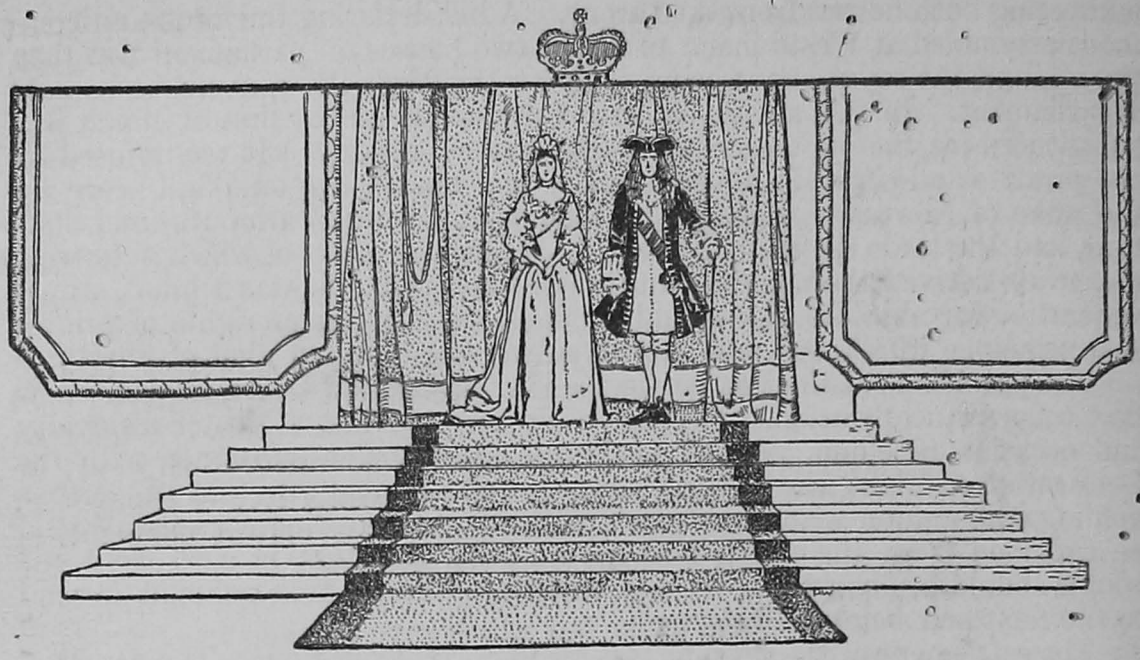

CHAPTER XI

WILLIAM AND MARY

[1689–1702 A.D.]

It is, indeed, difficult to conceive the full amount of the impetus given to English civilisation by the expulsion of the house of Stuart. Among the most immediate results, may be mentioned the limits that were set to the royal prerogative; the important steps that were taken towards religious toleration; the remarkable and permanent improvement in the administration of justice; the final abolition of a censorship over the press; and, what has not excited sufficient attention, the rapid growth of those great monetary interests by which, as we shall hereafter see, the prejudices of the superstitious classes have in no small degree been counterbalanced. These are the main characteristics of the reign of William III; a reign often aspersed, and little understood, but of which it may be truly said, that, taking its difficulties into due consideration, it is the most successful and the most splendid recorded in the history of any country.— BUCKLE.[b]

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS: THE BILL OF RIGHTS

THE new reign was commenced (February 14th) with a proclamation confirming all Protestants in the offices which they held. The king then nominated the privy-council and appointed to the offices of state; in both cases selecting from the ranks of whigs and tories, with a preponderance however of the former. Danby was made president of the council; Halifax, privy-seal; Nottingham and Shrewsbury, secretaries of state. The treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put into commission.

Judging it inexpedient, under the present circumstances of the country, to risk the experiment of a new election, the king and council resolved to convert the convention into a parliament. This was effected by the simple expedient of the king's going in state to the house of peers on the 18th, and

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addressing both houses from the throne. A bill declaring the lords and commons assembled at Westminster to be the two houses of parliament was then passed, and the royal assent being given on the 23rd, the convention became a parliament. In this act a new oath to be taken on the first of March was substituted for the old ones of allegiance and supremacy. It was refused by the primate and seven of his suffragans; and among the temporal peers, by the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford, and the lords Griffin and Stawell. Hence the party of which they were the heads derived the name of nonjurors; their principle was a blind, stupid veneration for absolute power, and for the hereditary divine rights of princes — a principle, if followed out, utterly subversive of every kind of liberty.

The pernicious distinction between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*, now first came into operation. It answers no purpose but to foster disloyalty and occasion rebellion. A Bill of Rights the same in substance with the Declaration of Right was passed. One of its provisions was, that all persons holding communion with the church of Rome, or marrying a papist, should be excluded from the crown and government, and that in such cases the people should be absolved from their allegiance, and the crown should descend to the next heir being a Protestant.

The settlement of the revenue was an important question. The courtiers maintained that the revenue settled on the late king for life came of course to the present king; but the commons could only be induced to grant it for one year. They readily granted a sum of £600,000 to remunerate the states for the expense they had been at; and on information of King James having landed in Ireland, they voted funds for an army and navy. *g*

William looked upon many unsettled questions with a wider range of view than his own council, or the grand council of the nation. He was confident in the justice and necessity of the objects for which he desired to have his hands strengthened. The parliament refused its confidence. The king desired to carry out the fullest principles of religious liberty that were consistent with the public safety. The parliament thought that there was a very strict limit even for toleration. And yet, out of these differences, resulted much practical good. The king wished to have ample means for maintaining the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, for the pacification of Scotland, for giving efficiency to the confederacy against the ambition of the French. The commons manifested a greater jealousy of entrusting the supplies to their deliverer than they had manifested towards their oppressor. There were immediate evil consequences. The Roman Catholic adherents of James devastated the Protestant settlements in Ireland; the standard of resistance was successfuly reared in Scotland; Louis threatened England with invasion, and was marching a great army upon Holland.

But the benefits of the jealousy of the commons are felt to this day. Those whigs who carried their confidence in the intentions of William to an extreme, were of opinion that the revenue which had been settled upon King James for life should revert to the sovereign who had taken his place. Some tories, who were adverse to the government, but were eager to secure power by a simulated confidence in the king, agreed in this view. The majority in parliament successfully resisted it. To abolish the hearth-money, or chimney-tax, an especial tax upon the poor, was a duty to which William was called by the earnest solicitations of the crowds who followed his march from Tor Bay to London. But he frankly said to parliament, "as in this his majesty doth consider the ease of the subject, so he doth not doubt but you will be careful of the support of the crown." The official biographer of James II sneers at

William's self-denial; "He wheedled them [the commons] with a remission of chimney-money, when he was well assured he should be no loser by his generosity, and that it would be only like throwing water into a dry pump to make it suck better below, and cast it out with more abundance above." This was not exactly the best mode of wheedling the rich country gentlemen by removing a tax from the cottage to put it in some shape upon the mansion. Yet the commons respected the motive of the king, and substituted less oppressive taxes. But they declined to grant the temporary revenue for the lives of the king and queen. The hereditary revenue they did not touch. Moreover they resolved that whatever sums they voted should be appropriated to particular services, according to estimates.

WILLIAM III
(1650–1702)

This principle, partially adhered to in the time of Charles II, but wholly disregarded by the parliament of his successor, has from the time of the revolution been the great security of the nation against the wanton and corrupt expenditure of the crown. Parliament may make lavish votes; but there must be a distinct vote in every case for the service of a particular department which renders the legislative power so really supreme in England; it is this which renders it impossible that an executive can subsist except in concord with the representatives of the people. England therefore owes a debt of gratitude to the parliament of the revolution, that they clung to a principle and established a practice which have never since been departed from. A temporary vote of credit is sometimes asked under extraordinary circumstances; but the constitutional right of appropriation, always secured in the express words of a grant of supply, is the general rule which no minister would dare to ask the representatives of the people to forego.

But if the parliament of William and Mary is to be commended for their jealousy of the king in the matter of revenue, we may doubt if they were equally wise in halting far short of his known wishes in the great questions of religious liberty and religious union. If the king's abstract sense of what was due to the consciences of men could have been carried out, England might have been saved from a century and a quarter of bitter animosities; and the Church of England might have been more secure and more influential, than during the long period when the Test Act remained in force against Protestants, and Roman Catholics were not only ineligible to civil offices, but

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had to undergo what we now justly regard as persecution. But in this, as in all other cases, no reform can be permanent which is premature.

The coronation took place on the 11th of April; the bishop of London officiating in place of the nonjuring primate. Several titles and honours had previously been conferred. The marquis of Winchester was made duke of Bolton; lords Mordaunt and Churchill, earls of Monmouth and Marlborough; Henry Sidney, Viscount Sidney; the king's Dutch favourite Bentinck, earl of Portland, etc. Shortly after (24th), the earl of Danby was created marquis of Carmarthen. The celebrated Dr. Burnet was also rewarded for his exertions in the cause of civil and religious liberty by being raised to the see of Salisbury. The judicial bench was purified and filled with men of sound constitutional principles; Holt, Pollexfen, and Atkins being placed at the head of the three law-courts: Treby was made attorney- and Somers solicitor-general. Somers was the son of a highly respectable attorney at Worcester, and having graduated at Oxford he went to the bar. He distinguished himself as one of the counsel for the seven bishops, and he was one of the managers in the conference between the two houses at the time of the Revolution. He was henceforth regarded as a leader of the whig party.

THE ACT OF TOLERATION

It was the earnest wish of the king and of the more liberal statesmen, to reward the dissenters for their meritorious conduct during the late crisis by removing all disqualifications under which they laboured. It was first attempted to have the sacramental test omitted in the new oaths; but that failing, a bill was brought in to exempt them from the penalties of certain laws. This, named the Act of Toleration, was passed: though the Catholics were not included in it, they felt the benefit of it, and William always treated them with lenity. A bill of comprehension passed the lords, but miscarried in the commons. The attainders of Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle, were reversed. Johnson's sentence was annulled, and he received 1,000*l.* and a pension. Among those rewarded at this time was the notorious Titus Oates.

William's main object, as we have seen, was to engage England in the great confederacy lately formed against the French king. As Louis was now openly assisting King James, the commons presented an address (April 26th) assuring the king of their support in case he should think fit to engage in the war with France. William required no more; he declared war without delay (May 7th).

We must now take a view of the state of affairs in Scotland and Ireland at this time [leaving the reader to find fuller details in the separate histories of those countries]. As Scotland had been the victim of a civil and religious despotism such as the Stuarts had never dared to exercise in England, the friends of William were necessarily the majority in that country. After the flight of James, such of the Scottish nobility and gentry as were in London presented an address to the prince, vesting in him the administration and the revenue, and requesting him to call a convention of the states of Scotland. With this request he of course complied; and when the convention met (March 14th), the whigs had a decided majority. It was voted, that King James "had forfaulted [forfeited] the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." On the 11th of April William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of Scotland, and three deputies were sent to London to admin-

ister to them the coronation-oath. The convention was converted into a parliament as in England.

The adherents of the late king, foiled in the convention, resolved to appeal to force; the duke of Gordon, a Catholic, refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor; and Graham of Claverhouse (later Viscount Dundee), the ruthless persecutor of the Cameronians, fired with the idea of emulating the fame of Montrose, quitted Edinburgh with a party of fifty horse and directed his course toward the Highlands. General Mackay, who had been sent with five regiments from England, was despatched in pursuit of him. [At the battle of Killiecrankie, May 26th, Dundee received a mortal wound.] There was no one to take his place; the clans gradually laid down their arms and took advantage of the pardon offered by King William. The duke of Gordon also submitted and delivered up the castle of Edinburgh (June 13th), and the cause of James became hopeless in Scotland. The abolition of Episcopacy and the re-establishment of Presbytery took place soon after; and thus finally terminated the struggle between the crown and the people of Scotland on the subject of religion.

THE TWO ENGLISH KINGS IN IRELAND (1689–1690 A.D.)

It was different in Ireland, where the whole power of the state was in the hands of the Catholics. Tyrconnel had at first signified an inclination to submit to William, who had sent over General Hamilton, one of the officers of James's army, with proposals to him; but Hamilton proved a traitor and advised against submission; and Tyrconnel, whose only object had been to gain time, had already sent to assure James of his fidelity. He also disarmed the Protestants in Dublin, and he augmented his Catholic army. It has always been the fate of the Irish Protestants to have their interests postponed to those of party in England; and they were now neglected by William. It is said by some, that Halifax suggested this course to him, as if Ireland submitted he would have no pretext for keeping up an army, on which his retention of England depended; but in truth he does not seem to have had an army to send at that time; he could not rely on the English troops, and he therefore could not venture to part with the foreigners. In the month of March two Scottish regiments actually mutinied, and having disarmed some of their officers, and seized the money provided for their pay, set out for their own country. This gave occasion for passing the first Mutiny Bill, which has ever since been annually renewed. *g*

Hallam thus characterises the importance of the Mutiny Bill: "The annual assembly of parliament was rendered necessary, in the first place, by the strict appropriation of the revenue according to votes of supply. It was secured, next, by passing the Mutiny Bill, under which the army is held together, and subjected to military discipline, for a short term, seldom or never exceeding twelve months. These are the two effectual securities against military power: that no pay can be issued to the troops without a previous authorisation by the commons in a committee of supply, and by both houses in an act of appropriation; and that no officer or soldier can be punished for disobedience, nor any court-martial held, without the annual re-enactment of the Mutiny Bill. Thus it is strictly true that, if the king were not to summon parliament every year, his army would cease to have a legal existence; and the refusal of either house to concur in the Mutiny Bill would at once wrest the sword out of his grasp. By the Bill of Rights it is declared unlawful to keep any forces in time of peace without consent of parliament. This

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consent, by an invariable and wholesome usage, is given only from year to year: and its necessity may be considered perhaps the most powerful of those causes which have transferred so much even of the executive power into the management of the two houses of parliament." *d*

James embraced a resolution worthy of a sovereign. Having obtained from Louis a supply of arms, ammunition and money, with some officers, and collected about twelve hundred of his own subjects, he hastened to Brest, and embarking in a French fleet of twenty-one sail, proceeded to Ireland. He landed in safety at Kinsale (March 12th). At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel, who gave him an account of the state of affairs. He described the army as numerous, but ill-armed; and the Protestants as being in possession of Ulster alone. On the 24th the king made his solemn entrance into Dublin amid the acclamations of the Catholics. He forthwith removed all the Protestant members of the council. He issued proclamations; by one raising the value of the current coin; by another summoning a parliament for the 7th of May; and having created Tyrconnel a duke, he set out for his army in the north.

The only towns that offered resistance were Londonderry and Enniskillen. On July 31st the besieging army retired from Londonderry, having lost between eight and nine thousand men before the heroic town. The besieged had lost three thousand — nearly the half of their original number. The Enniskilleners showed equal courage, and defeated the papists wherever they encountered them.

The houses of parliament which met in Dublin were filled with Catholic members, the Protestants not exceeding half a dozen in either house. James, in his speech, made his usual parade of respect for the rights of conscience; and in a subsequent declaration he expatiated on his regard and favour to his Protestant subjects. One of his earliest measures, however, was to give his assent to an act for robbing them of their properties. The bill passed; in vain the purchasers under the Act of Settlement petitioned the king; he replied, "that he would not do evil that good might come of it"; yet he gave his assent to the bill. Even the Protestant worship was suppressed, for an order was issued forbidding more than five Protestants to meet together for any purpose on pain of death.

While James was thus exemplifying his notions of religious liberty, William was preparing the means of recovering Ireland. A force consisting of eighteen regiments of foot and five of horse having been levied, the command was given to Duke Schomberg. But various delays occurred, and it was late in the summer (August 13th) when the duke landed at Bangor in Down, with a body of ten thousand men, leaving the remainder to follow. He invested Carrickfergus, which surrendered after a siege of a few days. The enemy continually retired before him and he reached Dundalk on his way to Dublin. At length, after losing one-half of his men by disease, Schomberg placed his army in winter-quarters in the northern towns.

This year was marked by only one naval engagement. Louis had sent a squadron under Count Chateau-Renault, to convoy some transports with supplies to Ireland. Herbert, who had been sent to intercept them, having been driven by stress of weather into Milford haven, they got safe into Bantry Bay. When Herbert found them there (May 1st), he stood in to attack them though he was much inferior in force. The French weighed and stood out; Herbert tried in vain to get the weather-gauge, and after a running fight of some hours he bore away, leaving the honour of the day to the French. On his return to Portsmouth, as the crews were discontented with their want of success, King William came down, dined aboard the admiral's ship, knighted

captains Ashby and Shovel, and gave the men ten shillings each. Herbert was soon after created earl of Torrington.

William meantime, aware of the importance of reducing Ireland, had resolved to conduct the war there in person. He landed at Carrickfergus (June 14th), and declaring that "he was not come to let the grass grow under his feet," summoned all his troops to his standard. On reviewing them at Loughbrickland, he found himself at the head of thirty-six thousand effective men. He moved southwards without delay: James, who had left Dublin for his army (16th), advanced to Dundalk, but not thinking that post tenable, he fell back and took a position near Oldbridge, on the right bank of the river Boyne, near Drogheda, with a bog on his left and the pass of Duleek in his rear. His army is said to have numbered thirty-three thousand men. On the morning of the last day of June the English army reached the Boyne. William rode out to reconnoitre the enemy; he was recognised, and two pieces of cannon were secretly planted behind a hedge opposite an eminence where he had sat down to rest. As he was mounting his horse, they were fired, and one of the balls having touched the bank of the river, rose and grazed his right shoulder, tearing his coat and flesh. His attendants gathered round him, a cry of joy rose in the Irish camp, the report of his death flew to Dublin, and thence to Paris, where the firing of cannon and lighting of bonfires testified the exultation of Louis.

The armies cannonaded each other during the remainder of the day. At nine o'clock at night William held a council, and gave his orders for the battle next day; at twelve he rode by torchlight through the camp; the word given was "Westminster"; each soldier was directed to wear a green bough in his hat, as the enemy was observed to wear white paper. The army was to pass the river in three divisions; the right, led by young Schomberg and General Douglas, at the ford of Slane; the centre, under Schomberg himself, in front of the camp; and the left, under the king, lower down toward Drogheda.

Early next morning (Tuesday, July 1st) the right division set out for Slane, where it forced the passage, and passing the bog, drove off the troops opposed to it. The centre crossed unopposed; on the further bank they met a vigorous resistance, but they finally forced the enemy to fall back to the village of Donore, where James stood, a spectator of the battle. William meantime had crossed at the head of his cavalry; the Irish horse, led by Hamilton, fought gallantly, but they were broken at length, and their commander made a prisoner.[1] Lausun now urged James to remain no longer, but to retire with all speed to Dublin before he was surrounded. He forthwith quitted the field; his army then poured through the pass of Duleek, and forming on the other side, retreated in good order. Their loss had been fifteen hundred men, that of the victors was only a third of that number, among whom were Duke Schomberg, and Walker, the brave governor of Derry.

Macaulay has this comment on the flight of James II: "Whether James had owed his early reputation for valour to accident and flattery, or whether, as he advanced in life, his character underwent a change, may be doubted. But it is certain that, in his youth, he was generally believed to possess, not merely that average measure of fortitude which qualifies a soldier to go through a campaign without disgrace, but that high and serene intrepidity which is

[1] William asked Hamilton, the traitorous messenger to Tyrconnel, if he thought the Irish would fight any more. "Upon my honour," said he, "I believe they will; for they have yet a good body of horse." "Honour!" said William: "your honour!" This Hamilton is said to be the author of "The Memoirs of the Count de Gramont."

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the virtue of great commanders. It is equally certain that, in his later years, he repeatedly, at conjunctures such as have often inspired timorous and delicate women with heroic courage, showed a pusillanimous anxiety about his personal safety. Of the most powerful motives which can induce human beings to encounter peril none was wanting to him on the day of the Boyne. The eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity, of friends devoted to his cause, and of enemies eager to witness his humiliation were fixed upon him. He had, in his own opinion, sacred rights to maintain and cruel wrongs to revenge. He was a king come to fight for three kingdoms. He was a father come to fight for the birthright of his child. He was a zealous Roman Catholic, come to fight in his 'holiest of crusades.' If all this was not enough, he saw, from the secure position which he occupied on the height of Donor, a sight which, it might have been thought, would have roused the most torpid of mankind to emulation. He saw William, his rival, weak, sickly, wounded, swimming the river, struggling through the mud, leading the charge, stopping the flight, grasping the sword with the left hand, managing the bridle with a bandaged arm. But none of these things moved that sluggish and ignoble nature. He watched, from a safe distance, the beginning of the battle on which his fate and the fate of his race depended. When it became clear that the day was going against Ireland, he was seized with an apprehension that his flight might be intercepted, and galloped towards Dublin."[e] James stopped only one night in Dublin; he fled to Duncannon, where, finding a French vessel, he got on board and landed safely at Brest (10th).

William reached Dublin on the third day after his victory (4th). He issued a proclamation promising pardon to all the inferior people engaged in the war, but excepting the leaders. He then advanced southwards and reduced Waterford; but hearing of a victory gained by the French fleet and a descent on the coast of England, he returned to Dublin, deeming his presence necessary in England. Finding, however, the danger not to be so great as he had apprehended, he resolved to remain and finish the war. He advanced, and laid siege to Limerick (August 9th), but his artillery was intercepted on its way from Dublin and destroyed by General Sarsfield, and an attempt to storm (27th) having failed with great loss, he raised the siege and retiring to Waterford embarked for England (September 5th), leaving the command with Count Solms and General Ginkel.

The earl of Marlborough [formerly John Churchill[1]], who had commanded the British troops in the Netherlands this year, having proposed the reduction of Cork and Kinsale, landed at the former place (21st) with five thousand men, and being joined by the prince of Wurtemburg with an equal number of his Danes, he in the space of twenty-three days obliged both places to surrender. The French troops in Ireland now returned home, leaving the Irish to their fate.

We now return to England to notice the state of affairs there for the last twelvemonth.

PARLIAMENT AND THE KING: THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REVENUE

The parliament which had been prorogued having met again (October 19th), the king in his speech pressed on them the necessity of a supply for

[1 The new commander gave the first specimen on a great scale of the genius which afterwards immortalised his name. In thirty days he secured the ports of embarkation where the French had established their communications; and with Cork and Kinsale in his hands he rendered the position of Louis' troops untenable, and kept the native army in a half famished condition in the wasted province of Ulster.—WHITE.]

carrying on the war; he also strongly urged the passing of a bill of indemnity. They readily voted a supply of two millions; but the whigs, with the natural jealousy of power, wishing to keep the lash over the heads of their rivals the tories, threw every possible obstruction in the way of the indemnity; impeachments were menaced against those who had turned papists; a committee was appointed to inquire who were the advisers, etc., in the "murders" of Russell, Sidney, and others; and as Halifax, who had been then in the ministry, saw that he was aimed at, he retired from office and joined the tories. A bill was brought in for restoring corporations, by a clause of which all who had acted or concurred in the surrender of charters were to be excluded from office for seven years. As there could be no doubt of the object of this clause, the tories put forth their whole strength, and having gained the court to their side, the clause was defeated in the commons and the bill itself was lost in the lords.

The refusal of the whigs to grant him a revenue for life had greatly alienated the mind of the king from them. He was in fact so disgusted with the ungenerous treatment, as he conceived it, that he met with, that he seriously meditated a return to Holland, leaving the queen to reign in England. From this he was diverted by the entreaties of Carmarthen and Shrewsbury; and the tories having promised him lavish supplies if he would dissolve the parliament, he resolved on that measure, and on conducting the Irish war in person. He therefore prorogued the parliament (January 27th, 1690), and a few days after (February 6th), he issued a proclamation dissolving it; and summoning a new one to meet on March 20th.

In the new house of commons the tories had the preponderance; but the whigs were notwithstanding very formidable. This appeared in the settlement of the revenue, as, though the hereditary excise was given to the king for life, the customs were granted only for four years. The great struggle of parties took place on a bill brought into the lords by the whigs, for recognising their majesties as the "rightful and lawful" sovereigns of these realms, and declaring all the acts of the Convention Parliament to be good and valid. This was obviously contrary to the principles and professions of the tories; they caused the words "rightful and lawful" to be omitted as superfluous, and they would only consent that the laws of the late parliament should be valid for the time to come. The bill was committed, but the declaratory clause was lost on the report. A vigorous protest of some of the leading whigs caused it to be restored. The tories now protested in their turn, but the whigs caused the protest to be expunged from the journals. The bill passed the commons without opposition, as the influence of the crown was exerted in its favour. As the tories were thus instrumental in putting the last hand to the settlement of the crown, they had no excuse for ever again opposing it.

A bill requiring every person holding any office to "abjure" the late king and his title was rejected by the commons at the express desire of the king. An act was passed for investing the queen with the administration during the absence of the king, and one for reversing the judgment against the city of London, and finally the Bill of Indemnity, which contained the names of thirty excepted persons, none of whom however were ever molested in consequence of it. The session was then closed (May 21st), and the king soon after set out for Ireland.

The situation of the queen was by no means an easy one. Her mind was distracted with anxiety for the fate of both her father and her husband in Ireland; the "Jacobites," as the adherents of James were now called, were

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preparing an insurrection in England and Scotland, and the French were ready to assist them; she had to hold the balance between the two parties in her cabinet. Her difficulties, however, gave occasion to the display of the nobler parts of her character, and she acquired by her firmness, mildness, and prudence, the applause of all.g

THE NAVAL DEFEAT AT BEACHY HEAD (1690 A.D.)

There was another battle being fought on the southeastern coast of England, at the very hour when the shot that was fired across the Boyne had very nearly settled the question whether the revolution of 1688 should be a starting-point in a race of honour and prosperity, or a broken trophy of one brief and useless effort for liberty and the rights of conscience. The departure of William for Ireland was the signal for an attack upon the English coasts, which was to be accompanied with an insurrection of the jacobites. A fleet sailed from Brest under the count de Tourville. The English fleet was in the Downs, under the command of the earl of Torrington [formerly Admiral Herbert]. He sailed to the back of the Isle of Wight, and was there joined by a squadron of Dutch vessels under a skilful commander, Evertsen. Queen Mary and her council were aware that the French fleet had left Brest. It soon became known that the English admiral had quitted his position off St. Helen's, and had sailed for the straits of Dover upon the approach of the French. The council determined to send Torrington positive orders to fight. The French fleet was superior in vessels and guns to the combined English and Dutch fleet; but the inequality was not so great that a man of the old stamp of Blake would have feared to risk a battle.

Torrington did something even worse than hesitate to fight. He let the brunt of the conflict fall upon the Dutch. He put Evertsen in the van, and brought very few of his own squadron into action. The Dutch fought with indomitable courage and obstinacy, but were at length compelled to draw off. The gazers from the high downs of Beachy Head witnessed the shameful flight of a British admiral to seek the safety of the Thames. When the news came to London that Torrington had left the Channel to a triumphant enemy — when an invasion was imminent, for England was without regular troops — when plotters were all around, and arrests of men of rank, even of Clarendon, the queen's kinsman, were taking place — then, indeed, there was an hour almost of despair such as was felt when De Ruyter sailed up the Medway.

But the very humiliation roused the spirit of the people. The queen was universally beloved; and, although studiously avoiding, when the king was at hand, any interference in public affairs, she took at once a kingly part in this great crisis. "The queen balanced all things with an extraordinary temper," writes Burnet.o She sent for the lord mayor of London; and inquired what the citizens would do, should the enemy effect a landing. The lord mayor returned to the queen with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds; of nine thousand men of the city trainbands, ready instantly to march wherever ordered; and a proposal for the lieutenancy to provide and maintain six additional regiments of foot; and of the mayor, aldermen, and common council to raise a regiment of horse, and a thousand dragoons, by voluntary contributions. The same spirit was manifested throughout the land. The people might grumble against the Dutch; they might feel some commiseration for an exiled prince; they might be divided about the questions of church government; they might complain that the Revolution had brought them increased taxation: but they would have no government thrust upon them by the

French king. They would not undo the work of their own hands. The gloom for the disaster of Beachy Head was quickly forgotten. On July 4th a messenger had brought letters to the queen which told that a great victory had been won in Ireland, and that the king was safe.

JACOBITE PLOTS TO RESTORE JAMES (1691 A.D.)

Torrington having brought his fleet into the Thames, repaired to London, where he was deprived of his command and committed to the Tower. He was afterwards tried by a court-martial and acquitted, but he was never again employed.

As an invasion was apprehended, the queen issued commissions for raising troops, directed a camp to be formed at Tor Bay, and caused several suspected persons to be arrested. But the French, after burning the fishing-village of Teignmouth, returned to Brest, and the news of the victory at the Boyne soon dispelled all alarm.

On the return of the king, the greatest harmony prevailed between him and his parliament. They granted four millions for the war, and William having put an end to the session, embarked at Gravesend (January 16th, 1691) in order to be present at a congress of the allies at the Hague. All there acceded to his wishes, it being unanimously resolved to prosecute the war with vigour. He stayed a few weeks in Holland and then returned to England (April 13th).

A conspiracy in favour of James had been discovered before the king left England. About the end of December, a boat-owner of Barking in Essex, having informed Lord Carmarthen that one of his boats had been engaged to convey some persons to France, it was boarded at Gravesend, and Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and a Mr. Elliot, were found in it. A parcel of papers of a suspicious nature was taken on the person of Ashton. Preston and Ashton were both tried and found guilty; the latter was executed; he died a Protestant. Preston[1] obtained a pardon by revealing all he knew. Lord Clarendon was committed to the Tower; Bishop Turner, Lord Preston's brother Graham, and Penn the Quaker, being implicated, went out of the way.

It was now beyond doubt that there was a very extensive conspiracy organised for bringing back the late king. Untaught by the experience of his whole reign, and of his late doings in Ireland, men were so infatuated as to suppose that he could be content to reign the king of a Protestant people. Preston and Ashton were to propose to him to make the majority of his council even in France, Protestant; to assure him that though he might live a Catholic, he must reign as a Protestant, giving all offices of state to those of this religion, and seeking nothing but liberty of conscience for his own. They were also to require that the French force, which they wished him to bring over, should be so moderate as to give no alarm for the liberties of the nation. A wilder project than this never was conceived, yet in a memorandum of Lord Preston's

[1 In connection with Somers' honorable conduct of Preston's trial Lord Campbell says: "Macaulay justly observes, that the earlier volumes of the State Trials are the most frightful record of baseness and depravity in the world. Our hatred is altogether turned away from the crimes and the criminals, and directed against the law and its ministers. We see villanies as black as ever were imputed to any prisoner, at any bar, daily committed on the bench and in the jury box. It is difficult to believe, that little more than three years had elapsed between the prosecution of the Seven Bishops and the prosecution of Lord Preston, as we seem suddenly transferred to another age, or to a distant country, where the principles of justice were held sacred instead of being violated and despised."]

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were found the names of Shrewsbury, Monmouth, Devonshire, and other whig lords, as if they were participators in it. It is certain that Halifax, Godolphin, and Marlborough were at this time in communication with the jacobite agents, though the second was actually at the head of the treasury, and the last had lately done James all the injury he could in Ireland.

But Marlborough did not find his ambition sufficiently gratified, and he thought it probable that James might be restored. He resolved in that case to secure his pardon, and therefore pretending the greatest remorse for his base ingratitude, he gave an exact account of the numbers and condition of the army and navy, and of the plans of King William as far as he knew them; he promised, if the king desired it, to bring over the troops that were in Flanders, but thought it better that he and the rest of the king's friends in parliament should strive to have the foreign troops sent away, in which case the English should be brought back, and the king's restoration might then be easily effected.

William now resolved to keep measures no longer with the nonjuring prelates, for they had refused to perform their functions, even if excused from their oaths. He therefore proceeded to fill up the vacant sees. Tillotson (a name with which that of Sancroft will ill bear comparison) was selected for Canterbury. The names of Cumberland, Fowler, Patrick, Beveridge, and others, do equal honour to the discernment of the king and his advisers. As Sancroft and his brethren gave the most decisive proof of their sincerity, we must respect them as honest men; but at the same time it is difficult not to feel contempt for those who were willing to sacrifice the civil (and consequently the religious) liberties of their country on the altar of their false god, passive obedience. If too, as they maintained, this was the principle of Christianity, that perfect law of liberty, they should have submitted with the meekness of martyrs, and not have poured through the press, from the pens of themselves and their adherents, a continued stream of virulent pamphlets against their opponents.

On May 2nd King William, attended among others by the earl of Marlborough, sailed for Holland in order to take the field in person against the French. The war was carried on simultaneously in Flanders, on the Rhine, in Savoy, and Piedmont, but no battle of any note signalised this campaign. At the end of it William returned to England (October 19th), where the cheering intelligence of the complete reduction of Ireland awaited him. Owing to the want of the needful supplies, Ginkel had not been able to take the field till the month of June. He then advanced to lay siege to Athlone, which was soon taken.

On the 10th Ginkel marched from Athlone to engage the Irish army. He found them on the 12th posted on Kilcommoden Hill, where he defeated them with great loss.

Galway surrendered (on the 20th) on honourable terms, and Ginkel now prepared to end the war by the reduction of Limerick, the last stronghold of the Irish. On his coming before the town (August 25th) the batteries were opened in the usual manner. The garrison, on September 22nd, proposed a cessation, in order to adjust the terms of surrender. The terms which they required were extravagant; but Ginkel, who knew how much it was for his master's interest to have the war concluded, agreed to give very favourable ones. The Irish were to exercise their religion as in the time of Charles II; all included in the capitulation were to enjoy their estates and follow their professions as in the same reign; their gentry were to have the use of arms, and no oaths were to be required but that of allegiance; all persons wishing

to retire to the Continent should be conveyed thither, with their families and effects, at the expense of the government. These articles were drawn up and signed (October 3rd), and the war in Ireland, after having inflicted three years of calamity on the country, was at length terminated. Sarsfield and about twelve thousand men passed over to France, and were taken into the pay of the French monarch.[g]

For the breaking of the agreements which led to the calling of Limerick "the city of the violated treaty," we refer the reader to our history of Ireland. Green[i] has characterised the departure of Sarsfield and the aftermath of the conquest with scathing words. He implies that the man did well to go into exile rather than remain in a land that had lost all hope of national freedom. He pictures the women as crying out in despair over the departure of their husbands and brothers. The silence that then settled down upon Ireland betokened, he urges, not contentment, but the depths of despair. He declares that "the most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising under Tyrconnel"; and he quotes with approval the bitter words of Swift that the conquered people became "hewers of wood and drawers of water"—abject menials in the hands of their conquerors. Not until about the times of the French revolution was Ireland again to be a menace to the peace and development of England.[a]

A barbarous deed enacted in the Highlands of Scotland opens the occurrences of the following year (1692). An order had been issued for the Highlanders to submit and take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January. The chiefs all obeyed; the last was MacDonald of Glencoe, and the snows and other impediments prevented him from reaching Inverary, the county-town, till the day was past. The sheriffs, however, administered the oath, and certified the cause of delay. But the earl of Breadalbane was MacDonald's bitter enemy, and the Dalrymples of Stair, the president and secretary, thirsted for blood. Both the oath and certificate were suppressed, and William was assured that Glencoe was the great obstacle to the pacification of the Highlands. An order, countersigned by the king, was obtained "to extirpate that sect of thieves," and Dalrymple forthwith wrote to the commander-in-chief ample directions how to perpetrate the massacre in the most barbarous manner.

The houses were all burned to the ground, the cattle driven off or destroyed, the women and children stripped naked, and left to perish in the snow [as described in detail in the history of Scotland].

Certainly the great offenders here were those two detestable men, Breadalbane and Dalrymple, but the king himself was not guiltless; he should have inquired more accurately before he signed such an order. Judging, however, by his general character, there can be little doubt that he was deceived, and that he thought he was only sanctioning a wholesome act of severity. Political necessity will perhaps account for, though not justify, his not punishing the authors of the massacre. A great outcry at this deed was raised all over Europe by James and his adherents, which certainly came with a good grace from the party which had to boast of Jeffrey's campaign, and the torturings and massacres of the Cameronians!

JAMES ISSUES A DECLARATION (1692 A.D.)

Early in the spring (March 5th, 1692) the king returned to Holland to prepare for the ensuing campaign. The exiled monarch meantime had made his arrangements for the invasion of England. The jacobites and Catholics

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secretly enlisted men and formed regiments; the princess Anne had lately written to implore her father's forgiveness, which he regarded as a proof of the inclination of the church-party; Marlborough continued to give him assurances of his fidelity; and even Russell, out of pride and pique, became a traitor to the cause of the revolution. Louis gave James some troops, which, with the regiments from Ireland and the Scotch and English exiles, forming a force of from fifteen to twenty thousand men, were encamped at La Hogue, where a large fleet was assembled to convey them to England. At the same time James issued a declaration, offering pardon and indemnity to his subjects (with, however, a long list of exceptions), and promising to protect the church.[9]

MACAULAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE (1692 A.D.)

It seems strange that even James should have chosen, at such a conjuncture, to proclaim to the world that the men whom his people most abhorred were the men whom he most delighted to honour. Still more injurious to his interests was the Declaration in which he announced his intentions to his subjects. Of all the state papers which were put forth even by him it was the most elaborately and ostentatiously injudicious. Not a word was to be found indicating that three years of banishment had made the king wiser, that he had repented of a single error, that he took to himself even the smallest part of the blame of that revolution which had dethroned him, or that he purposed to follow a course in any respect differing from that which had already been fatal to him. All the charges which had been brought against him he pronounced to be utterly unfounded. Wicked men had put forth calumnies. Weak men had believed those calumnies. He alone had been faultless. He held out no hope that he would consent to any restriction of that vast dispensing power to which he had formerly laid claim, that he would not again, in defiance of the plainest statutes, fill the privy council, the bench of justice, the public offices, the army, the navy, with papists, that he would not re-establish the high commission, that he would not appoint a new set of regulators to remodel all the constituent bodies of the kingdom. He did indeed condescend to say that he would maintain the legal rights of the Church of England: but he had said this before; and all men knew what those words meant in his mouth. Instead of assuring his people of his forgiveness, he menaced them with a proscription more terrible than any which our island had ever seen. He published a list of persons who had no mercy to expect. Among these were Ormonde, Carmarthen, Nottingham, Tillotson, and Burnet. After the roll of those who were doomed to death by name, came a series of categories. First stood all the crowd of rustics who had been rude to his majesty when he was stopped at Sheerness in his flight. These poor ignorant wretches, some hundreds in number, were reserved for another bloody circuit. Then came all persons who had in any manner borne a part in the punishment of any jacobite conspirator; judges, counsel, witnesses, grand jurymen, petty jurymen, sheriffs and under-sheriffs, constables and turnkeys, in short, all the ministers of justice from Holt down to Ketch. Then vengeance was denounced against all spies and all informers who had divulged to the usurpers the designs of the court of Saint Germain. All justices of the peace who should not declare for their rightful sovereign the moment that they heard of his landing, all gaolers who should not instantly set political prisoners at liberty, were to be left to the extreme rigour of the law. No exception was made in favour of a justice or of a gaoler who might be within

a hundred yards of one of William's regiments, and a hundred miles from the nearest place where there was a single jacobite in arms. Of general amnesty he said not a word. The offenders, hundreds of thousands in number, were merely informed that their fate should be decided in parliament.

The agents of James speedily dispersed his Declaration over every part of the kingdom, and by doing so rendered a great service to William. The general cry was that the banished oppressor had at least given Englishmen fair warning, and that, if, after such a warning, they welcomed him home, they would have no pretence for complaining, though every county town should be polluted by an assize resembling that which Jeffreys had held at Taunton. That some hundreds of people — the jacobites put the number so low as five hundred — were to be hanged without mercy was certain; and nobody who had concurred in the revolution, nobody who had fought for the new government by sea or land, no soldier who had borne a part in the conquest of Ireland, no Devonshire ploughman or Cornish miner who had taken arms to defend his wife and children against Tourville, could be certain that he should not be hanged.

The queen and her ministers, instead of attempting to suppress James's manifesto, very wisely reprinted it, and sent it forth licensed by the secretary of state, and interspersed with remarks by a shrewd and severe commentator. It was refuted in many keen pamphlets; it was turned into doggerel rhymes; and it was left undefended even by the boldest and most acrimonious libellers among the nonjurors.

No man read the Declaration with more surprise and anger than Russell. Bad as he was, he was much under the influence of two feelings, which, though they cannot be called virtuous, have some affinity to virtue, and are respectable when compared with mere selfish cupidity. Professional spirit and party spirit were strong in him. He might be false to his country, but not to his flag; and, even in becoming a jacobite, he had not ceased to be a whig. The near prospect of an invasion, and the Declaration in which Englishmen were plainly told what they had to expect if that invasion should be successful, produced, it should seem, a sudden and entire change in Russell's feelings; and that change he distinctly avowed. "I wish," he said to Lloyd, "to serve King James. The thing might be done, if it were not his own fault. But he takes the wrong way with us. Do not think that I will let the French triumph over us in our own sea. Understand this, that if I meet them I fight them, aye, though his majesty himself should be on board."

This conversation was truly reported to James; but it does not appear to have alarmed him. He was, indeed, possessed with a belief that Russell, even if willing, would not be able to induce the officers and sailors of the English navy to fight against their old king, who was also their old admiral.

THE CONFEDERATE FLEET

The hopes which James felt, he and his favourite Melfort succeeded in imparting to Louis and to Louis' ministers. But for those hopes indeed, it is probable that all thoughts of invading England in the course of that year would have been laid aside. For the extensive plan which had been formed in the winter had, in the course of the spring, been disconcerted by a succession of accidents such as are beyond the control of human wisdom. The time fixed for the assembling of all the maritime forces of France at Ushant had long elapsed; and not a single sail had appeared at the place of rendezvous. The Atlantic squadron was still detained by bad weather in the port of Brest.

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The Mediterranean squadron, opposed by a strong west wind, was vainly struggling to pass the pillars of Hercules. Two fine vessels had gone to pieces on the rocks of Ceuta.

Meanwhile the admiralties of the allied powers had been active. Before the end of April the English fleet was ready to sail. William had been hastening the maritime preparations of the United Provinces; and his exertions had been successful. The whole force of the confederate powers was assembled at Saint Helen's in the second week of May, more than ninety sail of the line, manned by between thirty and forty thousand of the finest seamen of the two great maritime nations.

No mightier armament had ever appeared in the British Channel. There was little reason for apprehending that such a force could be defeated in a fair conflict. Nevertheless there was great uneasiness in London. It was known that there was a jacobite party in the navy. Alarming rumours had worked their way round from France. It was said that the enemy reckoned on the co-operation of some of those officers on whose fidelity, in this crisis, the safety of the state might depend. Russell, as far as can now be discovered, was still unsuspected. But others, who were probably less criminal, had been more indiscreet. The queen and her counsellors were in a great strait. It was not easy to say whether the danger of trusting the suspected persons or the danger of removing them were the greater. Mary, with many painful misgivings, resolved, and the event proved that she resolved wisely, to treat the evil reports as calumnious, to make a solemn appeal to the honour of the accused gentlemen, and then to trust the safety of her kingdom to their national and professional spirit.

On the fifteenth of May a great assembly of officers was convoked at Saint Helen's on board the *Britannia*, a fine three decker, from which Russell's flag was flying. The admiral told them that he had received a despatch which he was charged to read to them. It was from Nottingham. The queen, the secretary wrote, had been informed that stories deeply affecting the character of the navy were in circulation. But her majesty was determined to believe nothing against those brave servants of the state. The gentlemen who had been so foully slandered might be assured that she placed entire reliance on them. This letter was admirably calculated to work on those to whom it was addressed. Very few of them probably had been guilty of any worse offence than rash and angry talk over their wine. They became enthusiastically loyal as soon as they were assured that the queen reposed entire confidence in their loyalty. They eagerly signed an address in which they entreated her to believe that they would, with the utmost resolution and alacrity, venture their lives in defence of her rights, of English freedom and of the Protestant religion, against all foreign and Catholic invaders. "God," they added, "preserve your person, direct your counsels, and prosper your arms; and let all your people say Amen."

The sincerity of these professions was soon brought to the test. A few hours after the meeting on board of the *Britannia* the masts of Tourville's squadron were seen from the cliffs of Portland. On the morning of the seventeenth of May the allied fleet stood out to sea.

BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

Tourville had with him only his own squadron, consisting of forty-four ships of the line. But he had received positive orders to protect the descent on England, and not to decline a battle. Though these orders had been given

before it was known at Versailles that the Dutch and English fleets had joined, he was not disposed to take on himself the responsibility of disobedience. He still remembered with bitterness the reprimand which his extreme caution had drawn upon him after the fight of Beachy Head. He would not again be told that he was a timid and unenterprising commander, that he had no courage but the vulgar courage of a common sailor. He was also persuaded that the odds against him were rather apparent than real. He believed, on the authority of James and Melfort, that the English seamen, from the flag officers down to the cabin boys, were jacobites. Those who fought would fight with half a heart; and there would probably be numerous desertions at the most critical moment.

Animated by such hopes he sailed from Brest, steered first towards the north east, came in sight of the coast of Dorsetshire, and then struck across the channel towards La Hogue, where the army which he was to convoy to England had already begun to embark on board of the transports. He was within a few leagues of Barfleur when, before daybreak, on the morning of the nineteenth of May, he saw the great armament of the allies stretching along the eastern horizon. He determined to bear down on them. By eight the two lines of battle were formed; but it was eleven before the firing began. It soon became plain that the English, from the admiral downward, were resolved to do their duty.

Russell had visited all his ships, and exhorted all his crews. "If your commanders play false," he said, "overboard with them, and with myself the first." There was no defection. There was no slackness. Carter was the first who broke the French line. He was struck by a splinter of one of his own yard arms, and fell dying on the deck. He would not be carried below. He would not let go his sword. "Fight the ship," were his last words: "fight the ship as long as she can swim."

The battle lasted till four in the afternoon. During the earlier part of the day the wind was favourable to the French: they were opposed to half of the allied fleet; and against that half they maintained the conflict with their usual courage and with more than their usual seamanship. After a hard and doubtful fight of five hours, Tourville thought that enough had been done to maintain the honour of the white flag, and began to draw off. But by this time the wind had veered, and was with the allies. They were now able to avail themselves of their great superiority of force. They came on fast.

The retreat of the French became a flight. Tourville fought his own ship desperately. She was named, in allusion to Louis' favourite emblem, the *Royal Sun* [*Le Soleil Royal*] and was widely renowned as the finest vessel in the world. The gallant ship, surrounded by enemies, lay like a great fortress on the sea, scattering death on every side from her hundred and four portholes. She was so formidably manned that all attempts to board her failed. Long after sunset, she got clear of her assailants, and with all her scuppers spouting blood, made for the coast of Normandy. She had suffered so much that Tourville hastily removed his flag to a ship of ninety guns which was named the *Ambitious*. By this time his fleet was scattered far over the sea. About twenty of his smallest ships made their escape by a road which was too perilous for any courage but the courage of despair. In the double darkness of night and of a thick sea fog, they ran, with all their sails spread, through the boiling waves and treacherous rocks of the race of Alderney, and, by a strange good fortune, arrived without a single disaster at St. Malo. The pursuers did not venture to follow the fugitives into that terrible strait, the place of innumerable shipwrecks.

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Those French vessels which were too bulky to venture into the race of Alderney fled to the havens of the Cotentin. The *Royal Sun* and two other three deckers reached Cherbourg in safety. The *Ambitious*, with twelve other ships, all first rates or second rates, took refuge in the Bay of La Hogue, close to the headquarters of the army of James. The three ships which had fled to Cherbourg were closely chased by an English squadron under the command of Delaval. He found them hauled up into shoal water where no large man-of-war could get at them. He therefore determined to attack them with his fireships and boats. The service was gallantly and successfully performed. In a short time the *Royal Sun* and her two consorts were burned to ashes. Part of the crews escaped to the shore; and part fell into the hands of the English.

Meanwhile Russell with the greater part of his victorious fleet had blockaded the Bay of La Hogue. Here, as at Cherbourg, the French men-of-war had been drawn up into shallow water. They lay close to the camp of the army which was destined for the invasion of England. Six of them were moored under a fort named Lisset. The rest lay under the guns of another fort named St. Vaast, where James had fixed his headquarters, and where the union flag, variegated by the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, hung by the side of the white flag of France. Marshal Bellefonds had planted several batteries which, it was thought, would deter the boldest enemy from approaching either Fort Lisset or Fort St. Vaast. James,[1] however, who knew something of English seamen, was not perfectly at ease, and proposed to send strong bodies of soldiers on board of the ships. But Tourville would not consent to put such a slur on his profession.

Russell meanwhile was preparing for an attack. On the afternoon of May 23rd all was ready. A flotilla consisting of sloops, of fireships, and of two hundred boats, was entrusted to the command of Rooke. The whole armament was in the highest spirits. The rowers, flushed by success, and animated by the thought that they were going to fight under the eyes of the French and Irish troops who had been assembled for the purpose of subjugating England, pulled manfully and with loud huzzas towards the six huge wooden castles which lay close to Fort Lisset. The French, though an eminently brave people, have always been more liable to sudden panics than their phlegmatic neighbours the English and Germans. On this day there was a panic both in the fleet and in the army. Tourville ordered his sailors to man their boats, and would have led them to encounter the enemy in the bay. But his example and his exhortations were vain. His boats turned round and fled in confusion. The ships were abandoned. The cannonade from Fort Lisset was so feeble and ill directed that it did no execution. The regiments on the beach, after wasting a few musket shots, drew off.

The English boarded the men-of-war, set them on fire, and having performed this great service without the loss of a single life, retreated at a late hour with the retreating tide. The bay was in a blaze during the night; and now and then a loud explosion announced that the flames had reached a powder room or a tier of loaded guns. At eight the next morning the tide came back strong; and with the tide came back Rooke and his two hundred boats. The enemy made a faint attempt to defend the vessels which were near Fort St. Vaast. During a few minutes the batteries did some execution among the crews of the English skiffs: but the struggle was soon over. The French poured fast out of their ships on one side: the English poured in as fast

[1 It is reported that James, in spite of the frustration of his plans, could not refrain from exclaiming, "See my brave English!"]

on the other, and with loud shouts, turned the captured guns against the shore. The batteries were speedily silenced. James and Melfort, Bellefonds and Tourville, looked on in helpless despondency while the second conflagration proceeded. The conquerors, leaving the ships of war in flames, made their way into an inner basin where many transports lay. Eight of these vessels were set on fire. Several were taken in tow. The rest would have been either destroyed or carried off, had not the sea again begun to ebb. It was impossible to do more; and the victorious flotilla slowly retired, insulting the hostile camp with a thundering chant of "God save the King."

Thus ended, at noon on the twenty-fourth of May, the great conflict which had raged during five days over a wide extent of sea and shore. One English fireship had perished in its calling. Sixteen French men-of-war, all noble vessels, and eight of them three-deckers, had been sunk or burned down to the keel. The battle is called, from the place where it terminated, the battle of La Hogue.

REJOICINGS IN ENGLAND

The news was received in London with boundless exultation. In the fight on the open sea, indeed, the numerical superiority of the allies had been so great that they had little reason to boast of their success. But the courage and skill with which the crews of the English boats had, in a French harbour, in sight of a French army, and under the fire of French batteries, destroyed a fine French fleet, amply justified the pride with which our fathers pronounced the name of La Hogue.

That we may fully enter into their feelings, we must remember that this was the first great check that had ever been given to the arms of Louis XIV, and the first great victory that the English had gained over the French since the day of Agincourt. The stain left on English fame by the shameful defeat of Beachy Head was effaced. The Dutch had indeed done their duty, as they have always done in maritime war, whether fighting on our side or against us, whether victorious or vanquished. But the English had borne the brunt of the fight. Russell who commanded in chief was an Englishman. Delaval who directed the attack on Cherbourg was an Englishman. Rooke who led the flotilla into the Bay of La Hogue was an Englishman. The only two officers of note who had fallen, Admiral Carter and Captain Hastings of the *Sandwich* were Englishmen.

Yet the pleasure with which the good news was received here must not be ascribed solely or chiefly to national pride. The island was safe. The pleasant pastures, cornfields and commons of Hampshire and Surrey would not be the seat of war. The houses and gardens, the kitchens and dairies, the cellars and plate chests, the wives and daughters of our gentry and clergy would not be at the mercy of Irish rapperees, who had sacked the dwellings and skinned the cattle of the Englishry of Leinster, or of French dragoons accustomed to live at free quarters on the Protestants of Auvergne. Whigs and tories joined in thanking God for this great deliverance; and the most respectable nonjurors could not but be glad at heart that the rightful king was not to be brought back by an army of foreigners.

The public joy was therefore all but universal. During several days the bells of London pealed without ceasing. Flags were flying on all the steeples. Rows of candles were in all the windows. Bonfires were at all the corners of the streets. The sense which the government entertained of the services of the navy was promptly, judiciously and gracefully manifested. Sidney and Portland were sent to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, and were accompanied by

Rochester, as the representative of the tories. The three lords took down with them thirty-seven thousand pounds in coin, which they were to distribute as a donative among the sailors. Gold medals were given to the officers. While marks of respect were paid to the slain, the wounded were not neglected. Fifty surgeons, plentifully supplied with instruments, bandages, and drugs, were sent down in all haste from London to Portsmouth. It is not easy for us to form a notion of the difficulty which there then was in providing at short notice commodious shelter and skilful attendance for hundreds of maimed and lacerated men. At present every county, every large town, can boast of some spacious palace in which the poorest labourer who has fractured a limb may find an excellent bed, an able medical attendant, a careful nurse, medicines of the best quality, and nourishment such as an individual requires. But there was not then, in the whole realm, a single infirmary supported by voluntary contribution. Even in the capital the only edifices open to the wounded were the two ancient hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew. The queen gave orders that in both these hospitals arrangements should be made at the public charge for the reception of patients from the fleet.[e]

FURTHER JACOBITE PLOTS; ENGLISH DEFEATS AND VICTORIES

James dismissed his troops for the present to their quarters, and returned himself to Saint Germain. But the correspondence was still kept up with Marlborough and Russell, who professed to be as zealous as ever in his service.

The principal events of the war in Flanders this time were, the taking of Namur by the French (June 5th,)and the battle of Steenkerke (July 24th) between King William and Marshal Luxembourg. The latter, deceived by one of his spies, suffered himself to be surprised; but the ill conduct of Count Solms in not supporting the van of the allies, which was composed of English troops who showed their usual heroism, and the arrival of Marshal Boufflers with a large body of French dragoons, caused the beam finally to turn against the allies. They retired, with the loss of three thousand slain (among whom were generals Mackay and Lanier) and an equal number wounded and taken. The loss of the French was not inferior.

Shortly after, a plot to assassinate King William was discovered: the agents in it were the jacobite colonel Parker, Grandval a captain of French dragoons, and a M. Dumont. King James is said to have both known and approved of it. It was, however, fortunately discovered, and Grandval, who had been inveigled into the quarters of the allies, was executed by sentence of a court-martial.

Fortune was everywhere favourable to the French the following year (1693). They reduced the strong towns of Huy (July 23rd) and Charleroi (October 11th). In the battle of Neerwinden, or Landen (July 29th), the honour of the day remained with them, but their loss was equal to that of the allies. The loss of a part of the rich Smyrna fleet was, however, more severely felt in England than that of the battle of Landen. Louis had made incredible efforts to renew his navy, and when Sir George Rooke was sent to the straits to convoy the great Smyrna fleet of England and her allies, consisting of four hundred vessels, he fell in with a French fleet of eighty ships of the line off Cape. St. Vincent. There was now no escaping. Two Dutch men-of-war were taken, and a Dutch and an English ship burnt; forty of the merchantmen were captured, and fifty sunk. The total loss was estimated at a million sterling.

In the commencement of this year one of the jacobite agents, a priest named Cary, went over to James with eight proposals from some of the English nobility, on his agreeing to which they would undertake to restore him. James sent them to Louis, and by his advice assented to them; and a declaration based on them having been drawn up by those lords, James published it (April 17th). In this he promised pardon and indemnity to all who would not oppose him; engaged to protect and defend the Church of England, and to secure to its members all their churches, colleges, rights, immunities, etc.; pledged himself not to dispense with the Text, and to leave the dispensing power in other matters to be regulated by parliament; to assent to bills for the frequent meeting of parliament, and the freedom of elections, etc., and to re-establish the Act of Settlement in Ireland. James owns that in this document he put a force on his nature, which he excuses by the necessity of the case. He consulted both English and French divines of his own communion about the promise to protect and defend the church; the former thought he could not in conscience do it, the latter (including Bossuet) that he could; but the king says that these last finally coincided with the others in thinking that he could only promise to maintain the Protestants in their possessions, benefices, etc.

This declaration did no service whatever to the cause of James. Those who proposed it became doubtful of his sincerity when they saw him so readily agree to it; the leading jacobites were offended at it, saying, that if he came in on these terms it would be the ruin of himself and his loyal subjects; they therefore sent him word "that, if he considered the preamble and the very terms of it, he was not bound to stand by it, or to put it out *verbatim* as it was worded," with more to that purpose. Marlborough wrote pretty much to the same effect; and indeed James owns that he did not consider himself bound by it.

James names as leading jacobites the nonjuring bishops of Norwich (Lloyd), Bath (Ken), Ely (Turner), and Peterborough (White), the marquis of Worcester and earl of Clarendon. "A decisive proof," observes Hallam,[d] "how little that party cared for civil liberty, and how little would have satisfied them at the Revolution if James had put the church out of danger."

The jacobites, we may here observe, were divided into compounders, or those who would restore James with limitations; and non-compounders, or those who, like the above, would invest him with the plenitude of despotism.

The machinations of the court of St. Germain were continued through the following year (1694). Russell, Marlborough, and Godolphin were as profuse as ever in their professions of devotion, yet James observes that they performed nothing. He very properly judged that they regarded only their own interest; and he even seems to have suspected that Russell was only deluding him. It is much to be regretted that the name of Lord Shrewsbury should be mixed up in these traitorous intrigues. It is a curious fact, but one for which there seems to be sufficient authority, that William made use of his knowledge of Shrewsbury's communications with the jacobite agents to oblige him to accept the post of secretary of state. Shrewsbury was a man of honour, and William had no reason ever to regret his magnanimity.

On the 6th of May the king sailed for Holland. He had previously made several promotions in the peerage. The earls of Shrewsbury, Bedford, and Devonshire were created dukes of the same name; the marquis of Carmarthen duke of Leeds, and the earl of Clare duke of Newcastle; the earl of Mulgrave marquis of Normanby, and Lord Sidney earl of Romney. No action of importance took place in this campaign. The allies recovered Huy,

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and the advantage in general was on their side. William returned to England in the beginning of November.

MARLBOROUGH'S TREACHERIES

Early in the month of June a combined fleet of thirty sail, under Lord Berkeley, with six thousand troops on board, commanded by General Tollemache, had sailed with the intention of destroying the fleet and harbour of Brest. The fleet, however, had already sailed for the Mediterranean, and they found all due preparations made to receive them. Their attempts to silence the guns of the castle and forts having proved unavailing, Tollemache made a desperate effort to land his troops. In this attempt he received a mortal wound, and seven hundred of his men were slain or taken; it was then found necessary to abandon the enterprise. Tollemache declared that "he felt no regret at losing his life in the performance of his duty, but that it was a great grief to him to have been betrayed"; and betrayed he certainly was. On May 4th Marlborough had written to King James an account of the strength and destination of the expedition, and Godolphin is said to have done the same; yet, ere the fleet sailed, Marlborough, through Shrewsbury, had offered his services to William, "with all the expressions of duty and fidelity imaginable." This action of Marlborough's is not to be defended or even palliated. The attempt of his biographer, Dalrymple, to do so is a complete failure.

After the failure on Brest, Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre, and damaged Calais and Dunkirk. Russell meantime rode triumphant in the Mediterranean; and his wintering by the king's express command, against his own will, with his fleet of sixty sail, at Cadiz, ensured the preponderance of England both in that sea and on the ocean.[g]

Of Marlborough's numerous treacheries W. P. Courtney says: Churchill had been one of the first to send overtures of obedience to the prince of Orange. Although he continued in a high position under James, and drew the emoluments of his places, he promised William of Orange to use every exertion to bring over the troops to his side. James had been warned against putting any trust in the loyalty of the man on whom he had showered so many favours, but the warnings were in vain, and on the landing of the Dutch prince at Brixham, Churchill was sent against him with five thousand men. When the royal army had advanced to the downs of Wiltshire and a battle seemed imminent, James was disconcerted by learning that in the dead of night his general had stolen away like a thief into the opposite camp.

For this timely act of treachery Churchill received another advancement in the peerage. He had now become the earl of Marlborough and a member of the privy council, a mark of royal favour which during this and the next reign was more than an unmeaning honour. William felt, however, that he could not place implicit reliance in his friend's integrity; and, with a clear sense of the manner in which Marlborough's talents might be employed without any detriment to the stability of his throne, he sent him with the army into the Netherlands and into Ireland.

For some time there was no open avowal of any distrust in Marlborough's loyalty, but in May 1692 the world was astonished at the news that he had been thrown into the Tower on an accusation of treason.[1] Though the evidence which could be brought against him was slight, and he was soon set at

[1] The discovery of his baseness had moved William to exclaim, "Were I and my lord Marlborough private persons, the sword would have to settle between us."]

liberty, there is no doubt that Marlborough was in close relations with the exiled king at St. Germain, and that he even went so far as to disclose to his late master the intention of the English to attack the town of Brest. The talents of the statesmen of this reign were chiefly displayed in their attempts to convince both the exiled and the reigning king of England of their attachment to their fortunes.

The sin of Marlborough lay in the fact that he had been favoured above his fellows by each in turn, and that he betrayed both alike apparently without scruple or without shame. Once again during the Fenwick Plot he was charged with treason, but William, knowing that if he pushed Marlborough and his friends to extremities there were no other statesmen on whom he could rely, contented himself with ignoring the confessions of Sir John Fenwick, and with executing that conspirator himself. Not long afterwards the forgiven traitor was made governor to the young duke of Gloucester, the only one of Anne's numerous children who gave promise of attaining to manhood. During the last years of William's reign Marlborough once more was placed in positions of responsibility. His daughters were married into the most prominent families of the land.[k]

PARLIAMENTARY REFORMS: COMMENCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL DEBT (1693 A.D.)

Turning over the index of the ponderous Statute Book to look for acts that have had a permanent influence on the condition of the country, we might perhaps pass over one Act of 1693 that bears this lengthy title: "An act for granting to their majesties certain rates and duties of excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of ten hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France." Under this statute commenced the national debt of England. The million of money which was to supply a portion of the expenses of the war "in a manner that would be least grievous," as the preamble says, was expected to be voluntarily advanced on the credit of the special provision of the new duties of excise, which were to be set apart as they were paid into the exchequer. The ten hundred thousand pounds were speedily subscribed; for the industry of the people had created capital which was seeking employment, although they had been far more heavily taxed during four years than at any previous period. There can be no doubt that the means first created by the Act of 1693 for the investment of superfluous capital, have largely contributed to the progressive development of the national resources. There can be no doubt, on the other hand, that the facilities of borrowing by the creation of stock, have often led to extravagant expenditure in wars that have averted no real danger nor secured any public advantage.

Although the statesmen and the people of the reign of William III felt that the war against the preponderance of France, and the consequent subjection of England, was for a great national interest, they also felt that the burden could not be borne in the existing state of the country without resort to the system of loans. In the case before us they did not contemplate a permanent loan.

In the next year, when the Bank of England was established upon the condition of lending a sum of money to the government, of which the principal could not be demanded by the lenders, though the borrowers had the privilege of paying it off, a permanent debt was begun to be contracted. The system of borrowing went on for three years, till at the Peace of Ryswick the debt

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amounted to twenty-one millions and a half. Nevertheless, so strong was the objection to the continuance of that system, that, although engaged in a most expensive war for five years after the accession of Anne, the debt was reduced to sixteen millions. In half a century more it had increased to seventy-five millions. It was then the received opinion of financiers that if it ever reached a hundred millions the nation must become bankrupt.

When we look at the one million borrowed on life annuities in 1693, and the eight hundred and three millions constituting the public debt of the United Kingdom in 1858, we may be amazed at the vast amount of the burthen which has been gradually accumulating, but we also can now distinctly perceive how that burthen has been borne. It has not weighed down the country, because all the material resources of the country have been increasing with it. The increasing wealth — of which this vast debt owing by the nation to the nation is a symbol — produced by the incessant applications of capital and labour, of science and invention, has increased the ability of the great body of the people to participate in the advantages to be derived from a ready and secure investment of their savings, with the condition that the sum so invested might be easily transferable. To this cause may be attributed the ease with which the government of that day could obtain loans by the creation of public funds at a fixed rate of interest, chiefly upon annuities.

That facility shows the growing importance of the trading class, who most readily lent their surplus capital. Money, also, was no longer hoarded by those who had no means of employing it commercially; although, for a considerable period, there were vast numbers who had not sufficient confidence in the government to lend. The time was far distant when there would be three hundred thousand persons receiving dividends upon stock, and when one million three hundred and forty thousand persons would also lend their small accumulations through the agency of savings banks. The country was steadily growing more prosperous, as the national debt went on increasing to six times the amount at the period when inevitable bankruptcy was predicted. It was six hundred millions at the Peace of Amiens. The eighteenth century, deficient as it was in many social improvements which we now command, was a period of rapid progress in agriculture and manufactures; and with this progress came a greater command of food and clothing, better dwellings, less frequent and less fatal epidemics for the great bulk of the people. The loan of 1693 has furnished data for a remarkable inquiry into the prolongation of life in the eighteenth century, consequent upon the bettered condition, and therefore improved health, of the population. The loan of 1693 was a tontine. Every contributor of £100 might name a life, to receive a fixed dividend during the duration of that life. As the annuitants dropped, their shares of the dividends were also to be divided amongst the survivors, till the whole number of annuitants was reduced to seven. In 1790, during the ministry of William Pitt, another tontine was negotiated. The comparative results, as exhibiting the probable duration of life at the two periods, have been worked out by Mr. Finlaison, upon the assumption that the 438 females and 594 males named in 1693, and the 3974 females and 4197 males named in 1790, were the youngest and the healthiest lives that the shareholders could select. Taking the dates at which the annuities of 1693 fell in, and estimating those of 1790 that had fallen or were still remaining in 1851, the calculation showed that in 1790 the expectation of life had increased one-fourth.

There were two attempts made in this session to produce what may be called a reform in parliament. The commons passed a bill [called a Place Bill] excluding all placemen from sitting in the house who should be elected

after February, 1693. Men holding office of every kind, civil and military, were in parliament. It was unwisely proposed to exclude all persons who should in future hold office under the crown. It was prudently determined by the sitting members not to exclude themselves. They passed no "Self-Denying Ordinance." The lords rejected this measure by a very small major-

A bill providing that the existing parliament should end on the 1st of January, 1694, and that no parliament should in future sit more than three years, was introduced to the house of lords, by Shrewsbury, who represented the whigs. It passed both houses. On the last day of the session, the king rejected the measure, in the words of Norman French, which would now be the most fatal words ever spoken by a sovereign. The Constitution has worked itself clear of such contending powers. The use of the veto was not then thought to be what Hallam[d] calls "an exercise of prerogative which no ordinary circumstances can reconcile either with prudence or a constitutional administration of government." The bill for triennial parliaments was passed in the next year, without opposition from the crown.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CABINET: THE JUNTO OF 1693

At the beginning of November, 1693, William was at Kensington. The parliament was to meet on the 7th. A great change in the administrative system of England was about to take place. The king for five years had endeavoured to govern by choosing his ministers from each of the two great parties of the state; sometimes giving the preponderance to the whigs, at other times to the tories. These ministers carried on the public affairs of their several departments without very well defined principles of action, amidst personal hatreds and jealousies which were too often highly injurious to the national interests. An experiment was now to be made to substitute for this individual direction of public affairs the administration of a party. The heads of departments were to be united by some common consent upon political principles. "Party divisions," says Burke,[l] "whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government." He held it to be a duty for public men "to act in party," with all the moderation consistent with vigour and fervency of spirit — a duty not very easy at any time, and almost impossible in the earlier stages of representative government, when all were going through a sort of education in constitutional principles. William was about to change some of his ministers; at the same time to select new advisers from those who would "act in party"; who would submit their own wills to a general agreement; who would constitute what we now understand as a ministry, whose possession of power under the authority of the sovereign, and with the command of a parliamentary majority, implied the superior influence of the general principles which constituted their bond of political union. William had become convinced that he could best carry on his government through the party which had mainly accomplished the revolution. He would not compose his administration exclusively of whigs, but there should be such a preponderance of those who held whig principles, that the tory party so closely bordering upon the jacobite party, should be neutralised in what we may now call a cabinet. The functions of the privy council had become merged in the cabinet council. In a debate in 1692, on advice given to the king, one member exclaimed, according to Waller[m]: "Cabinet council is not a word to be found in our law books. We knew it not before. We took it for a nickname." However strong was the parliamentary jealousy of a cabinet

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the exclusion of the privy council from the real business of the state became more and more established in the reign of William. As representative government gradually compelled the sovereign to choose an administration founded upon the preponderance of a party, so this administration by party gradually broke up that unseemly division of the servants of the crown into factions, which was occasionally manifested until the middle of the eighteenth century.

The earl of Sunderland had become a confidential adviser of King William. He had publicly supported the most tyrannous actions of James, however he might have secretly opposed some of them. To please his master, he had declared himself a papist. To make himself safe in the Revolution which he saw at hand, he had betrayed that master. He vanished from the scene of active politics when William became king, retired to Holland, and again declared himself a Protestant. He was excluded from William's Act of Grace as one of the chief instruments of the late tyranny. But he came back to England, and made himself a necessity for the new government. He had cut off all hope of being reconciled to the jacobite party; he could be very useful to the party of the Revolution. His long experience made him master of all the complications of political action. He was the representative in 1693 of that class of unprincipled politicians of which Talleyrand was the representative when the Bourbons were restored to France. His advice was not to be despised, however the man might be odious. William saw that Sunderland's distinction between the affection for monarchy, and the love of the monarch *de facto*, was a sound one. William did trust and rely more upon the whigs than he had done. Somers had been made his keeper of the great seal; the choice was wise. The attorney's son had rendered the highest service in that great crisis which was to establish the government of England upon the basis of law. He was the leader of his party, as much by his moderation as by his eloquence and learning. Russell, who had more than once been tempted to betray the government he served, but when the hour of trial came did his duty to his country, was restored to the command of the fleet. With Somers, Russell, and Wharton was joined, in William's new ministry [known as the Whig Junto], Charles Montague. He had cast off the honours of a second-rate poet to become a first-class politician. His parliamentary eloquence was almost unrivalled. His financial abilities were more necessary to a government conducting a most expensive war, even than his eloquence. One more whig was to be won, and he was Shrewsbury. He resigned the office of secretary of state in 1690, when William favoured the tories. He had been tampered with from St. Germain, and was faithless to his trust. But he had seen his error, and was now to be called back by William to a hearty allegiance. The seals were again offered to Shrewsbury. The king had a personal regard for him; but he refused to accept the office which Nottingham had relinquished. At last Shrewsbury yielded, and had his dukedom and the Garter. The chief female negotiator on the part of the king was Mrs. Villiers — one whom the scandal of the time regards as his mistress. Elizabeth Villiers, maid of honour to the princess of Orange — afterwards married to the earl of Orkney — was a woman of remarkable ability, with whom Swift delighted to talk for hours; but who was not formed for the usual female conquests, however great her mental powers. "I think," writes Swift [w] to Stella, "the devil was in it the other day when I talked to her of an ugly squinting cousin of hers, and the poor lady herself, you knows, squints like a dragon."

The king and his new ministers did not shrink from demanding from the parliament a larger supply than ever for carrying on the war. Eighty-three thousand troops were voted for the service of 1694; and the naval estimates

were also largely increased. The whig majority in the house of commons was strong enough to bear down all unreasonable opposition. There were violent debates on the naval miscarriages, but no blame was thrown on the conduct of the late disastrous campaign. How to raise the large sums necessary to maintain the land and sea forces was a matter of anxious discussion. A land-tax, a poll-tax, stamp-duties, a tax on hackney coaches, and a lottery, were the expedients. High and low were the adventurers in this new system of state gambling, as Evelyn records: "In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock, one of the commissioners of the navy, had the greatest lot, 3,000*l.*; my coachman, 40*l.*" But money was still wanting. The necessity gave birth to one of the greatest public establishments of this or any other country, the Bank of England.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND (1694 A.D.)

The statute under which this national institution was formed bears a very ambiguous title: "An Act for granting to their majesties several rates and duties upon tonnage of ships and vessels, and upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for securing certain recompenses and advantages in the said Act mentioned, to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sum of fifteen hundred thousand pounds towards carrying on the war against France." The subscribers for the advance of a loan, upon the conditions set forth, were to be constituted a corporate body "by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England." The money really required to be advanced was twelve hundred thousand pounds. The subscription list was filled in ten days. The trading community had been sufficiently prepared for a right appreciation of the project which was carried in the house of commons by the energy of Montague. The scheme of a bank had been the subject of discussion for three years.

MARY II
(1662–1694)

William Paterson — a man whose name is associated with this most successful scheme of a great national bank of England, and with another most unfortunate project of a great national system of colonisation for Scotland — had in 1691 submitted proposals to the government somewhat similar to the plan which was carried out in 1694. His scheme was ably supported amongst commercial men by Michael Godfrey, an eminent London merchant; and when the government at last adopted it, Godfrey's influence in the city was as useful as Montague's eloquence in parliament. The original plan of a national bank

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was met by every sort of objection. In 1694, says Bannister,[n] "the men who were supposed to have lost money opposed and appeared against it [the bank] with all their might, pretending it could not do without them, and they were resolved never to be concerned." Tories said that a bank and a monarchy could not exist together. Whigs said that a bank and liberty were incompatible, for that the crown would command the wealth of the bank. A clause was introduced in the act, which prevented the Bank of England making loans to the government without authority of parliament, which neutralised the whig objection. With this restriction the Bank of England has yet, in all times, been a powerful ally of the government.

The king prorogued the parliament on the 25th of April, 1694, and again set out for the Continent at the beginning of May [returning on the 9th of November after the campaign already described].

THE DEATH OF QUEEN MARY (1694 A.D.)

"The small-pox raged this winter about London," writes Burnet,[o] in 1694. To comprehend at this time the significance of the word "raged," we must carry our minds back, far beyond the period when Jenner discovered vaccination — beyond even the period when Lady Mary Wortley Montague made inoculation fashionable. When Burnet adds, that "thousands" were dying of this fatal disease, we must understand him literally. When the small-pox entered a house, it was considered as terrible a visitation as the plague. William went sorrowfully from the parliament house to Kensington. Mary had been ill two days. She had never had the small-pox; but her regular physicians disputed about the symptoms. Ratcliffe, the most skilful, pronounced the fatal word "small-pox." William was in despair. He "called me," says Burnet,[o] "into his closet, and gave a free vent to a most tender passion. He burst out into tears, and cried out that there was no hope for the queen, and that from being the happiest, he was now going to be the miserablest creature on earth. He said, during the whole course of their marriage he had never known one single fault in her; there was a worth in her that nobody knew besides himself."

Mary's fortitude and resignation were above all praise. The religious consolations which her faithful friend and counsellor, the archbishop of Canterbury, Tillotson, would have administered to the dying queen were to be bestowed by his successor, Tenison. Tillotson had died five weeks before. When Tenison made Mary aware of her danger, but with "some address not to surprise her too much," she was perfectly calm. "She thanked God she had always carried this in her mind, that nothing was to be left to the last hour." Queen Mary died on the 28th of December, in the thirty-third year of her age. All parties agreed in acknowledging the beauties of her character. Burnet, the whig, says, "she was the most universally lamented princess, and deserved the best to be so, of any in our age, or in our history." Evelyn,[p] the tory, writes: "She was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned queen Elizabeth."

She had many arduous duties to perform in the repeated absences of the king; and not the least important was the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments. With a deep sense of religion she marked her preference for those divines who were moderate in their opinions, and earnest in the proper discharge of their high functions. When there were state affairs to attend to, she never shrank from the proper labours of the sovereign. Her tastes were

simple and unostentatious; her morals of unblemished purity; her charity was universal. Her deep attachment to her husband was founded upon her admiration of his high qualities.

William's grief for her loss "was greater," says Burnet, "than those who knew him best thought his temper capable of; he went beyond all bounds in it. When she died, his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her." Queen Mary was sumptuously interred in Westminster abbey. The funeral cost fifty thousand pounds. A more worthy expenditure of public money in her honour took place when William determined to erect Greenwich hospital, in compliance with that desire which she had expressed after the battle of La Hogue, to provide an asylum for disabled seamen. Mary, in following the fortunes of her husband and accepting with him the sovereign power of these kingdoms to the exclusion of her father, discharged a higher duty even than that of filial affection. But she was always solicitous for that father's personal safety. The paltriness of James's character was manifested upon his daughter's decease, in a manner which St. Simon *q* thus records: "The king of England [James] prayed the king [Louis] that the court should not wear mourning. All those who were related to the prince of Orange, including M. de Bouillon and M. de Duras, were forbidden to wear it. They obeyed and were silent; but this sort of revenge was considered very petty."

The death of the queen appears to have prostrated William. Shrewsbury could hardly approach him till a month after, in consequence of "the retired manner his majesty has lived in since his last great misfortune." His "former application to business" had not yet returned with the healing power of strenuous occupation.

PARLIAMENTARY CORRUPTION

William gradually recovered his serenity. The houses of parliament went on as usual with their labours. The proposed renewal of the Licensing Act was rejected without a division in the commons. The press had been more than commonly bold, even seditious. But the representatives of the English people did not choose to interfere with that noble principle which, half a century before, had been proclaimed to all the civilised world by the most eloquent of freedom's advocates, John Milton *r*: "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?"

The proceedings of the session of 1695 disclosed, what was no secret to men of all parties, the frightful corruption[1] by which statesmen in power and statesmen in opposition were moved to support or to resist some measure in which large pecuniary interests were involved, or to screen some public delinquent. Guy, a member of parliament and secretary of the treasury, was sent to the Tower for receiving a bribe, in connection with some inquiries into the conduct of a colonel of a regiment, who had appropriated the money for which he ought to have paid the quarters of his troops. Trevor, the speaker of the house of commons, was proved to have received a bribe of a thousand guineas from the corporation of London, for assisting in passing

[1 Gardiner *s* says: "No wonder William trusted his Dutch servants as he trusted no English ones, and that he sought to reward them by grants, which, according to precedents set by earliest kings, he held himself entitled to make out of the property of the crown."]

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"An act for relief of the orphans and other creditors of the city of London." Trevor had to put the question from the chair whether he himself was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor; and had to say, "The ayes have it." He was expelled the house.

The East India Company had spent a hundred and seven thousand pounds in secret service money, as an examination of their books had proved to a parliamentary committee. Eighty-seven thousand pounds had thus been distributed in 1693 and 1694. Sir Thomas Cook, the chairman of the company, had the management of these delicate matters. He was member for Colchester. In his place in parliament he refused to answer inquiries. The commons then passed a bill compelling him to answer, under enormous penalties. Upon the bill going to the upper house, the duke of Leeds — the earl of Danby of Charles II, the marquis of Carmarthen of 1689 — spoke strongly against the bill, and laying his hand on his breast, protested that he was perfectly disinterested in the matter. The inquiries went on, implicating others; and the commons finally impeached the duke of Leeds, for that he did, "in breach of the great trust reposed in him, by himself, his agents, or servants, corruptly and illegally treat, contract, and agree, with the merchants trading to the East Indies, for five thousand five hundred guineas, to procure their charter of confirmation." One Bales admitted that he had received the money to bribe the duke, and had given it to a Swiss, who was the confidential manager of the duke's private business. The Swiss fled; the parliament was prorogued; and the impeachment fell to the ground. The king's personal friend, Portland, was found to have been proof against these temptations, having refused a bribe of fifty thousand pounds.[e]

Concerning the almost universal corruption, White says: "William was probably the only honest man in the English court — the only man who felt bound to do a thing because he had sworn to do it, or to abstain from doing a thing because he had sworn to abstain. The others were brought up in a school of profligacy and duplicity which only a despotic court pretending to liberality can supply. The statesman of forty, when the deliverer came over, had been educated in the early days of the restoration, and had grown up amid the enormous wickedness and want of principle encouraged by the example of the king. The baseness of a period is most felt in its effects on the succeeding generation.

"England was now suffering from its Rochesters and Charleses. It was demoralised in its upper ranks and brutalised in its lowest. From the middle class, which grandeur had neglected and which commerce daily enriched and enlightened, improvement was to spring; and the parliament contained a majority of the smaller gentry and richer townsfolk, who had remained equally free from the grace of manner and looseness of conduct which characterised their superiors. They were coarse, but honest; swore and drank a great deal, but were proud of their independence, and hated the pope. These were the instruments with which William had to deal, and the difficulty of the task often made him wish to lay down the uneasy burden, and return to the comparative obscurity and repose of his hunting-box near the Hague. But William was Protestant champion as well as English king, and saw the realisation of his long-cherished dreams of checking the power of Louis XIV."[f]

Macaulay paints the court with equal disgust: "The machinery was all rust and rottenness. From the time of the Restoration to the time of the Revolution, neglect and fraud had been almost constantly impairing the efficiency of every department of the government. Honours and public trusts, peerages, baronetcies, regiments, frigates, embassies, governments,

commissionerships, leases of crown lands, contracts for clothing, for provisions, for ammunition, pardons for murder, for robbery, for arson, were sold at Whitehall scarcely less openly than asparagus at Covent Garden or herrings at Billingsgate. Brokers had been incessantly plying for custom in the purlieus of the court. From the palace which was the chief seat of this pestilence, the taint had diffused itself through every office and through every rank in every office, and had everywhere produced feebleness and disorganisation. So rapid was the progress of the decay that, within eight years after the time when Oliver had been the umpire of Europe, the roar of the guns of De Ruyter was heard in the Tower of London. The vices which had brought that great humiliation on the country had ever since been rooting themselves deeper and spreading themselves wider. James had, to do him justice, corrected a few of the gross abuses which disgraced the naval administration.

"Yet the naval administration, in spite of his attempts to reform it, moved the contempt of men who were acquainted with the dockyards of France and Holland. The military administration was still worse. The courtiers took bribes from the colonels; the colonels cheated the soldiers; the commissaries sent in long bills for what had never been furnished; the keepers of the arsenals sold the public stores and pocketed the price.

"Yet these evils, though they had sprung into existence and grown to maturity under the government of Charles and James, first made themselves severely felt under the government of William. For Charles and James were content to be the vassals and pensioners of a powerful and ambitious neighbour, they submitted to his ascendency, they shunned with pusillanimous caution whatever could give him offence; and thus, at the cost of the independence and dignity of that ancient and glorious crown which they unworthily wore, they avoided a conflict which would instantly have shown how helpless, under their misrule, their once formidable kingdom had become.

"Their ignominious policy it was neither in William's power nor in his nature to follow. It was only by arms that the liberty and religion of England could be protected against the most formidable enemy that had threatened the island since the Hebrides were strewn with the wrecks of the Armada. The body politic, which, while it remained in repose, had presented a superficial appearance of health and vigour, was now under the necessity of straining every nerve in a wrestle for life or death, and was immediately found to be unequal to the exertion. The first efforts showed an utter relaxation of fibre, an utter want of training. Those efforts were, with scarcely an exception, failures; and every failure was popularly imputed, not to the rulers whose mismanagement had produced the infirmities of the state, but to the ruler in whose time the infirmities of the state became visible.

"William might indeed, if he had been as absolute as Louis, have used such sharp remedies as would speedily have restored to the English administration that firm tone which had been wanting since the death of Oliver. But the instantaneous reform of inveterate abuses was a task far beyond the powers of a prince strictly restrained by law, and restrained still more strictly by the difficulties of his situation." [e]

WILLIAM'S SUCCESS AT NAMUR (1695 A.D.)

The king was no doubt rejoiced to get away from this tainted atmosphere to the bracing air of a campaign. He was first reconciled to the princess Anne, and then departed for the Continent, having prorogued the parliament

[1695 A.D.]

on the 3rd of May 1695. The energy and perseverance of William were at length to be crowned with success. It was a real advantage to him that Luxemburg was dead. It was a greater advantage that Louis had appointed as his successor an accomplished courtier, but a feeble general, Villeroi, and that this sycophant of the great king entrusted an important command to the duke de Maine, the most favoured of the illegitimate children of Louis. But the numbers, and the high discipline, of the French armies, would have probably interfered with any signal advantage on the part of the allies, if William had not exercised in this campaign many of the highest qualities of a great commander. The opening of the campaign, says Saint-Simon,[q] was a beautiful game of chess; the prince of Orange, the elector of Bavaria, and the earl of Athlone moving in detached bodies; and Villeroi, Boufflers, Harcourt, and Montal regulating their own movements by those of their enemy which they saw, or by those which they expected. William, "who had well taken all his measures to cover his main design," suddenly turned his course towards Namur. The elector of Bavaria, and the Brandenburg army, arrived at the same point. That strongest fort of Europe was invested by this united force at the beginning of July. Vauban had materially strengthened the fortifications since it had been taken by the French. The court of Louis thought William's attempt a rash one, and that it would signally fail. Villeroi marched with eighty thousand men to attack the besieging army at Namur; but Vaudemont had joined his force to that already on the banks of the Meuse and Sambre. Meanwhile the siege had proceeded with a vigour almost unparalleled. The two armies, that of William and of Villeroi, stood for three days in presence of each other, whilst the siege was proceeding under an incessant bombardment. Then the French army retired. The elector of Bavaria had the immediate charge of the siege, whilst the king was watching Villeroi; and when it was known that the French had moved off, the storm of the citadel of Namur commenced. Portland had summoned Boufflers to surrender upon the retirement of Villeroi, but the French commander still held out. The assault was undertaken by the Bavarians, the Dutch, the Brandenburgers, and the English. The Brandenburgers had amongst their leaders, the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, a young man of nineteen, who afterwards had the honour of introducing important changes in military science. According to Carlyle,[r] "He invented the iron ramrod; he invented the equal step; in fact, he is the inventor of modern military tactics." The Dutch and Brandenburgers accomplished their duty with little difficulty. The Bavarians suffered severe loss. The English, under Cutts, were at first driven back; but their intrepid commander, though wounded, led them on again, and they carried a battery which had swept away many in its deadly fire. Two thousand men were sacrificed in this terrible assault. Boufflers agreed to surrender with the honours of war. The French garrison, now reduced to five thousand men, marched out.

The return of William to England was hailed by the popular enthusiasm which naturally attends success. The good man struggling with misfortune may be the noblest sight in the world, but it calls forth no huzzas or bell-ringings. The king reached Kensington through the illuminated streets on the night of the 10th of October, and immediately went to business. A proclamation was issued for a new parliament. In a week William set forth upon a most unusual mission, to propitiate the people by showing himself amongst them. The elections generally were favourable to the government. The whig party acquired a considerable accession of strength. The taxes were heavy; the currency of the kingdom was in a frightful state of depreciation; the price

of grain was unusually high — and yet the nation manifested no alarming discontent. The jacobites plotted; but they were as far from success as ever.

REFORMS IN THE CURRENCY, AND IN TREASON TRIALS

The defective state of the coinage was now to be effectually redressed. The evil had become insupportable. The established prescription of the gallows was found to be no remedy for the disease. In July, 1694, we read in Evelyn *p*: "many executed at London for clipping money, now done to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above half the nominal value." Bannister *n* quotes a writer of the period, who speaks with full knowledge of his subject: "the almost fatal symptoms of the general corruption of the silver money, like covered flames or distracted torrents, universally broke out upon the nation, as it were at once. Guineas on a sudden rose to thirty shillings per piece; all currency of other money was stopped; hardly any had wherewith to pay; public securities sank to about a moiety of their original value, and buyers hard to be found even at these prices; no man knew what he was worth; the course of trade and correspondency almost universally stopped; the poorer sort of people plunged into inexpressible distress, and, as it were, left perishing, whilst even the richer had hardly wherewith to go to market for obtaining the common conveniences of life." This writer adds that "the intolerable corruption of the coin was alone sufficient to have provoked any nation on earth to extremities. . . . . Nevertheless, the remainder of gratitude in the people to their deliverer, King William, was even still such, that they bore these inexpressible afflictions with an inimitable temper and patience." In 1695, of the various coinages of Elizabeth, of James I, and of Charles I, it was computed that five millions were in circulation, in common with about half-a-million of the new coinages of Charles II, James II, and William III. The old money, which had no milled edge, had been gradually clipped, so that at last the current silver coin had been diminished in weight nearly one-half. Of this clipped money four millions were considered to be in circulation; whilst £1,600,000 of unclipped coin were hoarded, or only appeared occasionally in remote places. As fast as new silver coins were issued from the mint they disappeared. They were worth twice as much as the old clipped coin. Whilst a single unclipped shilling was circulating in the same town with the shilling that was not intrinsically worth more than sixpence, traders would perpetually demand the honest shilling from their customers, and not being able to get it would put a higher price upon their commodities to bear a proportion with the clipped shilling. The labourer who was paid his weekly wages in the depreciated coin could only obtain a small loaf instead of a large one. The dealer who had to make remittances in guineas, or in bills which represented guineas, was obliged to give at least thirty shillings to obtain the guineas. The money-changers and bankers were making large fortunes out of the perplexities of all those who had to sell or to buy.

The new parliament was opened November 22nd. The most important part of the king's speech was that in which he said "I must take notice of a great difficulty we lie under at this time, by reason of the ill state of the coin, the redress of which may perhaps prove a further charge to the nation." How were these words to be interpreted? Was the nation to bear the great loss of converting four millions of money, intrinsically worth only two millions, into money of the true standard? Was the public to sustain a loss of two millions?

The subject had been widely agitated. It had been proposed to issue money of less than the intrinsic value to replace the old — to make a ninepenny shilling that would pass for twelvepence. Locke demolished the theory of the little shilling in a masterly tract. His opinion was, that after a certain time the old money should only pass by weight, and that upon this principle it should be exchanged for a silver coinage of which a shilling should be worth twelvepence. By this plan the state would have effected the restoration of the currency without a national cost, but at the price of what individual misery! When the house of commons came to debate this important question, the resolutions proposed by Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, were finally agreed to. A new coinage of intrinsic value was to be issued [with milled edge to aid in the instant detection of clipping]; the loss of the clipped money was to be borne by the public, for which a special fund was to be provided by a house-tax and a window-tax. This was something like a revival of the hearth-money, but cottages were exempt. Up to May 4th the clipped money would be received in payment of taxes. The old money had then mostly disappeared; but the mechanical resources of that time were not sufficient to produce the new money in sufficient quantity to carry on the exchanges of the people. The difficulty was in some measure relieved by the issue of exchequer bills. The difficulty was conquered when Newton was appointed master of the mint, and by vast exertions, connected with the establishment of provincial mints, gradually sent forth a supply of circulating medium equal to the demand. The distress and confusion had been enormous; but those who had thought the great change was ill-managed, at last said, in North's[t] words, "better and worse in the means is not to be reflected upon, when a great good is obtained in the end."[c]

A bill for regulating trials for treason, which had failed before, was now brought in by the tories, and it was passed unanimously. It enacted that the accused should have a copy of the indictment and of the panel of the jury, and the aid of counsel; that every overt act should be proved by two witnesses; that the prisoner should be enabled to compel his witnesses to appear, and be allowed to challenge peremptorily thirty-five of the jury, etc. A third measure caused much annoyance to the king. His Dutch favourite, Bentinck, earl of Portland, who was somewhat rapacious, had begged and obtained three royal lordships in Denbighshire. The gentry of the county petitioned against the grant; the commons addressed the king to recall it, and William complied with their wishes; but he forthwith conferred on the favourite manors and honours in no less than five several counties. At the same time it is to be recorded to Bentinck's honour that he was inaccessible to bribery, as was shown in the case of the East-India Company.

LAST OF THE JACOBITE ASSASSINATION PLOTS (1696 A.D.)

The discovery of a nefarious plot against the life of the king soon occupied the whole attention of parliament and the nation. One captain Fisher called on Lord Portland (February 11th, 1696), and informed him of a plot for seizing the king and invading the kingdom; he afterwards (13th) gave the particulars of the conspiracy to Sir William Turnbull the secretary. The attempt on the king, who was in the habit of going on Saturdays to hunt in Richmond Park, was to be made in the lane leading from Brentford to Turnham Green. He was therefore urged not to hunt on that day; but he laughed at the idea of the plot, and declared his resolution of taking his sport as usual. On Friday evening (14th), however, an officer named Prendergast came to Lord Portland,

and advised him to persuade the king to stay at home the next day or else he would be assassinated. He gave the same details as Fisher had done; but both refused to name any of the parties. Prendergast said that he was an Irishman and a Catholic, but, though his religion was accused of sanctioning such deeds, the thought of it had filled him with horror. Portland went to the king that very night; and William, now thinking there was something in the matter, put off his hunting for that week. Next day, a third witness, named De la Rue, gave exactly similar information, and he and Prendergast being examined personally by the king, were prevailed on to name the conspirators. These had deferred their project to the following Saturday (22nd); when finding that the king did not go to Richmond, they suspected that the plot was discovered and thought of providing for their safety. That night, however, several of them were arrested in their beds, and next day a proclamation was issued offering a reward of 1000*l.* for each of the persons who had escaped.

On Monday (24th) the king went in person and informed both houses of the discovery of the plot. They made in return a most loyal and affectionate address, empowered him to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act; and drew up a form of association, binding themselves to the support of his person and government against the late king James and his adherents, and in case he should come to a violent death to revenge it on his enemies, and to maintain the Act of Settlement. All the members of both houses signed this bond. As some of the tories scrupled at the words "rightful and lawful king," a slight change was made to content them.

The plot seems to have been as follows. King James had sent Sir George Barclay, a Scottish Catholic officer of his guards, over to England with a commission authorising and commanding all his loving subjects to rise in arms and make war on the prince of Orange and his adherents. About two-and-twenty officers and men of James' guards came over to aid in the project, which was communicated to several of the king's friends in England. Various places were proposed for making the attempt, and the above-mentioned lane was finally fixed on. Meantime a French fleet and army were to be assembled at Dunkirk and Calais, of which James himself was to take the command. The principal persons charged with this conspiracy were the earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, Sirs George Barclay, John Fenwick, John Friend and William Perkins, Major Lowick, captains Charnock, Knightley and Porter, with messieurs Rookwood, Cooke, Goodman, Cranbourne, and others. Of these, Porter, Goodman and some others were admitted as witnesses; and on their evidence, with that of Fisher, Prendergast and De la Rue, Friend, Perkins, Charnock, Lowick, King, Cranbourne, and Rookwood, were found guilty and executed. Cooke and Knightley were also found guilty; but the former was banished, the latter pardoned.

At the execution of Friend and Perkins, the celebrated Jeremy Collier and two other nonjuring divines gave them absolution in sight of the people with a solemn imposition of hands. For this they were indicted, but not punished. The two archbishops and twelve of the bishops (all that were in town) published a declaration strongly censuring their conduct, as the dying persons had made no confession and expressed no abhorrence of the crime for which they suffered. King James, who had come to Calais, after remaining there some weeks, returned disconsolate to St. Germain. He utterly denied all knowledge of the assassination plot; but there seems to be sufficient evidence of his having sanctioned this and other attempts on the life of King William.

Sir John Fenwick was arrested at New Romney, on his way to France (June

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11th). When he heard that the grand jury had found the bill against him, he prayed for a delay, offering to tell all that he knew provided he got a pardon and was not required to appear as a witness. The king, when this proposal was transmitted to him in Flanders, refused to accede to it. Fenwick then threw himself on his mercy, and wrote him an account of the plots of the jacobites, in which he mentioned the secret dealings of lords Marlborough, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, Bath, and Admiral Russell with the court of St. Germain; but the duke of Devonshire told him, "that the king was acquainted with most of those things before." An order therefore was issued to bring him to trial unless he made fuller discoveries. Fenwick then took to tampering with the witnesses Porter and Goodman; the former betrayed the intrigue to the government, but the latter was induced to go to France. As he could not be convicted by law, his enemies took another course. Admiral Russell, with the king's permission (November 6th), laid before the house of commons the informations of Fenwick against himself and others, and desired that they might be read in order to give him an opportunity of justifying himself. Fenwick was brought to the bar and examined; but as he had had his information only at second-hand, he could not prove his assertions, and he thought it the wiser course not to repeat them. His papers therefore were voted to be false and scandalous, and it was resolved to bring in a bill to attaint him. The bill was vigorously opposed in all its stages; but it finally passed the commons by a majority of thirty-three. In the lords the divisions were still closer, the majority being only seven. In the minority voted the dukes of Leeds and Devonshire, and lords Pembroke, Sunderland, Bath and Godolphin; the duke of Shrewsbury was absent; Marlborough voted in the majority, revenge proving stronger than his toryism. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill (January 28th, 1697).

In the course of the proceedings against Fenwick, a circumstance came to light which covered Lord Monmouth with disgrace. Finding himself not named in Fenwick's discoveries, he wrote a paper of instructions for him to found his defence on, so as to implicate Godolphin and the others; and on Fenwick's not doing so, he came and spoke for two hours in favour of the attainder. Fenwick then on a re-examination told the whole story, and Monmouth was committed to the Tower and deprived of his employments. The king however did not wish to drive him to extremity; he sent Bishop Burnet to soften him, and made up his losses secretly.

Monmouth was afterwards the celebrated earl of Peterborough. Speaker Onslow says of him on this occasion, "I wonder any man of honour could keep him company after such an attempt. He was of the worst principles of any man of that, or perhaps of any age; yet from some glittering in his character he hath some admirers."

This was the last attempt made by the partisans of James for his restoration. Men of prudence saw that it would be nothing but a return to the former despotism. The whigs no longer let their discontent get the better of their regard for liberty; and those among William's ministers who had kept up a treacherous correspondence with their former master, gradually withdrew from his hopeless cause. There is certainly reason to think that some of those who engaged in it were not sincere, and that their object was to learn and defeat the plots of the jacobites. Still the selfishness, the treachery, or at best the vacillation of so many of the principal public characters in the period succeeding the Revolution, form a picture, from which the virtuous mind will frequently turn with disgust.

Before the king left England this year, he raised to the peerage the cele-

brated John Somers, who had been for some time lord-keeper, and made him chancellor. Admiral Russell was created earl of Orford, and Lord Sunderland was now made lord chamberlain.

THE PEACE OF RYSWICK (1697 A.D.)

The war had languished of late, and in the course of this year it was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick (September 20th). Louis gave up all his late conquests except Strasburg, and he acknowledged William as king of England. James published manifestoes in assertion of his rights; but they were unheeded. It appears that Louis had proposed to William to have the crown settled on the prince of Wales after his death, and that the latter, who had no great affection for the princess Anne, consented to it. But the princess had a sure ally in the bigotry of her father and his queen. The idea of their son being reared a Protestant, and in such case he must be, filled them both with horror, and they rejected the proposal without hesitation.

PARLIAMENT FORCES THE REDUCTION OF THE ARMY (1697 A.D.)

The peace was on the whole an honourable one, considering that all the advantages of the war had been on the side of France; it was also absolutely necessary from the exhausted state of the English finances. But William knew that it was likely to be little more than a truce, and in his speech to the parliament (December 2nd) he gave it as his opinion, "that for the present England cannot be safe without a land force." The necessity however of reduction and economy was strongly felt, the war having caused a debt of seventeen millions, and a dread of standing armies as the instruments of despotism pervaded the minds of most people, not considering that in the Mutiny Bill and the necessity of annual votes of supply, they had abundant security against those dangers. It was therefore voted that all the troops raised since 1680 should be disbanded, and it was finally resolved (on the 18th) that ten thousand men should be the force for the ensuing year. To gild the pill for the monarch, and prove that they were not wanting in gratitude and affection to him, they voted that a sum of 700,000*l.* should be granted him "for life" for the support of the civil list. The king however neglected the former vote, and when he was next going to Holland, he left sealed orders with the regency to keep up a force of sixteen thousand men.

During the king's absence (1698) a new parliament was elected. The members were mostly men of revolution principles, attached to the government, but not very courteous to the king. When on his return from the Continent the parliament met, he hinted in the speech from the throne (December 9th) his opinion of the necessity of a large land force. But the commons, irritated at his neglect of the vote of their predecessors on this point, forthwith resolved that it should not exceed seven thousand men, and these to be his majesty's natural-born subjects. As this last clause went to deprive him of his Dutch guards, to which he was so much attached, and of the brave regiments of French Protestants, the insult coupled with ingratitude (as he deemed it) sank deep into his mind. He seriously resolved to abandon the government and retire to Holland, and he had actually written the speech which he intended to make on that occasion, when he was diverted from his purpose. He therefore gave his assent to the bill (February 1st, 1699). Ere however he dismissed his guards, he made a final appeal to the good feelings of the commons. He sent them (March 18th) a message in his own hand-

[1700 A.D.]

writing, to say that all the necessary preparations were now made, and that he would send them away immediately, "unless, out of consideration to him, the house be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service which his majesty would take very kindly." But the commons were inexorable, and the guards departed. "It was a moving sight," says the whig Oldmixon,[u] "to behold them marching from St. James' park through London streets, taking a long farewell of the friends they left in England with kisses and tears in their eyes; many of them having English wives and children following them into a land strange to them, after their husbands and fathers had spent so many years in the service of that country out of which they were now driven." There was only one regiment of these guards, which makes the barbarity the greater. We feel it impossible to approve of this conduct of the commons; though it was termed national feeling it showed more of party spirit. They should have recollected, that had it not been for these troops, who won the battle of the Boyne, they would probably have no power over them or any other troops. "The foreign troops," says Hallam,[d] "had claims which a grateful and generous people should not have forgotten; they were many of them the chivalry of Protestantism, the Huguenot gentlemen, who had lost all but their swords in a cause which we deemed our own; they were the men who had terrified James from Whitehall, and brought about a deliverance, which, to speak plainly, we had neither sense nor courage to achieve for ourselves, or which at least we could never have achieved without enduring the convulsive throes of anarchy."

JOHN SOMERS
(1652–1716)

THE COMMONS COERCE THE KING AND THE LORDS IN THE IRISH GRANTS

In the following session (1700) the commons proceeded a step further in making the king feel their power. The lands of those who had fought on the side of James in Ireland, exceeding a million of acres, were forfeited, and, in a legal sense, were at the disposal of the crown; yet still in all equity they should be applied to the public service. But William, who was of a generous temper, and who never could divest himself of the idea that as king he was entitled to all the prerogative exercised by his predecessors, had granted away the far greater part of them, chiefly to his mistress, Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, to the insatiable Portland, to Ginkel earl of Athlone, to Sidney Lord Romney, and to another Dutch favourite, Keppel, who had been page, then private secretary to the king, and who now had eclipsed Portland in his

favour, and had been created earl of Albemarle. Still he had only exercised a lawful prerogative, and the commons were not justified in the Act of Resumption which they passed, and still less in "tacking," as it was termed, its provisions to a money bill in order to prevent the lords from altering them. "This most reprehensible device," observes Hallam,[d] "though not an unnatural consequence of their pretended right to an exclusive concern in money bills, had been employed in a former instance in this reign (February, 1692). They were again successful on this occasion; the lords receded from their amendments and passed the bill at the king's desire, who perceived that the fury of the commons was tending to a terrible convulsion. But the precedent was infinitely dangerous to their legislative power. If the commons, after some more attempts of the same nature, desisted from so unjust an encroachment, it must be attributed to that which has been the great preservative of the equilibrium in the English government — the public voice of a reflecting people, averse to manifest innovation, and soon offended by the intemperance of factions."

The king was tolerant in his own temper, and he was pledged to the emperor and his Catholic allies to indulge his Catholic subjects. But the commons now, on the resort of priests to England and their usual imprudence, brought in a terrific bill to check the growth of popery. By this act any one informing against a priest exercising his functions was to receive £100 reward, and the priest to be imprisoned for life; every person professing the popish religion must, after attaining the age of eighteen, take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, or become incapable of inheriting or purchasing lands, and during his life his next of kin being a Protestant was to enjoy them. The lords and the king gave no opposition to the will of the commons; but the spirit of liberty and equity rendered the barbarous enactment of no effect, and no properties were lost by it.

FALL OF THE WHIG JUNTO; A TORY MINISTRY IN POWER

The earl of Sunderland, foreseeing the coming storm, had already resigned his office of chamberlain, much against the wishes of the king. Lord Orford, fearing the commons, followed his example; the duke of Leeds was dismissed from his post of president of the council. But the tories had persuaded the favourites Albemarle, and Villiers Lord Jersey, that it would be for the king's advantage to employ them instead of the whigs. The king himself seems to have thought that course necessary, and in compliance with the wishes of the tories, he consented to take the great seal from Lord Somers, the leader of the whig party.[1] William wished him to resign it of his own accord, but this Somers declined doing, as it might appear to be the result of fear or guilt. The earl of Jersey was then sent (April 7th) to demand it; he delivered it up and it was committed to Sir Nathan Wright. The duke of Shrewsbury immediately resigned.

When the king returned from the Continent this year, he modelled the ministry to the content of the tories. Godolphin was set again over the treasury, Lord Grey of Werk, now earl of Tankerville, was made privy seal, and Rochester lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and to diminish the power of the whigs in the commons, their leader in that house, Charles Montague, was raised to the peerage under the title of baron of Halifax, Savile, marquis of Halifax,

[1 As Gardiner's notes, this established the principle that a minister unsatisfactory to the house of commons must resign.]

[1701 A.D.]

having died without heirs. The ministers having advised a dissolution, a new parliament was summoned, and met (February 10th, 1701).

The two great measures which were now to occupy the attention of the parliament were the succession and the partition treaty.

Of all the children that the princess Anne had borne, only one had survived. This was William Duke of Gloucester, born in 1689. When this young prince had attained his ninth year, the king assigned him a peculiar establishment, and appointed the earl of Marlborough to be his governor, and Bishop Burnet his preceptor. But the prince having over-exerted himself on his birth day (July 24th, 1700), took a fever of which he died. The next heir to the crown was the duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, youngest child of Charles I, but her religion excluding her, the nearest Protestant to the throne was Sophia, dowager-electress of Hanover, daughter of the queen of Bohemia, the sister of that monarch. In the speech from the throne, the subject was pressed on the attention of parliament, and no time was lost in preparing a bill for the purpose.

THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT AND THE TREATIES OF PARTITION (1701 A.D.)

The Act of Settlement which was now passed, limited the succession of the crown to the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. It further provided, that no foreigner should hold any place of trust, civil or military, or take any grant from the crown; that the nation should not be obliged to engage in war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the crown of England; that the sovereign should join in communion with the Church of England, and not go out of the country without the consent of parliament; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment; that no person holding an office or pension under the crown should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that judges' commissions should be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries be ascertained; that all business properly belonging to the privy council should be transacted there, and all the resolutions be signed by the councillors present, etc.

The regard for liberty shown in this important bill certainly does honour to the tories. Some of the articles seemed no doubt to reflect on the king, but recent experience had shown their necessity, and future experience proved their utility.[1] There was, however, one fatal omission in the bill; the foreign prince coming to the throne should have been required to surrender his former dominions.

The affair of the treaty of partition was much more intricate. Charles II of Spain was childless; the emperor, the elector of Bavaria, and the king of France had all married daughters of Spain. Louis' queen, it is true, had at her marriage solemnly renounced her right of succession, but the ambition of Louis, it was well known, would not be held in by so slender a cord; and if he could add the Spanish dominions to his own, his power, it was feared, would be irresistible. In 1698, William having seen, from the temper of parliament,

[1] The Act of Settlement was the seal of our constitutional laws, the complement of the Revolution itself and the Bill of Rights, the last great statute which restrains the power of the crown, and manifests, in any conspicuous degree, a jealousy of parliament in behalf of its own and the subject's privileges. The battle had been fought and gained; the Statute Book, as it becomes more voluminous, is less interesting in the history of our constitution; the voice of petition, complaint, or remonstrance is seldom to be traced in the journals; the crown in return desists altogether, not merely from the threatening or objurgatory tone of the Stuarts, but from that dissatisfaction sometimes apparent in the language of William; and the vessel seems riding in smooth water, moved by other impulses, and liable perhaps to other dangers, than those of the ocean-wave and the tempest.—HALLAM.[d]

how little chance there was of prevailing on the English nation to engage in a war, resolved if he could not avert the evil entirely to diminish it as much as possible. Louis too was, or pretended to be, satisfied to be secured in a part rather than have to fight for the whole. Accordingly, when William returned to Holland that year, a secret treaty was concluded between the kings of England and France, and the states of Holland, for partitioning the Spanish dominions, by which the dauphin was to have Naples and all the other Italian dominions of the crown of Spain, except the duchy of Milan, which was to go to the emperor's second son, Charles. The dauphin was also to have the province of Guipuzcoa, in the north of Spain; but the crown of Spain, with all its other dominions, was to go to the electoral prince of Bavaria.

COSTUME ABOUT 1700 A.D.

The death of this young prince having frustrated this arrangement, a new one was concluded (March 15th, 1700). By this the archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, while the dauphin should have Guipuzcoa and all the Italian dominions, but Milan was to be exchanged for Lorraine.

The object proposed by William and the states was, to preserve the balance of power as much as possible; but it was certainly a bold step thus to parcel out the Spanish monarchy without the consent of the crown or people of Spain. Accordingly, the pride of the Spanish nation was roused, and through the arts of the French ambassador and his party, the king, when on his death-bed (November 1st), was induced to make a will leaving all his dominions to Philip the second son of the dauphin. Louis, after an affected hesitation, allowed his grandson to accept the splendid bequest. He then used all his arts to obtain the acquiescence of the king of England and the states, but finding them unavailing, he had recourse to stronger measures. By what was called the Barrier Treaty, Namur, Antwerp, and some other places in the Netherlands, were garrisoned by Dutch troops; and by a secret and rapid march, the French in one night surprised and captured all these garrisons, which amounted to twelve thousand men. The states, to free their soldiers, and urged by the clamour of a large faction at home, and the terror of the French arms now at their doors, acknowledged Philip, and King William found it necessary to follow their example (April 17th, 1701).

It is asserted that Louis scattered his gold with no sparing hand among the members of the English parliament, in order to avert the danger of a war. Be this as it may, his game was played effectually in that assembly. The peers (March 21st) presented an address condemnatory of "that fatal treaty" of partition, and the commons, after a furious debate, in which Mr. Howe, a zealous jacobite, termed it a "felonious treaty," made a still stronger address, and then proceeded to impeach the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Halifax, for their share in it. Disputes, however, arising between the two houses, the commons refused to go on with the impeach-

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ments, under the pretext that they could not expect justice, and the lords then acquitted the accused peers.

THE DEATH OF JAMES II, 1701, AND OF WILLIAM III, 1702

The war spirit, however, was on the increase in the country, and the king on his return to the Continent was party (September 7th) to a second grand alliance with the emperor of Austria and the states for procuring the Netherlands and the Italian dominions of the crown of Spain for the emperor, and for preventing the union of France and Spain under the one government. Just at this time, an event occurred which roused the indignation of the whole English nation against Louis. King James died September 16th, 1701, and Louis, who had promised the dying monarch to recognise his son as king of England, performed that promise under the influence of the celebrated Madame de Maintenon, in opposition to his wisest ministers. William immediately ordered his ambassador to quit the court of France without taking leave, and the French secretary of legation was required to depart from England. The city of London made an address, expressive of their indignation at the conduct of the court of France, and their resolution to stand by the king in the defence of his person and just rights; and similar addresses soon poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

The current had evidently set in against the timid anti-national policy of the tories, and the sagacious Sunderland when consulted by the king strongly advised him to discard his tory ministers and bring in the whigs. William wrote to Lord Somers, their acknowledged leader, for his advice, and that statesman urged him to dissolve the parliament, and to rely on the present temper of the nation. Accordingly, the king soon after his return acted in conformity with that counsel.

When the new parliament met (December 30th), the tories proved stronger in it than had been anticipated, but many of them were of that moderate party which was headed by Harley, whose election to the office of speaker was carried by a majority of either four or fourteen. The speech from the throne, the composition of Somers, was a most able piece, showing the danger of England and of Europe, and calling on the parliament to act with vigour and unanimity. The two houses responded to the royal call; they voted ninety thousand men for the land and sea service; a bill was passed for attainting the pretended prince of Wales, and another obliging all persons employed in church and state to abjure him, and swear to William as rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according to the Act of Settlement.

The nation had not been so united or the king so popular at any time since the Revolution; but William was not fated to enjoy the happy results. He felt his constitution to be so greatly broken, that he had told Lord Portland this winter, in confidence, that he could not expect to live another summer. Toward the end of February (1702), as he was riding through Bushy Park, on his way to Hampton Court, he put his horse to the gallop on the level sod: but the animal stumbled and fell, and the king's collar-bone was broken.[1] It was set immediately, and he was brought back to Kensington. For some days he seemed in no danger whatever; but one day (March 3), after walking for some time in the gallery, he sat down on a couch and fell asleep. He awoke with a shivering fit. A fever ensued; he grew worse

[1] It was maliciously remarked that the horse he rode had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick. As his fall was ascribed to a mole hill, the jacobites in their political compotations used to drink to the health of "the little gentleman in black velvet."

daily; on Sunday (7th) he received the sacrament from Archbishop Tenison and at eight o'clock next morning he breathed his last, in the fifty-second year of his age.[9] As a fitting close to this great career, we may quote the estimate of Macaulay, whose *History of England* is really a history chiefly of William III. of Orange. Macaulay's sister, Lady Trevelyan, in her preface to the last volume of her brother's works, calls William, Macaulay's "great hero."[a]

Macaulay's Estimate of William III

Nature had largely endowed William with the qualities of a great ruler; and education had developed those qualities in no common degree. With strong natural sense, and rare force of will, he found himself, when first his mind began to open, a fatherless and motherless child, the chief of a great but depressed and disheartened party, and the heir to vast and indefinite pretensions, which excited the dread and aversion of the oligarchy then supreme in the United Provinces. He was scarcely fifteen years old when all the domestics who were attached to his interest, or who enjoyed any share of his confidence, were removed from under his roof by the jealous government. He remonstrated with energy beyond his years, but in vain. Vigilant observers saw the tears more than once rise in the eyes of the young state prisoner. His health, naturally delicate, sank for a time under the emotions which his desolate situation had produced. Such situations bewilder and unnerve the weak, but call forth all the strength of the strong. Surrounded by snares in which an ordinary youth would have perished, William learned to tread at once warily and firmly. Long before he reached manhood he knew how to keep secrets, how to baffle curiosity by dry and guarded answers, how to conceal all passions under the same show of grave tranquillity. Meanwhile he made little proficiency in fashionable or literary accomplishments. The manners of the Dutch nobility of that age wanted the grace which was found in the highest perfection among the gentlemen of France, and which, in an inferior degree, embellished the court of England; and his manners were altogether Dutch. Even his countrymen thought him blunt. To foreigners he often seemed churlish. In his intercourse with the world in general he appeared ignorant or negligent of those arts which double the value of a favour and take away the sting of a refusal. He was little interested in letters or science. The discoveries of Newton and Leibnitz, the poems of Dryden and Boileau, were unknown to him. Dramatic performances tired him. He had indeed some talent for sarcasm, and not seldom employed, quite unconsciously, a natural rhetoric, quaint, indeed, but vigorous and original. For all persecution he felt a fixed aversion, which he avowed, not only where the avowal was obviously politic, but on occasions where it seemed that his interest would have been promoted by dissimulation or by silence. His theological opinions, however, were even more decided than those of his ancestors. The tenet of predestination was the keystone of his religion. He often declared that, if he were to abandon that tenet, he must abandon with it all belief in a superintending Providence, and must become a mere Epicurean. Except in this single instance, all the sap of his vigorous mind was early drawn away from the speculative to the practical. The faculties which are necessary for the conduct of important business ripened in him at a time of life when they have scarcely begun to blossom in ordinary men. Since Octavius the world had seen no such instance of precocious statesmanship. Skilful diplomatists were surprised to hear the weighty observations which at seventeen the prince made on public affairs, and still more surprised

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to see a lad, in situations in which he might have been expected to betray strong passion, preserve a composure as imperturbable as their own. At eighteen he sat among the fathers of the commonwealth, grave, discreet, and judicious as the oldest among them. At twenty-one, in a day of gloom and terror, he was placed at the head of the administration. At twenty-three he was renowned throughout Europe as a soldier and a politician. He had put domestic factions under his feet: he was the soul of a mighty coalition; and he had contended with honour in the field against some of the greatest generals of the age.

His personal tastes were those rather of a warrior than of a statesman, but he, like his great-grandfather, the silent prince who founded the Batavian commonwealth, occupies a far higher place among statesmen than among warriors. The event of battles, indeed, is not an unfailing test of the abilities of a commander, and it would be peculiarly unjust to apply this test to William; for it was his fortune to be almost always opposed to captains who were consummate masters of their art, and to troops far superior in discipline to his own. Yet there is reason to believe that he was by no means equal, as a general in the field, to some who ranked far below him in intellectual powers. To those whom he trusted he spoke on this subject with the magnanimous frankness of a man who had done great things, and who could well afford to acknowledge some deficiencies. He had never, he said, served an apprenticeship to the military profession. He had been placed, while still a boy, at the head of an army. Among his officers there had been none competent to instruct him. His own blunders and their consequences had been his only lessons. "I would give," he once exclaimed, "a good part of my estates to have served a few campaigns under the prince of Condé before I had to command against him." It is not improbable that the circumstance which prevented William from attaining any eminent dexterity in strategy may have been favourable to the general vigour of his intellect. If his battles were not those of a great tactician, they entitled him to be called a great man. No disaster could for one moment deprive him of his firmness or of the entire possession of all his faculties. His defeats were repaired with such marvellous celerity that, before his enemies had sung the *Te Deum*, he was again ready for conflict; nor did his adverse fortune ever deprive him of the respect and confidence of his soldiers.

That respect and confidence he owed in no small measure to his personal courage. Courage, in the degree which is necessary to carry a soldier without disgrace through a campaign, is possessed, or might, under proper training, be acquired, by the great majority of men. But courage like that of William is rare indeed. He was proved by every test; by war, by wounds, by painful and depressing maladies, by raging seas, by the imminent and constant risk of assassination, a risk which has shaken very strong nerves, a risk which severely tried even the adamantine fortitude of Cromwell. Yet none could ever discover what that thing was which the prince of Orange feared. His advisers could with difficulty induce him to take any precaution against the pistols and daggers of conspirators. Old sailors were amazed at the composure which he preserved amidst roaring breakers on a perilous coast. In battle his bravery made him conspicuous even among tens of thousands of brave warriors, drew forth the generous applause of hostile armies, and was never questioned even by the injustice of hostile factions. During his five campaigns he exposed himself like a man who sought for death, was always foremost in the charge and last in the retreat, fought, sword in hand, in the thickest press, and, with a musket ball in his arm and the blood streaming

over his cuirass, still stood his ground and waved his hat under the hottest fire. His friends adjured him to take more care of a life invaluable to his country; and his most illustrious antagonist, the great Condé, remarked, after the bloody day of Seneffe, that the prince of Orange had in all things borne himself like an old general except in exposing himself like a young soldier. William denied that he was guilty of temerity. It was, he said, from a sense of duty and on a cool calculation of what the public interest required that he was always at the post of danger. The troops which he commanded had been little used to war, and shrank from a close encounter with the veteran soldiery of France. It was necessary that their leader should show them how battles were to be won. And in truth more than one day which had seemed hopelessly lost was retrieved by the hardihood with which he rallied his broken battalions and cut down with his own hand the cowards who set the example of flight. Sometimes, however, it seemed that he had a strange pleasure in venturing his person. It was remarked that his spirits were never so high and his manners never so gracious and easy as amidst the tumult and carnage of a battle. Even in his pastimes he liked the excitement of danger. Cards, chess, and billiards gave him no pleasure. The chase was his favourite recreation; and he loved it most when it was most hazardous. His leaps were sometimes such that his boldest companions did not like to follow him. He seems even to have thought the most hardy field sports of England effeminate, and to have pined in the great park of Windsor for the game which he had been used to drive to bay in the forests of Guelders, wolves, and wild boars, and huge stags with sixteen antlers.

The audacity of his spirit was the more remarkable because his physical organisation was unusually delicate. From a child he had been weak and sickly. In the prime of manhood his complaints had been aggravated by a severe attack of small-pox. He was asthmatic and consumptive. His slender frame was shaken by a constant hoarse cough. He could not sleep unless his head was propped by several pillows, and could scarcely draw his breath in any but the purest air. Cruel headaches frequently tortured him. Exertion soon fatigued him. The physicians constantly kept up the hopes of his enemies by fixing some date beyond which, if there were anything certain in medical science, it was impossible that his broken constitution could hold out. Yet, through a life which was one long disease, the force of his mind never failed, on any great occasion, to bear up his suffering and languid body.

He was born with violent passions and quick sensibilities, but the strength of his emotions was not suspected by the world. From the multitude his joy and his grief, his affection and his resentment, were hidden by a phlegmatic serenity, which made him pass for the most coldblooded of mankind. Those who brought him good news could seldom detect any sign of pleasure. Those who saw him after a defeat looked in vain for any trace of vexation. He praised and reprimanded, rewarded and punished, with the stern tranquillity of a Mohawk chief: but those who knew him well and saw him near were aware that under all this ice a fierce fire was constantly burning. It was seldom that anger deprived him of power over himself. But when he was really enraged the first outbreak of his passion was terrible. It was indeed scarcely safe to approach him. On these rare occasions, however, as soon as he regained his self command, he made such ample reparation to those whom he had wronged as tempted them to wish that he would go into a fury again. His affection was as impetuous as his wrath. Where he loved, he loved with

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the whole energy of his strong mind. When death separated him from what he loved, the few who witnessed his agonies trembled for his reason and his life.

To a very small circle of intimate friends, on whose fidelity and secrecy he could absolutely depend, he was a different man from the reserved and stoical William whom the multitude supposed to be destitute of human feelings. He was kind, cordial, open, even convivial and jocose, would sit at table many hours, and would bear his full share in festive conversation. Highest in his favour stood a gentleman of his household named Bentinck, sprung from a noble Batavian race, and destined to be the founder of one of the great patrician houses of England. The fidelity of Bentinck had been tried by no common test. It was while the United Provinces were struggling for existence against the French power that the young prince on whom all their hopes were fixed was seized by the small-pox. That disease had been fatal to many members of his family, and at first wore, in his case, a peculiarly malignant aspect. The public consternation was great. The streets of the Hague were crowded from daybreak to sunset by persons anxiously asking how his highness was. At length his complaint took a favourable turn. His escape was attributed partly to his own singular equanimity, and partly to the intrepid and indefatigable friendship of Bentinck. From the hands of Bentinck alone William took food and medicine. By Bentinck alone William was lifted from his bed and laid down in it. "Whether Bentinck slept or not while I was ill," said William to Temple with great tenderness, "I know not. But this I know, that, through sixteen days and nights, I never once called for anything but that Bentinck was instantly at my side." Before the faithful servant had entirely performed his task, he had himself caught the contagion. Still, however, he bore up against drowsiness and fever till his master was pronounced convalescent. Then, at length, Bentinck asked leave to go home. It was time: for his limbs would no longer support him. He was in great danger, but recovered, and, as soon as he left his bed, hastened to the army, where, during many sharp campaigns, he was ever found, as he had been in peril of a different kind, close to William's side.

Such was the origin of a friendship as warm and pure as any that ancient or modern history records. The descendants of Bentinck still preserve many letters written by William to their ancestor: and it is not too much to say that no person who has not studied those letters can form a correct notion of the prince's character. He whom even his admirers generally accounted the most distant and frigid of men here forgets all distinctions of rank, and pours out all his thoughts with the ingenuousness of a schoolboy. He imparts without reserve secrets of the highest moment. He explains with perfect simplicity vast designs affecting all the governments of Europe. There is a singular charm in such letters, penned by a man whose irresistible energy and inflexible firmness extorted the respect of his enemies, whose cold and ungracious demeanour repelled the attachment of almost all his partisans, and whose mind was occupied by gigantic schemes which have changed the face of the world.

His kindness was not misplaced. Bentinck was early pronounced by Temple to be the best and truest servant that ever prince had the good fortune to possess, and continued through life to merit that honourable character.

William was not less fortunate in marriage than in friendship. Yet his marriage had not at first promised much domestic happiness. His choice had been determined chiefly by political considerations: nor did it seem likely that any strong affection would grow up between a handsome girl of sixteen, well disposed indeed, and naturally intelligent, but ignorant and simple, and

a bridegroom who, though he had not completed his twenty-eighth year, was in constitution older than her father, whose manner was chilling, and whose head was constantly occupied by public business or by field sports. For a time William was a negligent husband. He was indeed drawn away from his wife by other women, particularly by one of her ladies, Elizabeth Villiers, who, though destitute of personal attractions, and disfigured by a hideous squint, possessed talents which well fitted her to partake his cares. He was indeed ashamed of his errors, and spared no pains to conceal them; but, in spite of all his precautions, Mary well knew that he was not strictly faithful to her. She, however, bore her injuries with a meekness and patience which deserved, and gradually obtained, William's esteem and gratitude. Her generous affection completely gained the heart of William. Till the sad day when he was carried away in fits from her dying bed, there was entire friendship and confidence between them. Many of her letters to him are extant; and they contain abundant evidence that this man, unamiable as he was in the eyes of the multitude, had succeeded in inspiring a beautiful and virtuous woman, born his superior, with a passion fond even to idolatry.

William had long observed the contest between the English factions attentively, but without feeling a strong predilection for either side. Nor in truth did he ever to the end of his life, become either a whig or a tory. He wanted that which is the common groundwork of both characters; for he never became an Englishman. He saved England, it is true, but he never loved her, and he never obtained her love. To him she was always a land of exile, visited with reluctance and quitted with delight. Even when he rendered to her those services of which, at this day, we feel the happy effects, her welfare was not his chief object. Whatever patriotic feeling he had was for Holland. Yet even his affection for the land of his birth was subordinate to another feeling which early became supreme in his soul. That feeling was enmity to France, and to the magnificent king who, in more than one sense, represented France, and who to virtues and accomplishments eminently French joined in large measure that unquiet, unscrupulous, and vainglorious ambition which has repeatedly drawn on France the resentment of Europe.

It was in the agony of that conflict, when peasants were flying in terror before the French invaders, when hundreds of fair gardens and pleasure houses were buried beneath the waves, when the deliberations of the states were interrupted by the fainting and the loud weeping of ancient senators who could not bear the thought of surviving the freedom and glory of their native land, that William had been called to the head of affairs. For a time it seemed to him that resistance was hopeless. He looked round for succour, and looked in vain. Spain was unnerved, Germany distracted, England corrupted. Nothing seemed left to the young stadholder but to perish sword in hand, or to be the Æneas of a great emigration, and to create another Holland in countries beyond the tyranny of France. The French monarchy was to him what the Roman republic was to Hannibal, what the Ottoman power was to Scanderbeg, what the southern domination was to Wallace.

To the confidence which the heroic fatalist placed in his high destiny and in his sacred cause is to be partly attributed his singular indifference to danger. He had a great work to do; and till it was done nothing could harm him. Therefore it was that, in spite of the prognostications of physicians, he recovered from maladies which seemed hopeless, that bands of assassins conspired in vain against his life, that the open skiff to which he trusted himself on a starless night, on a raging ocean, and near a treacherous shore, brought him

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safe to land, and that, on twenty fields of battle, the cannon balls passed him by to right and left. The ardour and perseverance with which he devoted himself to his mission have scarcely any parallel in history. In comparison with his great object he held the lives of other men as cheap as his own. It was but too much the habit, even of the most humane and generous soldiers of that age, to think very lightly of the bloodshed and devastation inseparable from great martial exploits; and the heart of William was steeled, not only by professional insensibility, but by that sterner insensibility which is the effect of a sense of duty. Three great coalitions, three long and bloody wars in which all Europe from the Vistula to the western ocean was in arms, are to be ascribed to his unconquerable energy. He was in truth far better qualified to save a nation than to adorn a court. In the highest parts of statesmanship, he had no equal among his contemporaries. He had formed plans not inferior in grandeur and boldness to those of Richelieu, and had carried them into effect with a tact and wariness worthy of Mazarin. Two countries, the seats of civil liberty and of the reformed faith, had been preserved by his wisdom and courage from extreme perils. Holland he had delivered from foreign, and England from domestic foes. Obstacles apparently insurmountable had been interposed between him and the ends on which he was intent; and those obstacles his genius had turned into stepping stones. Under his dexterous management the hereditary enemies of his house had helped him to mount a throne; and the persecutors of his religion had helped him to rescue his religion from persecution. Fleets and armies, collected to withstand him, had, without a struggle, submitted to his orders. Factions and sects, divided by mortal antipathies, had recognised him as their common head. Without carnage, without devastation, he had won a victory compared with which all the victories of Gustavus and Turenne were insignificant. In a few weeks he had changed the relative position of all the states in Europe, and had restored the equilibrium which the preponderance of one power had destroyed. Foreign nations did ample justice to his great qualities. In every continental country where Protestant congregations met, fervent thanks were offered to God, who, from among the progeny of his servants, Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, and William, the deliverer of Holland, had raised up a third deliverer, the wisest and mightiest of all. At Vienna, at Madrid, nay, at Rome, the valiant and sagacious heretic was held in honour as the chief of the great confederacy against the house of Bourbon; and even at Versailles the hatred which he inspired was largely mingled with admiration.

Here he was less favourably judged. In truth, our ancestors saw him in the worst of all lights. By the French, the Germans, and the Italians, he was contemplated at such a distance that only what was great could be discerned, and that small blemishes were invisible. To the Dutch he was brought close, but he was himself a Dutchman. In his intercourse with them he was seen to the best advantage, he was perfectly at his ease with them; and from among them he had chosen his earliest and dearest friends. But to the English he appeared in a most unfortunate point of view. He was at once too near to them and too far from them. He lived among them, so that the smallest peculiarity of temper or manner could not escape their notice. Yet he lived apart from them, and was to the last a foreigner in speech, tastes, and habits.

One of the chief functions of our sovereigns had long been to preside over the society of the capital. That function Charles II had performed with immense success. His easy bow, his good stories, his style of dancing and playing tennis, the sound of his cordial laugh, were familiar to all London. One day he was seen among the elms of St. James's park chatting with Dryden

about poetry. Another day his arm was on Tom Durfey's shoulder; and his majesty was taking a second, while his companion sang "Phillida, Phillida," or "To horse, brave boys, to Newmarket, to horse." James, with much less vivacity and good nature, was accessible, and, to people who did not cross him, civil. But of this sociableness William was entirely destitute. He seldom came forth from his closet; and, when he appeared in the public rooms, he stood among the crowd of courtiers and ladies, stern and abstracted, making no jest and smiling at none. His freezing look, his silence, the dry and concise answers which he uttered when he could keep silence no longer, disgusted noblemen and gentlemen who had been accustomed to be slapped on the back by their royal masters, called Jack or Harry, congratulated about race cups or rallied about actresses. The women missed the homage due to their sex. They observed that the king spoke in a somewhat imperious tone even to the wife to whom he owed so much, and whom he sincerely loved and esteemed. They were amused and shocked to see him, when the Princess Anne dined with him, and when the first green peas of the year were put on the table, devour the whole dish without offering a spoonful to her royal highness; and they pronounced that this great soldier and politician was no better than a Low Dutch bear.

One misfortune, which was imputed to him as a crime, was his bad English. He spoke our language, but not well. His accent was foreign, his diction was inelegant; and his vocabulary seems to have been no larger than was necessary for the transaction of business. To the difficulty which he felt in expressing himself, and to his consciousness that his pronunciation was bad, must be partly ascribed the taciturnity and the short answers which gave so much offence. Our literature he was incapable of enjoying or of understanding.

He never once, during his whole reign, showed himself at the theatre. The poets who wrote Pindaric verses in his praise complained that their flights of sublimity were beyond his comprehension. Those who are acquainted with the panegyrical odes of that age will perhaps be of opinion that he did not lose much by his ignorance.

It is true that his wife did her best to supply what was wanting, and that she was excellently qualified to be the head of the court. She was English by birth, and English also in her tastes and feelings. Her face was handsome, her port majestic, her temper sweet and lively, her manners affable and graceful. Her understanding, though very imperfectly cultivated, was quick. There was no want of feminine wit and shrewdness in her conversation; and her letters were so well expressed that they deserved to be well spelt. She took much pleasure in the lighter kinds of literature, and did something towards bringing books into fashion among ladies of quality. The stainless purity of her private life and the strict attention which she paid to her religious duties were the more respectable, because she was singularly free from censoriousness, and discouraged scandal as much as vice.

William's end was worthy of his life. His intellect was not for a moment clouded. His fortitude was the more admirable because he was not willing to die. He had very lately said to one of those whom he most loved: "You know that I never feared death; there have been times when I should have wished it; but, now that this great new prospect is opening before me, I do wish to stay here a little longer." Yet no weakness, no querulousness, disgraced the noble close of that noble career. To the physicians the king returned his thanks graciously and gently. "I know that you have done all that skill and learning could do for me: but the case is beyond your art; and I submit." From the words which escaped him he seemed to be frequently

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engaged in mental prayer. Burnet and Tenison remained many hours in the sick room. He professed to them his firm belief in the truth of the Christian religion, and received the sacrament from their hands with great seriousness. The antechambers were crowded all night with lords and privy councillors. He ordered several of them to be called in, and exerted himself to take leave of them with a few kind and cheerful words. Among the English who were admitted to his bedside were Devonshire and Ormonde.

But there were in the crowd those who felt as no Englishman could feel, friends of his youth who had been true to him, and to whom he had been true, through all vicissitudes of fortune; who had served him with unalterable fidelity when his secretaries of state, his treasury and his admiralty had betrayed him; who had never on any field of battle, or in an atmosphere tainted with loathsome and deadly disease, shrunk from placing their own lives in jeopardy to save his, and whose truth he had at the cost of his own popularity rewarded with bounteous munificence. He strained his feeble voice to thank Auverquerque for the affectionate and loyal services of thirty years. To Albemarle he gave the keys of his closet, and of his private drawers. "You know," he said, "what to do with them." By this time he could scarcely respire. "Can this," he said to the physicians, "last long?" He was told that the end was approaching.

He swallowed a cordial, and asked for Bentinck. Those were his last articulate words. Bentinck instantly came to the bedside, bent down, and placed his ear close to the king's mouth. The lips of the dying man moved; but nothing could be heard. The king took the hand of his earliest friend, and pressed it tenderly to his heart. In that moment, no doubt, all that had cast a slight passing cloud over their long and pure friendship was forgotten. It was now between seven and eight in the morning. He closed his eyes, and gasped for breath. The bishops knelt down and read the commendatory prayer. When it ended William was no more.

When his remains were laid out, it was found that he wore next to his skin a small piece of black silk riband. The lords in waiting ordered it to be taken off. It contained a gold ring and a lock of the hair of Mary.[e]