest cloth, presented to view a thousand glittering cups, which contained coffee, chocolate, tea, and biscuits, cream, butter, and toast. You must understand, that there is no good tea to be had anywhere but at London; the Mistress of the house . . . poured it out herself; this is the custom: . . . ." 

Drunkenness was acknowledged as the national vice of English people of all classes; women were seldom accused of it, but there are instances when even women were addicted to strong drink. It was difficult in those days to inaugurate a movement for total or even partial abstinence, for one of the excuses offered for intoxication was the impurity of the water, since wells were often contaminated by cess-pools and graveyards. Religious groups and

65. The Court Miscellany or Ladies' New Magazine, loc. cit., I, p. 123.
66. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 188.
conscientious patriots circulated tracts stating forth in detail the dreadful fate of drunkards, but without much avail. Strong drink had an attraction for the people, and it is difficult to ascertain whether the men of fashion or the rural gentry were the worst "soakers". The outdoor exercise of fox-hunting, sporting, and farming gave the country squire an aptitude for his consumption of his nightly portion of October ale, while the gamester and politician in St. James' Square could not escape the temptation of endless Whig toasts in port and Tory toasts in French claret and champagne. Magistrates on the bench were often heated with wine. On one occasion, the leading physician of the capital, Dr. Radcliffe, was sent for to attend Queen Anne. He blurted out over the bottle that "Her Highness' distemper was nothing but the vapours."

Wine was the most popular alcoholic drink, burgundy being superseded by port in later years of the reign, and it was advertised for giving a blush to cheeks that cannot be rubbed off like paint. Claret and sweet champagne were coming into vogue, and large quantities of home-brewed October ale were consumed in the country. In the towns gin was the popular drink and there was also a demand for salutary cider. Many men, like Harley, were scarcely sober before they began to drink again. These habits of drinking caused the people to become prematurely old, and many of them died of apoplexy and paralysis when they reached middle age. Gout was a universal affliction, and stones, which were removed by an operation without an anaesthetic, were very common. In spite of all this the organization of a society for the promotion

68. Ibid., I. p. 37.
69. The Daily Courant, (Monday, April 7, 1712), No. 3270.
of temperance would have been considered an insane movement, for the law encouraged rather than discouraged the use of strong liquors. The ladies usually retired when the men began to drink seriously. One of the first sights a young girl saw on entering society was men under the influence of liquor. For this reason girls were not allowed to leave the house without a chaperone.

Beer was the alcoholic liquor used by the poor and middle classes during Anne's reign, but it was despised by the upper classes. Well-to-do people preferred wine, while laboring men drank little else than good, strong ale. Of the lighter drinks tea was a luxury for the rich and chocolate was favored by ladies of fashion. There was a great demand for tea, coffee, and chocolate; coffee and chocolate were supplied by the coffee and chocolate houses, and tea was an expensive home drink. Chocolate was no longer a favorite drink after tea came into common use, although it was a common practice to drink a cup of chocolate in the morning before taking tea and toast. It is alleged that Queen Anne indulged freely in strong liquors and that this caused her many miscarriages and frequent attacks of gout. Overeating was a common practice in those days, and Queen Anne was no exception to this rule. It is a common belief that grief tends to decrease one's appetite, but as one writer remarked, Anne's grief over the death of her husband was a factor that increased her appetite rather than caused its decrease.

71. Paul, Queen Anne, p. 162.
75. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 111.
Smoking was done by means of long pipes, called churchwarden pipes, and it was common in all classes of society. In some of the country houses a "smoking parlor" was set aside for this purpose. In the southwestern part of England men, women, and children were known to while away the evening hours by smoking pipes. Snuff was used freely, even by the women, a practice that can be accounted for by the fact that an oversupply of snuff had been thrown on the English market after the capture of Spanish ships at Vigo Bay.

Duelling was a direct result of drinking, gambling, and the friction of the political parties. Duels were so common in London that convenient places were set aside for these deadly disputes. The favorite sites chosen were Lincoln's Inn Fields and the fields behind Montague House. Every man from the Duke down had the privilege to wear swords, and if necessity demanded it to murder each other in the settlement of a dispute. As the men became overheated with wine they were liable to quarrel, their swords were drawn, and they would adjourn to the garden behind the house, and fight it out "with hot blood and unsteady hand." If the men did not wear swords, the quarrel could be slept upon and forgotten in the morning when the persons concerned were sober. Since rural squires did not wear swords, duelling was a common practice in London and in the county capitals. Laws were passed against duelling and the survivor was usually accused of man-slaughter and imprisoned for a short term. Usually, however, the public viewed a duel in the light of a successful means for settling a dispute "which should not be interrupted by too

A duel in those days created no more scandal than a street fight in these days, except when death was the result.

Some of the popular sports indulged in by Englishmen of this period were fox-hunting, bowling, cock-fighting, and horse racing. Cricket along with ancient football was beginning to find its place on the village green. Sword fighting, though coarse, was a popular pastime, and in many respects resembled the gladiatorial shows of Rome, with this difference that the wounds inflicted by the English were not intended to be fatal. Women took a particular delight in witnessing these bloody scenes. The famous diplomat, Richard Hill, described his countrymen as a "drunken Gothic nation that loves noise and bloody noses". The common folk, however, did not believe in murder as a means of settling their disputes, and they revenged their injuries by the fist rather than the knife.

Since most of the Englishmen lived apart in the country, a common diversion for the men was to have a village cricket match or a hurly-burly at football, or races on the green. Most of the people took their exercise in doing their work, tilling the soil, and walking and riding to and from their daily tasks. Riding was the most common daily exercise among the middle and upper classes. The uncultivated heaths in every part of England contained an abundance of wild life of every kind. This afforded an opportunity for catching fish, and shooting and snaring birds of every kind. An Englishman

81. Ibid., p. 167.
82. The Court Miscellany or Ladies' New Magazine, loc. cit., I, p. 123.
had to move a few yards from his door to be in contact with nature at its best, and his love of field sports caused him to wander at a great distance.

A special feature of the social life of Queen Anne's reign was the coffee houses, many of which have secured a prominent place in literature. They were not a novelty during this time, but reached their highest popularity in Anne's reign. The coffee houses were the center of news, the lounge of the idler, the rendezvous of appointments, and the mart for business men. They were alike a haunt of wit and of the men of fashion - a neutral meeting ground for all men. All were equal and took the first seat which came to hand. If a man swore, he was fined one shilling and if he began to quarrel he was fined "dishes" round.

A list of coffee houses in Queen Anne's reign numbers nearly five hundred names. Every Londoner had his favorite house, where he met his friends and clients at stated hours. The "beau monde" assembled at White's Chocolate House in St. James' Street, where every nobleman complained of being fleeced and corrupted by practiced gamblers. The Tories went to the Cocoa Tree, and the Whigs to St. James' Coffee House. Poets, critics, and patrons attended Will's near Covent Garden; the clergy went to Truby's, and scholars attended the Grecian. Coffee houses were also provided for Dissenters, Quakers, Papists, and Jacobites. Button's had a fame of its own because it was the favorite resort of Addison and his friends. It stood in Russell Street, Covent Garden.

84. Ibid., I, p. 43.
86. The Spectator, I, No. 49, (Thursday, April 26), p. 197.
87. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 82.
Many brilliant papers of this time mention the lion's head which was used there as a letter-box. After various removals this letter-box came into the possession of the Bedford family who preserved it as a relic. Edward Lloyd, whose surname comes to men's minds at the mention of shipping today, was a coffee house keeper in Lombard Street during Anne's reign. Merchants came to this house for the latest information and advice on business transactions. Since newspapers had no commercial column or details of shipping in those days, the spoken word had to take the place of the newspapers, and the word for merchants was spoken at Lloyd's. Before the end of Anne's reign, Lloyd had set up a pulpit for auctions and for reading out the news.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the coffee houses served no drinks stronger than coffee. Some of them had a reputation of being unscrupulous as to the kinds of drinks served to those who frequented them. In general, however, a coffee house was a place for sipping coffee and hearing news. The coffee house of the better order was a sort of club, without the exclusive characteristic of actual enrollment. The coffee houses maintained exclusiveness to a certain extent in so far as their character was concerned; one became the resort of the Tories, another the rendezvous of the Whigs, and still another was the recognized "haunt" of literary men and wits. When a man of political or literary note entertained his friends at dinner at his favorite coffee house, the host of the dinner would provide wine from his own cellar, a privilege for which the proprietor of the coffee house received a

small monetary payment for allowing the wine to be brought into his coffee house. The coffee house had its own place between the club and the tavern. It was easier to attend a coffee house than the club, for attending a coffee house did not create the scandal which would most certainly arise if one were seen to enter a tavern. Foreigners in England wondered at the

"universal liberty of speech of the English nation which was uttered amid clouds of smoke with equal vehemence whether the Government or the Church, or their enemies were the topics of conversation."92

The coffee house had the effect of harmonizing the different classes bringing them to the same level of rank. At a coffee house those wearing blue ribbons and stars would sit and converse familiarly with the private gentlemen, as if they had left their quality and degrees at home. The coffee house was the center of news in the days before the use of telegrams and modern journalism. The Windsor at Charing Cross advertised itself as supplying

"the best chocolate at twelve pence a quart and the translation of the Harlem Courant soon after the post is come in."93

The Spectator gave a general description of a coffee house as follows:

"These houses are extremely convenient and are numerous in London. You have all manner of news there; you have a good fire, which you may sit by as long as you please; you have a dish of coffee, you meet your friends for the transaction of business, and all for a penny, if you don't care to spend more."94

A man of leisure spent the greater part of his day at the coffee house, usually from 10 A.M. to noon, and again after his two o'clock dinner

92. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 82.
93. Ibid., I, p. 83.
from four o'clock to six o'clock. "I go from coffee house to coffee house all day on purpose" was literally true of some men. Besides providing news, some of the coffee houses gave instructions in sciences of poetry, music, and politics. The Smyrna Coffee House in Pall Mall provided this opportunity between the hours of eight and ten at night, giving information gratis on any of the above mentioned subjects. The pupils were prepare their bodies with three dishes of bohea and were to clear their brains with two pinches of snuff. If any one of the students showed an aptitude for his subject, one of the professors would honor him by taking snuff from his box in the presence of the whole audience.

The interior of the coffee house was a picture of domestic economy, with its roaring fire and constant supply of hot water, with its coffee and tea pots close by to keep them warm, and its very plain tables and stools. Externally the coffee house was distinguished by a glass lantern. Since the attraction of a pretty face meant an increase in the number of clients at the coffee house, the keeper employed a woman of exceeding comeliness to preside over the receipt of customs. The popularity of these places can be judged from the fact that by 1710 London could boast of three thousand coffee houses. The coffee house, however, was largely responsible for the deterioration of manners during Queen Anne's reign, noticeable in the separation of the male and female sexes in social life. Because the coffee house was the characteristic institution of Queen Anne's age, the literature of this period pays

96. The Tatler, II, No. 78, (Saturday, October 8, 1709), p. 154.
tribute to the coffee house as to its peculiarities, its popularity, and its influence on the manners of the time.

Prior to the discussion of the attitude of the English people toward religion during this period, it seems plausible to treat of a factor which caused religious controversy for a period of several years. This was the Occasional Conformity Bill. By occasional conformity is understood the practice of tradesmen to partake of communion in the Church of England once in order to qualify themselves for civic offices, and then resume their customary religious worship. These occasional conformists were found among the Whigs or Low Churchmen with whom they were in mutual sympathy and preserved the tradition of hostility toward the Tories or High Church Party. On November 17, 1702 a bill was read in the House of Commons for the disqualification of the occasional conformists. The bill affected all the inferior officers or freemen whose votes were valuable in determining the elections, and furthermore, it provided that all occasional conformists should be suspended from office for a year, and upon repetition of this misdemeanor the penalty of suspension should be doubled. The bill received hearty welcome in the House of Commons, and was passed by a large majority. It reached the House of Lords December 2, 1702. Meanwhile the absolutism propagated by the House of Lords inflamed the country. London mobs outraged the meeting-houses of the Dissenters, (those opposed to the views of the Church of England) and the friends of the Church proposed to rid the country of the Dissenters by fire and sword if necessary. Queen Anne exerted pressure in favor the bill, but failed
because of the division in the House of Lords. For the time being, the bill was shelved but not entirely forgotten. Occasionally, arguments concerning it would come to life, the most noteworthy being that of Daniel Defoe:

"We wonder, gentlemen, you will accept our money on your deficient funds, our stocks to help carry on your ware, our loans and credits to your victualling office and navy office. If you would go on to distinguish us, get a law made we shall buy no lands, that we may not be freeholders, and see if you could find money to buy us out. Transplant us into towns and bodies, and let us trade by ourselves, let us card, spin, knit, and work with and for one another, and see how you will maintain your own poor without us. Let us freight our ships apart, keep our money out of your bank, accept none of our bills, and separate yourselves as absolutely from us in civil matters as we do from you in religious, and see how you can go on without us. If you are not willing to do this, but we must live among you, trade, work, receive, and pay together, why may we not do it in peace, with love and unity without reproach?"  

In the first New Parliament after her accession Queen Anne was confronted with the problem of providing new strength and support for the Church of England. One way proposed to her was the restoration of the Tories or High Churchmen to all the civil offices in the state, to the exclusion of all Whig or Low Churchmen, all occasional conformists, and even constant conformists who were opposed to the High Church Party idea of promoting religion by persecution. The Queen resolved that the only effectual way to preserve the national Church, was to keep the civil positions, in the hands of those who were in agreement with the principles of the

Church of England. After much controversy on this subject, the Occasional
Conformity Bill passed both Houses in 1711.

In writing about the Church of England during Anne's reign, it is
necessary to mention another event which caused much unrest and dispute. This
was the case of Dr. Sacheverell who by two of his sermons brought about his
impeachment and a sentence of three year's suspension. In his speeches he
condemned Dissenters and all churchmen who sympathized with them, libeling the
higher officials of the country with abusive names, especially the Lord Treas-
surer, Godolphin, whom he called "Volpone". Even the Queen favored High-
Churchism and Dr. Sacheverell, for the month his suspension expired, she pre-
- presented him with a profitable parsonage at St. Andrew's in Holborn. High-
Churchism was another name for intolerance, and Dr. Sacheverell served as a
"puppet whose wires were pulled by others".

The tone of the Church of England during Anne's reign was essentially
Protestant. There was a decided feeling of opposition to Catholics or Papists,
as they were commonly called, and an almost "insane" dislike of the Quakers.
This latter religious body was represented as being everything that was sly
and repulsive. They were dubbed as hypocrites, cheats, liars, and immoral
livers. They were classed as fanatics, with an exterior demeanor of sobriety,
modesty, and peace, which, however, was only perceptible to outward appear-
ances, while their interior was filled with deceit in the highest degree.

107. Memoirs of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne, From 1710 to
Her Death, T. London, 1742, p. 57.
The Church of England showed much inactivity as far as the clergymen were concerned. They showed little zeal or earnestness as to the spiritual state of their congregation, to the extent that they justly merited the contempt of their flock.

The Londoner, although coarse-minded, brutal, and illiterate in some of his tastes, was outwardly religious. In religion he assumed a practical, unemotional attitude with a particular hatred for Popery as the cause of constitutional disturbances. The people of London went to church not only on Sundays but even on week-days, for out of the one hundred eleven churches in London in 1733, forty-four had a daily service both in the morning and in the evening. The churches were filled with pews and the dominant piece of furniture was the pulpit from which the minister preached a "lifeless sermon" to a congregation that considered church-going as one of the proprieties of their existence. The pews used in the churches in those days seem an oddity to us now. They were often built high to keep off draughts. Well-to-do families rivaled each other in the construction of pews. Some of the pews of the wealthier folk had canopies hung around with curtains, and some of the pews of the churches were even equipped with a fireplace or a stove with a poker, tongs, and shovel, and nearly all the pews were furnished with tables for the purpose of eating. Swift in Baucis and Philemon refers to the family pews as follows:

"A bedstead of the antique mode,
Compact of timber many a lead,
Such as our ancestors did use,

110. Ibid., p. 337.
112. Ibid., p. 42.
113. The Court Miscellany or Ladies' New Magazine, loc. cit., I, pp. 22-27.
Was metamorphos'd into pews;
Which still their ancient nature keep
By lodging folks dispos'd to sleep."

The church, one of the principal public places, was frequented by the youth of both sexes, where they met constantly. The youth of England went to church regularly twice every Sunday, at all festivals of the church, and on every prayer and saint's day. Those devoutly inclined attended public prayers every morning and evening, and Lent was still observed every Wednesday and Friday in all regular families.

There is no doubt as to the importance of the reign of Queen Anne in the history of the Church of England. The Vicar of Bray addressed Anne as "the Church of England's glory" thereby expressing the sentiment of the majority of the clergy. She was a staunch supporter of the interest and religion of the Church of England. As a result, party politics were characterized by the differences of high and low church, and ecclesiastical allegiance played an important part in determining political issues. Queen Anne herself showed a marked preference for the Tories, whom she usually called by the name of the Church Party.

Religious observance of this age was conventional, a feature which was noticeable especially in the marriage ceremonies. The ceremony was a mixture of religion and revelry, and anything like the idea of a sacrament of

divine binding of human ties was totally absent. A wedding was not a morning and an afternoon affair, but it often lasted two or three days. There was no honeymoon or wedding trip. The bride's father gave a banquet after the celebration in church. There was music and dancing and a purely material festivity after a rather formal religious ceremony.

Since licenses were expensive and the publication of banns was regarded as coarse, many scandals sprang up. Fleet marriages were arranged to save expense. Then, too, marriages took place in taverns and public houses, where the men were so intoxicated that they had no knowledge of being married, and girls were seduced in a clandestine manner into these marriages. Early marriages were considered a potent means of escape from feminine boredom. If it was thrilling for a young lady to be the subject of a duel in Lincoln's Inn Fields, it was more exciting for a young lady to leave home secretly to marry a boy of fourteen years old, thus to evade the inconvenient and inconsiderate watchfulness of parents and guardians. If, however, these marriages did not culminate as a success, it was not easy to dissolve them. Divorce was almost unknown, and could be obtained only through the Church Courts, and then only when it was followed by a special Act of Parliament. Not more than six divorces were legally issued during the twelve years of Anne's reign.

In the upper and middle classes husbands were secured for the girls on a principle similar to "barter". Squire Molesworth wrote about his daughter,

118. Ibid., p. 46.
120. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne, I, p. 36.
"We shall not have enough money to dispose of her here, so she must be sent to Ireland to seek there a husband at a cheaper rate." \[121\]

Women did not consider it a grievance to have their husbands chosen for them, since it was regarded as a misfortune to remain single. Dean Swift in writing to a young lady says,

"Yours was a match of prudence and common good liking without any mixture of the ridiculous passion of romantic love." \[122\]

The above description would aptly have fitted any of the "arranged marriages" of the day.

Religious ceremony, although artificial and ostentatious, played an important part in funerals. Many of the churches were provided with handsome velvet palls for such occasions, and the church was draped with black. The funeral procession moved on foot to the church, there were twelve or more pallbearers, and plumes were carried before the coffin. This disguise of woe by the ostentation of ceremony was not confined to the middle and upper classes of society alone. The mechanic paid part of his earnings during his lifetime so that he might be glorified after his death. For this reason he belonged to a burial club, each member of which subscribed a shilling on the death of one of the members. This money was used to provide a substantial coffin, and black cloaks, hoods, and scarfs for the mourners. A large number of his fellow-tradesmen followed the corpse to the grave, and the ceremony ended with a feast of cake and wine. Another way of having an elaborate funeral was to have

\[121\] Ibid., I, p. 36.
\[122\] Ibid., I, p. 36.
\[124\] Ibid., p. 49.
The bier carried by six ghosts in white with wax tapers in their hands; then sixty ladies followed as mourners two by two; there were twelve mourners of little distinction, seventy chimney sweeps, and one hundred musicians.

The following description shows an elaborate funeral at its best:

"We hear the persons invited to the funeral of the late Duke of Marlborough, are all Dukes, Earls, Viscounts, Bishops, and Barons of England, and sixteen of the peers of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Lords and Minors excepted; five of the eldest sons of peers . . . : and eight general officers . . . The train of the Earl of Godolphin, who is chief mourner, is to be supported by Sir Robert Rich, Barrister, and the funeral will be performed on the 9th instant. At the funeral aforesaid, a whole piece of armory is appointed to be carried, which is now cleaning in the Tower, and a piece of Ordnance, the officers of the Ordnance to attend the same. And also seventy-three of the out-pensioners of Chelsea to walk in gowns with his Grace's arms before the corpse. The Deans and Prebends are to walk in their copes as upon a coronation, and Dr. Crofts in his mantle; and we hear, the choir of St. James' and St. Paul's are likewise to attend." 126

Religious societies in the Church of England gave an impetus to the moral and religious revival witnessed during the reign of Anne. The prime object of these religious groups was to promote religious life in individuals and families, to encourage church attendance, family prayers, and Bible study. An organization instituted to curb the license of the day was called "The Society for the Reformation of Manners". Thousands of tracts were distributed against drunkenness, swearing, public indecency, and Sunday trading. Just how successful these tracts were cannot be fully ascertained, but their lack of

effect was supplanted by the persecutions used against violators of public order. In time these persecutions may have become a nuisance, but during the reign of Queen Anne they aided in making the streets and taverns less unpleasant for decent people; they reduced the number of drunkards, and made Sunday a day of rest from business and labor.

A German visitor in 1710 describes the gloomy side of an English Sunday thus:

"In the afternoon to St. James' Park, to see the crowds. No other diversion is allowed on Sunday, which is nowhere more strictly kept; not only is all play forbidden, and public houses closed, but few even of the boats and hackney coaches may ply. Our hostess would not even allow the strangers to play the 'viol di Gambia' or the flute, lest she would be punished."128

This visitor sarcastically added that Sunday observance was the only visible sign that the English were Christians.

"The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge" was the most important organization formed for the purpose of religious revival. The chief object was to distribute Bibles and other religious literature, an activity which started at the end of the reign of William III, and was fully at work during Anne's reign. The members of this society took special interest in Charity Schools, and provided cheap Bibles and prayerbooks for the people living in the country districts. Bibles and other books were sent on a large scale to America. In all these movements could be noticed the tendency of the English people to draw away from the political disputes in which England's

128. Ibid., I, p. 68.
religious world was entangled, into a sphere of a broader view, which would be free from hatred.

In the reign of Anne religious differences and political passions walked hand in hand, particularly in the higher circles. The parishes in the country and the members of the poor families moved along quietly in the observance of their religious duties, but the upper classes were constantly disturbed by the activities of High and Low Church parties, two simulated titles used as a cloak to cover what was really two political factions of opposing views.

The wave of strong religious feeling during Anne's reign which found its expression in various religious societies, did not have a permanent existence but was gradually succeeded by a complacent torpor. During the reign of Queen Anne, churches were rebuilt and restored; there were daily services, and communion was frequently administered; the poor were cared for; prisoners were visited; schools and libraries were founded; missionaries were sent to heathen lands; young men formed religious societies for the purpose of leading godly lives. This, in general, was the state of religious affairs during the lifetime of Queen Anne, but after her death there was a marked decline noticeable in religion and morality. A great change was evident a generation later. The churches were all closed all week and were opened for one service on Sunday. Communion was distributed three times a

129. Ibid., I, p. 69.
130. Ibid., I, p. 70.
year, and the existing associations for religious reform were ridiculed. The reason for this drastic change was the gradual weaning away of the social influence of the court from the religion and morality of the period, for now that good Queen Anne was dead, the influence of the two first Georges, her successors, was neither in the interest of religion or morality.

132. Ibid., p. 82.
CHAPTER IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AGE OF ANNE

Anne possesses the distinctive honor of being classed as one of the great queens of England. Her reign is significant because it witnessed the change of medievalism to modernism; it saw the Protestant religion quaking with fear before the Catholic king, Louis XIV; it experienced England's acquisition of vast influence in the world and her increasing prosperity at home. From the superficial standpoint it must always seem curious that a good but stupid woman such as Queen Anne would have her name associated with so brilliant a period of English history and literature. Anne was the last of the Stuarts, but she showed no signs of inheriting either the charm or "ill-regulated vivacity" of her ancestors. She had neither the genius of Queen Elizabeth or the personality and intelligence of Queen Victoria, and could have imparted no inspiration to the Duke of Marlborough who fought for her, nor to the writers and poets of her reign who, according to some opinions, made her reign parallel to the Augustan era in Rome and the Age of Pericles in Greece. It was entirely a result of circumstances that Anne assumed the government of England at a time when this country was rising from an internal upheaval, and under the Constitutional government of William III was beginning to find herself and to recover her former place of security. Anne was a wel-

3. Ibid., p. 201.
come successor to William III who was a foreigner, and consequently had his personal interests in Holland rather than in England. She was an English Princess to the core, and it was this fact together with her staunch adherence to Protestantism that won for her the "mild popularity" she could boast of. Then, too, there was accorded her a certain amount of protective chivalry that usually is given in a civilized country to a woman sovereign.

"While the Duke of Marlborough won for her glorious victories in the field, while a galaxy of famous writers - Pope, Swift, Addison, and Steele, - made her age famous in the annals of literature, and while commerce prospered exceedingly, Queen Anne sat on the throne, fat, inert, commonplace, ruled by the Duchess of Marlborough, and later by Mrs. Masham, no more personally associated with the universal greatness and activity about her than she was with the admirable domestic furniture which we still call by her name."  

Queen Anne was both docile and obstinate, and the whole character of her government is largely a result of her deep-seated unwillingness to entrust her confidence to anyone who was not her special friend either by affection or at least by habit. Her schooling in politics was meager, because William III was so jealous of his power that he would not share it with her. Anne was never given the opportunity to be educated in public policy, and the trend of governmental affairs was not communicated to her by the ministers. If she had been a princess of intellectual force, she would never submit to such exclusion, but on considering her position in the center of a circle of friends of divided sympathies - Lord Godolphin, a Tory; Duke of Marlborough, a Tory; Duchess of Marlborough, a Whig; - it is not surprising that her court

5. Ibid., pp. 202-203.
became a rendezvous for all who harboured personal dissatisfaction. Her chief duty, then, was to reconcile two political factions. Throughout her reign she appeared to be more a Tudor than a Stuart, in this sense that she clearly stated her wishes and then appealed to the loyalty of the Parliament and the people to support her. Three distinctive motives were the force that imbued her with the desire to be popular as a sovereign, urged her to improve the condition of the church and extend its field of influence, and caused her to have a special attachment to her rights as a hereditary sovereign. She adhered closely to and was a firm believer in the creed of the Stuarts "the king can do no wrong". There was a certain magic in the name of Stuart which inspired enthusiastic loyalty and passionate love. Working on the principle of loyalty and love, Anne determined to build a faction for her own personal support. By this policy she disappointed the Tories who hoped to secure complete control of the government, as well as the Whigs who expected precedence because of their support of the Protestant succession and the war against France. Anne made no great or sudden changes in the ministry and showed an obstinate determination in all government matters. She showered favors and appointments on her personal friends, and meted out punishments to her political enemies, thereby winning popularity at home, but unpopularity abroad. Her chief aim to court the favor of her own people, and to secure it she often made bountiful donations for public service, a measure which met with disapproval from her ministers who did not appreciate public sentiment.

9. Ibid., p. 59.
10. Ibid., p. 64.
11. Ibid., p. 74.
Totally inexperienced she tossed on the political sea of Whigs and
Tories, overshadowed by the heavy clouds of war and other evils which threaten-
ed to result in a violent storm. To counteract all this she chose the
following as her maxim:

"All I desire is my liberty in encouraging and employing all
those that concur faithfully in my service; whether they are
called Whigs and Tories, not to be tied to one or the other,
for if I should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands
of either, I shall look upon myself, though I have the name
of Queen, to be in reality but their slave, which, as it will
be my personal ruin, so it will be the destroying of all gov-
ernment, for instead of putting an end to faction it will lay
a lasting foundation for it."13

At the death of Queen Anne on August 1, 1714, (some writers give
the date as July 31, 1714) there was a termination of the rule of the faction
that demanded passive obedience and proclaimed the doctrine of the divine
authority of kings. The theory of absolute loyalty to the sovereign in Eng-
land became a thing of the past. The crown became elective, and the king, the
church, and the ruling caste became the servants rather than the despots of
the nation. The Queen's death marked the end of an age. When the President
of St. John's College, Oxford, on the morning of her death, ordered King
George to be prayed for, and on being rebuked for it, replied "she is as dead
as Julius Caesar". The golden days of Anglican piety inaugurated by her
accession had become the Indian summer of Tory high churchmanship. Her death
left the Church Party impotent and divided. For the second time in the brief

12. Neville Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, Thornton Butterworth, Ltd.,
13. Ibid., p. 115.
May, 1872) p. 411.
15. Norman Sykes, D.D., "Queen Anne and the Episcopate", The English Histori-
compass of a generation the protection and the defense of the Church of England devolved upon the Whigs and their hated sovereigns from overseas. Thus came and passed the days of Queen Anne, with their joys and sorrows, their wars and triumphs, their heroes and statesmen. But they did not pass in vain, for Addison, Swift, Pope, divested of their baser and coarser elements, and living as intellectual agents governed all future generations by the power of mental culture,

"softening the rude, informing the dull, exciting emulation, and teaching forever with no common success in the great university of mankind."17

The England over which Anne ruled was a country of many faults and abuses, deficient in systematic public organization, but marked by its superiority over other nations in the vigor and initiative of its individual citizens. The nation was the scene of divisions of partisanship; the people were so alarmed by the dangers that threatened their religion and liberties, that they showed a great aversion for popery and arbitrary power. The people were not united by a common bond, and many forces were used to bias their judgment against their true interest. Such was the condition of England on Anne's accession to the throne, and two forces were powerful in overcoming the differences of the people, namely their expectations in the Queen, and the dangers which threatened their nation from France. It was this latter danger that made most of the people unanimous in going to war, regardless of

16. Ibid., p. 464.
19. Memoirs of the Four Last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne, From 1710 to Her Death, T. Cooper, London, 1742, p. 36.
The Age of Anne is illustrious in war, politics, literature and art. It is an age which marks a turning point in the history of England and also of Europe; the old world of political life closed for England, and the world of modern politics began with Anne's reign. The Age of Anne, however, cannot be the result of any inspiration coming from Anne herself. Although she was born in a great era, she had as little influence personally, as if she had been born in a garret of common parentage. The sleeping princess in a magical tower had as much to do with the great triumphs during her reign, as Queen Anne during her whole life had to do personally and directly with the achievements of England abroad and at home. Anne did not comprehend the glory and activities of her time. Her life consisted of a series of incidents, without the direction of any recognizable motive, which resulted in actions without continuity.

"Anne Stuart was an inarticulate person, not merely inadequate in speech, but also in actions, in personal relations, and in manner."  

Anne generally gives an impression of mental deficiency because of her inanity. Events which affected all of England did not divert Anne one inch from her path. This age opens a new chapter in the political and social life of England. During this period England was spared the ordeal of passing through a revolution as France did. It was one of the great historical eras serving as

20. Ibid., p. 36.
a landmark in England's progress in civilization. Anne possessed good qualities but she was a passive and minor influence in promoting the various events of her reign. Her name has become immortal because it was her happy fortune to be England's figure-head during such an epoch.

Anne's reign was a period of court intrigues, ambition in favorites, and an abuse of popularity and power. It was a weak but splendid reign marked throughout by artifice and delusion. The Queen, a subject of timidity and biased by an attachment to her own family, possessed a constant fear and uneasiness, which made her the victim of the machinations of the Marlboroughs, a crafty and ambitious pair. Their domination over her was so absolute that they gained control over her mind, first of all leading her according to their inclinations, and finally reducing her to the most servile dependence. The majority of the people were so engrossed in making money and enjoying life that they were ready to accept any form of government that would promote peace and order. For this reason Anne appealed to them as a sovereign. She was a Stuart and therefore her name was sacred. She showed an example of conjugal fidelity and private decorum, of generosity without extravagance, and of virtue without Puritanism. Her indifference to literature did not ruin her influence with the middle classes whose representative she was.

"When they were for war, she was for war; when she was for peace they were for peace; Anne's mind was like a thousand other minds. She felt and thought with her people. She

did not intrigue with foreign powers, and her people never had to pay her debts. She has not found many enthusiastic admirers besides Miss Strickland. But she has a useful and even honorable place in history: she bridged a gulf and supplied a want."  

Although lacking a refined taste for literature and the arts, she possessed the "munificent spirit of her Stuart race". As soon as she ascended the throne, poetry and science thrived in an atmosphere free from the cold and chilly blight experienced during the reign of William III. It is no wonder then that Anne was eulogized by the pen of every writer. The Augustan Age of Anne is a name given to the glories of literature during her reign. Queen Anne herself would have found it difficult to ascertain how this title came about, for the Duchess of Marlborough asserted

"that the Queen never read, and that cards entirely occupied her thoughts in her youth."  

Throughout her correspondence the Queen never made a literary quotation or mentioned any book she had actually read. The Tatler was printed early enough so as to appear on the royal breakfast table. It contained a summary of the political events for the Queen's benefit, but whether she read them is another question. She claimed that her lack of reading was due to her defective eyesight, but to write continually required as much eyesight as reading, and she is known to have written as often as four times a day to the Duchess of Marlborough.

27. Ibid., p. 196.
29. Ibid., VIII, p. 220.
30. Ibid., VIII, p. 220.
31. Ibid., VIII, p. 220.
Houses and pieces of furniture were said to be made according Queen Anne style. Yet the Queen was responsible for none of these things, and it has been asserted that the so-called Queen Anne style "never had any existence at all except in the brains of modern aesthetes and china maniacs." The Queen's rooms at Hampton Court show her taste to be florid, and are a proof of her lack of interest in furniture and household appointments.

Anne exerted a negligible influence on the society of her time. She discouraged open licentiousness, but it might have been difficult for a woman, or even any man, to stop duelling, drunkenness, and gambling between 1712 and 1714. Duels occurred daily and were usually fatal. According to the English law duelling was criminal, but here is an instance of public opinion being brought around by degrees to the law, and not the law being molded according to public opinion.

"Duelling was fostered by drunkenness; the Age of Anne was emphatically drunken. It is difficult to mention a single man in public life who was habitually sober, except Marlborough, who depended on the clearness of his head; Swift who was Dean; and Atterbury, who was Bishop." 35

The reign of Queen Anne is significant for a number of events, but the most notable achievements to be considered in this thesis are: The Protestant Succession, The War Against France, The Union of England and Scotland, the Supremacy of Parliamentary Government, and the Merits of Literary Endeavors.

34. Ibid., p. 161.
35. Ibid., p. 161.
Parliament passed the Abjuration Act entitled "An Act for the further security of His Majesty's person (William III), and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders and their abettors."

The purpose of the Act was to prevent the accession of the Jacobite line in its claim to the throne of England, particularly in the person of James, the Pretender, the son of James II and Mary of Modena. All good citizens of England were expected to accept the Protestant Line of Succession and thereby abjure the Jacobite line. The Act further arranged that in case of failure of issue of either of the Protestant daughters of James II (Mary II and Anne), the succession was open to Princess Sophia, Electress and Dowager Duchess of Hanover, the daughter of Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, who was a daughter of James I.

Louis XIV of France acknowledged the Pretender and had him proclaimed in the kingdom of France by the title of James III. The majority of the English nation was of the opinion that the son of James II was really a Pretender and was not born to Mary of Modena, the queen, and that Anne was the legitimate heir to the throne; that the date of her accession dated not from the death of William III who could be considered a usurper, but from the death of her father, James II, on September 19, 1701.

The clause in the Abjuration Act which settled the line of succession read as follows:

37. Ibid., I, p. 10.
"Be it enacted and declared by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same that the excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, daughter of the most excellent Princess Elizabeth, late queen of Bohemia, daughter of our late sovereign lord King James the First, of happy memory, be and is hereby declared to be next in succession, in the Protestant line, to the imperial crown and dignity of the said realms of England, France, and Ireland, with the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, after his Majesty and the Princess Anne of Denmark, and in default of the issue of the said Princess Anne and of his Majesty respectively."39

This Act was passed quietly as an inevitable matter, passing the various stages required for a bill in Parliament. To oppose the passage of the Act would have meant the declaration of a civil war. That this Act was the subject of much discussion and controversy is self-evident, for England was populated with supporters of the Jacobite line as well as promoters of the Protestant Succession, the latter, however, being in the majority. The Queen makes a reference to this fact in one of her letters to Princess Sophia:

"There are here (such is our misfortune) a great many people that are seditiously disposed; so I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself therefore, you will never consent that the least thing should be done, that may disturb the repose of me or my subjects."

St. James's
May 19, 1714.

Superscribed,
To my sister and aunt, Electress Dowager of Brunswick and Lunenburgh.

40. Ibid., I, p. 24.
41. Five Letters of Queen Anne. Printed and sold by J. Harrison at the Corner of Castle Alley in Cornhill; and Ferdinand Burleigh in Amen Corner, 1714, p. 20.
The best idea of opinions regarding the Protestant Succession can be gleaned from the following views given by the contemporaries:

"Most Gracious Sovereign,
We are truly sensible of your Majesty's great Goodness, and of the confidence you repose in us, by communicating the discovery of the ill-practices and designs that have been carried on in Scotland, by emissaries from France, whereby we have an opportunity to repeat our unanimous resolutions, to stand by, and support your Majesty, and the succession in the Protestant Line, as limited by law, against all Pretenders, and all your Majesty's enemies whatsoever ..." 42

"Nov. 15, 1705. - A motion in the House of Lords to address the Queen to invite over the Princess Sophia, carried ... that the question should not be put. I took the debate in my paper at large. The reasons for it, that it tended to secure the Succession, and consequently the Queen. - Against it, that such a thing ought to begin with the Queen; that otherwise it might create a misunderstanding between the Queen and the Princess, which might more weaken than strengthen the Succession; that the enemies, known to be so, to the Succession of Hanover were now generally for bringing the Princess over, or, for moving it. But at the same time was moved and passed a resolution to go into a committee of the whole House, to consider, on Monday, of what further may be necessary to be done in order to preserve the Protestant Succession ... '" 43

"Nov. 27 and 28, 1705, and the following part of the week taken up in passing the Bill for securing of the Protestant Succession. The High Church Lords gave no opposition, but endeavored to clog it, and show a distrust of those who were to be empowered to act by virtue of that Act; and for that end moved several instructions to the committee, for a clause to restrain them from giving the royal assent to the repeal of the Act of Uniformity and about seventeen other acts. The other party on consideration, thought not fit to oppose this, tho' a most groundless jealousy; that they might not give a handle to the High Church Lords to clamor as if the Church was neglected, or

42. A Collection of all the Addresses etc. of the Lords and Commons to the Queen, Since Her Happy Accession to the Throne, London, Printed in the year 1712, p. 35.
anything for its security hindered. But to prevent clogging the Bill with any such provisions, resolved on a question put, not to give any further previous instructions to the committee . . . .

"Sunday, 15 March, 1712, - Met Lord Treasurer (Lord Godolphin) at St. James's by appointment, he desiring opportunity to satisfy me as to the Protestant Succession; that no harm, etc. intended it, but the contrary: He had written down heads on a paper, yet spoke, as always, very dark and confusedly, interlacing all he said with broken hints of discoveries he had made; int. al., of the Presbyterians in Scotland; great dissatisfaction to the Protestant Succession, and that some of those in England had corresponded with the Pretender, that he had the Highlanders under engagement to be for the Protestant Succession . . . that the House of Hanover were now well satisfied as to the Succession, and the Queen and the principal proceedings; that he always was for the Protestant Succession, and had not altered his mind, and many such assurances; that the Queen was the same to a degree; that she would withdraw (meaning, as I suppose, to admit the House of Hanover), rather than hazard the Pretender's succeeding . . . ." 45

Upon her accession to the throne, Anne inherited a war which had disturbed Europe for thirty years, the chief purpose of which was the destruction of the power of France. A resumé of the causes and progress of the war will give a better idea of the significance of the above statement. The possibility of the French domination over Europe was not fully realized by England, and it was the Dutchman, William III, who forced England to participate in resisting Louis XIV. Louis retaliated by welcoming James II of England who sought refuge in France, and recognized him as the King of England. The English were aroused and under the tutelage of William III formed a Grand Alliance with Austria, Spain, Savoy, and Holland in waging a war against

44. Ibid., p. 22. 45. Ibid., p. 54.
47. Ibid., p. 73.
France which ended in the Peace of Ryswick. France surrendered all her conquests except Strassburg, recognized William as King of England and Anne as his successor, and allowed the Dutch to garrison their Barrier Fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands.

This event, however, did not solve the problem of the balance of power in Europe. New troubles loomed. Charles II of Spain was an imbecile and being at the point of death, the question arose as to his successor, since he had no lawful issue. There were three possible claimants: Philip of Anjou, the son of Louis XIV; Archduke Charles, the son of Emperor Leopold; and the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. All Europe was dismayed at the prospect of the closer union of Spain and France through the accession of Philip of Anjou, which would give France control of Western Europe and a large part of the New World. These possessions were at the time divided between Louis XIV and William III by the Partition Treaty. The above plans were disturbed by the death of Charles II who gave the Spanish dominions to Philip of Anjou. Louis XIV disregarding the Partition Treaty, recognized his son as King Philip V of Spain. The English people were not affected to any great extent by this turn of events, but their sense of security received a serious jolt when France threatened to absorb Holland, thereby taking over the negro trade to America, and excluding the Dutch and English from trade in the Spanish Indies.

48. Jean Dumont, Groans of Europe at the Prospect of the Present Posture of Affairs, In a Letter from a Gentleman at the Hague to a Member of Parliament, Printed in the year 1713, p. 10.
49. Brown, The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne, p. 74.
50. Dumont, Groans of Europe at the Prospect of the Present Posture of Affairs, etc., pp. 5 and 58.
51. Ibid., p. 80.
At the death of James II in 1701, Louis XIV recognized the Pretender as James III of England, an act which fully awakened England to the fact that her independence was in danger. William died before the war was declared, but during the last year of his life he trained the Duke of Marlborough to be his successor in diplomacy and strategy. During this year William and Marlborough engaged in extensive war preparations; they conferred with the Allies, arranged the campaign, the line of troops, the disposal of armies, the methods of cooperation; they threatened, bribed, and flattered the jealous princes of the German Empire to build up a defense force against France on the Rhine, or to eject France from the Netherlands, and maintain the independence of Holland. The death of William III on March 8, 1702 threw the members of the Grand Alliance into a panic. They were fully aware that Queen Anne did not favor William's friends, and that she was a staunch supporter of the Tory Party, which had shown so little enthusiasm for the quarrels of Europe. Contrary to all expectations, Anne signed letters to all the members of the Grand Alliance "reaffirming William's alliances and resolving to reduce the exorbitant power of France". Shortly after her accession she sent Marlborough to the Netherlands to reassure the Dutch of the continuation of the war. On May 4, 1702, war was declared on France and Spain, and Marlborough joined the troops in the Netherlands.

Two statements of Anne relative to this event are of significance. In addressing the Privy council, she said:

52. Brown, The Letters and Instructions of Queen Anne, p. 75.
53. Ibid., p. 75.
54. Ibid., p. 76.
"I think it proper . . . to declare my own opinion of the importance of carrying on all preparations that we are making to oppose the great power of France; and I shall lose no time in giving our Allies all assurances that nothing shall be wanting on my part, to pursue the true interest of England together with theirs, for the support of the common cause." \[55\]

Her instructions to the Chancellor and the Privy Council regarding the declaration of war read as follows:

"The preservation of liberties and the balance of Europe . . . obliged our late royal brother . . . to enter into solemn treaties of alliances with the Emperor of Germany, the States General of the United Provinces and the princes and potentates for reducing the exorbitant power of France and for their mutual defense against the French King's unjust usurpations and encroachments, he having taken possession of the greatest part of the Spanish dominions with his arms, seized the Spanish West Indies and most important parts of Spain by his fleet. He has stopped liberty of commerce and declared the pretended Prince of Wales to be the King of England, Scotland, and Ireland and has influenced Spain to concur with him in this indignity. Our Scotch subjects feel these injuries much and have suffered in their trade at the hands of France and Spain. Publish a declaration of war against Spain and France in the usual way." \[56\]

The motives of England in waging the war were to win commercial rights in the Spanish colonies, to retain everything they could claim as their own in the colonies, and to exclude France from the transatlantic markets. By the treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which ended the war of the Spanish Succession, England acquired no continental European territory except the fortress of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca which controlled the Mediterranean. By the special treaty with Spain, the Asiento Treaty, English merchants were given the monopoly over the slave trade in Spanish America together with the

rights to a limited trade in Panama. As a result of the war Holland was en-
feebled and lost her position among the maritime powers, to the extent that
she could not share in the Spanish American trade. France was impoverished
and ceased to be a menace to the peace of Europe for a generation. Philip V
was permitted to retain the throne of Spain, but he lost the Spanish Nether-
lands and the Italian provinces, and careful regulations were made forbidding
the union of the crowns of Spain and France.

The reign of Queen Anne often called the Augustan Age merited this
title because of the progress made in books and letters rather than in art.
It was the task of Addison, Steele, and their contemporaries not only to re-
fine literature but to make reading popular. The royal society under Anne
was frequently the butt of these wits and formed the subject matter of this
period. There was a profusion of both religious and political pamphleteering,
which provided the meat for the daily discussions at the coffee houses.

Judging from a modern journalist's concept, the reign of Queen Anne
is regarded as the parent age of the newspaper. It is true that newspapers
existed before Anne's time, but they were mostly brief and abstract chronicles
of events, given to the public as time and opportunity allowed, but no par-
ticular newspaper was long in circulation. With the advent of The Guardian,
The Examiner, and The Spectator, the newspapers not only narrated events but

57. Frederick C. Dietz, A Political and Social History of England, The Mac-
58. Randall Davies, "The English Society of the Eighteenth Century in Con-
temporary Art", The Portfolio, No. 48, (October 1907), Seeley and Company
60. Ibid., p. 19.
began to deal in commentary and criticism. It is a noteworthy fact that *The Spectator* which never dealt in political questions, had more influence than any journal of its time in creating public interest in reading criticisms and commentaries on political subjects. After the people were educated to take delight in reading essays on fashions, social habits, and the morals of the time, it was not long before they were demanding a regular supply of essays on politics and parties. This period, therefore, saw the opening of a newspaper system, which has become one of the recognized institutions and powers of the modern State.

The drama and fine arts of this period are not much to boast of. Drama was at a low degree of development; in fact, the period seemed to denote a sort of receding of the tide in this respect. The genius of the nation had spent itself in "the glorious profusion" of the Elizabethan era. The theatre was flourishing to a certain degree, but it could not count the Queen among its patrons. The English genius was not inclined to painting, sculpture, or music, and the wave of Puritanism that had spread over the land was still less favorably disposed to it. The architecture of this period belonged distinctly to it, and was not the inspiration of one man or any school of men. It had a character peculiarly its own, and is still the object of admiration. It was more or less an adaptation of foreign models, so completely and artistically brought about that it harmonized with the English climate and conditions of life, with the manorial fields of English landscapes and

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62. Ibid., II, p. 404.
64. Ibid., p. 19.
the streets of English cities, that it is still considered to be characteristic of the country and the people of Queen Anne's kingdom. The great building of Anne's reign is Vanbrugh's Blenheim Castle, "an original, picturesque, imposing work; a real palace and a worthy embodiment of historical grandeur".

Mr. Miller in his *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* writes thus:

"... In no period of the same extent since Creation has a mass of improvement so large, diversified, and rich been presented to view. In no period have the branches of science, art, and letters received, at the same time, such liberal accessions of light and refinement, and been made so remarkably to illustrate and enlarge each other. ... The last century may with a peculiar propriety be styled the 'Age of Taste and Refinement' ..." 67

Opposed to this view is that of Mr. William C. Sydney, who claims the century is rotten from the beginning to the core, and that in spite of its panegyrist the eighteenth century was on the whole a coarse and worldly age.

The new order initiated by the reign of William III came into actual existence in the reign of Queen Anne. It is distinguished by the recognized supremacy of parliamentary government. Parliamentary government existed in Great Britain and Ireland long before the Stuart dynasty came to an end or even before it had a beginning, but it was a parliamentary government in name only and had none of the essential qualities of the present governing power. As far back as the reign of the Henrys, the English nation followed the principle of choosing a certain number of men to represent the interests of the whole

community, and to confer with the reigning Sovereign as to the laws and regulations for the general welfare. Gradually this system developed into a representation by knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the final result was a Parliament composed of Lords and Commons.

During Anne's reign the Houses of Parliament and especially the House of Commons came to be recognized as the Power in ruling the State. The government no longer depended on the mere will of the sovereign, and there was a staunch recognition of the principle that the Sovereign could no longer act without regard for the authority of the representative chamber. Parliamentary debate became one of the great moving forces in constitutional government during Anne's reign. In this regard the House of Commons served as a platform from which statesmen and political orators could address the whole community. It was an incentive which drew numbers of men into a parliamentary career, who otherwise would have led a life of indolence and pleasure.

Queen Anne recognized the growing influence of Parliament and especially of the House of Commons. She was not a woman of great intellectual capacity, but seems to have had an appreciation of her duties as a constitutional Sovereign. Although she seems to have understood her duties as a sovereign, she was, nevertheless, often the subject of the intrigues of her Ministers and of the parties that strove for ascendancy. She followed the folly of monarchs and surrendered the scepter into the hands of favorites to deliver herself from the burden of administration.

"The scepter in the hands of Ministers of State has led to intrigues of parties to the destruction of public peace, and has exposed the kingdom to the unsatisfied avarice of statesmen and politicians, who on every side have made shipwreck of the public to support themselves, and have wasted the subject to preserve their private interest." 75

Charles Povey speaks in the same strain when he says:

"To keep themselves (the Ministers) in their posts of profit and honor, they did not forget to diminish the revenues of the Crown and burden the subjects, by giving high salaries and good places to all their friends in the House of Commons and without doors." 76

The entire reign of Queen Anne was a scene of the constant friction between the Tories and Whigs for the ascendency of power in the Parliamentary government. The Whigs or Low-Churchmen were a party made up of Dissenters or of those who favored the Dissenters. They were supporters of the Monarchy, but in a more restrained sense than the Tories. The Tories constituted the party that adhered firmly to monarchical government with all its limitations and restrictions, and they were firm devotees of the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church of England, considering the Dissenters to be their sworn enemies. The Queen herself was Tory in feeling, and although intellectually she was below the average of her subjects, yet she was fitted in many ways to revive the Tory party. The strength of the Tory party lay in the country, in the small boroughs and in the agricultural districts. The tenant farmers were mostly Tories, as also were the clergy especially the country clergy. The Whigs were strong in the large towns, principally London. Merchants,

75. Ibid., p. 6.
76. Charles Povey, An Enquiry into the Miscarriages of the Four Last Years' Reign, Booksellers of London and Westminster, London, 1714, p. 15.
bankers, free-holders, lords, and bishops belonged to the Whigs. Almost all of the Dissenters, about four per cent of the population, were Whigs.

Contemporary views of these parties will throw light on their respective merits. Dean Swift in The Examiner for 1711 writes:

"Give the Whigs but power enough to insult the sovereign, engross his favors to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow subjects; they presently grow into good humor and good language towards the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes, and whatever rudeness they may be guilty of in private; yet they assure the world, that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the Tories it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath ever been observed in them; in or out of favor, you see no alteration, further than a little cheerfulness or cloud in their countenances; the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty, but their behavior to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are, in all conditions exactly the same." 80

The Duchess of Marlborough claimed that the Queen had been taught from her infancy to look upon the Whigs not only as republicans who were haters of the very shadow of authority, but also as implacable enemies of the Church of England. She says:

"On the other hand, the Tories had the advantage not only of the Queen's early prepossession in their favor, but of their having assisted her in the late reign, in the affair of settlement. It is no wonder, therefore, . . . that as soon as she was on the throne, the Tories, (whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the Church party) became the distinguished objects of the royal favor." 81

The Queen showed a decided obstinacy in her party adherence:

"To the Duchess of Marlborough, St. James's Nov. 17, 1704 -
I have the same opinion of Whig and Tory that I ever had.
I know both their principles very well, and when I know myself to be in the right nothing can make me alter my opinion . . . . "82

Another example of her determination is displayed in a letter from the Duke of Marlborough to Godolphin:

"Kensington, May 22 - Everybody here is busy at present with the elections and talk of them. The generality of them are as good, I think, as can be desired, and there is little reason to doubt but the next Parliament will be very well inclined to support the war . . . . Mrs. Morley (the Queen) continues to be very inflexible. I still think that she must alter; but my only fear is, that it will be too late."83

This was an age, however, when political parties were in a fluctuating state, and politicians changed their parties without hesitation. The Queen was not immune from this condition so that by 1708 her adherence had made a decided shift to the Whig party. Periodicals and pamphlets were in a great measure responsible for the change of public opinion. A high standard of political morality and consistency was unknown during this period. Eminent Statesmen were habitually acting parts that would be regarded as infamous, and the system of double-dealing permeated the whole political body of the time. The age of chivalry had passed out of existence in the reign of Queen Anne, and a new era of development, politically and socially, was beginning for England as well as all of Europe.

An attempt toward a union of England and Scotland was made as early as the reign of Henry VIII, but the project was not accomplished until the reign of Queen Anne. The Union was a traditional policy in both countries but it soon acquired form and substance through the debates and resolutions in the Parliament of England. It was bequeathed as a kind of legacy to both countries by William III, who in his speech before the Commons on February 23, 1702, was

"fully satisfied that nothing can more contribute to the present and future security and happiness of England and Scotland than a firm and entire union between them."\(^{87}\)

He would esteem it

"a peculiar felicity if during his reign some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place."\(^{88}\)

The disputes and difficulties regarding trade between the English and the Scots were the new forces at work. The difficulty presented itself each time the Scots endeavored to trade with the English colonies. The Scots made an appeal for the extension of the trade privileges to them, but the English were opposed to having the Scots share in the English sources of wealth. The Scots, however, argued that such a move would increase the wealth of both nations, it would strengthen the Crown by enlarging the customs duties, and the increase of shipping and seamen from this united effort would tend to increase the strength and security of the British Empire. The Scots desired that the privileges of English colonial trade be extended

88. Ibid., I, p. 124.
89. Ibid., I, p. 125.
"to such ships and vessels as do truly and without fraud belong only to the people of Scotland, whereof master and three-fourths parts are Scotsmen or other his Majesty's subjects, and freighted only by his Majesty's subjects ... and that the vessels may be declared to have liberty to bring to England goods and commodities that are of foreign growth, production, or manufacture, under the same restrictions and limitations as are expressed for the ships of England." 90

That the Queen was favorably disposed to these proposals is evident from her statement that

"... she would be ever equally tender of the rights, prerogatives, and liberties of the Crown of Scotland, as of those of the Crown and Kingdom of England, and that she should make the chief design of her reign, to govern both, according to their respective laws and liberties, and to avoid all occasion of misunderstanding and differences betwixt them. That for this end, she should think it her happiness to establish an Union between the two kingdoms, upon an equal and just foundation, and the Parliament of England having shown as good inclinations toward this Union, her Majesty expected that they (the Parliament of Scotland) would do nothing on their part that could obstruct a design so useful for the security and happiness of both. That orders were given by the late King, that none of the subjects of Scotland should be impressed on board Scotch ships by the English for service; and that she had taken effectual methods, ... for the full protection of her subjects in that Kingdom, in this matter, and for the encouragement of commerce between the two nations ... And therefore, she should concur ... and that she should endeavor to promote the trade, ... of the whole nation; and should do everything that was in her power, for the welfare and prosperity of her people." 91

The Act of Union provoked much discussion and varied opinions were offered pro and con. Lord Haversham of England forcibly opposed the Union,

90. Ibid., I, p. 131.
"as being of the opinion at that time, that it would be prejudicial to the English interest, as well as the privileges of the Scots peerage."\(^92\)

Some of the members of the House of Lords considered the Act of Union an innovation in the monarchy and believed it would totally subvert all laws of England. They, therefore, requested the Judges to give their opinions of it. The Judges declared,

"That they could not conceive that it in any way altered or impaired the Constitution of the realm, whose laws, they were of opinion, must remain entirely the same, as well after, as before the Union, except such as were altogether inconsistent with, and directly contrary; ..."\(^93\)

England and Scotland were two nations opposed to each other until James Stuart occupied the throne as James I of England and James VI of Scotland. This act did not put an end to an antagonism, for when the court was removed to London, the result was a noticeable decay in the trade of Scotland. The Scots nobility attended the English court and "sucked out the blood of their country to support their luxury and magnificence". Scotland became depopulated and impoverished, and was constantly agitated by a jealousy of the English trade abroad. The proposal of an Act of Union between England and Scotland was bitterly opposed in the latter country. The Presbyterians opposed it because they thought their church would suffer and the Jacobites looked upon the Union as an effective force preventing the restoration of the Stuart line. Addresses against the Union multiplied, and the mobs in Edinburgh gave cause for great alarm. The town resounded with shouts of "No Union" and

\(^{93}\) Ibid., p. 18.
\(^{94}\) Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 160.
\(^{95}\) Ibid., p. 160.
\(^{96}\) Ibid., p. 161.
"English Dogs"; nobody was permitted to go out into the street, and no lights were seen in any of the windows for fear of stones. The Articles of the Union were publicly burned, thus openly professing the people's attitude to an Act which they felt would make them and their posterity the bondslaves of their neighbors. The High Commissioner of England was insulted at Edinburgh when stones were thrown at his coach. The outcries against the Articles of Union were so strong and frequent that several regiments of Horse and Dragoons were marched to the north of England as a protective measure for the Ministry. The Kirk of Scotland was afraid of the Union and held a day of fasting and prayer for the guidance of Parliament. All reports from Scotland were gloomy.

"This nation will never swallow it and force can only keep it on that foot." 100

It looked indeed as if "the interest here would never carry the Union without blood."

In discussing the progress of the Act of Union it is advantageous to treat it from a chronological aspect. The first step was taken in the appointment of commissioners on both sides to treat of the Union. This was in 1669, a date followed by a period of about twenty years which spelled death to all trade aspirations and cooperative enterprises. From the Revolution to the accession of Queen Anne, England was in a restless state of agitation as far as speculative projects were concerned. The varied projects included

97. Ibid., p. 168.
99. Ibid., p. 272.
100. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 168.
101. Ibid., p. 169. (Quoted from Defoe, History of the Union, p. 280.)
the Bank of England, plantation projects in the colonies, public companies for pearl fishing, the Greenland and Newfoundland fisheries, etc. Many of these projects were insignificant, but a few like the two East India companies left their mark in history. It was natural that Scotland be affected by these projects, and it was also a natural outcome that the Scots passed an Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies. England was so engrossed in her own affairs that she let this act pass without much examination or criticism. The first step was to raise the necessary stock. Under the management of the English directors, the books were opened in London, and there was an immediate rush for shares. The capitalists of the English companies protested and won a hearing in both Houses of Parliament. They listed their causes of complaint as follows: 1) A great part of the stock and shipping of England will be carried to Scotland and she will become the free port for all Indian commodities; 2) The places in Europe formerly supplied by England will be able to buy much cheaper from Scotland; 3) Scotland will be settled in the American plantations, thereby depriving England of the commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, and skins. There was a demand for the impeachment of the individuals who started this project, but they were safe in Scotland. "The wrath of the English capitalists burned itself out", and when the first installment on the shares was due, no one came to meet the payments and the shares were forfeited.

The Scots, undismayed by the turn of affairs, decided to finance a project by themselves. They planned a colonial venture on the Isthmus of

103. Ibid., I, p. 132.
104. Ibid., I, p. 133.
105. Ibid., I, p. 134.
106. Ibid., I, p. 135.
Panama and called it Darien. No one came to buy or sell the proffered goods, and what was worse, the Scots were chiefly occupied burying the dead, since they were unaccustomed to the tropical climate. The colony was rapidly depleted by starvation, disease, and vice. The lack of hospitality on the part of the English representatives toward the suffering Scots was slowly heading both nations toward a war unless some sort of union between them would prevent the drastic issue. Steps toward such a union were taken by William III, who died before any of his plans materialized. It was Queen Anne's problem to guide this situation to a happy conclusion in the formation of an effective union between England and Scotland.

Shortly after her accession, Queen Anne, empowered by the Acts of Parliament of both kingdoms, nominated commissioners to treat of the Union of England and Scotland. At the first meeting on October 22, 1702, the Lord Keeper made this speech:

"My Lords, we, the Commissioners of England, do with great satisfaction, meet your Lordships on this occasion, hoping that by this Congress, . . . that England and Scotland already united in alliance under one head, the Queen, may forever hereafter become one people; one in heart and mutual affections; one in interest; one in name and in deed, a work, which if it can be brought to pass, promiseth a lasting happiness to us all. With great sincerity we desire this Union, and we meet your Lordships with hearts fully determined to enter such consultations and into such measures with your Lordships as are proper for bringing the same to the desired conclusion. On our part, nothing shall be wanting that may conduce to a happy period of this great work."^109

107. Ibid., I, p. 137.
The opinion of the Scots was voiced by the Duke of Queensbury who stated:

"... That he did consider this Union to be highly advantageous for the peace and wealth of both Kingdoms, and a great security for the Protestant religion everywhere; and he could assure their Lordships, both for himself and the other Lord Commissioners of Scotland, that they met their Lordships... with sincere intentions to advance this great design, and to accommodate any difficulties that might arise in the treaty upon fair and reasonable terms."¹¹⁰

Immediately the question arose of the equal participation of the Scots in the English trade. England's reply was to the contrary: her Majesty's plantations in the East Indies and several in the West Indies belonged to corporations of Englishmen, therefore, there was no reason why Scotland should benefit from these projects. On December 3, 1702 the Scots put in a claim for "such an union as entitles the subjects of both Kingdoms to a mutual communication of trade privileges and advantages". The English Commissioners agreed on the condition that the Scots state what these advantages and privileges were. The Lord Commissioners of Scotland proposed the following:

1) Free trade between the two kingdoms without distinction; 2) Both Kingdoms were liable to an equal imposition for import and export, and a Book of Rates should be adjusted for both; 3) The subjects and shipping of both Kingdoms to have equal freedom, and the plantation trade of both should be under the same regulations; 4) All acts inconsistent with these proposals should be repealed; 5) That neither of the Kingdoms be burdened with the debts contracted by the other before the Union; 6) These proposals were made without prejudice to the companies or manufactures of either Kingdom.

After several seemingly favorable discussions on the above proposals the Union seemed to be a settled affair, when the question of taxing imports and exports arose, and all negotiations regarding the treaty of Union were brought to a sudden close. The Scots Estates resolved:

"That the Commission of Parliament granted for the said treaty is terminate and extinct, and that there shall be no new commission for treating of an union betwixt the Kingdoms of England and Scotland without the consent of Parliament."

This question so abruptly dropped seemed to be resumed again in 1706 upon the appointment of two Commissions of thirty-one members on each side. The first proposal came from England for uniform customs, excise, and other taxes to be levied throughout the United Kingdom. This condition was easy to accept since the Lord Treasurer Godolphin of England stipulated that all those unable to pay uniform taxes should be supplied with money from the English Treasury. The second proposal was made by Scotland and demanded an intercourse of free trade between the two Kingdoms and the colonies belonging to them under such regulations as shall be of advantage to both Kingdoms. England at this time had an indifferent attitude to the whole affair and readily accepted the Scots proposal. The opposition came from the Jacobites who attempted to arouse the people in the large towns into riot and sedition. Much debate on the Union was carried on in the Scots Parliament. A series of forty-four meetings took place and on October 16, 1706 a vote for passing of the "Act ratifying and approving the Treaty of Union" was proposed in the Scots Parliament. The vote was carried by 110 to 69 in favor of the Union.

115. Ibid., I, p. 335.
116. Ibid., I, p. 345.
The Lord Chancellor of Scotland had reported that the Lord Commissioners of Scotland agreed:

"that the two Kingdoms of Scotland and England be forever united into one Kingdom by the name of Great Britain; that the United Kingdom of Great Britain be represented by one and the same Parliament; and that succession to the monarchy of the kingdom of Great Britain shall descend upon the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and remain to her and her heirs being Protestants as provided in an act made in the reign of William III; with this provision that all the subjects of the United Kingdom of Great Britain shall have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation to and from any port or place that there be a communication of all other privileges and advantages which do or may belong to subjects of either Kingdom." 117

Queen Anne's ministers were determined to pass the treaty in England as it came from Scotland, word for word. In her message in both Houses, the Queen stated:

"You have now an opportunity before you of putting the last hand to a happy union of the two kingdoms, which, I hope, will be a lasting blessing to the whole island, a great addition to its wealth and power, and a security to the Protestant religion. The advantages that will accrue to us all from an union are so apparent, that I will add no more, but I shall look upon it as a particular happiness if this great work, which has so often been attempted without success, can be brought to perfection in my reign." 118

The Queen presented the Scots ratification of the Treaty of Union to the English Parliament in January, 1707. The discussions that followed in both Houses showed an overwhelming number of supporters of the Union. The House of Commons quickly agreed to the Union, but the debates in the House of Lords lasted longer, because the High Tory group saw a danger in admitting Presby-

119. Connell, Anne, the Last Stuart Monarch, p. 169.
terians to participate in legislation. Queen Anne showed her anticipation of the opposition by the simple statement: "One must expect opposition from some sort of people".

The opposition to the Union was easily overruled, and the Act of Union came into force May 1, 1707. The Treaty provided sixteen peers and forty-five commoners as representatives of Scotland at Westminster, without, however, making any change in the legal system and ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland. The opinions regarding the effects of the Act of Union were many and varied. The increase of duties at the ports encouraged smuggling and the customs officers were forced to execute their duties under the protection of a military escort. As far as the masses of the people were concerned, the effects of the Union were an increased cost of living and an influx of a horde of objectionable English officials. Most Scotsmen in 1707 maintained as far as Scotland was concerned, the union of the two Crowns had been a failure and had failed to bring Scotland the prosperity that had been anticipated. In 1807 after the passage of a century nobody could be found in England or Scotland who would state that the Union had not been beneficial to both of them. It was the common opinion in the nineteenth century that the Union of England and Scotland was the foundation of British power and liberty. The Act of Union, which had brought Great Britain into existence, laid the foundation of the British Empire. For England the union of her

120. Ibid., p. 170. 121. Ibid., p. 170.
122. Ibid., p. 170.
123. Leadam, The History of England From the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II, (1702 - 1760), IX, p. 94.
Parliament with that of Scotland ranks with the Norman Conquest in importance in her history. The Norman Conquest made England; the union of the two Parliaments made Great Britain. The Union of 1707 was an important event not only for England and Scotland but also for the nations of the Continent. Lord Treasurer Godolphin wrote to the Scottish Lord Chancellor Seafield:

"But we are now in so critical a position . . . that all Europe must in some measure be affected by the good or ill ending of the Parliament of Scotland." 126

Anne was the most popular female sovereign who had up to this time ascended the throne of England, if one uses the affections of the people as a criterion. "Our good Queen Anne" is an appellation which is not yet obsolete particularly among the lower orders. The Queen could be styled as a "good sort of woman rather than a good woman", because of her passive temperament. There were many causes which established Anne's popularity among the people, the principal one being that she was "entirely English", the daughter of an Englishman and an Englishwoman. They appreciated the fact that her limited education confined her language, tastes, and prejudices to everything English. Then, too, she was the last of a native line of princes:

"the natural object of the fond loyalty of the Protestant adherents to the House of Stuart, who were numerous, notwithstanding all theological discrepancies." 128

The following extract from The Examiners for the Year 1711 summarizes the character of the Queen and further substantiates the reasons for calling

128. Ibid., VIII, p. 212.
"We have been for above nine years, blest with a Queen, who besides all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesses every regal quality that can contribute to make a people happy. Of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors; of much discernment in choosing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment, and only capable of being deceived by that excuse of goodness which makes her judge of others by herself. Frugal in her management in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion she does, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects; but from her own nature, generous and charitable to all that want or deserve; and in order to exercise these virtues, denying herself entertainments of expense, which many others enjoy."129

Another article in a current magazine of the time lauds the virtues of the Queen:

"But I am satisfied and convinced in my conscience, that those . . . are thankful to God not only for the great deliverance wrought by the Revolution, but also for the great blessing of placing Her Most Excellent Majesty, Queen Anne, on the throne instead of the Pretender, and the particular blessings we have enjoyed since she ascended the throne, particularly the great charity and bounty to the clergy of England and Ireland, her great and glorious work of the Union, her great and successful prosecution of the war, till she made her enemies want a peace; and these were particular blessings, which may be said were reserved by Providence to be conveyed to us by Her Majesty . . . ."130

Anne was popular with all classes of people, and her mind was in harmony with the minds of nineteen-twentieths of her subjects. They naturally referred to her as "Good Queen Anne", and had the assurances that the Queen had a great


confidence in their affections for her:

"I have the satisfaction to see the elections from all parts agreeable to the confidence the Queen has placed in the affections of her people . . . . "132

At the death of Queen Anne there was an end to the life and reign of England's last Stuart sovereign. There was no reason why those who loved her should mourn over her comparatively early death. According to Dr. Arbuthnot, her physician,

"no weary traveler could have longed for rest more sincerely than Anne in later years longed for the close of her life. All those she had really loved had been consigned to the grave before her."133

Her reign was a great era and was destined to be remembered in history. She was Queen of England at a time when England won some of her greatest successes in peace and war, in literature and science. She had done many good herself, and had attached her name to many works of charity, yet when she lay dying, she was alone without the attendance of even one devoted friend. The people out-of-doors were not thinking of her but of the Sovereign who was to succeed her, and of the changes his accession might bring. Dean Swift in speaking of the death of the Queen refers to it as "the loss of that excellent Princess". Alexander Pope in a letter to Mr. Allen expresses his sentiments thus:

"The event (Queen Anne's death) of this week or fortnight has filled everybody's mind, and mine so much that I could not get done what I desired . . . What character historians

134. Ibid., II, p. 567.
will allow her, I do not know, but all her domestic servants and those nearest her, give her the best testimony; that of sincere tears. But the public is always hard; rigid at best, even when just, in its opinion of anyone. The only pleasure which anyone, either of high or low rank, must depend upon receiving, is in the candour or partiality of friends, and that small circle we are conversant in; and it is therefore the greatest satisfaction to such as wish us well, to know we enjoy that."

The following excerpts from the poem, The Mausoleum, are a fitting conclusion and also convincing proof of the regard and esteem Queen Anne was accorded by her subjects:

"Mourn, Albion, Mourn; Astraea's now no more;
She's gone, and in her Death made Nature poor.
Astraea's now no more! - the Vales around
Complain, and Echo spreads the Tort'ring Sound.

Sick of a Guilty Realm, no longer now She bears to sit Jove's Substitute below:
Of Fraud, of Faction, and of Discord tir'd Too soon, alas! She to lost Peace aspir'd:
Disdain'd Three Kingdoms Discontented Sway,
Sigh'd for Repose, and Bliss without Allay;
Knew These were fix'd Above and thither wing'd her Way."

... ... ...

"There, read the Wonders of Her Reign, and find,
The strong Reflexion of her godlike Mind!...
Redressing Wrongs, and Succ'ring the Distrest!
The Arbitress of War, of Peace become;
Peace, forc'd abroad; but gently urg'd at Home!"

136. Ibid., X, p. 276.
137. Theobald Lewis, The Mausoleum, A Poem Sacred to the Memory of Her Late Majesty, Queen Anne, Printed for Jonas Brown at the Black Swan, London, 1714, pp. 1 and 2.
138. Ibid., p. 5.
"O! She was All a Nation could require
To satisfy its Hope, or large Desire.
Sure at her Birth, the gods in Council sat;
Resolv'd, a finished Virtue to create:
Imparted all their Pow'rs, and Aid Divine;
To Give the World Assurance of a Queen!
With Piety the Regal Soul they drest;
Compassion, Mercy, and soft Love impressed;
And every Charm that might the forming gods attest."139
CONCLUSION

The Age of Anne is an era remarkable in its achievements, varied as they are, ranging from the union of two countries, and a progress in letters to the cessation of a war which broke the power of France and gave England the ascendancy of power foreshadowing, as it were, the future development of the British Empire, a Commonwealth of Nations, so extensive in area that the well-known saying is "the sun never sets on the British Empire". For how much of this was Anne responsible? It may seem odd to say that the glories of Anne's reign did not materialize because of her but rather in spite of her yet, it is true in every sense. Anne delighted in the title of Queen and in the pomp and splendor accorded her because of her regal position; although the master mind that guided the destiny of the English people was not hers, but that of her ministers and court officials. She was nothing more than a dupe of the intrigues of her own favorites, and allowed herself to be misled by their protestations of loyalty, when in reality their fawning and bowing to her was but a stepping-stone to a realization of their own selfish interests. There is, however, no doubt as to the sincerity of the affections given her by her people at large. Her bounties to the impoverished clergy, her economic expenditure of her own income, and her solicitude for the poor, endeared her to the masses and won for her the title "Good Queen Anne".

From a social viewpoint the Age of Anne was one in which coffee houses, card playing, drunkenness, and duelling had predominance. The men made the coffee house their rendezvous, while the women wasted their time in
card playing, in most cases incurring heavy debts. The separation of the sexes in their social life weakened society and was a detriment to anything like a happy family life. This condition, of course, did not exist amid the homely scenes in the country, but it was all too evident in the city of London, and in the larger towns. It was an era, too, when the newspaper came into prominence as the vehicle of public opinion. Many of the newspapers were short-lived, but it was a venture into a field which is of prime importance at the present time. There was also a marked advance in the art of letters during Anne's reign which is illustrious because of such names as Swift, Addison, Steele, and Pope.

The Age of Louis XIV in France is so much of the same type as that of the Age of Anne in England that this work would have been incomplete without a comparison of the two. Just as Anne is known to posterity as "Good Queen Anne", so has the name of Louis XIV been linked to the title of "Grand Monarch". Both were staunch supporters of the theory of absolutist divine-right monarchy, and both sought eagerly the fame, the glory, and the majesty befitting their dignity. Is it strange then that the termination of their lives also ended on a similar note? Anne died alone, without a friend or an acquaintance to ease her dying moments, to offer her comfort and consolation. Louis XIV, because of obstinate opposition to fiscal reform, caused the crushing taxation of his people, thereby losing his prestige and glory among them to the extent that his corpse being borne in procession to its tomb was saluted by the curses of a noisy crowd sitting in the wine-rooms, celebrating his death by drinking more than their fill as a compensation for having suffered too much from hunger during his lifetime. Such was the coarse but
true epitaph which popular opinion accorded to the Grand Monarch."

The Age of Anne died with her. Her subjects eagerly anticipated the advent of the Hanoverian rule with its new changes and innovations. The truth of this strange change of affiliation on the part of her subjects at her demise is concisely expressed in this trite statement made at her death by the President of Oxford College, "She is as dead as Julius Caesar!" Anne's reign had been filled with many events, but for the most part they lacked permanence which is a natural result of personal interest and enthusiasm, two factors which would have made them lasting monuments to Anne's memory. Anne exemplified in its truest sense the English ideal of government, inasmuch as she gloried in being the Queen of England. In reality this was but a title and had no further significance than that she was a figure-head of power in a country which was ruled by the intrigues and machinations of ministers and court officials, who were clever enough to conceal their duplicity under the cover of loyalty, so as to disguise every pretense at self-aggrandizement. Anne, lacking in keen perception and intellectual ability, was aware of none of this, and revelled with great delight in the simulated attention and flattery accorded her. An Age, thriving under these conditions quickly passed into oblivion, and was easily superseded by the advent and rule of a new dynasty. It is true that the title "Good Queen Anne" was bandied about by the lips of many, but this was more from the force of custom than of any sincere personal significance attached to the name. Truly, then, may it be said that both Anne and her Age were "as dead as Julius Caesar!"
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Rev. Joseph Roubik, S.J.  March 18, 1940
Paul Kiniery, Ph.D.  March 27, 1940