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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Designed as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

BY T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. I.

A NEW EDITION,

With the Author's last CORRECTIONS and IMPROVEMENTS.

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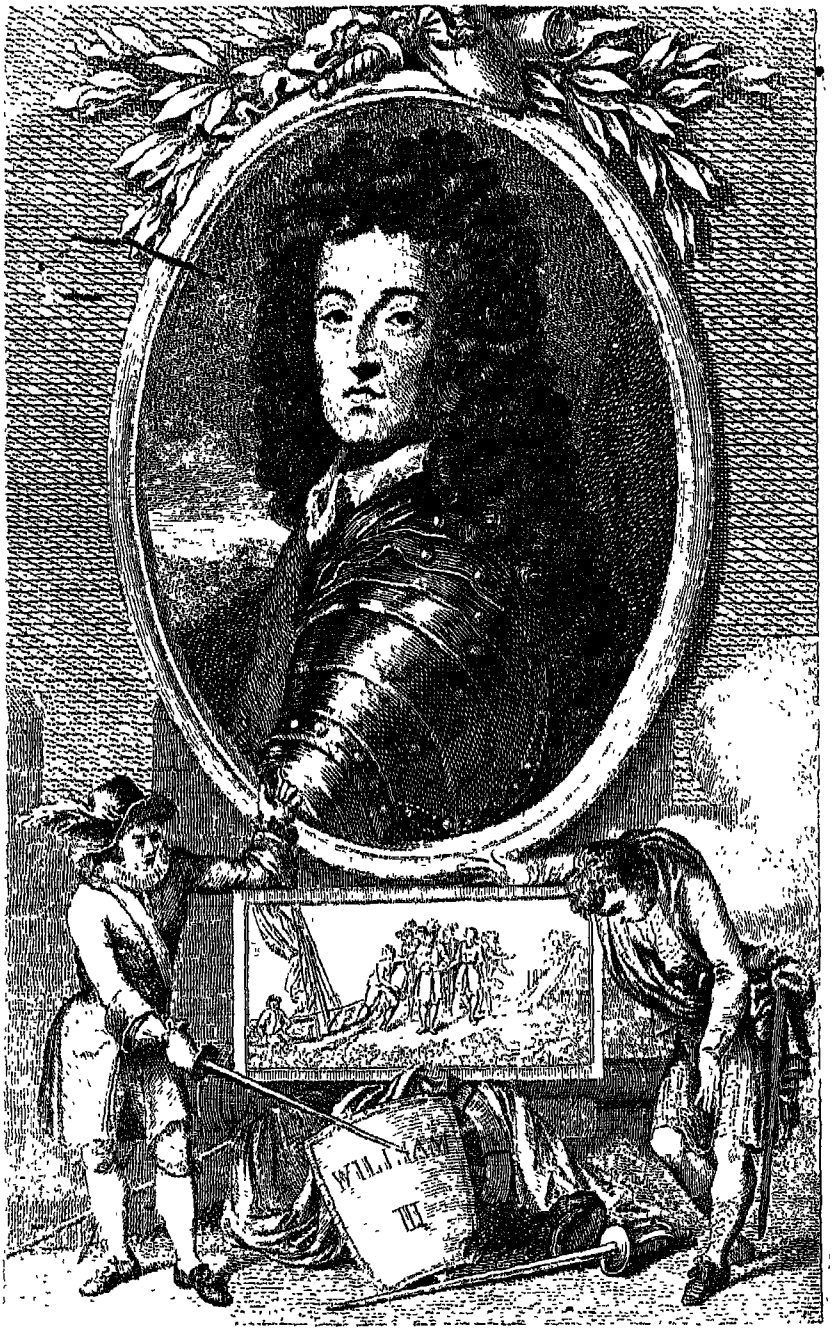
ADVERTISEMENT.

THE purchaſers of D. Hume's Hiſtory of England having been long deſirous of a continuation; the proprietor of Dr. Smollett's Hiſtory (being in poſſeſſion of a copy with the author's laſt corrections) has been induced to reprint that work from the Revolution, where Hume's Hiſtory ends, to the death of George II. in the year 1760.

To make this work more acceptable, the Sections, and other diviſions, are given in a manner correſpondent with thoſe obſerved by Hume; ſo that any gentleman, poſſeſſed of the latter, may take up his Hiſtory at the Revolution, where Hume breaks off, and find a regular connection in this complete Hiſtory given by Smollett.

In the latter part only of this work has the preſent Editor found it neceſſary to make any alterations. The war before the laſt had its ſource in America, and thereby drew forth our ſettlements there into conſequence. This, with the loſs of moſt of thoſe ſettlements ſince to Great-Britain, had brought with it ſo many changes, that what was found politicks and good ſenſe then, is now totally deranged:

even facts themſelves are become changed, and the very ſtate of the two countries has undergone a metamorphoſis which was impoſſible to be foreſeen by the ſhrewdeſt politician. To aſſiſt the views of ſo eminent a writer as Smollett, as well as to gratify the expectations of the judicious reader, a few, very few, alterations have been made on thoſe heads. To have proceeded farther would have been a kind of ſacrilege, and no leſs a fraud upon the original author, than upon the publick.



Engraved by Sir C. Wilde with

MARIA

THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM THE REVOLUTION,

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

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§ I.

§ I. THE conſtitution of England had now aſſumed a new aſpect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeaſible right was at length renounced by a free Parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The repreſentatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their conſtituents; and William III. aſcended the throne in conſequence of an expreſs capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occaſion, the zeal of the Parliament towards their deliverer ſeems to have overſhot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at leaſt they neglected the faireſt opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench thoſe prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve them at his pleaſure. He was enabled to influence elections, and oppreſs corporations. He poſſeſſed the right of chooſing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the ſtate, and of the houſehold, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reſerved the abſolute command of the militia: ſo that he remained maſter of all the inſtruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other reſtraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of reſiſtance, on which the Revolution was founded. In a word, the ſettlement was finiſhed with ſome precipitation, before the plan had been properly digeſted and matured; and this will be the caſe in every eſtabliſhment formed upon a ſudden emergency in the face of oppoſition. It was obſerved, that the King, who was made by the people, had it in his power

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to rule without them; to govern *jure divino*, though he was created *jure humano:* and that, though the change proceeded from a republican ſpirit, the ſettlement was built upon Tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued ſtill independent of his commiſſion, while his own perſon remained ſacred and inviolable. The Prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common ſenſe of danger: but this tie was no ſooner broken than they flew aſunder, and each reſumed its original bias. Their mutual jealouſy and rancour revived, and was heated by diſpute into intemperate zeal and enthuſiaſm. Thoſe who at firſt acted from principles of patriotiſm were inſenſibly warmed into partiſans; and King William ſoon found himſelf at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a Calviniſt, and always expreſſed an abhorrence of ſpiritual perſecution, the Preſbyterians, and other Proteſtant diſſenters, conſidered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his intereſts with the moſt zealous fervour and aſſiduity. For the ſame reaſons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, firſt in oppoſing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his meaſures. Their party was eſpouſed by all the friends of the lineal ſucceſſion; by the Roman Catholics; by thoſe who were perſonally attached to the late King; and by ſuch as were diſguſted by the conduct and perſonal deportment of William ſince his arrival in England. They obſerved, That, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aſpired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with inſolence and rigour: That his army contained a number of foreign papiſts, almoſt equal to that of the Engliſh Roman Catholics whom James had employed: That the reports ſo induſtriouſly circulated about the birth of the Prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enſlaving England, and the murder of the Earl of Eſſex,

Eſſex, reports countenanced by the Prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation: That the Dutch troops remained in London, while the Engliſh forces were diſtributed in remote quarters: That the Prince declared the firſt ſhould be kept about his perſon, and the latter ſent to Ireland: That the two houſes, out of complaiſance to William, had denied their late ſovereign the juſtice of being heard in his own defence: and, That the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already ſenſibly diminiſhed. Theſe were the ſources of diſcontent, ſwelled up by the reſentment of ſome noblemen, and other individuals, diſappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ II. William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all proteſtants in the offices which they enjoyed on the firſt day of December: then he choſe the members of his council, who were generally ſtaunch to his intereſt, except the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Earl of Nottingham*, and theſe were admitted in complaiſance to the church-party, which it was not thought adviſeable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewſbury were appointed Secretaries of State: the privy-ſeal was beſtowed upon the Marquis of Haliſax: the Earl of Danby was created Preſident of the Council. Theſe two noblemen enjoyed a good ſhare of the King's confidence, and Nottingham was conſiderable, as head of the church-party: but the chief favourite was Bentinck, firſt commoner on the liſt of privy-counſellors, as well as groom of the ſtole and privy purſe. D'Auverquerque was made maſter of the Somers's Collection Reresby. Burnet.

* The council conſisted of the Prince of Denmark, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquiſses of Haliſax and Winchester, the Earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonſhire, Dorſet, Middleſex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the Viscounts Faueonberg, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the Lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powle, Mr. Ruſſel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscawen.

horſe,

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horſe, Zuyleſtein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the Treaſury, Admiralty, and Chancery were put in commiſſion; twelve able judges were choſen*; and the dioceſe of Saliſbury being vacated by the death of Dr. Ward, the King, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous ſtickler for his intereſt; and, in a particular manner, inſtrumental in effecting the Revolution. Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, refuſed to conſecrate this eccleſiaſtic, though the reaſons of his refuſal are not ſpecified; but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a premunire, he granted a commiſſion to the Biſhop of London, and three other ſuffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of ſome parts, and great induſtry; moderate in his notions of church-diſcipline, inquiſitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In conſequence of having incurred the diſpleaſure of the late King, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his reſidence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himſelf to the intereſt of the Prince of Orange, who conſulted him about the affairs of England. He aſſiſted in drawing up the Prince's manifeſto, and wrote ſome other papers and pamphlets in defence of his deſign. He was demanded of the States, by the Engliſh Ambaſſador, as a Britiſh fugitive, outlawed by King James, and excepted in the act of indemnity: nevertheleſs, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in ſome meaſure to the ſucceſs of that expedition. The principal individuals that compoſed this miniſtry have been characteriſed in the hiſtory of the preceding reigns. We have had occaſion to mention the fine talents,

* Sir John Holt was appointed Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the Common Pleas; the Earl of Devonſhire was made Lord Steward of the Houſehold, and the Earl of Dorſet Lord Chamberlain.—Ralph.

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the vivacity, the flexibility of Halifax; the plauſi- CHA
bility, the enterpriſing genius, the obſtinacy of I.
Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and 1689.
oſtentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewſbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treaſury, was modeſt, ſilent, ſagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed firſt commiſſioner of that board, and afterwards created Earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the ſequel to the rank of Earl of Warrington, was cloſe and mercenary. Obſequiouſneſs, fidelity, and attachment to his Maſter, compoſed the character of Bentinck, whom the King raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Portland. The Engliſh favourite, Sidney, was a man of wit and pleaſure, poſſeſſed of the moſt engaging talents for converſation and private friendſhip, but rendered unfit for public buſineſs by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created Earl of Romney; a title which he enjoyed with ſeveral ſucceſſive poſts of profit and importance. The ſtream of honour and preferment ran ſtrong in favour of the Whigs, and this appearance of partiality confirmed the ſuſpicion and reſentment of the oppoſite party.

§ III. The firſt reſolution taken in the new council was to convert the Convention into a Parliament, that the new ſettlement might be ſtrengthened by a legal ſanction, which was now ſuppoſed *to be wanting, as the aſſembly had not been convoked* by the King's writ of ſummons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous; therefore, the council determined that the King ſhould, by virtue of his own authority, change the Convention into a Parliament, by going to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual ſtate of a ſovereign, and pronouncing a ſpeech from the throne to both

Houſes

BOOK II. 1689. Houſes. This expedient was accordingly practiſed*. He aſſured them he ſhould never take any ſtep that would diminiſh the good opinion they had conceived of

* This expedient was attended with an unſurmountable abſurdity. If the majority of the Convention could not grant a legal ſanction to the eſtabliſhment they had made, they could never inveſt the Prince of Orange with a juſt right to aſcend the throne; for they could not give what they had no right to beſtow; and if he aſcended the throne without a juſt title, he could have no right to ſanctify that aſſembly to which he owed his elevation. When the people are obliged, by tyranny, or other accidents, to have recourſe to the firſt principles of ſociety, namely, their own preſervation, in electing a new ſovereign, it will deſerve conſideration, whether that choice is to be effected by the majority of a Parliament which has been diſſolved, indeed by any Parliament whatſoever, or by the body of the nation aſſembled in communities, corporations, by tribes, or centuries, to ſignify their aſſent or diſſent with reſpect to the perſon propoſed as their ſovereign. This kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty, but theſe cannot poſſibly be avoided when the conſtitution is diſſolved by ſetting aſide the lineal ſucceſſion to the throne. The conſtitution of England is founded on a Parliament conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons; but when there is no longer a King, the parliament is defective, and the conſtitution impaired; the members of the Lower Houſe are the repreſentatives of the people, expreſsly choſen to maintain the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and ſworn to ſupport the rights of the crown, as well as the liberties of the nation; but though they are elected to maintain, they have no power to alter the conſtitution. When the King forfeits the allegiance of his ſubjects, and it becomes neceſſary to dethrone him, the power of ſo doing cannot poſſibly reſide in the repreſentatives who are choſen, under certain limitations, for the purpoſes of a legiſlature which no longer exiſts; their power is of courſe at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals that conſtitute the community. The right of altering the conſtitution, therefore, or of deviating from the eſtabliſhed practice of inheritance in regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown, is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his ſhare in the general determination, whether his opinion be ſignified *viva voce*, or by a repreſentative whom he appoints and inſtructs for that purpoſe. It may be ſuggeſted, that the Prince of Orange was raiſed to the throne without any convulſion, or any ſuch difficulties and inconveniencies as we have affirmed to be the neceſſary conſequences of a meaſure of that nature. To this remark we anſwer, that ſince the Revolution, theſe kingdoms have been divided and harraſſed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly ſeek the deſtruction of each other: that they have been expoſed to plots, conſpiracies, inſurrections, civil wars, and ſucceſſive rebellions, which have not been defeated and quelled without vaſt effuſion of blood, infinite miſchief, calamity, and expence to the nation; that they are ſtill ſubjected to all thoſe alarms and dangers

of his integrity. He told them that Holland was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance; that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration: that a good settlement was necessary, not only for the establishment of domestick peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest abroad: that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit the least delay in their deliberations: he, therefore, begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensably necessary for the welfare of the nation. The Commons returning to their House, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his Majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the House, so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These, therefore, brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present Parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden in the lower House put the question, Whether a King elected by the

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dangers which are engendered by a disputed title to the throne, and the efforts of an artful pretender; that they are necessarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their interest sacrificed to foreign connexions, from which they can never be disengaged. Perhaps all these calamities might have been prevented by the interposition of the Prince of Orange. King James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been laid under such restrictions that it would not have been in his power to tyrannize over his subjects either in spirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been vested in the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the nomination of persons to fill the great offices of the church and state, and superintend the economy of the administration, in the application of the publick money: a law might have passed for annual parliaments, and the King might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. Had these measures been taken, the King must have been absolutely disabled from employing either force or corruption in the prosecution of arbitrary designs, and the people must have been fairly represented in a rotation of parliaments, whose power and influence would have been but of one year's duration.

Lords

BOOK I. 1689.

Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, coming to and conſulting with the ſaid Lords and Commons, did not make as complete a Parliament, and legiſlative power and authority, as if the ſaid King ſhould cauſe new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed that the King's writ was as neceſſary as his preſence to the being of a legal parliament, and, as the Convention was defective in this particular, it could not be veſted with a parliamentary authority by any management whatſoever. The Whigs replied, That the eſſence of a Parliament conſiſted in the meeting and co-operation of the King, Lords, and Commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter: they proved this aſſertion by examples deduced from the Hiſtory of England: they obſerved, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence, and loſs of time; and that ſuch delay might prove fatal to the proteſtant intereſt in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midſt of this debate, the bill was brought down from the Lords, and being read, a committee was appointed to make ſome amendments. Theſe were no ſooner made than the Commons ſent it back to the upper Houſe, and it immediately received the royal aſſent. By this act the Lords and Commons, aſſembled at Weſtminſter, were declared the two Houſes of Parliament to all intents and purpoſes: it likewiſe ordained, That the preſent act, and all other acts to which the royal aſſent ſhould be given before the next prorogation, ſhould be underſtood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, inſtead of the old oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, ſhould take the new oath incorporated in this act, under the ancient penalty; and, That the preſent Parliament ſhould be diſſolved in the uſual manner. Immediately after this tranſaction, a warm debate aroſe in the Houſe of Commons about the revenue,

revenue, which the courtiers alledged had devolved with the crown upon William, at leaſt, during the life of James; for which term the greater part of it had been granted. The members in the oppoſition affirmed, that theſe grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue ſhould be ſettled on the King and Queen; and the Houſe reſolved it ſhould be taken into conſideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a meſſage from his Majeſty, importing, that the late King had ſet ſail from Breſt with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith reſolved to aſſiſt his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, to be levied by monthly aſſeſſments; and both Houſes waited on the King to ſignify this reſolution. But this unanimity did not take place till ſeveral Lords ſpiritual as well as temporal had, rather than take the oaths, abſented themſelves from Parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Turner, Biſhop of Ely, Lake, of Chicheſter, Ken, of Bath and Wells, White, of Peterborough, Lloyd, of Norwich, Thomas, of Worceſter, and Frampton, of Glouceſter. The temporal peers who refuſed the oath, were the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the Lords Griffin and Stawell. Five of the Biſhops withdrew themſelves from the Houſe at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehenſion, by which moderate diſſenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into eccleſiaſtical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and preſented by the Earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the Houſe for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party averſe to the government of William were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation

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BOOK I. 1689. appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a King *de facto*, as well as all other diſtinctions and limitations; and declared for the abſolute power, and divine hereditary indefeaſible right of ſovereigns.

§ IV. This faction had already begun to practiſe againſt the new government. The King having received ſome intimation of their deſigns from intercepted letters, ordered the Earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and ſome other gentlemen of the Scottiſh nation, to be apprehended and ſent priſoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two Houſes of the ſtep he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in ſuch a delicate affair, which had compelled him to treſpaſs upon the law of England. The Lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and deſired he would ſecure all diſturbers of the peace: but the Commons empowered him by a bill to diſpenſe with the Habeas-Corpus-act till the ſeventeenth day of April next enſuing. This was a ſtretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late King, even while Argyll and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A ſpirit of diſcontent had by this time diffuſed itſelf through the army, and become ſo formidable to the court, that the King reſolved to retain the Dutch troops in England, and ſend over to Holland in their room ſuch regiments as were moſt tinctured with diſaffection. Of theſe the Scottiſh regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by Mareſchal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipſwich, ſeized the military cheſt, diſarmed the officers who oppoſed their deſign, declared for King James, and with four pieces of cannon began their march for Scotland. William, being informed of this revolt, ordered General Ginckel to purſue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons, and the mutineers ſurrendered at diſcretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet ſubmitted in form to the new government,

vernment, the King did not think proper to puniſh them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his firſt intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the miniſtry, who were divided among themſelves, and wavered in their principles. However, they uſed this opportunity to bring in a bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, which in a little time paſſed both Houſes, and received the royal aſſent. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ V. The coronation-oath * being altered and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the Biſhop of London officiating, at the King's deſire, in the room of the Metropolitan, who was a malcontent; and next day the Commons, in a body, waited on the King and Queen at Whitehall, with an addreſs of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affection of his new ſubjects, and check the progreſs of clamour and diſcontent, ſignified in a ſolemn meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, his readineſs to acquieſce in any meaſure they ſhould think proper to take for a new regulation or total ſuppreſſion of the hearth-money, which he underſtood was a grievous impoſition on the ſubjects; and this tax was afterwards aboliſhed. He was gratified with an addreſs of thanks, couched

* The new form of the coronation-oath conſiſted in the following queſtions and anſwers. "Will you ſolemnly promiſe and ſwear to "govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions "thereto belonging, according to the ſtatutes in parliament agreed "on, and the laws and cuſtoms of the ſame?"

'I ſolemnly promiſe ſo to do.'

"Will you to your power, cauſe law and juſtice in mercy to be "executed in all your judgments?" 'I will.'—"Will you, to the "utmoſt of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profeſ- "ſion of the Goſpel, and the Proteſtant reformed religion as by law "eſtabliſhed? and will you preſerve unto the biſhops and clergy of "this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all ſuch "rights and privileges as by law, do, or ſhall appertain unto them "or any of them?"

'All this I promiſe to do.'

Then the King or Queen, laying his or her hand upon the Goſpels, ſhall ſay, "The things which I have here before promiſed I "will perform and keep. So help me God."

in

BOOK I. 1698. in the warmeſt expreſſions of duty, gratitude, and affection, declaring they would take ſuch meaſures in ſupport of his crown, as would convince the world that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

§ VI. He had, in his anſwer to their former addreſs, aſſured them of his conſtant regard to the rights and proſperity of the nation: he had explained the exhauſted ſtate of the Dutch; expatiated upon the zeal of that Republick for the intereſts of Britain, as well as the maintenance of the Proteſtant religion; and expreſſed his hope that the Engliſh Parliament would not only repay the ſums they had expended in his expedition, but likewiſe further ſupport them to the utmoſt of their ability againſt the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had obſerved that a conſiderable army and fleet would be neceſſary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he deſired they would ſettle the revenue in ſuch a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and diſpute. The ſum total of the money expended by the States-General in William's expedition amounted to ſeven millions of guilders, and the Commons granted ſix hundred thouſand pounds for the diſcharge of this debt, incurred for the preſervation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raiſing and maintaining an army of two-and-twenty thouſand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet: but, they provided for no more than half a year's ſubſiſtence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finiſhed in that term; and this inſtance of frugality the King conſidered as a mark of their diffidence of his adminiſtration. The Whigs were reſolved to ſupply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment: but he was not at all pleaſed with their precaution.

§ VII. William was naturally biaſſed to Calviniſm, and averſe to perſecution. Whatever promiſes he had made, and whatever ſentiments of reſpect he

had entertained for the Church of England, he ſeemed now in a great meaſure alienated from it, by the oppoſition he had met with from its members, particularly from the Biſhops, who had thwarted his meaſures. By abſenting themſelves from Parliament, and refuſing the oath, they had plainly diſowned his title, and renounced his government. He therefore reſolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the ſame time, by removing the obſtacles affixed to nonconformity, that all Proteſtant Diſſenters ſhould be rendered capable of enjoying and exerciſing civil employments. When he gave his aſſent to the bill for ſuſpending the Habeas-Corpus-act, he recommended the eſtabliſhment of a new oath in lieu of thoſe of allegiance and ſupremacy: he expreſſed his hope that they would leave room for the admiſſion of all his Proteſtant ſubjects who ſhould be found qualified for the ſervice; he ſaid, ſuch a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themſelves, and ſtrengthen them againſt their common adverſaries. In conſequence of this hint, a clauſe was inſerted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the ſacramental teſt was declared unneceſſary in rendering any perſon capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the Houſe of Lords. Another clauſe for the ſame purpoſe, though in different terms, was propoſed by the King's direction, and met with the ſame fate, though in both caſes ſeveral noblemen entered a proteſt againſt the reſolution of the Houſe. Theſe fruitleſs efforts, in favour of diſſenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen againſt King William, who would have willingly compromiſed the difference, by excuſing the clergy from the oaths, provided the diſſenters might be exempted from the ſacramental teſt: but this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the propoſal was rejected. The church-party in the Houſe of Lords moved,

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moved, that inſtead of inſerting a clauſe, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the King ſhould be empowered to tender them; and, in caſe of their refuſal, they ſhould incur the penalty, becauſe deprivation, or the apprehenſions of it, might make them deſperate, and excite them to form deſigns againſt the government. This argument had no weight with the Commons, who thought it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their inſtructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clauſe empowering the King to indulge any twelve clergymen, deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleaſure. Thus the ancient oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were abrogated: the declaration of non-reſiſtance in the act of uniformity was repealed: the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive ſimplicity, and the coronation-oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the firſt day of Auguſt, on pain of being ſuſpended from their office for ſix months, and of intire deprivation, in caſe they ſhould not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with ſuch reſervations and diſtinctions as were not much for the honour of their ſincerity.

§ VIII. The King, though baffled in his deſign againſt the ſacramental teſt, reſolved to indulge the diſſenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpoſe being prepared by the Earl of Nottingham, was, after ſome debate, paſſed into a law, under the title of An Act for exempting their Majeſties' Proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of England from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws ſhould be conſtrued to extend to thoſe diſſenters who ſhould take the oaths to the preſent government, and ſubſcribe the declaration

of the thirtieth year of the reign of Charles II. provided that they ſhould hold no private aſſemblies or conventicles with the doors ſhut; That nothing ſhould be conſtrued to exempt them from the payment of tithes, or other parochial duties; That, in caſe of being choſen into the office of conſtable, church-warden, overſeer, &c. and of ſcrupling to take the oaths annexed to ſuch offices, they ſhould be allowed to execute the employment by deputy; That the preachers and teachers in congregations of diſſenting Proteſtants, who ſhould take the oaths, ſubſcribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two ſucceeding articles, and part of the twentieth, ſhould be exempted from the penalties decreed againſt nonconformiſts, as well as from ſerving upon juries, or acting in pariſh-offices: yet all juſtices of the peace were empowered to require ſuch diſſenters to ſubſcribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and, in caſe of refuſal, to commit them to priſon, without bail or mainprize. The ſame indulgence was extended to Anabaptiſts, and even to Quakers, on their ſolemn promiſe, before God, to be faithful to the King and Queen, and their aſſenting by profeſſion and aſſeveration to thoſe articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewiſe required to profeſs their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the Papiſts felt the benign influence of William's moderation in ſpiritual matters: he rejected the propoſal of ſome zealots, who exhorted him to enact ſevere laws againſt Popiſh recuſants. Such a meaſure, he obſerved, would alienate all the Papiſts of Europe from the intereſts of England, and might produce a new Catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel: beſides, he would not pretend to ſcreen the Proteſtants of Germany and Hungary, while he himſelf ſhould perſecute the Catholics of England. He therefore reſolved to treat them with lenity; and though they

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were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

§ IX. We have obſerved, that, in conſequence of the motion made by the biſhops when they withdrew from Parliament, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Lords for uniting their Majeſties' proteſtant ſubjects. This was extremely agreeable to the King, who had the ſcheme of comprehenſion very much at heart. In the progreſs of the bill a warm debate aroſe about the poſture of kneeling at the ſacrament, which was given up in favour of the Diſſenters. Another, no-leſs violent, enſued upon the ſubſequent queſtion, "Whether there ſhould be an addition of "laity in the commiſſion to be given by the King "to the biſhops and others of the clergy, for pre-"paring ſuch a reformation of eccleſiaſtical affairs "as might be the means of healing diviſions, and "correcting whatever might be erroneous or defec-"tive in the conſtitution." A great number of the temporal lords inſiſted warmly on this addition, and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal proteſt. Biſhop Burnet was a warm ſtickler for the excluſion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifeſted this warmth in hopes of ingratiating himſelf with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this ſacrifice was deſtroyed by the arguments he had uſed for diſpenſing with the poſture of kneeling at the ſacrament; and by his propoſing in another proviſo of the bill, that the ſubſcribers, inſtead of expreſſing aſſent or conſent, ſhould only ſubmit, with a promiſe of conformity.

§ X. The bill was with difficulty paſſed in the Houſe of Lords: but the Commons treated it with neglect. By this time, a great number of malcontent members, who had retired from Parliament, were returned, with a view to thwart the adminiſtration, though they could not prevent the ſettlement. Inſtead of proceeding with the bill, they preſented an

an addreſs to the King, thanking him for his gracious declaration, and repeated aſſurances, that he would maintain the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed; a church whoſe doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewiſe humbly beſought his Majeſty to iſſue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be conſulted in eccleſiaſtical matters, according to the ancient uſage of Parliaments; and they declared they would forthwith take into conſideration proper methods for giving eaſe to proteſtant diſſenters. Though the King was diſpleaſed at this addreſs, in which the Lords alſo had concurred, he returned a civil anſwer, by the mouth of the Earl of Nottingham, profeſſing his regard for the church of England, which ſhould always be his peculiar care, recommending the Diſſenters to their protection, and promiſing to ſummon a Convocation as ſoon as ſuch a meaſure ſhould be convenient. This meſſage produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Thoſe who moved for it, had no other view than that of diſplaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppoſe it with all their intereſt. Others were afraid of eſpouſing it, leſt they ſhould be ſtigmatized as enemies to the Church; and a great number of the moſt eminent preſbyterians were averſe to a ſcheme of comprehenſion, which diminiſhed their ſtrength, and weakened the importance of the party. Being, therefore, violently oppoſed on one hand, and but faintly ſupported on the other, no wonder it miſcarried. The King, however, was ſo bent upon the execution of his deſign, that it was next ſeſſion revived in another form, though with no better ſucceſs. CHA. I. 1689.

§ XI. The next object that engroſſed the attention of the Parliament, was the ſettlement of a revenue for the ſupport of the Government. Hitherto there had been no diſtinction of what was allotted for the King's uſe, and what was aſſigned for the ſervice

BOOK I. 1689. of the publick; ſo that the Sovereign was entirely maſter of the whole ſupply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and miſapplied, it was now reſolved that a certain ſum ſhould be ſet apart for the maintenance of the King's houſehold, and the ſupport of his dignity; and that the reſt of the publick money ſhould be employed under the inſpection of Parliament. Accordingly, ſince this period, the Commons have appropriated the yearly ſupplies to certain ſpecified ſervices; and an account of the application has been conſtantly ſubmitted to both Houſes, at the next ſeſſion. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue ſhould be granted from year to year, or at leaſt for a ſmall term of years; that the King might find himſelf dependent upon the Parliament, and merit the renewal of the grant by a juſt and popular adminiſtration. In purſuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under conſideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations which they had not time to examine, granted it by a proviſional act for one year only. The civil liſt was ſettled at ſix hundred thouſand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the Queen Dowager, the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark, the Judges, and Mareſchal Schomberg, to whom the Parliament had already granted one hundred thouſand pounds, in conſideration of his important ſervices to the nation. The Commons alſo voted, that a conſtant revenue of twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the ſupport of the crown in time of peace.

§ XII. The King took umbrage at theſe reſtraints laid upon the application of the publick money, which were the moſt ſalutary fruits of the Revolution. He conſidered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was diſtinguiſhed from his predeceſſors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the ſervices he had done the nation. The Tories perceived his diſguſt, and did not fail to foment his jealouſy againſt

againſt their adverſaries, which was confirmed by a freſh effort of the Whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the Houſe, for regulating it in ſuch a manner as would have rendered it in a great meaſure independent both of the King and the lords-lieutenants of counties. Theſe being generally peers, the bill was ſuffered to lie neglected on the table: but the attempt confirmed the ſuſpicion of the King, who began to think himſelf in danger of being enſlaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the channel of Nottingham, made proffers of ſervice to his Majeſty: but complained at the ſame time, that as they were in danger of being proſecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themſelves in favour of the crown, leſt they ſhould incur a perſecution from their implacable enemies. CHA. I. 1689.

§ XIII. Theſe remonſtrances made ſuch impreſſion on the King, that he ſent a meſſage to the Houſe by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the moſt effectual means for putting an end to all controverſies, diſtinctions, and occaſions of diſcord. He deſired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with ſuch exceptions only as ſhould ſeem neceſſary for the vindication of publick juſtice, the ſafety of him and his conſort, and the ſettlement and welfare of the nation. An addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty was unanimouſly voted. Nevertheleſs, his deſign was fruſtrated by the backwardneſs of the Whigs, who proceeded ſo ſlowly on the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the ſeſſion. They wanted to keep the ſcourge over the heads of their enemies, until they ſhould find a proper opportunity for revenge; and, in the mean time, reſtrain them from oppoſition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to inſinuate that the King's deſign was to raiſe the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and that he for this purpoſe preſſed

BOOK I. 1689. an act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally uſe the inſtruments of the late tyranny. The Earls of Monmouth and Warrington induſtriouſly infuſed theſe jealouſies into the minds of their party: on the other hand, the Earl of Nottingham inflamed William's diſtruſt of his old friends; both ſides ſucceeded in kindling an animoſity, which had like to have produced confuſion, notwithſtanding the endeavours uſed by the Earls of Shrewſbury and Devonſhire to allay theſe heats, and remove the ſuſpicions that mutually prevailed.

§ XIV. It was now judged expedient to paſs an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, according to the former reſolution of the Convention. A bill for this purpoſe was brought into the Lower Houſe, with a clauſe diſabling Papiſts from ſucceeding to the throne: to this the Lords added, "Or ſuch as "ſhould marry Papiſts," abſolving the ſubject in that caſe from allegiance. The Biſhop of Saliſbury, by the King's direction, propoſed that the Princeſs Sophia, Ducheſs of Hanover, and her poſterity, ſhould be nominated in the act of ſucceſſion, as the next proteſtant heirs, failing iſſue of the King, and Anne princeſs of Denmark. Theſe amendments gave riſe to warm debates in the Lower Houſe, where they were vigorouſly oppoſed, not only by thoſe who wiſhed well in ſecret to the late King and the lineal ſucceſſion; but likewiſe by the republican party, who hoped to ſee monarchy altogether extinguiſhed in England, by the death of the three perſons already named in the bill of ſucceſſion. The Lords inſiſted upon their amendments, and ſeveral fruitleſs conferences were held between the two Houſes. At length the bill was dropt for the preſent, in conſequence of an event which in a great meaſure diſſipated the fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor. This was the delivery of the Princeſs Anne, who, on the twenty-ſeventh day of July, brought forth a ſon, chriſtened

chriſtened by the name of William, and afterwards created Duke of Gloceſter. CHA I. 1689.

§ XV. In the midſt of theſe domeſtick diſputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reaſon to confide in his repeated aſſurances of inviolable affection. The great ſcheme which he had projected of a confederacy againſt France, began at this period to take effect. The Princes of the empire, aſſembled in the diet, ſolemnly exhorted the Emperor to declare war againſt the French King, who had committed numberleſs infractions of the treaties of Munſter, Oſnabruck, Nimeguen, and the truce; invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himſelf an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They, therefore, beſought his Imperial Majeſty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and proceed to an open rupture with Louis: in which caſe, they would conſider it as a war of the empire, and ſupport their head in the moſt effectual manner. The States-General publiſhed a declaration againſt the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the ſubjects of the Republick in the perſecution which he had raiſed againſt the Proteſtants; with having cajoled and inſulted them with deceitful promiſes and inſolent threats; with having plundered and oppreſſed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and, finally, with having declared war againſt the States, without any plauſible reaſon aſſigned. The Elector of Brandenburgh denounced war againſt France, as a power whoſe perfidy, cruelty and ambition, it was the duty of every Prince to oppoſe. The Marquis de Caſtanaga, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, iſſued a counter declaration to that of Louis, who had declared againſt his maſter. He accuſed the French King of having laid waſte the empire, without

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out any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the moſt barbarous acts of cruelty and oppreſſion; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Chriſt for the deſtruction of the empire. The Emperor negociated an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the States-General, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power againſt France and her allies. It was ſtipulated, that neither ſide ſhould engage in a ſeparate treaty, on any pretence whatſoever; that no peace ſhould be admitted, until the treaties of Weſtphalia, Oſnabruck, Munſter, and the Pyrenees, ſhould have been vindicated: that, in caſe of a negociation for a peace or truce, the tranſactions on both ſides ſhould be communicated *bona fide:* and that Spain and England ſhould be invited to accede to the treaty. In a ſeparate article, the contracting powers agreed, that in caſe of the Spaniſh King's dying without iſſue, the States-General ſhould aſſiſt the Emperor with all their forces to take poſſeſſion of that monarchy: That they ſhould uſe their friendly endeavours with the Princes Electors, their allies, towards elevating his ſon Joſeph to the dignity of King of the Romans; and employ their utmoſt force againſt France, ſhould ſhe attempt to oppoſe his elevation.

§ XVI. William, who was the ſoul of this confederacy, found no difficulty in perſuading the Engliſh to undertake a war againſt their old enemies and rivals. On the ſixteenth day of April, Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the kingdom with reſpect to France, and foreign alliances; and the Commons unanimouſly reſolved, that, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An addreſs was immediately drawn up, and preſented to the King, deſiring he would ſeriouſly conſider the deſtructive methods taken of late years by

by the French King againſt the trade, quiet, and in- CHAP.
tereſt of the nation, particularly his preſent invaſion I.
of Ireland, and ſupporting the rebels in that king- 1689.
dom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, and thoſe that might hereafter be concluded by his Majeſty, would be ſufficient to reduce the French King to ſuch a condition, that it ſhould not be in his power to violate the peace of Chriſtendom; nor prejudice the trade and proſperity of England; in the mean time they aſſured his Majeſty he might depend upon the aſſiſtance of his Parliament, according to the vote which had paſſed in the Houſe of Commons. This was a welcome addreſs to King William. He aſſured them, that no part of the ſupplies which they might grant for the proſecution of the war ſhould be miſapplied; and, on the ſeventh day of May, he declared war againſt the French Monarch. On this occaſion, Louis was charged with having ambitiouſly invaded the territories of the Emperor, and denounced war againſt the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guarantee of the Engliſh crown; with having encroached upon the fiſhery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee iſlands, taken forcible poſſeſſion of New-York and Hudſon's-bay, made depredations on the Engliſh at ſea, prohibited the importation of Engliſh manufactures, diſputed the right of the flag, perſecuted many Engliſh ſubjects on account of religion, contrary to expreſs treaties and the law of nations, and ſent an armament to Ireland, in ſupport of the rebels of that kingdom.

§ XVII. Having thus deſcribed the progreſs of the Revolution in England, we ſhall now briefly explain the meaſures that were proſecuted in Scotland, towards the eſtabliſhment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottiſh Convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their intereſt to influence the election of members. The Duke of

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of Hamilton, and all the Presbyterians, declared for William. The Duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master: but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for subsistence. The partisans of James were headed by the Earl of Balcarras, and Graham Viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the Duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their Sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the Lords and Commons assembled at Edinburgh, the Bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of King James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late King set up the Marquis of Athol in opposition to the Duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good number of the other party, finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The Earls of Lothian and Tweedale were sent as deputies, to require the Duke of Gordon, in the name of the Estates, to quit the castle in four-and-twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command. The Duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand such conditions as the Convention would not grant. The negociation proving ineffectual, the States ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason; and he refusing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up with the troops of the city.

§ XVIII.

§ XVIII. Next day an expreſs arrived from London, with a letter from King William to the Eſtates; and, at the ſame time, another from James was preſented by one Crane, an Engliſh domeſtick of the abdicated Queen. William obſerved, that he had called a meeting of their Eſtates at the deſire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland aſſembled at London, who requeſted that he would take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert meaſures for ſettling the peace of the kingdom upon a ſolid foundation; and to lay aſide animoſities and factions, which ſerved only to impede that ſalutary ſettlement. He profeſſed himſelf ſenſible of the good effects that would ariſe from an union of the two kingdoms; and aſſured them he would uſe his beſt endeavours to promote ſuch a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a reſpectful anſwer to theſe aſſurances, a debate enſued about the letter from the late King James. This they reſolved to favour with a reading, after the members ſhould have ſubſcribed an act, declaring, that notwithſtanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for diſſolving the Convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the States; and would continue undiſſolved, until they ſhould have ſettled and ſecured the Proteſtant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of the late Sovereign, who conjured them to ſupport his intereſt as faithful ſubjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty ſuitable to their former profeſſions. He ſaid he would not fail to give them ſuch ſpeedy and powerful aſſiſtance as would enable them to defend themſelves from any foreign attempt; and even to aſſert his right againſt thoſe enemies who had depreſſed it by the blackeſt uſurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow

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to

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to paſs unpuniſhed. He offered pardon to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty before the laſt day of the month; and threatened to puniſh rigorouſly ſuch as ſhould ſtand out in rebellion againſt him and his authority.

§ XIX. This addreſs produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whoſe friends were greatly out-numbered in this aſſembly. His meſſenger was ordered into cuſtody, and afterwards diſmiſſed with a paſs inſtead of an anſwer. James, foreſeeing this contempt, had, by an inſtrument dated in Ireland, authoriſed the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the Earl of Balcarras, and the Viſcount Dundee, to call a convention of the Eſtates at Stirling. Theſe three depended on the intereſt of the Marquis of Athol and the Earl of Mar, who profeſſed the warmeſt affection for the late King; and they hoped a ſeceſſion of their friends would embarraſs the Convention, ſo as to retard the ſettlement of King William. Their expectations, however, were diſappointed. Athol deſerted their cauſe; and Mar ſuffered himſelf to be intercepted in his retreat. The reſt of their party were, by the vigilance of the Duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the Convention, except the Viſcount Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horſe, and was purſued by order of the Eſtates. This deſign being fruſtrated, the Convention approved and recogniſed, by a ſolemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had intreated the King of England to take upon him the adminiſtration. They acknowledged their obligation to the Prince of Orange, who had prevented the deſtruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental conſtitution; they beſought his Highneſs to aſſume the reigns of government for that kingdom: they iſſued a proclamation, requiring all perſons, from ſixteen to ſixty, to be in readineſs to take arms when called upon for that purpoſe: they

they conferred the command of their horſe-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was formerly attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's inſurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and conſtituted the Earl of Leven their commander: they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of thoſe on whom they could rely: they created the Earl of Mar governor of Stirling-caſtle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they iſſued orders for ſecuring all diſaffected perſons. Then they diſpatched Lord Roſs, with an anſwer to King William's letter, profeſſing their gratitude to their deliverer, and congratulating him upon his ſucceſs. They thanked him for aſſuming the adminiſtration of their affairs, and aſſembling a convention of their Eſtates. They declared they would take effectual and ſpeedy meaſures for ſecuring the Proteſtant religion, as well as for eſtabliſhing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. They aſſured him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid diſputes and animoſities; and deſired the continuance of his Majeſty's care and protection. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XX. After the departure of Lord Roſs, they appointed a committee, conſiſting of eight Lords, eight Knights, and as many Burgeſſes, to prepare the plan of a new ſettlement: but this reſolution was not taken without a vigorous oppoſition from ſome remaining adherents of the late King, headed by the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deſerted the Convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote: "The Eſtates of the "kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That "King James VII. being a proteſt Papiſt, did aſ- "ſume the royal power, and act as a King, with- "out ever taking the oath required by law; and "had,

BOOK I. 1689. "had, by the advice of evil and wicked counſellors, "invaded the fundamental conſtitution of this king-"dom, and altered it from a legal and limited mo-"narchy to an arbitrary deſpotick power, and had "governed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the Proteſt-"ant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties "of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; "whereby he had forfaulted the right of the crown, "and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the Biſhop of Edinburgh argued ſtrenuouſly againſt it, as containing a charge of which the King was innocent; and he propoſed that his Majeſty ſhould be invited to return to his Scottiſh dominions. All his arguments were defeated or over-ruled, and the Houſe confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The Lord Preſident declared the throne vacant, and propoſed that it might be filled with William and Mary, King and Queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for ſettling the crown upon their Majeſties, together with an inſtrument of government for ſecuring the ſubjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

§ XXI. On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the inſtrument, were reported, conſidered, unanimouſly approved, and ſolemnly proclaimed at the market-croſs of Edinburgh, in preſence of the Lord Preſident, aſſiſted by the Lord Provoſt and magiſtracy of the city, the Duke of Queenſberry, the Marquiſſes of Athol and Douglas, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the ſame time they publiſhed another proclamation, forbidding all perſons to acknowledge, obey, aſſiſt, or correſpond with the late King James; or, by word, writing, or ſermon, to diſpute or diſown the royal authority of King William and Queen Mary; or to miſconſtrue the

the proceedings of the Eſtates, or create jealouſies or miſapprehenſions with regard to the tranſactions of the government, on pain of incurring the moſt ſevere penalties. Then, having ſettled the coronation-oath, they granted a commiſſion to the Earl of Argyle for the Lords, to Sir James Montgomery for the Knights, and to Sir John Dalrymple for the Boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and inveſt their Majeſties with the government. This affair being diſcuſſed, the Convention appointed a committee to take care of the publick peace, and adjourned to the twenty firſt day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottiſh commiſſioners being introduced to their Majeſties at Whitehall, preſented firſt a preparatory letter from the Eſtates, then the inſtrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the grievances of the nation; and an addreſs, deſiring his Majeſty to convert the Convention into a Parliament. The King having graciouſly promiſed to concur with them in all juſt meaſures for the intereſt of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their Majeſties by the Earl of Argyle. As it contained a clauſe, importing, that they ſhould root out hereſy, the King declared, that he did not mean by theſe words, that he ſhould be under an obligation to act as a perſecutor: the commiſſioners replying, that ſuch was not the meaning or import of the oath, he deſired them, and others preſent, to bear witneſs to the exception he had made. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXII. In the mean time, Lord Dundee exerted himſelf with uncommon activity in behalf of his maſter. He had been ſummoned by a trumpet to return to the Convention, refuſed to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the Eſtates were influenced by the neighbourhood of Engliſh troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and

BOOK I. 1689. rebel. He was rancorouſly hated by the Preſbyterians, on whom he had exerciſed ſome cruelties, as an officer under the former government: and for this reaſon the States reſolved to inflict upon him exemplary puniſhment. Parties were detached in purſuit of him and Balcarras. This laſt fell into their hands, and was committed to a common priſon; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that ſurrounded him, and eſcaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James, though that Prince had forbid him to make any attempt of this nature, until he ſhould receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in aſſembling the clans of his party, King William appointed the Duke of Hamilton commiſſioner to the Convention Parliament. The poſt of Secretary for Scotland was beſtowed upon Lord Melvil, a weak and ſervile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violence of the late reigns: but the King depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple Lord Stair, Preſident of the College of Juſtice, an old crafty fanatick, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Though theſe were rigid Preſbyterians, the King, to humour the oppoſite party, admitted ſome individuals of the epiſcopal nobility to the Council-Board; and this intermixture, inſtead of allaying animoſities, ſerved only to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord and confuſion. The Scottiſh Convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the Lords of the articles; the act of Parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the King's ſupremacy was raiſed ſo high that he could preſcribe any mode of religion according to his pleaſure; and the ſuperiority of any office in the church above that of Preſbyters. The King, in his inſtructions to the Lord Commiſſioner, conſented to the regulation of the Lords of the articles, though he would not allow the inſtitution to be abrogated; he was contented that the act relating to the King's ſupremacy,

macy ſhould be reſcinded, and that the church-go- CHAP. vernment ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſuch a manner as I. would be moſt agreeable to the inclinations of the 1689. people.

§ XXIII. On the ſeventeenth day of June, Duke Hamilton opened the Scottiſh Parliament, after the Convention had aſſumed this name, in conſequence of an act paſſed by his Majeſty's direction; but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commiſſioners ſo much reſtricted in the affair of the Lords of the articles, which they conſidered as their chief grievance*. The King permitted that the eſtates ſhould chooſe the Lords by their own ſuffrages; and that they ſhould be at liberty to re-conſider any ſubject which the ſaid Lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three eſtates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they ſhould think fit: but even theſe conceſſions proved unſatisfactory, while the inſtitution itſelf remained. Their diſcontents were not even appeaſed by the paſſing of an act, aboliſhing prelacy. Indeed their reſentment was inflamed by another conſideration; namely, that of the King's having given ſeats in the council to ſome individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifeſted their ſentiments on this ſubject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any publick truſt, place, or employment under their Majeſties, all ſuch as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had diſcovered diſaffection to

* The Lords of the articles, by the gradual uſurpation of the crown, actually conſtituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The King empowered the commiſſioner to chuſe eight Biſhops, whom he authoriſed to nominate eight noblemen: theſe together choſe eight barons, and eight burgeſſes; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of ſtate as ſupernumeraries, conſtituted the Lords of the articles. This committee poſſeſſed the ſole excluſive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redreſſing wrongs, and propoſing means and expedients for the relief and benefit of the ſubjects. *Proceedings of the Scots Parliament vindicated.*

BOOK I. 1689. the late happy change, or in any way retarded or obſtructed the deſigns of the Convention. This meaſure was proſecuted with great warmth; and the bill paſſed through all the forms of the Houſe, but proved ineffectual, for want of the royal aſſent.

§ XXIV. Nor were they leſs obſtinate in the affair of the judges, whom the King had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malcontents brought in a bill declaring the bench vacant, as it was at the reſtoration; aſſerting their own right to examine and approve thoſe who ſhould be appointed to fill it; providing, that if in time to come any ſuch total vacancy ſhould occur, the nomination ſhould be in the King or Queen, or Regent for the time being, and the Parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauſes in the ſeveral acts relating to the admiſſion of the ordinary Lords of Seſſion, and their qualifications for that office, ſhould be ratified and confirmed for perpetual obſervation. Such was the intereſt of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the miniſters, who reſolved to maintain the King's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary reſolution. The majority, exaſperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbad the judges whom the King had appointed to open their commiſſions, or hold a Seſſion until his Majeſty's further pleaſure ſhould be known: on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy-council. The diſpute was carried on with great acrimony on both ſides, and produced ſuch a ferment, that before the Seſſion opened, the miniſtry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to ſupport the Judges in the exerciſe of their functions.

§ XXV. The Lord Commiſſioner, alarmed at this ſcene of tumult and confuſion, adjourned the Houſe till the eighth day of October; a ſtep which, added to the other unpopular meaſures of the court, incenſed

incenſed the oppoſition to a violent degree. They drew up a remonſtrance to the King, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unſettled, recapitulating the ſeveral inſtances in which they had expreſſed their zeal and affection for his Majeſty; explaining their reaſons for diſſenting from the miniſtry in ſome articles; beſeeching him to conſider what they had repreſented, to give his royal aſſent to the acts of Parliament which they had prepared, and take meaſures for redreſſing all the other grievances of the nation. This addreſs was preſented to the King at Hampton-court. William was ſo touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, publiſhed his inſtructions to the commiſſioner; and by theſe it appeared, that the Duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the Parliament had granted the revenue for life; and raiſed money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for ſupporting the incidental expence of the government for ſome months; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were ſupplied and ſubſiſted by the adminiſtration of England. In conſequence of theſe diſputes in the Scottiſh Parliament, their church was left without any ſettled form of government; for, though the hierarchy was aboliſhed, the Preſbyterian diſcipline was not yet eſtabliſhed, and eccleſiaſtical affairs were occaſionally regulated by the privy-council, deriving its authority from that very act of ſupremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXVI. The ſeſſion was no ſooner adjourned than Sir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburgh-caſtle into a regular ſiege, which was proſecuted with ſuch vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced at the foot of the walls, in which the beſiegers had

BOOK I. 1689. made ſeveral large breaches. the Duke of Gordon, finding his ammunition expended, his defences deſtroyed, his intelligence entirely cut off, and deſpairing of relief from the adherents of his maſter, deſired to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garriſon; but he would not ſtipulate any conditions for himſelf, declaring, that he had ſo much reſpect for all the princes deſcended from King James VI. that he would not affront any of them ſo far as to inſiſt upon terms for his own particular: he therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, ſurrendered the caſtle and himſelf at diſcretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentred in the Viſcount Dundee, who had aſſembled a body of Highlanders, and reſolved to attack Mackay, on an aſſurance he had received by meſſage, that the regiment of Scottiſh dragoons would deſert their officer, and join him in the action. Mackay, having received intimation of this deſign, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramſey's dragoons, and another regiment of Engliſh infantry: then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochabar. Lord Murray, ſon of the Marquis of Athol, aſſembled his vaſſals to the number of twelve hundred men for the ſervice of the regency; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependents, who ſeiſed the caſtle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to diſperſe, rather than fight againſt James their lawful Sovereign.

§ XXVII. The Viſcount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and diſtreſs. His men had not for many weeks taſted bread or ſalt, or any drink but water: inſtead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horſe, with a ſupply of arms, ammunition, and proviſion, which James had promiſed to ſend from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but the tranſports with the ſtores fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Though this

this was a mortifying diſappointment, he bore it without repining; and, far from abandoning himſelf to deſpair, began his march to the caſtle of Blair, which was threatened with a ſiege by General Mackay. When he reached this fortreſs, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the paſs of Killycrankie, and he reſolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced againſt them, and a furious engagement enſued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the Engliſh, fell in among them ſword in hand with ſuch impetuoſity, that the foot were utterly broke in ſeven minutes. The dragoons fled at the firſt charge in the utmoſt conſternation: Dundee's horſe, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment: the Earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers, made himſelf maſter of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the ſpot, five hundred taken priſoners, and the reſt fled with great precipitation for ſome hours, until they were rallied by their General, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or deciſive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchaſed with the death of their beloved chieftain the Viſcount Dundee, who fell by a random-ſhot in the engagement, and his fate produced ſuch confuſion in his army as prevented all purſuit. He poſſeſſed an enterpriſing ſpirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was peculiarly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and ſoul of that cauſe which he eſpouſed, and after his death it daily declined into ruin and diſgrace. He was ſucceeded in command by Colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but all his deſigns miſcarried: ſo that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which

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King William offered to thoſe who ſhould ſubmit, within the time ſpecified in his proclamation.

§ XXVIII. After this ſketch of Scotiſh affairs, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate Prince and his Queen were received with the moſt cordial hoſpitality by the French Monarch, who aſſigned the caſtle of St. Germain for the place of their reſidence, ſupported their houſehold with great magnificence, enriched them with preſents, and undertook to re-eſtabliſh them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner as conveyed no favourable idea of his ſpirit and underſtanding. He ſeems to have been emaſculated by religion: he was deſerted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been diſtinguiſhed. He did not diſcover great *ſenſibility* at the *loſs* of his Kingdom. All his faculties were ſwallowed up in bigotry. Inſtead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the Jeſuits on topicks of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Louis was mingled with contempt. The Pope ſupplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in paſquinades: "There is a "pious man (ſaid the Archbiſhop of Rheims, ironi-"cally,) who has ſacrificed three crowns for a maſs." In a word, he ſubjected himſelf to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation.

§ XXIV. All the hope of re-aſcending the Britiſh throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this laſt kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the perſuaſions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his ſubmiſſion to the Prince of Orange. Nevertheleſs, he diſguiſed his ſentiments, and temporized with William; until James ſhould be able to ſupply him with reinforcements from France, which he earneſtly ſolicited by private meſſages. In the mean time

time with a view to cajole the Proteſtants of Ireland, and amuſe King William with hope of his ſubmiſſion, he perſuaded the Lord Mountjoy, in whom the Proteſtants chiefly conſided, and Baron Rice, to go in perſon with a commiſſion to James, repreſenting the neceſſity of yielding to the times, and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make uſe of his Iriſh ſubjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, inſtead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reaſons which Tyrconnel had ſuggeſted touching the inability of Ireland to reſtore his Majeſty, was committed priſoner to the Baſtile, on account of the zeal with which he had eſpouſed the Proteſtant intereſt. Although Louis was ſincerely diſpoſed to aſſiſt James effectually, his intentions were obſtructed by the diſputes of his miniſtry. Louvois poſſeſſed the chief credit in council; but, Seignelai enjoyed a greater ſhare of perſonal favour, both with the King and Madame de Maintenon, the favourite concubine. To this nobleman, as ſecretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promiſed the command of the troops deſtined for his ſervice to Lauſun, whom Louvois hated. For theſe reaſons this miniſter thwarted his meaſures, and retarded the aſſiſtance which Louis had promiſed toward his reſtoration. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXX. Yet, notwithſtanding all his oppoſition, the ſuccours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to ſea by the latter end of February. The French King is ſaid to have offered an army of fifteen thouſand natives of France to ſerve in this expedition; but James replied, that he would ſucceed by the help of his own ſubjects, or periſh in the attempt. Accordingly, he contented himſelf with about twelve hundred Britiſh ſubjects*, and a good number of French

* James in this expedition was attended by the Duke of Berwick and by his brother Mr. Fitzjames, grand prior, the Duke of Powis, the Earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the Lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the Lords Drummond, Dungan, Trendraught,

BOOK I. 1689. French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Breſt, conſiſting or fourteen ſhips of the line, ſeven frigates, three fire ſhips, with a good number of tranſports The French King alſo ſupplied him with a conſiderable quantity of arms for the uſe of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large ſum of money, ſuperb equipages, ſtore of plate, and neceſſaries of all kinds for the camp and the houſehold. At parting, he preſented him with his own cuiraſs, and embracing him affectionately, "The "beſt thing I can wiſh you (ſaid he) is, that I may "never ſee you again." On the ſeventh day of March, James embarked at Breſt, together with the Count D'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of Ambaſſador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the ſeventeenth day of the month, when he ſet ſail, and on the twenty-ſecond landed at Kinſale in Ireland. By this time, King William perceiving himſelf amuſed by Tyrconnel, had publiſhed a declaration, requiring the Iriſh to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the new government. On the twenty-ſecond day of February, thirty ſhips of war had been put in commiſſion, and the command of them conferred upon Admiral Herbert; but the armament was retarded in ſuch a manner by the diſputes of the council, and the King's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the Admiral was not in a condition, to ſail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms

Trendraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the Bishops of Chester and Galway, the late Lord Chief-Justice Herbert; the Marquis D'Eſtrades, M. de Roſene, Mareſchal de Camp; Mamoc, Puſignan, and Lori, Lieutenant-generals; Prontee, Engineer general; the Marquis d'Albeville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strictland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samual Foxon, and Sir William Wallis, by the colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Luttrel, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannor, and Fielding, with about two-and-twenty other officers of inferior rank,

at

at Kinſale, and the whole country ſeemed to be at his devotion; for, although the Proteſtants in the North had declared for the new government, their ſtrength and number was deemed inconſiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel. This miniſter had diſarmed all the other Proteſtant ſubjects in one day, and aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand cavalry, for the ſervice of his maſter. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXI. In the latter end of March, James made his publick entry into Dublin, amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the caſtle-gate by a proceſſion of popiſh biſhops and prieſts in their pontificals, bearing the hoſt, which he publickly adored. He diſmiſſed from the council-board the Lord Granard, Judge Keating, and other Proteſtants, who had exhorted the Lord-Lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French Ambaſſador, the Biſhop of Cheſter, Colonel Darrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the ſecond day after his arrival in Dublin, he iſſued five proclamations: the firſt recalled all the ſubjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiſcation, and requiring all perſons to join him againſt the Prince of Orange. The ſecond contained expreſſions of acknowledgement to his Catholic ſubjects for their vigilance and fidelity, and an injunction to ſuch as were not actually in his ſervice, to retain and lay up their arms until it ſhould be found neceſſary to uſe them for his advantage. By the third he invited the ſubjects to ſupply his army with proviſions; and prohibited the ſoldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raiſed the value of the current coin; and in the fifth he ſummoned a Parliament to meet on the ſeventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created

BOOK I. created Tyrconnel a Duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

1689. § XXXII. The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the Protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the Earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the Lord Lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure, and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition, but did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham, and Richards. By this time, King James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, Rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy, the governor. This officer directed him to join Colonel Crafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy; until being overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, as the army of King James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry.

derry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in conſequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately deſpatched to King James, with propoſals of a negociation; and Lieutenant-General Hamilton agreed that the army ſhould halt at the diſtance of four miles from the town. Notwithſtanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with ſuch a warm reception from the beſieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's Town in ſome diſorder. The inhabitants and ſoldiers in garriſon at Londonderry were ſo incenſed at the members of the council of war, who had reſolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ſhips, and Lundy locked himſelf in his chamber. In vain did Walker and Major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he abſolutely refuſed to be concerned in the defence of the place, and he was ſuffered to eſcape in diſguiſe, with a load of match upon his back; but he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was ſent to London to anſwer for his perfidy or miſconduct. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXIII. After his retreat, the towns-men choſe Mr. Walker and Major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to Colonel Cunningham, as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the propoſal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were immediately caſhiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence: indeed their courage ſeems to have tranſcended the bounds of diſcretion, for the place was very ill fortified: their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted; they had not one engineer to direct their operations: they had a very ſmall number of horſe: the garriſon conſiſted

BOOK I. 1689. conſiſted of people unacquainted with military diſcipline: they were deſtitute of proviſions: they were beſieged by a King in perſon, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and ſupplied with all the neceſſary implements for a ſiege or battle. This town was inveſted on the twentieth day of April: the batteries were ſoon opened, and ſeveral attacks were made with great impetuoſity; but the beſiegers were always repulſed with conſiderable loſs. The towns-men gained divers advantages in repeated ſallies, and would have held their enemies in the utmoſt contempt, had they not been afflicted with a contagious diſtemper, as well as reduced to extremity by want of proviſion. They were even tantalized in their diſtreſs; for they had the morification to ſee ſome ſhips which had arrived with ſupplies from England, prevented from ſailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raiſed on both ſides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a re-inforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of General Kirke, who had deſerted his maſter, and been employed in the ſervice of King William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and proviſions on board for their relief, but found it impracticable to ſail up the river: he promiſed, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diverſion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniſkilling, which amounted to five thouſand men, including two thouſand cavalry. He ſaid he expected ſix thouſand men from England, where they were embarked before he ſet ſail. He exhorted them to perſevere in their courage and loyalty, and aſſured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. Theſe aſſurances enabled them to bear their miſeries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminiſhed. Major Baker dying, his place was filled with Colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. King James having returned to Dublin, to be preſent at the Parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French General Roſene, who was exaſperated at ſuch an obſtinate oppoſition by a handful of half-ſtarved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and deſtroy the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, unleſs they would immediately ſubmit themſelves to their lawful ſovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and publiſhed an order, that no perſon, on pain of death, ſhould talk of ſurrendering. They had now conſumed the laſt remains of their proviſion, and ſupported life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, ſtarch, and ſalted hides, and even this loathſome food began to fail. Roſene, finding them deaf to all his propoſals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the Proteſtants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they ſhould be ſuffered to periſh by famine. The Biſhop of Meath, being informed of this deſign, complained to King James of the barbarous intention, entreating his Majeſty to prevent its being put in execution. That Prince aſſured him that he had already ordered Roſene to deſiſt from ſuch proceeding. Nevertheleſs, the Frenchman executed his threats with the utmoſt rigour. Parties of dragoons were detached on this cruel ſervice: after having ſtripped all the Proteſtants for thirty miles round, they drove theſe unhappy people before them like cattle, without even ſparing the enfeebled old men, nurſes with infants at their breaſts, tender children, women juſt delivered, and ſome even in the pangs of labour. Above four thouſand of theſe miſerable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from anſwering the purpoſe of Roſene, produced a quite contrary effect. The beſieged were ſo exaſperated at this act of inhumanity, that they reſolved to periſh rather than ſubmit to ſuch a barbarian. They erected a gibbet

CHAP. I. 1690.

BOOK I. 1689. gibbet in ſight of the enemy, and ſent a meſſage to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, unleſs the Proteſtants whom they had driven under the walls ſhould be immediately diſmiſſed. This threat produced a negociation, in conſequence of which the Proteſtants were releaſed, after they had been detained three days without taſting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and thoſe who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and ſacked by the Papiſts, ſo that the greater number periſhed for want, or were murdered by the ſtraggling parties of the enemy; yet theſe very people had for the moſt part obtained protections from King James, to which no reſpect was paid by his general.

§ XXXV. The garriſon of Londonderry was now reduced from ſeven to five thouſand ſeven hundred men, and theſe were driven to ſuch extremity of diſtreſs, that they began to talk of killing the popiſh inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ſhips laden with proviſions to ſail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of them, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having ſuſtained a very hot fire from both ſides of the river, arrived in ſafety at the town, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were ſo diſpirited by the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, that they abandoned the ſiege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having loſt about nine thouſand men before the place. Kirke no ſooner took poſſeſſion of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an addreſs of thanks from the inhabitans to their Majeſties for the ſeaſonable relief they had received.

§ XXXVI. The Innifkilliners were no leſs remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour

valour and peſeverance with which they oppoſed the Papiſts. They raiſed twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Guſtavus Hamilton, whom they choſe for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March; and reſolved in a general council to maintain their title againſt all oppoſition. The Lord Gilmoy inveſted the caſtle of Crom belonging to the Proteſtants in the neighbourhood of Inniſkillin, the inhabitants of which threw ſuccours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garriſon, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd, took and demoliſhed the caſtle of Aughor and they gained the advantage in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated ſix thouſand Iriſh Papiſts at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Macarty, commonly called Lord Moncaſhel. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXVII. The Iriſh Parliament being aſſembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of King James, he, in a ſpeech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifeſted; extolled the generoſity of the French King, who had enabled him to viſit them in perſon; inſiſted upon executing his deſign of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience as a ſtep equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and diſcretion, and promiſed to concur with them in enacting ſuch laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and ſecurity of his ſubjects. Sir Richard Neagle, being choſen Speaker of the Commons, moved for an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, and that the Count D'Avaux ſhould be deſired to make their acknowledgements to the Moſt Chriſtian King, for the generous aſſiſtance he had given to their Sovereign. Theſe addreſſes being drawn up, with the concurrence of both Houſes, a bill was brought in to recognize the King's title, to expreſs their abhorrence of the uſurpation by the Prince of Orange,

BOOK I. 1689. Orange, as well as of the defection of the Engliſh. Next day James publiſhed a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had ſpread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality in preferring his proteſtant ſubjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redreſſing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conſcience; promiſing that he would take no ſtep but with the approbation of Parliament; offering a free pardon to all perſons who ſhould deſert his enemies, and join with him in four-and-twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be ſhed, upon thoſe who ſhould continue in rebellion.

§ XXXVIII. His conduct, however, very ill agreed with this declaration; nor can it be excuſed on any other ſuppoſition, but that of his being governed, in ſome caſes againſt his own inclination, by the Count D'Avaux, and the Iriſh Catholicks, on whom his whole dependence was placed. As both houſes were chiefly filled with members of that perſuaſion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill for repealing the act of ſettlement, by which the Proteſtants of the kingdom had been ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates. Theſe were by this law diveſted of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of thoſe Catholicks to whom they belonged before their rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in ſuch a manner, that no regard was paid to ſuch proteſtant owners as had purchaſed eſtates for valuable conſiderations: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any proviſion for proteſtant widows: the poſſeſſor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their ſtock and corn. When the bill was ſent up to the Lords, Dr. Dopping, Biſhop of Meath, oppoſed it with equal courage and ability: and an addreſs in behalf of the purchaſers under the act of ſettlement was preſented to the King by the Earl of Granard: but notwithſtanding theſe remonſtrances,

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it received the royal aſſent: and the Proteſtants of Ireland were moſtly ruined. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XXXIX. Yet, in order to complete their deſtruction, an act of attainder was paſſed againſt all Proteſtants, whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were abſent from the kingdom, as well as againſt all thoſe who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, who did not own the authority of King James, or correſponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting to them from the firſt day of Auguſt in the preceding year. The number of Proteſtants attainted by name in this act amounted to about three thouſand, including two Archbiſhops, one Duke, ſeventeen Earls, ſeven Counteſſes, as many Biſhops, eighteen Barons, three-and-thirty Baronets, one-and-fifty Knights, eighty-three Clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to ſuffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals ſubjected to this dreadful proſcription were even cut off from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: for, by a clauſe in the act, the King's pardon was deemed null, unleſs enrolled before the firſt day of December. A ſubſequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the Engliſh parliament. This aſſembly paſſed another act, granting twenty thouſand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited eſtates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgment of his ſignal ſervices: they impoſed a tax of twenty thouſand pounds per month for the ſervice of the king: the royal aſſent was given to an act for liberty of conſcience: they enacted that the tythes payable by Papiſts ſhould be delivered to prieſts of that communion: the maintenance of the Proteſtant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away: and all Diſſenters were exempted from eccleſiaſtical juriſdictions. So that the eſtabliſhed Church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithſtanding the expreſs promiſe of James, who had declared, immediately

BOOK I. 1689.

mediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

§ XL. Nor was the King leſs arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we ſuppoſe that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppreſſion that were daily committed upon the Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be juſtly imputed to the temper of his miniſtry, conſiſting of men abandoned to all ſenſe of juſtice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter: the people were robbed and plundered: licenſes and protections were abuſed, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The King's old ſtores were ranſacked: the ſhops of tradeſmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to ſupply the mint with a quantity of braſs, which was converted into current coin for his Majeſty's occaſions: an arbitrary value was ſet upon it, and all perſons were required and commanded to take it in payment under the ſevereſt penalties, though the proportion between its intrinſick worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vaſt ſum of this counterfeit coin was iſſued in the courſe one year, and forced upon the Proteſtants in payment of merchandiſe, proviſion and neceſſaries, for the King's ſervice. James, not content with the ſupply granted by Parliament, impoſed by his own authority a tax of twenty thouſand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon lands. This ſeems to have been a temporary expedient during the adjournment of the two Houſes, as the term of the aſſeſſment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commiſſion under the ſeals: and ſeems to have been a ſtretch of prerogative, the leſs excuſeable, as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Underſtanding that

that the Proteſtants had laid out all their braſs money, in purchaſing great quantities of hides, tallow, wood, and corn, he aſſumed the deſpotick power of fixing the prices of theſe commodities, and then bought them for his own uſe. One may ſee his miniſters were bent upon the utter deſtruction of thoſe unhappy people. CHAP. I. 1689.

§ XLI. All vacancies in publick ſchools were ſupplied with popiſh teachers. The penſion allowed from the Exchequer to the univerſity of Dublin was cut off: the Vice-provoſt, Fellows, and Scholars were expelled: their furniture, plate, and publick library, were ſeized, without the leaſt ſhadow of pretence, and in direct violation of a promiſe the King had made to preſerve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garriſon, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into priſons: a popiſh prieſt was appointed provoſt: one Maccarty of the ſame perſuaſion was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholick ſeminary. When biſhopricks and beneſices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the King ordered the profits to be lodged in the Exchequer, and ſuffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romiſh biſhops and prieſts, who grew ſo inſolent under this indulgence, that in ſeveral places they forcibly ſeized the proteſtant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the King promiſed to do juſtice to the injured; and in ſome places actually ordered the churches to be reſtored: but the popiſh clergy refuſed to comply with this order, alleging that in ſpirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy ſee; and James found himſelf unable to protect his proteſtant ſubjects againſt a powerful body which he durſt not diſoblige. Some ſhips appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding the Proteſtants to aſſem-

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ble in any place of worſhip, or elſewhere, on pain of death. By a ſecond they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Luttrel, governor of Dublin, publiſhed an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his Majeſty's horſes within a certain day, otherwiſe he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all Proteſtants of a certain diſtrict to retire to the diſtance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the braſs money, the ſame penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, againſt any perſon who ſhould give more than one pound eighteen ſhillings for a guinea.

§ XLII. All the revenues of Ireland, and all the ſchemes contrived to bolſter up the credit of the baſe coin, would have proved inſufficient to ſupport the expences of the war, had not James received occaſional ſupplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Louis ſent another ſtrong ſquadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to ſome tranſports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large ſum of money for the uſe of King James. Before they ſailed from Breſt, King William, being informed of their deſtination, detached Admiral Herbert from Spithead with twelve ſhips of the line, one fireſhip, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by ſtreſs of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he ſteered his courſe to Kinſale, on the ſuppoſition that the French fleet had ſailed from Breſt; and that in all probability he ſhould fall in with them on the coaſt of Ireland. On the firſt day of May, he diſcovered them at anchor in Bantry-bay, and ſtood in to engage them, though they were greatly ſuperior to him in number. They no ſooner perceived him at day break, than they weighed, ſtood out to windward,

ward, formed their line, bore down, and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both ſides, though the Engliſh fleet ſuſtained conſiderable damage from the ſuperior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked ſeveral times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French Admiral kept his wind with uncommon ſkill and perſeverance. At length the Engliſh ſquadron ſtood off to ſea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about, and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loſs of men was inconſiderable on both ſides; and, where the odds were ſo great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the iſles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement; but being diſappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portſmouth in very ill humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common ſailors ſtill retained ſome attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them; and the officers complained that they had been ſent upon this ſervice with a force ſo much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appeaſe their diſcontent, made an excurſion to Portſmouth, where he dined with the Admiral on board the ſhip Eliſabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in conſideration of his good conduct and ſervices, conferred the honour of knighthood on the Captains Aſhby and Shovel, and beſtowed a donation of ten ſhillings on every private ſailor. CHAP. I. 1689. Burnet. Reresby. King. Rel. mres. De la Faye. etc. Voltaire

§ XLIII. The Parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raiſe ſupplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but alſo to do juſtice with reſpect to thoſe who had been injured by illegal or oppreſſive ſentences in the late reigns. The attainders of Lord Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Corniſh, and Lady Liſle, were now reverſed. A committee of privi-

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privileges were appointed by the Lords to examine the caſe of the Earl of Devonſhire, who in the late reign had been fined thirty thouſand pounds, for aſſaulting Colonel Culpepper in the preſence-chamber. They reported that the Court of King's-bench, in over-ruling the Earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifeſt breach of privilege: that the fine was exceſſive and exorbitant, againſt the great charter, the common right of the ſubject, and the law of the realm. The ſentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnſon, chaplain to Lord Ruſſel, in conſequence of which he had been degraded, fined, ſcourged, and ſet in the pillory, was now annulled, and the Commons recommended him to his Majeſty for ſome eccleſiaſtical preferment. He received one thouſand pounds in money with a penſion of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his ſon, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year: but the father never obtained any eccleſiaſtical benefice. Titus Oates ſeized this opportunity of petitioning the Houſe of Lord for a reverſal of the judgment given againſt him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counſel at the bar were heard on this ſubject, and a bill of reverſal paſſed the Commons: but the peers having inſerted ſome amendments and a proviſo, a conference was demanded, and violent heats enſued. Oates, however, was releaſed from confinement; and the Lords, with the conſent of the Commons, recommended him to his Majeſty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable penſion. The committee appointed to inquire into the caſes of the ſtate priſoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late Lord Chief-Juſtice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the Weſt after the inſurrection of Monmouth; as alſo one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jefferies from the reſentment

reſentment of the nation. Graham and Burton had acted as ſolicitors in the illegal proſecutions carried on againſt thoſe who oppoſed the court in the reign of Charles II; theſe were now reported guilty of having been inſtrumental in taking away the lives and eſtates of thoſe who had ſuffered the loſs of either under colour of law for eight years laſt paſt; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and proſecutions of *Quo Warranto*, endeavoured the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and the government of the realm; and of having waſted many thouſand pounds of the publick revenue in the courſe of their infamous practices.

§ XLIV. Nor did the miſconduct of the preſent miniſtry eſcape the animadverſion of the Parliament. The Lords having addreſſed the King to put the Iſle of Wight, Jerſey, Guernſey, Scilly, Dover-caſtle, and the other fortreſſes of the kingdom, in a poſture of defence, and to diſarm the Papiſts, empowered a committee to inquire into the miſcarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the Marquiſſes of Caermarthen and Halifax. They preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring the minute-book of the committee for Iriſh affairs might be put into their hands: but his Majeſty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the Commons voted, that thoſe perſons who had adviſed the King to delay this ſatisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this reſolution, allowed them to inſpect the book, in which they found very little for their purpoſe. The Houſe reſolved that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, declaring, that the ſuccour of Ireland had been retarded by unneceſſary delays; that the tranſports prepared were not ſufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that ſeveral ſhips had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the ſame time the queſtion was put, whether or not they ſhould addreſs

BOOK I. 1689. addreſs the King againſt the Marquis of Halifax; but it was carried in the negative by a ſmall majority. Before this period, Howe, Vice-chamberlain to the Queen, had moved for an addreſs againſt ſuch counſellors as had been impeached in Parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation — This motion was levelled at Caermarthen and Halifax, the firſt of whom had been formerly impeached of high treaſon under the title of Earl of Danby: and the other was charged with all the miſconduct of the preſent adminiſtration. Warm debates enſued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not thoſe who ſpoke warmly in behalf of it ſuddenly cooled in the courſe of the diſpute. Some letters from King James to his partiſans being intercepted, and containing ſome hints of an intended invaſion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole Houſe, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was expoſed, and moved for a further ſupply to his Majeſty. In this unexpected motion, he was not ſeconded by one member. The Houſe, however, having taken the letters into conſideration, reſolved to draw up an addreſs to the King, deſiring him to ſecure and diſarm all Papiſts of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting ſeveral perſons in rebellion againſt their Majeſties: but it was not finiſhed during this ſeſſion.

§ XLV. Another bill being prepared in the Houſe of Lords, enjoining the ſubjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain ſeaſons of the year, a petition was preſented againſt it by the ſilk-weavers of London and Canterbury, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner at Weſtminſter. The Lords refuſed their petition, becauſe this was an unuſual manner of application. They were perſuaded to return to their reſpective places of abode: precautions were taken againſt a ſecond riot; and the bill was unanimouſly rejected in the Upper Houſe. This Parliament

liament paſſed an act, veſting in the two univerſities the preſentations belonging to Papiſts: thoſe of the ſouthern counties being given to Oxford: and thoſe of the northern to Cambridge, on certain ſpecified conditions. *Courts of conſcience were erected at* Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Newcaſtle; and that of the Marches of Wales was aboliſhed, as an intolerable oppreſſion. The Proteſtant Clergymen, who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviſo that they ſhould reſign their Engliſh benefices when reſtored to thoſe they had been obliged to relinquiſh. The ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt multiplying gold and ſilver was now repealed: the ſubjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and ſilver from them, on condition that it ſhould be brought to the Mint, and converted into money, the owner receiving its full value in current coin. Theſe, and ſeveral other bills of ſmaller importance being paſſed, the two Houſes adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

§ I. *Duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland.* § II. *The Inniſkilliners obtain a victory over the Iriſh.* § III. *Schomberg cenſured for his inactivity.* § IV. *The French worſted at Walcourt.* § V. *Succeſs of the confederates in Germany. The Turks defeated at Patochin, Niſſa, and Widen.* § VI. *Death of Pope Innocent* XI. § VII. *King William becomes unpopular.* § VIII. *A good number of the Clergy refuſe to take the oaths.* § IX. *The King grants a commiſſion for reforming church diſcipline.* § X. *Meeting of the Convocation.* § XI. *Their ſeſſion diſcontinued by repeated prorogations.* § XII. *Proceedings in Parliament.* § XIII. *The Whigs obſtruct the bill of indemnity.* § XIV. *The Commons reſume the inquiry into the cauſe of the miſcarriages in Ireland.* § XV. *King William irritated againſt the Whigs.* § XVI. *Plot againſt the government by Sir James Montgomery diſcovered by Biſhop Burnet.* § XVII. *Warm debates in Parliament about the Corporation-bill.* § XVIII. *The King reſolves to finiſh the Iriſh war in perſon.* § XIX. *General Ludlow arrives in England, but is obliged to withdraw.* § XX. *Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland.* § XXI. *The court intereſt triumphs over all oppoſition in that country.* § XXII. *The Tory intereſt prevails in the new Parliament of England.* § XXIII. *Bill for recognizing their Majeſties.* § XXIV. *Another violent conteſt about the Bill of adjuration.* § XXV. *King William lands in Ireland.* § XXVI. *King James marches to the Boyne.* § XXVII. *William reſolves to give him battle.* § XXVIII. *Battle of the Boyne.* § XXIX. *Death and character of Schomberg.* § XXX. *James embarks for France.* § XXXI. *William enters Dublin and publiſhes his declaration.* § XXXII. *The French obtain a victory over the Engliſh and Dutch fleets off Beechy-head.* § XXXIII.

Torrington committed priſoner to the Tower. § XXXIV. *Progreſs of William in Ireland.* § XXXV. *He inveſts Limerick; but is obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and returns to England.* § XXXVI. *Cork and Kinſale reduced by the Earl of Marlborough.* § XXXVII. *Lauzun and the French forces quit Ireland.* § XXXVIII. *The Duke of Savoy joins the confederacy.* § XXXIX. *Prince Waldeck defeated at Fleurus.* § XL. *The Archduke Joſeph elected King of the Romans. Death of the Duke of Lorraine. Progreſs of the war againſt the Turks.* § XLI. *Meeting of the Parliament.* § XLII. *The Commons comply with all the King's demands.* § XLIII. *Petition of the Tories in the city of London.* § XLIV. *Attempt againſt the Marquis of Caermarthen.* § XLV. *The King's voyage to Holland.* § XLVI. *He aſſiſts at a congreſs. Returns to England.*

§ I. THOUGH the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the Proteſtants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the ſuccours were retarded either by diſputes among the miniſters, or the neglect of thoſe who had the management of the expedition, in ſuch a manner that King James had been ſix months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons, being raiſed for that ſervice, a train of artillery provided, and tranſports prepared, the Duke of Schomberg, on whom King William had conferred the chief command of this armament, ſet out for Cheſter, after he had in perſon thanked the Commons for the uncommon regard they had paid to his ſervices, and received aſſurances from the Houſe, that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of Auguſt he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrickfergus with about ten thouſand foot and drogoons, and took poſſeſſion of Belfaſt, from CHAP. II. 1689.

BOOK I. 1689. from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrickfergus, where they reſolved to make a ſtand. The Duke having refreſhed his men, marched thither, and inveſted the place: the ſiege was carried on till the twenty-ſixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the beſieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms, and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs: and of their being conducted to the next Iriſh garriſon which was at Newry. During this ſiege the Duke was joined by the reſt of his army from England: but he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and ſtores from Cheſter directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Liſburne and Hillſborough, and encamped at Drummore, where the Proteſtants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton: thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horſe and dragoons of Inniſkillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low, damp ground, having the town and river on the ſouth, and ſurrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

§ II. His army, conſiſting chiefly of new raiſed men little inured to hardſhip, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather and ſcarcity of proviſion. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hannier, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he underſtood Roſene lay with about twenty thouſand men, had he not been obliged tō wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James, having aſſembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his entrenchments in order of battle: but the Duke, knowing they were greatly ſuperior in number of horſe, and that his own army was undiſciplined, and weakened by death and ſickneſs, reſtrained his men

men within the lines, and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conſpiracy was diſcovered in the Engliſh camp, hatched by ſome French Papiſts, who had inſinuated themſelves into the Proteſtant regiments. One of theſe, whoſe name was du Pleſſis, had written a letter to the Ambaſſador D'Avaux, promiſing to deſert with all the Papiſts of the three French regiments in Schomberg's army. this letter being found, Du Pleſſis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty Papiſts being diſcovered in the French regiments, they were ſent over to England, from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this ſituation, the Inniſkilliners made excurſions in the neighbourhood, under the command of Colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-ſeventh day of September they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Iriſh. They killed ſeven hundred on the ſpot, and took O'Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a conſiderable booty of cattle. The Duke was ſo pleaſed with their behaviour on this occaſion, that they received a very honourable teſtimony of his approbation. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ III. Mean while, the enemy took poſſeſſion of James-Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauver, a French Captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and proviſion. A contagious diſtemper ſtill continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and ſwept off a great number of officers and ſoldiers; ſo that in the beginning of next ſpring, not above half the number of thoſe who went over with the General remained alive. He was cenſured for his inactivity, and the King, in repeated letters, deſired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity ſhould occur; but he did not think proper to run the riſque of a battle, againſt an enemy that was

above

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above thrice his number, well diſciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheleſs, he was certainly blameable for having choſen ſuch an unwholeſome ſituation. At the approach of winter he retired into quarters, in hopes of being re-inforced with ſeven thouſand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. Theſe auxiliaries were ſtipulated in a treaty which William had juſt concluded with the King of Denmark. The Engliſh were not more ſucceſsful at ſea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created Earl of Torrington, having ſailed to Ireland with the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitleſs attempt upon Cork, and loſt a great number of ſeamen by ſickneſs, which was imputed to bad proviſion. The Dartmouth ſhip of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infeſted the channel with ſuch a number of armed ſhips and privateers, that the trade of England ſuſtained incredible damage.

§ IV. The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aſpect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe ſeemed to have conſpired her deſtruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the States-General, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was ſtipulated, that in caſe the King of Great-Britain ſhould be attacked, the Dutch ſhould aſſiſt him with ſix thouſand infantry and twenty ſhips of the line; and that provided hoſtilities ſhould be committed againſt the States-General, England ſhould ſupply them with ten thouſand infantry and twenty ſhips of war. This treaty was no ſooner ratified than King William diſpatched the Lord Churchill, whom he had by this time created Earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the Britiſh auxiliaries in that ſervice, to the number of eleven thouſand, the greater part of which had been in the army of King James

James when the Prince of Orange landed in England. The Earl forthwith joined the Dutch army, under the command of Prince Waldeck, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to act againſt the French army commanded by the Mareſchal D'Humieres; while the Prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of obſervation, conſiſting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality, and declare for the allies. Mareſchal D'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the States at Walcourt, in the month of Auguſt; an obſtinate engagement enſued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confuſion with the loſs of two thouſand men, and ſome pieces of artillery. The army of obſervation levelled part of the French lines on the ſide of Courtray, and raiſed contributions on the territories of the enemy. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ V. The French were almoſt entire maſters of the three eccleſiaſtical electorates of Germany. They poſſeſſed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiſerſwaert, Philipſburgh, and Landau. They had blown up the caſtle of Heidelberg, in the Palatinate, and deſtroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spiers to aſhes; and demoliſhed Frankendahl, together with ſeveral other fortreſſes. Theſe conqueſts, the fruits of ſudden invaſion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the Mareſchal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of diſtinguiſhed courage and ability. Nevertheleſs, he found it difficult to maintain his ground againſt the different princes of the empire. The Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, inveſted Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the elector of Brandenburgh, having reduced Keiſerſwaert, undertook the ſiege of Bonne, which the garriſon ſurrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union

BOOK I. 1689. union of the German Princes than their reſentment of the ſhocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, waſted, and depopulated their country. Louis having, by his intrigues in Poland, and at Conſtantinople, prevented a pacification between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thouſand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The Prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialiſts on that ſide, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Paſſarowitz, croſſed that river, and marched in queſt of the Turkiſh army, amounting to fifty thouſand men, headed by a Seraſkier. On the thirteenth day of Auguſt he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments near Patochin, and forced their lines, routed them with great ſlaughter, and took poſſeſſion of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Niſſa, where the General finding them ſtill more numerous than the Imperialiſts, reſolved to make a ſtand: and encamped in a ſituation that was inacceſſible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue, he was, on the twenty fourth day of September, attacked by the Prince of Baden, who, after a deſperate reſiſtance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the ſpoil of the enemy, and entered Niſſa without oppoſition. There he found above three thouſand horſes and a vaſt quantity of proviſion. Having repoſed his army for a few days in this place, he reſumed his march againſt the Turks, who had choſen an advantageous poſt at Widen, and ſeemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had loſt in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without heſitation; and though the Muſſulmen fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great ſlaughter. This defeat was attended with the loſs of Widen, which being ſurrendered to the victor, he

he diſtributed his troops in winter quarters, and returned to Vienna, covered with laurels. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ VI. The French were likewiſe baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the Duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garriſon in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the Duke de Villa Hermoſa, at the head of a Spaniſh army, blocked up the place, and laid Rouſillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the ſiege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but he was ſo hard preſſed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garriſon, diſmantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French King hoped to derive ſome conſiderable advantage from the death of Pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of Auguſt. That Pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Louis ever ſince the affair of the franchiſes, and the ſeizure of Avignon*. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction againſt the Spaniſh and Imperial intereſt. The French Cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, acccompanied by Furſtemberg, repaired to Rome with a

* The Franchiſes were privileges of aſylum, annexed not only to the Ambaſſadors at Rome, but even to the whole diſtrict in which any Ambaſſador chanced to live. This privilege was become a terrible nuiſance, inaſmuch as it afforded protection to the moſt atrocious criminals, who filled this city with rapine and murder. Innocent XI. reſolving to remove this evil, publiſhed a bull, aboliſhing the Franchiſes; and almoſt all the Catholick powers of Europe acquieſced in what he had done, upon being duly informed of the grievance. Louis XIV. however, from a ſpirit of pride and inſolence, refuſed to part with any thing that looked like a prerogative of his crown. He ſaid, the King of France was not the imitator, but a pattern and example for other Princes. He rejected with diſdain the mild repreſentations of the Pope; he ſent the marquis de Laverden as his ambaſſador to Rome, with a formidable train, to inſult Innocent even in his own city. That nobleman ſwaggered through the ſtreets of Rome like a bravo, taking all opportunities to affront the Pope, who excommunicated him in revenge. On the other hand, the Parliament of Paris appealed from the Pope's bull to a future council. Louis cauſed the Pope's Nuncio to be put under arreſt, took poſſeſſion of Avignon, which belonged to the See of Rome, and ſet the holy Father at defiance.

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large ſum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected Pope, and aſſumed the name of Alexander VIII. The Duke de Chaulnes, ambaſſador from France, immediately ſignified in the name of his maſter, that Avignon ſhould be reſtored to the patrimony of the church; and Louis renounced the franchiſes, in a letter written by his own hand to the Pontiff. Alexander received theſe marks of reſpect with the warmeſt acknowledgments; but, when the Ambaſſador and Furſtemberg beſought him to re-examine the election of the Biſhop of Cologn, which had been the ſource of ſo much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their ſolicitations. He even confirmed the diſpenſations granted by his predeceſſor to the Prince of Bavaria, who was thus empowered to take poſſeſſion of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the Canons. Furſtemberg retired in diſguſt to Paris, where Louis immediately gratified him with the Abbey of St. Germains.

§ VII. King William found it an eaſier taſk to unite the councils of Europe againſt the common enemy than to conciliate and preſerve the affections of his own ſubjects, among whom he began viſibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were diſſatisfied with his meaſures: and a great number even of thoſe who exerted themſelves for his elevation, had conceived a diſguſt from his perſonal deportment, which was very unſuitable to the manners and diſpoſition of the Engliſh people. Inſtead of mingling with his nobility in ſocial amuſements and familiar converſation, he maintained a diſagreeable reſerve which had all the air of ſullen pride; he ſeldom or never ſpoke to his courtiers or attendants; he ſpent his time chiefly in the cloſet, retired from all communication; or among his troops, in a camp he had formed at Hounſlow; or in the exerciſe of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been preſcribed to him by

by physicians as necessary to improve his constitution which was naturally weak, and by practice had become so habitual, that he could not lay it aside. His ill health, co operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person: this was increased by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-Court, and expended considerable sums in beautifying and enlarging that palace: he likewise purchased the house at Kensington of the Earl of Nottingham; and such profusion, in the beginning of an expensive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advised by his counsellors, or his own sagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humour, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some manner adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he resorted to the races at New-market: he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved himself with remarkable affability to the members of the University: he afterwards dined with the Lord-Mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of grocers. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ VIII. While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his person, the period arrived which the Parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the Clergy sacrificed their benefices to their scruples of conscience; and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already sworn in favour of their late sovereign. They were distinguished by the epithet of Nonjurors: but their

BOOK I. 1689. number bore a very ſmall proportion to that of others, who took them with ſuch reſervations and diſtinctions as redounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of thoſe who had been the warmeſt advocates for non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience made no ſcruple of renouncing their allegiance to King James, and complying with the preſent act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other ſenſe than that of a peaceable ſubmiſſion to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legiſlature itſelf had allowed the diſtinction between a King *de facto* and a King *de jure*, as they had dropped the word "rightful," when the form was under debate. They alleged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, ſo conſcience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous and of worſe tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the moſt ſacred of all obligations. It introduced a general diſregard of oaths, which hath been the ſource of univerſal perjury and corruption. Though this ſet of temporiſers were bitterly upbraided both by the Nonjurors and the Papiſts, they all concurred in repreſenting William as an enemy to the church; as a Prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly eſpouſed, by limiting his favour and preferment to ſuch as were Latitudinarians in religion, and by his aboliſhing Epiſcopacy in Scotland. The Preſbyterians in that kingdom now tyranniſed in their turn. They were headed by the Earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and ſtrong prejudices. He was choſen Preſident of the Parliament by the intereſt of Melvil, and oppreſſed the Epiſcopalians in ſuch a manner, that the greater part of them, from reſentment, became well-wiſhers to King James. Every circumſtance of the hardſhips they underwent was reported in England; and the Earl of Clarendon, as well as the ſuſpended Biſhops, circulated theſe particulars

ticulars with great aſſiduity. The oaths being rejected by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Ely, Chicheſter, Bath and Wells, Peterborough and Glouceſter, they were ſuſpended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chicheſter, being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, ſigned a ſolemn declaration, in which he profeſſed his adherence to the doctrine of non-reſiſtance and paſſive obedience, which he believed to be the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick of the Church of England. After his death this paper was publiſhed, induſtriouſly circulated, and extolled by the party as an inſpired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and ſincerity. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ IX. All the clamour that was raiſed againſt the King could not divert him from proſecuting the ſcheme of comprehenſion. He granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal to ten Biſhops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authoriſing them to meet from time to time in the Jeruſalem-chamber, to prepare ſuch alterations of the Liturgy and the Canons, and ſuch propoſals for the reformation of Eccleſiaſtical courts as might moſt conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the Church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the proteſtant ſubjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raiſed againſt this commiſſion, as an Eccleſiaſtical court illegal and dangerous. At their firſt meeting, the authority of the commiſſion was queſtioned by Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who retired in diſguſt, and was followed by Mew of Wincheſter, and the Doctors Jane and Aldrich. Theſe were averſe to any alteration of the forms and conſtitution of the Church in favour of an inſolent and obſtinate party, which ought to have been ſatisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They obſerved, that an attempt to make ſuch alteration would divide the Clergy, and bring the Liturgy into diſeſteem with the people, as it would be a plain acknow-

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acknowledgment that is wanted correction. They thought they ſhould violate the dignity of the Church, by condeſcending to make offers which the Diſſenters were at liberty to refuſe; and they ſuſpected ſome of their colleagues of a deſign to give up epiſcopal ordination—a ſtep inconſiſtent with their honour, duty, oaths, and ſubſcriptions.

§ X. The commiſſioners, notwithſtanding this ſeceſſion, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuſes of which the Diſſenters had complained, and corrected every article that ſeemed liable to any juſt objection; but the oppoſite party employed all their art and induſtry to inflame the minds of the people. The two univerſities declared againſt all alterations, and thoſe who promoted them. The King himſelf was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they beſtirred themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully in the election of members for the Convocation, that they procured a very conſiderable majority. At their firſt meeting, the friends of the Comprehenſion Scheme propoſed Dr. Tillotſon, clerk of the cloſet to his Majeſty, as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the moſt violent churchman in the whole aſſembly. In a Latin ſpeech to the Biſhop of London as preſident, he, in the name of the Lower Houſe, aſſerted that the Liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the Barons, "*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* We will not ſuffer the laws of England to be changed." The Biſhop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence towards their brethren the Diſſenters, and to make ſuch abatements in things indifferent as might ſerve to open a door of ſalvation to multitudes of ſtraying Chriſtians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The Lower Houſe ſeemed to be animated by a ſpirit of oppoſition. Next day the Preſident prorogued them, on pretence

tence that the royal commiſſion, by which they were to act, was defective for want of being ſealed, and that a prorogation was neceſſary until that ſanction ſhould be obtained. In this interval means were uſed to mollify their non-compliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the Earl of Nottingham delivered the King's commiſſion to both Houſes, with a ſpeech of his own, and a meſſage from his Majeſty, importing, that he had ſummoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the beſt eſtabliſhment of the Church of England, which ſhould always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aſide all prejudice, and conſider calmly and impartially whatever ſhould be propoſed: he aſſured them he would offer nothing but what ſhould be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the proteſtant religion in general, and particularly of the Church of England. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ XI. The Biſhops, adjourning to the Jeruſalem chamber, prepared a zealous addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, which, being ſent to the Lower Houſe for their concurrence, met with violent oppoſition. Amendments were propoſed; a conference enſued, and, after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold addreſs, which was accordingly preſented. The majority of the Lower Houſe, far from taking any meaſures in favour of Diſſenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous ſpeeches were made in behalf of the ſuſpended Biſhops; and Dr. Jane propoſed that ſomething might be done to qualify them to ſit in the Convocation. This, however, was ſuch a dangerous point as they would not venture to diſcuſs; yet, rather than proceed upon the buſineſs for which they had been aſſembled, they began to take cognizance of ſome pamphlets lately publiſhed, which they conceived to be of dangerous conſequence to the Chriſtian religion. The preſident and his party,

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party, perceiving the diſpoſition of the Houſe, did not think proper to communicate any propoſal touching the intended reformation, and the King ſuffered the ſeſſion to be diſcontinued by repeated prorogations.

§ XII. The Parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the King, in a ſpeech of his own compoſing, explained the neceſſity of a preſent ſupply to carry on the war. He deſired that they might be ſpeedy in their determinations on this ſubject, for theſe would in a great meaſure influence the deliberations of the Princes and States concerned in the war againſt France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held next month at the Hague, to ſettle the operations of the enſuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the diſpatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his ſubjects might be quieted, and that they might unanimouſly concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As ſeveral inflammatory bills and diſputes, which had produced heats and animoſities in the laſt ſeſſion, were ſtill depending, the King, after having conſulted both Houſes, reſolved to put an end to thoſe diſputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the Houſe of Lords, and prorogued the Parliament till the twenty-firſt day of October, by the mouth of the new Speaker, Sir Robert Atkins, the Marquis of Halifax having reſigned that office. When they re-aſſembled, the King referred them to his former ſpeech: then the Commons unanimouſly reſolved to aſſiſt his Majeſty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous proſecution of the war againſt France: for theſe purpoſes they voted a ſupply of two millions.

§ XIII. During this ſeſſion the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obſtructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preferment to the oppoſite party,

which began to gain ground in the King's good graces. With this view they revived the proſecution of the ſtate priſoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge againſt Burton and Graham. The Commons reſolved to impeach the Earls of Peterborough, Saliſbury, and Caſtlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker of high treaſon, for having been reconciled to the Church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in, to declare the eſtate of the late Lord Chancellor Jefferies forfeited to the crown, and attaint his blood; but it met with ſuch oppoſition that the meaſure was dropped: the Houſe however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by thoſe perſons who had exerciſed offices contrary to the laws againſt Popiſh recuſants ſhould be ſpeedily levied, and applied to the public ſervice. The Lord Griffin being detected in maintaining a correſpondence with King James, and his partiſans, was committed to the Tower; but, as no other evidence appeared againſt him than written letters, found in the falſe bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help conſenting to his being releaſed upon bail, as they had lately reſolved that Algernon Sidney was unjuſtly condemned in the reign of Charles II. becauſe nothing but writings had been produced againſt him at his trial. The two Houſes concurred in appointing a committee to inquire who were the adviſers and proſecutors in taking away the lives of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armſtrong, Alderman Corniſh, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary practices touching the writs of *Quo Warranto*, and the ſurrender of charters. This inquiry was levelled at the Marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the miniſtry of Charles in all theſe ſeverities. Though no proof appeared, upon which votes or addreſſes could be founded, that nobleman ſaw it was neceſſary for him to withdraw himſelf from the adminiſtration; he

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he therefore reſigned the privy-ſeal, which was put in commiſſion, and reconciled himſelf to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

§ XIV. The Commons likewiſe reſumed the examination of the miſcarriages in Ireland, and deſired the King would appoint commiſſioners, to go over and inquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg underſtanding that he had been blamed in the Houſe of Commons for his inactivity, tranſmitted to the King a ſatisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miſcarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The Commons immediately preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, praying that Shales might be taken into cuſtody; that all his papers, accounts, and ſtores ſhould be ſecured; and that Duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The King gave them to underſtand that he had already ſent orders to the General for that purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, they in another petition requeſted his Majeſty to name thoſe who had recommended Shales to his ſervice, as he had exerciſed the ſame office under King James, and was ſuſpected of treaſonable practices againſt the government. William declined gratifying their requeſt; but he afterwards ſent a meſſage to the Houſe, deſiring them to recommend a certain number of commiſſioners to ſuperintend ſuch proviſions and preparations as might be neceſſary for that ſervice, as well as to nominate certain perſons to go over and examine the ſtate of the army in Ireland. The commons were ſo mollified by this inſtance of his condeſcenſion, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of miſconduct. Inſtances of miſmanagement appeared ſo numerous and ſo flagrant, that they reſolved upon a ſubſequent addreſs, to explain

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the ill conduct and ſucceſs of his army and navy; CHAP. II. 1689.
to deſire he would find out the author of theſe miſcarriages, and for the future entruſt unſuſpected perſons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into cuſtody, on ſuſpicion of their having furniſhed the navy with unwholeſome proviſions, and new commiſſioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out againſt the miniſtry. Mr. Hambden expreſſed his ſurprise that the adminiſtration ſhould conſiſt of thoſe very perſons whom King James had employed, when his affairs were deſperate, to treat with the Prince of Orange, and moved that the King ſhould be petitioned in an addreſs to remove ſuch perſons from his preſence and councils. This was a ſtroke aimed at the Earl of Nottingham, whoſe office of ſecretary Hambden deſired to poſſeſs; but his motion was not ſeconded, the court-members obſerving that James did not depute thoſe lords to the prince of Orange becauſe they were attached to his own intereſt, but for a very different reaſon, namely, that they were well known to diſapprove of his meaſures, and therefore would be the more agreeable to his Highneſs. The Houſe, however, voted an addreſs to the King, deſiring that the authors of the miſcarriages might be brought to condign puniſhment.

§ XV. In the ſequel, the queſtion was propoſed, Whether a placeman ought to have a ſeat in the Houſe? and a very warm debate enſued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the ſuppoſition that by ſuch excluſion the Commonwealth would be deprived of ſome of the ableſt ſenators of the kingdom But what chiefly irritated William againſt the Whigs was their backwardneſs in promoting the publick ſervice, and their diſregard of the earneſt deſire he expreſſed to ſee his revenue ſettled for life. He ſaid his title was no more than a pageant, and the worſt of all governments was that of a king without

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out treaſure. Nevertheleſs, they would not grant the civil liſt for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was ſomething arbitrary in his diſpoſition. His ſullen behaviour, in all probability firſt infuſed this opinion, which was ſtrengthened and confirmed by the inſinuations of his enemies. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their Parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpſon a preſbyterian of that country, whom the Earl of Portland employed as a ſpy, had inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partiſan and agent of King James; by which means he ſupplied the Earl with ſuch intelligence as raiſed him to ſome degree of credit with that miniſter. This he uſed in prepoſſeſſing the Earl againſt the King's beſt friends, and infuſing jealouſies which were ſoon kindled into mutual diſtruſt and animoſity.

§ XVI. Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the Revolution, received advice that the court ſuſpected him and others of diſaffection, and was employed in ſeeking evidence by which they might be proſecuted. They were equally alarmed and incenſed at this intimation, and Payne ſeized the opportunity of ſeducing them into a correſpondence with the exiled King. They demanded the ſettlement of Preſbytery in Scotland, and actually engaged in a treaty for his reſtoration. They reconciled themſelves to the Duke of Queenſberry, and the other noblemen of the epiſcopal party: they wrote to James for a ſupply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thouſand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great intereſt among the Whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them againſt the King and the miniſtry. He repreſented them as a ſet of wicked men, who employed infamous ſpies to enſnare and ruin the faſt friends of the government,

government, and found means to alienate them ſo much from William, that they began to think in earneſt of recalling their baniſhed Prince. The Duke of Bolton, and the Earl of Monmouth, were almoſt perſuaded into a conſpiracy for this purpoſe; they ſeemed to think James was now ſo well convinced of his former errors, that they might truſt him without ſcruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the ſcheme, and they admitted Ferguſon into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treaſon. In order to blaſt William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, ſeparate himſelf entirely from the French intereſt, and be contented with a ſecret connivance in favour of the Roman Catholicks. Montgomery's brother aſſured the Biſhop of Saliſbury, that a treaty with King James was abſolutely concluded, and an invitation ſubſcribed by the whole cabal. He ſaid this paper would be ſent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he propoſed a method for ſeizing it before it ſhould be conveyed out of the kingdom. Williamſon, the ſuppoſed bearer of it, had obtained a paſs for Flanders, and a meſſenger being ſent in purſuit of him, ſecured his cloaths and portmanteau; but, after a very ſtrict examination, nothing appeared to juſtify the intelligence. Williamſon had previouſly delivered the papers to Simpſon, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in ſafety at France. He returned with large aſſurances, and twelve thouſand pounds were remitted to the Scottiſh undertakers. Montgomery, the informer, ſeeing his intelligence falſified, loſt his credit with the Biſhop, and dreading the reſentment of the other party, retired to the Continent. The conſpirators loudly complained of the falſe imputations they had incurred. The pretended diſcoveries were looked upon as fictions of the miniſtry, and the

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King

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King on this occaſion ſuffered greatly in the opinion of his ſubjects.

§ XVII. The Tories ſtill continued to carry on a ſecret negociation with the Court. They took advantage of the ill-humour ſubſiſting between the King and the Whigs; and promiſed large ſupplies of money provided this Parliament ſhould be diſſolved, and another immediately convoked. The oppoſite party, being appriſed of their intention, brought a bill into the Houſe of Commons for reſtoring corporations to their ancient rights and privileges. They knew their own ſtrength at elections conſiſted in theſe corporations; and they inſerted two additional ſevere clauſes againſt thoſe who were in any ſhape concerned in ſurrendering charters. The whole power of the Tories was exerted againſt this clauſe; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his Majeſty, promiſing to manifeſt the moſt ſubmiſſive obedience ſhould this bill be enacted into a law. The ſtrength of the Tories was now become ſo formidable to the Houſe, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauſes were rejected; but the bill paſſed in its original form. The Lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or ſurrendered? Lord Chief Juſtice Holt and two other Judges declared their opinion in the affirmative: the reſt thought otherwiſe, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the Abbies were ſurrendered; and this inſtance ſeemed too violent to authoriſe ſuch a meaſure in a regular courſe of adminiſtration. The bill, however, paſſed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the King, who found himſelf ſo perplexed and diſtracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he reſolved to leave the government in the Queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this deſign to the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earl of Shrewſbury, and ſome

other noblemen, who preſſed him to lay aſide his reſolution, and even mingled tears with their remonſtrances. CHAP. II. 1689.

§ XVIII. He at length complied with their requeſt, and determined to finiſh the Iriſh war in perſon. This deſign was far from being agreeable to the Parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak conſtitution. The well-wiſhers of James were afraid of that Prince's being hard preſſed, ſhould William take the field againſt him in perſon: both Houſes, therefore, began to prepare an addreſs againſt this expedition. In order to prevent this remonſtrance, the King went to the Parliament, and formally ſignified his reſolution. After his ſpeech they were prorogued to the ſecond day of April. On the ſixth day of February they were diſſolved by proclamation, and a new Parliament was ſummoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this ſeſſion the Commons, in an addreſs to the King, deſired that a revenue of fifty thouſand pounds might be ſettled upon the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark, out of the civil liſt; and his Majeſty gratified them in this particular: yet, the warmth and induſtry with which the friends of the Princeſs exerted themſelves in promoting the ſettlement, produced a coldneſs and miſunderſtanding between the two ſiſters: and the ſubſequent diſgrace of the Earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occaſion. She was lady of the bed-chamber, and chief confident to the Princeſs, whom ſhe ſtrenuouſly adviſed to inſiſt upon the ſettlement, rather than depend upon the generoſity of the King and Queen.

§ XIX. About this period, General Ludlow, who at the Reſtoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of thoſe who ſate in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his ſervice in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly

BOOK I. 1689. formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conſcientious man, and a good officer. He had received ſome encouragement to come over, and probably would have been employed, had not the Commons interpoſed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an eſtate in Wiltſhire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his poſſeſſion. He obſerved in the Houſe, that the nation would be diſgraced, ſhould one of the parricides be ſuffered to live in the kingdom. An addreſs was immediately preſented to the King, deſiring a proclamation might be iſſued, promiſing a reward for apprehending General Ludlow. This was accordingly publiſhed; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Swiſſerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

§ XX. While King William fluctuated between two parties in England, his intereſt in Scotland had well nigh given way to a coalition between the original Jacobites and Montgomery's party of diſcontented Preſbyterians. Colonel Cannon, who ſucceeded the Viſcount Dundee in command, after having made ſeveral unſucceſsful efforts in favour of the late King's intereſt, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders choſe Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incurſions with the better proſpect of ſucceſs, as ſeveral regiments of the regular troops had been ſent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James aſſiſted them with clothes, arms, and ammunition, together with ſome officers, amongſt whom was Colonel Bucran, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the ſhire of Murray, in hopes of being joined by other malcontents: but he was ſurpriſed and routed by Sir Thomas Livingſtone, while Major Ferguſon deſtroyed the places they poſſeſſed in the Iſle of Mull; ſo that the Highlanders were obliged to retire, and

and conceal themſelves among their hills and faſt- CHAP. neſſes. The friends of James, deſpairing of doing II. any thing effectual for his ſervice in the field, con- 1689. verted all their attention to the proceedings in Parliament; where they imagined their intereſt was much ſtronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without heſitation, and hoped, by the aſſiſtance of their new allies, to embroil the government in ſuch a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a reſtoration. But the views of theſe new-cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically oppoſite. Notwithſtanding their concurrence in Parliament, the Earl of Melvil procured a ſmall majority. The oppoſition was immediately diſcouraged: ſome individuals retracted, rather than fall with a ſinking cauſe; and mutual jealouſies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated ſeparately with King James; made inconſiſtent demands; reciprocally concealed their negociations: in a word, they diſtruſted and hated one another with the moſt implacable reſentment.

§ XXI. The Earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin withdrew from their councils, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted ſomething of the Plot to Melvil, and ſolicited a paſs from the Queen, which was refuſed. Anandale, having received information that Montgomery had diſcloſed all the particulars of the negociation, threw himſelf upon the Queen's mercy, and diſcovered all he knew of the conſpiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malcontents in England, they remained ſecure from his evidence; but he informed againſt Nevil Payne, who had been ſent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now reſided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in conſequence of a letter from the Earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the

BOOK I. 1689. torture, which he reſolutely bore, without diſcovering his employers. Montgomery ſtill abſconded in London, ſoliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full diſcovery, he abandoned his country, and choſe to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This diſunion of the conſpirators, and diſcovery of the plot, left the Earl of Melvil in poſſeſſion of a greater majority; though even this he was fain to ſecure by overſtraining his inſtructions in the articles of patronage, and the ſupremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatick Preſbyterians, contrary to the intention of King William. In lieu of theſe, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money: as well as with a teſt to be impoſed upon all perſons in office and parliament, declaring William and Mary their lawful ſovereigns, and renouncing the pretended title of King James. All the laws in favour of epiſcopacy were repealed. Threeſcore of the Preſbyterian miniſters, who had been ejected at the Reſtoration, were ſtill alive; and theſe the Parliament declared the only ſound part of the Church. The government of it was lodged in their hands; and they were empowered to admit ſuch as they ſhould think proper to their aſſiſtance. A few furious fanaticks being thus aſſociated, proceeded with ungovernable violence to perſecute the epiſcopal party, exerciſing the very ſame tyranny againſt which they themſelves had ſo loudly exclaimed.

An. 1690. §. XXII. While the Preſbyterian intereſt thus triumphed in Scotland, the two parties that divided England employed their whole influence and attention in managing the elections for a new parliament; and the Tories obtained the victory. The King ſeemed gradually falling into the arms of this party. They complained of their having been totally excluded from the Lieutenancy of London at the King's acceſſion to the crown; and now a conſiderable

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ſiderable number of the moſt violent Tories in the city were admitted into the commiſſion by the intereſt and addreſs of the Biſhop of London, the Marquis of Caermarthen, and the Earl of Nottingham. To gratify that party, the Earls of Monmouth and Warrington were diſmiſſed from their employments: nay, when the Parliament met on the twentieth day of March, the Commons choſe for their Speaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partiſan of that faction, who had been created Maſter of the Rolls by the late King. He was a bold, artful man, and undertook to procure a majority to be at the devotion of the Court, provided he ſhould be ſupplied with the neceſſary ſums for the purpoſes of corruption. William, finding there was no other way of maintaining his adminiſtration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practice of purchaſing votes, and appointed Trevor firſt commiſſioner of the great ſeal. In his ſpeech to the new Parliament, he gave them to underſtand, that he ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of going in perſon to Ireland. He deſired they would make a ſettlement of the revenue, or eſtabliſh it for the preſent, as a fund of credit, upon which the neceſſary ſums for the ſervice of the government might be immediately advanced: he ſignified his intention of ſending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifeſt his readineſs to extend his protection to all his ſubjects, and leave no colour of excuſe for raiſing diſturbances in his abſence, as he knew how buſy ſome ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the eſtabliſhed government: he recommended an union with Scotland, the Parliament of which had appointed commiſſioners for that purpoſe: he told them he ſhould leave the adminiſtration in the hands of the Queen, and deſired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to diſpatch the buſineſs for which they were aſſembled, to avoid debates, and expreſſed his

Burnet. Belcarres. Kennet. Tindal. Ralph.

BOOK I. 1690. hope that they ſhould ſoon meet again, to finiſh what might be now left imperfect.

§ XXIII. The Commons, in compliance with his requeſt, voted a ſupply of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, one million of that ſum to be raiſed by a clauſe of credit in the revenue-bills; but he could not prevail upon them to ſettle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary exciſe for that term, but the cuſtoms for four years only. They conſidered this ſhort term as the beſt ſecurity the kingdom could have for frequent Parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their ſovereign. A poll-bill was likewiſe paſſed; other ſupplies were granted, and both parties ſeemed to court his Majeſty, by advancing money on thoſe funds of credit. The Whigs, however, had another battery in reſerve. They produced, in the Upper Houſe, a bill for recognizing their Majeſties as the rightful and lawful ſovereigns of theſe realms, and for declaring all the acts of the laſt Parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed ſituation. They could not oppoſe the bill without hazarding the intereſt they had ſo lately acquired, nor aſſent to it without ſolemnly renouncing their former arguments and diſtinctions. They made no great objections to the firſt part, and even propoſed to enact, That thoſe ſhould be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refuſed to declare them valid for that which was paſt. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the Whigs loſt their majority on the report; nevertheleſs, the bill was recovered, and paſſed with ſome alteration in the words; in conſequence of a nervous, ſpirited proteſt, ſigned Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delamere, and Oxford. The whole intereſt of the court was thrown into the ſcale with this bill, before it would preponderate againſt the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the Earl of Nottingham at their head,

head, proteſted in their turn. The ſame party in the Houſe of Commons were determined upon a vigorous oppoſition; and in the mean time ſome trifling objections were made, that it might be committed for amendment; but their deſign was prematurely diſcovered by one of their faction, who chanced to queſtion the legality of the Convention, as it was not ſummoned by the King's writ. This inſinuation was anſwered by Somers, the Solicitor-General, who obſerved, that if it was not a legal Parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths enacted by that Parliament, were guilty of high-treaſon: the laws repealed by it were ſtill in force: it was their duty, therefore, to return to King James; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that Parliament were highly criminal. The Tories were ſo ſtruck with theſe arguments, that the bill paſſed without further oppoſition, and immediately received the royal aſſent. Thus the ſettlement was confirmed by thoſe very people who had ſo loudly exclaimed againſt it as illegal: but the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the Court been intereſted in the diſpute. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXIV. There was another violent conteſt between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all ſubjects in office to abjure King James, on pain of impriſonment. Though the clergy were at firſt exempted from this teſt, the main body of the Tories oppoſed it with great vehemence; while the Whigs, under countenance of the miniſtry, ſupported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates; and the factions ſeemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the Tories repreſented to the King, that a great deal of precious time would be loſt in fruitleſs altercation; that thoſe who declared againſt the bill would grow ſullen and intractable, ſo as to oppoſe every other motion that

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§. XXV. An act was prepared for inveſting the Queen with the adminiſtration during the King's abſence; another for reverſing the judgment on a *Quo Warranto* againſt the city of London, and reſtoring it to its ancient rights and privileges; and at length, the bill of indemnity ſo cordially recommended

mended by the King paſſed both Houſes*. On the twenty-firſt day of May, the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the ſupplies they had granted; and recommended to them a punctual diſcharge of their duties in their reſpective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his abſence. The Houſes were adjourned to the ſeventh day of July; when the Parliament was prorogued and adjourned ſucceſſively. As a further ſecurity for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authoriſed to raiſe the militia in caſe of neceſſity. All Papiſts were prohibited to ſtir above five miles from their reſpective places of abode: a proclamation was publiſhed for apprehending certain diſaffected perſons: Sir John Cochran and Ferguſon were actually arreſted, on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices. On the fourth day of June the King ſet out for Ireland, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Mancheſter, and many other perſons of diſtinction: on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfaſt, where he was met by the Duke of Schomberg, the Prince of Wirtemberg, Major-General Kirke, and other officers. By this time Colonel Wolſey, at the head of a thouſand men, had defeated a ſtrong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat: Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-caſtle; and that of Charlemont, a ſtrong poſt of great im-

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* The following perſons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, Marquis of Powis; Theophilus, Earl of Huntingdon; Robert, Earl of Sunderland; John, Earl of Melfort; Roger, Earl of Caſtlemain; Nathaniel, Lord Biſhop of Durham; Thomas, Lord Biſhop of St. David's; Henry, Lord Dover; Lord Thomas Howard: Sir Edward Hales, Sir Francis Withers, Sir Edward Lutwych, Sir Thomas Jerner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Eſtrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndeſly, Colonel Townly, Colonel Lundy, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Barton, Richard Graham, Edward Peire, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George Lord Jeffries, deceaſed.

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portance, together with Balingary, near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having repoſed himſelf for two or three days at Belfaſt, viſited the Duke's head-quarters at Liſburne: then advancing to Hillſborough, publiſhed an order againſt preſſing horſes, and committing violence on the country-people. When ſome of his general-officers propoſed cautious meaſures, he declared he did not come to Ireland to let the graſs grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, where he found it amount to ſix-and-thirty thouſand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had juſt abandoned.

§ XXVI. King James truſted ſo much to the diſputes in the Engliſh Parliament, that he did not believe his ſon-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and William had been ſix days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no ſooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia commanded by Luttrel, and with a reinforcement of ſix thouſand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the reſt of his forces, which now almoſt equalled William's army in number, excluſive of about fifteen thouſand men who remained in different garriſons. He occupied a very advantageous poſt on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general officers, reſolved to ſtand battle. They propoſed to ſtrengthen their garriſons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at ſea. Louis had promiſed to equip a powerful armament againſt the Engliſh fleet, and ſend over a great number of ſmall frigates to deſtroy William's tranſports, as ſoon as their convoy ſhould be returned to England. The execution of this ſcheme was not at all difficult, and muſt have proved fatal to the Engliſh army; for their ſtores and ammunition were ſtill on board; the ſhips ſailed along the coaſt

coaſt as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one ſecure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expreſſed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Beſides the river, which was deep, his front was ſecured by a moraſs and a riſing-ground: ſo that the Engliſh army could not attack him without manifeſt diſadvantage. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXVII. King William marched up to the oppoſite bank of the river, and, as he reconnoitred their ſituation, was expoſed to the fire of ſome field pieces, which the enemy purpoſely planted againſt his perſon. They killed a man and two horſes cloſe by him; and the ſecond bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right ſhoulder, ſo as to carry off part of his clothes and ſkin, and produce a conſiderable contuſion. This accident, which he bore without the leaſt emotion, created ſome confuſion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and ſhouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp reſounded with acclamation; and ſeveral ſquadrons of their horſe were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to paſs it immediately and attack the Engliſh army. The report was inſtantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the cuſtom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line to ſhow himſelf to the army after this narrow eſcape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his reſolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at firſt oppoſed his deſign: but finding the King determined, he adviſed that a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot ſhould that night paſs the Boyne at Slane-bridge; and take poſt between the enemy and the paſs of Duleck,

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Duleck, that the action might be the more deciſive. This counſel being rejected, the King determined, that, early in the morning, Lieutenant-General Douglas, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg, with the horſe, ſhould paſs at Slane-bridge, while the main body of foot ſhould force their paſſage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The Duke, perceiving his advice was not reliſhed by the Dutch Generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of diſcontent, ſaying, it was the firſt that had ever been ſent him in that manner. The proper diſpoſitions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given orders for the ſoldiers to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the enemy, by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

§ XXVIII. At ſix o'clock in the morning, General Douglas, with young Schomberg, the Earl of Portland, and Auverquerque, marched towards Slane-bridge, and paſſed the river with very little oppoſition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, with a moraſs in their front; ſo that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry was led on to the charge through the moraſs, while Count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting the aſſault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with ſome precipitation; yet not ſo faſt, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did conſiderable execution. King James, however, ſoon reinforced his left wing from the centre; and the Count was in his turn obliged to ſend for aſſiſtance. At this juncture, King William's main body, conſiſting of the Dutch guards,

guards, the French regiments, and ſome battalions of Engliſh, paſſed the river, which was waiſt high, under a general diſcharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other ſide; but he had poſted a ſtrong body of muſqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houſes, and ſome works raiſed for the occaſion. Theſe poured in a cloſe fire upon the Engliſh troops before they reached the ſhore; but it produced very little effect: then the Iriſh gave way; and ſome battalions landed without further oppoſition. Yet, before they could form, they were charged with great impetuoſity by a ſquadron of the enemy's horſe; and a conſiderable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by Generar Hamilton, advanced from behind ſome little hillocks to attack thoſe that were landed, as well as to prevent the reſt from reaching the ſhore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but the horſe charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, ſo as to put the unformed regiments in confuſion. Then the Duke of Schomberg paſſing the river in perſon, put himſelf at the head of the French Proteſtants, and pointing to the enemy; "Gentlemen, (ſaid he,) thoſe are your perſecutors:" with theſe words he advanced to the attack, where he himſelf ſuſtained a violent onſet from a party of the Iriſh horſe, which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were miſtaken for Engliſh, and allowed to gallop up to the Duke, who received two ſevere wounds in the head: but the French regiments being now ſenſible of their miſtake, raſhly threw in their fire upon the Iriſh while they were engaged with the Duke; and inſtead of ſaving, ſhot him dead upon the ſpot. The fate of this General had well nigh proved fatal to the Engliſh army, which was immediately involved in tumult and diſorder; while the infantry of King James rallied, and returned to their poſts with a face

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of

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the battle for ſome time with intrepidity and perſeverance. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXIX. As King William did not think proper to purſue the enemy, the carnage was not great. The Iriſh loſt fifteen hundred men, and the Engliſh about one third of that number; though the victory was dearly purchaſed, conſidering the death of the gallant Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, after having rivalled the beſt Generals of the time in military reputation. He was deſcended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an Engliſh woman, daughter of Lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country, on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a ſoldier of fortune, and ſerved ſucceſſively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburg. He attained to the dignities of Mareſchal in France, Grandee in Portugal, Generaliſſimo in Pruſſia, and Duke in England. He profeſſed the Proteſtant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, reſolute, and ſagacious: nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewiſe proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the Duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the Proteſtant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four ſoldiers, and though almoſt in the agonies of death, he with a chearful countenance encouraged thoſe who were croſſing to do their duty, exclaiming, "*A la gloire, mes enfans; à la gloire!* To glory, my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable perſon who loſt his life on this occaſion, was Walker the Clergyman, who had ſo valiantly defended Londonderry againſt the whole army of King James. He had been very graciouſly received by King William, who gratified him with a reward of five thouſand pounds, and a promiſe of further favour: but, his military genius ſtill predominating,

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minating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and, being ſhot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The perſons of diſtinction who fell on the other ſide were the Lords Dongan and Carlingford; Sir Neile O'Neile, and the Marquis of Hocquincourt. James himſelf ſtood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, ſurrounded with ſome ſquadrons of horſe; and ſeeing victory declare againſt him, retired to Dublin, without having made the leaſt effort to re-aſſemble his broken forces. Had he poſſeſſed either ſpirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and reinforced from his garriſons, ſo as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offenſive; for his loſs was inconſiderable, and the victor did not attempt to moleſt his troops in their retreat—an omiſſion which has been charged upon him as a flagrant inſtance of miſconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, William's perſonal courage was much more conſpicuous than his military ſkill.

§ XXX. King James no ſooner arrived at Dublin, than he aſſembled the magiſtrates and council of the city, and in a ſhort ſpeech reſigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Iriſh; ſignified his reſolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbade them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and aſſured them, that, though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never ceaſe to labour for their deliverance. Next day he ſet out for Waterford, attended by the Duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the Marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a veſſel which had been prepared for his reception. At ſea he fell in with the French ſquadron, commanded by the Sieur de Foran, who perſuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime ſailer. In this he was ſafely conveyed to France, and returned to the place of his former

former reſidence at St. Germain's. He had no ſooner quitted Dublin, than it was alſo abandoned by all the Papiſts. The Proteſtants immediately took poſſeſſion of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the biſhops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the adminiſtration: and an account of theſe tranſactions was tranſmitted to King William, together with a petition, that he would honour the city with his preſence. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXXI. On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William ſent a detachment of horſe and foot, under the command of M. Mellionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which ſurrendered the place without oppoſition. The King, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the firſt night at Bally-Breghan, where, having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he ſent the Duke of Ormond, with a body of horſe, to take poſſeſſion. Theſe were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who ſecured the caſtle. In a few days the King encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin where he was viſited by the Biſhops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the Proteſtant clergy, whom he aſſured of his favour and protection. Then he publiſhed a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had ſerved againſt him, provided they ſhould return to their dwellings, and ſurrender their arms by the firſt day of Auguſt. Thoſe that rented lands of popiſh proprietors who had been concerned in the rebellion were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they ſhould have notice from the commiſſioners of the revenue to whom they ſhould be paid. The deſperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authoriſed the depredations which had been committed upon Proteſtants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the King's firſt proclamation, were left to the

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the event of war, unleſs by evident demonſtrations of repentance they ſhould deſerve mercy, which would never be refuſed to thoſe who were truly penitent. The next ſtep taken by King William was to iſſue a proclamation, reducing the braſs money to nearly its intrinſick value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having ſeen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to proſecute the war as long as they could be ſupplied with means to ſupport their operations.

§ XXXII. During theſe tranſactions, the Queen, as Regent, found herſelf ſurrounded with numberleſs cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was diſtracted between her apprehenſions for her father's ſafety and her huſband's life: ſhe was threatened with an invaſion by the French from abroad, and with an inſurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheleſs, ſhe diſguiſed her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to ſail from Breſt, Lord Torrington hoiſted his flag in the Downs, and ſailed round to St. Helen's, in order to aſſemble ſuch a number of ſhips as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being diſcovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the Engliſh Admiral, reinforced with a Dutch ſquadron, ſtood out to ſea, with a view to intercept them at the back of the Iſle of Wight, ſhould they preſume to ſail up the channel: not that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with them in battle. Their fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-eight ſhips of war, and two-and-twenty fireſhips; whereas, the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland did not exceed ſix-and-fifty; but he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any proſpect of ſucceſs. After the hoſtile fleets had continued five days in ſight of each other, Lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-

Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June, at day-break. The Dutch ſquadron, which compoſed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning: in about half an hour the blue diviſion of the Engliſh were close engaged with the rear of the French: but the red, which formed the centre, under the command of Torrington in perſon, did not fill the line till ten o'clock, ſo that the Dutch were almoſt ſurrounded by the enemy, and, though they fought with great valour, ſuſtained conſiderable damage. At length, the Admiral's diviſion drove between them and the French, and in that ſituation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that Torrington thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle; he, therefore, weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eaſtward. The next day the diſabled ſhips were deſtroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were purſued as far as Rye; an Engliſh ſhip of ſeventy guns being ſtranded near Winchelſea, was ſet on fire, and deſerted, by the Captain's command. A Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns met with the ſame accident, and ſome French frigates attempted to burn her; but the Captain defended her ſo vigorouſly that they were obliged to deſiſt, and he afterwards found means to carry her ſafe to Holland. In this engagement the Engliſh loſt two ſhips, two ſea-captains, and about four hundred men; but the Dutch were more unfortunate: Six of their great ſhips were deſtroyed. Dick and Brackel, Rear-Admirals, were ſlain, together with a great number of inferior officers and ſeamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and, having taken precaution againſt any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with conſternation.

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§ XXXIII. The government was infected with the ſame panick. The miniſtry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation; that inſurrections in the different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. Theſe inſinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to juſtify, in the opinion of the publick, the meaſures that were deemed neceſſary at this juncture; and they produced the deſired effect. The apprehenſions thus artfully raiſed among the people inflamed their averſion to nonjurors and Jacobites. Addreſſes were preſented to the Queen by the Corniſh tinners, by the Lieutenancy of Middleſex, and by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Lieutenancy of London, filled with profeſſions of loyalty, and promiſes of ſupporting their Majeſties, as their lawful ſovereigns, againſt all oppoſition. The Queen, at this criſis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and diſcretion. She iſſued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a poſture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: ſhe took meaſures for appeaſing the reſentment of the States-General, who exclaimed againſt the Earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and ſent priſoner to the Tower; and commiſſioners were appointed to examine the particular circumſtances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Torbay, where the French ſeemed to threaten a deſcent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a ſmall village called Tingmouth. About a thouſand of their men landed without oppoſition, ſet fire to the place, and burned a few coaſting veſſels; then they re-embarked, and returned to Breſt, ſo vain of this achievement, that they printed a pompous account of their invaſion. Some of the Whig partiſans publiſhed pamphlets, and diffuſed reports, implying,

implying, that the ſuſpended biſhops were concerned in the conſpiracy againſt the government: and theſe arts proved ſo inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it neceſſary to print a paper, in which they aſſerted their innocence in the moſt ſolemn proteſtations. The court ſeems to have harboured no ſuſpicion againſt them, otherwiſe they would not have eſcaped impriſonment. The Queen iſſued a proclamation for apprehending the Earls Lichfield, Ayleſbury, and Caſtlemain; Viſcount Preſton; the Lords Montgomery and Bellaſis; Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Colonel Edward Sackville, and ſome other officers. Theſe were accuſed of having conſpired with other diſaffected perſons to diſturb and deſtroy the government, and of a deſign to concur with her Majeſty's enemies in the intended invaſion. The Earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next ſeſſion, when he was brought into the House of Commons, and made a ſpeech in his own defence. His caſe produced long debates in the Upper Houſe, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commiſſioners of the Admiralty, though not before an act had paſſed, declaring the power of a Lord High-Admiral veſted in thoſe commiſſioners. The Preſident of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as Vice-Admiral of the Blue in the engagement. The Earl was acquitted, but the King diſmiſſed him from the ſervice; and the Dutch exclaimed againſt the partiality of his judges.

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§ XXXIV. William is ſaid to have intercepted all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the deſign projected by the French to burn the Engliſh tranſports, but likewiſe the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to aſſaſſinate King William. No ſuch

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attempt, however, was made, and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached General Douglas with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot towards Athlone, while he himſelf, having left Trelawney to command at Dublin, advanced with the reſt of his army to Inchiquin,, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for King James, being ſummoned to ſurrender, fired a piſtol at the trumpeter, ſaying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas reſolved to undertake the ſiege of the place, which was naturally very ſtrong, and defended by a reſolute garriſon. An inconſiderable breach was made, when Douglas, receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the beſieged, abandoned the enterpriſe, after having loſt above four hundred men in the attempt. The King continued his march to the weſtward; and, by dint of ſevere examples, eſtabliſhed ſuch order and diſcipline in his army, that the peaſants were ſecure from the leaſt violence. At Carlow he detached the Duke of Ormond to take poſſeſſion of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own caſtle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, Major-General Kirke was ſent to Waterford, the garriſon of which, conſiſting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was ſurrendered on the ſame terms. Here the Lord Dover and the Lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the King's mercy and protection.

§ XXXV. On the firſt day of Auguſt, William being at Chapel-Izard, publiſhed a ſecond declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to perſons of ſuperior rank and ſtation, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would,

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by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and ſubmit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Iriſh were generally governed by their prieſts, and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the Engliſh and Dutch was circulated with ſuch exaggerations as elevated their ſpirits, and effaced all thoughts of ſubmiſſion. The King had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the deſigns of his domeſtick enemies were diſcovered and fruſtrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Breſt, he poſtponed his voyage, and reſolved to reduce Limerick; in which Monſieur Boiſſeleau commanded as Governor, and the Duke of Berwick and Colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of Auguſt, the King having called in his detachment, and advanced into *the neighbourhood of the place, ſummoned the* commander to deliver the town; and Boiſſeleau anſwered, that he imagined the beſt way to gain the good opinion of the Prince of Orange would be a vigorous defence of the town which his Majeſty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully inveſted, Colonel Sarsfield, with a body of horſe and dragoons, paſſed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the King's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, diſabled the cannon, deſtroyed the carriages, waggons and ammunition, and returned in ſafety to Limerick. Notwithſtanding this diſaſter, the trenches were opened on the ſeventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raiſed with ſome cannon brought from Waterford. The ſiege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great reſolution. At length, the King ordered his troops to make a lodgement in the covered way or counterſcarp, which was accordingly aſſaulted with great fury: but the aſſailants met with ſuch a warm reception from the beſieged,

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BOOK I. 1690. beſieged, that they were repulſed with the loſs of twelve hundred men, either killed on the ſpot or mortally wounded. This diſappointment concurring with the badneſs of the weather, which became rainy and unwholeſome, induced the King to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being ſent away, the army decamped, and marched towards Clonmel. William having conſtituted the Lord Sydney and Thomas Coningſby Lords Juſtices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with Count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon with Prince George of Denmark, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived in King-Road, near Briſtol, from whence he repaired to Windſor.

§ XXXVI. About the latter end of this month the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland, with five thouſand Engliſh troops to attack Cork and Kinſale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a ſcheme he had propoſed to King William. Having landed his ſoldiers without much oppoſition in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thouſand men, under the Prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the Earl a diſpute aroſe about the command; but this was compromiſed by the interpoſition of La Melliorere. The place being inveſted, and the batteries raiſed, the beſiegers proceeded with ſuch rapidity that a breach was ſoon effected. Colonel Mackillicut, the governor, demanded a parley, and hoſtages were exchanged; but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hoſtilities recommenced with redoubled vigour. The Duke of Grafton, who ſerved on this occaſion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promiſing talents. Preparations being made for a general aſſault, the beſieged thought proper to capitulate, and ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Beſides the Governor and

and Colonel Ricaut, the victor found the Earls of Clancarte and Tyrone among the individuals of the garriſon. Marlborough having taken poſſeſſion of Cork, detached Brigadier Villiers with a body of horſe and dragoons to ſummon the town and forts of Kinſale, and next day advanced with the reſt of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by aſſault; but Sir Edward Scott, who commanded the other, ſuſtained a regular ſiege, until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. Theſe maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy, on this ſide of the iſland, was cut off, and the Iriſh were confined to Ulſter, where they could not ſubſiſt without great difficulty. The Earl of Marlborough having finiſhed this expedition in thirty days, returned with his priſoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XXXVII. During theſe tranſactions, Count de Lauzun, commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and tranſmitted ſuch a lamentable account of his ſituation to the court of France, that tranſports were ſent over, to bring home the French forces. In theſe he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Iriſh forces devolved to the Duke of Berwick, *though it was afterwards transferred to M.* St. Ruth. Lauzun was diſgraced at Verſailles for having deſerted the cauſe before it was deſperate: Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in the voyage, ſolicited the French court for a further ſupply of officers, arms, clothes, and ammunition for the Iriſh army, which he ſaid would continue firm to the intereſt of King James, if thus ſupported. Mean while they formed themſelves into ſeparate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparies: while the troops of King William either enjoyed their eaſe in quarters,

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ters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; ſo that, between both, the poor people were miſerably harraſſed.

§ XXXVIII. The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the Duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the Emperor and King of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. He had no ſooner declared himſelf than Catinat, the French General, entered his territories at the head of eighteen thouſand men, and defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces, which immediately ſurrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with ſeveral other places, purſued the Duke to Carignan, ſurprized Suza, and diſtributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the duchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The Duke finding himſelf diſappointed in the ſuccours he expected from the Emperor and the King of Spain, demanded aſſiſtance of the States-General and King William: to this laſt he ſent an ambaſſador, to congratulate him upon his acceſſion to the throne of England. The confederates in their General Congreſs at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the States under Prince Waldeck ſhould oppoſe the forces of France, commanded by the Duke of Luxembourg in Flanders; while the Elector of Brandenburgh ſhould obſerve the Marquis de Boufflers on the Moſelle; but, before the troops of Brandenburgh could be aſſembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuſe, and maintained a free communication with Luxembourg.

§ XXXIX Prince Waldeck underſtanding that this General intended to croſs the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spaniſh territories under contribution, decamped from the river Picton, and detached the Count of Berlo, with a great

a great body of horſe, to obſerve the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Fleurus, and ſlain; and his troops, though ſupported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly ſuperior to them in number: after a very obſtinate engagement the allies gave way, leaving about five thouſand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thouſand priſoners, and the greateſt part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with ſurprizing reſolution and ſucceſs. The Duke of Luxembourg owned, with ſurprize, that they had ſurpaſſed the Spaniſh foot, at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck (ſaid "he) ought always to remember the French horſe; "and I ſhall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted himſelf with ſuch activity, that the French derived very little advantage from their victory. The Prince being reinforced with the five Engliſh regiments, nine thouſand Hanoverians, ten thouſand from the Biſhoprick of Liege and Holland, joined the Elector of Brandenburgh; ſo that the confederate army amounted to five-and-fifty thouſand men, and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Iſaac. They were now ſuperior to Luxembourg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with conſiderable advantage. Nevertheleſs, Prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his entrenchments, had he not been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an expreſs order of the States-General: and, when this reſtriction was removed, the Elector would not venture a battle. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XL. By this time the Emperor's ſon Joſeph was by the Electoral College choſen King of the Romans; but his intereſt ſuſtained a rude ſhock in the

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the death of the gallant Duke of Lorraine, who was ſuddenly ſeized with a quinſey, at a ſmall village near Lintz, and expired, not without ſuſpicion of having fallen a ſacrifice to the fears of the French King, againſt whom he had formally declared war, as a ſovereign Prince unjuſtly expelled from his territories. He poſſeſſed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thouſand men, in the courſe of the enſuing ſummer. The Court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is ſaid to have had recourſe to poiſon, for preventing the execution of the Duke's deſign. At his death the command of the Imperial army was conferred upon the Elector of Bavaria. This Prince, having joined the Elector of Saxony, advanced againſt the Dauphin, who had paſſed the Rhine at Fort-Louis, with a conſiderable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg; but the Duke of Bavaria checked his progreſs, and he acted on the defenſive during the remaining part of the campaign. The Emperor was leſs fortunate in his efforts againſt the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field, under a new Viſir. In the month of Auguſt, Count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialiſts near Cronſtadt, in Tranſylvania; then convoking the States of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their ſovereign; but his reign was of ſhort duration. Prince Louis, of Baden, having taken the command of the Auſtrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced againſt Tekeli, who retired into Valachia, at his approach. Mean while, the Grand Viſir inveſted Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with ſurprizing reſolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the beſieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful exploſion. Seventeen hundred ſoldiers of the garriſon were deſtroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown; the ditch was filled up, and

and ſo large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by ſquadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire ſpread from magazine to magazine until eleven were deſtroyed; and, in the confuſion, the remaining part of the garriſon eſcaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialiſts were in poſſeſſion of Tranſylvania, and cantoned at Cronſtadt and Clauſenburgh. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one ſide, while a body of Turks ſhould invade it on the other: theſe laſt were totally diſperſed by Prince Louis of Baden: but Prince Auguſtus of Hanover, whom he had detached againſt the Count, was ſlain in a narrow defile, and his troops were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprized of the fate of his allies, and afraid of ſeeing his retreat cut off by the ſnow, that frequently choaks up the paſſes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and Prince Louis returned to Vienna. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XLI. King William having publiſhed a proclamation, requiring the attendance of the members on the ſecond day of October, both Houſes met accordingly, and he opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to the uſual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the ſupplies were not equal to the neceſſary expence; repreſented the danger to which the nation would be expoſed, unleſs the war ſhould be proſecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; aſſured them that the ſucceſs of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and diſpatch of their proceedings; expreſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who had been guilty of miſconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition; and declared, that whoever ſhould attempt to divert their

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attention from thoſe ſubjects of importance which he had propoſed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wiſher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coaſt of England, the rumours of a conſpiracy by the Jacobites, the perſonal valour which William had diſplayed in Ireland, and the puſillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the reſentment of the nation againſt the adherents of the late King, and in raiſing a tide of loyalty in favour of a new government. Both Houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes of congratulation to the King and Queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field, and her fortitude and ſagacity at the helm, in times of danger and diſquiet. The Commons, purſuant to an eſtimate laid before them of the next year's expences, voted a ſupply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and ſettled the funds for that purpoſe.

§ XLII. They propoſed to raiſe one million by the ſale of forfeited eſtates in Ireland: they reſolved that a bill ſhould be brought in for confiſcating thoſe eſtates, with a clauſe, empowering the King to beſtow a third part of them on thoſe who had ſerved in the war, as well as to grant ſuch articles and capitulations to thoſe who were in arms, as he ſhould think proper. This clauſe was rejected; and a great number of petitions were offered againſt the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. Theſe were ſuppoſed to have been ſuggeſted by the Court, in order to retard the progreſs of the bill; for the eſtates had been already promiſed to the King's favourites: nevertheleſs, the bill paſſed the Lower Houſe, and was ſent up to the Lords, among whom it was purpoſely delayed by the influence of the Miniſtry. It was at this juncture that Lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the diſſatisfaction of the King, who not only diſmiſſed him from the ſervice, but even forbade him to appear in his preſence. When William came

came to the Houſe of Lords, to give the royal aſſent to a bill for doubling the Exciſe, he told the Parliament, that the poſture of affairs required his preſence at the Hague; that, therefore, they ought to loſe no time in perfecting ſuch other ſupplies as were ſtill neceſſary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making ſome proviſion for the expence of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly paſſed for granting to their Majeſties the duties on goods imported, for five years; and theſe, together with the mutiny-bill, received the royal aſſent: upon which occaſion the King obſerved, that if ſome annual proviſion could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and ſafety of the nation. In conſequence of this hint, they voted a conſiderable ſupply for building additional ſhips of war*, and proceeded with ſuch alacrity and expedition, as even ſeemed to anticipate the King's deſires. This liberality and diſpatch were in a great meaſure owing to the management of Lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the Treaſury, and Sir John Somers, the Solicitor-General. The place of Secretary of State, which had remained vacant ſince the reſignation of the Earl of Shrewſbury, was now filled with Lord Sydney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the Juſtices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman. CHAP. II. 1690.

§ XLIII. Notwithſtanding the act for reverſing the proceedings againſt the city-charter, the Whigs had made ſhift to keep poſſeſſion of the magiſtracy: Pilkington continued Mayor, and Robinſon retained

* This ſupply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, that the impoſitions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, ſhould be made a fund of credit: That the ſurplus of the grants they had made, after the current ſervice was provided for, ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war: and, That it ſhould be lawful for their Majeſties to make uſe of five hundred thouſand pounds, out of the ſaid grants, on condition of that ſum being repaid from the revenue.—Ralph.

the

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§ XLIV. The Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord President, who was at the head of the Tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the King and Queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved, if possible, to revive his old impeachment. The Earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this design. A committee of Lords was appointed to examine precedents, and inquire whether impeachments continued *in statu quo* from Parliament

liament to Parliament. Several ſuch precedents were reported; and violent debates enſued: but the Marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in conſequence of the following queſtion: "Whether the "Earls of Saliſbury and Peterborough, who had "been impeached in the former Parliament, for "being reconciled to the Church of Rome, ſhall "be diſcharged from their bail?" The Houſe reſolved in the affirmative, and ſeveral Lords entered a proteſt. The Commons having finiſhed a bill for appointing Commiſſioners to take and ſtate the publick accounts, and having choſen the Commiſſioners from among their own members, ſent it up to the Houſe of Lords. There the Earl of Rocheſter moved, That they ſhould add ſome of their number to thoſe of the Commons: they accordingly choſe an equal number by ballot; but Rocheſter himſelf being elected, refuſed to act: the others followed his example, and the bill paſſed without alteration. On the fifth day of January, the King put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the repeated inſtances they had exhibited of their affection to his perſon and government. He told them, it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity; and aſſured them of his particular favour and protection. Then Lord Chief Baron Atkins ſignified his Majeſty's pleaſure, that the two Houſes ſhould adjourn themſelves to the thirty-firſt day of March*.

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§ XLV. William, having ſettled the affairs of the nation, ſet out for Margate on the ſixth day of January; but the ſhip in which he propoſed to embark being detained by an eaſterly wind and hard froſt, he returned to Kenſington. On the ſixteenth, however, he embarked at Graveſend with a numerous retinue, and ſet ſail for Holland, under convoy of An. 1691.

* In this year the Engliſh planters re-poſſeſſed themſelves of part of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, from which they had been driven by the French

twelve

BOOK I. 1691. twelve ſhips of war, commanded by Admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fiſherman that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Devonſhire, Dorſet, Portland, and Monmouth, with Auverquerque, and Zuyleſtein. Inſtead of landing immediately, they loſt ſight of the fleet, and, night coming on, were expoſed in very ſevere weather to the danger of the enemy and the ſea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which the King and all his attendants were drenched with ſea-water. When the ſailors expreſſed their apprehenſions of periſhing, the King aſked if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break, he landed on the Iſle of Goree, where he took ſome refreſhment in a fiſherman's hut; then he committed himſelf to the boat again, and was conveyed to the ſhore in the neighbourhood of Meaſlandſluys. A deputation of the States received him at Hounſlardyke: about ſix in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the States-General, the States of Holland, the Council of State, the other Colleges, and the Foreign Miniſters. He afterwards, at the requeſt of the Magiſtrates, made his publick entry with ſurprizing magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He aſſiſted at their different aſſemblies; informed them of his ſucceſſes in England and Ireland; and aſſured them of his conſtant zeal and affection for his native country.

§ XLVI. At a ſolemn congreſs of the confederate Princes, he repreſented, in a ſet ſpeech, the dangers to which they were expoſed from the power and ambition of France; and the neceſſity of acting with vigour and diſpatch. He declared he would ſpare neither his credit, forces, nor perſon, in concurring with their meaſures; and that in the ſpring he would

come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different Princes and States were regulated; and the King of England agreed to furnish twenty thousand. He supplied the Duke of Savoy so liberally, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was settled, and they transacted their affairs with such harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the Congress broke up, the siege of Mons was undertaken by the French King in person, accompanied by the Dauphin, the Dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men, commanded by the Prince of Bergue: but the besiegers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested, than he ordered Prince Waldeck to assemble the army, determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halle, near Brussels: but when he went thither, he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages, and other necessaries for the expedition. Mean while, the burghers of Mons, seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the Governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the besiegers: so that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions. William, being apprised of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April *.

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* A few days before his arrival, great part of the palace of Whitehall was consumed by fire, through the negligence of a female servant.

CHAP. III.

§ I. *Conſpiracy againſt the government by Lord Preſton and others.* § II. *The King fills up the vacant biſhopricks.* § III. *Affairs of Scotland.* § IV. *Campaign in Flanders.* § V. *Progreſs of the French in Piedmont.* § VI. *Election of a new Pope.* § VII. *The Emperor's ſucceſs againſt the Turks.* § VIII. *Affairs of Ireland.* § IX. *General Ginkel reduces Athlone.* § X. *Defeats the Iriſh at Aghrim.* § XI. *Undertakes the ſiege of Limerick.* § XII. *The French and Iriſh obtain an honourable capitulation.* § XIII. *Twelve thouſand Iriſh Catholicks are tranſported to France.* § XIV. *Meeting of the Engliſh Parliament.* § XV. *Diſcontent of the nation.* § XVI. *Tranſactions in Parliament.* § XVII. *Diſputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon.* § XVIII. *The Engliſh and Dutch fleets worſted by the French in an engagement off Beachy-Head.* § XIX. *The King diſobliges the Preſbyterians of Scotland.* § XX. *The Earl of Breadalbane undertakes for the ſubmiſſion of the Highlanders.* § XXI. *Maſſacre of Glencoe.* § XXII. *Preparations for a deſcent upon England.* § XXIII. *Declaration of King James.* § XXIV. *Efforts of his friends in England.* § XXV. *Precautions taken by the Queen for the defence of the nation.* § XXVI. *Admiral Ruſſel puts to ſea.* § XXVII. *He obtains a complete victory over the French fleet off La Hogue.* § XXVIII. *Troops embarked at St. Helen's for a deſcent upon France.* § XXIX. *The deſign laid aſide. The troops landed at Oſtend.* § XXX. *The French King takes Namur in ſight of King William.* § XXXI. *The allies are defeated at Steenkirk.* § XXXII. *Extravagant rejoicings in France on account of this victory.* § XXXIII. *Conſpiracy againſt the life of King William, hatched by the French miniſtry.* § XXXIV. *Miscarriage of a deſign upon Dunkirk.*

Dunkirk. § XXXV. *The campaign is inactive on the Rhine and in Hungary.* § XXXVI. *The Duke of Savoy invades Dauphiné.* § XXXVII. *The Duke of Hanover created an Elector of the empire.*

§ I. A Conſpiracy againſt the government had been lately diſcovered. In the latter end of December, the maſter of a veſſel who lived at Barking, in Eſſex, informed the Marquis of Caermarthen, that his wife had let out one of his boats to carry over ſome perſons to France; and that they would embark on the thirteenth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the King and Council, an order was ſent to Captain Billop, to watch the motion of the veſſel, and ſecure the paſſengers. He accordingly boarded her at Graveſend, and found in the hold Lord Preſton, Mr. Aſhton, a ſervant of the late Queen, and one Elliot. He likewiſe ſeized a bundle of papers, ſome of which were ſcarce intelligible; among the reſt, two letters, ſuppoſed to be written by Turner, Biſhop of Ely, to King James and his Queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French King, to aſſiſt King James in re-aſcending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William ſhould be abſent from the kingdom: but the ſcheme was ill laid, and countenanced but by a very few perſons of conſideration, among whom the chiefs were the Earl of Clarendon, the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Preſton, his brother, Mr. Graham, and Penn, the famous Quaker. Notwithſtanding the outcries which had been made againſt the ſeverities of the late governſment, Preſton, and his accomplice Aſhton, were tried at the Old-Bailey for compaſſing the death of their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on, without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preſton alleged, in his defence, that the treaſons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middleſex, as

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laid in the indictment; that none of the witneſſes declared he had any concern in hiring the veſſel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two credible witneſſes to every fact, whereas, the whole proof againſt him reſted on ſimilitude of hands, and mere ſuppoſition. He was, nevertheleſs, found guilty. Aſhton behaved with great intrepidity and compoſure. He owned his purpoſe of going to France, in purſuance of a promiſe he had made to General Worden, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither, and finiſh ſome affairs of conſequence which he had left there depending; as well as with a view to recover a conſiderable ſum of money due to himſelf. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him: he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called ſeveral perſons to prove him a Proteſtant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. Theſe circumſtances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his cuſtody: yet there was no privity proved; and the Whig party themſelves had often expreſsly declared, that of all ſorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a perſon's poſſeſſion is the weakeſt, becauſe no man can ſecure himſelf from ſuch danger. Aſhton ſuffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the Sheriff, he owned his attachment to King James; he witneſſed to the birth of the Prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard meaſure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the ſight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the Nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage an account of ſuch evidence as would have been convincing

Burnet. State tracts. Burchet. Tindal. Ralph.

vincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed ſuppoſititious *. Lord Preſton obtained a pardon: Elliot was not tried, becauſe no evidence appeared againſt him: the Earl of Clarendon was ſent to the Tower, where he remained ſome months, and he was afterwards confined to his own houſe in the country: an indulgence, which he owed to his conſanguinity with the Queen, who was his firſt couſin. The Biſhop of Ely, Graham, and Penn abſconded; and a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending them as traitors. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ II. This prelate's being concerned in a conſpiracy, furniſhed the King with a plauſible pretence for filling up the vacant biſhopricks. The deprived biſhops had been given to underſtand, that an act of Parliament might be obtained to excuſe them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their epiſcopal functions: but, as they declined this expedient, the King reſolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly, the Archbiſhoprick of Canterbury was conferred upon Dr. Tillotſon †, one of the moſt learned, moderate, and virtuous eccleſiaſticks of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, becauſe he foreſaw that he ſhould be expoſed to the ſlander and malevolence of that party which eſpouſed the cauſe of his predeceſſor. The other vacant ſees were given to Divines of unblemiſhed character; and the publick in general ſeemed very well ſatisfied

* To one of the pamphlets published on this occaſion, is annexed a petition to the preſent government, in the name of King James's adherents, importing, that ſome grave and learned perſon ſhould be authoriſed to compile a treatiſe, ſhowing the grounds of William's title; and declaring, that in caſe the performance ſhould carry conviction along with it, they would ſubmit to that title, as they had hitherto oppoſed it from a principle of conſcience. The beſt anſwer that could be made to this ſummons was Locke's book upon government, which appeared at this period.—Ralph.

† Beveridge was promoted to the ſee of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moor to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

with

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with this exertion of the King's ſupremacy. The deprived biſhops at firſt affected all the meekneſs of reſignation. They remembered thoſe ſhouts of popular approbation, by which they had been animated in the perſecution they ſuffered under the late government; and they hoped the ſame cordial would ſupport them in their preſent affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The preſs groaned with the efforts of their learning and reſentment; and every eſſay was anſwered by their opponents. The Nonjurors affirmed, that Chriſtianity was a doctrine of the croſs; that no pretence whatever could juſtify an inſurrection againſt the Sovereign; that the primitive Chriſtians thought it their indiſpenſible duty to be paſſive under every invaſion of their rights; and, that non-reſiſtance was the doctrine of the Engliſh church, confirmed by all the ſanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only ſupported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the uſe that might be made of the doctrine of non-reſiſtance, in exciting freſh commotions, but they alſo argued, that if paſſive obedience was right in any inſtance, it was concluſively ſo with regard to the preſent government; for the obedience required by ſcripture was indiſcriminate, "the powers that be, "are ordained of God—let every ſoul be ſubject "to the higher powers." From theſe texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without ſcruple; and that thoſe who refuſed them, concealed party under the cloak of conſcience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonſtrated. They ſaid, it levelled all diſtinctions of juſtice and duty; that thoſe who taught ſuch doctrines, attached themſelves ſolely to poſſeſſion, however unjuſtly acquired; that, if twenty different uſurpers ſhould ſucceed one another, they would recogniſe the laſt, notwithſtanding the allegiance

giance they had ſo ſolemnly ſworn to his predeceſſor, like the fawning ſpaniel that followed the thief who mounted his maſter's horſe, after having murthered the right owner. They alſo denied the juſtice of a lay-deprivation, and with reſpect to church-government ſtarted the ſame diſtinctions "*De jure* and *De facto*," which they had formerly made in the civil adminiſtration. They had even recourſe to all the bitterneſs of invective againſt Tillotſon and the new biſhops, whom they reviled as intruders and uſurpers: their acrimony was chiefly directed againſt Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the moſt violent ſticklers againſt the Revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of King James from Ireland. They branded him as an apoſtate, who had betrayed his cauſe, and publiſhed a review of his whole conduct, which proved a ſevere ſatire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance againſt the government; and indeed the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to ſap the foundation of the new ſettlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the intereſt of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character: inveighed againſt his meaſures: they accuſed him of ſacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious compariſons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes, of the laſt and of the preſent reign. To fruſtrate theſe efforts of the malcontents, the Court employed their engines to anſwer and recriminate; all ſorts of informers were encouraged and careſſed: in a proclamation iſſued againſt Papiſts and other diſaffected perſons, all magiſtrates were enjoined to make ſearch, and apprehend thoſe who ſhould, by ſeditious diſcourſes and libels, preſume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the profeſſed enemies of thoſe very arts and practices

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BOOK I. practices which had enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection.

1691. § III. The Presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general Assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the King dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve King William, provided he would balance the power of Melvill and his partisans, in such a manner, as would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved; and that such of them as were willing to mix with the Presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The King, who was extremely disgusted at the Presbyterians, relished the proposal: and young Dalrymple, son of Lord Stair, was appointed joint secretary of state with Melvill. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths: but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germains, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James the more effectually. The Scottish Parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent: a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence; to exercise the powers of the Regency, in securing the enemies of the government; and the

Earl

Earl of Home, with Sir Peter Fraſer and Sir Æneas Macpherſon, were apprehended and impriſoned. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ IV. The King, having ſettled the operations of the enſuing campaign in Ireland, where General Ginckel exerciſed the ſupreme command, manned his fleet by dint of preſſing ſailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce: then, leaving the Queen as before at the helm of government in England, he returned to Holland, accompanied by Lord Sydney, ſecretary of ſtate, the Earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in perſon. On the thirtieth day of May, the Duke of Luxembourg having paſſed the Scheld at the head of a large army, took poſſeſſion of Halle, and gave it up to plunder, in ſight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up entrenchments for their preſervation. At the ſame time the Marquis de Boufflers, with a conſiderable body of forces, entrenched himſelf before Liege, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, King William took upon himſelf the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in ſuch a manner as to be ſuperior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the Count de Tilly, with ten thouſand men, to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and deſolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly, having thus raiſed the ſiege, and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented ever ſince his departure with ſix thouſand men from Brandenburgh, and ten thouſand Heſſians, commanded by the Landgrave in perſon. Such was the vigilance of Luxembourg, that William could not avail himſelf of his ſuperiority. In vain he exhauſted his invention in marches, counter marches, and ſtratagems, to bring on a general engagement: the French marſhal avoided it with ſuch dexterity, as baffled

BOOK I. 1691. baffled all his endeavours. In the courſe of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other: but they were ſituated in ſuch a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifeſt diſadvantage. While the King lay encamped at Court-ſur-heure, a ſoldier, corrupted by the enemy, ſet fire to the fuſees of ſeveral bombs, the exploſion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confuſion in the army, had not the miſchief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery; even while the fuſees were burning they diſengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the ſide of a hill; ſo that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The perſon who made this treacherous attempt being diſcovered, owned he had been employed for this purpoſe by the Duke of Luxembourg. He was tried by a court-martial, and ſuffered the death of a traitor. Such perfidious practices not only fix an indelible ſhare of infamy on the French General, but prove how much the capacity of William was dreaded by his enemies. King William, quitting Court-ſur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, conſuming the forage, and exhauſting the country. Then he paſſed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French croſſed it at La Buſiere, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy, perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, paſſed the Dender, and took poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde: William followed the ſame route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuſe. While he continued in his poſt, the Heſſian forces and thoſe of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thouſand men, ſeparated from the army, and paſſed the Meuſe at Namur: then the King returned to the Hague, leaving the command to Prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuſe,

Leuſe, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambron. Luxembourg, who watched his motions with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat ſo ſuddenly, that his rear was ſurpriſed and defeated, though the French were at laſt obliged to retire: the Prince continued his route to Cambron, and in a little time both armies retired into winter-quarters. In the mean time, the Duke de Noailles beſieged and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French ſquadron, commanded by the Count D'Etrées, bombarded Barcelona and Alicant. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ V. The confederates had propoſed to act vigorouſly in Italy againſt the French; but the ſeaſon was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The Emperor and Spain had undertaken to furniſh troops to join the Duke of Savoy; and the Maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The elector of Bavaria was nominated to the ſupreme command of the Imperial forces in that country: the Marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milaneſe, acted as truſtee for the Spaniſh Monarch: Duke Schomberg, ſon of that great General who loſt his life at the Boyne, lately created Duke of Leinſter, managed the intereſt of William, as King of England and Stadtholder, and commanded a body of the Vaudois paid by Great-Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arrived, the French had made great progreſs in their conqueſts. Catinat beſieged and took Villa-Franca, Nice, and ſome other fortifications; then he reduced Villana and Carmagnola, and detached the Marquis de Feuquieres to inveſt Coni, a ſtrong fortreſs garriſoned by the Vaudois and French refugees. The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to the brink of ruin. He ſaw almoſt all his places of ſtrength in the poſſeſſion of the enemy: Coni was beſieged; and La Hoguette, another French General, had forced the paſſes of the valley of Aoſte, ſo that

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that he had free admiſſion into the Vercellois, and the frontiers of the Milaneſe. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were diſpirited and clamorous, and their ſovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken, and his palace of Rivoli deſtroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offenſive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments, and Prince Eugene* ſupported his remonſtrance: but this propoſal was vehemently oppoſed by the Marquis de Leganez, who foreſaw that, if the Duke ſhould be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by Prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two-and-twenty hundred horſe: at Magliano he was reinforced by five thouſand militia: Bulonde, who commanded at the ſiege, no ſooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind ſome pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, proviſions, utenſils, with all his ſick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arreſt, and afterwards caſhiered with diſgrace. Hoguette abandoned the valley of Aoſte: Feuquieres was ſent with a detachment to change the garriſon of Caſal: and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aſte.

* Prince Eugene, of Savoy, who in the ſequel rivalled the fame of the greateſt warriors of antiquity, was deſcended on the father's ſide from the houſe of Savoy, and on the mother's from the family of Soiſſons, a branch of the houſe of Bourbon. His father was Eugene Maurice, of Savoy, Count of Soiſſons, Colonel of the Switzers, and Governor of Champagne and Brie: his mother was the celebrated Olympia de Mancini, niece of Cardinal Mazarine. Prince Eugene, finding himſelf neglected at the Court of France, engaged as a ſoldier of fortune in the ſervice of the Emperor, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great military talents: he was, moreover, an accompliſhed Gentleman, learned, liberal, mild, and courteous; an unſhaken friend; a generous enemy; an invincible captain; a conſummate politician.

§ VI.

§ VI. The miſcarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois, the miniſter of Louis, ſo deeply, that he could not help ſhedding tears when he communicated the event to his maſter, who told him, with great compoſure, that he was ſpoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from Piedmont had a ſtill greater influence over the reſolutions of the conclave at Rome, then ſitting for the election of a new Pope, in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithſtanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by Cardinal D'Etrées, the affairs of Piedmont had no ſooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spaniſh and Imperial intereſt, and Cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected Pontiff. He aſſumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the laſt Pope known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims againſt the French Monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, the confederates reſolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repaſſed the Po, and ſent couriers to Verſailles, to ſolicit a reinforcement. Then Prince Eugene inveſted Carmagnola, and carried on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that in eleven days the garriſon capitulated. Mean while the Marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conqueſt of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much reſiſtance. The caſtle, however, made ſuch a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in perſon; and, notwithſtanding all his efforts, the place held out till the ſecond day of December, when it ſurrendered on honourable conditions. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ VII. This ſummer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to ſurpriſe Mentz, by maintaining a correſpondence with one of the Emperor's commiſſioners; but this being diſcovered, their deſign was fruſtrated. The Imperial army, under the Elector of Saxony, paſſed the

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the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French, croſſing the ſame river at Philipſburgh, reduced the town of Portzheim in the Marquiſate of Baden-Dourlach. The execution of the ſcheme, projected by the Emperor for this campaign, was prevented by the death of his General, the Elector of Saxony, which happened on the ſecond day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aſpect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by Prince Louis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The Imperialiſts afterwards undertook the ſiege of Great Waradin in Tranſylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not ſurrendered till the following ſpring. The Turks were ſo diſpirited by the defeat by which they had loſt the Grand Viſir, that the Emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms; but his pride and ambition overſhot his ſucceſs. He was weak, vain, and ſuperſtitious; he imagined that now the war of Ireland was almoſt extinguiſhed, King William, with the reſt of his allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himſelf ſhould not co-operate with Hereticks, whom he abhorred; and that, in the mean time, he ſhould not only make an entire conqueſt of Tranſylvania, but alſo carry his victorious arms to the gates of Conſtantinople, according to ſome ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spaniſh government was become ſo feeble, that the miniſtry, rather than be at the expence of defending the Netherlands, offered to deliver the whole country to King William, either as Monarch of England, or Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, becauſe he knew the people would never be reconciled to a Proteſtant government; but he propoſed that the Spaniards ſhould confer the adminiſtration of Flanders upon the Elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of ſignaliſing his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and

and treaſure. This propoſal was reliſhed by the Court of Spain; the Emperor imparted it to the Elector, who accepted the office without heſitation; and he was immediately declared Governor of the Low Countries by the Council of State at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued ſome time at the Hague, ſettling the operations of the enſuing campaign. That affair being diſcuſſed, he embarked in the Maeſe, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ VIII. Before we explain the proceedings in Parliament, it will be neceſſary to give a detail of the late tranſactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the ſeaſon, the French King had ſent a large ſupply of proviſion, clothes, and ammunition for the uſe of the Iriſh at Limerick, under the conduct of Monſieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a great number of French officers furniſhed with commiſſions from King James, though St. Ruth iſſued all his orders in the name of Louis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January, with three frigates and nine veſſels, laden with ſuccours of the ſame nature: otherwiſe the Iriſh could not have been ſo long kept together. Nor, indeed, could theſe ſupplies prevent them from forming ſeparate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities. The Lords Juſtices, in conjunction with General Ginckel, had taken every ſtep their prudence could ſuggeſt, to quiet the diſturbances of the country, and prevent ſuch violence and rapine, of which the ſoldiers in King William's army were not entirely innocent. The Juſtices had iſſued proclamations denouncing ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould countenance or conceal ſuch acts of cruelty and oppreſſion: they promiſed to protect all Papiſts who ſhould live quietly within a certain frontier line: and Ginckel gave the Catholic rebels to underſtand, that he was authoriſed to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty.

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Before the armies took the field, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes had been fought between parties; and theſe had always turned out ſo unfortunate to the enemy, that their ſpirits were quite depreſſed, while the confidence of the Engliſh roſe in the ſame proportion.

§ IX. St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and General Ginckel was reinforced by Mackay, with thoſe troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. Thus ſtrengthened, he, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garriſoned by a thouſand men under Colonel Bourke, who, when ſummoned to ſurrender, returned an evaſive anſwer. But, when a breach was made in the place, and the beſiegers began to make preparations for a general aſſault, his men laid down their arms, and ſubmitted at diſcretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the General left a garriſon for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, ſituated on the other ſide of the Shannon, and ſupported by the Iriſh army, encamped almoſt under its walls. The Engliſh town, on the hither ſide of the river, was taken ſword in hand, and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raiſed againſt the Iriſh town, and ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts were made to force the paſſage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length, it was reſolved, in the council of war, that a deachment ſhould paſs at a ford a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and ſtony, and the paſs guarded by a ravelin, erected for that purpoſe. The forlorn hope conſiſted of ſixty grenadiers in armour, headed by Captain Sandys and two Lieutenants. They were ſeconded by another detachment, and this was ſupported by ſix battalions of infantry. Never was a more deſperate ſervice, nor was ever exploit performed with more valour and intrepidity. They paſſed twenty a-breaſt, in the face of the enemy, through

through an inceſſant ſhower of balls, bullets, and granades. Thoſe who followed them took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Pontoons were fixed at the ſame time, that the troops might paſs in different places. The Iriſh were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmoſt conſternation; ſo that, in half an hour, it was wholly ſecured by the Engliſh, who did not loſe above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Tetteau, and Ptolemache, exhibited proofs of the moſt undaunted courage in paſſing the river; and General Ginckel, for his conduct, intrepidity, and ſucceſs, on this occaſion, was created Earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed, by expreſs, that the Engliſh had entered the river, he ſaid, it was impoſſible they ſhould pretend to take a town which he covered with his army, and that he would give a thouſand piſtoles they would attempt to force a paſſage. Sarsfield inſiſted upon the truth of the intelligence, and preſſed him to ſend ſuccours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and ſome warm expoſtulation paſſed between them. Being at length convinced that the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of the place, he ordered ſome detachments to drive them out again: but the cannon of their own works being turned againſt them, they found the task impracticable, and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took poſt at Aghrim; and having, by drafts from garriſons, augmented his army to five and twenty thouſand men, reſolved to hazard a deciſive engagement. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ X. Ginckel having put Athlone in a poſture of defence, paſſed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle; though his forces did not exceed eighteen thouſand, and the Iriſh were poſted in a very advantageous ſituation. St. Ruth had made an admirable diſpoſition, and taken every precaution that military ſkill could ſuggeſt. His centre extended along a riſing ground,

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uneven in many places, interſected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almoſt impaſſable. His right was fortified with entrenchments, and his left ſecured by the caſtle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the moſt pathetic ſtrain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of hereſy, in recovering their ancient honours and eſtates, and in reſtoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural uſurper. He employed the prieſts to enforce his exhortations; to aſſure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in caſe they ſhould fall in battle, the ſaints and angels would convey their ſouls to heaven. They are ſaid to have ſworn upon the ſacrament that they would not deſert their colours, *and to have received an order that no quarter ſhould* be given to the French hereticks in the army of the Prince of Orange. Ginckel had encamped on the Roſcommon ſide of the river Suc, within three miles of the enemy: after having reconnoitred their poſture, he reſolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The neceſſary orders being given, the army paſſed the river at two fords and a ſtone bridge, and, advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two paſſages, in order to poſſeſs the ground on the other ſide. The enemy fought with ſurpriſing fury, and the horſe were ſeveral times repulſed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of ſome field pieces. The day was now ſo far advanced, that the General determined to poſtpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving ſome diſorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his reſolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At ſix o'clock in the evening the left wing of the Engliſh advanced

to

to the right of the Iriſh, from whom they met with ſuch a warm and obſtinate reception, that it was not without the moſt ſurpriſing efforts of courage and perſeverance that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even then they loſt it by inches. St. Ruth, ſeeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached ſuccours to them from his centre and left wing. Mackay no ſooner perceived them weakened by theſe detachments, than he ordered three battalions to ſkirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the centre advanced through the middle of the moraſs, the men wading up to the waiſt in mud and water. After they had reached the other ſide, they found themſelves obliged to aſcend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and theſe were lined with muſqueteers, ſupported at proper intervals with ſquadrons of cavalry. They made ſuch a deſperate reſiſtance, and fought with ſuch impetuoſity, that the aſſailants were repulſed into the middle of the bog with great loſs, and St. Ruth exclaimed—"Now will I drive "the Engliſh to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture Ptolemache came up with a freſh body to ſuſtain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with ſuch vigour, that the Iriſh gave way in their turn, and the Engliſh recovered the ground they had loſt, though they found it impoſſible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horſe and dragoons to the aſſiſtance of the left wing, and firſt turned the tide of battle in favour of the Engliſh. Major-General Rouvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to ſupport the centre, when St. Ruth perceiving his deſign, reſolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to paſs. For this purpoſe, he began to deſcend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reſerve of horſe: but in his way was killed by a cannon-

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BOOK I. 1691. ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his body. His fate diſpirited the troops, and produced ſuch confuſion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for though he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth ſince the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny, having paſſed the hollow way without oppoſition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with ſurpriſing impetuoſity: the centre redoubled their efforts, and puſhed the Iriſh to the top of the hill, and then the whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and the horſe took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were purſued by the Engliſh cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible ſlaughter. In the battle which laſted two hours, and in the purſuit, above four thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and ſix hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, proviſion, ammunition, and artillery, nine-and-twenty pair of colours, twelve ſtandards, and almoſt all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was deciſive, and not above eight hundred of the Engliſh were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquiſhed retreated in great confuſion to Limerick, where they reſolved to make a final ſtand, in hope of receiving ſuch ſuccours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the Court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having ſurvived his authority and reputation. He had incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Iriſh, whom he had adviſed to ſubmit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themſelves and their families.

§ XI. Immediately after the battle, detachments were ſent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-caſtle, conſiderable paſſes on the Shannon,

which were accordingly ſecured. Then Ginckel advanced to Galway, which he ſummoned to ſurrender; but he received a defiance from Lord Dillon and General D'Uſſone, who commanded the garriſon. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town was taken by aſſault; ſix regiments of foot, and four ſquadrons of horſe, paſſed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly inveſted, the Governor thought proper to capitulate. The garriſon marched out with the honours of war, and was allowed ſafe conduct to Limerick. Ginckel directed his march to the ſame town, which was the only poſt of conſequence that now held out for King James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Luttrel had been ſeized by the French General D'Uſſone, and ſentenced to be ſhot for having propoſed to ſurrender, he ſent a trumpet, to tell the commander, that if any perſon ſhould be put to death for ſuch a propoſal, he would make retaliation on the Iriſh priſoners. On the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt the enemy were driven from all their advanced poſts: Captain Cole, with a ſquadron of ſhips, ſailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in ſight of the town. On the twenty-ſixth day of the month the batteries were opened and a line of contravallation was formed: the Iriſh army lay encamped on the other ſide of the river, on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almoſt laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon, the guns were diſmounted, the out-forts evacuated, and ſuch other motions made as indicated a reſolution to abandon the ſiege. The enemy expreſſed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of ſhort continuance. In the night the beſiegers began to throw a bridge

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BOOK I. 1691. of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finiſhed before morning. A conſiderable body of horſe and foot had paſſed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were ſeized with ſuch conſternation, that they threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and one ſtandard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and paſſes were ſecured, and the batteries continued firing inceſſantly till the twenty-ſecond day of the month, when Ginckel paſſed over with a diviſion of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them ſword in hand, after an obſtinate reſiſtance. The garriſon had made a ſally from the town to ſupport them; and this detachment was driven back with ſuch precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the Engliſh would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed, two hundred taken priſoners, including many officers, and a great number were drowned in the Shannon.

§ XII. Then the Engliſh made a lodgement within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Iriſh, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and Colonel Wahop ſignified their reſolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hoſtages were exchanged; a negociation was immediately begun, and hoſtilities ceaſed on both ſides of the river. The Lords Juſtices arrived in the camp on the firſt day of October, and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were ſtill in the hands of the Iriſh. The Roman catholicks were reſtored to the enjoyment of ſuch liberty in the exerciſe

exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not borne arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the Lords Justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles was authorised to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The Lords Justices promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions

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BOOK I. executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their Majeſties ſhould ratify theſe articles within the ſpace of eight months, and uſe their endeavours that they might be ratified and confirmed in Parliament. The ſubſequent article was calculated to indemnify Colonel John Brown, whoſe eſtate and effects had been ſeized for the uſe of the Iriſh army by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which laſt had been created Lord Lucan by King James, and was now mentioned by that title. All perſons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country except England and Scotland. All officers and ſoldiers in the ſervice of King James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond ſea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the place of embarkation, to be conveyed to the Continent with the French officers and troops. They were furniſhed with paſſports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and General Ginckel engaged to provide ſeventy ſhips, if neceſſary, for their tranſportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to ſerve as a convoy to the fleet. It was ſtipulated, That the proviſions and forage for their ſubſiſtence ſhould be paid for on their arrival in France: That hoſtages ſhould be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ſhips: That all the garriſons ſhould march out of their reſpective towns and fortreſſes with the honours of war: That the Iriſh ſhould have liberty to tranſport nine hundred horſes: That thoſe who ſhould chooſe to ſtay behind, might diſpoſe of themſelves according to their own fancy, after having ſurrendered their arms to ſuch Commiſſioners as the General ſhould appoint: that all priſoners of war ſhould be ſet at liberty on both ſides: That the General ſhould provide two veſſels to carry over two different perſons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of thoſe who were willing to quit the kingdom ſhould be detained

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detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. —This is the ſubſtance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Iriſh Roman Catholicks conſidered as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was ſurrendered to Ginckel; but both ſides agreed, that the two armies ſhould entrench themſelves till the Iriſh could embark, that no diſorders might ariſe from a communication. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ XIII. The Proteſtant ſubjects of Ireland were extremely diſguſted at theſe conceſſions made in favour of vanquiſhed rebels, who had exerciſed ſuch acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, That they themſelves, who had ſuffered for their loyalty to King William, were neglected, and obliged to ſit down with their loſſes, while their enemies, who had ſhed ſo much blood in oppoſing his government, were indemniſied by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgencies. They were diſmiſſed with the honours of war: they were tranſported at the government's expence, to fight againſt the Engliſh in foreign countries: an honourable proviſion was made for the Rapparees, who were profeſſed banditti: the Roman Catholick intereſt in Ireland obtained the ſanction of regal authority: attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws ſet aſide, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckel had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the Continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hoſtages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thouſand Iriſh foot, and three hundred horſe, began their march for Cork, where they propoſed to take ſhipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield: but three regiments refuſing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and diſperſed to their former habitations. Thoſe who remained at Limerick embarked

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BOOK I. 1691. on the ſeventh day of November, in French tranſports; and ſailed immediately to France, under the convoy of a French ſquadron, which had arrived in the bay of Dangle immediately after the capitulation was ſigned. Twelve thouſand men choſe to undergo exile from their native country, rather than ſubmit to the government of King William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; aſſured them they ſhould ſtill ſerve under his commiſſion and command; and that the King of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreſhment.

§ XIV. The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, Baron Ginckel returned to England, where he was ſolemnly thanked by the Houſe of Commons for his great ſervices, after he had been created Earl of Athlone by his Majeſty. When the Parliament met on the twenty-ſecond day of October, the King, in his ſpeech, inſiſted upon the neceſſity of ſending a ſtrong fleet to ſea early in the ſeaſon, and of maintaining a conſiderable army, to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from inſult and invaſion; for which purpoſes, he ſaid, ſixty-five thouſand men would be barely ſufficient. Each Houſe preſented an addreſs of congratulation upon his Majeſty's ſafe return to England, and on the reduction of Ireland: they promiſed to aſſiſt him, to the utmoſt of their power, in proſecuting the war with France; and, at the ſame time, drew up addreſſes to the Queen, acknowledging her prudent adminiſtration during his Majeſty's abſence. Notwithſtanding this appearance of cordiality and complaiſance, a ſpirit of diſcontent had inſinuated itſelf into both Houſes of Parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

§ XV. A great number of individuals, who wiſhed well to their country, could not, without anxiety and reſentment, behold the intereſt of the nation ſacri-

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ficed to foreign connections, and the King's favour so partially beſtowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice to his Engliſh ſubjects. They obſerved, that the number of forces he demanded was conſiderably greater than that of any army which had ever been paid by the publick, even when the nation was in the moſt imminent danger; that, inſtead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the Continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greateſt part of the burthen, though they had the leaſt ſhare of the profit. They even inſinuated, that ſuch a ſtanding army was more calculated to make the King abſolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the ſecret friends of the late King did not fail to enforce theſe inſinuations. They renewed their animadverſions upon the diſagreeable part of his character; they dwelt upon his proud reſerve, his ſullen ſilence, his imperious diſpoſition, and his baſe ingratitude, particularly to the Earl of Marlborough, whom he had diſmiſſed from all his employments, immediately after the ſignal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The diſgrace of this nobleman was partly aſcribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the King's undervaluing his ſervices, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an aſcendancy over the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, and is ſaid to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealouſy between the two ſiſters. The malcontents of the whiggiſh faction, enraged to find their credit declining at Court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raiſed againſt the government. They ſcrupled not to ſay, that the arts of corruption were ſhamefully practiſed, to ſecure a majority in Parliament: that the King was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predeceſſors had ever been; and that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, becauſe they were the known tools of arbitrary power. Theſe reflections alluded to the Earls

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of Rocheſter and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created Privy-counſellors. Rocheſter entertained very high notions of regal authority; he propoſed ſeverity as one of the beſt ſupports of government; was clear in his underſtanding, violent in his temper, and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts and pleaſure, who poſſeſſed the moſt plauſible and winning addreſs; and was capable of tranſacting the moſt important and intricate affairs, in the midſt of riot and debauchery. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. He enjoyed the office of pay-maſter in the army of King James; and now maintained the ſame footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudeſt commoner in England, and the boldeſt orator that ever filled the Speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the buſineſs of the Houſe, and knew every individual member ſo exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognoſticate the fate of every motion. He had oppoſed the court with great acrimony, queſtioned the King's title, cenſured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheleſs, he now became a proſelyte, and was brought into the Treaſury.

§ XVI. The Commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, for the uſe of the enſuing year: but the eſtabliſhment of funds for raiſing theſe ſupplies was retarded, partly by the ill-humour of the oppoſition, and partly by intervening affairs, that diverted the attention of the Commons. Several eminent merchants preſented a petition to the Houſe againſt the Eaſt-India Company, charging them with manifold abuſes; at the ſame time, a counter-petition was delivered by the Company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpoſe. After a minute enquiry into the nature of the complaints, the Commons voted

voted certain regulations with reſpect to the ſtock and the traffick; and reſolved to petition his Majeſty, that, according to the ſaid regulations, the Eaſt-India Company ſhould be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this aſtabliſhment: but divers petitions being preſented againſt it, aud the Company's anſwers proving unſatisfactory, the Houſe addreſſed the King to diſſolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He ſaid it was an affair of great importance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore, he would conſider the ſubject, and in a little time return a poſitive anſwer. The Parliament was likewiſe amuſed by a pretended conſpiracy of the Papiſts in Lancaſhire, to raiſe a rebellion, and reſtore James to the throne. Several perſons were ſeized, and ſome witneſſes examined: but nothing appeared to juſtify the information. At length, one Fuller, a priſoner in the King's Bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the Bar of the Houſe of Commons, where he produced ſome papers. He obtained a blank paſs from the King for two perſons, who, he ſaid, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that Colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witneſſes for whom he had procured the paſs and the protection. Search was made for them, according to his direction; but no ſuch perſons were found. Then the Houſe declared Fuller a notorious impoſtor, cheat, and falſe accuſer. He was, at the requeſt of the Commons proſecuted by the Attorney-General, and ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory; a diſgrace which he accordingly underwent. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ XVII. A bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon having been laid aſide by the Lords in the preceding ſeſſion, was now again brought upon the carpet, and paſſed the Lower Houſe. The deſign of this bill was to ſecure the ſubject from the rigours

BOOK I. 1691. rigours to which he had been expoſed in the late reigns: It provided, that the priſoner ſhould be furniſhed with a copy of his indictment, as alſo of the pannel, ten days before his trial: and, That his witneſſes ſhould be examined upon oath, as well as thoſe of the crown. The Lords, in their own behalf, added a clauſe, enacting, That upon the Trials of any Peer or Peereſs, for treaſon or miſpriſion of treaſon, all the Peers who have a right to ſit and vote in Parliament ſhould be duly ſummoned to aſſiſt at the trial: That this notice ſhould be given twenty days before the trial: and, That every Peer ſo ſummoned, and appearing, ſhould vote upon the occaſion. The Commons rejected this amendment; and a free conference enſued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both ſides, which ſerved only to inflame the diſpute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animoſity, the bill was dropped; for the Commons reſolved to bear the hardſhips of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchaſing a new privilege to the Lords; and without this advantage the Peers would not contribute to their relief.

§ XVIII. The next object that engroſſed the attention of the Lower Houſe, was the miſcarriage of the fleet during the ſummer's expedition. Admiral Ruſſel, who commanded at ſea, having been joined by a Dutch ſquadron, ſailed in queſt of the enemy; but, as the French King had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined ſquadrons were ſuperior to his navy in number of ſhips and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with ſuch vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Ruſſel, who was, moreover, perplexed with obſcure and contradictory orders. Nevertheleſs, he cruiſed all ſummer, either in the channel or in ſoundings, for the protection of the trade, and, in particular, ſecured

ſecured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the Engliſh and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions ſterling. Having ſcoured the channel, and ſailed along great part of the French coaſt, he returned to Torbay in the beginning of Auguſt, and received freſh orders to put to ſea again, notwithſtanding his repeated remonſtrances againſt expoſing large ſhips to the ſtorms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore ſailed back to ſoundings, where he continued cruiſing till the ſecond day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempeſt, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the Sound with great difficulty: the Coronation, a ſecond-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-Head: the Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks and periſhed: two others ran aſhore, but were got off with little damage: but the whole fleet was ſcattered and diſtreſſed. The nation murmured at the ſuppoſed miſconduct of the Admiral, and the Commons ſubjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders and inſtructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the proſecution out of tenderneſs to the miniſtry. Then the Houſe took into conſideration ſome letters which had been intercepted in a French ſhip taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of theſe are ſaid to have been written by King James, and the reſt ſealed with his ſeal. They related to the plan of an inſurrection in Scotland, and in the northern parts of England: Legge, Lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the deſign, warrants were immediately iſſued againſt them; Crew abſconded, but Lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preſton was examined touching ſome cyphers which they could not explain, and, pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate,

CHAP. III. 1691.

BOOK I. 1691. gate, from whence, however, he ſoon obtained his releaſe. The funds for the ſupplies of the enſuing year being eſtabliſhed, and ſeveral acts * paſſed relating to domeſtick regulations, the King, on the twenty-fourth day of February, cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, thanking the Parliament for their demonſtations of affection in the liberal ſupplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing ſpeedily to the continent. Then the two Houſes, at his deſire, adjourned themſelves to the twelfth day of April, and the Parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty-ninth of May by proclamation †.

§ XIX. The King had ſuffered ſo much in his reputation by his complaiſance to the Preſbyterians of Scotland, and was ſo diſpleaſed with the conduct of that ſtubborn ſect of religioniſts, that he thought proper to admit ſome prelatiſts into the adminiſtration. Johnſton, who had been ſent envoy to the Elector of Brandenberg, was recalled, and with the Maſter of Stair, made joint ſecretary of Scotland;

* The laws enacted in this ſeſſion were theſe; an act for abrogating the oath of ſupremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from ſome offenders, and bringing others to puniſhment; an act againſt deer ſtealing; an act for repairing the highways, and ſettling the rates of carriage of goods; an act for the relief of creditors againſt fraudulent deviſees; an act for explaining and ſupplying the defects of former laws for the ſettlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; and an act for aſcertaining the tithes of hemp and flax.

† In the courſe of this ſeſſion, Dr. Welwood, a Scottiſh phyſician, was taken into cuſtody, and reprimanded at the bar of the Houſe of Commons, for having reflected upon that Houſe in a weekly paper entitled Mercurius Reformatus; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the King appointed him one of his phyſicians in ordinary. At this period, Charles Montagu, afterwards Earl of Halifax, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the Houſe of Commons by his fine talents and eloquence. The privy ſeal was committed to the Earl of Pembroke; Lord Viſcount Sydney was created Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Somers appointed Attorney General; and the ſee of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennison, who had been recommended to the King as a Divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

Melvill,

Melvill, who had declined in his importance, was made Lord Privy-Seal of that kingdom: Tweedale was conſtituted Lord Chancellor: Crawfurd retained the office of Preſident of the Council; and Lothian was appointed high Commiſſioner to the general aſſembly. The Parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, becauſe it was not yet compliant enough to be aſſembled with ſafety: and the epiſcopal clergy were admitted to a ſhare of the church-government. Theſe meaſures, inſtead of healing the diviſions, ſerved only to inflame the animoſity of the two parties. The epiſcopalians triumphed in the King's favour, and began to treat their antagoniſts with inſolence and ſcorn: the Preſbyterians were incenſed to ſee their friends diſgraced, and their enemies diſtinguiſhed by the royal indulgence. They inſiſted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their ſide: they became more than ever ſour, ſurly, and implacable; they refuſed to concur with the prelatiſts, or abate in the leaſt circumſtances of diſcipline; and the aſſembly was diſſolved, without any time or place aſſigned for the next meeting. The Preſbyterians pretended an independent right of aſſembling annually, even without a call from his Majeſty: they therefore adjourned themſelves, after having proteſted againſt the diſſolution. The King reſented this meaſure, as an inſolent invaſion of the prerogative, and conceived an averſion to the whole ſect, who in their turn began to loſe all reſpect for his perſon and government. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ XX. As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the Earl of Breadalbane undertook to bring them over, by diſtributing ſums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thouſand pounds were remitted from England for this purpoſe. The clans being informed of his remittance, ſuſpected that the Earl's deſign was to appropriate to himſelf the beſt part of the money, and when he began to

BOOK I. 1691.

treat with them made ſuch extravagant demands, that he found his ſcheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the ſum he had received; and he reſolved to wreak his vengeance with the firſt opportunity, on thoſe who had fruſtrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negociation, was Macdonald of Glencoe, whoſe oppoſition roſe from a private circumſtance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the publick weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Breadalbane during the courſe of hoſtilities; and this nobleman inſiſted upon being indemnified for his loſſes, from the other's ſhare of the money which he was employed to diſtribute. The Highlander not only refuſed to acquieſce in theſe terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole ſcheme, and the Earl in revenge devoted him to deſtruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all thoſe who had been in arms againſt him, provided they would ſubmit, and take the oaths by a certain day; and this was prolonged to the cloſe of the preſent year, with a denunciation of military execution againſt thoſe who ſhould hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very laſt day of the month to Fort-William, and deſired that the oaths might be tendered to him by Colonel Hill, Governor of that fortreſs. As this officer was not veſted with the power of a civil magiſtrate, he refuſed to adminiſter them; and Macdonald ſet out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with ſnow, and the weather intenſely cold, he travelled with ſuch diligence, that the term preſcribed by the proclamation was but one day elapſed when he reached the place, and addreſſed himſelf to Sir John Campbell, ſheriff of the county, who, in conſideration of his diſappointment at Fort-William, was prevailed upon to adminiſter the oaths to him

and

and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had ſo ſolemnly ſubmitted. CHAP. III. 1691.

§ XXI. Breadalbane had repreſented Macdonald at Court as an incorrigible rebel, as a ruffian inured to bloodſhed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country; nor live peaceably under any Sovereign. He obſerved, that he had paid no regard to the proclamation, and propoſed that the government ſhould ſacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was ſupported by the ſuggeſtions of the other Scottiſh miniſters; and the King, whoſe chief virtue was not humanity, ſigned a warrant for the deſtruction of thoſe unhappy people, though it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's ſubmiſſion. An order for this barbarous execution, ſigned and counter-ſigned by his Majeſty's own hand, being tranſmitted to the Maſter of Stair, Secretary for Scotland, this miniſter ſent particular directions to Livingſtone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the ſword, charging him to take no priſoners, that the ſcene might be more terrible. In the month of February, Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from Major Duncanſon, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of ſoldiers belonging to Argyle's regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he anſwered, as friends, and promiſed, upon his honour, that neither he nor his people ſhould ſuſtain the leaſt injury. In conſequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the moſt cordial hoſpitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the moſt unreſerved friendſhip. At

BOOK I. 1691.

length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having paſſed the day together, parted about ſeven in the evening, with mutual profeſſions of the warmeſt affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to ſuſpect ſome treachery, and communicated his ſuſpicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the leaſt doubt of Campbell's ſincerity: nevertheleſs, the two young men went forth privately, to make further obſervations. They overheard the common ſoldiers ſay they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it baſe to murder them in cool blood, but that their officers were anſwerable for the treachery. When the youths haſted back to appriſe their father of the impending danger, they ſaw the houſe already ſurrounded: they heard the diſcharge of muſkets, the ſhrieks of women and children; and, being deſtitute of arms, ſecured their own lives by immediate flight. The ſavage miniſters of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and ſhot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, diſtracted by the horror of her huſband's fate. The Laird of Auchintrincken, Macdonald's gueſt, who had three months before this period ſubmitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without queſtion. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to ſerve him for life, was ſtabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a ſubaltern officer. Eight-and-thirty perſons ſuffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were ſurpriſed in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The deſign was to butcher all the males under ſeventy that live in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred; but ſome of the detachments did not arrive ſoon enough to ſecure

the

the paſſes, ſo that one hundred and ſixty eſcaped. Campbell, having perpetrated this brutal maſſacre, ordered all the houſes to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpleſs women and children, whoſe fathers and huſbands he had murthered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or ſhelter, in the midſt of the ſnow that covered the whole face of the country, at the diſtance of ſix long miles from any inhabited place. Diſtracted with grief and horror, ſurrounded with the ſhades of night, ſhivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehenſion of immediate death from the ſwords of thoſe who had ſacrificed their friends and kinſmen, they could not endure ſuch a complication of calamities, but generally periſhed in the waſte, before they could receive the leaſt comfort or aſſiſtance. This barbarous maſſacre, performed under the ſanction of King William's authority, answered the immediate purpose of the Court, by ſtriking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders: but at the ſame time excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every ſentiment of humanity, and produced ſuch an averſion to the government as all the arts of a miniſtry could never totally ſurmount. A detail of the particulars was publiſhed at Paris, with many exaggerations, and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumſtance, in domeſtick libels and private converſation. The King alarmed at the outcry which was raiſed upon this occaſion, ordered an inquiry to be ſet on foot, and diſmiſſed the Maſter of Stair from his employment of Secretary; he likewiſe pretended that he had ſubſcribed the order amidſt a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but as he did not ſeverely puniſh thoſe who had made his authority ſubſervient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation ſtuck faſt to his character; and the Highlanders, though terrified into ſilence and ſubmiſſion, were inſpired with

CHAP. III. 1691.

Burnet. Story. Kennet. Life of K. William. Nav. Hiſt Ralph. Voltaire.

BOOK I. with the moſt implacable reſentment againſt his perſon and adminiſtration.

An. 1692. § XXII. A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled Monarch, who was punctually informed of all theſe tranſactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing diſcontent. King William having ſettled the domeſtick affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and aſſiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the States-General with expreſſions of the moſt cordial regard. While he was here employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French King reſolved to invade England in his abſence, and ſeemed heartily engaged in the intereſt of James, whoſe emiſſaries in Britain began to beſtir themſelves with uncommon aſſiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lant, who was impriſoned on ſuſpicion of diſtributing his commiſſions, had the good fortune to be releaſed, and the Papiſts of Lancaſhire diſpatched him to the court of St. Germain's, with an aſſurance that they were in a condition to receive their old Sovereign. He returned with advice that King James would certainly land in the ſpring; and that Colonel Parker and other officers ſhould be ſent over with full inſtructions, touching their conduct at and before the King's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole ſcheme of a deſcent, which Louis had actually concerted with the late King. He aſſured them that their lawful Sovereign would once more viſit his Britiſh dominions, at the head of thirty thouſand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the tranſports were already prepared, and a ſtrong ſquadron equipped for their convoy; he, therefore, exhorted them to be ſpeedy and

and ſecret in their preparation, that they might be in readineſs to take arms, and co-operate in effecting his reſtoration. This officer, and one Johnſon, a prieſt, are ſaid to have undertaken the aſſaſſination of King William; but, before they could execute their deſign, his Majeſty ſet ſail for Holland. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXIII. Meanwhile James addreſſed a letter to ſeveral Lords who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers Ladies of quality and diſtinction, intimating the pregnancy of his Queen, and requiring them to attend as witneſſes at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had ſuſtained, from the cruel aſperſions of his enemies concerning the birth of his ſon, and as Providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of thoſe who affirmed that the Queen was incapable of child-bearing, he aſſured them, in the name of his brother, the French King, as well as upon his own royal word, that they ſhould have free leave to viſit his Court, and return after the labour.* This invitation, however, no perſon would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emiſſaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the King of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furniſhed with a number of troops ſufficient to untie the hands of his ſubjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their ſhare in the glory of reſtoring their lawful King and their ancient government.

* The letter was directed not only for privy counſellors, but alſo to the Duchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the Marchioness of Halifax, the Countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the Ladies Fitzharding, and Fretchville, those of Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford, Lord-Mayor of London, & William Aſhhurſt, and Sir Richard Levert the Sheriffs, and, laſtly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.

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BOOK I. 1688. He exhorted the people to join his ſtandard. He aſſured them that the foreign auxiliaries ſhould behave with the moſt regular diſcipline, and be ſent back immediately after his re-eſtabliſhment. He obſerved, that when ſuch a number of his ſubjects were ſo infatuated as to concur with the unnatural deſign of the Prince of Orange, he had choſen to rely upon the fidelity of his Engliſh army, and refuſed conſiderable ſuccours that were offered to him by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; that when he was ready to oppoſe force with force, he nevertheleſs offered to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction to his ſubjects who had been miſled, and endeavoured to open their eyes, with reſpect to the vain pretences of his adverſary, whoſe aim was not the reformation but the ſubverſion of the government: that when he ſaw himſelf deſerted by his army, betrayed by his miniſters, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at laſt rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of inſolent foreigners, he had, for his perſonal ſafety, taken refuge in France: that his retreat from the malice and cruel deſigns of the uſurper had been conſtrued into an abdication, and the whole Conſtitution of the monarchy deſtroyed by a ſet of men illegally aſſembled, who in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meaneſt ſubject. He expreſſed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and, from the loſſes and enormous expence of the three laſt years, were convinced that the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe; that the beginning, like the firſt years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability be found the mildeſt part of the uſurpation, and the inſtruments of the new eſtabliſhment live to ſuffer ſeverely by the tyranny they had raiſed; that even though the uſurpation ſhould continue during his life, an indiſputable title would ſurvive in his iſſue, and expoſe the kingdom to all the miſeries of a civil war. He not only ſolicited but commanded

his good ſubjects to join him, according to their duty, and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the uſurper. He promiſed pardon, and even rewards, to all thoſe who ſhould return to their duty, and to procure in his firſt Parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain perſons* whom he now enumerated. He declared that all ſoldiers who ſhould quit the ſervice of the uſurper, and inliſt under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops, upon laying down their arms, ſhould be paid and tranſported to their reſpective countries. He ſolemnly proteſted that he would protect and maintain the Church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed in all their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions: he ſignified his reſolution to uſe his influence with the Parliament for allowing liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the ſpirit of the Chriſtian religion, and conducive to the wealth and proſperity of the nation. He ſaid his principal care ſhould be to heal the wounds of the late diſtractions; to reſtore trade by obſerving the act of navigation, which had been lately ſo much violated in favour of ſtrangers; to put the navy in a flouriſhing condition; and to take every ſtep that might contribute to the greatneſs of the monarchy and the happineſs of the people. He concluded

CHAP. III. 1690.

* Thoſe excepted were the Duke of Ormond, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the Lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the Biſhops of London and St. Aſaph, Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimſtone, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotſon, Dr. Gilbert Burnet; Francis Ruſſel, Richard Levinſon; John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizens of London: Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fiſhermen, and all others who had offered perſonal indignities to him at Feversham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murther of John Aſhton Croſs or any other who had ſuffered death for their loyalty; and all ſpies, or ſuch as had betrayed his council during his late abſence from England.

with

BOOK I. 1692. with profeſſions of reſignation to the Divine Will, declaring, that all who ſhould reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms againſt him, would be anſwerable to Almighty God for all the blood that ſhould be ſpilt, and all the miſeries in which theſe kingdoms might be involved by their deſperate and unreaſonable oppoſition.

§ XXIV. While this declaration operated variouſly on the minds of the people, Colonel Parker, with ſome other officers, inliſted men privately for the ſervice of James in the counties of York, Lancaſter, and in the Biſhoprick of Durham: at the ſame time, Fountaine and Holeman were employed in raiſing two regiments of horſe at London, that they might join their maſter immediately after his landing. His partiſans ſent Captain Lloyd with an expreſs to Lord Melfoot, containing a detail of theſe particulars, with an aſſurance that they had brought over Rear-Admiral Carter to the intereſt of his Majeſty. They likewiſe tranſmitted a liſt of the ſhips that compoſed the Engliſh fleet, and exhorted James to uſe his influence with the French King, that the Count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they ſhould be joined by the Dutch ſquadron. It was in conſequence of this advice, that Louis commanded Tourville to fall upon the Engliſh fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon ſquadron, commanded by the Marquis D'Etrées. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, conſiſting of a body of French troops together with ſome Engliſh and Scotch refugees, and the regiments which had been tranſported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

§ XXV. The miniſtry of England was informed of all theſe particulars, partly by ſome agents of James, who betrayed his cauſe, and partly by Admiral Carter, who gave the Queen to underſtand he had been tampered with; and was inſtructed to amuſe

amuſe the Jacobites with a negociation. King William no ſooner arrived in Holland, than he haſtened the naval preparations of the Dutch, ſo that their fleet was ready for ſea ſooner than was expected; and when he received the firſt intimation of the projected deſcent, he detached General Ptolemache with three of the Engliſh regiments from Holland. Theſe, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portſmouth. The Queen iſſued a proclamation, commanding all Papiſts to depart from London and Weſtminſter: the members of both Houſes of Parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that ſhe might avail herſelf of their advice in ſuch a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers diſaffected perſons; and they withdrawing themſelves from their reſpective places of abode, a proclamation was publiſhed for diſcovering and bringing them to juſtice. The Earls of Scarſdale, Litchfield, and Newburgh; The Lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Fenwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the ſearch. The Earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were ſent to the Tower: Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Haſtings, and Robert Ferguſon, were impriſoned in Newgate. The Biſhop of Rocheſter was confined to his own houſe: the Lords Brudenel and Fanſhaw were ſecured: the Earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forreſter, were diſcovered in a Quaker's houſe, and committed to priſon, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. The train-bands of London and Weſtminſter were armed by the Queen's direction, and ſhe reviewed them in perſon: Admiral Ruſſel was ordered to put to ſea with all poſſible expedition; and Carter with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail, continued to cruiſe along the French coaſt to obſerve the motions of the enemy. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXVI. On the eleventh day of May, Ruſſel ſailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined

BOOK I. 1692. by the ſquadron under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the Earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having been ſpread of the Queen's ſuſpecting the fidelity of the ſea officers, her Majeſty had ordered him to declare in her name, that ſhe repoſed the moſt entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raiſed by the enemies of the government. The flag officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful addreſs, which was graciouſly received by the Queen and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the nation. Ruſſel, being reinforced by the Dutch ſquadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callemberg, and Vandergoes, ſet ſail for the coaſt of France on the eighteenth day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fire ſhips. Next day about three o'clock in the morning, he diſcovered the enemy, under the Count de Tourville, and threw out the ſignal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue diviſion in the rear, and the red in the centre. The French fleet did not exceed ſixty-three ſhips of the line, and, as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement: but he had received a poſitive order to fight, on the ſuppoſition that the Dutch and Engliſh ſquadrons had not joined. Louis, indeed, was appriſed of their junction before they were deſcried by his Admiral, to whom he diſpatched a countermanding order by two ſeveral veſſels: but one of them was taken by the Engliſh, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

§ XXVII. Tourville, therefore, in obedience to the firſt mandate, bore down along ſide of Ruſſel's own ſhip, which he engaged at a very ſmall diſtance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and ſails being conſiderably damaged, his ſhip, the Riſing-Sun, which carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great diſorder.

diſorder. Nevertheleſs, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were deſcried flying to the northward; and Ruſſel made the ſignal for chaſing. Part of the blue ſquadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which Admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himſelf in extremity, he exhorted his Captain to fight as long as the ſhip could ſwim; and expired with great compoſure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having loſt four ſhips in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were diſcovered crowding away to the weſtward, and the combined fleets chaſed with all the ſail they could carry, until Ruſſel's fore-topmaſt came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, the fleet ſtill continued the purſuit, and anchored near Cape La Hogue. On the twenty-ſecond of the month, about ſeven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, ſome at anchor, and ſome driving to the eaſtward with the tide of flood. Ruſſel, and the ſhips neareſt him, immediately ſlipped their cables, and chaſed. The Riſing-Sun, having loſt her maſts, ran aſhore near Cherbourg, where ſhe was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the Admirable, another firſt-rate, and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ſhips of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who deſtroyed them, and a great number of tranſports laden with ammunition, in the midſt of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in ſight of the Iriſh camp. Sir John Aſhby, with his own ſquadron and ſome Dutch ſhips, purſued the reſt of the French fleet, which eſcaped through the Race of Alderney, by ſuch a dangerous paſſage as the Engliſh could not attempt, without expoſing their ſhips to the moſt imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French

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BOOK I. 1692. French King, who had been ſo long flattered with an uninterrupted ſeries of victories: it reduced James to the loweſt ebb of deſpondence, as it fruſtrated the whole ſcheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and deſpair. Some hiſtorians allege, that Ruſſel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained, before the enemy recovered their conſternation. They ſay his affection to the ſervice was in a good meaſure cooled by the diſgrace of his friend, the Earl of Marlborough: that he hated the Earl of Nottingham, by whoſe channel he received his orders; and, that he adhered to the letter, rather than to the ſpirit of his inſtructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold ſervices to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine ſpirit of a Britiſh Admiral. He plyed from the Nore to the Downs with a very ſcanty wind, through the dangerous ſands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold paſſage effected a junction of the different ſquadrons, which otherwiſe the French would have attacked ſingly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; and deſtroyed about fifteen of the enemy's capital ſhips; in a word, he obtained ſuch a deciſive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by ſea with the Engliſh.

§ XXVIII. Ruſſel having ordered Sir John Aſhby, and the Dutch Admiral Callemberg, to ſteer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to deſtroy the remainder of the French fleet, ſailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ſhips might be refitted, and the fleet furniſhed with freſh ſupplies of proviſion and ammunition: but his principal motive was, to take on board a number of troops provided for a deſcent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and diſtract

diſtract the enemy in their own dominions. The Queen was ſo pleaſed with the victory, that ſhe ordered thirty thouſand pounds to be diſtributed among the ſailors. She cauſed medals to be ſtruck in honour of the action; and the bodies of Admiral Carter and Captain Haſtings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, ſeven thouſand men, commanded by the Duke of Leinſter, embarked on board tranſports, to be landed at St. Maloes, Breſt or Rochefort; and the nation conceived the moſt ſanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, conſiſting of land and ſea officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the ſcheme of the miniſtry, the members unanimouſly agreed, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheleſs, the Admiral having detached Sir John Aſhby with a ſquadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet, in their paſſage from St. Maloes to Breſt, ſet ſail for La Hogue with the reſt of the fleet and tranſports: but in a few days the wind ſhifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXIX. The Queen immediately diſpatched the Marquis of Caermarthen, the Earls of Devonſhire, Dorſet, Nottingham, and Rocheſter, together with the Lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to conſult with the Admiral, who demonſtrated the impracticability of making an effectual deſcent upon the coaſt of France at that ſeaſon of the year. The deſign was therefore laid aſide; and the forces were tranſported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raiſed by this armament, the deeper they felt their diſappointment. A loud clamour was raiſed againſt the miniſtry, as the authors of this miſcarriage. The people complained, that they were plundered and abuſed: that immenſe ſums were extorted from them by the moſt grievous impoſitions: that, by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon eſtabliſhed

BOOK I. 1692. bliſhed funds, their taxes were perpetuated: that their burthens would daily increaſe: that their treaſure was either ſquandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connections, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excuſable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had ſuffered grievouſly by the French privateers, which ſwarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourſe to the Admiralty, which could not ſpare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French King, having nothing further to apprehend from the Engliſh armament, withdrew his troops from the coaſt of Normandy; and James returned in deſpair to St. Germain's, where his Queen had been in his abſence delivered of a daughter, who was born in the preſence of the Archbiſhop of Paris, the Keeper of the ſeals, and other perſons of diſtinction.

§ XXX. Louis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate pomp of an Aſiatick Emperor, attended by his women and paraſites, his band of muſick, his dancers, his opera, and, in a word, by all the miniſters of luxury and ſenſual pleaſure. Having reveiwed his army, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty thouſand men, he undertook the ſiege of Namur, which he inveſted on both ſides of the Sambre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the ſiege under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is ſituated on the conflux of the Meuſe and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the ſtrongeſt forts in Flanders, ſtrengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in perſon. The Prince de Barbaſon commanded the garriſon, conſiſting of nine thouſand men. The place was well ſupplied; and the Governor knew that

that King William would make ſtrong efforts for its relief; ſo that the beſieged were animated with many concurring conſiderations. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the aſſailants carried on their attacks with ſuch vigour, that in ſeven days after the trenches were opened the town capitulated, and the garriſon retired into the citadel. King William, being joined by the troops of Brandenburgh and Liege, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thouſand effective men, and encamped within cannon ſhot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other ſide of the river. That General, however, had taken ſuch precautions, that the King of England could not interrupt the ſiege, nor attack the French lines without great diſadvantage. The beſiegers, encouraged by the preſence of their Monarch, and aſſiſted by the ſuperior abilities of Vauban their engineer, repeated their attacks with ſuch impetuoſity, that the fort of Coehorn was ſurrendered, after a very obſtinate defence, in which he himſelf had been dangerouſly wounded. The citadel being thus left expoſed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withſtand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by aſſault: on the twentieth of May the Governor capitulated, to the unſpeakable mortification of King William, who ſaw himſelf obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye-witneſs of the loſs of the moſt important fortreſs in the Netherlands. Louis, having taken poſſeſſion of the place, returned in triumph to Verſailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation ſuffered a little from his miſcarriage, and the Prince of Barbaſon incurred the ſuſpicion of treachery or miſconduct. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXXI. Luxembourg having placed a ſtrong garriſon in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Baſſiere: and with the reſt of his army encamped at Soignies. The King of England

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ſent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the ſixth day of July poſted himſelf at Genap, reſolved to ſeize the firſt opportunity of retrieving his honour, by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French General was in motion, and intended to take poſt between Steenkerke and Enghien, he paſſed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpoſe: but, in ſpite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lembecq, within ſix miles of the French army. Here he reſolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and every diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other ſide of the Senne; and one Millevoix; a detected ſpy, was compelled by menaces to miſlead Luxembourg with falſe intelligence, importing that he need not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended the next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-fourth day of July, the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The Prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of Engliſh, Daniſh, and Dutch infantry: he was ſupported by a conſiderable body of Britiſh horſe and foot, commanded by Lieutenant-General Mackay. Though the ground was interſected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the Prince marched with ſuch diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were driven from their poſts, and their whole camp became a ſcene of tumult and confuſion. Luxembourg, truſting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himſelf to be ſurpriſed; and it required the full exertion of his ſuperior talents, to remedy the conſequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a ſevere indiſpoſition under which he then laboured; he rallied his broken battalions:

battalions: he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in perſon. The Duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the Prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the firſt quality, put themſelves at the head of the houſehold troops, and fell with great fury upon the Engliſh, who were very ill ſupported by Count Solmes, the officer who commanded the centre of the allies. The Prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemies' batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himſelf in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he ſent an aide-du-camp twice, to demand ſuccours from Solmes, who derided his diſtreſs, ſaying, "Let us ſee what ſport theſe Engliſh bull-dogs will make." At length, when the King ſent an expreſs order, commanding him to ſuſtain the left wing, he made a motion with his horſe, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the Britiſh troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with ſurpriſing courage and perſeverance againſt dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers joined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not ſuſtain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to proſecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates loſt the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thouſand men left dead on the ſpot, the ſame number wounded or taken, a great many colours and ſtandards, and ſeveral pieces of cannon. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXXII. The French, however, reaped no ſolid advantage from this victory, which coſt them about three thouſand men, including the Prince of

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Turenne, the Marquis de Bellefond, Tilladet, and Fernacon, with many officers of diſtinction: as for Millevoix the ſpy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmoleſted to his own camp; and notwithſtanding all his overthrows, continued a reſpectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in reſources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midſt of his ill ſucceſs, appears from divers undeniable teſtimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expreſſed by the people of France, on occaſion of this unimportant victory. When the Princes who ſerved in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they paſſed were almoſt blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air reſounded with acclamation. All the ornaments of the faſhion peculiar to both ſexes adopted the name of Steenkerke: every individual who had been perſonally engaged in the action was revered as a being of a ſuperior ſpecies; and the tranſports of the women roſe almoſt to a degree of frenzy.

§ XXXIII. The French miniſtry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge againſt King William. They likewiſe employed aſſaſſins to deprive him of life, in the moſt treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his ſon, the Marquis de Barbeſieux, who ſucceeded him in his office of Secretary, found, among his papers, the draft of a ſcheme for this purpoſe, and immediately revived the deſign, by means of the Chevalier de Grandval, a Captain of dragoons in the ſervice. He and Colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to aſſaſſinate King William. Madame de Maintenon, and Paparel, paymaſter to the French army, were privy to the ſcheme, which they encouraged: the conſpirators are ſaid to have obtained an audience of King James, who approved of their undertaking, and aſſured them of his protection; but that

that unfortunate Monarch was unjuſtly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murther, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to ſeize the perſon of the Prince of Orange. Dumont actually inliſted in the confederate army, that he might have the better opportunity to ſhoot the King of England when he ſhould ride out to viſit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg, to furniſh them with a party of horſe for the reſcue of Dumont, after the blow ſhould be ſtruck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he deſired, after having reſided ſome weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but ſtill correſponded with Grandval and Barbeſieux. This laſt admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the ſecret, and likewiſe imparted it to Monſieur Chanlais, Quarter-Maſter General of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promiſe of a conſiderable reward, and promiſed to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for this aſſaſſin ſtill perſiſted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been ſent from Holland, on purpoſe to dive to the bottom of this conſpiracy, in conſequence of advice given by the Britiſh envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped ſome hints that alarmed his ſuſpicion. The Dutchman not only inſinuated himſelf into the confidence of the conſpirators, but likewiſe inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Underſtanding that Dumont had already diſcovered the deſign to the Duke of Zell, and that he himſelf had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confeſſed all the particulars, without enduring the torture; and, being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor. CHAP. III 1696.

§ XXXIV. About this period the Duke of Leinſter arrived at Oſtend, with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furniſhed

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niſhed with cannon ſent down the Meuſe from Maeſtricht; and reinforced by a large detachment from the King's camp at Gramont, under the command of General Ptolemache. He took poſſeſſion of Furnes, was joined by the Earl of Portland and M. D'Auverquerque, and a diſpoſition was made for inveſting Dunkirk: but, on further deliberation, the enterpriſe was thought very dangerous, and therefore laid aſide. Furnes and Dixmuyde, lately reduced by Brigadier Ramſay, were ſtrengthened with new works, and ſecured by ſtrong garriſons. The cannon were ſent back, and the troops returning to Oſtend, re-embarked for England. This fruitleſs expedition, added to the inglorious iſſue of the campaign, increaſed the ill humour of the Britiſh nation. They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thouſand men, while Luxembourg was poſted at Courtray with half that number. They ſaid, if he had found the French lines too ſtrong to be forced, he might have paſſed the Scheld higher up, and not only laid the enemy's conqueſts under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the ſums expended in maintaining their garriſons. On the twenty-ſixth day of September King William left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his houſe at Loo: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horſe to Caure. On the ſixteenth day of October, the King receiving intelligence, that Boufflers had inveſted Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken poſt in the neighbourhood of Condé, ordered the troops to be inſtantly re-aſſembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with deſign to raiſe the ſiege, and repaired to Bruſſels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper meaſures were concerted. He then returned

turned to Holland, leaving the command with the Elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipville. The Elector having reinforced the place and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Condé, Leuzet and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXXV. The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel undertook the siege of Eberemburg, which, however, he was obliged to abandon. The Duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprised, defeated, and took the Duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Eidelsheim, to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard having invested Rhinefield, the Landgrave marched to its relief with such expedition, that the French were obliged to desist and retreat with considerable damage. The Elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field: but he complained that the Emperor left the burthen of the war with France upon the Princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy and misunderstanding ensued: Schoening, the Saxon General, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz in Bohemia, was seized by the Emperor's order, on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy, and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the Courts of Vienna and Dresden. Schoening was detained two years in custody; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by factions, and the seraglio

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ſeraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unſucceſsful war: the Viſir was depoſed; and in the midſt of this confuſion, the garriſon of Great Waradin, which had been blocked up by the Imperialiſts during the whole winter, ſurrendered on capitulation. Lord Paget, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Vienna, was ſent to Conſtantinople, with powers to mediate a peace: but the terms offered by the Emperor were rejected at the Porte: the Turkiſh army lay upon the defenſive, and the ſeaſon was ſpent in a fruitleſs negociation.

§ XXXVI. The proſpect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the Pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the Duke of Savoy. M. Chanlais was ſent to Turin, with advantageous propoſals, which, however, the Duke would not accept, becauſe he thought himſelf entitled to better terms, conſidering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thouſand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not ſufficient to defend his conqueſts in that country. In the month of July the Duke marched into Dauphiné, where he plundered a number of villages, and reduced the fortreſs of Guilleſtre; then paſſing the river Darance, he inveſted Ambrun, which, after a ſiege of nine days, ſurrendered on capitulation: he afterwards laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here Duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the Engliſh pay, publiſhed a declaration, in the name of King William, inviting the people to join his ſtandard, aſſuring them that his maſter had no other deſign in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of reſtoring the nobleſſe to their ancient ſplendour, their Parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their juſt privileges. He even offered his protection to the Clergy, and promiſed to uſe his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes,

Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the Kings of England. Theſe offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence, and this place ſubmitted without oppoſition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lyons, were overwhelmed with conſternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almoſt quite defenceleſs; but this was fatally neglected, either from the ſpirit of diſſention which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indiſpoſition of the Duke of Savoy, who was ſeized with the ſmall-pox in the midſt of this expedition; or, laſtly, from his want of ſincerity, which was ſhrewdly ſuſpected. He is ſaid to have maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the court of Verſailles, in complaiſance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conqueſts, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waſte the country through which he had penetrated*. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province. CHAP. III. 1692.

§ XXXVII. The Proteſtant intereſt in Germany acquired an acceſſion of ſtrength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Erneſt Auguſtus, Duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connections with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the intereſt of the allies, in conſideration of his obtaining the Electoral dignity.

* At this period Queen Mary, underſtanding that the Proteſtant Vaudois were deſtitute of miniſters to preach or teach the Goſpel, eſtabliſhed a fund from her own privy purſe, to maintain ten preachers, and as many ſchoolmaſters, in the vallies of Piedmont.

King

BOOK I. 1698. King William exerted himſelf ſo vigorouſly in his behalf at the Court of Vienna, that the Emperor agreed to the propoſal, in caſe the conſent of the other electors could be procured. This aſſent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the King of England, whom he durſt not diſoblige. Leopold was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and conſequently averſe to a new creation, that would weaken the Catholick intereſt in the Electoral College. He, therefore, employed his emiſſaries to thwart the Duke's meaſures. Some Proteſtant Princes oppoſed him from motives of jealouſy, and the French King uſed all his artifice and influence, to prevent the elevation of the Houſe of Hanover. When the Duke had ſurmounted all this oppoſition, ſo far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were ſtarted. The Emperor ſuggeſted that another Popiſh Electorate ſhould be created to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover: and he propoſed that Auſtria ſhould be raiſed to the ſame dignity: but violent oppoſition was made to this expedient, which would have veſted the Emperor with a double vote in the Electoral College. At length, after a tedious negociation, the Duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the inveſtiture, as Elector of Brunſwick; created Great Marſhal of the empire, and did homage to the Emperor: nevertheleſs, he was not yet admitted into the college, becauſe he had not been able to procure the unanimous conſent of all the electors*.

* In the beginning of September the ſhock of an earthquake was felt in London, and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the ſame kind had happened about two months before in Sicily and Malta: and the town of Port-Royal in Jamaica was almoſt totally ruined by the earthquake: the place was ſo ſuddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred perſons periſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

§ I. *False information against the Earl of Marlborough, the Bishop of Rochester, and others.* § II. *Sources of national discontent.* § III. *Dissention between the Queen and the Princess Anne of Denmark.* § IV. *The House of Lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members.* § V. *The Commons present addresses to the King and Queen.* § VI. *They acquit Admiral Russel, and resolve to advise his Majesty.* § VII. *They comply with all the demands of the ministry.* § VIII. *The Lords present an address of advice to the King.* § IX. *Dispute between the Lords and Commons concerning Admiral Russel* § X. *The Commons address the King. They establish the land-tax and other impositions.* § XI. *Burnet's pastoral letter burned by the hangman.* § XII. *Proceedings of the Lower House against the practice of kidnapping men for the service.* § XIII. *The two Houses address the King on the grievances of Ireland.* § XIV. *An account of the place-bill, and that for triennial Parliaments.* § XV. *The Commons petition his Majesty that he would dissolve the East-India Company.* § XVI. *Trial of Lord Mohun for murther. Alterations in the ministry.* § XVII *The King repairs to the continent, and assembles the confederate army in Flanders.* § XVIII. *The French reduce Huy.* § XIX. *Luxembourg resolves to attack the allies.* § XX. *Who are defeated at Landen.* § XXI. *Charleroy is besieged and taken by the enemy.* § XXII. *Campaign on the Rhine. The Duke of Savoy is defeated by Catinat in the plain of Marsaglia.* § XXIII. *Transactions in Hungary and Catalonia.* § XXIV. *Naval affairs.* § XXV. *A fleet of merchant ships, under convoy of Sir George Rooke, attacked, and partly destroyed by the French squadrons.* § XXVI. *Wheeler's expedition to the West-Indies.* § XXVII.

Benbow bombards St. Maloes. § XXVIII. *The French King has recourſe to the mediation of Denmark.* § XXIX. *Severity of the government againſt the Jacobites.* § XXX. *Complaiſance of the Scottiſh Parliament.* § XXXI. *The King returns to England, makes ſome changes in the miniſtry, and opens the ſeſſion of Parliament.* § XXXII. *Both houſes inquire into the miſcarriages by ſea.* § XXXIII. *The Commons grant a vaſt ſum for the ſervices of the enſuing year.* § XXXIV. *The King rejects the bill againſt free and impartial proceedings in Parliament; and the Lower Houſe remonſtrates on this ſubject.* § XXXV. *Eſtabliſhment of the Bank of England.* § XXXVI. *The Eaſt-India Company obtain a new charter.* § XXXVII. *Bill for a general naturalization dropped.* § XXXVIII. *Sir Francis Wheeler periſhes in a ſtorm.* § XXXIX. *The Engliſh attempt to make a deſcent in Camaret-bay, but are repulſed with loſs.* § XL. *They bombard Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, Dunkirk, and Calais.* § XLI. *Admiral Ruſſel ſails for the Mediterranean relieves Barcelona, and winters at Cadiz.* XLII. *Campaign in Flanders.* § XLIII. *The allies reduce Huy.* § XLIV. *The Prince of Baden paſſes the Rhine, but is obliged to repaſs that river Operations in Hungary.* § XLV. *Progreſs of the French in Catalonia. State of the war in Piedmont.* § XLVI. *The King returns to England. The Parliament meets. The bill for triennial Parliaments receives the royal aſſent.* § XLVII. *Death of Archbiſhop Tillotſon and of Queen Mary.* § XLVIII. *Reconciliation between the King and the Princeſs of Denmark.*

BOOK I. 1695

§ I. WHILE King William ſeemed wholly engroſſed by the affairs of the continent, England was diſtracted by domeſtick diſſention, and overſpread with vice, corruption, and profaneneſs. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a ſet of malcontents, whoſe number daily increaſed. They

not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but compoſed and publiſhed elaborate diſſertations upon the ſame ſubject. Theſe made ſuch impreſſions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burthens, diſtreſſed in their trade, and diſappointed in their ſanguine expectations, that the Queen thought it neceſſary to check the progreſs of thoſe writers, by iſſuing out a proclamation, offering a reward to ſuch as would diſcover ſeditious libellers. The Earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower, on the information of one Robert Young, a priſoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's hand-writing, and contrived the ſcheme of an aſſociation in favour of King James, to which he affixed the names of the Earls of Marlborough and Saliſbury, Sprat, Biſhop of Rocheſter, the Lord Cornbury, and Sir Baſil Firebrace. One of his emiſſaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the Biſhop's houſe at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the King's meſſengers, who ſecured the Prelate in conſequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the whole council; and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confeſſion of his accomplice. The Biſhop obtained his releaſe immediately, and the Earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of King's-Bench. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ II. So many perſons of character and diſtinction had been impriſoned during this reign, upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, that the diſcontented part of the nation had ſome reaſon to inſinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the Habeas-Corpus Act was either inſufficient to protect the ſubject from falſe impriſonment, or had been ſhamefully miſuſed. They expatiated upon the loſs of ſhips, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the conſumption of ſeamen; the neglect of the fiſheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was ſupplanted by her allies, as well

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well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treaſure, exhauſted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to fight foreign quarrels; and the ſlaughter of the beſt and braveſt of their countrymen, whoſe blood had been laviſhly ſpilt in ſupport of connections with which they ought to have had no concern. They demonſtrated the miſchiefs that neceſſarily aroſe from the unſettled ſtate of the nation. They obſerved, that the government could not be duly eſtabliſhed, until a ſolemn declaration ſhould confirm the legality of that tenure by which their Majeſties poſſeſſed the throne; that the ſtructure of Parliaments was deficient in point of ſolidity, as they exiſted entirely at the pleaſure of the Crown, which would uſe them no longer than they ſhould be found neceſſary in raiſing ſupplies for the uſe of the government. They exclaimed againſt the practice of quartering ſoldiers in private houſes, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the ſubſequent act on that ſubject paſſed in the reign of the ſecond Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by preſſing tranſport ſhips into the ſervice, without ſettling any fund of payment for the owners: the condition of the militia, which was equally burthenſome and uſeleſs; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and ſupplied the enemy with neceſſaries, while the Engliſh laboured under the ſevereſt prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of thoſe very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the miniſtry's want of conduct, foreſight, and intelligence, and inveighed againſt their ignorance, inſolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a deſign of reducing it to the loweſt ebb of diſgrace and deſtruction. By this time, indeed, publick virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overſpread with immorality and corruption; towards the increaſe of which many

many concurring circumſtances happened to contri- CHAP. IV.
bute. The people were divided into three parties, 1692.
namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the diſcontented Revolutioners: theſe factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expoſe, and to ridicule the meaſures and principles of each other: ſo that patriotiſm was laughed out of doors, as an hypocritical pretence. This contention eſtabliſhed a belief that every man conſulted his own private intereſt at the expence of the publick: a belief that ſoon grew into a maxim almoſt univerſally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in Parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the loweſt borough-elector. The expedient of eſtabliſhing funds of credit for raiſing ſupplies to defray the expences of government threw large premiums and ſums of money into the hands of low, ſordid uſurers, brokers, and jobbers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of the Monied-Intereſt. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their ſuperiors; but, being deſtitute of ſentiment and taſte, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the moſt abſurd and illiberal extravagancies. They laid aſide all decorum; became lewd, inſolent, intemperate, and riotous. Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency, was gradually baniſhed; talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy.

§ III. King William having aſcertained the winter-quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the enſuing campaign with the States General, and the miniſters of the allies, ſet ſail for England on the fifteenth day of October: on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the Queen at Newhall, and paſſed through the city of London to Kenſington, amidſt the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory addreſs from the Lord-Mayor

BOOK I. 1692. Mayor and Aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thankſgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at ſea. The lute-ſtring company was eſtabliſhed by patent, and the Parliament met on the fourth day of November. The Houſe of Lords was deeply infected with diſcontent, which in ſome meaſure proceeded from the diſſention between the Queen and her ſiſter the Princeſs of Denmark, which laſt underwent every mortification that the Court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honours which had been paid to her rank by the magiſtrates of Bath, where ſhe ſometimes reſided, and even by the miniſters of the church where ſhe attended at divine ſervice, were diſcontinued, by the expreſs order of his Majeſty. Her cauſe was naturally eſpouſed by thoſe noblemen who had adhered to her in her former conteſt with the King, about an independent ſettlement; and theſe were now reinforced by all the friends of the Earl of Marlborough, united for a double tie: for they reſented the diſgrace and confinement of that Lord, and thought it their duty to ſupport the Princeſs Anne under a perſecution incurred by an attachment to his Counteſs. The Earl of Shrewſbury lived in friendſhip with Marlborough, and thought he had been ungratefully treated by the King: the Marquis of Halifax befriended him, from oppoſition to the miniſtry: the Earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to diſplay his talents, and acquire that conſideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonſhire, Montague, and Bradford, joined in the ſame cauſe from principle: the ſame pretence was uſed by the Earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs, though in effect they were actuated by jealouſy and reſentment againſt thoſe by whom they had been ſupplanted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly contributed their aſſiſtance to promote any ſcheme that had a tendency to embroil the adminiſtration.

§ IV.

§ IV. The King, in his ſpeech to Parliament, thanked them for their laſt ſupplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained at ſea, condoled them on the bad ſucceſs of the campaign by land, magnified the power of France, repreſented the neceſſity of maintaining a great force to oppoſe it, and demanded ſubſidies equal to the occaſion. He expreſſed his reluctance to load them with additional burthens, which, he ſaid, could not be avoided, without expoſing his kingdom to inevitable deſtruction. He deſired their advice towards leſſening the inconvenience of exporting money for the payment of the forces. He intimated a deſign of making a deſcent upon France; declared he had no aim but to make his ſubjects a happy people; and that he would again chearfully expoſe his life for the welfare of the nation. The Lords, after an adjournment of three days, began with great warmth to aſſert their privileges, which they conceived had been violated in the caſes of the Earl of Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had been apprehended, committed to priſon, and afterwards admitted to bail by the court of King's-Bench. Theſe circumſtances being fully diſcuſſed in a violent debate, the Houſe ordered Lord Lucas, Conſtable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of commitment, and the clerk of the King's-Bench to deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the court ſolicitor, upon which the Lords had been remanded to priſon. At the ſame time, the whole affair was referred to a committee, empowered to ſend for perſons, papers, and records. The Judges were ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined, touching the evidence againſt the committed Lords. The committee reported their general reſolution, which produced a vehement diſpute. The opinion of the Judges was unſatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole Houſe, in which it was reſolved, and declared, as the ſenſe of that

CHAP. IV. 1692.

BOOK I. 1692. aſſembly, that in purſuance of the Habeas-Corpus act, it was the duty of the Judges and Gaol-delivery to diſcharge the priſoner on bail, if committed for high-treaſon, unleſs it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witneſſes againſt the ſaid priſoner, who cannot be produced in that term, ſeſſion, or general gaol-delivery. They likwiſe reſolved it was the intention of the ſaid ſtatute, that in caſe there ſhould be more than one priſoner to be bailed or remanded, there muſt be oath made that there are two witneſſes againſt each priſoner, otherwiſe he cannot be remanded to priſon. Theſe reſolutions were entered in the books, as ſtanding directions to all future Judges, yet not without great oppoſition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the impriſoned Lords ſhould be ſet at liberty. The conteſt became ſo warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and propoſed an expedient, which was put in practice. The Houſe adjourned to the ſeventeenth day of the month, aad at its next meeting was given to underſtand, that the King had diſcharged the impriſoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the Journals, importing, That the Houſe being informed of his Majeſty's having given directions for diſcharging the Lords under bail in the King's-Bench, the debate about that matter ceaſed. The reſentment of the Peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his Majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration.

§ V. The Commons having voted an addreſs of thanks, and another praying that his Majeſty's foreign alliances ſhould be laid before them, determined on a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon. They paſſed a vote of thanks to Admiral Ruſſel, his officers, and ſeamen, for the victory they had obtained, and then proceeded to an inquiry, Why that victory had not been purſued; why the deſcent

deſcent had not been made; and why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruiſers. The Admiral having juſtified his own conduct, they commanded the Lords of the Admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been ſent to the Admiral: they ordered Ruſſel to lay before them his anſwers, and the Commiſſioners of the tranſports, victuallers, and Office of Ordnance to deliver in an account of their proceedings. They then preſented addreſſes to the King and Queen, acknowledging the favour of God in reſtoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the ſnares of his open and ſecret enemies; and aſſuring him they would, according to his Majeſty's deſire in his moſt gracious ſpeech, be always ready to adviſe and aſſiſt him in the ſupport of his government. The Queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent adminiſtration during his Majeſty's abſence: they congratulated her on their ſignal deliverance from a bold and cruel deſign formed for their deſtruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they aſſured her that the grateful ſenſe they had of their happineſs under her government, ſhould always be manifeſted in conſtant returns of duty and obedience.

§ VI. After this formal compliment, the Houſe, inſtead of proceeding to the ſupplies, inſiſted upon peruſing the treaties, publick accounts, and eſtimates, that they might be in a condition to adviſe, as well as to aſſiſt his Majeſty. Being indulged with thoſe papers, they paſſed a previous vote, that a ſupply ſhould be given; then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign Generals, and particularly reflected upon the inſolence of Count Solmes, and his miſconduct at Steenkerke. After ſome warm altercation, the Houſe reſolved one

BOOK I. 1692. article of their advice ſhould be, That his Majeſty would be pleaſed to fill up the vacancies that ſhould happen among the general officers, with ſuch only as were natives of his dominions, and that the commander in chief of the Engliſh ſhould be an Engliſhman. Their next reſolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for ſome time paſt unſucceſsfully managed, the Houſe ſhould adviſe his Majeſty to prevent ſuch miſchiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly againſt cabinet councils, as a novelty in the Britiſh ſyſtem of government, by which the privy-council was joſtled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vicious principles of the miniſtry: they obſerved, that he who oppoſed the eſtabliſhment could not be expected to ſupport it with zeal. The Earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name, and the Houſe reſolved that his Majeſty ſhould be adviſed to employ in his councils ſuch perſons only whoſe principles obliged them to ſupport his rights againſt the late King, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's intereſt ſtill predominated among the Commons. His friend Ruſſel acquitted himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the Houſe, and ſhifted the blame of the miſcarriage upon his enemy the Earl of Nottingham, by declaring that twenty days elapſed between his firſt letter to that nobleman and his Lordſhip's anſwer. The Earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the Houſe, eſpouſed his cauſe with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Ruſſel; ſo that a very violent debate enſued. Both parties agreed that there had been miſmanagement in the ſcheme of a deſcent. It was moved, that one cauſe of the miſcarriage was the want of giving timely and neceſſary orders, by thoſe to whom the management of the

the affair was committed. The Houſe divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next ſitting of the committee, Sir Richard Temple propoſed they ſhould conſider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of Engliſh manufactures, without exporting money. They reſolved that the Houſe ſhould be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into conſideration. Sir Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair, and the Speaker reſumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was diſſolved. The Houſe, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its ſitting; but before it could reſume its deliberations, Admiral Ruſſel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purpoſes were defeated. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ VII. The Court agents had by this time interpoſed, and ſecured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The Commons no longer inſiſted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centered in the article of aſſiſtance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three-and-thirty thouſand ſeamen, the building of ſome additional ſhips of war, and the finiſhing of Plymouth-dock: and ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to ſupply the deficiency of the quarterly poll. The eſtimates of the land-ſervice were not diſcuſſed without tedious debates, and warm diſputes. The miniſtry demanded fifty-four thouſand men, twenty thouſand of whom ſhould be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the reſt ſhould ſerve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their averſion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and ſo little proſpect of ſucceſs. Others agreed that the allies ſhould be aſſiſted on the continent with a proportion of Britiſh forces; but that the nation ſhould act as an auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would chearfully contribute

BOOK I. 1692.

tribute to the general expence. Theſe reflections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Miniſterial influence had ſurmounted all oppoſition. The Houſe voted the number of men demanded. Such was their ſervile complaiſance, that when they examined the treaties by which the Engliſh and Dutch contracted equally with the German Princes, and found that, notwithſtanding theſe treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant inſtance of partiality, and enabled the King to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were ſo much altered, that, inſtead of proſecuting their reſentment againſt foreign Generals, they aſſented to a motion that the Prince of Wirtemberg, the Major-Generals Tetteau and La Foreſt, who commanded the Daniſh troops in the pay of the States-General, ſhould be indulged with ſuch an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the ſubſiſtence of the land forces, and for defraying extraordinary expences attending the war upon the Continent, including ſubſidies to the Electors of Saxony and Hanover.

§ VIII. The Houſe of Lords, mean while, was not free from animoſity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themſelves with great vivacity. They affirmed, it was the province of their Houſe to adviſe the Sovereign: like the Commons they inſiſted upon the King's having aſked their advice, becauſe he had mentioned that word in his ſpeech, though he never dreamed that they would catch at it with ſuch eagerneſs. They moved that the talk of digeſting the articles of advice ſhould be undertaken by a joint committee of both Houſes: but all the dependents of the Court, including the whole bench of Biſhops, except Watſon of St. David's, were marſhalled to oppoſe this motion, which

which was rejected by a majority of twelve: and this victory was followed with a proteſt of the vanquiſhed. Notwithſtanding this defeat, they proſecuted their ſcheme of giving advice; and, after much wrangling and declamation, the Houſe agreed in an addreſs or remonſtrance, adviſing and beſeeching his Majeſty, That the commanding officer of the Britiſh forces ſhould be an Engliſhman: That Engliſh officers might take rank of thoſe in the confederate armies, who did not belong to crowned heads: That the twenty thouſand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom ſhould be all Engliſh, and commanded by an Engliſh General: That the practice of preſſing men for the fleet ſhould be remedied: that ſuch officers as were guilty of this practice ſhould be caſhiered and puniſhed: and, laſtly, That no foreigners ſhould ſit at the board of Ordnance. This addreſs was preſented to the King, who received it coldly, and ſaid he would take it into conſideration. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§. IX. Then the Lords reſolved to inquire into the miſcarriage of the purpoſed deſcent, and called for all the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not ſo much to rectify the errors of the government, as to ſcreen Nottingham, and cenſure Ruſſel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correſpondence between him and the Admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miſcarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Aſhby was examined. The Houſe directed the Earl to draw up the ſubſtance of his charge; and theſe papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the Commons, at a conference by the Lord-Preſident, and the reſt of the committee above. They were offered for the inſpection of the Commons, as they concerned ſome members of that Houſe, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars

they

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they contained. At another conference, which the Commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the Houſe, That they had read and well conſidered the papers which their Lordſhips had ſent them, and which they now returned: That, finding Mr. Ruſſel, one of their members, often mentioned in the ſaid papers, they had unanimouſly reſolved, That Admiral Ruſſel, in his command of the fleets, during the laſt ſummer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The Lords, irritated at this declaration, and diſappointed in their reſentment againſt Ruſſel, deſired a free conference between the committees of both Houſes. The Earl of Rocheſter told the Commons, he was commanded by the Houſe of Lords to inform them, that their Lordſhips looked upon the late vote and proceeding of the Lower Houſe, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their Lordſhips the lights they had received, and the reaſons upon which their vote was founded. A paper to the ſame purport was delivered to Colonel Granville, who promiſed to preſent it to the Commons, and make a faithful report of what his Lordſhip had ſaid. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was diſcontinued.

§ X. The Lower Houſe ſeemed to be as much exaſperated againſt the Earl of Nottingham as the Lords were incenſed at Ruſſel. A motion was made that his Majeſty ſhould be adviſed to appoint ſuch commiſſioners of the board of Admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was over-ruled, they voted an addreſs to the King, praying, that, for the future, all orders for the engagement of the fleet might paſs through the hands of the ſaid commiſſioners; a proteſt by implication againſt the conduct of the ſecretary. The conſideration of ways and means was the next object that engroſſed the attention of the

the Lower Houſe. They reſolved that a rate of four ſhillings in the pound, for one year, ſhould be charged upon all lands, according to their yearly value: as alſo upon all perſonal eſtates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military offices in the army or navy. The act founded on this reſolution empowered the King to borrow money on the credit of it, at ſeven per cent. They further enabled him to raiſe one million on the general credit of the Exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid ſeveral new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the laſt quarterly poll, providing, that in caſe it ſhould not produce three hundred thouſand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the Exchequer. They continued the impoſitions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and ſugar for five years; and thoſe on Eaſt-India goods for four years. They laid a new impoſition of eight per cent. on the capital ſtock of the Eaſt-India Company, eſtimated at ſeven hundred and forty-four thouſand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every ſhare of the ſtock belonging to the Hudſon's-Bay company; and they empowered his Majeſty to borrow five hundred thouſand pounds on theſe funds, which were expreſsly eſtabliſhed for maintaining the war with vigour *. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ XI. The money-bills were retarded in the Upper-Houſe, by the arts of Halifax, Mulgrave, and other malcontents. They grafted a clauſe on the land-tax bill, importing, that the Lords ſhould tax themſelves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill ſent with this amendment to the Commons, by whom it was unanimouſly rejected, as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a

* The French King hearing how liberally William was ſupplied, exclaimed with ſome emotion, "My little couſin the Prince of "Orange is fixed in the ſaddle—but, no matter, the laſt Louis "d'or muſt carry it."

BOOK I. 1692. conference, in which they declared that the clauſe in queſtion was a notorious encroachment upon the right the Commons poſſeſſed, of regulating all matters relating to ſupplies granted by Parliament. When this report was debated in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Mulgrave diſplayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in perſuading the Houſe, that, by yielding to this claim of the Commons, they would diveſt themſelves of their true greatneſs, and nothing would remain but the name and ſhadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithſtanding all his oratory, the Lords relinquiſhed their clauſe, declaring, at the ſame time, that they had agreed to paſs the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the preſent urgent ſtate of affairs, as being otherwiſe of opinion, that they had a right to inſiſt upon their clauſe. A formal complaint being made in the Houſe of Commons againſt the pamphlet, entitled, "King William and Queen Mary Conquerors," as containing aſſertions of dangerous conſequence to their Majeſties, to the liberty of the ſubject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenſer and printer were taken into cuſtody. The book being examined, they reſolved that it ſhould be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the King ſhould be moved to diſmiſs the licenſer from his employment. The ſame ſentence they pronounced upon a paſtoral letter of Biſhop Burnet, in which this notion of conqueſt had been at firſt aſſerted. The Lords, in order to manifeſt their ſentiments on the ſame ſubject, reſolved, That ſuch an aſſertion was highly injurious to their Majeſties, inconſiſtent with the principles on which the Government was founded, and tending to the ſubverſion of the rights of the people. Bohun, the licenſer, was brought to the bar of the Houſe, and diſcharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the Speaker.

§ XII.

§ XII. Several members having complained that their ſervants had been kidnapped, and ſent to ſerve as ſoldiers in Flanders, the Houſe appointed a committee to inquire into the abuſes committed by preſs-maſters; and a ſuitable remonſtrance was preſented to the King, who expreſſed his indignation at this practice, and aſſured the Houſe that the delinquents ſhould be brought to exemplary puniſhment. Underſtanding, however, in the ſequel, that the methods taken by his Majeſty for preventing this abuſe had not proved effectual, they reſumed their inquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of perſons who had been preſſed were diſcharged by order of the Houſe; and Captain Winter, the chief undertaker of this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the Serjeant before the Lord Chief Juſtice, that he might be proſecuted according to law. CHAP. IV. 1692.

§ XIII. Before the heats occaſioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the diſcontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where Lord Sidney was ſaid to rule with deſpotick authority. Theſe complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewſter, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, Lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the Houſe, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both Houſes concurred in this inquiry, which being finiſhed, they ſeverally preſented addreſſes to the King. The Lords obſerved, That there had been great abuſes in diſpoſing of the forfeited eſtates: That protections had been granted to the Iriſh not included in the articles of Limerick; ſo that Proteſtants were deprived of the benefit of the law againſt them: That the quarters of the army had not been paid according to the proviſion made by Parliament: That a mayor had been impoſed upon the city of Dublin for two years ſucceſſively, contrary

BOOK I. 1692. contrary to the ancient privileges and charter: That ſeveral perſons accuſed of murder had been executed without proof: and one Sweetman, the moſt guilty, diſcharged without proſecution. The Commons *ſpoke more freely in their addreſs: they roundly* explained the abuſes and miſmanagement of that government, by expoſing the Proteſtant ſubjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Iriſh Papiſts, who had been in open rebellion againſt his Majeſty; by granting protections to Iriſh Roman Catholicks, whereby the courſe of the law was ſtopped: by reverſing outlawries for high treaſon, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited eſtates at under value, to the prejudice of his Majeſty's revenue; by embezzling the ſtores left in the towns and garriſons by the late King James, as well as the effects belonging to the forfeited eſtates, which might have been employed for the better preſervation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was ſigned, and the place ſurrendered. They moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to redreſs theſe abuſes, which had greatly encouraged the Papiſts, and weakened the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. The King graciouſly received both addreſſes, and promiſed to pay a particular regard to all remonſtrances that ſhould come from either Houſe of Parliament: but no material ſtep was taken againſt the Lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningſby, who appeared to have engroſſed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the Crown; and even Commiſſioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the moſt grievous acts of oppreſſion, eſcaped with impunity.

§ XIV. The old Whig principle was not yet wholly expelled from the Lower Houſe. The undue influence of the Court was exerted in ſuch an open, ſcandalous manner, as gave offence to the majority of the Commons. In the midſt of all their condeſcenſion,

ſcenſion, Sir Edward Huſſey, member for Lincoln, brought in a bill touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament. It was intended to diſable all members of Parliament from enjoying places of truſt and profit, and particularly levelled againſt the officers of the army and navy, who had inſinuated themſelves into the Houſe in ſuch numbers, that this was commonly called the Officers' Parliament. The bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and was ſent up to the Lords, by whom it was read a ſecond time, and committed: but the miniſtry employing their whole ſtrength againſt it, on the report it was thrown out by a majority of two voices. The Earl of Mulgrave again diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his elocution, in a ſpeech that was held in great veneration by the people; and, among thoſe who entered a proteſt in the journals of the Houſe, when the majority rejected the bill, was Prince George of Denmark, Duke of Cumberland. The Court had not recollected themſelves from the conſternation produced by ſuch a vigorous oppoſition, when the Earl of Shrewſbury produced another bill for triennial Parliaments, providing that there ſhould be an annual ſeſſion; that if, at the expiration of three years, the Crown ſhould not order the Writs to be iſſued, the Lord Chancellor, or keeper, or commiſſioner of the great ſeal, ſhould iſſue them *ex officio*, and by authority of this act, under ſevere penalties. The immediate object of this bill was the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, which had already ſat three ſeſſions, and began to be formidable to the people from its conceſſions to the miniſtry. The benefits that would accrue to the conſtitution from the eſtabliſhment of triennial Parliaments were very well underſtood, as theſe points had been frequently diſcuſſed in former reigns. The courtiers now objected, that frequent elections would render the freeholders proud and inſolent, encourage faction among the electors, and entail a continual expence upon

CHAP. IV. 1692.

BOOK I. 1692. upon the member, as he would find himſelf obliged, during the whole time of his ſitting, to behave like a candidate, conſcious how ſoon the time of election would revolve. In ſpite of the miniſterial intereſt in the Upper Houſe, the bill paſſed, and contained a proviſo, that the preſent Parliament ſhould not continue any longer than the month of January next enſuing. The Court renewed its efforts againſt it in the Houſe of Commons, where, nevertheleſs, it was carried, with ſome altererations, which the Lords approved. But all theſe endeavours were fruſtrated by the prerogative of the King, who, by refuſing his aſſent, prevented its being enacted into a law.

§ XV. It was at the inſtigation of the miniſtry, that the Commons brought in a bill for continuing and explaining certain temporary laws then expiring or expired. Among theſe was an act for reſtraining the liberty of the preſs, which owed its original to the reign of Charles II. and had been revived in the firſt year of the ſucceeding reign. The bill paſſed the Lower-Houſe without difficulty, but met with warm oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords; a good number of whom proteſted againſt it, as a law that ſubjected all learning and true information to the arbitrary will of a mercenary, and, perhaps, ignorant licenſer, deſtroyed the properties of authors, and extended the evil of monopolies. The bill for regulating trials was dropped, and, in lieu of it, another produced for the preſervation of their Majeſties' ſacred perſons and government: but this too was rejected by the majority, in conſequence of
An. 1693. the miniſtry's ſecret management. The Eaſt-India Company narrowly eſcaped diſſolution. Petitions and counter-petitions were delivered into the Houſe of Commons: the pretenſions on both ſides were carefully examined: a committee of the whole Houſe reſolved, that there ſhould be a new ſubſcription of a joint-ſtock, not exceeding two millions five hundred

dred thouſand pounds, to continue for one-and-twenty years. The report was made and received, and the publick expected to ſee the affair brought to a ſpeedy iſſue: but the company had recourſe to the ſame expedients, which had lately proved ſo ſucceſsful in the hands of the miniſtry. Thoſe who had been the moſt warm in detecting their abuſes ſuddenly cooled; and the proſecution of the affair began to languiſh. Not but that the Houſe preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, praying that he would diſſolve the company upon three years' warning, according to the condition of their charter. He told them he would conſider their addreſs; and they did not further urge their remonſtrance. The bill for aſcertaining the commiſſions and ſalaries of the Judges, to which the King had refuſed the royal aſſent in the laſt ſeſſion, was revived, twice read, and rejected; and another, for preventing the exportation and melting of the coin, they ſuffered to lie neglected on the table. On the fourteenth day of March, the King put an end to the ſeſſion, after having thanked the Parliament for ſo great teſtimonies of their affection, and promiſed the ſupplies ſhould not be miſapplied. He obſerved, that the poſture of affairs called him abroad: but that he would leave a ſufficient number of troops for the ſecurity of the kingdom: he aſſured them he would expoſe his perſon upon all occaſions for the advantage of theſe kingdoms; and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to make them a flouriſhing nation*.

CHAP. IV. 1698.

§ XVI.

* The other laws made in this ſeſſion were theſe that follow:—— An Act for preventing ſuits againſt ſuch as had acted for their Majeſties' ſervice in defence of this kingdom——An Act for raiſing the militia in the year 1699—An Act authoriſing the judges to empower ſuch perſons, other than common attornies and ſolicitors, as they ſhould think fit, to take ſpecial bail, except in London, Weſtminſter, and ten miles round——An Act to encourage the apprehending of highwaymen—An Act for preventing clandeſtine marriages—An Act for the regaining, encouraging, and ſettling the Greenland trade—— An Act to prevent malicious informations in the Court of King's Bench,

BOOK I. 1693. § XVI. During the courſe of this ſeſſion, Lord Mohun was indicted and tried by his peers, in Weſtminſter-hall, as an accomplice in the murder of one Montford, a celebrated comedian, the Marquis of Caermarthen acting as Lord-Steward upon this occaſion. The Judges having been conſulted, the peers proceeded to give their judgments *ſeriatim*, and Mohun was acquitted by a great majority. The King, who, from his firſt acceſſion to the throne, had endeavoured to trim the balance between the Whigs and Tories, by mingling them together in his miniſtry, made ſome alterations at this period, that favoured of the ſame policy. The great ſeal, with the title of Lord Keeper, was beſtowed upon Sir John Somers, who was well ſkilled in the law, as in many other branches of polite and uſeful literature. He poſſeſſed a remarkable talent for buſineſs, in which he exerted great patience and aſſiduity; was gentle, candid, and equitable: a Whig in principles, yet moderate, pacifick, and conciliating. Of the ſame temper was Sir John Trenchard, now appointed Secretary of State. He had been concerned with the Duke of Monmouth, and eſcaped to the Continent, where he lived ſome years; was calm, ſedate, well acquainted with foreign affairs, and conſidered as a leading man in his party. Theſe two are ſaid to have been promoted at the recommendation of the Earl of Sunderland, who had by this time inſinuated himſelf into the King's favour and confidence; though his ſucceſs confirmed the opinion which many entertained, of his having betrayed his old maſter. The leaders of the oppoſition, were Sir Edward Seymour,

Bench, and for the more eaſy reverſal of outlawries in that Court—An Act for the better diſcovery of judgments in the Courts of Law—An Act for delivering declarations to priſoners for debt—An Act for regulating proceedings in the Crown Office—An Act for the more eaſy diſcovery and conviction of ſuch as ſhould deſtroy the game of this kingdom—And An Act for continuing the Acts for prohibiting all trade and commerce with France, and for the encouragement of privateers.

again

again become a malcontent, and Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, a gentleman of Cumberland, who, though an extravagant Tory from principle, had refuſed to concur with all the deſigns of the late King. He was a perſon of a grave and regular deportment, who had rejected many offers of the miniſtry, which he oppoſed with great violence; yet on ſome critical occaſions, his patriotiſm gave way to his avarice, and he yielded up ſome important points, in conſideration of large ſums which he received from the Court in ſecret. Others declared war againſt the Adminiſtration, becauſe they thought their own talents were not ſufficiently conſidered. Of theſe the chief were Paul Foley and Robert Harley. The firſt was a lawyer of good capacity, extenſive learning, and virtuous principles, but peeviſh, obſtinate, and moroſe. He entertained a very deſpicable opinion of the Court; and this he propagated with equal aſſiduity and ſucceſs. Harley poſſeſſed a good fund of learning; was capable of uncommon application, particularly turned to politicks. He knew the forms of Parliament, had a peculiar dexterity at protracting and perplexing debates; and cheriſhed the moſt aſpiring ambition. Admiral Ruſſel was created Treaſurer of the Houſehold; but the command of the fleet was veſted in the hands of Killigrew, Delaval, and Shovel. Sir George Rooke was declared Vice-Admiral of the red, and John Lord Berkeley, of the blue diviſion; their Rear-Admirals were Matthew Aylmer and David Mitchel.

Burnet. History of K. W. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Slone's Nar. Feuquieres. Voltaire. Ralph. Tindal. State Tracts.

§ XVII. The King having viſited the fleet and fortifications at Portſmouth, given inſtructions for annoying the enemy by ſea, and left the adminiſtration in the hands of the Queen, embarked on the laſt day of March, near Graveſend, and arrived in Holland on the third of April. The troops of the Confederates were forthwith ordered to aſſemble: but while he was employed in making preparations for the campaign, the French King actually took the

BOOK I. 1693. field, attended by Madame de Maintenon, and all the court ladies. His deſign was ſuppoſed to be upon ſome town in Brabant; his army amounted to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, completely armed, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries for every ſort of military operation. King William immediately took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Parke near Louvain, a ſituation which enabled him to cover the places that were moſt expoſed. Underſtanding that the French emiſſaries had ſown the ſeeds of diſſention between the Biſhop and Chapter of Liege, he ſent the Duke of Wirtemberg thither, to reconcile the different parties, and concert meaſures for the further ſecurity of the place. He reinforced the garriſon with nine battalions; and the Elector Palatine lay with his troops in readineſs to march to its relief. William likewiſe threw reinforcements into Maeſtricht, Huy, and Charleroy; and he himſelf reſolved to remain on the defenſive, at the head of ſixty thouſand men, with a numerous train of artillery.

§ XVIII. Louis having reviewed his army at Gemblours, and ſeen his deſigns upon Brabant defeated by the diligence of his antagoniſt, detached Boufflers with twenty thouſand men to the Upper Rhine, to join the Dauphin, who commanded in that quarter; then leaving the conduct of his forces in the Netherlands to the Duke de Luxembourg, he returned with his Court to Verſailles. Immediately after his departure, Luxembourg fixed his headquarters at Mildert; and King William ſtrengthened his camp on that ſide with ten battalions, and eight-and-twenty pieces of cannon. The enemy's convoys were frequently ſurpriſed by detachments from the garriſon of Charleroy; and a large body of horſe, foot, and dragoons, being drafted out of Liege and Maeſtricht, took poſt at Huy, under the command of the Count de Tilly, ſo as to ſtraiten the French in their quarters. Theſe, however, were diſlodged by

by Luxembourg in perſon, who obliged the Count to paſs the Jaar with precipitation, leaving behind three ſquadrons and all his baggage, which fell into the hands of the enemy. This check, however, was balanced by the ſucceſs of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who, at the head of thirteen battalions of infantry, and twenty ſquadrons of horſe, forced the French lines between the Scheldt and the Lys; and laid the whole country as far as Liſle under contribution. On that very day, which was the eighteenth of July, Luxembourg marched towards Huy, which was next morning inveſted by M. de Villeroy. The other covered the ſiege, and ſecured himſelf from the allies by lines of contravallation. Before the batteries began to play, the town capitulated. On the twenty-third day of the month, the garriſon mutinied; the caſtles were ſurrendered; the Governor remained a priſoner; and his men were conducted to Liege. The confederate army advanced in order to relieve the town: but the King being appriſed of its fate, detached ten battalions to reinforce the garriſon of Liege, and next day returned to Neer-Heſpen. CHAP. IV. 1693.

§ XIX. Luxembourg made a motion towards Liege, as if he had intended to beſiege the place; and encamped at Hellecheim, about ſeven leagues from the Confederates. Knowing how much they were weakened by the different detachments which had been made from their army, he reſolved to attack them in their camp, or at leaſt fall upon their rear, ſhould they retreat at his approach. On the twenty-eighth day of July, he began his march in four columns, and paſſed the Jaar near its ſource with an army ſuperior to the allies by five-and-thirty thouſand men. The King of England, at firſt, looked upon this motion as a feint to cover the deſign upon Liege: but receiving intelligence that their whole army was in full march to attack him in his camp, he reſolved to keep his ground; and im-

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§ XX. The King having viſited all the poſts on horſeback, and given the neceſſary orders, repoſed himſelf about two hours in his coach; and early in the morning ſent for his chaplain, whom he joined in prayer with great devotion. At ſun-riſing the enemy appeared drawn up in order of battle; and the Allies began to play their cannon with good ſucceſs. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury; and twice made themſelves maſters of theſe poſts, from whence they were as often repulſed. The Allies ſtill kept their ground; and the Duke of Berwick was taken by his uncle Brigadier Churchill. Then

Then the French made an attack upon the left wing of the Confederates at Neer-Landen; and after a very obſtinate diſpute, were obliged to give way, though they ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the avenues. The Prince of Conti, however, renewed the charge with the flower of the French infantry; and the Confederates being overpowered, retreated from the village, leaving the camp in that part expoſed. Villeroy marching this way with a body of horſe, was encountered and repulſed by the Count D'Arco, General of the Bavarian cuiraſſiers: and the Duke de Chartres narrowly eſcaped being taken. Mean while, Luxembourg, the Prince of Conti, the Count de Marſin, and the Marſhal de Joyeuſe, charged on the right, and in different parts of the line, with ſuch impetuoſity as ſurmounted all reſiſtance. The camp of the Confederates was immediately filled with French troops: the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden were taken, after a long and deſperate diſpute. The Hanoverian and Dutch horſe being broken, the King in perſon brought the Engliſh cavalry to their aſſiſtance. They fought with great gallantry: and for ſome time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry were rallied, and ſtood firm until all their ammunition was expended. In a word, they were ſcarce able to ſuſtain the weight of ſuch a ſuperiority in point of number, when the Marquis D'Harcourt joined the enemy from Huy, with two-and-twenty freſh ſquadrons, which immediately turned the ſcale in their favour. The Elector of Bavaria, after having made extraordinary efforts, retreated with great difficulty over the bridge to the other ſide of the river, where he rallied the troops, in order to favour the retreat of thoſe who had not paſſed. The King ſeeing the battle loſt, and the whole army in confuſion, retired with the infantry to Dormal on the brook of Beck, where the dragoons of the left wing were poſted, and then ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway,

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to

BOOK I. 1693. to cover his retreat over the bridge at Neer-Heſpen, which he effected with great difficulty. Now all was tumult, rout, and conſternation; and a great number of the fugitives threw themſelves into the river, where they were drowned. This had like to have been the fate of the brave Earl of Athlone: the Duke of Ormond was wounded in ſeveral places, and taken priſoner by the enemy; and the Count de Solmes was mortally wounded. Ptolemache brought off the greater part of the Engliſh infantry with great gallantry and conduct: as for the baggage, it had been ſent to Liege before the engagement: but the Confederates loſt ſixty pieces of cannon, and nine mortars, a great number of ſtandards and colours *, with about ſeven thouſand men killed and wounded in the action. It muſt be owned that the Allies fought with great valour and perſeverance; and that King William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was preſent in all parts of the battle: he charged in perſon both on horſeback and on foot, where the danger was moſt imminent. His peruke, the ſleeve of his coat, and the knot of his ſcarf were penetrated by three different muſket-bullets; and he ſaw a great number of ſoldiers fall on every ſide of him. The enemy bore witneſs to his extraordinary valour. The Prince of Conti, in a letter to his Princeſs, which was intercepted, declared that he ſaw the Prince of Orange expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers: and that ſuch valour richly deſerved the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Crown he wore. Yet, here, as in every other battle he fought, his conduct and diſpoſition were ſeverely cenſured. Luxembourg having obſerved the nature of his ſituation immediately before the engagement, is ſaid to have exclaimed, "Now,

* The Duke of Luxembourg ſent ſuch a number of ſtandards and enſigns to Paris, during the courſe of this war, that the Prince of Conti called him the Upholſterer of Notre Dame, a church in which thoſe trophies were diſplayed.

I believe

I believe Waldeck is really dead;" alluding to that General's known ſagacity in chooſing ground for an encampment. Be that as it will, he paid dear for his victory. His loſs in officers and men exceeded that of the allies; and he reaped no ſolid advantage from the battle. He remained fifteen days inactive at Waren, while King William, recalling the Duke of Wirtemberg, and drafting troops from Liege and other garriſons, was in a few days able to hazard another engagement. CHAP. IV. 1693.

§ XXI. Nothing remarkable happened during the remaining part of the campaign, until Luxembourg, being rejoined by Boufflers with a ſtrong reinforcement from the Rhine, inveſted Charleroy. He had taken his meaſures with ſuch caution and dexterity, that the allies could not fruſtrate his operations, without attacking his lines at a great diſadvantage. The King detached the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg, with thirty battalions and forty ſquadrons, to make a diverſion in Flanders: but they returned in a few days, without having attempted any thing of conſequence. The garriſon of Charleroy defended the place with ſurpriſing valour, from the tenth of September to the eleventh of October, during which period they had repulſed the aſſailants in ſeveral attacks: but, at length, deſpairing of relief, the Governor capitulated on the moſt honourable conditions: the reduction of the place was celebrated with a *Te Deum*, and other rejoicings at Paris. Louis, however, in the midſt of all his glory, was extremely mortified when he reflected upon the little advantage he had reaped from all his late victories. The allies had been defeated ſucceſſively at Flerus, Steenkerke, and Landen: yet in a fortnight after each of thoſe battles, William was always in a condition to riſque another engagement. Formerly, Louis had conquered half of Holland, Flanders, and Franche-Comté, without a battle; whereas, now he could not with his utmoſt

BOOK I. 1693. utmoſt efforts, and after the moſt ſignal victories, paſs the frontiers of the United Provinces. The conqueſt of Charleroy concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter-quarters.

§ XXII. The French army on the Rhine, under De Lorges, paſſed that river in the month of May at Phillipſburgh, and inveſted the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to aſhes. This General committed numberleſs barbarities in the Palatinate, which he ravaged without even ſparing the tombs of the dead. The French ſoldiers, on this occaſion, ſeem to have been actuated by the moſt brutal inhumanity. They butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houſes, rifled the churches, and murthered the prieſts at the altar. They broke open the Electoral vault, and ſcattered the aſhes of that illuſtrious family about the ſtreets. They ſet fire to different quarters of the city: they ſtripped about fifteen thouſand of the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age or ſex, and drove them naked into the caſtle, that the garriſon might be the ſooner induced to capitulate. There they remained like cattle in the open air, without food or covering, tortured between the horrors of their fate and the terrors of a bombardment. When they were ſet at liberty, in conſequence of the fort's being ſurrendered, a great number of them died along the banks of the Neckar, from cold, hunger, anguiſh, and deſpair. Theſe enormous cruelties, which would have diſgraced the arms of a Tartarian freebooter, were acted by the expreſs command of Louis XIV. of France, who has been celebrated by ſo many venal pens, not only as the greateſt Monarch, but alſo as the moſt poliſhed Prince of Chriſtendom. De Lorges advanced towards the Neckar againſt the Prince of Baden, who lay encamped on the other ſide of the river: but in attempting to paſs, he was twice repulſed with conſiderable damage.

mage. The Dauphin joining the army, which now amounted to ſeventy thouſand men, croſſed without oppoſition; but found the Germans ſo advantageouſly poſted, that he would not hazard an attack: having, therefore, repaſſed the river, he ſecured Stutgard with a garriſon, ſent detachments into Flanders and Piedmont, and returned in Auguſt to Verſailles. In Piedmont the allies were ſtill more unfortunate. The Duke of Savoy and his Confederates ſeemed bent upon driving the French from Caſal and Pignerol. The firſt of theſe places was blocked up, and the other actually inveſted. The fort of St. Bridget, that covered the place, was taken, and the town bombarded. Mean while Catinat being reinforced, deſcended into the plains. The Duke was ſo apprehenſive of Turin, that he abandoned the ſiege of Pignerol, after having blown up the fort, and marched in queſt of the enemy to the plain of Marſaglia, in the neighbourhood of his capital. On the fourth day of October, the French advanced upon them from the hills, between Orbaſſon and Proſaſque; and a deſperate engagement enſued. The enemy charged the left wing of the Confederates ſword in hand with incredible fury: though they were once repulſed, they renewed the attack with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Neapolitan and Milaneſe horſe were obliged to give way, and diſordered the German cavalry. Theſe falling upon the foot, threw the whole wing into confuſion. Mean while, the main body and the other wing ſuſtained the charge without flinching, until they were expoſed in flank by the defeat of the cavalry: then the whole front gave way. In vain the ſecond line was brought up to ſuſtain them: the horſe turned their backs, and the infantry was totally routed. In a word, the Confederates were obliged to retire with precipitation, leaving their cannon, and about eight thouſand men killed or wounded on the field of battle. The Duke of Schomberg having been denied the poſt which was his due, inſiſted upon fighting

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BOOK I. 1693. fighting at the head of the troops maintained by the King of Great-Britain, who were poſted in the centre, and behaved with great gallantry under the eye of their commander. When the left wing was defeated, the Count de los Torres deſired he would take upon him the command, and retreat with the infantry and right wing: but he refuſed to act without the order of his Highneſs, and ſaid, things were come to ſuch a paſs, that they muſt either conquer or die. He continued to animate his men with his voice and example, until he received a ſhot in the thigh. His valet ſeeing him fall, ran to his aſſiſtance, and called for quarter, but was killed by the enemy before he could be underſtood. The Duke being taken at the ſame inſtant, was afterwards diſmiſſed upon his parole, and in a few days died at Turin, univerſally lamented on account of his great and amiable qualities. The Earl of Warwick and Holland, who accompanied him as a volunteer, ſhared his fate in being wounded and taken priſoner: but he ſoon recovered his health and liberty. This victory was as unſubſtantial as that of Landen, and almoſt as dear in the purchaſe; for the Confederates made an obſtinate defence, and yielded ſolely to ſuperior number. The Duke of Savoy retreated to Moncalier, and threw a reinforcement into Coni, which Catinat would not venture to beſiege, ſo ſeverely had he been handled in the battle. He therefore contented himſelf with laying the country under contribution, reinforcing the garriſons of Caſal, Pignerol, and Suſa, and making preparations for repaſſing the mountains. The news of the victory no ſooner reached Paris, than Louis diſpatched M. de Chanlais to Turin, with propoſals for detaching the Duke of Savoy from the intereſt of the allies; and the Pope, who was now become a partiſan of France, ſupported the negociation with his whole influence: but the French King had not yet touched upon the

right

right ſtring. The Duke continued deaf to all his addreſſes. CHAP. IV.

§ XXIII. France had been alike ſucceſsful in her intrigues at the Courts of Rome and Conſtantinople. The Viſir at the Porte had been converted into a penſionary and creature of Louis; but the war in which the Turks had been ſo long and unſucceſsfully engaged rendered him ſo odious to the people, that the Grand Signor depoſed him, in order to appeaſe their clamours. The Engliſh and Dutch ambaſſadors at Conſtantinople forthwith renewed their mediation for a peace with the Emperor; but the terms they propoſed were ſtill rejected with diſdain. In the mean time General Heuſler, who commanded the Imperialiſts in Tranſylvania, reduced the fortreſſes of Jeno and Villaguſwar. In the beginning of July the Duc de Croy aſſumed the chief command of the German army, paſſed the Danube and the Saave, and inveſted Belgrade. The ſiege was carried on for ſome time with great vigour: but, at length, abandoned at the approach of the Viſir, who obliged the Imperialiſts to repaſs the Saave, and ſent out parties which made incurſions into Upper-Hungary. The power of France had never been ſo conſpicuous as at this juncture, when ſhe maintained a formidable navy at ſea, and four great armies in different parts of Europe. Excluſive of the operations in Flanders, Germany, and Piedmont, the Count de Noailles inveſted Roſes in Catalonia, about the latter end of May, while at the ſame time it was blocked up by the French fleet, under the command of the Count d'Etrées. In a few days the place was ſurrendered by capitulation, and the caſtle of Ampurias met with the ſame fate. The Spaniſh power was reduced to ſuch a degree, that Noailles might have proceeded in his conqueſts without interruption, had not he been obliged to detach part of his army to reinforce Catinat in Piedmont. 1693.

§ XXIV.

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§ XXIV. Nothing could be more inglorious for the Engliſh than their operations by ſea in the courſe of this ſummer. The King had ordered the Admirals to uſe all poſſible diſpatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had ſuffered ſeverely from the French privateers. They were, however, ſo dilatory in their proceedings, that the ſquadrons of the enemy ſailed from their harbours before the Engliſh fleet could put to ſea. About the middle of May it was aſſembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a deſcent on Breſt; but this enterpriſe was never attempted. When the Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron joined, ſo as to form a very numerous fleet, the publick expected they would undertake ſome expedition of importance: but the Admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any ſcheme of conſequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not eſcape the ſuſpicion of being diſaffected to the ſervice: and France was ſaid to have maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the malcontents in England. Louis had made ſurpriſing efforts to repair the damage which his navy had ſuſtained. He had purchaſed ſeveral large veſſels, and converted them into ſhips of war: he had laid an embargo on all the ſhipping of his kingdom, until his ſquadrons were manned; he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and ſeamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful ſpirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his fleet ſailed to the Mediterranean, in three ſquadrons, conſiſting of ſeventy-one capital ſhips, beſides bomb-ketches, fire-ſhips, and tenders.

§ XXV. In the beginning of June, the Engliſh and Dutch fleets ſailed down the channel. On the ſixth, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Straits with a ſquadron of three-and-twenty ſhips, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The grand fleet returned

returned to Torbay, while he purſued his voyage, having under his protection about four hundred merchant ſhips belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the ſixteenth, his ſcouts diſcovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of eighty ſail. Sixteen of theſe plied up to the Engliſh ſquadron, while the Vice-Admiral of the White ſtood off to ſea, to intercept the ſhips under convoy. Sir George Rooke, by the advice of the Dutch Vice-Admiral Vandergoes, reſolved, if poſſible, to avoid an engagement, which could only tend to their abſolute ruin. He forthwith ſent orders to the ſmall ſhips that were near the land, to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, and Cadiz, while he himſelf ſtood off with an eaſy ſail for the protection of the reſt. About ſix in the evening, ten ſail of the enemy came up with two Dutch ſhips of war, commanded by the Captains Schrijver and Vander-Poel, who ſeeing no poſſibility of eſcaping, tacked in ſhore; and, thus drawing the French after them, helped to ſave the reſt of the fleet. When attacked they made a moſt deſperate defence, but at laſt were overpowered by numbers, and taken. An Engliſh ſhip of war and a rich pinnace were burned; nine-and-twenty merchant veſſels were taken, and about fifty deſtroyed by the Counts de Tourville and D'Etrées. Seven of the largeſt Smyrna ſhips fell into the hands of M. de Coetlegon, and four he ſunk in the bay of Gibraltar. The value of the loſs ſuſtained on this occaſion amounted to one million ſterling. Mean while Rooke ſtood off with a freſh gale, and on the nineteenth ſent home the Lark ſhip of war with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he ſet ſail for Ireland, and on the third day of Auguſt arrived at Cork, with fifty ſail, including ſhips of war and trading veſſels. He detached

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detached Captain Fairborne to Kinſale, with all his ſquadron, except ſix ſhips of the line, with which, in purſuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruiſing in the chops of the channel. On the twenty-fifth day of Auguſt, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed. On the nineteenth day of September, fifteen Dutch ſhips of the line, and two frigates, ſet ſail for Holland; and twenty-ſix ſail, with ſeven fire-ſhips, were aſſigned as guard-ſhips during the winter.

§ XXVI. The French Admirals, inſtead of purſuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they ſailed along the coaſt of Spain, deſtroyed ſome Engliſh and Dutch veſſels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his ſquadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the Weſt-Indies. In conjunction with Colonel Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Iſlands, he made unſucceſsful attempts upon the iſlands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he ſailed to Boſton in New-England, with a view to concert an expedition againſt Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterwards ſteered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without heſitation; but the deſign was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus diſappointed, he ſet ſail for England; and arrived at Portſmouth in a very ſhattered condition, the greater part of his men having died in the courſe of this voyage.

§ XXVII. In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow ſailed with a ſquadron of twelve capital ſhips, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coaſt of St. Maloes, and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days ſucceſſively,

ceſſively. Then his men landed on an iſland, where they burned a convent. On the nineteenth they took the advantage of a dark night, a freſh gale, and a ſtrong tide, to ſend in a fire-ſhip of a particular contrivance, ſtiled the Infernal, in order to burn the town: but ſhe ſtruck upon a rock before ſhe arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to ſet her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for ſome time, and at laſt blew up, with ſuch an explo-ſion as ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houſes, and broke all the glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues around. A capſtan that weighed two hundred pounds was tranſ-ported into the place, and falling upon a houſe, le-velled it to the ground: the greateſt part of the wall towards the ſea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with conſternation: ſo that a ſmall number of troops might have taken poſſeſſion without reſiſtance; but there was not a ſoldier on board. Nevertheleſs, the ſailors took and demo-liſhed Quince-fort, and did conſiderable damage to the town of St. Maloes, which had been a neſt of privateers that infeſted the Engliſh commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great ſpirit, and ſome ſucceſs, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. They ſcrupled not to ſay, that the councils of the nation were betrayed; and their ſuſpicions roſe even to the Secretary's office. They obſerved, that the French were previouſly acquainted with all the motions of the Engliſh, and took their meaſures accordingly for their deſtruction. They collected and compared a good number of particulars, that ſeemed to juſtify their ſuſpicion of treachery. But the misfortunes of the nation, in all probability, aroſe from a motley miniſtry, divided among them-ſelves, who, inſtead of acting in concert for the pub-lick good, employed all their influence to thwart the views and blacken the reputations of each other. The people in general exclaimed againſt the Marquis of

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BOOK I. 1698. of Caermarthen, the Earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who had acquired great credit with the Queen, and, from their hatred to the Whigs, betrayed the interests of the nation.

§ XXVIII. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavourable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Louis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hopes of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to King William, by which it appears, that the French King would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions: but the terms were rejected by the King of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects, though heavily laden, could still bear additional burthens.

§ XXIX. The Jacobites had been very attentive to the progress of dissatisfaction in England, which they fomented with their usual assiduity. The late declaration of King James had been couched in such imperious terms as gave offence even to some of those who favoured his interest. The Earl of Middleton, therefore, in the beginning of the year repaired to St. Germain's, and obtained another

another, which contained the promiſe of a general pardon without exception, and every other conceſſion that a Britiſh ſubject could demand of his Sovereign. About the latter end of May, two men, named Canning and Dormer, were apprehended for diſperſing copies of this paper, tried at the Old-Bailey, found guilty of not only diſperſing, but alſo of compoſing a falſe and ſeditious libel, ſentenced to pay five hundred marks a piece, to ſtand three times in the pillory, and find ſureties for their good behaviour. But no circumſtance reflected more diſgrace on this reign, than the fate of Anderton, the ſuppoſed printer of ſome tracts againſt the government. He was brought to trial for high treaſon: he made a vigorous defence, in ſpite of the inſults and diſcouragement he ſuſtained from a partial bench. As nothing but preſumptions appeared againſt him, the jury ſcrupled to bring in a verdict that would affect his life, until they were reviled and reprimanded by Judge Treby; then they found him guilty. In vain recourſe was had to the Queen's mercy; he ſuffered death at Tyburn: and left a paper, proteſting ſolemnly againſt the proceedings of the Court, which he affirmed was appointed, not to try, but to convict him; and petitioning heaven to forgive his penitent jury. The ſeverity of the government was likewiſe exemplified in the caſe of ſome adventurers, who having equipped privateers to cruiſe upon the Engliſh, under joint commiſſions from the late King James and Louis XIV. happened to be taken by the Engliſh ſhips of war. Dr. Oldys, the King's advocate, being commanded to proceed againſt them as guilty of treaſon and piracy, refuſed to commence the proſecution; and gave his opinion in writing, that they were neither traitors nor pirates. He ſupported this opinion by arguments before the Council: theſe were anſwered by Dr. Littleton, who ſucceeded him in the office from which he was diſmiſſed; and the

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priſoners were executed as traitors. The Jacobites did not fail to retort thoſe arts upon the government, which their adverſaries had ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed in the late reign. They inveighed againſt the vindictive ſpirit of the adminiſtration, and taxed it with encouraging informers and falſe witneſſes; a charge for which there was too much foundation.

§ XXX. The friends of James in Scotland ſtill continued to concert deſigns in his favour: but their correſpondence was detected, and their aims defeated, by the vigilance of the miniſtry in that kingdom. Secretary Johnſton not only kept a watchful eye over all their tranſactions, but by a dexterous management of Court liberality and favour, appeaſed the diſcontents of the Preſbyterians ſo effectually, that the King ran no riſque in aſſembling the Parliament. Some offices were beſtowed upon the leaders of the Kirk party: and the Duke of Hamilton being reconciled to the government, was appointed commiſſioner. On the eighteenth day of April, the ſeſſion was opened, and the King's letter, replete with the moſt cajoling expreſſions, being read, the Parliament proceeded to exhibit undeniable ſpecimens of their good humour. They drew up a very affectionate anſwer to his Majeſty's letter: They voted an addition of ſix new regiments to the ſtanding forces of the kingdom: They granted a ſupply of above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling to his Majeſty: They enacted a law for levying men to ſerve on board the Royal Navy: They fined all abſentees, whether Lords or Commons; and vacated the ſeats of all thoſe Commiſſioners who refuſed to take the oath of aſſurance, which was equivalent to an abjuration of King James: They ſet on foot an inquiry about an intended invaſion: They publiſhed ſome intercepted letters, ſuppoſed to be written to King James by Neville Payne, whom they committed to priſon, and threatened with a trial for high treaſon; but he evaded the danger, by

threatening in his turn to impeach thoſe who had made their peace with the government: They paſſed an act for the comprehenſion of ſuch of the epiſcopal clergy as ſhould condeſcend to take the oaths by the tenth day of July. All that the general aſſembly required of them, was, an offer to ſubſcribe the confeſſion of faith, and to acknowledge preſbytery as the only government of the Scottiſh church: but they neither ſubmitted to theſe terms, nor took the oaths within the limited time, ſo that they forfeited all legal right to their benefices. Nevertheleſs, they continued in poſſeſſion, and even received private aſſurances of the King's protection. It was one of William's political maxims, to court his domeſtick enemies; but it was never attended with any good effect. This indulgence gave offence to the Preſbyterians, and former diſtractions began to revive. CHAP. IV. 1693.

§ XXXI. The King having prevailed upon the States-General to augment their land forces and navy for the ſervice of the enſuing campaign, embarked for England, and arrived at Kenſington on the thirtieth day of October. Finding the people clamorous and diſcontented, the trade of the nation decayed, the affairs of State miſmanaged, and the miniſters recriminating upon one another, he perceived the neceſſity of changing hands, and reſolved to take his meaſures accordingly. Sunderland, his chief counſellor, repreſented that the Tories were averſe to the continuance of a war, which had been productive of nothing but damage and diſgrace; whereas the Whigs were much more tractable, and would bleed freely, partly from the terrors of invaſion and popery, partly from the ambition of being courted by the Crown, and partly from the proſpect of advantage, in advancing money to the government on the funds eſtabliſhed by Parliament; for that ſort of traffick which obtained the appellation of the monied-intereſt, was altogether a whiggiſh inſtitution. The King revolved theſe obſervations in his own mind;

BOOK I. 1698. and, in the mean time, the Parliament met on the ſeventh day of November, purſuant to the laſt prorogation. In his ſpeech, he expreſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who were the authors of the miſcarriages at ſea; repreſented the neceſſity of increaſing the land forces and the navy; and demanded a ſuitable ſupply for theſe purpoſes. In order to pave the way to their condeſcenſion, he had already diſmiſſed from his council the Earl of Nottingham, who, of all his miniſters, was the moſt odious to the people. His place would have been immediately filled with the Earl of Shrewſbury; but that nobleman ſuſpecting this was a change of men rather than of meaſures, ſtood aloof for ſome time, until he received ſuch aſſurances from the King as quieted his ſcruples, and then he accepted the office of Secretary. The lieutenancy for the city of London, and all other commiſſions over England, were altered with a view to favour the Whig intereſt; and the individuals of that party were indulged with many places of truſt and profit: but the Tories were too powerful in the Houſe of Commons to be exaſperated, and therefore a good number of them were retained in office.

§ XXXII. On the ſixth day of the ſeſſion, the Commons unanimouſly reſolved to ſupport their Majeſties and their government; to inquire into miſcarriages; and to conſider of means for preſerving the trade of the nation. The Turkey company were ſummoned to produce the petitions they had delivered to the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty for convoy: Lord Falkland, who ſat at the head of that board, gave in copies of all the orders and directions ſent to Sir George Rooke concerning the Straits fleet, together with a liſt of all the ſhips at that time in commiſſion. It appeared, in the courſe of this inquiry, that the miſcarriage of Rooke's fleet was in a great meaſure owing to the miſconduct of the Admirals, and neglect of the Victualling-Office; but they were ſkreened by a majority. Mr. Harley,

ley, one of the Commiſſioners for taking and ſtating the publick accounts, delivered a report, which contained a charge of peculation againſt Lord Falkland. Rainsford, receiver of the rights and perquiſites of the navy, confeſſed that he had received and paid more money than that which was charged in the accounts: and, in particular, that he had paid four thouſand pounds to Lord Falkland, by his Majeſty's order. This Lord had acknowledged before the Commiſſioners, that he had paid one half of the ſum, by the King's order, to a perſon who was not a member of either Houſe; and that the remainder was ſtill in his hands. Rainsford owned he had the original letter which he received from Falkland, demanding the money; and this nobleman deſiring to ſee it, detained the voucher; a circumſtance that incenſed the Commons to ſuch a degree, that a motion was made for committing him to the Tower, and debated with great warmth, but at laſt overruled by the majority. Nevertheleſs, they agreed to make him ſenſible of their diſpleaſure, and he was reprimanded in his place. The Houſe of Lords having alſo inquired into the cauſes of the miſcarriage at ſea, very violent debates aroſe, and at length the majority reſolved, that the Admirals had done well in the execution of the orders they had received. This was a triumph over the Whig Lords, who had ſo eagerly proſecuted the affair, and now proteſted againſt the reſolution, not without great appearance of reaſon. The next ſtep of the Lords, was to exculpate the Earl of Nottingham, as the blame ſeemed to lie with him, on the ſuppoſition that the Admirals were innocent. With a view, therefore, to transfer this blame to Trenchard, the whiggiſh Secretary, the Earl gave the Houſe to underſtand, that he had received intelligence from Paris in the beginning of June, containing a liſt of the enemies' fleet, and the time of their ſailing; that this was communicated to a committee of the council, and particularly

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§ XXXIII. Harley, Foley, and Harcourt, preſented to the Houſe a ſtate of the receipts and iſſues of the revenue, together with two reports from the Commiſſioners of Accounts concerning ſums iſſued for ſecret ſervices, and to members of Parliament. This was a diſcovery of the moſt ſcandalous practices in the myſtery of corruption, equally exerciſed on the individuals of both parties, in occaſional bounties, grants, places, penſions, equivalents, and additional ſalaries. The malcontents, therefore, juſtly obſerved, the Houſe of Commons was ſo managed that the King could baffle any bill, quaſh all grievances, ſtifle accounts, and rectify the articles of Limerick. When the Commons took into conſideration the eſtimates and ſupplies of the enſuing year, the King demanded forty thouſand men for the navy, and above one hundred thouſand for the purpoſes

poſes of the land-ſervice. Before the Houſe conſi- CHAP.
dered theſe enormous demands, they granted four IV.
hundred thouſand pounds by way of advance, to 1693.
quiet the clamours of the ſeamen who were become mutinous and deſperate for want of pay, upwards of one million being due to them for wages. Then the Commons voted the number of men required for the navy: but they were ſo aſhamed of that for the army, that they thought it neceſſary to act in ſuch a manner as ſhould imply that they ſtill retained ſome regard for their country. They called for all the treaties ſubſiſting between the King and his allies: they examined the different proportions of the troops furniſhed by the reſpective powers: they conſidered the intended augmentations, and fixed the eſtabliſhment of the year at fourſcore and three thouſand, one hundred and twenty-one men, including officers. For the maintenance of theſe they allotted the ſum of two millions, five hundred and thirty thouſand, five hundred and ninety pounds. They granted two millions for the navy, and about five hundred thouſand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the annuity and poll-bills; ſo that the ſupplies of the year amounted to about five millions and a half, raiſed by a land-tax of four ſhillings in the pound, by two more lives in the annuities, a further exciſe on beer, a new duty on ſalt, and a lottery.

§ XXXIV. Though the malcontents in Parliament could not withſtand this torrent of profuſion, they endeavoured to diſtreſs the court-intereſt, by reviving the popular bills of the preceding ſeſſion; ſuch as that for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon, the other for the more frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments, and that concerning free and impartial proceedings in Parliament. The firſt was neglected in the Houſe of Lords; the ſecond was rejected; the third was paſſed by the Commons, on the ſuppoſition that it would be defeated in the

other

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§ XXXV. The city of London petitioned that a Parliamentary proviſion might be made for the orphans, whoſe fortunes they had ſcandalouſly ſquandered away. Such an application had been made in the preceding ſeſſion, and rejected with diſdain, as an impoſition on the publick: but now thoſe ſcruples were removed, and the Houſe paſſed a bill for this purpoſe, conſiſting of many clauſes, extending to

to different charges on the city lands, aqueducts, and perſonal eſtates; impoſing duties on binding apprentices, conſtituting freemen, as alſo upon wines and coals imported into London. On the twenty-third day of March theſe bills received the royal aſſent; and the King took that opportunity of recommending diſpatch, as the ſeaſon of the year was far advanced, and the enemy diligently employed in making preparations for an early campaign. The ſcheme of a national bank, like thoſe of Amſterdam and Genoa, had been recommended to the miniſtry, as an excellent inſtitution, as well for the credit and ſecurity of the government, as for the increaſe of trade and circulation. One project was invented by Dr. Hugh Chamberlain, propoſing the circulation of tickets on land-ſecurity: but William Paterſon was author of that which was carried into execution by the intereſt of Michael Godfrey, and other active projectors. The ſcheme was founded on the notion of a transferable fund, and a circulation by bill on the credit of a large capital. Forty merchants ſubſcribed to the amount of five hundred thouſand pounds, as a fund of ready money, to circulate one million at eight per cent. to be lent to the government; and even this fund of ready money bore the ſame intereſt. When it was properly digeſted in the cabinet, and a majority in Parliament ſecured for its reception, the undertakers for the Court introduced it into the Houſe of Commons, and expatiated upon the national advantages that would accrue from ſuch a meaſure. They ſaid it would reſcue the nation out of the hands of extortioners and uſurers, lower intereſt, raiſe the value of land, revive and eſtabliſh publick credit, extend circulation, conſequently improve commerce, facilitate the annual ſupplies, and connect the people the more cloſely with the government. The project was violently oppoſed by a ſtrong party, who affirmed that it would become a monopoly, and engroſs the whole money

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money of the kingdom: that, as it muſt infallibly be ſubſervient to government-views, it might be employed to the worſt purpoſes of arbitrary power: that, inſtead of aſſiſting, it would weaken commerce, by tempting people to withdraw their money from trade, and employ it in ſtock-jobbing: that it would produce a ſwarm of brokers and jobbers to prey upon their fellow-creatures, encourage fraud and gaming, and further corrupt the morals of the nation. Notwithſtanding theſe objections, the bill made its way through the two Houſes, eſtabliſhing the funds for the ſecurity and advantage of the ſubſcribers; empowering their Majeſties to incorporate them by the name of The Governor and Company of the Bank of England, under a proviſo, that at any time after the firſt day of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and five, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the twelve hundred thouſand pounds, the ſaid corporation ſhould ceaſe and determine. The bill likewiſe contained clauſes of appropriation for the ſervice of the publick. The whole ſubſcription was filled in ten days after its being opened; and the Court of Directors completed the payment before the expiration of the time preſcribed by the act, although they did not call in more than ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of the money ſubſcribed. All theſe funds proving inadequate to the eſtimates, the Commons brought in a bill to impoſe ſtamp duties upon all vellum, parchment, and paper, uſed in almoſt every kind of intercourſe between man and man; and they crowned the oppreſſions of the year with another grievous tax upon carriages, under the name of a bill for licenſing and regulating hackney and ſtage-coaches.

§ XXXVI. The Commons, in a clauſe of the bill for taxing ſeveral joint-ſtocks, provided, that in caſe of a default in the payment of that tax, within the time limited by the act, the charter of the company

pany ſo failing ſhould be deemed void and forfeited. The Eaſt-India Company actually neglected their payment, and the publick imagined the miniſtry would ſeize this opportunity of diſſolving a monopoly againſt which ſo many complaints had been made; but the Directors underſtood their own ſtrength; and, inſtead of being broken, obtained the promiſe of a new charter. This was no ſooner known, than the controverſy between them and their adverſaries was revived with ſuch animoſity, that the council thought proper to indulge both parties with a hearing. As this produced no reſolution, the merchants who oppoſed the company petitioned, that, in the mean while, the new charter might be ſuſpended. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were preſented by a great number of Clothiers, Linen-drapers, and other dealers. To theſe a written anſwer was publiſhed by the company: the merchants printed a reply, in which they undertook to prove, that the Company had been guilty of unjuſt and unwarrantable actions, tending to the ſcandal of religion, the diſhonour of the nation, the reproach of our laws, the oppreſſion of the people, and the ruin of trade. They obſerved, that two private ſhips had exported in one year three times as many cloths as the Company had exported in three years. They offered to ſend more cloth and Engliſh merchandiſe to the Indies in one year, than the Company had exported in five; to furniſh the government with five hundred tons of ſaltpetre for leſs than one half of the uſual price; and they repreſented, that the Company could neither lade the ſhips they petitioned for in England, nor relade them in the Eaſt-Indies. In ſpite of all theſe remonſtrances, the new charter paſſed the great ſeal; though the grants contained in it were limited in ſuch a manner, that they did not amount to an excluſive privilege, and ſubjected the Company to ſuch alterations, reſtrictions, and qualifications, as the King ſhould direct before the twenty-

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ninth

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ninth day of September. This indulgence, and other favours granted to the Company, were privately purchaſed of the miniſtry, and became productive of a loud outcry againſt the government. The merchats publiſhed a journal of the whole tranſaction, and petitioned the Houſe of Commons that their liberty of trading to the Eaſt-Indies might be confirmed by Parliament. Another petition was preſented by the Company, praying that their charter might receive a parliamentary ſanction. Both parties employed all their addreſs in making private application to the members. The Houſe having examined the different charters, the book of their new ſubſcriptions, and every particular relating to the Company, reſolved that all the ſubjects of England had an equal right to trade to the Eaſt-Indies, unleſs prohibited by act of Parliament.

§ XXXVII. But nothing engroſſed the attention of the publick more than a bill which was brought into the Houſe for a general naturalization of all foreign Proteſtants. The advocates for this meaſure alleged, That great part of the lands of England lay uncultivated: That the ſtrength of a nation conſiſted in the number of inhabitants: That the people were thinned by the war and foreign voyages, and required an extraordinary ſupply: That a great number of Proteſtants, perſecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring along with them their wealth and manufactures: That the community had been largely repaid for the protection granted to thoſe refugees who had already ſettled in the kingdom. They had introduced ſeveral new branches of manufacture, promoted induſtry, and lowered the price of labour; a circumſtance of the utmoſt importance to trade, oppreſſed as it was with taxes, and expoſed to uncommon hazard from the enemy. The opponents of the bill urged with great vehemence, That it would cheapen the birthright of Engliſhmen: That

That the want of culture was owing to the oppreſſion of the times: That foreigners being admitted into the privileges of the Britiſh trade, would grow wealthy at the expence of their benefactors, and tranſfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country: That the reduction in the price of labour would be a national grievance, while many thouſands of Engliſh manufacturers were ſtarving for want of employment, and the price of proviſions continued ſo high, that even thoſe who were employed could ſcarce ſupply their families with bread: That the real deſign of the bill was to make ſuch an acceſſion to the diſſenters as would render them an equal match in the body-politick for thoſe of the Church of England; to create a greater dependence on the crown, and, in a word, to ſupply a foreign head with foreign members. Sir John Knight, a member of the Houſe, in a ſpeech upon this ſubject, exaggerated the bad conſequences that would attend ſuch a bill, with all the wit and virulence of ſatire: it was printed and diſperſed through the kingdom, and raiſed ſuch a flame among the people as had not appeared ſince the Revolution. They exclaimed, that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become Lord-danes, and preſcribe the modes of religion and government; and they extolled Sir John Knight, as the Saviour of the nation. The courtiers, incenſed at the progreſs of this clamour, complained in the Houſe of the ſpeech which had been printed; and Sir John was threatened with expulſion and impriſonment. He, therefore, thought proper to diſown the paper, which was burned by the hands of the common hangman. This ſacrifice ſerved only to increaſe the popular diſturbance, which roſe to ſuch height of violence, that the Court-party began to tremble; and the bill was dropped for the preſent.

CHAP. IV. 1693.

Burnet. Feuquieres. Life of K. William. Tindal. State-Tracts. Ralph. Voltaire.

§ XXXVIII. Lord Coninſby and Mr. Porter had committed the moſt flagrant acts of oppreſſion in

BOOK I. 1693. Ireland. Theſe had been explained, during the laſt ſeſſion, by the gentlemen who appealed againſt the adminiſtration of Lord Sidney: but they were ſkreened by the miniſtry; and, therefore, the Earl of Bellamont now impeached them in the Houſe of Commons, of which he and they were members. After an examination of the articles exhibited againſt them, the Commons, who were by this time at the devotion of the Court, declared, that, conſidering the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, they did not think them fit grounds for an impeachment. In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the nation ſuſtained another misfortune in the fate of Sir Francis Wheeler, who had been appointed commander in chief of the Mediterranean ſquadron. He received inſtructions to take under his convoy the merchant ſhips bound to Turkey, Spain, and Italy; to cruize thirty days in a certain latitude, for the protection of the Spaniſh plate-fleet homeward bound; to leave part of his ſquadron at Cadiz, as convoy to the trade for England; to proceed with the reſt to the Mediterranean; to join the Spaniſh fleet in his return; and to act in concert with them, until he ſhould be joined by the fleet from Turkey and the Straits, and accompany them back to England. About the latter end of October he ſet ſail from St. Helen's, and in January arrived at Cadiz with the ſhips under his convoy. There leaving Rear-Admiral Hopſon, he proceeded for the Mediterranean. In the bay of Gibraltar he was overtaken by a dreadful tempeſt, under a lee-ſhore, which he could not poſſibly weather, and where the ground was ſo foul that no anchor would hold. This expedient, however, was tried. A great number of ſhips were driven aſhore, and many periſhed. The Admiral's ſhip foundered at ſea, and he and all his crew were buried in the deep, except two Moors, who were miraculouſly preſerved. Two other ſhips of the line, three ketches, and ſix merchant ſhips, were loſt. The remains of the fleet were

were so much shattered, that, instead of prosecuting their voyage, they returned to Cadiz, in order to be refitted, and sheltered from the attempts of the French squadrons, which were still at sea, under the command of Chateau-Renaud and Gabaret. On the twenty-fifth day of April the King closed the session with a speech in the usual style, and the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth day of September.* CHAP. IV. 1693.

§ XXXIX. Louis of France being tired of the war, which had impoverished his country, continued to tamper with the Duke of Savoy, and, by the canal of the Pope, made some offers to the King of Spain, which were rejected. Mean while he resolved to stand upon the defensive during the ensuing campaign, in every part but Catalonia, where his whole naval force might co-operate with the Count de Noailles, who commanded the land army. King

* Besides the bills already mentioned, the Parliament in this session passed an act for taking and stating the publick accounts—another to encourage ship-building—a third for the better disciplining the navy—the usual militia act—and an act enabling his Majesty to make grants and leases in the Duchy of Cornwall. One was also passed for renewing a clause in an old statute, limiting the number of Justices of the peace in the principality of Wales. The Duke of Norfolk brought an action in the Court of King's-Bench against Mr. Germaine for criminal conversation with his Duchess. The cause was tried, and the jury brought in their verdict for one hundred marks, and costs of suit, in favour of the Plaintiff.

Before the King embarked, he gratified a good number of his friends with promotions. Lord Charles Butler, brother to the Duke of Ormond was created Lord Butler, of Weston in England, and Earl of Arran in Ireland. The Earl of Shrewsbury was honoured with the title of Duke. The Earl of Mulgrave, being reconciled to the Court measures, was gratified with a pension of three thousand pounds, and the title of Marquis of Normandy. Henry Herbert was ennobled by the title of Baron Herbert, of Cherbury. The Earls of Bedford, Devonshire, and Clare, were promoted to the rank of Dukes. The Marquis of Caermarthen was made Duke of Leeds; Lord Viscount Sidney, created Earl of Romney; and Viscount Newport, Earl of Bedford. Russel was advanced to the head of the Admiralty-board. Sir George Rooke and Sir John Houblon were appointed joint commissioners, in the room of Killigrew and Delaval. Charles Montagu was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Sir William Trumbal and John Smith Commissioners of the Treasury, in the room of Sir Edward Seymour and Mr Hambden.

William

BOOK I. 1698. William having received intelligence of the deſign upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Breſt and Toulon ſquadrons, by ſending Ruſſel to ſea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to ſail; but before he arrived at Portſmouth, the Breſt ſquadron had quitted that harbour. On the third day of May the Admiral ſailed from St. Helen's with the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and tenders. He detached Captain Pritchard of the Monmouth with two fire-ſhips, to deſtroy a fleet of French merchant-ſhips near Conquet-bay; and this ſervice being performed, he returned to St. Helen's, where he had left Sir Cloudeſley Shovel with a ſquadron, to take on board a body of land forces, intended for a deſcent upon the coaſt of France. Theſe being embarked, under the command of General Ptolemache, the whole fleet ſailed again on the twenty-ninth of May. The land and ſea officers, in a council of war, agreed that part of the fleet deſigned for this expedition, ſhould ſeparate from the reſt, and proceed to Camaret-bay, where the forces ſhould be landed. On the fifth day of June, Lord Berkeley, who commanded this ſquadron, parted with the grand fleet, and on the ſeventh anchored between the bays of Camaret and Bertaume. Next day the Marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards Duke of Leeds, who ſerved under Berkeley, as Rear-Admiral of the blue, entered Camaret-bay with two large ſhips and ſix frigates, to cover the troops in landing. The French had received intelligence of the deſign, and taken ſuch precautions, under the conduct of the celebrated engineer, Vauban, that the Engliſh were expoſed to a terrible fire from new-erected batteries, as well as from a ſtrong body of troops; and though the ſhips cannonaded them with great vigour, the ſoldiers could not maintain any regularity in landing. A good number were killed in the open boats before they reached the ſhore;

ſhore; and thoſe who landed were ſoon repulſed, in ſpite of all the endeavours of General Ptolemache, who received a wound in the thigh, which proved mortal. Seven hundred ſoldiers are ſaid to have been loſt on this occaſion, beſides thoſe who were killed on board of the ſhips. The Monk ſhip of war was towed off with great difficulty: but a Dutch frigate of thirty guns fell into the hands of the enemy. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XL. After this unfortunate attempt, Lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, ſailed back for England, and at St. Helen's received orders from the Queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ſhips and forces might be beſt employed. They agreed to make ſome attempt upon the coaſt of Normandy. With this view they ſet ſail on the fifth day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and reduced the greateſt part of the town to aſhes. Thence they ſteered to Havre-de-Grace, which met with the ſame fate. They haraſſed the French troops, who marched after them along-ſhore. They alarmed the whole coaſt, and filled every town with ſuch conſternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force. On the twenty-ſixth day of July, Lord Berkeley returned to St. Helen's, where he quitted the fleet, and the command devolved upon Sir Cloudeſley Shovel. This officer having received inſtructions to make an attempt upon Dunkirk, ſailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by M. Meeſters, with ſix-and-twenty Dutch pilots. On the twelfth of September he appeared before Dunkirk; and next day ſent in the Charles galley, with two bomb-ketches, and as many of the machines called Infernals. Theſe were ſet on fire without effect; and the deſign miſcarried: then Shovel ſteered to Calais, which having bombarded with little ſucceſs, he returned to the coaſt of

BOOK I. England; and the bomb-ketches and machines were ſent into the river Thames.

1694. § XLI. During theſe tranſactions, Admiral Ruſſel, with the grand fleet, ſailed to the Mediterranean; and being joined by Rear-Admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callembergh and Evertzen, he ſteered towards Barcelona, which was beſieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned his enterpriſe. The Spaniſh affairs were in ſuch a deplorable condition, that without this timely aſſiſtance the kingdom muſt have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French Admiral durſt not venture to appear at ſea; and all his projects were diſconcerted. After having aſſerted the honour of the Britiſh flag in thoſe ſeas during the whole ſummer, he ſailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an expreſs order of the King, he paſſed the winter, during which, he took ſuch precautions for preventing Tourville from paſſing the Straits, that he did not think proper to riſque the paſſage.

§ XLII. It will now be neceſſary to deſcribe the operations on the Continent. In the middle of May King William arrived in Holland, where he conſulted with the States-General. On the third day of June he repaired to Bethlem-abbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army; and there he was met by the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn. In a few days a numerous army was aſſembled; and every thing ſeemed to promiſe an active campaign. On the third day of June the Dauphin aſſumed the command of the French forces, with which Luxembourg had taken poſt between Mons and Maubeuge; and paſſing the Sambre, encamped at Fleurus: but on the eighteenth, he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim: while the Confederates lay at Rooſbeck.

Rooſbeck. On the eleventh of July, the Dauphin marched in four columns to Oerle upon the Jaar, where he pitched his camp. On the twenty-ſecond, the Confederates marched to Bomale: then the Dauphin took the route to Vignamont, where he ſecured his army by entrenchments, as his forces were inferior in number to thoſe of the Allies; and he had been directed by his father to avoid an engagement. In this ſituation both armies remained till the fifteenth day of Auguſt, when King William ſent the heavy baggage to Louvain: and on the eighteenth made a motion to Sombref. This was no ſooner known to the enemy, than they decamped: and having marched all night, poſted themſelves between Temploux and Maſy, within a league and a half of the Confederates. The King of England reſolved to paſs the Scheld; and with this view marched, by the way of Nivelle and Soignies, to Chievres: from thence he detached the Duke of Wirtemberg, with a ſtrong body of horſe and foot, to paſs the river at Oudenarde, while the Elector of Bavaria advanced with another detachment to paſs it at Pont de Eſpieres. Notwithſtanding all the expedition they could make, their purpoſe was anticipated by Luxembourg, who being appriſed of their route, had detached four thouſand horſe, with each a foot ſoldier behind the trooper, to reinforce M. de Valette, who commanded that part of the French line. Theſe were ſuſtained by a choice body of men, who travelled with great expedition, without obſerving the formalities of a march. Mareſchal de Villeroy followed the ſame route, with all the cavalry of the right wing, the houſehold troops, and twenty field-pieces: and the reſt of the army was brought up by the Dauphin in perſon. They marched with ſuch incredible diligence, that the Elector of Bavaria could ſcarce believe his own eyes, when he arrived in ſight of the Scheld, and ſaw them entrenching themſelves on the other ſide of the river. King

CHAP. IV. 1694.

BOOK I. 1694. William having reconnoitred their diſpoſition, though it impracticable to paſs at that place; and therefore marched down the river to Oudenarde, where a paſſage had been already effected by the Duke of Wirtemberg. Here the Confederates paſſed the Scheld on the twenty-ſeventh day of the month; and the King fixed his head-quarters at Wanneghem. His intention was to have taken poſſeſſion of Courtray, and eſtabliſhed winter-quarters for a conſiderable part of his army in that diſtrict: but Luxembourg having poſted himſelf between that place and Menin, extended his lines in ſuch a manner, that the Confederates could not attempt to force them, nor even hinder him from ſubſiſting his army at the expence of the Caſtellany of Courtray, during the remainder of the campaign. This ſurpriſing march was of ſuch importance to the French King, that he wrote with his own hand a letter of thanks to his army; and ordered that it ſhould be read to every particular ſquadron and battalion.

§ XLIII. The King of England, though diſappointed in his ſcheme upon Courtray, found means to make ſome advantage of his ſuperiority in number. He drafted troops from the garriſon of Liege and Meaſtricht; and on the third day of September reinforced his body with a large detachment from his own camp, conferring the command upon the Duke of Holſtein-Ploen, with orders to undertake the ſiege of Huy. Next day the whole confederate forces paſſed the Lys, and encamped at Wouterghem. From thence the King, with part of the army, marched to Roſelaer: this diverſion obliged the Dauphin to make conſiderable detachments, for the ſecurity of Ypres and Menin on one ſide, and to cover Furnes and Dunkirk on the other. At this juncture, a Frenchman being ſeized in the very act of ſetting fire to one of the ammunition waggons in the allied army, confeſſed he had been employed for this purpoſe by ſome of the French Generals, and ſuffered death

death as a traitor. On the ſixteenth day of the month, the Duke of Holſtein-Ploen inveſted Huy, and carried on the ſiege with ſuch vigour, that in ten days the garriſon capitulated. The King ordered Dixmuyde, Deynſe, Ninove, and Tirlemont, to be fortified for winter-quarters to part of the army: the Dauphin returned Verſailles: William quitted the camp on the laſt day of September; and both armies broke up about the middle of October. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XLIV. The operations on the Rhine were preconcerted between King William and the Prince of Baden, who had viſited London in the winter. The diſpute between the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony was compromiſed; and this young Prince dying during the negociation, the treaty was perfected by his brother and ſucceſſor, who engaged to furniſh twelve thouſand men yearly, in conſideration of a ſubſidy from the court of Vienna. In the beginning of June, Mareſchal de Lorges paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh, in order to give battle to the Imperialiſts, encamped at Hailbron. The Prince of Baden, who was not yet joined by the Saxons, Heſſians, nor by the troops of Munſter and Paderborn, diſpatched couriers to quicken the march of theſe auxiliaries, and advanced to Eppingen, where he propoſed to wait till they ſhould come up: but, on the fifteenth, receiving undoubted intelligence that the enemy were in motion towards him, he advanced to meet them in order of battle. De Lorges concluded that this was a deſperate effort, and immediately halted, to make the neceſſary preparations for an engagement. This pauſe enabled Prince Louis to take poſſeſſion of a ſtrong paſs near Sintzheim, from which he could not eaſily be diſlodged. Then the Mareſchal proceeded to Viſeloch, and ravaged the adjacent country, in hopes of drawing the Imperialiſts from their entrenchments. The Prince being joined by the Heſſians, reſolved to beat up the quarters of the enemy; and the French General being

BOOK I. 1694. being appriſed of his deſign, retreated at midnight with the utmoſt precipitation. Having poſted himſelf at Ruth, he ſent his heavy baggage to Philipſburgh: then he moved to Gonſbergh, in the neighbourhood of Manheim, repaſſed the Rhine, and encamped between Spiers and Worms. The Prince of Baden being joined by the Allies, paſſed the river by a bridge of boats near Hagenbach, in the middle of September; and laid the country of Alſace under contribution. Conſidering the advanced ſeaſon of the year, this was a raſh undertaking; and the French General reſolved to profit by his enemy's temerity. He forthwith advanced againſt the Imperialiſts, foreſeeing that ſhould they be worſted in battle, their whole army would be ruined. Prince Louis, informed of his intention, immediately paſſed the Rhine: and this retreat was no ſooner effected, than the river ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that the iſland in the middle, and great part of the camp he had occupied, was overflowed. Soon after this incident both armies retired into winter-quarters. The campaign in Hungary produced no event of importance. It was opened by the new Viſir, who arrived at Belgrade in the middle of Auguſt; and about the ſame time Caprara aſſembled the Imperial army in the neighbourhood of Peterwaradin. The Turks paſſed the Saave, in order to attack their camp, and carried on their approaches with five hundred pieces of cannon; but made very little progreſs. The Imperialiſts received reinforcements; the ſeaſon waſted away; a feud aroſe between the Viſir and the Cham of the Tartars; and the Danube being ſwelled by heavy rains, ſo as to interrupt the operations of the Turks, their General decamped in the night of the firſt of October. They afterwards made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Titul, while the Imperial General made himſelf maſter of Giula. In the courſe of this ſummer, the Venetians, who were alſo at war with the Turks, reduced Cyclut, a place of im-

portance on the river Naranta, and made a conqueſt of the iſland of Scio in the Archipelago. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XLV. We have already obſerved, that the French King had determined to act vigorouſly in Catalonia. In the beginning of May, the Duke de Noailles advanced at the head of eight-and-twenty thouſand men to the river Ter, on the oppoſite bank of which the Viceroy of Catalonia was encamped with ſixteen thouſand Spaniards. The French General paſſed the river in the face of this army, and attacked their entrenchments with ſuch impetuoſity, that in leſs than an hour they were totally defeated. Then he marched to Palamos, and undertook the ſiege of that place, while at the ſame time it was blocked up by the combined ſquadrons of Breſt and Toulon. Though the beſieged made an obſtinate defence, the town was taken by ſtorm, the houſes were pillaged, and the people put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition. Then he inveſted Gironne, which in a few days capitulated. Oſtalric met with the ſame fate, and Noailles was created Viceroy of Catalonia by the French King. In the beginning of Auguſt he diſtributed his forces into quarters of refreſhment, along the river Terdore, reſolving to undertake the ſiege of Barcelona, which was ſaved by the arrival of Admiral Ruſſel. The war languiſhed in Piedmont, on account of a ſecret negociation between the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Rouvigny, Earl of Galway, who had ſucceeded the Duke of Schomberg in the command of the Britiſh forces in that country. Caſal was cloſely blocked up by the reduction of Fort St. George, and the Vaudois gained the advantage in ſome ſkirmiſhes in the valley of Ragelas: but no deſign of importance was executed*.

§ XLVI.

* In the course of this year, M. du Casse, Governor of St. Domingo, made an unsuccessful attempt upon the island of Jamaica, and

BOOK I. 1694.

§ XLVI. England had continued very quiet under the Queen's adminiſtration, if we except ſome little commotions occaſioned by the practices, or pretended practices, of the Jacobites. Proſecutions were revived againſt certain gentlemen of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, for having been concerned in the conſpiracy formed in favour of the late King's projected invaſion from Normandy. Theſe ſteps were owing to the ſuggeſtions of infamous informers, whom the miniſtry countenanced. Colonel Parker and one Croſby were impriſoned, and bills of treaſon found againſt them: but Parker made his eſcape from the Tower, and was never retaken, though a reward of four hundred pounds was ſet upon his head. The King having ſettled the affairs of the Confederacy at the Hague, embarked for England on the eighth of November, and next day landed at Margate. On the twelfth he opened the ſeſſion of Parliament, with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved that the poſture of affairs was improved both by ſea and land ſince they laſt parted; in particular, that a ſtop was put to the progreſs of the French arms. He deſired they would continue the act of tonnage and poundage, which would expire at Chriſtmas: he reminded them of the debt for the tranſport ſhips employed in the reduction of Ireland; and exhorted them to prepare ſome good bill for the encouragement of ſeamen. A majority in both Houſes was already ſecured; and in all probability he bargained for their condeſcenſion, by agreeing to the bill for triennial Parliaments. This Mr. Harley brought in by order of the Lower Houſe, immediately after their firſt adjournment; and it kept pace with the conſideration of the ſupplies. The Commons having examined the eſtimates and accounts, voted four millions ſeven hundred ſixty-

nd M. St. Clair, with four men of war, formed a deſign againſt St. John's, Newfoundland; but he was repulſed with loſs, by the valour of the inhabitants.

four thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve pounds for the ſervice of the army and navy. In order to raiſe this ſum, they continued the land tax; they renewed the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage for five years, and impoſed new duties on different commodities*. The triennial bill enacted, That a Parliament ſhould be held once within three years at leaſt: That within three years at fartheſt after the diſſolution of the Parliament then ſubſiſting, and ſo from time to time, for ever after, legal writs under the great ſeal ſhould be iſſued, by the direction of the crown, for calling, aſſembling, and holding another new Parliament: That no Parliament ſhould continue longer than three years at fartheſt, to be accounted from the firſt day of the firſt ſeſſion: and, That the Parliament then ſubſiſting ſhould ceaſe and determine on the firſt day of November next following, unleſs their Majeſties ſhould think fit to diſſolve it ſooner. The Duke of Devonſhire, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Weymouth and Ayleſbury, proteſted againſt this bill, becauſe it tended to the continuance of the preſent Parliament longer than, as they apprehended, was agreeable to the conſtitution of England. CHAP. IV. 1694.

§ XLVII. While this bill was depending, Dr. John Tillotson, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, was ſeized with a fit of the dead palſy, in the chapel of Whitehall, and died on the 22d day of November, deeply regretted by the King and Queen, who ſhed tears of ſorrow at his deceaſe; and ſincerely lamented by the publick, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekneſs, charity, and moderation. Theſe qualities he muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed, notwithſtanding the invectives of his enemies, who accuſed him of puritaniſm, flattery, and ambition;

* They imposed certain rates and duties upon marriages, births, and burials, bachelors, and widows. They passed an act for laying additional duties upon coffee, tea, and chocolate, towards paying the debt due for the transport ships; and another, imposing duties on glass ware, stone, and earthen bottles, coal, and culm.

and

BOOK I. 1694. and charged him with having conduced to a dangerous ſchiſm in the Church, by accepting the Archbiſhoprick during the life of the deprived Sancroft. He was ſucceeded in the metropolitan ſee by Dr. Tenniſon, Biſhop of Lincoln, recommended by the Whig party, which now predominated in the cabinet. The Queen did not long ſurvive her favourite prelate. In about a month after his deceaſe, ſhe was taken ill of the ſmall-pox, and the ſymptoms proving dangerous, ſhe prepared herſelf for death with great compoſure. She ſpent ſome time in exerciſes of devotion, and private converſation with the new Archbiſhop; ſhe received the ſacrament with all the biſhops who were in attendance; and expired on the twenty-eighth day of December, in the thirty-eighth year of her age and in the ſixth of her reign, to the inexpreſſible grief of the King, who for ſome weeks after her death could neither ſee company, nor attend to the buſineſs of State. Mary was in her perſon tall and well-proportioned, with an oval viſage, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aſpect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehenſion was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment ſolid. She was a zealous proteſtant, ſcrupulouſly exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even temper, and of a calm and mild converſation. She was ruffled by no paſſion, and ſeems to have been a ſtranger to the emotions of natural affection: for ſhe aſcended, without compunction, the throne from which her father had been depoſed, and treated her ſiſter as an alien to her blood. In a word, Mary ſeems to have imbibed the cold diſpoſition and apathy of her huſband: and to have centered all her ambition in deſerving the epithet of an humble and obedient wife*.

§ XLVIII.

* Her obſequies were performed with great magnificence. The body was attended from Whitehall to Weſtminſter-abbey by all the Judges, Serjeants at Law, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of the city of London, and both Houſes of Parliament; and the funeral ſermon

§ XLVIII. The Princeſs Anne being informed of the Queen's dangerous indiſpoſition, ſent a lady of her bed-chamber to deſire ſhe might be admitted to her Majeſty; but this requeſt was not granted. She was thanked for her expreſſion of concern: and given to underſtand that the phyſicians had directed that the Queen ſhould be kept as quiet as poſſible. Before her death, however, ſhe ſent a forgiving meſſage to her ſiſter; and, after her deceaſe, the Earl of Sunderland effected a reconciliation between the King and the Princeſs, who viſited him at Kenſington, where ſhe was received with uncommon civility. He appointed the palace of St James's for her reſidence, and preſented her with the greater part of the Queen's jewels. But a mutual jealouſy and diſguſt ſubſiſted under theſe exteriors of friendſhip and eſteem. The two Houſes of Parliament waited on the King at Kenſington, with conſolatory addreſſes on the death of his conſort: their example was followed by the regency of Scotland, the city and clergy of London, the diſſenting miniſters, and almoſt all the great corporations in England*. CHAP. IV. 1694.

ſermon was preached by Dr. Tennison, Archbiſhop of Canterbury: Dr. Kenn, the deprived Biſhop of Bath and Wells, reproached him in a letter, for not having called upon her Majeſty on her death-bed to repent of the ſhare ſhe had in the Revolution. This was anſwered by another pamphlet. One of the Jacobite clergy inſulted the Queen's memory, by preaching on the following text: "Go "now, see this cursed woman, and bury her, for she is a King's "daughter." On the other hand, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council of London came to a reſolution to erect her ſtatue, with that of the King, in the Royal Exchange.

* The Earls of Rochester and Nottingham are said to have ſtarted a doubt, whether the Parliament was not diſſolved by the Queen's death; but this dangerous motion met with no countenance.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

§ I. *Account of the Lancaſhire plot.* § II. *The Commons inquire into the abuſes which had crept into the army.* § III. *They expel and proſecute ſome of their own members for corruption in the affair of the Eaſt-India Company.* § IV. *Examination of Cooke, Acton, and others.* § V. *The Commons impeach the Duke of Leeds.* § VI. *The Parliament is prorogued.* § VII. *Seſſion of the Scottiſh Parliament.* § VIII. *They inquire into the maſſacre of Glencoe.* § IX. *They paſs an act for erecting a trading company to Africa and the Indies.* § X. *Proceedings in the Parliament of Ireland.* § XI. *Diſpoſition of the armies in Flanders.* § XII. *King William undertakes the ſiege of Namur.* § XIII. *Famous retreat of Prince Vaudemont. Bruſſels is bombarded by Villeroy.* § XIV. *Progreſs of the ſiege of Namur.* § XV. *Villeroy attempts to relieve it. The beſiegers make a deſperate aſſault.* § XVI. *The place capitulates; Boufflers is arreſted by order of King William.* § XVII. *Campaign on the Rhine, and in Hungary.* § XVIII. *The Duke of Savoy takes Caſal.* § XIX. *Tranſactions in Catalonia.* § XX. *The Engliſh fleet bombards St. Maloe's and other places on the coaſt of France.* § XXI. *Wilmot's expedition to the Weſt-Indies.* § XXII. *A new Parliament.* § XXIII. *They paſs the bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon.* § XXIV. *Reſolutions with reſpect to a new coinage.* § XXV. *The Commons addreſs the King, to recal a grant he had made to the Earl of Portland.* § XXVI. *Another againſt the new Scottiſh company.* § XXVII. *Intrigues of the Jacobites.* § XXVIII. *Conſpiracy againſt the life of William.* § XXIX. *Deſign of an invaſion defeated.* § XXX. *The two Houſes engage in an aſſociation for the defence of his Majeſty.* § XXXI.

§ XXXI. *Eſtabliſhment of a land-bank.* § XXXII. *Trial of the conſpirators.* § XXXIII. *The Allies burn the magazine at Givet.* § XXXIV. *Louis the Fourteenth makes advances towards a peace with Holland.* § XXXV. *He detaches the Duke of Savoy from the confederacy.* § XXXVI. *Naval tranſactions.* § XXXVII. *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland.* § XXXVIII. *Zeal of the Engliſh Commons in their affection to the King.* § XXXIX. *Reſolutions touching the coin, and the ſupport of publick credit.* § XL. *Enormous impoſitions.* § XLI. *Sir John Fenwick is apprehended.* § XLII. *A bill of attainder being brought into the Houſe againſt him, produces violent debates.* § XLIII. *His defence.* § XLIV. *The bill paſſes.* § XLV. *Sir John Fenwick is beheaded.* § XLVI. *The Earl of Monmouth ſent to the Tower.* § XLVII. *Inquiry into miſcarriages by ſea.* § XLVIII. *Negociations at Ryſwick.* § XLIX. *The French take Barcelona.* § L. *Fruitleſs expedition of Admiral Neville to the Weſt-Indies.* § LI. *The Elector of Saxony is choſen King of Poland.* § LII. *Peter the Czar of Muſcovy travels in diſguiſe with his own Ambaſſadors,* § LIII. *Proceedings in the congreſs at Ryſwick.* § LIV. *The Ambaſſadors of England, Spain, and Holland, ſign the treaty.* § LV. *A general pacification.*

§ I. THE kingdom now reſounded with the complaints of the papists and malcontents, who taxed the miniſtry with ſubornation of perjury, in the caſe of the Lancaſhire gentlemen who had been perſecuted for the conſpiracy. One Lunt, an Iriſhman, had informed Sir John Trenchard, Secretary of State, that he had been ſent from Ireland, with commiſſions from King James to divers gentlemen in Lancaſhire and Cheſhire: that he had aſſiſted in buying arms, and inliſting men to ſerve that King in his projected invaſion of England: that he had been

CHAP. V. 1694.

BOOK I. 1694. been twice diſpatched by thoſe gentlemen to the court of St. Germain's, aſſiſted many Jacobites in repairing to France, helped to conceal others that came from that kingdom; and that all thoſe perſons told him they were furniſhed with money by Sir John Friend to defray the expence of their expeditions. His teſtimony was confirmed by other infamous emiſſaries, who received but too much countenance from the government. Blank warrants were iſſued, and filled up occaſionally with ſuch names as the informers ſuggeſted. Theſe were delivered to Aaron Smith, ſolicitor to the Treaſury, who, with meſſengers, accompanied Lunt and his aſſociates to Lancaſhire, under the protection of a party of Dutch horſe guards, commanded by one Captain Baker. They were empowered to break open houſes, ſeize papers, and apprehend perſons, according to their pleaſure; and they committed many acts of violence and oppreſſion. The perſons, againſt whom theſe meaſures were taken, being appriſed of the impending danger, generally retired from their own habitations. Some, however, were taken and impriſoned: a few arms were ſecured; and, in the houſe of Mr. Standiſh, at Standiſh-hall, they found the draft of a declaration to be publiſhed by King James at his landing. As this proſecution ſeemed calculated to revive the horrour of a ſtale conſpiracy, and the evidences were perſons of abandoned characters, the friends of thoſe who were perſecuted, found no great difficulty in rendering the ſcheme odious to the nation. They even employed the pen of Fergufon, who had been concerned in every plot that was hatched ſince the Rye-houſe conſpiracy. This veteran, thought appointed houſekeeper to the Exciſe-office, thought himſelf poorly recompenſed for the part he had acted in the Revolution, became diſſatisfied, and, upon this occaſion, publiſhed a letter to Sir John Trenchard on the abuſe of power. It was replete with the moſt bitter invectives

tives againſt the miniſtry, and contained a great number of flagrant inſtances, in which the Court had countenanced the vileſt corruption, perfidy, and oppreſſion. This production was in every body's hand, and had ſuch an effect upon the people, that when the priſoners were brought to trial at Manchester, the populace would have put the witneſſes to death, had they not been prevented by the interpoſition of thoſe who were friends to the accuſed perſons, and had already taken effectual meaſures for their ſafety. Lunt's chief aſſociate in the myſtery of information was one Taaffe, a wretch of the moſt profligate principles, who finding himſelf diſappointed in his hope of reward from the miniſtry, was privately gained over by the agents for the priſoners. Lunt, when deſired in Court to point out the perſons whom he had accuſed, committed ſuch a miſtake as greatly invalidated his teſtimony; and Taaffe declared before the Bench, that the pretended plot was no other than a contrivance between himſelf and Lunt, in order to procure money from the government. The priſoners were immediately acquitted, and the miniſtry incurred a heavy load of popular odium, as the authors or abettors of knaviſh contrivances to enſnare the innocent. The government, with a view to evince their abhorrence of ſuch practices, ordered the witneſſes to be proſecuted for a conſpiracy againſt the lives and eſtates of the gentlemen who had been accuſed; and at laſt the affair was brought into the Houſe of Commons. The Jacobites triumphed in their victory. They even turned the battery of corruption upon the evidence for the Crown, not without making a conſiderable impreſſion. But the cauſe was now debated before judges, who were not at all propitious to their views. The Commons having ſet on foot an inquiry, and examined all the papers and circumſtances relating to the pretended plot, reſolved, That there was ſufficient ground for the proſecution and

CHAP. V. 1694.

BOOK I. 1694. and trials of the gentlemen at Manchester; and that there was a dangerous conspiracy against the King and government. They issued an order for taking Mr. Standish into custody; and the messenger reporting that he was not to be found, they presented an address to the King, desiring a proclamation might be published, offering a reward for apprehending his person. The Peers concurred with the Commons in their sentiments of this affair; for complaints having been laid before their House also, by the persons who thought themselves aggrieved, the question was put, Whether the government had cause to prosecute them; and carried in the affirmative; though a protest was entered against this vote by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. Notwithstanding these decisions, the accused gentlemen prosecuted Lunt and two of his accomplices for perjury, at the Lancaster assizes; and all three were found guilty. They were immediately indicted by the Crown, for a conspiracy against the lives and liberties of the persons they had accused. The intention of the ministry, in laying this indictment, was to seize the opportunity of punishing some of the witnesses for the gentlemen, who had prevaricated in giving their testimony; but the design being discovered, the Lancashire-men refused to produce their evidence against the informers: the prosecution dropped of consequence, and the prisoners were discharged.

§ II. When the Commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, and taking measures for raising the necessary supplies, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of the regiment belonging to Colonel Hastings, which was quartered upon them, exacted subsistence-money, even on pain of military execution. The House was immediately kindled into a flame by this information, The officers, and Pauncefort, agent for the regi-

ment

ment, were examined: then it was unanimouſly reſolved, that ſuch a practice was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the ſubject. Upon further inquiry, Pauncefort and ſome other agents were committed to the cuſtody of the Serjeant, for having neglected to pay the ſubſiſtence money they had received for the officers and ſoldiers. He was afterwards ſent to the Tower, together with Henry Guy, a member of the Houſe, and Secretary to the Treaſury, the one for giving, and the other for receiving, a bribe to obtain the King's bounty. Pauncefort's brother was likewiſe committed, for being concerned in the ſame commerce. Guy had been employed, together with Trevor the Speaker, as the court-agent for ſecuring a majority in the Houſe of Commons: for that reaſon, he was obnoxious to the members in the oppoſition, who took this opportunity to brand him; and the courtiers could not with any decency ſkreen him from their vengeance. The Houſe having proceeded in this inquiry, drew up an addreſs to the King, enumerating the abuſes which had crept into the army, and demanding immediate redreſs. He promiſed to conſider the remonſtrance, and redreſs the grievances of which they complained. Accordingly, he caſhiered Colonel Haſtings; appointed a council of officers to ſit weekly and examine all complaints againſt any officer and ſoldier; and publiſhed a declaration for the maintenance of ſtrict diſcipline, and the due payment of quarters. Notwithſtanding theſe conceſſions the Commons proſecuted their examinations: they committed Mr. James Craggs, one of the contractors for cloathing the army, becauſe he refuſed to anſwer upon oath to ſuch queſtions as might be put to him by the Commiſſioners of Accounts. They brought in a bill for obliging him and Mr. Richard Harnage the other contractor, together with the two Paunceforts, to diſcover how they had diſpoſed of the ſums paid

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Burnet. Boyer. Oldmixon. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals. Daniel. Voltaire.

BOOK I. 1695. paid into their hands on account of the army; and for puniſhing them, in caſe they ſhould perſiſt in their refuſal. At this period they received a petition againſt the commiſſioners for licenſing hackney-coaches. Three of them, by means of an addreſs to the King, were removed with diſgrace, for having acted arbitrarily, corruptly, and contrary to the truſt repoſed in them by act of Parliament.

§ III. Thoſe who encouraged this ſpirit of reformation introduced another inquiry about the orphans' bill, which was ſaid to have paſſed into an act, by virtue of undue influence. A committee being appointed to inſpect the Chamberlain's books, diſcovered that bribes had been given to Sir John Trevor, Speaker of the Houſe, and Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the Grand Committee. The firſt being voted guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanor, abdicated the chair, and Paul Foley was appointed Speaker in his room. Then Sir John and Hungerford were expelled the Houſe: one Nois, a ſolicitor for the bill, was taken into cuſtody, becauſe he had ſcandalized the Commons, in pretending he was engaged to give great ſums to ſeveral members, and denying this circumſtance on his examination. The Reformers in the Houſe naturally concluded that the ſame arts had been practiſed in obtaining the new charter of the Eaſt-India Company, which had been granted ſo much againſt the ſenſe of the nation. Their books were ſubjected to the ſame committee that carried on the former inquiry, and a ſurpriſing ſcene of venality and corruption was ſoon diſcloſed. It appeared that the company, in the courſe of the preceding year, had paid near ninety thouſand pounds in ſecret ſervices; and that Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the Directors, and a member of the Houſe, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke, refuſing to anſwer, was committed to the Tower, and a bill of pains and penalties brought in, obliging

ing him to diſcover how the ſum mentioned in the report of the committee had been diſtributed. The bill was violently oppoſed in the Upper Houſe by the Duke of Leeds, as being contrary to law and equity, and furniſhing a precedent of a dangerous nature. Cooke, being agreeably to his own petition brought to the bar of the Houſe of Lords, declared that he was ready and willing to make a full diſcovery, in caſe he might be favoured with an indemnifying vote, to ſecure him againſt all actions and ſuits, except thoſe of the Eaſt-India Company, which he had never injured. The Lords complied with his requeſt, and paſſed a bill for this purpoſe, to which the Commons added a penal clauſe; and the former was laid aſide. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ IV. When the King went to the Houſe, to give the royal aſſent to the money bills, he endeavoured to diſcourage this inquiry, by telling the Parliament that the ſeaſon of the year was far advanced, and the circumſtances of affairs extremely preſſing: he, therefore, deſired they would diſpatch ſuch buſineſs as they ſhould think of moſt importance to the publick, as he ſhould put an end to the ſeſſion in a few days. Notwithſtanding this ſhameful interpoſition, both Houſes appointed a joint committee to lay open the complicated ſcheme of fraud and iniquity. Cooke, on his firſt examination, confeſſed, that he had delivered tallies for ten thouſand pounds to Francis Tyſſen, Deputy-Governor, for the ſpecial ſervice of the Company; an equal ſum to Richard Acton, for employing his intereſt in preventing a new ſettlement, and endeavouring to eſtabliſh the old company; beſides two thouſand pounds by way of intereſt, and as a further gratuity; a thouſand guineas to Colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates, and three hundred and ten to Mr. Molineux, a merchant, for the ſame purpoſe; and he owned that Sir Baſil Firebrace had received forty thouſand pounds

BOOK I. 1695. on various pretences. He ſaid he believed the ten thouſand pounds paid to Tyſſen had been delivered to the King by Sir Joſiah Child, as a cuſtomary preſent which former Kings had received: and that the ſums paid to Acton were diſtributed among ſome members of Parliament. Firebrace being examined, affirmed that he had received the whole forty thouſand pounds for his own uſe and benefit; but that Bates had received ſums of money, which he underſtood were offered to ſome perſons of the firſt quality. Acton declared, that ten thouſand pounds of the ſum which he had received were diſtributed among perſons who had intereſt with members of Parliament; and that great part of the money paſſed through the hands of Craggs, who was acquainted with ſome Colonels in the Houſe, and northern members. Bates owned he had received the money, in conſideration of uſing his intereſt with the Duke of Leeds in favour of the Company: that this nobleman knew of the gratuity; and that the ſum was reckoned by his Grace's domeſtick, one Robart, a foreigner, who kept it in his poſſeſſion until this inquiry was talked of, and then it was returned. In a word, it appeared by this man's teſtimony, as well as by that of Firebrace on his ſecond examination, that the Duke of Leeds was not free from corruption, and that Sir John Trevor was a hireling proſtitute.

§ V. The report of the committee produced violent altercations, and the moſt ſevere ſtrictures upon the conduct of the Lord Preſident. At length, the Houſe reſolved, That there was ſufficient matter to impeach Thomas Duke of Leeds of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and that he ſhould be impeached thereupon. Then it was ordered, That Mr. Comptroller Wharton ſhould impeach him before the Lords, in the name of the Houſe, and of all the Commons in England. The Duke was actually in the middle of a ſpeech for his own juſtification,

cation, in which he aſſured the Houſe, upon his honour, that he was not guilty of the corruptions laid to his charge, when one of his friends gave him intimation of the votes which had paſſed in the Commons. He concluded his ſpeech abruptly, and repairing to the Lower-Houſe, deſired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered. After having ſat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addreſſed himſelf to the Commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked them for the favour of indulging him with a hearing, he ſaid that Houſe would not have been then ſitting but for him. He proteſted his own innocence, with reſpect to the crime laid to his charge. He complained that this was the effect of a deſign which had been long formed againſt him. He expreſſed a deed ſenſe of his being under the diſpleaſure of the Parliament and nation, and demanded ſpeedy juſtice. They forthwith drew up the articles of impeachment, which being exhibited at the bar of the Upper-Houſe, he pleaded not guilty, and the Commons promiſed to make good their charge: but, by this time, ſuch arts had been uſed, as all at once checked the violence of the proſecution. Such a number of conſiderable perſons were involved in this myſtery of corruption, that a full diſcovery was dreaded by both parties. The Duke ſent his domeſtick, Robart, out of the kingdom, and his abſence furniſhed a pretence for poſtponing the trial. In a word, the inquiry was dropped; but the ſcandal ſtuck faſt to the Duke's character. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ VI. In the midſt of theſe deliberations, the King went to the Houſe on the third day of May, when he thanked the Parliament for the ſupplies they had granted; ſignified his intention of going abroad; aſſured them he would place the adminiſtration of affairs in perſons of known care and fidelity; and deſired that the members of both Houſes would

BOOK I. 1695. would be more than ordinarily vigilant in preſerving the publick peace. The Parliament was then prorogued to the eighteenth of June*. The King immediately appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence: but neither the Princeſs of Denmark nor her huſband were entruſted with any ſhare in the adminiſtration; a circumſtance that evinced the King's jealouſy, and gave offence to a great part of the nation†.

§ VII. A ſeſſion of Parliament was deemed neceſſary in Scotland, to provide new ſubſidies for the maintenance of the troops of that kingdom, which had been ſo ſerviceable in the proſecution of

* In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the Lords had inquired into the particulars of the Mediterranean expedition, and preſented an address to the King, declaring, that the fleet in thoſe ſeas had conduced to the honour and advantage of the nation. On the other hand, the Commons, in an addreſs, beſought his Majeſty to take care that the kingdom might be put on an equal footing and proportion with the allies, in defraying the expence of the war.

The coin of the kingdom being greatly diminiſhed and adulterated, the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham expatiated upon this national evil in the Houſe of Lords; an act was paſſed, containing ſeverer penalties againſt clippers; but this produced no good effect. The value of money ſunk in the exchange to ſuch a degree, that a guinea was reckoned adequate to thirty ſhillings; and this publick diſgrace lowered the credit of the funds and of the government. The nation was alarmed by the circulation of fictitious wealth, inſtead of gold and ſilver, ſuch as Bank-bills, Exchequer tallies, and Government ſecurities. The malcontents took this opportunity to exclaim againſt the Bank, and even attempted to ſhake the credit of it in Parliament; but their endeavours proved abortive; the monied-intereſt preponderated in both Houſes.

† The Regency was compoſed of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; Somers, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; the Earl of Pembroke, Lord-Privy-Seal; the Duke of Devonſhire, Lord-Steward of the Houſehold; the Duke of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State; the Earl of Dorſet, Lord Chamberlain; and the Lord Godolphin, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. Sir John Trenchard dying, his place of Secretary was filled with Sir William Trumbal, an eminent civilian, learned, diligent, and virtuous, who had been envoy at Paris and Conſtantinople. William Naſſau de Zuylestein, ſon of the King's natural uncle, was created Baron of Enfield, Viſcount Tunbridge, and Earl of Rochford. Ford, Lord Grey of Werke, was made Viſcount Glendale, and Earl of Tankerville. The month of April of this year was diſtinguiſhed by the death of the famous George Saville, Marquis of Halifax, who had ſurvived in a good meaſure his talents and reputation.

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the war. But, as a great outcry had been raiſed againſt the government, on account of the maſſacre of Glencoe, and the Scots were tired of contributing towards the expence of a war from which they could derive no advantage, the miniſtry thought proper to cajole them with the promiſe of ſome national indulgence. In the mean time, a commiſſion paſſed the great ſeal, for taking a precognition of the maſſacre, as a previous ſtep to the trial of the perſons concerned in that perfidious tranſaction. On the ninth of May, the ſeſſion was opened by the Marquis of Tweedale, appointed commiſſioner, who, after the King's letter had been read, expatiated on his Majeſty's care and concern for their ſafety and welfare; and his firm purpoſe to maintain the Preſbyterian diſcipline in the church of Scotland. Then he promiſed, in the King's name, that if they would paſs an act for eſtabliſhing a colony in Africa, America, or any other part of the world where a colony might be lawfully planted, his Majeſty would indulge them with ſuch rights and privileges as he had granted in like caſes to the ſubjects of his other dominions. Finally, he exhorted them to conſider ways and means to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for maintaining their land forces, and for providing a competent number of ſhips of war to protect their commerce. The Parliament immediately voted an addreſs of condolence to his Majeſty on the death of the Queen; and they granted one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling for the ſervice of the enſuing year, to be raiſed by a general poll-tax, a land-tax, and an additional exciſe. CHAP. V. 1693.

§ VIII. Their next ſtep was to deſire the commiſſioner would tranſmit their humble thanks to the King, for his care to vindicate the honour of the government and the juſtice of the nation, in ordering a precognition to be taken with reſpect to the ſlaughter of Glencoe. A motion was afterwards

BOOK I. 1695. wards made that the commiſſioners ſhould exhibit an account of their proceedings in this affair: accordingly, a report, conſiſting of the King's inſtructions, Dalrymple's letters, the depoſitions of witneſſes, and the opinion of the committee, was laid before the Parliament. The motion is ſaid to have been privately influenced by Secretary Johnſton, for the diſgrace of Dalrymple, who was his rival in power and intereſt. The written opinion of the commiſſioners, who were creatures of the Court, imported, That Macdonald of Glencoe had been perfidiouſly murthered; that the King's inſtructions contained nothing to warrant the maſſacre; and that Secretary Dalrymple had exceeded his orders. The Parliament concurred with this report. They reſolved, that Livingſton was not to blame, for having given the orders contained in his letters to Lieut. Col. Hamilton: that this laſt was liable to proſecution: that the King ſhould be addreſſed to give orders, either for examining Major Duncanſon in Flanders, touching his concern in this affair; or for ſending him home to be tried in Scotland: as alſo, that Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, Lieutenant Lindſey, Enſign Lundy, and Serjeant Barber, ſhould be ſent to Scotland, and proſecuted according to law, for the parts they had acted in that execution. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the Parliament drew up an addreſs to the King, in which they laid the whole blame of the maſſacre upon the exceſs in the Maſter of Stair's letters concerning that tranſaction. They begged that his Majeſty would give ſuch orders about him, as he ſhould think fit for the vindication of his government; that the actors in that barbarous ſlaughter might be proſecuted by the King's advocate, according to law; and that ſome reparation might be made to the men of Glencoe who eſcaped the maſſacre, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained in their effects upon that occaſion, as their habitations had

had been plundered and burned, their lands waſted, and their cattle driven away; ſo that they were reduced to extreme poverty. Notwithſtanding this addreſs of the Scottiſh Parliament, by which the King was ſo ſolemnly exculpated, his memory is ſtill loaded with the ſuſpicion of having concerted, countenanced, and enforced this barbarous execution, eſpecially as the Maſter of Stair eſcaped with impunity, and the other actors of the tragedy, far from being puniſhed, were preferred in the ſervice. While the commiſſioners were employed in the inquiry, they made ſuch diſcoveries concerning the conduct of the Earl of Breadalbane, as amounted to a charge of high-treaſon; and he was committed priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh: but it ſeems he had diſſembled with the Highlanders, by the King's permiſſion, and now ſheltered himſelf under the ſhadow of a royal pardon. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ IX. The committee of trade, in purſuance of the powers granted by the King to his commiſſioner, prepared an act for eſtabliſhing a company trading to Africa and the Indies, empowering them to plant colonies, hold cities, towns, or forts, in places uninhabited, or in others, with the conſent of the natives; veſting them with an excluſive right, and an exemption for one-and-twenty years from all duties and impoſitions. This act was likewiſe confirmed by letters-patent under the great ſeal, directed by the Parliament, without any further warrant from the Crown. Patterſon, the projector, had contrived the ſcheme of a ſettlement upon the Iſthmus of Darien, in ſuch a manner as to carry on a trade in the South-Sea, as well as in the Atlantick; nay, even to extend it as far as the Eaſt-Indies: a great number of London merchants, allured by the proſpect of gain, were eager to engage in ſuch a company, exempted from all manner of impoſition and reſtriction. The Scottiſh Parliament likewiſe paſſed an act in favour of the epiſcopal clergy, decreeing,

BOOK I. 1695. decreeing, That thoſe who ſhould enter into ſuch engagements to the King, as were by law required, might continue in their benefices under his Majeſty's protection, without being ſubject to the power of Preſbytery. Seventy of the moſt noted miniſters of that perſuaſion took the benefit of this indulgence. Another law was enacted, for raiſing nine thouſand men yearly, to recruit the Scottiſh regiments abroad; and an act for erecting a publick bank :then the Parliament was adjourned to the ſeventh day of November.

§ X. Ireland began to be infected with the ſame factions which had broke out in England ſince the Revolution: Lord Capel, the Lord-Deputy, governed in a very partial manner, oppreſſing the Iriſh Papiſts, without any regard to equity or decorum. He undertook to model a Parliament in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould comply with all the demands of the miniſtry; and he ſucceeded in his endeavours, by making ſuch arbitrary changes in offices as beſt ſuited his purpoſe. Theſe precautions being taken, he convoked a Parliament for the twenty-ſeventh day of Auguſt, when he opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, expatiating upon their obligations to King William, and exhorting them to make ſuitable returns to ſuch a gracious Sovereign. He obſerved, that the revenue had fallen ſhort of the eſtabliſhment; ſo that both the civil and military liſts were greatly in debt: that his Majeſty had ſent over a bill for an additional exciſe, and expected they would find ways and means to anſwer the demands of the ſervice. They forthwith voted an addreſs of thanks, and reſolved to aſſiſt his Majeſty to the utmoſt of their power, againſt all his enemies foreign and domeſtick. They paſſed the bill for an additional exciſe, together with an act for taking away the writ "*De heretico comburendo*;" another annulling all attainders and acts paſſed in the late pretended Parliament of King James;

James: a third to prevent foreign education: a fourth for disarming Papists: and a fifth for settling the estates of intestates. Then they resolved, That a sum not exceeding one hundred and sixty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, should be granted to his Majesty, to be raised by a poll-bill, additional customs, and a continuation of the additional excise. Sir Charles Porter, the Chancellor, finding his importance diminished, if not entirely destroyed, by the assuming disposition and power of the Lord-Deputy, began to court popularity by espousing the cause of the Irish, against the severity of the administration; and actually formed a kind of Tory interest, which thwarted Lord Capel in all his measures. A motion was made in Parliament to impeach the Chancellor, for sowing discord and division among his Majesty's subjects: but, being indulged with a hearing by the House of Commons, he justified himself so much to their satisfaction, that he was voted clear of all imputation, by a great majority. Nevertheless, they, at the end of the session, sent over an address, in which they bore testimony to the mild and just administration of their Lord-Deputy. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XI. King William having taken such steps as were deemed necessary for preserving the peace of England in his absence, crossed the sea to Holland in the middle of May, fully determined to make some great effort in the Netherlands, that might aggrandize his military character, and humble the power of France, which was already on the decline. That kingdom was actually exhausted in such a manner, that the haughty Louis found himself obliged to stand upon the defensive against enemies over whom he had been used to triumph with uninterrupted success. He heard the clamours of his people, which he could not quiet: he saw his advances to peace rejected; and to crown his misfortunes, he sustained an irreparable loss in the death of

BOOK I. 1695. of Francis de Montmorency, Duke of Luxembourg, to whoſe military talents he owed the greateſt part of his glory and ſucceſs. That great officer died in January at Verſailles, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age; and Louis lamented his death the more deeply, as he had not another General left, in whoſe underſtanding he could confide. The conduct of the army in Flanders was entruſted to Mareſchal Villeroy; and Boufflers commanded a ſeparate army, though ſubject to the other's orders. As the French King took it for granted, that the Confederates would have a ſuperiority of numbers in the field, and was well acquainted with the enterpriſing genius of their chief, he ordered a new line to be drawn between Lys and the Scheld: he cauſed a diſpoſition to be made for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur; and laid injunctions on his General to act ſolely on the defenſive. Meanwhile, the Confederates formed two armies in the Netherlands. The firſt conſiſted of ſeventy battalions of infantry, and eighty-two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, chiefly Engliſh and Scots, encamped at Aerſeele, Caneghem, and Wouterghem, between Thield and Deynſe, to be commanded by the King in perſon, aſſiſted by the old Prince of Vaudemont. The other army, compoſed of ſixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty ſquadrons of horſe, encamped at Zellich and Hamme, on the road from Bruſſels to Dendermonde, under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, ſeconded by the Duke of Holſtein-Ploen. Major-General Ellemberg was poſted near Dixmuyde with twenty battalions and ten ſquadrons; and another body of Brandenburgh and Dutch troops, with a reinforcement from Liege, lay encamped on the Mehaigne, under the conduct of the Baron de Heyden, Lieutenant-General of Brandenburgh, and the Count de Berlo, General of the Liege cavalry. King William arrived in the camp on the fifth day of July; and remained eight days at Aerſeele.

ſeele. Then he marched to Bekelar, while Villeroy retired behind his lines between Menin and Ypres, *after having detached ten thouſand men to reinforce* Boufflers, who had advanced to Pont d'Eſpieres: but he too retreating within his lines, the Elector of Bavaria paſſed the Scheld, and took poſt at Kirkhoven: at the ſame time the body under Heyden advanced towards Namur. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XII. The King of England, having by his motions drawn the forces of the enemy on the ſide of Flanders, directed the Baron de Heyden and the Earl of Athlone, who commanded forty ſquadrons *from the camp of the Elector of Bavaria, to inveſt* Namur; and this ſervice was performed on the third day of July: but, as the place was not entirely ſurrounded, Mareſchal Boufflers threw himſelf into it, with ſuch a reinforcement of dragoons as augmented the garriſon to the number of fifteen thouſand choſen men. King William and the Elector brought up the reſt of the forces, which encamped on both ſides of the Sambre and the Maeſe; and the lines of circumvallation were begun on the ſixth day of July, *under the direction* of the celebrated engineer, General Coehorn. The place was formerly very ſtrong, both by ſituation and art; but the French, ſince its laſt reduction, had made ſuch additional works, that both the town and citadel ſeemed impregnable. Conſidering the number of the garriſon, and the quality of the troops, commanded by a Mareſchal of France, diſtinguiſhed by his valour and conduct, the enterpriſe was deemed an undeniable proof of William's temerity. On the eleventh the trenches were opened, and next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. The King receiving intelligence of a motion made by a body of French troops, with a view to intercept the convoys, detached twenty ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons to obſerve the enemy.

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§ XIII. Prince Vaudemont, who was left at Roſelaer with fifty battalions, and the like number of ſquadrons, underſtanding that Villeroy had paſſed the Lys, in order to attack him, took poſt with his left near Grammen, his right by Aerſeele and Caneghem, and began to fortify his camp, with a view to expect the enemy. Their vanguard appearing on the evening of the thirteenth at Dentreghem, he changed the diſpoſition of his camp, and entrenched himſelf on both ſides. Next day, however, perceiving Villeroy's deſign was to ſurround him, by means of another body of troops commanded by M. Montal, who had already paſſed the Thieldt for that purpoſe, he reſolved to avoid an engagement, and effected a retreat to Ghent, which is celebrated as one of the moſt capital efforts of military conduct. He forthwith detached twelve battalions and twelve pieces of cannon, to ſecure Newport, which Villeroy had intended to inveſt: but that General now changed his reſolution, and undertook the ſiege of Dixmuyde, garriſoned by eight battalions of foot, and a regiment of dragoons, commanded by Major-General Ellemberg, who, in ſix-and-thirty hours after the trenches were opened, ſurrendered himſelf and his ſoldiers priſoners of war. This ſcandalous example was followed by Colonel Ofarrel, who yielded up Deynſe on the ſame ſhameful conditions, even before a battery was opened by the beſiegers. In the ſequel they were both tried for their miſbehaviour: Ellemberg ſuffered death, and Ofarrel was broke with infamy. The Prince of Vaudemont ſent a meſſage to the French General, demanding the garriſons of thoſe two places, according to a cartel which had been ſettled between the powers at war; but no regard was paid to this remonſtrance. Villeroy, after ſeveral marches and countermarches, appeared before Bruſſels on the thirteenth day of Auguſt, and ſent a letter to the Prince of Berghem, Governor of that city, importing, that the King his maſter

maſter had ordered him to bombard the town, by way of making repriſals for the damage done by the Engliſh fleet to the maritime towns of France: he likewiſe deſired to know in what part the Electreſs of Bavaria reſided, that he might not fire into that quarter. After this declaration, which was no more than an unmeaning compliment, he began to bombard and cannonade the place with red-hot bullets, which produced conflagrations in many different parts of the city, and frightened the Electreſs into a miſcarriage. On the fifteenth, the French diſcontinued their firing, and retired to Enghein. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XIV. During theſe tranſactions, the ſiege of Namur was proſecuted with great ardour, under the eye of the King of England; while the garriſon defended the place with equal ſpirit and perſeverance. On the eighteenth day of July, Major-General Ramſay and Lord Cutts, at the head of five battalions, Engliſh, Scots, and Dutch, attacked the enemy's advanced works, on the right of the counterſcarp. They were ſuſtained by ſix Engliſh battalions, commanded by Brigadier-General Fitzpatrick; while eight foreign regiments, with nine thouſand pioneers, advanced on the left, under Major-General Saliſch. The aſſault was deſperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted courage: but at laſt they were obliged to give way, and were purſued to the very gates of the town, though not before they had killed or wounded twelve hundred men of the confederate army. The King was ſo well pleaſed with the behaviour of the Britiſh troops, that during the action he laid his hand upon the ſhoulder of the Elector of Bavaria, and exclaimed with emotion, "See my brave Engliſh." On the twenty-ſeventh the Engliſh and Scots, under Ramſay and Hamilton, aſſaulted the counterſcarp, where they met with prodigious oppoſition from the fire of the beſieged. Nevertheleſs, being ſuſtained by the Dutch, they made a lodgement

BOOK I. 1695. ment on the foremoſt covered-way before the gate of St. Nicholas, as alſo upon part of the counterſcarp. The valour of the aſſailants on this occaſion was altogether unprecedented, and almoſt incredible; while, on the other hand, the courage of the beſieged was worthy of praiſe and admiration. Several perſons were killed in the trenches at the ſide of the King, and among theſe Mr. Godfrey, Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England, who had come to the camp, to confer with his Majeſty about remitting money for the payment of the army. On the thirtieth day of July the Elector of Bavaria attacked Vauban's line that ſurrounded the works of the caſtle. General Coehorn was preſent in this action, which was performed with equal valour and ſucceſs. They not only broke the line, but even took poſſeſſion of Coehorn's fort, in which, however, they found it impoſſible to effect a lodgement. On the ſecond day of Auguſt, Lord Cutts, with four hundred Engliſh and Dutch grenadiers, attacked the ſaillant-angle of a demi-baſtion, and lodged himſelf on the ſecond counterſcarp. The breaches being now practicable, and preparations made for a general aſſault, Count Guiſcard, the Governor, capitulated for the town on the fourth of Auguſt; and the French retired into the citadel, againſt which twelve batteries played upon the thirteenth. The trenches, mean while, were carried on with great expedition, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the beſieged, who fired without ceaſing, and exerted amazing diligence and intrepidity in defending and repairing the damage they ſuſtained. At length, the annoyance became ſo dreadful from the unintermitting ſhowers of bombs and red-hot bullets, that Boufflers, after having made divers furious ſallies, formed a ſcheme for breaking through the confederate camp with his cavalry. This, however, was prevented by the extreme vigilance of King William.

§ XV.

§ XV. After the bombardment of Bruſſels, Villeroy being reinforced with all the troops that could be drafted from garriſons, advanced towards Namur, with an army of ninety thouſand men; and Prince Vaudemont being joined by the Prince of Heſſe, with a ſtrong body of forces from the Rhine, took poſſeſſion of the ſtrong camp at Maſy, within five Engliſh miles of the beſieging army. The King, underſtanding that the enemy had reached Fleurus, where they diſcharged ninety pieces of cannon, as a ſignal to inform the garriſon of their approach, left the conduct of the ſiege to the Elector of Bavaria, and took upon himſelf the command of the covering army, in order to oppoſe Villeroy, who being further reinforced by a detachment from Germany, declared, that he would hazard a battle for the relief of Namur. But, when he viewed the poſture of the Allies near Maſy, he changed his reſolution, and retired *in the night without noiſe.* On the thirtieth day of Auguſt, the beſieged were ſummoned to ſurrender, by Count Horn, who, in a parley with the Count de Lamont, General of the French infantry, gave him to underſtand, that Mareſchal Villeroy had retired towards the Mehaigne; ſo that the garriſon could not expect to be relieved. No immediate anſwer being returned to this meſſage, the parley was broke off, and the King reſolved to proceed without delay to a general aſſault, which he had already planned with the Elector and his other Generals. Between one and two in the afternoon, Lord Cutts, who deſired the command, though it was not his turn of duty, ruſhed out of the trenches of the ſecond line, at the head of three hundred grenadiers, to make a lodgment in the breach of Terra-nova, ſupported by the regiments of Coulthorp, Buchan, Hamilton, and Mackay; while Colonel Marſelly, with a body of Dutch, the Bavarians, and Brandenburghers, attacked at two other places. The aſſailants met with ſuch a warm reception, that the Engliſh grenadiers

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BOOK I. 1695. were repulſed, even after they had mounted the breach, Lord Cutts being for ſome time diſabled by a ſhot in the head. Marſelly was defeated, taken, and afterwards killed by a cannon-ball from the batteries of the beſiegers. The Bavarians, by miſtaking their way, were expoſed to a terrible fire, by which their General, Count Rivera, and a great number of their officers were ſlain: nevertheleſs, they fixed themſelves on the outward entrenchment, on the point of the Coehorn next to the Sambre, and maintained their ground with amazing fortitude. Lord Cutts, when his wound was dreſſed, returned to the ſcene of action, and ordered two hundred choſen men of Mackay's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Cockle, to attack the face of the ſaillant-angle next to the breach, ſword in hand, while the enſigns of the ſame regiment ſhould advance, and plant their colours on the palliſadoes. Cockle and his detachment executed the command he had received with admirable intrepidity. They broke through the palliſadoes, drove the French from the covered-way, made a lodgement in one of the batteries, and turned the cannon againſt the enemy. The Bavarians being thus ſuſtained, made their poſt good. The Major-generals La Cave and Schwerin lodged themſelves at the ſame time on the covered-way; and though the general aſſault did not ſucceed in its full extent, the Confederates remained maſters of a very conſiderable lodgement, nearly an Engliſh mile in length. Yet this was dearly purchaſed with the lives of two thouſand men, including many officers of great rank and reputation. During the action the Elector of Bavaria ſignalized his courage in a very remarkable manner, riding from place to place through the hotteſt of the fire, giving his directions with notable preſence of mind, according to the emergency of circumſtances, animating the officers with praiſe and promiſe of preferment, and diſtributing handfuls of gold among the private ſoldiers.

§ XIV.

§ XVI. On the firſt day of September, the beſieged having obtained a ceſſation of arms, that their dead might be buried, the Count de Guiſcard appearing on the breach, deſired to ſpeak with the Elector of Bavaria. His Highneſs immediately mounting the breach, the French Governor offered to ſurrender the fort of Coehorn; but was given to underſtand, that if he intended to capitulate, he muſt treat for the whole. This reply being communicated to Boufflers, he agreed to the propoſal: the ceſſation was prolonged, and that very evening the capitulation was finiſhed. Villeroy, who lay encamped at Gemblours, was no ſooner appriſed of this event, by a triple diſcharge of all the artillery, and a running fire along the lines of the Confederate army, than he paſſed the Sambre near Charleroy, with great precipitation; and having reinforced the garriſon of Dinant, retreated towards the lines in the neighbourhood of Mons. On the fifth day of September, the French garriſon, which was now reduced from fifteen to five thouſand five hundred men, evacuated the citadel of Namur. Boufflers, in marching out, was arreſted in the name of his Britannick Majeſty, by way of repriſal for the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, which the French King had detained, contrary to the cartel ſubſiſting between the two nations. The Marechal was not a little diſcompoſed at this unexpected incident, and expoſtulated warmly with Mr. Dyckvelt, who aſſured him the King of Great-Britain entertained a profound reſpect for his perſon and character. William even offered to ſet him at liberty, provided he would paſs his word that the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe ſhould be ſent back, or that he himſelf would return in a fortnight. He ſaid, that he could not enter into any ſuch engagement, as he did not know his Maſter's reaſons for detaining the garriſons in queſtion. He was, therefore, reconveyed to Namur; from thence removed to Maeſtricht, and treated with great reve-

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§ XVII. After the reduction of Namur, which greatly enhanced the military character of King William, he retired to his houſe at Loo, which was his favourite place of reſidence, leaving the command to the Elector of Bavaria; and about the latter end of September both armies began to ſeparate. The French forces retired within their lines. A good number of the allied troops were diſtributed in different garriſons: and a ſtrong detachment marched towards Newport, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, for the ſecurity of that place. Thus ended the campaign in the Netherlands. On the Rhine nothing of moment was attempted by either army. The Mareſchal de Lorges, in the beginning of June, paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh; and poſting himſelf at Bruckſal, ſent out parties to ravage the country. On the eleventh of the ſame month, the Prince of Baden joined the German army at Steppach, and on the eighth of July was reinforced by the troops of the other German Confederates, in the neighbourhood of Wiſelock. On the nineteenth, the French retired without noiſe, in the night, towards Manheim, where they repaſſed the river, without any interruption from the Imperial General: then he ſent off

off a large detachment to Flanders. The ſame ſtep was taken by the Prince of Baden; and each army lay inactive in their quarters for the remaining part of the campaign. The command of the Germans in Hungary was conferred upon the Elector of Saxony: but the Court of Vienna was ſo dilatory in their preparations, that he was not in a condition to act till the middle of Auguſt. Lord Paget had been ſent ambaſſador from England to the Ottoman Porte, with inſtructions relating to a pacification: but before he could obtain an audience, the Sultan died, and was ſucceeded by his nephew, Muſtapha, who reſolved to proſecute the war in perſon. The warlike genius of this new Emperor affored but an uncomfortable proſpect to his people, conſidering that Peter, the Czar of Muſcovy, had taken the opportunity of the war in Hungary, to invade the Crimea, and beſiege Azoph; ſo that the Tartars were too much employed at home to ſpare the ſuccours which the Sultan demanded. Nevertheleſs, Muſtapha and his Viſir took the field before the Imperialiſts could commence the operations of the campaign, paſſed the Danube, took Lippa and Titul by aſſault, ſtormed the camp of General Veterani, who was poſted at Lugos with ſeven thouſand men, and who loſt his life in the action. The infantry were cut to pieces, after having made a deſperate defence: but the horſe retreated to Carouſebes, under the conduct of General Truſches. The Turks, after this exploit, retired to Orſowa. Their navy, meanwhile, ſurpriſed the Venetian fleet at Scio, where ſeveral ſhips of the Republick were deſtroyed, and they recovered that iſland, which the Venetians thought proper to abandon: but, in order to balance this misfortune, theſe laſt obtained a complete victory over the Baſhaw of Negropont in the Morea.

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§ XVIII. The French King ſtill maintained a ſecret negociation with the Duke of Savoy, whoſe conduct

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§ XIX. In Catalonia the French could hardly maintain the footing they had gained. Admiral Ruſſel, who wintered at Cadiz, was created Admiral, Chief-commander, and Captain-general of all his Majeſty's ſhips employed, or to be employed in the Narrow-Seas, and in the Mediterranean. He was reinforced by four thouſand five hundred ſoldiers, under the command of Brigadier-General Stewart; and ſeven thouſand men, Imperialiſts as well as Spaniards, were drafted from Italy for the defence of Catalonia. Theſe forces were tranſported to Barcelona, under the convoy of Admiral Nevil, detached by Ruſſel for that purpoſe. The affairs of Catalonia had already changed their aſpect. Several French parties had been defeated. The Spaniards had blocked up Oſtalric and Caſtel-Follit:

Noailles

Noailles had been recalled, and the command devolved to the Duke de Vendome, who no ſooner underſtood that the forces from Italy were landed, than he diſmantled Oſtalric and Caſtel-Follit, and retired to Palamos. The Viceroy of Catalonia, and the Engliſh Admiral having reſolved to give battle to the enemy, and reduce Palamos, the Engliſh troops were landed on the ninth day of Auguſt, and the allied army advanced to Palamos. The French appeared in order of battle: but the Viceroy declined an engagement. Far from attacking the enemy, he withdrew his forces, and the town was bombarded by the Admiral. The miſcarriage of this expedition was in a great meaſure owing to a miſunderſtanding between Ruſſel and the Court of Spain. The Admiral complained that his Catholick Majeſty had made no preparations for the campaign; that he had neglected to fulfil his engagements with reſpect to the Spaniſh ſquadron, which ought to have joined the fleets of England and Holland: that he had taken no care to provide tents and proviſion for the Britiſh forces. On the twenty-ſeventh day of Auguſt he ſailed for the coaſt of Provence, where the fleet was endangered by a terrible tempeſt: then he ſteered down the Straits, and towards the latter end of September arrived in the bay of Cadiz. There he left a number of ſhips under the command of Sir David Mitchel, until he ſhould be joined by Sir George Rooke, who was expected from England, and returned home with the reſt of the combined ſquadrons. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XX. While Admiral Ruſſel aſſerted the Britiſh dominion in the Mediterranean, the French coaſts were again inſulted in the Channel by a ſeparate fleet, under the command of Lord Berkley of Stratton, aſſiſted by the Dutch Admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July they anchored before St. Maloes, which they bombarded from nine

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nine ketches covered by ſome frigates, which ſuſtained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the ſixth, Granville underwent the ſame fate, and then the fleet returned to Portſmouth. The bomb veſſels being refitted, the fleet ſailed round to the Downs, where four hundred ſoldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meeſters the famous Dutch engineer, who had prepared his Infernals, and other machines for the ſervice. On the firſt day of Auguſt the experiment was tried without ſucceſs. The bombs did ſome execution: but two ſmoak ſhips miſcarried. The French had ſecured the Riſbank and wooden forts with piles, bombs, chains, and floating batteries, in ſuch a manner, that the machine-veſſels could not approach near enough to produce any effect. Beſides, the councils of the aſſailants were diſtracted by violent animoſities. The Engliſh officers hated Meeſters, becauſe he was a Dutchman, and had acquired ſome credit with the King; he, on the other hand, treated them with diſreſpect. He retired with his machines in the night, and refuſed to co-operate with Lord Berkley in his deſign upon Calais, which was now put in execution. On the ſixteenth he brought his batteries to bear upon this place, and ſet fire to it in different quarters: but the enemy had taken ſuch precautions as rendered his ſcheme abortive.

§ XXI. A ſquadron had been ſent to the Weſt-Indies under the joint command of Captain Robert Wilmot and Colonel Lilingſton, with twelve hundred land forces. They had inſtructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hiſpaniola, againſt the French ſettlements on that iſland, and to deſtroy their fiſheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by ſeventeen hundred Spaniards raiſed by the Preſident of St. Domingo; but inſtead of proceeding againſt Petit-

Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took poſſeſſion of Port François, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Lilingſton, who proteſted againſt his conduct. In a word, the ſea and land officers lived in a ſtate of perpetual diſſenſion; and both became extremely diſagreeable to the Spaniards, who ſoon renounced all connection with them and their deſigns. In the beginning of September the Commodore ſet ſail for England, and loſt one of his ſhips in the gulf of Florida. He himſelf died in his paſſage; and the greater part of the men being ſwept off by an epidemical diſtemper, the ſquadron returned to Britain in a moſt miſerable condition. Notwithſtanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain ſuch a number of different ſquadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade ſuffered ſeverely from the French privateers, which ſwarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich veſſels. The Marquis of Caermarthen, being ſtationed with a ſquadron off the Scilly iſlands, miſtook a fleet of merchant ſhips for the Breſt fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In conſequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ſhips from Barbadoes, and five from the Eaſt-Indies, valued at a million ſterling. The merchants renewed their clamour againſt the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, who produced their orders and inſtructions in their own defence. The Marquis of Caermarthen had been guilty of flagrant miſconduct on this occaſion; but the chief ſource of thoſe national calamities was the circumſtantial intelligence tranſmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England; for they were actuated by a ſcandalous principle, which they ſtill retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the diſtreſs of their country.

CHAP. V. 1690.

§ XXII.

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§ XXII. King William, after having conferred with the States of Holland, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, who met him at the Hague, embarked for England on the nineteenth day of October, and arrived in safety at Margate, from whence he proceeded to London, where he was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the same day he summoned a council at Kensington, in which it was determined to convoke a new Parliament. While the nation was in good humour, it was supposed that they would return such members only as were well affected to the government; whereas the present Parliament might proceed in its enquiries into corruption and other grievances, and be the less influenced by the Crown, as their dependence was of such short duration. The Parliament was, therefore, dissolved by proclamation, and a new one summoned to meet at Westminster on the twenty-second day of November. While the whole nation was occupied in the elections, William, by the advice of his chief confidents, laid his own disposition under restraint, in another effort to acquire popularity. He honoured the diversions of Newmarket with his presence, and there received a compliment of congratulation from the University of Cambridge. Then he visited the Earls of Sunderland, Northampton, and Montagu, at their different houses in the country; and proceeded with a splendid retinue to Lincoln, from whence he repaired to Welbeck, a seat belonging to the Duke of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, where he was attended by Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, and his clergy. He lodged one night with Lord Brooke, at Warwick castle, dined with the Duke of Shrewsbury at Eyefort, and, by the way of Woodstock, made a solemn entry into Oxford, having been met at some distance from the city by the Duke of Ormond, as Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, the

the doctors in their habits, and the magiſtrates in their formalities. He proceeded directly to the theatre, where he was welcomed in an elegant Latin ſpeech: he received from the Chancellor on his knees the uſual preſents of a large Engliſh Bible, and book of Common-Prayer, the cuts of the Univerſity, and a pair of gold-fringed gloves. The conduits ran with wine, and a magnificent banquet was prepared; but an anonymous letter being found in the ſtreet, importing, that there was a deſign to poiſon his Majeſty, William refuſed to eat or drink in Oxford, and retired immediately to Windſor. Notwithſtanding this abrupt departure, which did not ſavour much of magnanimity, the Univerſity choſe Sir William Trumbal, Secretary of State, as one of their repreſentatives in Parliament. CHAP. V. 1698.

§ XXIII. The Whig intereſt generally prevailed in the elections, though many even of that party were malcontents; and when the Parliament met, Foley was again choſen Speaker of the Commons. The King, in his firſt ſpeech, extolled the valour of the Engliſh forces; expreſſed his concern at being obliged to demand ſuch large ſupplies from his people; obſerved that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil liſt was in a precarious condition; recommended to their compaſſion the miſerable ſituation of the French Proteſtants: took notice of the bad ſtate of the coin; deſired they would form a good bill for the encouragement and increaſe of ſeamen; and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He mentioned the great preparations which the French were making for taking the field early: intreated them to uſe diſpatch; expreſſed his ſatisfaction at the choice which his people had made of their repreſentatives in the Houſe of Commons; and exhorted them to proceed with temper and unanimity. Though the two Houſes preſented addreſſes of congratulation to the King upon his late ſucceſs, and promiſed to aſſiſt him

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him in profecuting the war with vigour, the nation loudly exclaimed againſt the intolerable burthens and loſſes to which they were ſubjected, by a foreign ſcheme of politicks, which, like an unfathomable abyſs, ſwallowed up the wealth and blood of the kingdom. All the King's endeavours to cover the diſguſting ſide of his character had proved ineffectual: he was ſtill dry, reſerved, and forbidding: and the malcontents inveighed bitterly againſt his behaviour to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark. When the news of Namur's being reduced arrived in England, this lady congratulated him upon his ſucceſs in a dutiful letter, to which he would not deign to ſend a reply, either by writing or meſſage; nor had ſhe or her huſband been favoured with the ſlighteſt mark of regard ſince his return to England. The members in the Lower Houſe, who had adopted oppoſing maxims, either from principle or reſentment, reſolved, That the Crown ſhould purchaſe the ſupplies with ſome conceſſion in favour of the people. They therefore brought in the ſo long conteſted bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon, and miſpriſion of treaſon; and, conſidering the critical juncture of affairs, the courtiers were afraid of obſtructing ſuch a popular meaſure. The Lords inſerted a clauſe, enacting, That a Peer ſhould be tried by the whole peerage; and the Commons, at once aſſented to this amendment. The bill provided, That perſons indicted for high-treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be furniſhed with a copy of the indictment five days before the trial; and indulged with council to plead in their defence; That no perſon ſhould be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witneſſes ſwearing to overt-acts; That in two or more diſtinct treaſons of divers kinds, alledged in one bill of indictment, one witneſs to one, and another witneſs to another, ſhould not be deemed two witneſſes: That no perſon ſhould be proſecuted for any ſuch crime, unleſs the indictment

indictment be found within three years after the offence committed, except in caſe of a deſign to attempt to aſſaſſinate or poiſon the King, where this limitation ſhould not take place: That perſons indicted for treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, ſhould be ſupplied with copies of the pannel of the jurors, two days at leaſt before the trial, and have proceſs to compel their witneſſes to appear: That no evidence ſhould be admitted of any overt-act not expreſsly laid in the indictment: That this act ſhould not extend to any impeachment, or other proceeding in Parliament; nor to any indictment for counterfeiting his Majeſty's coin, his great ſeal, privy ſeal, ſign manual, or ſignet. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XXIV. This important affair being diſcuſſed, the Commons proceeded to examine the accounts and eſtimates, and voted above five millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. The ſtate of the coin was by this time become ſuch a national grievance as could not eſcape the attention of Parliament. The Lords prepared an addreſs to the throne, for a proclamation to put a ſtop to the currency of diminiſhed coin; and to this they deſired the concurrence of the Commons. The Lower Houſe, however, determined to take this affair under their own inſpection. They appointed a committee of the whole Houſe, to deliberate on the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the currency. Great oppoſition was made to a recoinage, which was a meaſure ſtrenuouſly recommended and ſupported by Mr. Montague, who acted on this occaſion by the advice of the great mathematician Sir Iſaac Newton. The enemies of this expedient argued, that ſhould the ſilver coin be called in, it would be impoſſible to maintain the war abroad, or proſecute foreign trade, in as much as the merchant could not pay his bills of exchange, nor the ſoldier receive his ſubſiſtence: that a ſtop would be put to all mutual payment; and this would produce univerſal

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verſal confuſion and deſpair. Such a reformation could not be effected without ſome danger and difficulty; but it was become abſolutely neceſſary, as the evil daily increaſed, and in a little time muſt have terminated in national anarchy. After long and vehement debates, the majority reſolved to proceed with all poſſible expedition to a new coinage. Another queſtion aroſe, Whether the new coin in its different denominations, ſhould retain the original weight and purity of the old; or the eſtabliſhed ſtandard be raiſed in value; The famous Locke engaged in this diſpute againſt Mr. Lowndes, who propoſed that the ſtandard ſhould be raiſed: the arguments of Mr. Locke were ſo convincing, that the committee reſolved the eſtabliſhed ſtandard ſhould be preſerved with reſpect to weight and fineneſs. They likewiſe reſolved, That the loſs accruing to the revenue from clipped money, ſhould be borne by the publick. In order to prevent a total ſtagnation, they further reſolved, That after an appointed day, no clipped money ſhould paſs in payment, except to the collectors of the revenue and taxes, or upon loans or payment into the Exchequer: That, after another day to be appointed, no clipped money of any ſort ſhould paſs in any payment whatſoever: and that a third day ſhould be fixed for all perſons to bring in their clipped money to be re-coined, after which they ſhould have no allowance upon what they might offer. They addreſſed the King to iſſue a proclamation agreeably to theſe reſolutions; and, on the nineteenth day of December, it was publiſhed accordingly. Such were the fears of the people, augmented and inflamed by the enemies of the government, that all payment immediately ceaſed, and a face of diſtraction appeared through the whole community. The adverſaries of the bill ſeized this opportunity to aggravate the apprehenſions of the publick. They inveighed againſt the miniſtry,

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as the authors of this national grievance; they levelled their ſatire particularly at Montague; and it required uncommon fortitude and addreſs to avert the moſt dangerous conſequences of popular diſcontent. The Houſe of Commons agreed to the following reſolutions, That twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed by a duty on glaſs windows, to make up the loſs on the clipped money: That the recompenſe for ſupplying the deficiency of clipped money ſhould extend to all ſilver coin, though of a coarſer alloy than the ſtandard: That the collectors and receivers of his Majeſty's aids and revenues ſhould be enjoined to receive all ſuch monies: That a reward of five per cent. ſhould be given to all ſuch perſons as ſhould bring in either milled or broad unclipped money, to be applied in exchange of the clipped money throughout the kingdom: That a reward of three-pence per ounce ſhould be given to all perſons who ſhould bring in wrought plate to the mint to be coined: That perſons might pay in their whole next year's land-tax in clipped money, at one convenient time to be appointed for that purpoſe: That Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed in every county, to pay and diſtribute the milled and broad unclipped money, and the new coined money in lieu of that which was diminiſhed. A bill being prepared agreeably to theſe determinations, was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, who made ſome amendments, which the Commons rejected: but, in order to avoid cavils and conferences, they dropped the bill, and brought in another without the clauſes which the Lords had inſerted. They were again propoſed in the Upper Houſe, and over-ruled by the majority; and, on the twenty-firſt day of January, the bill received the royal aſſent, as did another bill, enlarging the time for purchaſing annuities, and continuing the duties on low wines. At the ſame time, the King paſſed the bill of trials

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for high-treaſon and an act to prevent mercenary elections. Divers merchants and traders petitioned the Houſe of Commons, that the loſſes in their trade and payments, occaſioned by the riſe of guineas, might be taken into conſideration. A bill was immediately brought in for taking off the obligation and encouragement for coining guineas for a certain time: and then the Commons proceeded to lower the value of this coin: a taſk in which they met with great oppoſition from ſome members, who alledged that it would foment the popular diſturbances. At length, however, the majority agreed, that a guinea ſhould be lowered from thirty to eight-and-twenty ſhillings, and afterwards to ſix-and-twenty: at length a clauſe was inſerted in the bill for encouraging people to bring plate to the mint, ſettling the price of a guinea at two-and-twenty ſhillings, and it naturally ſunk to its original value of twenty ſhillings and ſix-pence. Many perſons, however, ſuppoſing that the price of gold would be raiſed the next ſeſſion, hoarded up their guineas; and, upon the ſame ſuppoſition, encouraged by the malcontents, the new coined ſilver money was reſerved, to the great detriment of commerce. The King ordered mints to be erected in York, Briſtol, Exeter, and Cheſter, for the purpoſe of the re-coinage, which was executed with unexpected ſucceſs; ſo that in leſs than a year the currency of England which had been the worſt, became the beſt coin in Europe.

§ XXV. At this period the attention of the Commons was diverted to an object of a more private nature. The Earl of Portland, who enjoyed the greateſt ſhare of the King's favour, had obtained a grant of ſome lordſhips in Derbyſhire. While the warrant was depending, the gentlemen of that county reſolved to oppoſe it with all their power. In conſequence of a petition, they were indulged with a hearing by the Lords of the Treaſury. Sir William

William Williams, in the name of the reſt, alleged, CHAP. V. 1695.
that the Lordſhips in queſtion were the ancient demeſnes of the Prince of Wales, abſolutely unalienable: that the revenues of thoſe Lordſhips ſupported the Government of Wales, in paying the judges and other ſalaries: that the grant was of too large an extent for any foreign ſubject; and that the people of the county were too great to be ſubject to any foreigner. Sundry other ſubſtantial reaſons were uſed againſt the grant, which, notwithſtanding all their remonſtrances, would have paſſed through the offices, had not the Welſh gentlemen addreſſed themſelves by petition to the Houſe of Commons. Upon this occaſion, Mr. Price, a member of the Houſe, harangued with great ſeverity againſt the Dutch in general, and did not even abſtain from ſarcaſms upon the King's perſon, title, and government. *The objections ſtarted by the petitioners* being duly conſidered, were found ſo reaſonable, that the Commons preſented an addreſs to the King, repreſenting, That thoſe manours had been uſually annexed to the principality of Wales, and ſettled on the Princes of Wales for their ſupport: That many perſons in thoſe parts held their eſtates by royal tenure, under great and valuable compoſitions, rents, royal payments, and ſervices to the crown and Princes of Wales; and enjoyed great privileges and advantages under ſuch tenure. They, therefore, beſought his Majeſty to recal the grant, which was in diminution of the honour and intereſt of the crown; and prayed, that the ſaid manours and lands might not be alienated without the conſent of Parliament. This addreſs met with a cold reception from the King, who promiſed to recal the grant which had given ſuch offence to the Commons: and ſaid he would find ſome other way of ſhowing his favour to the Earl of Portland.

§ XXVI. The people in general entertained a national averſion to this nobleman: the malcontents

BOOK I. 1695. inculcated a notion that he made uſe of his intereſt and intelligence to injure the trade of England, that the commerce of his own country might flouriſh without competition. To his ſuggeſtions they imputed the act and patent in favour of the Scottiſh company, which was ſuppoſed to have been thrown in as a bone of contention between the two kingdoms. The ſubject was firſt ſtarted in the Houſe of Lords, who invited the Commons to a conference: a committee was appointed to examine into the particulars of the act for erecting the Scottiſh company; and the two Houſes preſented a joint addreſs againſt it, as a ſcheme that would prejudice all the ſubjects concerned in the wealth and trade of the Engliſh nation. They repreſented, that, in conſequence of the exemption from taxes, and other advantages granted to the Scottiſh company, that kingdom would become a free port for all Eaſt and Weſt India commodities: that the Scots would be enabled to ſupply all Europe at a cheaper rate than the Engliſh could afford to ſell their merchandiſe for; therefore, England would loſe the benefit of its foreign trade: beſides, they obſerved that the Scots would ſmuggle their commodities into England, to the great detriment of his Majeſty and his cuſtoms. To this remonſtrance the King replied, That he had been ill ſerved in Scotland; but that he hoped ſome remedies would be found to prevent the inconveniences of which they were apprehenſive. In all probability he had been impoſed upon by the miniſtry of that kingdom; for, in a little time, he diſcarded the Marquis of Tweedale, and diſmiſſed both the Scottiſh Secretaries of State, in lieu of whom he appointed Lord Murray, ſon to the Marquis of Athol. Notwithſtanding the King's anſwer, the committee proceeded on the inquiry, and, in conſequence of their report, confirming a petition from the Eaſt-India Company, the Houſe reſolved, That the Directors of the Scottiſh company were

were guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanour, in adminiſtering and taking an oath *de fideli* in this kingdom; and that they ſhould be impeached for the ſame. Meanwhile, Roderick Mackenzie, from whom they had received their chief information, began to retract his evidence, and was ordered into cuſtody: but he made his eſcape, and could not be retaken, although the King, at their requeſt, iſſued a proclamation for that purpoſe. The Scots were extremely incenſed againſt the King, when they underſtood he had diſowned their company, from which they had promiſed themſelves ſuch wealth and advantage. The ſettlement of Darien was already planned, and afterwards put in execution, though it miſcarried in the ſequel, and had like to have produced abundance of miſchief. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XXVII. The complaints of the Engliſh merchants who had ſuffered by the war were ſo loud at this juncture, that the Commons reſolved to take their caſe into conſideration. The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee to conſider the ſtate of the nation with regard to commerce, and having duly weighed all circumſtances, agreed to the following reſolutions: That a council of Trade ſhould be eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament, with powers to take meaſures for the more effectual preſervation of commerce: That the commiſſioners ſhould be nominated by Parliament, but none of them have ſeats in the Houſe: That they ſhould take an oath, acknowledging the title of King William as rightful and lawful: and abjuring the pretenſions of James, or any other perſon. The King conſidered theſe reſolutions as an open attack upon his prerogative, and ſignified his diſpleaſure to the Earl of Sunderland, who patroniſed this meaſure: but it was ſo popular in the Houſe, that in all probability it would have been put in execution, had not the attention of the Commons been diverted from it at this period by the detection of a new conſpiracy. The friends of

BOOK I. 1695. King James had, upon the death of Queen Mary, renewed their practices for effecting a reſtoration of that monarch, on the ſuppoſition that the intereſt of William was conſiderably weakened by the deceaſe of his conſort. Certain individuals, whoſe zeal for James overſhot their diſcretion, formed a deſign to ſeize the perſon of King William, and convey him to France, or put him to death in caſe of reſiſtance. They had ſent emiſſaries to the Court of St. Germain's, to demand a commiſſion for this purpoſe, which was refuſed. The Earl of Ayleſbury, Lord Montgomery, ſon to the Marquis of Powis, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Captain Charnock, Captain Porter, and one Mr. Goodman, were the firſt contrivers of this project. Charnock was detached with a propoſal to James, that he ſhould procure a body of horſe and foot from France, to make a deſcent in England, and they would engage not only to join him at his landing, but even to replace him on the throne of England. Theſe offers being declined by James, on pretence that the French King could not ſpare ſuch a number of troops at that juncture, the Earl of Ayleſbury went over in perſon, and was admitted to a conference with Louis, in which the ſcheme of an invaſion was actually concerted. In the beginning of February, the Duke of Berwick repaired privately to England, where he conferred with the conſpirators, aſſured them that King James was ready to make a deſcent with a conſiderable number of French forces, diſtributed commiſſions, and gave directions for providing men, arms, and horſes, to join him at his arrival. When he returned to France, he found every thing prepared for the expedition. The troops were drawn down to the ſea-ſide: a great number of tranſports were aſſembled at Dunkirk: Monſieur Gabaret had advanced as far as Calais with a ſquadron of ſhips, which, when joined by that of Du Bart at Dunkirk, was judged a ſufficient convoy; and

and James had come as far as Calais in his way to embark. Mean while, the Jacobites in England were aſſiduouſly employed in making preparations for a revolt. Sir John Friend had very near completed a regiment of horſe. Conſiderable progreſs was made in levying another by Sir William Perkins. Sir John Fenwick had inliſted four troops. Colonel Tempeſt had undertaken for one regiment of dragoons: Colonel Parker was preferred to the command of another: Mr. Curzon was commiſſioned for a third; and the malcontents intended to raiſe a fourth in Suffolk, where their intereſt chiefly prevailed. CHAP. V. 1695.

§ XXVIII. While one part of the Jacobites proceeded againſt William in the uſual way of exciting an inſurrection, another, conſiſting of the moſt deſperate conſpirators, had formed a ſcheme of aſſaſſination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had ſerved as an officer in the army of James, a man of undaunted courage, a furious bigot in the religion of Rome, yet cloſe, circumſpect, and determined, was landed, with other officers, in Romney-marſh, by one Captain Gill, about the beginning of January, and is ſaid to have undertaken the taſk of ſeizing or aſſaſſinating King William. He imparted his deſign to Harriſon, alias Johnſton a prieſt, Charnock, Porter, and Sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved; and he pretended to have a particular commiſſion for this ſervice. After various conſultations, they reſolved to attack the King on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays; and the ſcene of their intended ambuſcade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. As it would be neceſſary to charge and diſperſe the guards that attended the coach, they agreed that their number ſhould be increaſed to forty horſemen, and each conſpirator began to engage proper perſons for the enterpriſe. When their complement was full, they determined

to

BOOK I. 1695. to execute their purpoſe on the fifteenth day of February. They concerted the manner in which they ſhould meet in ſmall parties without ſuſpicion, and waited with impatience for the hour of action. In this interval, ſome of the underling actors, ſeized with horrour at the reflection of what they had undertaken, or captivated with the proſpect of reward, reſolved to prevent the execution of the deſign by a timely diſcovery. On the eleventh day of February one Fiſher informed the Earl of Portland of the ſcheme, and named ſome of the conſpirators; but his account was imperfect. On the thirteenth, however, he returned with a circumſtantial detail of all the particulars. Next day, the Earl was accoſted by one Pendergraſs, and Iriſh officer, who told his Lordſhip he had juſt come from Hampſhire, at the requeſt of a particular friend, and underſtood that he had been called up to town with a view of engaging him in a deſign to aſſaſſinate King William. He ſaid, he had promiſed to embark in the undertaking, though he deteſted it in his own mind, and took this firſt opportunity of revealing the ſecret, which was of ſuch conſequence to his Majeſty's life. He owned himſelf a Roman catholick, but declared, that he did not think any religion could juſtify ſuch a treacherous purpoſe. At the ſame time he obſerved, that as he lay under obligations to ſome of the conſpirators, his honour and gratitude would not permit him to accuſe them by name; and that he would upon no conſideration appear as an evidence. The King had been ſo much uſed to fictitious plots, and falſe diſcoveries, that he paid little regard to the information, until they were confirmed by the teſtimony of another conſpirator called La Rue, a Frenchman, who communicated the ſame particulars to Brigadier Leviſon, without knowing the leaſt circumſtance of the other diſcoveries. Then the King believed there was ſomething real in the conſpiracy; and Pendergraſs and

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La Rue were ſeverally examined in his preſence. He thanked Pendergraſs in particular for this inſtance of his probity; but obſerved, that it muſt prove ineffectual, unleſs he would diſcover the names of the conſpirators; for, without knowing who they were, he ſhould not be able to ſecure his life againſt their attempts. At length Pendergraſs was prevailed upon to give a liſt of thoſe he knew, yet not before the King had ſolemnly promiſed that he ſhould not be uſed as an evidence againſt them, except with his own conſent. As the King did not go to Richmond on the day appointed, the conſpirators poſtponed the execution of their deſign till the Saturday following. They accordingly met at different houſes on the Friday, when every man received his inſtructions. There they argeed, that after the perpetration of the parricide, they ſhould ride in a body as far as Hammerſmith, and then diſperſing, enter London by different avenues. But, on the morning, when they underſtood that the guards were returned to their quarters, and the King's coaches ſent back to the Mews, they were ſeized with a ſudden damp, on the ſuſpicion that their plot was diſcovered. Sir George Barclay withdrew himſelf, and every one began to think of providing for his own ſafety. Next night, however, a great number of them were apprehended, and then the whole diſcovery was communicated to the Privy Council. A proclamation was iſſued againſt thoſe that abſconded; and great diligence was uſed to find Sir George Barclay, who was ſuppoſed to have a particular commiſſion from James for aſſaſſinating the Prince of Orange; but he made good his retreat, and it was never proved that any ſuch commiſſion had been granted.

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§ XXIX. This deſign and the projected invaſion proved equally abortive. James had ſcarce reached Calais, when the Duke of Wirtemberg diſpatched his aid-de-camp from Flanders to King William, with

BOOK I. 1695. with an account of the purpoſed deſcent. Expreſſes with the ſame tidings arrived from the Elector of Bavaria and the Prince de Vaudemont. Two conſiderable ſquadrons being ready for ſea, Admiral Ruſſel embarked at Spithead, and ſtood over to the French coaſt with about fifty ſail of the line. The enemy were confounded at his appearance, and hauled in their veſſels under the ſhore, in ſuch ſhallow water that he could not follow and deſtroy them: but he abſolutely ruined their deſign, by cooping them up in their harbours. King James, after having tarried ſome weeks at Calais, returned to St. Germain's. The forces were ſent back to the garriſons from which they had been drafted: the people of France exclaimed, that the malignant ſtar which ruled the deſtiny of James had blaſted this, and every other project formed for his reſtoration. By means of the reward offered in the proclamation, the greater part of the conſpirators were betrayed or taken. George Harris, who had been ſent from France, with orders to obey Sir George Barclay, ſurrendered himſelf to Sir William Trumball, and confeſſed the ſcheme of aſſaſſination in which he had been engaged. Porter and Pendergraſs were apprehended together. This laſt inſiſted upon the King's promiſe, that he ſhould not be compelled to give evidence; but, when Porter owned himſelf guilty, the other obſerved, he was no longer bound to be ſilent, as his friend had made a confeſſion; and they were both admitted as evidences for the crown.

§ XXX. After their examination, the King, in a ſpeech to both Houſes, communicated the nature of the conſpiracy againſt his life, as well as the advices he had received touching the invaſion: he explained the ſteps he had taken to defeat the double deſign, and profeſſed his confidence in their readineſs and zeal to concur with him in every thing that ſhould appear neceſſary for their common ſafety. That ſame evening the two Houſes waited upon him at Kenſington,

Kenſington, in a body, with an affectionate addreſs, by which they expreſſed their abhorrence of the villainous and barbarous deſign which had been formed againſt his ſacred perſon, of which they beſought him to take more than ordinary care. They aſſured him they would to their utmoſt defend his life, and ſupport his government againſt the late King James, and all other enemies; and declared, that, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould come to a violent death, they would revenge it upon his adverſaries and their adherents. He was extremely well pleaſed with this warm addreſs, and aſſured them, in his turn, he would take all opportunities of recommending himſelf to the continuance of their loyalty and affection. The Commons forthwith empowered him, by bill, to ſecure all perſons ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. They brought in another, providing, That, *in caſe of his Majeſty's death*, the Parliament then in being ſhould continue until diſſolved by the next heir in ſucceſſion to the crown, eſtabliſhed by act of Parliament: That if his Majeſty ſhould chance to die between two Parliaments, that which had been laſt diſſolved ſhould immediately reaſſemble, and ſit for the diſpatch of national affairs. They voted an addreſs, to deſire, That his Majeſty would baniſh by Proclamation, all Papiſts to the diſtance of ten miles from the cities of London and Weſtminſter; and give inſtructions to the Judges going on the circuits, to put the laws in execution againſt Roman Catholicks and Nonjurors. They drew up an aſſociation, binding themſelves to aſſiſt each other in ſupport of the King and his government, and to revenge any violence that ſhould be committed on his perſon. This was ſigned by all the members then preſent: but, as ſome had abſented themſelves on frivolous pretences, the Houſe ordered, That in ſixteen days the abſentees ſhould either ſubſcribe or declare their refuſal. Several members neglecting to comply with this injunction

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within

BOOK I. 1695. within the limited time, the Speaker was ordered to write to thoſe who were in the country, and demand a peremptory anſwer; and the Clerk of the Houſe attended ſuch as pretended to be ill in town. The abſentees, finding themſelves preſſed in this manner, thought proper to ſail with the ſtream, and ſign the aſſociation, which was preſented to the King by the Commons in a body, with a requeſt that it might be lodged among the records in the Tower, as a perpetual memorial of their loyalty and affection. The King received them with uncommon complacency: declared, that he heartily entered into the ſame aſſociation; that he ſhould be always ready to venture his life with his good ſubjects, againſt all who ſhould endeavour to ſubvert the religion, laws, and liberties of England; and he promiſed that this, and all other aſſociations, ſhould be lodged among the records of the Tower of London. Next day the Commons reſolved, That whoever ſhould affirm an aſſociation was illegal ſhould be deemed a promoter of the deſigns of the late King James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The Lords followed the example of the Lower Houſe in drawing up an aſſociation: but the Earl of Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, and Mr. Finch, objected to the words Righful and Lawful, as applied to his Majeſty. They ſaid, as the crown and its prerogatives were veſted in him, they would yield obedience, though they could not acknowledge him as their rightful and lawful King. Nothing could be more abſurd than this diſtinction, ſtarted by men who had actually conſtituted part of the adminiſtration; unleſs they ſuppoſed that the right of King William expired with Queen Mary. The Earl of Rocheſter propoſed an expedient in favour of ſuch tender conſciences, by altering the words that gave offence; and this was adopted accordingly. Fifteen of the Peers, and ninety-two Commoners ſigned the aſſo-

ciation with reluctance. It was, however, subscribed by all sorts of people in different parts of the kingdom; and the Bishops drew up a form for the Clergy, which was signed by a great majority. The Commons brought in a bill, declaring all men incapable of publick trust, or of sitting in Parliament, who would not engage in this association. At the same time, the Council issued an order for renewing all the commissions in England, that those who had not signed it voluntarily should be dismissed from the service as disaffected persons. CHAP. V. 1695. Burnet. Oldmixon. Boyer. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals.

§ XXXI. After these warm demonstrations of loyalty, the Commons proceeded upon ways and means for raising the supplies. A new bank was constituted as a fund, upon which the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty four thousand pounds should be raised; and it was called the Land Bank, because established on land securities. This scheme, An. 1696. said to have been projected by the famous Dr. Chamberlain, was patronised by the Earl of Sunderland, and managed by Foley and Harley: so that it seemed to be a Tory plan, which Sunderland supported, in order to reconcile himself to that party *. The Bank of England petitioned against this bill, and were heard

* The Commons resolved, That a fund redeemable by Parliament be settled in a national land Bank, to be raised by new subscriptions; That no persons be concerned in both banks at the same time; That the duties upon coal, culm, and tonnage of ships, be taken off, from the seventeenth day of March; That the sum of two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds be raised on this perpetual fund, redeemable by Parliament; That the new bank should be restrained from lending money but upon land securities, or to the Government in the Exchequer; That for making up the fund of interest, for the capital stock, certain duties upon glass wares, stone and earthen bottles, granted before to the King for a term of years, be continued to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors; That a further duty be laid upon stone and earthen ware, and another upon tobacco-pipes. This Bank was to lend out five hundred thousand pounds a year upon land-securities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, and to cease and determine, unless the subscription should be full, by the first day of August next ensuing.

The most remarkable laws enacted in this session were these: An act for voiding all the elections of Parliament-men, at which the elected

BOOK I. 1696. heard by their counſel: but their repreſentations produced no effect, and the bill having paſſed through both Houſes, received the royal aſſent. On the twenty-ſeventh day of April the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort but gracious ſpeech: and the Parliament was prorogued to the ſixteenth day of June.

§ XXXII. Before this period ſome of the conſpirators had been brought to trial. The firſt who ſuffered was Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen-college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the Proteſtant religion: the next were Lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys, which laſt had been formerly a trumpeter, but of late ſervant to Captain Porter. They were found guilty of high-treaſon, and executed at Tyburn. They delivered papers to the Sheriff, in which they ſolemnly declared, that they had never ſeen or heard of any commiſſion from King James for aſſaſſinating the Prince of Orange: Charnock, in particular, obſerved, that he had received frequent aſſurances of the King's having rejected ſuch propoſals when they had been offered; and that there was no other commiſſion but that for levying war in the uſual form.

elected had been at any expence in meat, drink, or money, to procure votes. Another againſt unlawful and double returns. A third, for the more eaſy recovery of ſmall tithes. A fourth, to prevent marriages, without license or banns. A fifth, for enabling the inhabitants of Wales to diſpoſe of all their perſonal eſtates as they ſhould think fit; This law was in bar of a cuſtom that had prevailed in that country: The widows and younger children claimed a ſhare of the effects, called their Reaſonable part, although the effects had been otherwiſe diſpoſed of by will or deed. The Parliament likewiſe paſſed an act, for preventing the exportation of wool, and encouraging the importation thereof from Ireland. An act for encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. An act for regulating Juries. An act for encouraging the Greenland trade. An act of indulgence to the Quakers, that their ſolemn affirmation ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath. And an act for continuing certain other acts that were near expiring. Another bill had paſſed for the better regulating elections for members of Parliament; but the royal aſſent was denied. The queſtion was put in the Houſe of Commons, That whoſoever adviſed his Majeſty not to give his aſſent to that bill was an enemy to his country; but it was rejected by a great majority.

Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins were tried in April. The firſt, from mean beginnings, had acquired great wealth and credit, and always firmly adhered to the intereſts of King James. The other was likewiſe a man of fortune, violently attached to the ſame principles, though he had taken the oaths to the preſent government, as one of the ſix clerks in Chancery. Porter, and Blair another evidence, depoſed, that Sir John Friend had been concerned in levying men under a commiſſion from King James; and that he knew of the aſſaſſination plot, though not engaged in it as a perſonal actor. He endeavoured to invalidate the teſtimony of Blair, by proving him guilty of the moſt ſhocking ingratitude. He obſerved, that both the evidences were reputed Papiſts. The Curate of Hackney, who officiated as chaplain in the priſoner's houſe, declared upon oath that after the Revolution he uſed to pray for King William, and that he had often heard Sir John Friend ſay, that though he could not comply with the preſent government, he would live peaceably under it, and never engage in any conſpiracy. Mr. Hoadly, father of the preſent Biſhop of Wincheſter, added, that the priſoner was a good Proteſtant, and frequently expreſſed his deteſtation of King-killing principles. Friend himſelf owned he had been with ſome of the conſpirators at a meeting in Leadenhall-ſtreet, but heard nothing of raiſing men, or any deſign againſt the government. He likwiſe affirmed, that a conſultation to levy war was not treaſon; and that his being at a treaſonable conſult could amount to no more than a miſpriſion of treaſon. Lord Chief Juſtice Holt declared, that although a bare conſpiracy, or deſign to levy war, was not treaſon within the ſtatute of Edward III. yet, if the deſign or conſpiracy be to kill, or depoſe, or impriſon the King, by the means of levying war, then the conſultation and conſpiracy to levy war becomes high-treaſon, though no war be actually levied. The ſame

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inference

BOOK I. 1696. inference might have been drawn againſt the authors and inſtruments of the Revolution. The Judge's explanation influenced the Jury, who, after ſome deliberation, found the priſoner guilty. Next day Sir William Perkins was brought to the bar, and upon the teſtimony of Porter, Ewebank, his own groom, and Haywood, a notorious informer, was convicted of having been concerned not only in the invaſion, but alſo in the deſign againſt the King's life. The evidence was ſcanty, and the priſoner having been bred to the law, made an artful and vigorous defence: but the Judge acted as counſel for the Crown; and the Jury decided by the hints they received from the Bench. He and Sir John Friend underwent the ſentence of death, and ſuffered at Tyburn on the third day of April. Friend proteſted before God, that he knew of no immediate deſcent purpoſed by King James, and therefore had made no preparations: that he was utterly ignorant of the aſſaſſination ſcheme: that he died in the communion of the Church of England, and laid down his life cheerfully in the cauſe for which he ſuffered. Perkins declared, upon the word of a dying man, that the tenour of the King's commiſſion, which he ſaw, was general, directed to all his loving ſubjects, to raiſe and levy war againſt the Prince of Orange and his adherents, and to ſeize all forts, caſtles, &c. but that he neither ſaw nor heard of any commiſſion particularly levelled againſt the perſon of the Prince of Orange. He owned, however, that he was privy to the deſign: but believed it was known to few or none but the immediate undertakers. Theſe two criminals were in their laſt moments attended by Collier, Snatt, and Cook, three nonjuring clergymen, who abſolved them in the view of the populace with an impoſition of hands: a publick inſult on the government, which did not paſs unnoticed. Thoſe three clergymen were preſented by the Grand Jury, for having countenanced the treaſon by abſolving

ſolving the traitors, and thereby encouraged other perſons to diſturb the peace of the kingdom. An indictment being preferred againſt them, Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate; but Collier abſconded, and publiſhed a vindication of their conduct, in which he affirmed, that the impoſition of hands was the general practice of the primitive church. On the other hand, the two metropolitans, and twelve other biſhops ſubſcribed a declaration, condemning the adminiſtration of abſolution without a previous confeſſion made, and abhorrence expreſſed, by the priſoners, of the heinous crimes for which they ſuffered. CHAP. V. 1696.

In the courſe of the ſame month, Rookwood, Cranborne, and Lowick, were tried as conſpirators, by a ſpecial commiſſion, in the King's-Bench: and convicted on the joint teſtimony of Porter, Harris, La Rue, Bertram, Fiſher, and Pendergraſs. Some favourable circumſtances appeared in the caſe of Lowick. The proof of his having been concerned in the deſign againſt the King's life was very defective; many perſons of reputation declared he was an honeſt, good-natured, inoffenſive man: and he himſelf concluded his defence with the moſt ſolemn proteſtation of his own innocence. Great interceſſion was made for his pardon by ſome noblemen: but all their intereſt proved ineffectual. Cranborne died in a tranſport of indignation, leaving a paper which the government thought proper to ſuppreſs. Lowick and Rookwood likewiſe delivered declarations to the Sheriff, the contents of which, as being leſs inflammatory, were allowed to be publiſhed. Both ſolemnly denied any knowledge of a commiſſion from King James, to aſſaſſinate the Prince of Orange; the one affirming, that he was incapable of granting ſuch an order; and the other aſſerting that he, the beſt of Kings, had often rejected propoſals of that nature. Lowick owned that he would have joined the King at his landing: but declared, he

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he had never been concerned in any bloody affair during the whole courſe of his life. On the contrary, he ſaid, he had endeavoured to prevent bloodſhed as much as lay in his power; and that he would not kill the moſt miſerable creature in the world, even though ſuch an act would ſave his life, reſtore his Sovereign, and make him one of the greateſt men in England. Rookwood alleged, he was engaged by his immediate commander, whom he thought it was his duty to obey, though the ſervice was much againſt his judgment and inclination. He profeſſed his abhorrance of treachery even to an enemy. He forgave all mankind, even the Prince of Orange, who as a ſoldier, he ſaid, ought to have conſidered his caſe before he ſigned his death-warrant: he prayed God would open his eyes, and render him ſenſible of the blood that was from all parts crying againſt him, ſo as he might avert a heavier execution than that which he now ordered to be inflicted. The next perſon brought to trial, was Mr. Cooke, ſon of Sir Miles Cooke, one of the ſix clerks in Chancery. Porter and Goodman depoſed, that he had been preſent at two meetings at the King's-head tavern in Leadenhall-ſtreet, with the Lords Ayleſbury and Montgomery, Sir William Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and Porter. The evidence of Goodman was invalidated by the teſtimony of the landlord and two drawers belonging to the tavern, who ſwore that Goodman was not there while the noblemen were preſent. The priſoner himſelf ſolemnly proteſted, that he was ever averſe to the introduction of foreign forces; that he did not ſo much as hear of the intended invaſion, until it became the common topick of converſation; and that he had never ſeen Goodman at the King's-head. He declared his intention of receiving the bleſſed ſacrament, and wiſhed he might periſh in the inſtant, if he now ſpoke untruth. No reſpect was paid to theſe aſſeverations.

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The Solicitor-General Hawles, and Lord Chief-Juſtice Treby, treated him with great ſeverity in the proſecution and charge to the Jury, by whom he was capitally convicted. After his condemnation the Court-Agents tampered with him to make further diſcoveries; and after his fate had been protracted by divers ſhort reprieves, he was ſent into baniſhment. From the whole tenour of theſe diſcoveries and proceedings, it appears that James had actually meditated an invaſion: that his partiſans in England had made prepara ions for joining him on his arrival; that a few deſperadoes of that faction had concerted a ſcheme againſt the life of King William; that in proſecuting the conſpirators, the court had countenanced informers; that the judges had ſtrained the law, wreſted circumſtances, and even deviated from the function of their office, to convict the priſoners: in a word, that the adminiſtration had uſed the ſame arbitrary and unfair practices againſt thoſe unhappy people, which they themſelves had in the late reigns numbered among the grievances of the kingdom. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XXXIII. The warmth, however, manifeſted on this occaſion may have been owing to national reſentment of the purpoſed invaſion. Certain it is, the two Houſes of Parliament, and the people in general, were animated with extraordinary indignation againſt France at this juncture. The Lords beſought his Majeſty, in a ſolemn addreſs, to appoint a day of thankſgiving to Almighty God, for having defeated the barbarous purpoſe of his enemies; and this was obſerved with uncommon zeal and devotion. Admiral Ruſſel, leaving a ſquadron for obſervation on the French coaſt, returned to the Downs: but Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, being properly prepared for the expedition, ſubjected Calais to another bombardment, by which the town was ſet on fire in different parts, and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with conſternation. The Generals of the

BOOK I. 1696. allied army in Flanders reſolved to make ſome immediate retaliation upon the French for their unmanly deſign upon the life of King William, as they took it for granted that Louis was acceſſary to the ſcheme of aſſaſſination. That monarch, on the ſuppoſition that a powerful diverſion would be made by the deſcent on England, had eſtabliſhed a vaſt magazine at Givet, deſigning, when the allies ſhould be enfeebled by the abſence of the Britiſh troops, to ſtrike ſome ſtroke of importance early in the campaign. On this the confederates now determined to wreak their vengeance. In the beginning of March the Earl of Athlone and Monſieur de Coehorn, with the concurrence of the Duke of Holſtein-Ploen, who commanded the allies, ſent a ſtrong detachment of horſe, drafted from Bruſſels and the neighbouring garriſons, to amuſe the enemy on the ſide of Charleroy; while they aſſembled forty ſquadrons, thirty battalions, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and ſix mortars, in the territory of Namur. Athlone with part of this body inveſted Dinant, while Coehorn, with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to batter and bombard the place, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly deſtroyed, with the great magazine it contained. Then the two Generals joining their forces, returned to Namur without interruption. Hitherto the Republick of Venice had deferred acknowledging King William; but now they ſent an extraordinary embaſſy for that purpoſe, conſiſting of Signiors Soranzo and Venier, who arrived in London, and on the firſt day of May had a publick audience. The King, on this occaſion, knighted Soranzo as the ſenior ambaſſador, and preſented him with the ſword, according to cuſtom. On that day, too, William declared in council, that he had appointed the ſame regency which had governed the kingdom during his laſt abſence: and embarking on the ſeventh at Margate, arrived at Orange-Polder

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in the evening, under convoy of Vice-Admiral Aylmer. This officer had been ordered to attend with a ſquadron, as the famous Du Bart ſtill continued at Dunkirk, and ſome attempt of importance was apprehended from his enterpriſing genius *. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XXXIV. The French had taken the field before the allied army could be aſſembled: but no tranſaction of conſequence diſtinguiſhed this campaign, either upon the Rhine or in Flanders. The ſcheme of Louis was ſtill defenſive on the ſide of the Netherlands, while the active plans of King William were defeated for want of money. All the funds for this year proved defective: the Land-Bank failed, and the National-Bank ſuſtained a rude ſhock in its credit. The loſs of the nation upon the recoinage amounted to two millions, two hundred thouſand pounds; and though the different mints were employed without interruption, they could not for ſome months ſupply the circulation, eſpecially as great part of the new money was kept up by thoſe who received it in payment, or diſpoſed of it at an unreaſonable advantage. The French King, having exhauſted the wealth and patience of his ſubjects, and greatly diminiſhed their number in the courſe of this war, began to be diffident of his arms, and employed all the arts of private negociation. While his miniſter D'Avaux preſſed the King of Sweden to offer his mediation, he ſent Callieres to Holland, with propoſals for ſettling the preliminaries of a treaty. He took it for granted, that as the Dutch were a trading people, whoſe commerce had greatly ſuffered in the war, they could not be averſe to a pacification; and he inſtructed his emiſſaries to tamper

* Some promotions were made before the King left England. George Hamilton, third ſon of the Duke of that name, was, for his military ſervices in Ireland and Flanders, created Earl of Orkney. Sir John Lowther was ennobled by the title of Baron Lowther, and Viſcount Lonſdale; Sir John Thompſon made Baron of Haverſham, and the celebrated John Locke appointed one of the Commiſſioners of Trade and Plantation.

BOOK I. 1695. with the malcontents of the Republick, eſpecially with the remains of the Louveſtein faction, which had always oppoſed the ſchemes of the Stadtholder. Callieres met with a favourable reception from the States, which began to treat with him about the preliminaries, though not without the conſent and concurrence of King William and the reſt of the Allies. Louis, with a view to quicken the effect of this negociation, purſued offenſive meaſures in Catalonia, where his General the Duke de Vendome attacked and worſted the Spaniards in their camp near Oſtalrick, though the action was not deciſive; for that General was obliged to retreat, after having made vigorous efforts againſt their entrenchments. On the twentieth day of June, Mareſchal de Lorges paſſed the Rhine at Philipſburgh, and encamped within a league of Eppingen, where the Imperial troops were obliged to entrench themſelves, under the command of the Prince of Baden, as they were not yet joined by the auxiliary forces. The French General, after having faced him about a month, thought proper to repaſs the river. Then he detached a body of horſe to Flanders, and cantoned the reſt of his troops at Spires, Franckendahl, Worms, and Oſtofen. On the laſt day of Auguſt the Prince of Baden retaliated the inſult, by paſſing the Rhine at Mentz and Cocſheim. On the tenth he was joined by General Thungen, who commanded a ſeparate body, together with the militia of Suabia and Franconia, and advanced to the camp of the enemy, who had re-aſſembled: but they were poſted in ſuch a manner, that he would not hazard an attack. Having therefore cannonaded them for ſome days, ſcoured the adjacent country by detached parties, and taken the little caſtle of Wiezengen, he repaſſed the river at Worms, on the ſeventh day of October: the French likewiſe croſſed at Philipſburgh, in hopes of ſurpriſing General Thungen, who had taken poſt in the neighbourhood of Straſburgh: but he retired to

Eppingen

Eppingen before their arrival, and in a little time both armies were diſtributed in winter-quarters. Peter, the Czar of Muſcovy, carried on the ſiege of Azoph with ſuch vigour, that the garriſon was obliged to capitulate, after the Ruſſians had defeated a great convoy ſent to its relief. The Court of Vienna forthwith engaged in an alliance with the Muſcovite Emperor: but they did not exert themſelves in taking advantage of the diſaſter which the Turks had undergone. The Imperial army, commanded by the Elector of Saxony, continued inactive on the river Maroſch till the nineteenth day of July, then they made a feint of attacking Temiſwaer: but they marched towards Betzkerch, in their route to Belgrade, on receiving advice that the Grand Signor intended to beſiege Titul. On the twenty-firſt day of Auguſt the two armies were in ſight of each other. The Turkiſh horſe attacked the Imperialiſts in a plain near the river Begue; but were repulſed. The Germans next day made a ſhow of retreating, in hopes of drawing the enemy from their entrenchments. The ſtratagem ſucceeded. On the twenty-ſixth, the Turkiſh army was in motion. A detachment of the Imperialiſts attacked them in flank, as they marched through a wood. A very deſperate action enſued, in which the Generals Heuſler, and Poland, with many other gallant officers, loſt their lives. At length, the Ottoman horſe were routed: but the Germans were ſo roughly handled, that on the ſecond day after the engagement they retreated at midnight, and the Turks remained quiet in their entrenchments. CHAP. V. 1690.

§ XXXV. In Piedmont the face of affairs underwent a ſtrange alteration. The Duke of Savoy, who had for ſome time been engaged in a ſecret negociation with France, at length embraced the offers of that Crown, and privately ſigned a ſeparate Treaty of Peace at Loretto, to which place he repaired on a pretended pilgrimage. The French King engaged

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his kinſman, expreſſed great indignation at his conduct. The young Prince de Commercy was ſo provoked at his defection, that he challenged him to ſingle combat, and the Duke accepted of his challenge: but the quarrel was compromiſed by the intervention of friends, and they parted in an amicable manner. He had concealed the treaty until he ſhould receive the remaining part of the ſubſidies due to him from the Confederates. A conſiderable ſum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his uſe: but Lord Galway no ſooner received intimation of his new engagement, than he put a ſtop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milaneſe, for the ſubſiſtence of thoſe troops that were in the Britiſh ſervice. King William was encamped at Gembloux when the Duke's envoy notified the ſeparate peace which his maſter had concluded with the King of France. Though he was extremely chagrined at the information, he diſſembled his anger, and liſtened to the miniſter without the leaſt emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty was, That within a limited time the allies ſhould evacuate the Duke's dominions, otherwiſe they ſhould be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. A neutrality was offered to the Confederates; and this being rejected, the contracting powers reſolved to attack the Milaneſe. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the Duke, as Generaliſſimo of the French King, entered that duchy, and undertook the ſiege of Valentia: ſo that, in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. The garriſon of Valentia, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand men, Germans, Spaniards, and French Proteſtants, made an obſtinate defence; and the Duke of Savoy proſecuted the ſiege with uncommon impetuoſity. But, after the trenches had been opened for thirteen days, a courier arrived from Madrid, with an account of his Catholick Majeſty's having agreed to the neutrality for Italy. The agreement imported,

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imported, That there ſhould be a ſuſpenſion of arms until a general peace could be effected; and, That the Imperial and French troops ſhould return to their reſpective countries. Chriſtendom had well nigh been embroiled anew by the death of John Sobieſki King of Poland, who died at the age of ſeventy, in the courſe of this ſummer, after having ſurvived his faculties and reputation. As the crown was elective, a competition aroſe for the ſucceſſion. The kingdom was divided by factions; and the different powers of Europe intereſted themſelves warmly in the contention

§ XXXVI. Nothing of conſequence had been lately atchieved by the naval force of England. When the conſpiracy was firſt diſcovered, Sir George Rooke had received orders to return from Cadiz; and he arrived in the latter end of April. While he took his place at the board of Admiralty, Lord Berkeley ſucceeded to the command of the fleet; and in the month of June ſet ſail towards Uſhant in order to inſult the coaſt of France. He pillaged and burned the villages on the iſlands Grouais, Houat, and Heydic; made prize of about twenty veſſels; bombarded St. Martin's on the iſle of Rhé, and the town of Olonne which was ſet on fire in fifteen different places with the ſhells and carcaſſes. Though theſe appear to have been enterpriſes of ſmall import, they certainly kept the whole coaſt of France in perpetual alarm. The miniſtry of that kingdom were ſo much afraid of invaſion, that between Breſt and Goulet they ordered above one hundred batteries to be erected, and above ſixty thouſand men were continually in arms for the defence of the maritime places. In the month of May, Rear-Admiral Benbow ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron, in order to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk: but that famous adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog, and ſteering to the eaſtward, attacked the Dutch fleet in the Baltick, under a convoy of five frigates. Theſe

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laſt he took, together with half the number of the trading ſhips: but, falling in with the outward-bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ſhips of the line, he was obliged to burn four of the frigates, turn the fifth adrift, and part with all his prizes, except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XXXVII The Parliament of Scotland met on the eighth day of September: and Lord Murray, Secretary of State, now Earl of Tullibardine, preſided as King's Commiſſioner. Though that kingdom was exhauſted by the war, and two ſucceſſive bad harveſts, which had driven a great number of the inhabitants into Ireland, there was no oppoſition to the Court meaſures. The members of Parliament ſigned an aſſociation like that of England. They granted a ſupply of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds for maintaining their forces by ſea and land. They paſſed an act for ſecuring their religion, lives, and properties, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould come to an untimely death. By another, they obliged all perſons in publick truſt to ſign the aſſociation; and then the Parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of December. The diſturbances of Ireland ſeemed now to be entirely appeaſed. Lord Capel dying in May, the council, by virtue of an act paſſed in the reign of Henry VIII. elected the Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, to be Lord Juſtice and Chief Governor of that kingdom, until his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known. The Parliament met in June: the Commons expelled Mr. Sanderſon, the only member of that Houſe who had refuſed to ſign the aſſociation; and adjourned to the fourth day of Auguſt. By that time Sir Charles Porter, and the Earls of Montrath and Drogheda, were appointed Lords Juſtices, and ſignified the King's pleaſure that they ſhould adjourn. In the beginning of December the Chancellor died of an apoplexy.

§ XXXVIII.

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§ XXXVIII. King William being tired of an inactive campaign, left the army under the command of the Elector of Bavaria, and about the latter end of Auguſt repaired to his palace at Loo, where he enjoyed his favourite exerciſe of ſtag-hunting. He viſited the Court of Brandenburgh at Cleves; conferred with the States of Holland at the Hague; and, embarking for England, landed at Margate on the ſixth day of October. The domeſtick economy of the nation was extremely perplexed at this juncture, from the ſinking of publick credit, and the ſtagnation that neceſſarily attended a recoinage. Theſe grievances were with difficulty removed by the clear apprehenſion, the enterpriſing genius, the unſhaken fortitude of Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer, operating upon a national ſpirit of adventure, which the monied intereſt had produced. The King opened the ſeſſion of Parliament on the twentieth day of October, with a ſpeech, importing, That overtures had been made for a negociation: but that the beſt way of treating with France would be ſword in hand. He, therefore, deſired they would be expeditious in raiſing the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year, as well as for making good the funds already granted. He declared that the civil liſt could not be ſupported without their aſſiſtance. He recommended the miſerable condition of the French Proteſtants to their compaſſion. He deſired they would contrive the beſt expedients for the recovery of the national credit. He obſerved, that unanimity and diſpatch were now more than ever neceſſary for the honour, ſafety, and advantage of England. The Commons having taken this ſpeech into conſideration, reſolved, That they would ſupport his Majeſty and his government, and aſſiſt him in the proſecution of the war: That the ſtandard of gold and ſilver ſhould not be altered: and, That they would make good all Parliamentary funds. Then they preſented an addreſs,

addreſs, in a very ſpirited ſtrain, declaring, that notwithſtanding the blood and treaſure of which the nation had been drained, the Commons of England would not be diverted from their firm reſolutions of obtaining by a war a ſafe and honourable peace. They, therefore, renewed their aſſurances, that they would ſupport his Majeſty againſt all his enemies at home and abroad. The Houſe of Lords delivered another to the ſame purpoſe, declaring, that they would never be wanting or backward, on their parts, in what might be neceſſary to his Majeſty's honour, the good of his kingdoms, and the quiet of Chriſtendom. The Commons, in the firſt tranſports of their zeal, ordered two ſeditious pamphlets to be burned by the hands of the common hangman. They deliberated upon the eſtimates, and granted above ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They reſolved that a ſupply ſhould be granted for making good the deficiency of Parliamentary funds; and appropriated ſeveral duties for this purpoſe. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XXXIX. With reſpect to the coin, they brought in a bill, repealing an act for taking off the obligation and encouragement of coining guineas for a certain time, and for importing and coining guineas and half guineas, as the extravagant price of thoſe coins, which occaſioned this act, was now fallen. They paſſed a ſecond bill for remedying the ill ſtate of the coin; and a third, explaining an act in the preceding ſeſſion, for laying duties on low wines and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. In order to raiſe the ſupplies of the year, they reſolved to tax all perſons according to the true value of their real and perſonal eſtates, their ſtock upon land and in trade, their income by offices, penſions, and profeſſions. A duty of one penny per week, for one year, was laid upon all perſons not receiving alms. A further impoſition of one farthing in the pound per week was fixed upon all ſervants receiving four pounds per

BOOK I. 1696. per annum, as wages, and upwards, to eight pounds a year inclusive. Those who received from eight to sixteen pounds were taxed at one halfpenny per pound. An aid of three shillings in the pound for one year was laid upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments, according to their true value. Without specifying the particulars of those impositions, we shall only observe, that in the general charge, the Commons did not exempt one member of the commonwealth that could be supposed able to bear any part of the burthen. Provision was made, that hammered money should be received in payment of these duties, at the rate of five shillings and eightpence per ounce. All the deficiencies on annuities and monies borrowed on the credit of the Exchequer were transferred to this aid. The Treasury was enabled to borrow a million and an half at eight per cent. and to circulate Exchequer-bills to the amount of as much more. To cancel these debts, the surplus of all the supplies, except the three-shilling aid, was appropriated. The Commons voted one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for making good the deficiency in recoining the hammered money, and the recompence for bringing in plate to the Mint. This sum was raised by a tax or duty upon wrought plate, paper, pasteboard, vellum, and parchment, made or imported. Taking into consideration the services, and the present languishing state of the Bank, whose notes were at twenty per cent. discount, they resolved, That it should be enlarged by new subscriptions, made by four-fifths in tallies struck on Parliamentary funds, and one-fifth in Bank-bills or notes: That effectual provision should be made by Parliament for paying the principal of all such tallies, as should be subscribed into the Bank, out of the funds agreed to be continued: That an interest of eight per cent. should be allowed on all such tallies: and, That the continuance of the Bank should be prolonged to the

first

firſt day of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand, ſeven hundred and ten. That all aſſignments of orders on tallies ſubſcribed into the Bank, ſhould be regiſtered in the Exchequer: That, before the day ſhould be fixed for the beginning of the new ſubſcriptions, the old ſhould be made one hundred per cent. and what might exceed that value ſhould be divided among the old members: That all the intereſt due on thoſe tallies which might be ſubſcribed into the Bank ſtock, at that time appointed for ſubſcriptions, to the end of the laſt preceding quarter on each tally, ſhould be allowed as principal: That liberty ſhould be given by Parliament to enlarge the number of Bank-bills, to the value of the ſum that ſhould be ſo ſubſcribed, over and above the twelve hundred thouſand pounds; provided they ſhould be obliged to anſwer ſuch bills on demand: and in default thereof, be anſwered by the Exchequer out of the firſt money due to them: That no other Bank ſhould be erected or allowed by act of Parliament, during the continuance of the Bank of England: That this ſhould be exempted from all tax or impoſition: That no act of the corporation ſhould forfeit the particular intereſt of any perſon concerned therein: That proviſion ſhould be made to prevent the officers of the Exchequer, and all other officers and receivers of the revenue, from diverting, delaying, or obſtructing the courſe of payments to the Bank: That care ſhould be taken to prevent the altering, counterfeiting, or forging any Bank-bills or notes: That the eſtate and intereſt of each member in the ſtock of the corporation ſhould be made a perſonal eſtate: That no contract made for any Bank-ſtock to be bought or ſold ſhould be valid in law or equity, unleſs actually regiſtered in the Bank-books within ſeven days, and actually transferred within fourteen days after the contract ſhould be made. A bill upon theſe reſolutions was brought in, under the direction

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§ XL. Never were more vigorous meaſures taken to ſupport the credit of the government; and never was the government ſerved by ſuch a ſet of enterpriſing undertakers. The Commons having received a meſſage from the King, touching the condition of the civil liſt, reſolved, That a ſum not exceeding five hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds ſhould be granted for the ſupport of the civil liſt for the enſuing year, to be raiſed by a malt-tax, and additional duties upon mum, ſweets, cyder and perry. They likewiſe reſolved, That an additional aid of one ſhilling in the pound ſhould be laid upon land, as an equivalent for the duty of

2 ten

ten per cent. upon mixed goods. Proviſion was made for raiſing one million four hundred thouſand pounds by a lottery. The Treaſury was empowered to iſſue an additional number of Exchequer-bills, to the amount of twelve hundred thouſand pounds, every hundred pounds bearing intereſt at the rate of five-pence a day, and ten per cent for circulation: finally, in order to liquidate the tranſport-debt, which the funds eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe had not been ſufficient to defray, a money-bill was brought in, to oblige pedlars and hawkers to take out licenſes, and pay for them at certain ſtated prices. One cannot without aſtoniſhment reflect upon the prodigious efforts that were made upon this occaſion, or conſider without indignation the enormous fortunes that were raiſed up by uſurers and extortioners from the diſtreſſes of their country. The nation did not ſeem to know its own ſtrength, until it was put to this extraordinary trial; and the experiment of mortgaging funds ſucceeded ſo well, that later miniſters have proceeded in the ſame ſyſtem, impoſing burthen upon burthen, as if they thought the ſinews of the nation could never be overſtrained. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XLI. The publick credit being thus bolſtered up by the ſingular addreſs of Mr. Montagu, and the bills paſſed for the ſupplies of the enſuing year, the attention of the Commons was transferred to the caſe of Sir John Fenwick, who had been apprehended in the month of June at New Romney, in his way to France. He had, when taken, written a letter to his lady by one Webber, who accompanied him; but this man being ſeized, the letter was found, containing ſuch a confeſſion as plainly evinced him guilty. He then entered into a treaty with the Court for turning evidence, and delivered a long information in writing, which was ſent abroad to his Majeſty. He made no diſcoveries that could injure any of the Jacobites, who, by his account, and other concurring teſtimonies, appeared to be divided

BOOK I. 1696. divided into two parties, known by the names of Compounders and Noncompounders. The firſt, headed by the Earl of Middleton, inſiſted upon receiving ſecurity from King James, that the religion and liberties of England ſhould be preſerved: whereas, the other party, at the head of which was the Earl of Melfort, reſolved to bring him in without conditions, relying upon his own honour and generoſity. King William having ſent over an order for bringing Fenwick to trial, unleſs he ſhould make more material diſcoveries, the priſoner, with a view to amuſe the miniſtry, until he could take other meaſures for his own ſafety, accuſed the Earls of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Ruſſel, of having made their peace with King James, and engaged to act for his intereſt. Mean while his lady and relations tampered with the two witneſſes, Porter and Goodman. The firſt of theſe diſcovered theſe practices to the government; and one Clancey, who acted as agent for Lady Fenwick, was tried, convicted of ſubornation, fined, and ſet in the pillory: but they had ſucceeded better in their attempts upon Goodman, who diſappeared; ſo that one witneſs only remained, and Fenwick began to think his life was out of danger. Admiral Ruſſel acquainted the Houſe of Commons, that he and ſeveral perſons of quality had been reflected upon in ſome informations of Sir John Fenwick; he therefore deſired, that he might have an opportunity to juſtify his own character. Mr. Secretary Trumball produced the papers, which having been read, the Commons ordered, That Sir John Fenwick ſhould be brought to the bar of the Houſe. There he was exhorted by the Speaker to make an ample diſcovery; which, however, he declined, except with the proviſo that he ſhould firſt receive ſome ſecurity that what he might ſay ſhould not prejudice himſelf. He was ordered to withdraw, until they ſhould have deliberated on his requeſt. Then he was called in

again

again, and the Speaker told him, he might deſerve the favour of the Houſe, by making a full diſcovery. He deſired he might be indulged with a little time to recollect himſelf, and promiſed to obey the command of the Houſe. This favour being denied, he again inſiſted upon having ſecurity; which they refuſing to grant, he choſe to be ſilent, and was diſmiſſed from the bar. The Houſe voted, That his informations, reflecting upon the fidelity of ſeveral noblemen, members of the Houſe, and others, upon hearſay, were falſe and ſcandalous, contrived to undermine the Government, and create jealouſies between the King and his ſubjects, in order to ſtifle the conſpiracy. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XLII. A motion being made, for leave to bring in a bill to attaint him of high treaſon, a warm debate enſued, and the queſtion being put, was carried in the affirmative by a great majority. He was furniſhed with a copy of the bill, and allowed the uſe of pen, ink, paper, and counſel. When he preſented a petition, praying that his counſel might be heard againſt paſſing the bill, they made an order, that his counſel ſhould be allowed to make his defence at the bar of the Houſe: ſo that he was ſurpriſed into an irregular trial, inſtead of being indulged with an opportunity of offering objections to their paſſing the bill of attainder. He was accordingly brought to the bar of the Houſe; and the bill being read in his hearing, the Speaker called upon the King's counſel to open the evidence. The Priſoner's counſel objected to their proceeding to trial, alleging, that their Client had not received the leaſt notice of their purpoſe, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence; but that they came to offer their reaſons againſt the bill. The Houſe, after a long debate, reſolved, That he ſhould be allowed further time to produce witneſſes in his defence; that the counſel for the King ſhould likewiſe be allowed to produce evidence to prove the treaſons of which he ſtood indicted; and an order was

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made for his being brought to the bar again in three days. In purſuance of this order he appeared, when the indictment which had been found againſt him by the Grand Jury was produced; and Porter was examined as an evidence. Then the record of Clancey's conviction was read; and one Roe teſtified, that Dighton, the priſoner's ſolicitor, had offered him an annuity of one hundred pounds, to diſcredit the teſtimony of Goodman. The King's counſel moved, that Goodman's examination, as taken by Mr. Vernon, clerk of the Council, might be read. Sir J. Powis and Sir Bartholomew Shower, the priſoner's counſel, warmly oppoſed this propoſal: they affirmed, that a depoſition taken when the party affected by it was not preſent to croſs-examine the depoſer, could not be admitted in a caſe of five ſhillings value: that though the Houſe was not bound by the rules of inferior Courts, it was nevertheleſs bound by the eternal and unalterable rules of juſtice: that no evidence, according to the rules of law, could be admitted in ſuch a caſe, but that of living witneſſes; and that the examination of a perſon who is abſent was never read to ſupply his teſtimony. The diſpute between the lawyers on this ſubject gave riſe to a very violent debate among the Members of the Houſe. Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Harley, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Manly, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and all the leaders of the Tory-party, argued againſt the hardſhip and injuſtice of admitting this information as an evidence. They demonſtrated, that it would be a ſtep contrary to the practice of all Courts of Judicature, repugnant to the common notions of juſtice and humanity, diametrically oppoſite to the laſt act for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon, and of dangerous conſequences to the lives and liberties of the people. On the other hand, Lord Cutts, Sir Thomas Lyttleton, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Smith of the Treaſury, and Trevor, the Attorney-General, affirmed, that the

Houſe

Houſe was not bound by any form of law whatſoever: that this was an extraordinary caſe, in which the ſafety of the Government was deeply concerned: that though the common law might require two evidences in caſes of Treaſon, the Houſe had a power of deviating from thoſe rules in extraordinary caſes; that there was no reaſon to doubt of Sir John Fenwick's being concerned in the conſpiracy: that he or his friends had tampered with Porter; and that there were ſtrong preſumptions to believe the ſame practices had induced Goodman to abſcond. In a word, the Tories, either from party or patriotiſm, ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the cauſe of liberty and humanity, by thoſe very arguments which had been uſed againſt them in the former reigns; while the Whigs, with equal violence and more ſucceſs, eſpouſed the dictates of arbitrary power and oppreſſion, in the face of their former principles, with which they were now upbraided. At length, the queſtion was put, Whether or not the information of Goodman ſhould be read? and was carried in the affirmative by a majority of ſeventy-three voices. Then two of the Grand Jury who had found the indictment, recited the evidence which had been given to them by Porter and Goodman: laſtly, the King's counſel inſiſted upon producing the record of Cooke's conviction, as he had been tried for the ſame conſpiracy. The priſoner's counſel objected, That, if ſuch evidence was admitted, the trial of one perſon in the ſame company would be the trial of all; and it could not be expected that they who came to defend Sir John Fenwick only, ſhould be prepared to anſwer the charge againſt Cooke. This article produced another vehement debate among the members; and the Whigs obtained a ſecond victory. The record was read, and the King's counſel proceeded to call ſome of the Jury who ſerved on Cooke's trial, to affirm that he had been convicted on Goodman's evidence. Sir Bartholomew Shower ſaid, he would ſubmit it to the

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§ XLIII. The Houſe reſolved to hear ſuch evidence as the priſoner had to produce that night. His counſel declared, that they had nothing then to produce but the copy of a record; and the ſecond reſolution was, that he ſhould be brought up again next day at noon. He accordingly appeared at the bar, and Sir J. Powis proceeded on his defence. He obſerved, that the bill under conſideration affected the lives of the ſubjects; and ſuch precedents were dangerous: that Sir John Fenwick was forthcoming, in order to be tried by the ordinary methods of juſtice: that he was actually under proceſs, had pleaded, and was ready to ſtand trial: that if there was ſufficient clear evidence againſt him, as the King's Serjeant had declared, there was no reaſon for his being deprived of the benefit of ſuch a trial as was the birthright of every Britiſh ſubject; and if there was a deficiency of legal evidence, he thought this was a very odd reaſon for the bill. He took notice that even the regicides had the benefit of ſuch a trial: that the laſt act for regulating trials in caſes of treaſon proved the great tenderneſs of the

laws

laws which affected the life of the ſubject: and he expreſſed his ſurpriſe that the very Parliament which had paſſed that law, ſhould enact another for putting a perſon to death without any trial at all. He admitted that there had been many bills of attainder, but they were generally levelled at outlaws and fugitives; and ſome of them had been reverſed in the ſequel, as arbitrary and unjuſt. He urged, that this bill of attainder did not allege or ſay, that Sir John Fenwick was guilty of the treaſon for which he had been indicted; a circumſtance which prevented him from producing witneſſes to that and ſeveral matters upon which the King's counſel had expatiated. He ſaid, they had introduced evidence to prove circumſtances not alleged in the bill, and defective evidence of thoſe that were: that Porter was not examined upon oath: that nothing could be more ſevere than to paſs ſentence of death upon a man, corrupt his blood, and confiſcate his eſtate, upon parole evidence; eſpecially of ſuch a wretch, who, by his own confeſſion, had been engaged in a crime of the blackeſt nature, not a convert to the dictates of conſcience, but a coward, ſhrinking from the danger by which he had been environed, and even now drudging for a pardon. He invalidated the evidence of Goodman's examination. He obſerved, that the indictment mentioned a conſpiracy to call in a foreign power: but, as this conſpiracy had not been put in practice, ſuch an agreement was not a ſufficient overt-act of treaſon, according to the opinion of Hawles, the Solicitor-General, concerned in this very proſecution. So ſaying, he produced a book of remarks, which that lawyer had publiſhed on the caſes of Lord Ruſſel, Colonel Sidney, and others, who had ſuffered death in the reign of Charles II. This author (ſaid he) takes notice, that a conſpiracy or agreement to levy war, is not treaſon without actually levying war; a ſentiment on which he concurred with Lord Coke, and Lord Chief

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Chief Juſtice Hales. He concluded with ſaying, "We know at preſent on what ground we ſtand; "by the ſtatute of Edward III. we know what trea- "ſon is; by the two ſtatutes of Edward VI. and "the late act, we know what is proof; by the "Magna Charta we know we are to be tried *per* "*legem terræ & per judicium parium*, by the law of "the land and the judgment of our peers; but, if "bills of attainder come into faſhion, we ſhall "neither know what is treaſon, what is evidence, "nor how, nor where we are to be tried."—He was ſeconded by Sir Bartholomew Shower, who ſpoke with equal energy and elocution; and their arguments were anſwered by the King's counſel. The argument in favour of the bill imported, that the Parliament would not interpoſe, except in extraordinary caſes; that here the evidence neceſſary in inferior Courts being defective, the Parliament, which was not tied down by legal evidence, had a right to exert their extraordinary power in puniſhing an offender, who would otherwiſe eſcape with impunity: that as the law ſtood, he was but a ſorry politician that could not ruin the Government, and yet elude the ſtatute of treaſon; that if a plot, after being diſcovered, ſhould not be thoroughly proſecuted, it would ſtrengthen and grow upon the adminiſtration, and probably at length ſubvert the Government: that it was notorious that parties were forming for King James; perſons were plotting in every part of the kingdom, and an open invaſion was threatened; therefore, this was a proper time for the Parliament to exert their extraordinary power: that the Engliſh differed from all other nations, in bringing the witneſſes and the priſoner face to face, and requiring two witneſſes in caſes of treaſon: nor did the Engliſh law itſelf require the ſame proof in ſome caſes, as in others; for one witneſs was ſufficient in felony, as well as for the treaſon of coining: that Fenwick was notoriouſly guilty;

and

and deſerved to feel the reſentment of the nation: that he would have been brought to exemplary puniſhment in the ordinary courſe of juſtice, had he not eluded it, by corrupting evidence, and withdrawing a witneſs. If this reaſoning be juſt, the Houſe of Commons has a right to act in diametrical oppoſition to the laws in being; and is veſted with a deſpotick power over the lives and fortunes of their conſtituents, for whoſe protection they are conſtituted. Let us, therefore, reflect upon the poſſibility of a Parliament debauched by the arts of corruption, into ſervile compliance with the deſigns of an arbitrary Prince, and tremble for the conſequence. The debate being finiſhed, the Priſoner was, at the deſire of Admiral Ruſſel, queſtioned with regard to the imputations he had fixed upon that gentleman and others, from hearſay: but he deſired to be excuſed on account of the riſque he ran while under a double proſecution, if any thing which ſhould eſcape him might be turned to his prejudice. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XLIV. After he was removed from the bar, Mr. Vernon, at the deſire of the Houſe, recapitulated the arts and practices of Sir John Fenwick and his friends, to procraſtinate the trial. The bill was read a ſecond time; and the Speaker aſking, If the queſtion ſhould be put for its being committed? the Houſe was immediately kindled into a new flame of contention. Hawles, the Solicitor-General, affirmed, that the Houſe in the preſent caſe ſhould act both as judge and jury. Mr. Harcourt ſaid, he knew no trial for treaſon but what was confirmed by *Magna Charta*, by a jury, the birthright and darling privilege of an Engliſhman, or *per legem terræ*, which includes impeachments in Parliament: that it was a ſtrange trial where the perſon accuſed had a chance to be hanged, but none to be ſaved: that he never heard of a jurym n who was not on his oath, nor of a judge who had not power to examine witneſſes upon oath, aud who was not empowered to ſave the

BOOK I. 1696. innocent as well as to condemn the guilty. Sir Thomas Lyttleton was of opinion, that the Parliament ought not to ſtand upon little niceties and forms of other Courts, when the government was at ſtake. Mr. Howe aſſerted, that to do a thing of this nature, becauſe the Parliament had power to do it, was a ſtrange way of reaſoning: that what was juſtice and equity at Weſtminſter-hall, was juſtice and equity every where: that one bad precedent in Parliament was of worſe conſequence than an hundred in Weſtminſter-hall, becauſe perſonal or private injuries did not foreclose the claims of original right; whereas the Parliament could ruin the nation beyond redemption, becauſe it could eſtabliſh tyranny by law. Sir Richard Temple, in arguing againſt the bill, obſerved, that the power of Parliament is to make any law, but the juriſdiction of Parliament is to govern itſelf by the law: to make a law, therefore, againſt all the laws of England, was the *ultimum remedium & peſſimum*, never to be uſed but in caſe of abſolute neceſſity. He affirmed, that by this precedent the Houſe overthrew all the laws of England; firſt in condemning a man upon one witneſs; ſecondly, in paſſing an act without any trial. The Commons never did nor can aſſume a juriſdiction of trying any perſon: they may, for their own information, hear what can be offered; but it is not a trial where witneſſes are not upon oath. All bills of attainder have paſſed againſt perſons that were dead or fled, or without the compaſs of the law: ſome have been brought in after trials in Weſtminſter-hall; but none of thoſe have been called trials, and they were generally reverſed. He denied that the Parliament had power to declare any thing treaſon which was not treaſon before. When inferior Courts were dubious, the caſe might be brought before the Parliament, to judge whether it was treaſon or felony; but then they muſt judge by the laws in being; and this judgment was not in the Parliament

ment by bill, but only in the Houſe of Lords. Lord Digby, Mr. Harley, and Colonel Granville, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. But their arguments and remonſtrances had no effect upon the majority, by whom the priſoner was devoted to deſtruction. The bill was committed, paſſed, and ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, where it produced the longeſt and warmeſt debates which had been known ſince the Reſtoration. Biſhop Burnet ſignalized his zeal for the government, by a long ſpeech in favour of the bill, contradicting ſome of the fundamental maxims which he had formerly avowed in behalf of the liberties of the people. At length it was carried by a majority of ſeven voices; and one-and-forty lords, including eight prelates, entered a proteſt, couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt the deciſion. CHAP. V. 1696.

§ XLV. When the bill received the Royal aſſent, another act of the like nature paſſed againſt Barclay, Holmes, and nine other conſpirators who had fled from juſtice, in caſe they ſhould not ſurrender themſelves on or before the twenty-fifth day of March next enſuing. Sir John Fenwick ſolicited the mediation of the Lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the Royal mercy. The Peers gave him to underſtand, that the ſucceſs of his ſuit would depend upon the fulneſs of his diſcoveries. He would have previouſly ſtipulated for a pardon; and they inſiſted upon his depending on their favour. He heſitated ſome time between the fears of infamy and the terrors of death, which laſt he at length choſe to undergo, rather than incur the diſgraceful character of an informer. He was complimented with the axe, in conſideration of his rank and alliance with the houſe of Howard, and ſuffered on Tower-hill with great compoſure. In the paper which he delivered to the Sheriff, he took God to witneſs, that he knew not of the intended invaſion, until it was the common ſubject of diſcourſe; nor was he engaged in any ſhape for the ſervice of King James. He thanked

thoſe

BOOK I. 1696. thoſe noble and worthy perſons who had oppoſed his attainder in Parliament; proteſted before God, that the information he gave to the miniſtry he had received in letters and meſſages from France; and obſerved, that he might have expected mercy from the Prince of Orange, as he had been inſtrumental in ſaving his life, by preventing the execution of a deſign which had been formed againſt it; a circumſtance which in all probability induced the late conſpirators to conceal their purpoſe of aſſaſſination from his knowledge. He profeſſed his loyalty to King James, and prayed Heaven for his ſpeedy reſtoration.

An. 1697. § XLVI. While Fenwick's affair was in agitation, the Earl of Monmouth had ſet on foot ſome practices againſt the Duke of Shrewſbury. One Matthew Smith, nephew to Sir William Perkins, had been entertained as a ſpy by this nobleman, who finding his intelligence of very little uſe or importance, diſmiſſed him as a troubleſome dependent. Then he had recourſe to the Earl of Monmouth, into whom he infuſed unfavourable ſentiments of the Duke; inſinuating, that he had made great diſcoveries, which from ſiniſter motives were ſuppreſſed. Monmouth communicated thoſe impreſſions to the Earl of Portland, who inliſted Smith as one of his intelligencers. Copies of the letters he had ſent to the Duke of Shrewſbury were delivered to Secretary Trumball, ſealed up for the peruſal of his Majeſty at his return from Flanders. When Fenwick mentioned the Duke of Shrewſbury in his diſcoveries, the Earl of Monmouth reſolved to ſeize the opportunity of ruining that nobleman. He, by the channel of the Ducheſs of Norfolk, exhorted Lady Fenwick to prevail upon her huſband to perſiſt in his accuſation, and even dictated a paper of directions. Fenwick rejected the propoſal with diſdain, as a ſcandalous contrivance; and Monmouth was ſo incenſed at his refuſal, that when the bill of attainder

attainder appeared in the Houſe of Lords, he ſpoke in favour of it with peculiar vehemence. Lady Fenwick, provoked at this cruel outrage, prevailed upon her nephew, the Earl of Carliſle, to move the Houſe that Sir John might be examined touching any advices that had been ſent to him, with relation to his diſcoveries. Fenwick being interrogated accordingly, gave an account of all the particulars of Monmouth's ſcheme, which was calculated to ruin the Duke of Shrewſbury, by bringing Smith's letters on the carpet. The Ducheſs of Norfolk and a confidant were examined, and confirmed the detection. The Houſe called for Smith's letters, which were produced by Sir William Trumball. The Earl of Monmouth was committed to the Tower, and diſmiſſed from all his employments. He was releaſed, however, at the end of the ſeſſion; and the court made up all his loſſes in private, leſt he ſhould be tempted to join the oppoſition. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ XLVII. The Whigs, before they were glutted with the ſacrifice of Fenwick, had determined to let looſe their vengeance upon Sir George Rooke, who was a leader in the oppoſite intereſt. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel had been ſent with a ſquadron to look into Breſt, where, according to the intelligence which the government had received, the French were employed in preparing for a deſcent upon England; but this information was falſe. They were buſy in equipping an armament for the Weſt-Indies, under the command of M. Pointis, who actually ſailed to the coaſt of New-Spain, and took the city of Carthagena. Rooke had been ordered to intercept the Toulon ſquadron in its way to Breſt; but his endeavours miſcarried. The Commons, in a committee of the whole Houſe, reſolved to inquire why this fleet was not intercepted; Rooke underwent a long examination, and was obliged to produce his journal, orders, and letters. Shovel and Mitchel were likewiſe examined; but nothing appearing to the prejudice

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judice of the Admiral, the Houſe thought proper to deſiſt from their proſecution. After they had determined on the fate of Fenwick, they proceeded to enact ſeveral laws for regulating the domeſtick œconomy of the nation: among others, they paſſed an act for the more effectual relief of creditors, in caſes of eſcape, and for preventing abuſes in priſons and pretended privileged places. Ever ſince the reformation, certain places in and about the city of London, which had been ſanctuaries during the prevalence of the Popiſh religion, afforded aſylum to debtors, and were become receptacles of deſperate perſons, who preſumed to ſet the law at defiance. One of theſe places, called White-Friars, was filled with a crew of ruffians, who every day committed acts of violence and outrage: but this law was ſo vigorouſly put in execution, that they were obliged to abandon the diſtrict, which was ſoon filled with more creditable inhabitants. On the ſixteenth day of April, the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, thanking the Parliament for the great ſupplies they had ſo cheerfully granted, and expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the meaſures they had taken for retrieving the publick credit. Before he quitted the kingdom, he ventured to produce upon the ſcene the Earl of Sunderland, who had hitherto prompted his councils behind the curtain. That politician was now ſworn of the privy-council, and gratified with the office of Lord-Chamberlain, which had been reſigned by the Earl of Dorſet, a nobleman of elegant talents and invincible indolence; ſevere and poignant in his writings and remarks upon mankind in general, but humane, good-natured, and generous to exceſs, in his commerce with individuals.

Burnet. Kennet. Oldmixon State Trials. Tindal. Ralph. Lives of the Admirals.

§ XLVIII. William having made ſome promotions*, and appointed a Regency, embarked on the twenty-

* Somers was created a Baron, and appointed Lord Chancellor of England; Admiral Ruſſel was dignified with the title of Earl of Orford

twenty-ſixth day of April for Holland, that he might be at hand to manage the negociation for a general peace. By this time the preliminaries were ſettled, between Callieres the French miniſter, and Mr. Dykveldt, in behalf of the States-General, who reſolved, in conſequence of the conceſſions made by France, that, in concert with their allies, the mediation of Sweden might be accepted. The Emperor and the court of Spain, however, were not ſatisfied with thoſe conceſſions: yet his Imperial Majeſty declared he would embrace the proffered mediation, provided the treaty of Weſtphalia ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed; and provided the King of Sweden would engage to join his troops with thoſe of the Allies, in caſe France ſhould break through this ſtipulation. This propoſal being delivered, the miniſters of England and Holland at Vienna preſented a joint memorial, preſſing his Imperial Majeſty to accept the mediation without reſerve, and name a place at which the congreſs might be opened. The Emperor complied with reluctance. On the fourteenth day of February, all the miniſters of the Allies, except the Ambaſſador of Spain, agreed to the propoſal; and next day ſignified their aſſent in form to M. Lillienroot, the Swediſh Plenipotentiary. Spain demanded, as a preliminary, that France ſhould agree to reſtore all the places mentioned in a long liſt which the miniſter of that Crown preſented to the aſſembly. The Emperor propoſed, that the congreſs ſhould be held at Aix-la-Chapelle, or Franckfort, or ſome other town in Germany. The other Allies were more diſpoſed to negociate in Holland. At length the French King ſuggeſted, that no place would be more proper than a palace belonging to King William, called Newbourg-houſe, ſituated be-

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Orford. In February the Earl of Aylesbury, who had been committed on account of the conſpiracy, was released upon bail; but this privilege was denied to Lord Montgomery, who had been impriſoned in Newgate on the ſame account

tween

BOOK I. 1697. tween the Hague and Delft, cloſe by the village of Ryſwick; and to this propoſition the miniſters agreed. Thoſe of England were the Earl of Pembroke, a virtuous, learned, and popular nobleman, the Lord Villiers, and Sir Joſeph Williamſon: France ſent Harlay and Crecy to the aſſiſtance of Callieres. Louis was not only tired of the war, on account of the miſery in which it had involved his kingdom; but in deſiring a peace he was actuated by another motive. The King of Spain had been for ſome time in a very ill ſtate of health, and the French Monarch had an eye to the ſucceſſion. This aim could not be accompliſhed while the confederacy ſubſiſted; therefore he eagerly ſought a peace, that he might at once turn his whole power againſt Spain, as ſoon as Charles ſhould expire. The Emperor harboured the ſame deſign upon the Spaniſh Crown, and for that reaſon intereſted himſelf in the continuance of the grand alliance. Beſides, he foreſaw he ſhould in a little time be able to act againſt France with an augmented force. The Czar of Muſcovy had engaged to find employment for the Turks and Tartars. He intended to raiſe the Elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland; and he had made ſome progreſs in a negociation with the Circles of the Rhine, for a conſiderable body of auxiliary troops. The Dutch had no other view but that of ſecuring a barrier in the Netherlands. King William inſiſted upon the French King's acknowledging his title; and the Engliſh nation wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the end of a ruinous war. On the tenth day of February, Callieres, in the name of his maſter, agreed to the following preliminaries: That the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen ſhould be the baſis of this negociation; that Straſbourg ſhould be reſtored to the Empire, and Luxembourg to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all places taken by the French in Catalonia ſince the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant

nant ſhould be ceded to the Biſhop of Liege, and all re-union ſince the treaty of Nimeguen be made void: that the French King ſhould make reſtitution of Lorraine, and, upon concluſion of the peace, acknowledge the Prince of Orange as King of Great-Britain, without condition or reſerve. The conferences were interrupted by the death of Charles XI. King of Sweden, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles, then a minor: but the Queen and five ſenators, whom the late King had by will appointed adminiſtrators of the government, reſolved to purſue the mediation, and ſent a new commiſſion to Lillienroot for that purpoſe. The ceremonials being regulated with the conſent of all parties, the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor delivered their maſter's demands to the mediator, on the twenty-ſecond day of May, and ſeveral German miniſters gave in the pretenſions of the reſpective Princes whom they repreſented. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ XLIX. Mean while, the French King, in the hope of procuring more favourable terms, reſolved to make his laſt effort againſt the Spaniards in Catalonia and in the Netherlands, and to elevate the Prince of Conti to the throne of Poland; an event which would have greatly improved the intereſt of France in Europe. Louis had got the ſtart of the Confederates in Flanders, and ſent thither a very numerous army, commanded by Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers. The campaign was opened with the ſiege of Aeth, which was no ſooner inveſted, than King William, having recovered of an indiſpoſition, took the field, and had an interview with the Duke of Bavaria, who commanded a ſeparate body. He did not think proper to interrupt the enemy in their operations before Aeth, which ſurrendered in a few days after the trenches were opened; but contented himſelf with taking poſſeſſion of an advantageous camp, where he covered Bruſſels, which Villeroy and Boufflers had determined to beſiege. In Catalonia,

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lonia, the Duke of Vendome inveſted Barcelona, in which there was a garriſon of ten thouſand regular ſoldiers, beſides five thouſand burghers, who had voluntarily taken arms on this occaſion. The Governor of the place was the Prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt, who had ſerved in Ireland, and been veſted with the command of the Imperial troops which were ſent into Spain. The French General being reinforced from Provence and Languedoc, carried on his approaches with ſurpriſing impetuoſity; and was repulſed in ſeveral attacks by the valour of the defendants. At length the enemy ſurpriſed and routed the Viceroy of Catalonia; and, fluſhed with this victory, ſtormed the outworks, which had been long battered with their cannon. The diſpute was very bloody and obſtinate; but the French, by dint of numbers, made themſelves maſters of the covered way and two baſtions. There they erected batteries of cannon and mortars, and fired furiouſly on the town, which, however, the Prince of Heſſe reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. The Court of Madrid, however, unwilling to ſee the place entirely ruined, as in all probability it would be reſtored at the peace, diſpatched an order to the Prince to capitulate; and he obtained very honourable terms, after having made a glorious defence for nine weeks; in conſideration of which he was appointed Viceroy of the Province. France was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of this important place, than the Spaniards became as eager for peace as they had been before averſe to a negociation.

§ L. Their impatience was not a little inflamed by the ſucceſs of Pointis in America, where he took Carthagena, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an Engliſh ſquadron under Admiral Nevil had arrived in the Weſt-Indies, with a deſign to attack him in his return, he bore away for the ſtraits of Ba-

hama.

hama. On the twenty-ſecond day of May he fell in with the Engliſh fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken: but ſuch was his dexterity, or good fortune, that he eſcaped, after having been purſued five days, during which the Engliſh and Dutch Rear-Admirals ſprang their fore-topmaſts, and received other damage, ſo that they could not proceed. Then Nevil ſteered to Carthagena, which he found quite abandoned by the inhabitants, who, after the departure of Pointis, had been rifled a ſecond time by the buccaneers, on pretence that they had been defrauded of their ſhare of the plunder. This was really the caſe; they had in a great meaſure contributed to the ſucceſs of Pointis, and were very ill rewarded. In a few days the Engliſh Admiral diſcovered eight ſail of their ſhips, two of which were forced on ſhore and deſtroyed, two taken, and the reſt eſcaped. Then he directed his courſe to Jamaica, and, by the advice of the Governor, *Sir William Beeſton* detached Rear Admiral Meeze with ſome ſhips and forces to attack Petit-Guavas, which he accordingly ſurpriſed, burned, and reduced to aſhes. After this ſmall expedition, Nevil proceeded to the Havannah on purpoſe to take the galleons under his convoy for Europe, according to the inſtructions he had received from the King: but the Governor of the place, and the General of the Plate-fleet, ſuſpecting ſuch an offer, would neither ſuffer him to enter the harbour, nor put the galleons under his protection. He now ſailed through the gulf of Florida to Virginia, where he died of chagrin, and the command of the fleet devolved on Captain Dilkes, who arrived in England on the twenty-fourth day of October, with a ſhattered ſquadron, half-manned, to the unſpeakable mortification of the people, who flattered themſelves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Pointis, ſteering to the banks of Newfoundland, entered the bay of Conceptione, at a time when a ſtout Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by

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BOOK I. 1697. Commodore Norris, lay at anchor in the bay of St. John. This officer being informed of the arrival of a French fleet, at firſt concluded, that it was the ſquadron of M. Neſmond come to attack him, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to put the place in a poſture of defence: but, afterwards, underſtanding that it was Pointis returning with the ſpoil of Carthagena, he called a council of war, and propoſed to go immediately in queſt of the enemy. He was, however, over-ruled by a majority, who gave it as their opinion that they ſhould remain where they were, without running unneceſſary hazard. By virtue of this ſcandalous determination, Pointis was permitted to proceed on his voyage to Europe; but he had not yet eſcaped every danger. On the fourteenth day of Auguſt he fell in with a ſquadron under the command of Captain Harlow, by whom he was boldly engaged till night parted the combatants. He was purſued next day; but his ſhips ſailing better than thoſe of Harlow, he accompliſhed his eſcape, and on the morrow entered the harbour of Breſt. That his ſhips, which were foul, ſhould out-ſail the Engliſh ſquadron, which had juſt put to ſea, was a myſtery which the people of England could not explain. They complained of having been betrayed through the whole courſe of the Weſt-Indian expedition. The King owned he did not underſtand marine affairs, the entire conduct of which he abandoned to Ruſſel, who became proud, arbitrary, and unpopular, and was ſuppoſed to be betrayed by his dependents. Certain it is, the ſervice was greatly obſtructed by faction among the officers, which with reſpect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and miſconduct.

§ LI. The ſucceſs of the French in Catalonia, Flanders, and the Weſt-Indies, was balanced by their diſappointment in Poland. Louis, encouraged by the remonſtrances of the Abbé de Polignac, who managed the affairs of France in that kingdom, reſolved to ſupport the Prince of Conti as a candidate for

for the crown, and remitted great ſums of money, which were diſtributed among the Poliſh nobility. The Emperor had at firſt declared for the ſon of the late King: but, finding the French party too ſtrong for his competitor, he entered into a negociation with the Elector of Saxony, who agreed to change his religion, to diſtribute eight millions of florins among the Poles, to confirm their privileges, and advance with his troops to the frontiers of that kingdom. Having performed theſe articles, he declared himſelf a candidate, and was publickly eſpouſed by the Imperialiſts. The Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Baden, and Don Livio Odeſchalchi, nephew to Pope Innocent, were likewiſe competitors; but, finding their intereſt inſufficient, they united their influence with that of the Elector, who was proclaimed King of Poland. He forthwith took the oath required, procured an atteſtation from the Imperial Court of his having changed his religion, and marched with his army to Cracow, where he was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity. Louis perſiſted in maintaining the pretenſions of the Prince of Conti, and equipped a fleet at Dunkirk for his convoy to Dantzick in his way to Poland. But the magiſtrates of that city, who had declared for the new King, would not ſuffer his men to land, though they offered to admit himſelf with a ſmall retinue. He, therefore, went on ſhore at Marienburgh, where he was met by ſome chiefs of his own party; but the new King Auguſtus acted with ſuch vigilance, that he found it impracticable to form an army: beſides he ſuſpected the fidelity of his own Poliſh partiſans: he, therefore, refuſed to part with the treaſure he had brought, and in the beginning of winter returned to Dunkirk. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LII. The eſtabliſhment of Auguſtus on the throne of Poland was in ſome meaſure owing to the conduct of Peter the Czar of Muſcovy, who having formed great deſigns againſt the Ottoman-Porte,

BOOK I. 1697. was very unwilling to ſee the Crown of Poland poſſeſſed by a partiſan of France, which was in alliance with the Grand Signor. He, therefore, intereſted himſelf warmly in the diſpute, and ordered his General to aſſemble an army on the frontiers of Lithuania, which, by overawing the Poles that were in the intereſt of the Prince of Conti, conſiderably influenced the election. This extraordinary legiſlator, who was a ſtrange compound of heroiſm and barbarity, conſcious of the defects in his education, and of the groſs ignorance that overſpread his dominions, reſolved to extend his ideas, and improve his judgment, by travelling; and that he might be the leſs reſtricted by forms, or interrupted by officious curioſity, he determined to travel in diſguiſe. He was extremely ambitious of becoming a maritime power, and in particular of maintaining a fleet in the Black-ſea; and his immediate aim was to learn the principles of ſhip-building. He appointed an embaſſy for Holland, to regulate ſome points of commerce with the States-General. Having entruſted the care of his dominions to perſons in whom he could confide, he now diſguiſed himſelf, and travelled as one of their retinue. He firſt diſcloſed himſelf to the Elector of Brandenburgh in Pruſſia, and afterwards to King William, with whom he conferred in private at Utrecht. He engaged himſelf as a common labourer with a ſhip-carpenter in Holland, whom he ſerved for ſome months with wonderful patience and aſſiduity. He afterwards viſited England, where he amuſed himſelf chiefly with the ſame kind of occupation. From thence he ſet out for Vienna, where receiving advices from his dominions, that his ſiſter was concerned in managing intrigues againſt his government, he returned ſuddenly to Moſcow, and found the machinations of the conſpirators were already baffled by the vigilance and fidelity of the foreigners to whom he had left the care of the adminiſtration. His ſavage nature, however, broke out upon

upon this occaſion; he ordered ſome hundreds to be hanged all round his capital; and a good number were beheaded, he himſelf with his own hand performing the office of executioner. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LIII. The negociations at Ryſwick proceeded very ſlowly for ſome time. The Imperial miniſter demanded, that France ſhould make reſtitution of all the places and dominions ſhe had wreſted from the Empire ſince the peace of Munſter, whether by force of arms or pretence of right. The Spaniards claimed all they could demand by virtue of the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of the Pyrennees. The French affirmed, that if the preliminaries offered by Callieres were accepted, theſe propoſitions could not be taken into conſideration. The Imperialiſts perſiſted in demanding a circumſtantial anſwer, article by article. The Spaniards inſiſted upon the ſame manner of proceeding, and called upon the mediator and Dutch miniſters to ſupport their pretenſions. The plenipotentiaries of France declared, they would not admit any demand or propoſition, contrary to the preliminary articles: but were willing to deliver in a project of peace, in order to ſhorten the negociations, and the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors conſented to this expedient. During theſe tranſactions, the Earl of Portland held a conference with Mareſchal Boufflers, near Halle, in ſight of the two oppoſite armies, which was continued in five ſucceſſive meetings. On the ſecond day of Auguſt they retired together to a houſe in the ſuburbs of Halle, and mutually ſigned a paper, in which the principal articles of the peace between France and England were adjuſted. Next day King William quitted the camp, and retired to his houſe at Loo, confident of having taken ſuch meaſures for a pacification as could not be diſappointed. The ſubject of this field negociation is ſaid to have turned upon the intereſt of King James, which the French monarch promiſed to abandon: others, however,

BOOK I. 1697. however, ſuppoſe that the firſt foundation of the partition treaty was laid in this conference. But, in all probability, William's ſole aim was to put an end to an expenſive and unſucceſsful war, which had rendered him very unpopular in his own dominions, and to obtain from the Court of France an acknowledgment of his title, which had ſince the Queen's death become the ſubject of diſpute. He perceived the Emperor's backwardneſs towards a pacification, and foreſaw numberleſs difficulties in diſcuſſing ſuch a complication of intereſts by the common method of treating: he, therefore, choſe ſuch a ſtep as he thought would alarm the jealouſy of the Allies, and quicken the negociation at Ryſwick Before the congreſs was opened, King James had publiſhed two manifeſtoes, addreſſed to the Catholick and Proteſtant Princes of the confederacy, repreſenting his wrongs, and craving redreſs; but his remonſtrances being altogether diſregarded, he afterwards iſſued a third declaration, ſolemnly proteſting againſt all that might or ſhould be negociated, regulated, or ſtipulated with the uſurper of his realms, as being void of all rightful and lawful authority. On the twentieth day of July the French Ambaſſadors produced their project of a general peace, declaring at the ſame time, that ſhould it not be accepted before the laſt day of Auguſt, France would not hold herſelf bound for the conditions ſhe now offered: but Caunitz, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, proteſted he would pay no regard to this limitation. On the thirtieth of Auguſt, however, he delivered to the mediators an ultimatum, importing, That he adhered to the treaties of Weſtphalia and Nimeguen, and accepted of Straſbourg with its appurtenances; That he inſiſted upon the reſtitution of Lorraine to the Prince of that name; and demanded, That the Church and Chapter of Liege ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of their inconteſtable rights. Next day the French Plenipotentiaries declared, That

That the month of Auguſt being now expired, all their offers were vacated: That, therefore, the King of France would reſerve Straſbourg and unite it, with its dependencies, to his Crown for ever: that in other reſpects he would adhere to the project, and reſtore Barcelona to the Crown of Spain; but that theſe terms muſt be accepted in twenty days, otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf at liberty to recede. The miniſters of the Electors and Princes of the empire joined in a written remonſtrance to the Spaniſh Plenipotentiaries, repreſenting the inconveniencies and dangers that would accrue to the Germanick body from France's being in poſſeſſion of Luxembourg, and exhorting them in the ſtrongeſt terms to reject all offers of an equivalent for that province. They likewiſe preſented another to the States-General, requiring them to continue the war, according to their engagements, until France ſhould have complied with the preliminaries. No regard, however, was paid to either of theſe addreſſes. Then the Imperial Ambaſſadors demanded the good offices of the mediator, on certain articles: but all that he could obtain of France was, that the term for adjuſting the peace between her and the Emperor ſhould be prolonged till the firſt day of November, and in the mean time an armiſtice be punctually obſerved. Yet even theſe conceſſions were made, on condition that the treaty with England, Spain, and Holland ſhould be ſigned on that day, even though the Emperor and Empire ſhould not concur. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LIV. Accordingly, on the twentieth day of September, the articles were ſubſcribed by the Dutch, Engliſh, Spaniſh and French Ambaſſadors, while the Imperial Miniſters proteſted againſt the tranſaction, obſerving, this was the ſecond time that a ſeparate peace had been concluded with France; and that the States of the Empire, who had been impoſed upon through their own credulity, would not for the future be ſo eaſily perſuaded to engage

BOOK I. 1697. engage in confederacies. In certain preparatory articles ſettled between England and France, King William promiſed to pay a yearly penſion to Queen Mary D'Eſté, of fifty thouſand pounds, or ſuch ſum as ſhould be eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe by act of Parliament. The treaty itſelf conſiſted of ſeventeen articles. The French King engaged, that he would not diſturb or diſquiet the King of Great-Britain in the poſſeſſion of his realms or government: nor aſſiſt his enemies, nor favour conſpiracies againſt his perſon. This obligation was reciprocal. A free commerce was reſtored. Commiſſaries were appointed to meet at London, and ſettle the pretenſions of each Crown to Hudſon's Bay, taken by the French during the late peace, and retaken by the Engliſh in the courſe of the war; and to regulate the limits of the places to be reſtored, as well as the exchanges to be made. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, That, in caſe of a rupture, ſix months ſhould be allowed to the ſubjects of each power for removing their effects: That the ſeparate articles of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, ſhould be entirely executed; and, That the ratifications ſhould be exchanged in three weeks from the day of ſigning. The treaty between France and Holland imported a general armiſtice, a perpetual amity, a mutual reſtitution, a reciprocal renunciation of all pretenſions upon each other, a confirmation of the peace with Savoy, a re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty concluded between France and Brandenburgh, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-nine, a comprehenſion of Sweden, and all thoſe powers that ſhould be named before the ratification, or in ſix months after the concluſion of the treaty. Beſides, the Dutch miniſters concluded a treaty of commerce with France, which was immediately put in execution. Spain had great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the pacification, by which ſhe recovered Gironne, Roſes, Barcelona, Luxembourg,

bourg, Charleroy, Mons, Courtray, and all the towns, fortreſſes, and territories taken by the French in the province of Luxembourg, Namur, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault, except eighty-two towns and villages claimed by the French: this diſpute wa left to the deciſion of Commiſſaries; or, in caſe they ſhould not agree, to the determination of the States-General. A remonſtrance in favour of the French Proteſtant refugees in England, Holland and Germany, was delivered by the Earl of Pembroke to the mediators, in the name of the Proteſtant Allies, on the day that preceded the concluſion of the treaty; but the French Plenipotentiaries declared, in the name of their maſter, that as he did not pretend to preſcribe rules to King William about the Engliſh ſubjects, he expected the ſame liberty with reſpect to his own. No other effort was made in behalf of thoſe conſcientious exiles: the treaties were ratified, and the peace proclaimed at Paris and London. CHAP. V. 1697.

§ LV. The Emperor ſtill held out, and perhaps was encouraged to perſevere in his obſtinacy by the ſucceſs of his arms in Hungary, where his General, Prince Eugene of Savoy, obtained a complete victory at Zenta over the forces of the Grand Signor, who commanded his army in perſon. In this battle, which was fought on the eleventh day of September, the Grand Viſir, the Aga of the Janiſſaries, ſeven-and-twenty baſhaws, and about thirty thouſand men, were killed or drowned in the river Theyſſe: ſix thouſand were wounded or taken, together with all their artillery, tents, baggage, proviſion, and ammunition, the Grand Signor himſelf eſcaping with difficulty: a victory the more glorious and acceptable, as the Turks had a great ſuperiority in point of number, and as the Imperialiſts did not loſe a thouſand men during the whole action. The Emperor, perceiving that the event of this battle had no effect in retarding the treaty, thought

BOOK I. 1697 thought proper to make uſe of the armiſtice, and continue the negociation after the forementioned treaties had been ſigned. This was likewiſe the caſe with the Princes of the Empire: though thoſe of the Proteſtant perſuaſion complained, that their intereſt was neglected. In one of the articles of the treaty, it was ſtipulated, That in the places to be reſtored by France, the Roman Catholick religion ſhould continue as it had been re-eſtabliſhed. The Ambaſſadors of the Proteſtant princes joined in a remonſtrance, demanding, That the Lutheran religion ſhould be reſtored in thoſe places where it had formerly prevailed; but this demand was rejected, as being equally diſagreeable to France and the Emperor. Then they refuſed to ſign the treaty, which was now concluded between France, the Emperor, and the Catholick princes of the Empire. By this pacification, Triers, the Palatinate, and Lorraine, were reſtored to their reſpective owners. The countries of Spanheim and Veldentz, together with the duchy of Deux Ponts, were ceded to the King of Sweden. Francis Louis Palatine was confirmed in the Electorate of Cologn; and Cardinal Furſtemberg reſtored to all his rights and benefices. The claims of the Ducheſs of Orleans upon the Palatinate were referred to the arbitration of France and the Emperor; and in the mean time the Elector Palatine agreed to ſupply her Highneſs with an annuity of one hundred thouſand florins. The miniſters of the Proteſtant princes publiſhed a formal declaration againſt the clauſe relating to religion, and afterwards ſolemnly proteſted againſt the manner in which the negociation had been conducted. Such was the iſſue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almoſt entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curſe of foreign connexions, as well as a national debt,

debt, which was gradually increaſed to an intolerable burthen. After all the blood and treaſure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unſatisfied. Nevertheleſs, he reaped the ſolid advantage of ſeeing himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the Engliſh throne; and the confederacy, though not ſucceſsful in every inſtance, accompliſhed their great aim of putting a ſtop to the encroachments of the French Monarch. They mortified his vanity, they humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to diſgorge the acquiſitions which, like a robber, he had made in violation of publick faith, juſtice and humanity. Had the Allies been true to one another; had they acted from genuine zeal for the common intereſts of mankind; and proſecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Louis would in a few campaigns have been reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of diſgrace, deſpondence, and ſubmiſſion; for he was deſtitute of true courage and magnanimity. King William having finiſhed this important tranſaction, returned to England about the middle of November, and was received in London amidſt the acclamations of the people, who now again hailed him as their deliverer from a war, by the continuance of which they muſt have been infallibly beggared. CHAP. V. 1697.

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CHAP. VI.

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ceived with great applauſe. § LXIV. *Great harmony between the King and Parliament.* § LXV. *The two Houſes paſs the bill for abjuration.* § LXVI. *The Lower Houſe juſtifies the proceedings of the Commons in the preceding Parliament.* LXVII. *Affairs of Ireland.* § LXVIII. *The King recommends an union of the two kingdoms.* § LXIX. *He falls from his horſe.* § LXX. *His death.* § LXXI. *And character.*

BOOK I. 1697.

§ I. WHEN the King opened the ſeſſion of Parliament on the third day of December, he told them the war was brought to the end they all propoſed, namely, an honourable peace. He gave them to underſtand there was a conſiderable debt on account of the fleet and army: that the revenues of the Crown had been anticipated: he expreſſed his hope, that they would provide for him during his life, in ſuch a manner as would conduce to his own honour and that of the government. He recommended the maintenance of a conſiderable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that for the preſent England could not be ſafe without a ſtanding army. He promiſed to rectify ſuch corruptions and abuſes as might have crept into any part of the adminiſtration during the war; and effectually to diſcourage prophaneneſs and immorality. Finally, he aſſured them, that as he had reſcued their religion, laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremeſt danger, ſo he ſhould place the glory of his reign in preſerving and leaving them entire to lateſt poſterity. To this ſpeech the Commons replied in an addreſs, by a compliment of congratulation upon the peace, and an aſſurance, that they would be ever ready to aſſiſt and ſupport his Majeſty, who had confirmed them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their rights and liberties, and by putting an end to the war fully completed the work of their deliverance. Notwithſtanding theſe appearances of good humour, the majority

jority of the Houſe, and indeed of the whole nation, were equally alarmed and exaſperated at a project for maintaining a ſtanding army, which was countenanced at Court, and even recommended by the King, in his ſpeech to the Parliament. William's genius was altogether military. He could not bear the thoughts of being a king without power. He could not without reluctance diſmiſs thoſe officers who had given ſo many proofs of their courage and fidelity. He did not think himſelf ſafe upon the naked throne, in a kingdom that ſwarmed with malcontents, who had ſo often conſpired againſt his perſon and government. He dreaded the ambition and known perfidy of the French King, who ſtill retained a powerful army. He foreſaw that a reduction of the forces would leſſen his importance both at home and abroad; diminiſh the dependence upon his government; and diſperſe thoſe foreigners in whoſe attachment he chiefly confided. He communicated his ſentiments on this ſubject to his confidant, the Earl of Sunderland, who knew by experience the averſion of the people to a ſtanding army; nevertheleſs, he encouraged him with hope of ſucceſs, on the ſuppoſition that the Commons would ſee the difference between an army raiſed by the King's private authority, and a body of veteran troops maintained by conſent of Parliament for the ſecurity of the kingdom. This was a diſtinction to which the people paid no regard. All the jealouſy of former Parliaments ſeemed to be rouzed by the bare propoſal; and this was inflamed by a national prejudice againſt the Refugees, in whoſe favour the King had betrayed repeated marks of partial indulgence. They were ſubmiſſive, tractable, and wholly dependent upon his will and generoſity. The Jacobites failed not to cheriſh the ſeeds of diſſatisfaction, and reproach the Whigs who countenanced this meaſure. They branded that party with apoſtacy from their former principles. They obſerved, that the very

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BOOK I. 1697. perſons who in the late reigns endeavoured to abridge the prerogative, and deprive the King of that ſhare of power which was abſolutely neceſſary to actuate the machine of government, were now become advocates for maintaining a ſtanding army in time of peace; nay, and impudently avowed, that their complaiſance to the Court in this particular was owing to their deſire of excluding from all ſhare in the adminiſtration a faction diſaffected to his Majeſty, which might miſlead him into more pernicious meaſures. The majority of thoſe who really entertained Revolution-principles oppoſed the Court, from apprehenſions that a ſtanding army once eſtabliſhed would take root, and grow into an habitual maxim of government: that ſhould the people be diſarmed, and the ſword left in the hands of mercenaries, the liberties of the nation muſt be entirely at the mercy of him by whom thoſe mercenaries ſhould be commanded. They might overawe elections, dictate to Parliaments, and eſtabliſh a tyranny, before the people could take any meaſures for their own protection. They could not help thinking it was poſſible to form a militia, that with the concurrence of a fleet might effectually protect the kingdom from the dangers of an invaſion. They firmly believed, that a militia might be regularly trained to arms, ſo as to acquire the dexterity of profeſſed ſoldiers; and they did not doubt they would ſurpaſs thoſe hirelings in courage, conſidering that they would be animated by every concurring motive of intereſt, ſentiment, and affection. Nay, they argued, that Britain, ſurrounded as it was by a boiſterous ſea, ſecured by floating bulwarks, abounding with ſtout and hardy inhabitants, did not deſerve to be free, if her ſons could not protect their liberties without the aſſiſtance of mercenaries, who were indeed the only ſlaves of the kingdom. Yet, among the genuine friends of their country, ſome individuals eſpouſed the oppoſite maxims. They obſerved, that the mili-

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tary ſyſtem of every government in Europe was now altered: that war was become a trade, and diſcipline a ſcience not to be learned but by thoſe who made it their ſole profeſſion: that, therefore, while France kept up a large ſtanding army of veterans, ready to embark on the oppoſite coaſt, it would be abſolutely neceſſary, for the ſafety of the nation, to maintain a ſmall ſtanding force, which ſhould be voted in Parliament from year to year. They might have ſuggeſted another expedient, which in a few years would have produced a militia of diſciplined men. Had the ſoldiers of this ſmall ſtanding army been inliſted for a term of years, at the expiration of which they might have claimed their diſcharge, volunteers would have offered themſelves from all parts of the kingdom, even from the deſire of learning the uſe and exerciſe of arms, the ambition of being concerned in ſcenes of actual ſervice, and the chagrin of little diſappointments or temporary diſguſts, which yet would not have impelled them to inliſt as ſoldiers on the common terms of perpetual ſlavery. In conſequence of ſuch a ſucceſſion, the whole kingdom would ſoon have been ſtocked with members of a diſciplined militia, equal, if not ſuperior to any army of profeſſed ſoldiers. But this ſcheme would have defeated the purpoſe of the Government, which was more afraid of domeſtick foes than of foreign enemies; and induſtriouſly avoided every plan of this nature, which could contribute to render the malcontents of the nation more formidable. CHAP. VI. 1697.

§ II. Before we proceed to the tranſactions of Parliament in this ſeſſion, it may not be amiſs to ſketch the out-lines of the miniſtry, as it ſtood at this juncture. The King's affection for the Earl of Portland had begun to abate, in proportion as his eſteem for Sunderland increaſed, together with his conſideration for Mrs. Villiers, who had been diſtinguiſhed by ſome particular marks of his Majeſty's favour. Theſe two favourites are ſaid to have ſup-

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planted Portland, whose place in the King's bosom was now filled by Van Keppel, a gentleman of Guelderland, who had first served his Majesty as a page, and afterwards acted as private Secretary. The Earl of Portland growing troublesome, from his jealousy of this rival, the King resolved to send him into honourable exile, in quality of an Ambassador extraordinary to the Court of France; and Trumball, his friend and creature, was dismissed from the office of Secretary, which the King conferred upon Vernon, a plodding man of business, who had acted as Under-Secretary to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This nobleman rivalled the Earl of Sunderland in his credit at the Council-board, and was supported by Somers, Lord-Chancellor of England, by Russel, now Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Somers was an upright judge, a plausible statesman, a consummate courtier, affable, mild, and insinuating. Orford appears to have been rough, turbulent, factious, and shallow. Montagu had distinguished himself early by his poetical genius; but he soon converted his attention to the cultivation of more solid talents. He rendered himself remarkable for his eloquence, discernment, and knowledge of the English constitution. To a delicate taste, he united an eager appetite for political studies. The first catered for the enjoyments of fancy; the other was subservient to his ambition. He, at the same time, was the distinguished encourager of the liberal arts, and the professed patron of projectors. In his private deportment he was liberal, easy, and entertaining: as a statesman, bold, dogmatical, and aspiring.

§ III. The terrors of a standing army had produced such an universal ferment in the nation, that the dependents of the Court in the House of Commons durst not openly oppose the reduction of the forces; but they shifted the battery, and employed all their address in persuading the House to agree, that

by

that a very ſmall number ſhould be retained. When the Commons voted, That all the forces raiſed ſince the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty ſhould be diſbanded, the Courtiers deſired the vote might be re-committed, on pretence that it reſtrained the King to the old Tory regiments, on whoſe fidelity he could not rely. This motion, however, was over-ruled by a conſiderable majority. Then they propoſed an amendment, which was rejected, and afterwards moved, That the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds per annum ſhould be granted for the maintenance of guards and garriſons. This proviſion would have maintained a very conſiderable number; but they were again diſappointed, and fain to embrace a compoſition with the other party, by which three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds were allotted for the maintenance of ten thouſand men; and they afterwards obtained an addition of three thouſand marines. The King was extremely mortified at theſe reſolutions of the Commons; and even declared to his particular friends, that he would never have intermeddled with the affairs of the nation, had he foreſeen they would make ſuch returns of ingratitude and diſtruſt. His diſpleaſure was aggravated by the reſentment expreſſed againſt Sunderland, who was ſuppoſed to have adviſed the unpopular meaſure of retaining a ſtanding army. This nobleman, dreading the vengeance of the Commons, reſolved to avert the fury of the impending ſtorm, by reſigning his office, and retiring from Court, contrary to the intreaties of his friends, and the earneſt deſire of his Majeſty. CHAP. VI. 1697.

§ IV. The Houſe of Commons, in order to ſweeten the unpalatable cup they had preſented to the King, voted the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds per annum for the ſupport of the civil liſt, diſtinct from all other ſervices. Then they paſſed an act prohibiting the currency of filver hammered coin, including a clauſe for making out new

BOOK I. 1697. Exchequer bills, in lieu of thoſe which were or might be filled up with endorſements: they framed another to open the correſpondence with France, under a variety of *proviſos*: a third for continuing the impriſonment of certain perſons who had been concerned in the late conſpiracy: a fourth granting further time for adminiſtering oaths with reſpect to tallies and orders in the Exchequer and Bank of England. Theſe bills having received the royal aſſent, they reſolved to grant a ſupply, which, together with the funds already ſettled for that purpoſe, ſhould be ſufficient to anſwer and cancel all Exchequer-bills, to the amount of two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. Another ſupply was voted for the payment and reduction of the army, including half-pay to ſuch commiſſion-officers as were natural-born ſubjects of England. They granted one million four hundred thouſand pounds, to make good deficiencies. They reſolved, That the ſum of two millions three hundred and forty-eight thouſand one hundred and two pounds was neceſſary to pay off arrears, ſubſiſtence, contingencies, general-officers, guards, and garriſons; of which ſum eight hundred and fifty-five thouſand ſix hundred and two pounds remained in the hands of the paymaſter. Then they took into conſideration the ſubſidies due to foreign powers, and the ſums owing to contractors for bread and forage. Examining further the debts of the nation, they found the general debt of the navy amounted to one million three hundred and ninety-two thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-two pounds. That of the Ordnance was equal to two hundred and four thouſand one hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds. The tranſport debt contracted for the reduction of Ireland, and other ſervices, did not fall ſhort of four hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand four hundred and ninety-three pounds; and they owed nine-and-forty thouſand nine hundred and twenty-nine pounds, for quartering and cloathing the army, which

which had been raiſed by one act of Parliament in the year 1677, and diſbanded by another in the year 1679. As this enormous load of debt could not be diſcharged at once, the Commons paſſed a number of votes for raiſing ſums of money, by which it was conſiderably lightened; and ſettled the funds for thoſe purpoſes by the continuation of the land-tax, and other impoſitions. With reſpect to the civil liſt, it was raiſed by a new ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage, the hereditary and temporary exciſe, a weekly portion from the revenue of the poſt office, the firſt-fruits and tenths of the clergy, the fines in the alienation-office, and poſt-fines, the revenue of the wine-licenſe, money ariſing by ſheriffs, proffers, and compoſitions in the Exchequer, and ſeizures, the income of the Duchy of Cornwall, the rents of all other Crown-lands in England or Wales, and the duty of four and a half per cent. upon ſpecie from Barbadoes and the Leeward-iſlands. The bill imported, That the overplus ariſing from theſe funds ſhould be accounted for to Parliament. Six hundred thouſand pounds of this money was allotted for the purpoſes of the civil liſt; the reſt was granted for the jointure of fifty thouſand pounds per annum, to be paid to Queen Mary d'Eſté, according to the ſtipulation at Ryſwick; and to maintain a Court for the Duke of Glouceſter, ſon of the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, now in the ninth year of his age: but the jointure was never paid; nor would the King allow above fifteen thouſand pounds per annum for the uſe of the Duke of Glouceſter, to whom Burnet, Biſhop of Saliſbury, was appointed preceptor. CHAP. VI. 1697.

§ V. The Commons having diſcuſſed the Ways and Means for raiſing the ſupplies of the enſuing year, which roſe almoſt to five millions, took cognizance of ſome fraudulent endorſements of Exchequer-bills, a ſpecies of forgery which had been practiſed by a confederacy, conſiſting of Charles Duncomb,

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Duncomb, Receiver-General of the Exciſe, Bartholomew Burton, who poſſeſſed a place in that branch of the revenue, John Knight, Treaſurer of the Cuſtoms, and Reginald Marriot, a Deputy-Teller of the Exchequer. This laſt became evidence, and the proof turning out very ſtrong and full, the Houſe reſolved to make examples of the delinquents. Duncomb and Knight, both members of Parliament, were expelled, and committed to the Tower: Burton was ſent to Newgate: and bills of pains and penalties were ordered to be brought in againſt them. The firſt, levelled at Duncomb, paſſed the Lower Houſe, though not without great oppoſition: but was rejected in the Houſe of Lords by the majority of one voice. Duncomb, who was extremely rich, is ſaid to have paid dear for his eſcape. The other two bills met with the ſame fate. The Peers diſcharged Duncomb from his confinement: but he was recommitted by the Commons, and remained in cuſtody till the end of the ſeſſion. While the Commons were employed on Ways and Means, ſome of the members in the oppoſition propoſed, that one fourth part of the money ariſing from improper grants of the Crown ſhould be appropriated to the ſervice of the publick, but this was a very unpalatable expedient, as it affected not only the Whigs of King William's reign, but alſo the Tories who had been gratified by Charles II and his brother. A great number of petitions were preſented againſt this meaſure, and ſo many difficulties raiſed, that both parties agreed to lay it aſide. In the courſe of this inquiry, they diſcovered that one Railton held a grant in truſt for Mr. Montagu, Chancellor of the Exchequer. A motion was immediately made, that he ſhould withdraw; but paſſed in the negative by a great majority. Far from proſecuting this miniſter, the Houſe voted it was their opinion, That Mr. Montagu, for his good ſervices to the Government, did deſerve his Majeſty's favour.

Burnet. Kennet. State Tracts. Burchet. Lives of the Admirals. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

§ VI.

§ VI. This extraordinary vote was a ſure preſage of ſucceſs in the execution of a ſcheme which Montagu had concerted againſt the Eaſt-India company. They had been ſounded about advancing a ſum of money for the publick ſervice, by way of loan, in conſideration of a Parliamentary ſettlement; and they offered to raiſe ſeven hundred thouſand pounds on that condition: but before they formed this reſolution, another body of Merchants, under the auſpices of Montagu, offered to lend two millions at eight per cent. provided they might be gratified with an excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt-Indies. This propoſal was very well received by the majority in the Houſe of Commons. A bill for this purpoſe was brought in, with additional clauſes of regulation. A petition was preſented by the old company, repreſenting their rights and claims under ſo many royal charters; the regard due to the property of above a thouſand families intereſted in the ſtock: as alſo to the Company's property in India, amounting to forty-four thouſand pounds of yearly revenue. They alleged they had expended a million in fortifications: that during the war they had loſt twelve great ſhips, worth fifteen hundred thouſand pounds: that ſince the laſt ſubſcription they had contributed two hundred and ninety-five thouſand pounds to the Cuſtoms, with above eighty-five thouſand pounds in taxes: that they had furniſhed ſix thouſand barrels of gunpowder on a very preſſing occaſion; and eighty thouſand pounds for the circulation of Exchequer-bills, at a very critical juncture, by deſire of the Lords of the Treaſury, who owned that their compliance was a very important ſervice to the Government. No regard being paid to their remonſtrances, they undertook to raiſe the loan of two millions, and immediately ſubſcribed two hundred thouſand pounds as the firſt payment. The two propoſals being compared and conſidered by the Houſe, the majority declared for the bill, which

CHAP. VI. An. 1693.

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which was paſſed, and ſent up to the Houſe of Lords. There the old company, delivered another petition, and was heard by counſel; nevertheleſs, the bill made its way though not without oppoſition, and a formal proteſtation by one-and-twenty Lords, who thought it was a hardſhip upon the preſent company; and doubted whether the ſeparate trade allowed in the bill, concurrent with a joint ſtock, might not prove ſuch an inconſiſtency as would diſcourage the ſubſcription. This act, by which the old company was diſſolved, in a great meaſure blaſted the reputation of the Whigs, which had for ſome time been on the decline with the people. They had ſtood up as advocates for a ſtanding army: they now unjuſtly ſuperſeded the Eaſt-India Company: they were accuſed of having robbed the publick by embezzling the national treaſure, and amaſſing wealth by uſurious contracts, at the expence of their fellow-ſubjects, groaning under the moſt oppreſſive burthens. Certain it is, they were at this period the moſt mercenary and corrupt undertakers that ever had been employed by any king or adminiſtration ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh monarchy.

§ VII. The Commons now transferred their attention to certain objects in which the people of Ireland were intereſted. Colonel Michelborne, who had been joint Governor of Londonderry with Dr. Walker, during the ſiege of that place, petitioned the Houſe in behalf of himſelf, his officers, and ſoldiers, to whom a conſiderable ſum of money was due for ſubſiſtence; and the city itſelf implored the mediation of the Commons with his Majeſty, that its ſervices and ſufferings might be taken into conſideration. The Houſe having examined the allegations contained in both petitions, preſented an addreſs to the king, recommending the citizens of Londonderry to his Majeſty's favour: that they might no longer remain a ruinous ſpectacle to all, a ſcorn

ſcorn to their enemies, and a diſcouragement to well-affected ſubjects: they likewiſe declared, that the Governor and garriſon did deſerve ſome ſpecial marks of royal favour, for a laſting monument to poſterity. To this addreſs the King replied, that he would conſider them, according to the deſire of the Commons. William Molineux, a gentleman of Dublin, having publiſhed a book to prove that the kingdom of Ireland was independent of the Parliament of England, the Houſe appointed a committee to inquire into the cauſe and nature of this performance. An addreſs was voted to the King, deſiring he would give directions for the diſcovery and puniſhment of the author. Upon the report of the committee, the Commons in a body preſented an addreſs to his Majeſty, repreſenting the dangerous attemps which had been lately made by ſome of his ſubjects in Ireland, to ſhake off their ſubjection and dependence upon England: attempts which appeared not only from the bold and pernicious aſſertions contained in a book lately publiſhed, but more fully and authentically by ſome votes and proceedings of the Commons in Ireland. Theſe had, during their laſt ſeſſion, tranſmitted an act for the better ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and government, whereby an Engliſh act of Parliament was pretended to be re-enacted, with alterations obligatory on the courts of juſtice and the great ſeal of England. The Engliſh Commons, therefore, beſought his Majeſty to give effectual orders for preventing any ſuch encroachments for the future, and the pernicious conſequences of what was paſt, by puniſhing thoſe who had been guilty thereof: that he would take care to ſee the laws which direct and reſtrain the Parliament of Ireland punctually obſerved, and diſcourage every thing which might have a tendency to leſſen the dependence of Ireland upon England. This remonſtrance was graciouſly received, and the King promiſed to comply with their requeſt.

CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ VIII.

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§ VIII. The jealouſy which the Commons entertained of the government in Ireland, animated them to take other meaſures, that aſcertained the ſubjection of that kingdom. Underſtanding that the Iriſh had eſtabliſhed divers woollen manufactories, they, in another addreſs, intreated his Majeſty to take meaſures for diſcouraging the woollen manufactures in Ireland, as they interfered with thoſe of England, and promote the linen manufacture, which would be profitable to both nations. At the ſame time, receiving information that the French had ſeduced ſome Engliſh manufacturers, and ſet up a great work for cloth-making in Picardy, they brought in a bill for explaining and better executing former acts for preventing the exportation of wool, fullers-earth, and ſcouring clay; and this was immediately paſſed into a law. A petition being preſented to the Houſe, by the luſtring company, againſt certain merchants who had ſmuggled alamodes and luſtrings from France, even during the war, the committee of trade was directed to inquire into the allegations; and all the ſecrets of this traffick were detected. Upon the report the Houſe reſolved, that the manufacture of alamodes and luſtrings ſet up in England, had been beneficial to the kingdom: that there had been a deſtructive and illegal trade carried on during the war, for importing theſe commodities, by which the King had been defrauded of his cuſtoms, and the Engliſh manufacturers greatly diſcouraged: that, by the ſmuggling veſſels employed in this trade, intelligence had been carried into France during the war, and the enemies of the government conveyed from juſtice. Stephen Seignoret, Rhene, Baudoin, John Goodet, Nicholas Santini, Peter de Hearſe, John Pierce, John Dumaitre, and David Barreau, were impeached at the bar of the Houſe of Lords; and pleading guilty, the Lords impoſed fines upon them, according to their reſpective circumſtances. They were in the mean time committed to Newgate,

gate, until thoſe fines ſhould be paid; and the Commons addreſſed the King, that the money might be appropriated to the maintenance of Greenwich-hoſpital. The Houſe having taken cognizance of this affair, and made ſome new regulations in the proſecution of the African trade, preſented a ſolemn addreſs to the King, repreſenting the general degeneracy and corruption of the age, and beſeeching his Majeſty to command all his judges, juſtices, and magiſtrates, to put the laws in execution againſt profaneneſs and immorality. The King profeſſed himſelf extremely well pleaſed with this remonſtrance, promiſed to give immediate directions for a reformation, and expreſſed his deſire that ſome more effectual proviſion might be made for ſuppreſſing impious books, containing doctrines againſt the Trinity; doctrines which abounded at this period, and took their origin from the licentiouſneſs and profligacy of the times. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ IX. In the midſt of ſuch immorality, Dr. Thomas Bray, an active divine, formed a plan for propagating the goſpel in foreign countries. Miſſionaries, catechiſms, liturgies, and other books for the inſtruction of ignorant people, were ſent to the Engliſh colonies in America. This laudable deſign was ſupported by voluntary contribution; and the bill having been brought into the Houſe of Commons, for the better diſcovery of eſtates given to ſuperſtitious uſes, Dr. Bray preſented a petition, praying, that ſome part of theſe eſtates might be ſet apart for the propagation of the reformed religion in Maryland, Virginia, and the Leeward-iſlands. About this period, a ſociety for the reformation of manners was formed under the King's countenance and encouragement. Conſiderable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of publick worſhip, and adminiſter the ſacrament every Sunday. The members of this ſociety reſolved to inform the magiſtrates of all

BOOK I. 1698. all vice and immorality that ſhould fall under their cognizance; and with that part of the fines allowed by law to the informer conſtitute a fund of charity. The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being terminated, the King, on the third day of July, prorogued the Parliament, after having thanked them, in a ſhort ſpeech, for the many teſtimonies of their affection he had received; and in two days after the prorogation it was diſſolved.*

§ X. In the month of January, the Earl of Portland had ſet out on his embaſſy to France, where he was received with very particular marks of diſtinction. He made a publick entry into Paris with ſuch magnificence, as is ſaid to have aſtoniſhed the French nation. He interceded for the Proteſtants in that kingdom, againſt whom the perſecution had been renewed with redoubled violence: he propoſed that King James ſhould be removed to Avignon, in which caſe his maſter would ſupply him with an honourable penſion: but his remonſtrances on both ſubjects proved ineffectual. Louis, however, in a private conference with him at Marli, is ſuppoſed to have communicated his project of the partition-treaty. The Earl of Portland, at his return to England, finding himſelf totally eclipſed in the King's favour, by Keppel, now created Earl of Albemarle, reſigned his employments in diſguſt; nor could the King's ſolicitations prevail upon him to reſume any office in the houſehold; though he promiſed to ſerve his Majeſty in any other ſhape, and was ſoon employed to negociate the treaty of partition. If this nobleman miſcarried in the purpoſes of his laſt embaſſy at the Court of Verſailles, the agents of France were equally unſucceſsful in their endeavours to retrieve their commerce with England, which the war

* On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the careleſsness of a laundress, the whole body of the palace, together with the new gallery, council-chamber, and ſeveral adjoining apartments, were entirely conſumed; but the banqueting-houſe was not affected.

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had interrupted. Their Commiſſary, ſent over to London with powers to regulate the trade between the two nations, met with inſuperable difficulties. The Parliament had burthened the French commodities with heavy duties, which were already appropriated to different uſes; and the channel of trade was in many reſpects entirely altered. The Engliſh merchants ſupplied the nation with wines from Italy, Spain and Portugal; with linen from Holland and Sileſia; and manufactures of paper, hats, ſtuffs, and ſilks, had been ſet up and ſucceſsfully carried on in England, by the French refugees. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ XI. By this time a ferment had been raiſed in Scotland, by the oppoſition and diſcouragements their new company had ſuſtained. They had employed agents in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, to receive ſubſcriptions. The adventurers in England were intimidated by the meaſures which had been taken in Parliament againſt the Scottiſh company. The Dutch Eaſt-India company took the alarm, and exerted all their intereſt to prevent their countrymen from ſubſcribing; and the King permitted his reſident at Hamburgh to preſent a memorial againſt the Scottiſh company to the ſenate of that city. That Parliament of Scotland being aſſembled by the Earl of Marchmont as King's Commiſſioner, the company preſented it with a remonſtrance, containing a detail of their grievances, ariſing from the conduct of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, as well as from the memorial preſented by the King's miniſter at Hamburgh, in which he actually diſowned the act of Parliament and letters patent which had paſſed in their favour, and threatened the inhabitants of that city with his Majeſty's reſentment, in caſe they ſhould join the Scots in their undertaking. They repreſented, that ſuch inſtances of interpoſition had put a ſtop to the ſubſcriptions in England and Hamburgh, hurt the credit of the company, diſcouraged the adventurers, and threatened the entire ruin of a

BOOK I. 1698. design in which all the most considerable families of the nation were deeply engaged. The Parliament having taken their case into consideration, sent an address to his Majesty, representing the hardships to which the company had been exposed, explaining how far the nation in general was concerned in the design, and intreating that he would take such measures as might effectually vindicate the undoubted rights and privileges of the company. This address was seconded by a petition from the company itself, praying, that his Majesty would give some intimation to the senate of Hamburgh, permitting the inhabitants of that city to renew the subscriptions they had withdrawn: that, as a gracious mark of his royal favour to the company, he would bestow upon them two small frigates, then lying useless in the harbour of Burntisland; and that, in consideration of the obstructions they had encountered, he would continue their privileges and immunities for such longer time as should seem reasonable to his Majesty. Though the Commissioner was wholly devoted to the King, who had actually resolved to ruin this company, he could not appease the resentment of the nation; and the heats in Parliament became so violent, that he was obliged to adjourn it to the fifth day of November. In this interval, the directors of the company, understanding from their agent at Hamburgh, that the address of the Parliament, and their own petition, had produced no effect in their favour; they wrote a letter of complaint to the Lord Seafield, Secretary of State, observing, that they had received repeated assurances of the King's having given orders to his resident at Hamburgh touching their memorial; and intreating the interposition of his Lordship, that justice might be done to the company. The Secretary, in his answer, promised to take the first convenient opportunity of representing the affair to his Majesty; but he said this could not be immediately expected, as the King

was

was much engaged in the affairs of the Engliſh Parliament. This declaration the directors conſidered, as it really was, a mere evaſion, which helped to alienate the minds of that people from the King's perſon and government. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ XII. King William at this time revolved in his own mind a project of far greater conſequence to the intereſt of Europe; namely, that of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain, which in a little time would be vacated by the death of Charles II. whoſe conſtitution was already exhauſted. He had been lately reduced to extremity, and his ſituation was no ſooner known in France, than Louis detached a ſquadron towards Cadiz, with orders to intercept the plate-fleet, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die before its arrival. William ſent another fleet to protect the galleons; but it arrived too late for that ſervice, and the nation loudly exclaimed againſt the tardineſs of the equipment. His Catholick Majeſty recovered from his diſorder, contrary to the expectation of his people; but continued in ſuch an enfeebled and precarious ſtate of health, that a relapſe was every moment apprehended. In the latter end of July, King William embarked for Holland, on pretence of enjoying a receſs from buſineſs, which was neceſſary to his conſtitution. He was glad of an opportunity to withdraw himſelf for ſome time from a kingdom in which he had been expoſed to ſuch oppoſition and chagrin. But the real motive of his voyage was a deſign of treating with the French King, remote from the obſervation of thoſe who might have penetrated into the nature of his negociation. He had appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence, and, as one of the number, nominated the Earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been conſtituted Governor of the Duke of Glouceſter. At his Majeſty's departure, ſealed orders were left with the miniſtry, directing, that ſixteen thouſand men ſhould

be

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be retained in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the Commons, by which the ſtanding army was limited to ten thouſand. He alleged, that the apprehenſion of troubles which might ariſe at the death of King Charles, induced him to tranſgreſs this limitation; and he hoped that the new Parliament would be more favourable. His enemies, however, made a freſh handle of this ſtep, to depreciate his character in the eyes of the people.

§ XIII. Having aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the States-General, and given audience to divers Ambaſſadors at the Hague, he repaired to his houſe at Loo, attended by the Earls of Eſſex, Portland, and Selkirk. There he was viſited by Count Tallard, the French miniſter, who had inſtructions to negociate the treaty concerning the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The Earl of Portland, by his Majeſty's order, had communicated to Secretary Vernon the principal conditions which the French King propoſed: he himſelf wrote a letter to Lord Chancellor Somers, deſiring his advice with regard to the propoſitions, and full powers under the great ſeal, with blanks to be filled up occaſionally, that he might immediately begin the treaty with Count Tallard. At the ſame time, he ſtrictly enjoined ſecrecy. The purport of Portland's letter was imparted to the Duke of Shrewſbury and Mr. Montagu, who conſulted with the Chancellor and Vernon upon the ſubject; and the Chancellor wrote an anſwer to the King, as the iſſue of their joint deliberation: but, before it reached his Majeſty, the firſt treaty of partition was ſigned by the Earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon. The contracting powers agreed, That, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spaniſh monarchy, and ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the adjacent iſlands, the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of

of Navaire, Alva, or Biſcay, on the other ſide of the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the ſhips, veſſels, and ſtores, ſhould devolve upon the Dauphin, in conſideration of his right to the Crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, ſhould deſcend to the Electoral-Prince of Bavaria, under the guardianſhip of his father: That the duchy of Milan ſhould be ſettled on the Emperor's ſecond ſon, the Archduke Charles: That this treaty ſhould be communicated to the Emperor and the Elector of Bavaria by the King of England and the States-General: That if either ſhould refuſe to agree to this partition, his proportion ſhould remain in ſequeſtration, until the diſpute could be accommodated: That in caſe the Electoral Prince of Bavaria ſhould die before his father, then the Elector and his other heirs ſhould ſucceed him in thoſe dominions; and, ſhould the Archduke reject the duchy of Milan, they agreed that it ſhould be ſequeſtered, and governed by the Prince of Vaudemont. It may be neceſſary to obſerve, that Philip IV. father to the preſent King of Spain, had ſettled his Crown by will on the Emperor's children; that the Dauphin was ſon to Maria-Thereſa, daughter of the ſame monarch, whoſe right to the ſucceſſion Louis had renounced in the moſt ſolemn manner: as for the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, he was grandſon to a daughter of Spain. This treaty of partition was one of the moſt impudent ſchemes of encroachment that tyranny and injuſtice ever planned. Louis, who had made a practice of ſacrificing all ties of honour and good faith to the intereſt of his pride, vanity, and ambition, foreſaw that he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his deſigns upon the Crown of Spain, while William was left at liberty to form another confederacy againſt them. He therefore reſolved to amuſe him with a treaty, in which he ſhould ſeem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. He knew that William was too much of a politician to be reſtricted by

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§ XIV. While the French King cajoled William with this negociation, the Marquis d'Harcourt, his Ambaſſador to Spain, was engaged in a game of a different nature at Madrid. The Queen of Spain, ſuſpecting the deſigns of France, exerted all her intereſt in behalf of the King of the Romans, to whom ſhe was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, beſtowed the government of Milan on Prince Vaudemont, and eſtabliſhed the Prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt as Viceroy of Catalonia. Notwithſtanding all her efforts, ſhe could not prevent the French miniſter from acquiring ſome influence in the Spaniſh councils. He was inſtructed to procure the ſucceſſion of the Crown for one of the Dauphin's ſons, or at leaſt to hinder it from devolving upon the Emperor's children. With a view to give weight to his negociations, the French King ordered an army of ſixty thouſand men to advance towards the frontiers of Catalonia and Navarre, while a great number of ſhips and gallies cruiſed along the coaſt, and entered the harbours of Spain. Harcourt immediately began to form his party; he repreſented that Philip IV. had no power to diſpoſe of his Crown againſt the laws of nature and the conſtitution of the realm: that, by the order of ſucceſſion, the Crown ought to deſcend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more diſtant relations: that, if the Spaniards would declare in favour of the Dauphin's ſecond ſon, the Duke of Anjou, they might train him up in

in the manners and cuſtoms of their country. When he found them averſe to this propoſal, he aſſured them his maſter would approve of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, rather than conſent to the ſucceſſion's devolving upon a ſon of the Emperor. Nay, he hinted, that if they would chooſe a ſovereign among themſelves, they might depend upon the protection of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who had no other view than that of preventing the Houſe of Auſtria from becoming too formidable to the liberties of Europe. The Queen of Spain having diſcovered the intrigues of this miniſter, conveyed the King to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health. Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He ſuppoſed her intention was to prevail upon her huſband, in his ſolitude, to confirm the laſt will of his father; and his doubts were all removed, when he underſtood that the Count de Harrach, the Imperial Ambaſſador, had privately repaired to Toledo. He forthwith took the ſame road, pretending to have received a memorial from his maſter, with a poſitive order to deliver it into the King's own hand. He was given to underſtand, that the management of foreign affairs had been left to the care of Cardinal Corduba at Madrid, and that the King's health would not permit him to attend buſineſs. The purport of the memorial was, an offer of French forces to aſſiſt in raiſing the ſiege of Ceuta in Barbary, which the Moors had lately undertaken: but this offer was civilly declined. Harcourt, not yet diſcouraged, redoubled his efforts at Madrid, and found means to engage Cardinal Portocarrero in the intereſts of his maſter. In the mean time Louis concluded an alliance with Sweden, under the pretext of preſerving and ſecuring the common peace, by ſuch means as ſhould be adjudged moſt proper and convenient. During theſe tranſactions,

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BOOK I. 1698. King William was not wanting in his endeavours to terminate the war in Hungary, which had raged fifteen years without intermiſſion. About the middle of Auguſt, Lord Paget and Mr. Colliers, Ambaſſadors from England and Holland, arrived in the Turkiſh camp near Belgrade; and a conference being opened under their mediation, the peace of Carlowitz was ſigned on the twenty-ſixth day of January. By this treaty, the Emperor remained in poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts: Caminieck was reſtored to the Poles: all the Morea, with ſeveral fortreſſes in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the Czar of Muſcovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years: ſo that the Turks, by this pacification, loſt great part of their European dominions. The Cardinal Primate of Poland, who had ſtrenuouſly adhered to the Prince of Conti, was prevailed upon to acknowledge Auguſtus: and the commotions in Lithuania being appeaſed, peace was eſtabliſhed through all Chriſtendom.

§ XV. In the beginning of December the King arrived in England, where a new Parliament had been choſen, and prorogued on account of his Majeſty's abſence, which was prolonged by contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather. His miniſtry had been at very little pains to influence the elections, which generally fell upon men of Revolution-principles, though they do not ſeem to have been much devoted to the perſon of their ſovereign: yet their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttelton for Speaker ſeemed to preſage a ſeſſion favourable to the miniſtry. The two Houſes being convened on the ſixth day of December, the King in his ſpeech, obſerved, That the ſafety, honour, and happineſs of the kingdom would in a great meaſure depend upon the ſtrength which they ſhould think proper to maintain by ſea and land. He deſired they would make ſome further progreſs in diſcharging the national debt;

debt; contrive effectual expedients for employing the poor; paſs good bills for the advancement of trade, and the diſcouragement of profaneneſs: and act with unanimity and diſpatch. The Commons of this new Parliament were ſo irritated at the King's preſuming to maintain a greater number of troops than their predeceſſors had voted, that they reſolved he ſhould feel the weight of their diſpleaſure. They omitted the common compliment of an addreſs: they reſolved that all the forces of England, in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand men, ſhould be forthwith diſbanded; and alſo thoſe in Ireland, exceeding twelve thouſand; and that thoſe retained ſhould be his Majeſty's natural born ſubjects. A bill was brought in on theſe reſolutions, and proſecuted with peculiar eagerneſs, to the unſpeakable mortification of King William, who was not only extremely ſenſible of the affront, but alſo particularly chagrined to ſee himſelf diſabled from maintaining his Dutch guards, and the regiments of French refugees, to which he was uncommonly attached. Before the meeting of the Parliament, the miniſtry gave him to underſtand, that they ſhould be able to procure a vote for ten or twelve thouſand; but they would not undertake for a greater number. He profeſſed himſelf diſſatisfied with the propoſal, obſerving, that they might as well diſband the whole, as leave ſo few. The miniſters would not run the riſque of loſing all their credit, by propoſing a greater number; and, having received no directions on this ſubject, ſat ſilent when it was debated in the Houſe of Commons. CHAP. VI. 1698.

§ XVI. Such was the indignation of William, kindled by this conduct of his miniſtry and his parliament, that he threatened to abandon the Government; and had actually penned a ſpeech to be pronounced to both Houſes on that occaſion: but he was diverted from this purpoſe by his miniſtry and confidents, and reſolved to paſs the bill by which he

BOOK I. 1698. he had been ſo much offended. Accordingly, when it was ready for the royal aſſent, he went to the Houſe of Peers, where having ſent for the Commons, he told them, that although he might think himſelf unkindly uſed, in being deprived of his guards, which had conſtantly attended him in all his actions: yet, as he believed nothing could be more fatal to the nation than any diſtruſt or jealouſy between him and his Parliament, he was come to paſs the bill, according to their deſire. At the ſame time, for his own juſtification, and in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, he declared, that in his own judgment the nation was left too much expoſed: and that it was incumbent upon them to provide ſuch a ſtrength as might be neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom. They thanked him, in an addreſs, for this undeniable proof of his readineſs to comply with the deſires of his Parliament. They aſſured him, he ſhould never have reaſon to think the Commons were undutiful or unkind; for they would, on all occaſions, ſtand by, and aſſiſt, him in the preſervation of his ſacred perſon, and in the ſupport of his Government, againſt all his enemies whatſoever. The Lords preſented an addreſs to the ſame effect; and the King aſſured both Houſes, he entertained no doubts of their loyalty and affection. He forthwith iſſued orders for reducing the army to the number of ſeven thouſand men, to be maintained in England under the name of guards and garriſons; and, hoping the hearts of the Commons were now mollified, he made another effort in favour of his Dutch guards, whom he could not diſmiſs without the moſt ſenſible regret. Lord Ranelagh was ſent with a written meſſage to the Commons, giving them to underſtand, that the neceſſary preparations were made for tranſporting the guards who came with him into England, and that they ſhould embark immediately, unleſs out of conſideration to him, the Houſe ſhould be diſ-

posed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; a favour which his Majesty would take very kindly. The Commons, instead of complying with his inclination, presented an address, in which they professed unspeakable grief, that he should propose any thing to which they could not consent with due regard to the constitution, which he had come over to restore, and so often hazarded his royal person to preserve. They reminded him of the declaration, in which he had promised that all the foreign forces should be sent out of the kingdom. They observed, that nothing conduced more to the happiness and welfare of the nation, than an entire confidence between the King and people, which could no way be so firmly established as by entrusting his sacred person with his own subjects, who had so eminently signalized themselves *during the late long and expensive war.* They received a soothing answer to this address, but remained firm to their purpose, in which the King was fain to acquiesce; and the Dutch guards were transported to Holland. At a time when they declared themselves so well pleased with their Deliverer, such an opposition, in an affair of very little consequence, savoured more of clownish obstinacy than of patriotism. In the midst of all their professions of regard, they entertained a national prejudice against himself, and all the foreigners in his service. Even in the House of Commons his person was treated with great disrespect in virulent insinuations. They suggested that he neither loved nor trusted the English nation: that he treated the natives with the most disagreeable reserve; and chose his confidents from the number of strangers that surrounded him: that, after every session of Parliament, he retired from the kingdom, to enjoy an indolent and inglorious privacy with a few favourites. These suggestions were certainly true. He was extremely disgusted with the English, whom he considered

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considered as malicious, ignorant, and ungrateful, and he took no pains to disguise his sentiments.

§ XVII. The Commons having effected a dissolution of the army, voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet, for the security of the kingdom: they granted one million four hundred and eighty-four thousand fifteen pounds, for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensions, and offices. A great number of priests and Roman Catholicks, who had been frighted away by the Revolution, were now encouraged by the treaty of Ryswick, to return, and appeared in all publick places of London and Westminster, with remarkable effrontery. The enemies of the government whispered about, that the treaty contained a secret article in favour of those who professed that religion; and some did not even scruple to insinuate, that William was a papist in his heart. The Commons, alarmed at the number and insolence of those religionists, desired the King, in an address, to remove by proclamation all Papists and Nonjurors from the city of London and parts adjacent, and put the laws in execution against them, that the wicked designs they were always hatching might be effectually disappointed. The King gratified them in their request of a proclamation, which was not much regarded: but a remakable law was enacted against Papists in the course of the ensuing session. The old East-India Company, about this period, petitioned the Lower House, to make some provision that their corporation might subsist for the residue of the term of twenty-one years, granted by his Majesty's charter: that the payment of the five pounds per cent. by the late act for settling the trade to the East-Indies, might be settled and adjusted in such a manner, as not to remain a burthen on the petitioners; and that such further considerations might be had for their relief, and for the preservation of the

the Eaſt-India trade, as ſhould be thought reaſonable. A bill was brought in upon the ſubject of this petition; but rejected at the ſecond reading. Diſcontents had riſen to ſuch a height, that ſome members began to aſſert, they were not bound to maintain the votes and credit of the former Parliament; and, upon this maxim, would have contributed their intereſt towards a repeal of the act made in favour of the new company: but ſuch a ſcheme was of too dangerous conſequence to the publick credit, to be carried into execution. CHAP. VI. 1698. Burnet. Kennet. Lamberty. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph.

§ XVIII. That ſpirit of peeviſhneſs which could not be gratified with this ſacrifice, produced an inquiry into the management of naval affairs, which was aimed at the Earl of Orford, a nobleman whoſe power gave umbrage, and whoſe wealth excited envy. He officiated both as Treaſurer of the Navy, and Lord Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, and ſeemed to have forgot the ſphere from which he had riſen to title and office. The Commons drew up an addreſs, complaining of ſome unimportant articles of miſmanagement in the conduct of the Navy; and the Earl was wiſe enough to avoid further proſecution, by reſigning his employments. On the fourth day of May the King cloſed the ſeſſion, with a ſhort ſpeech, hinting diſſatisfaction at their having neglected to conſider ſome points which he had recommended to their attention; and the Parliament was prorogued to the firſt of June†. In a little time after this prorogation, his Majeſty appointed a An. 1699.

* About the latter end of March, the Earl of Warwick and Lord Mohun were tried by the peers in Weſtminſter-hall, for the murder of Captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each ſide. Warwick was found guilty of manſlaughter, and Mohun acquitted.

† Villers, Earl of Jerſey, who had been ſent Ambaſſador to France, was appointed Secretary of State, in the room of the Duke of Shrewſbury. This nobleman was created Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Manchester was ſent Ambaſſador extraordinary to France; the Earl of Pembroke was declared Lord-Preſident of the Council; and Lord Viſcount Lonſdale Keeper of the Privy Seal.

Regency;

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Regency*; and on the ſecond day of June embarked for Holland.

§ XIX. In Ireland nothing of moment was tranſacted. The Parliament of that kingdom paſſed an act for raiſing one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds on lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to defray the expence of maintaining twelve thouſand men, who had been voted by the Commons of England: then the aſſembly was prorogued. A new commiſſion afterwards arrived at Dublin, conſtituting the Duke of Bolton, the Earls of Berkeley and Galway, Lords-Juſtices of Ireland. The clamour in Scotland increaſed againſt the miniſtry, who had diſowned their company, and in a great meaſure defeated the deſign from which they had promiſed themſelves ſuch heaps of treaſure. Notwithſtanding the diſcouragements to which their company had been expoſed, they fitted out two of four large ſhips which had been built at Hamburgh for their ſervice. Theſe were laden with a cargo for traffick, with ſome artillery and military ſtores; and the adventurers embarking, to the number of twelve hundred, they ſailed from the Frith of Edinburgh, with ſome tenders, on the ſeventeenth day of July in the preceding year. At Madeira they took in a ſupply of wine, and then ſteered to Crab-Iſland in the neighbourhood of St. Thomas, lying between Santa-Cruz and Porto-Rico. Their deſign was to take poſſeſſion of this little iſland; but, when they entered the road, they ſaw a large tent pitched upon the ſtrand, and the Daniſh colours flying. Finding themſelves anticipated in this quarter, they directed their courſe to the coaſt of Darien, where they treated with the natives for the eſtabliſhment of their colony, and taking poſſeſſion of the ground, to which they gave

* Conſiſting of the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Preſident, the Lord Privy-Seal, the Lord-Steward of the Houſehold, the Earl of Bridgewater, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Jerſey, and Mr. Montagu.

the

the name of Caledonia, began to execute their plan of erecting a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh, by the direction of their Council, consisting of Patterson the projector, and six other directors. They had no sooner completed their settlement, than they wrote a letter to the King, containing a detail of their proceedings. They pretended they had received undoubted intelligence, that the French intended to make a settlement on that coast; and that their colony would be the means of preventing the evil consequences which might arise to his Majesty's kingdom and dominions from the execution of such a scheme. They acknowledged his goodness in granting those privileges by which their company was established: they implored the continuance of his royal favour and protection, as they had punctually adhered to the conditions of the act of Parliament, and the patent they had obtained. CHAP. VI. 1699.

§ XX. By this time, however, the King was resolved to crush them effectually. He understood that the greater part of their provisions had been consumed before they set sail from Scotland, and foresaw that they must be reduced to a starving condition, if not supplied from the English colonies. That they might be debarred of all such assistance, he sent orders to the Governors of Jamaica, and the other English settlements in America, to issue proclamations, prohibiting, under the severest penalties, all his Majesty's subjects from holding any correspondence with the Scottish colony, or assisting it in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provision; on pretence that they had not communicated their design to his Majesty, but had peopled Darien, in violation of the peace subsisting between him and his Allies. Their colony was, doubtless, a very dangerous encroachment upon the Spaniards, as it would have commanded the passage between Porto-Bello and Panama, and divided the Spanish empire in America. The French King complained of the invasion,

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invaſion, and offered to ſupply the Court of Madrid with a fleet to diſlodge the interlopers. Colonna, Marquis de Canales, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at the Court of London, preſented a memorial to King William, remonſtrating againſt the ſettlement of this colony, as a mark of diſregard, and a breach of the alliance between the two Crowns; and declaring, that his maſter would take proper meaſures againſt ſuch hoſtilities. The Scots affirmed, that the natives of Darien were a free people, whom the Spaniards had in vain attempted to ſubdue: that, therefore, they had an original and incontrovertible right to diſpoſe of their own lands, part of which the Company had purchaſed for a valuable conſideration. But there was another cauſe more powerful than the remonſtrances of the Spaniſh Court, to which this colony fell a ſacrifice; and that was, the jealouſy of the Engliſh traders and planters. Darien was ſaid to be a country abounding with gold, which would in a little time enrich the adventurers. The Scots were known to be an enterprizing and pertinacious people; and their harbour near Golden-Iſland was already declared a free port. The Engliſh apprehended that their planters would be allured into this new colony, by the double proſpect of finding gold, and plundering the Spaniards: that the buccaneers in particular would chooſe it as their chief reſidence: that the plantations of England would be deſerted: that Darien would become another Algiers; and that the ſettlement would produce a rupture with Spain, in conſequence of which the Engliſh effects in that kingdom would be confiſcated. The Dutch, too, are ſaid to have been jealous of a Company, which in time might have proved their competitors in the illicit commerce to the Spaniſh Main; and to have hardened the King's heart againſt the new ſettlers, whom he abandoned to their fate, notwithſtanding the repeated petitions and remonſtrances of their conſtituents. Famine compelled the firſt adventurers

to

to quit the coaſt: a ſecond recruit of men and pro- CHAP.
viſions was ſent thither from Scotland: but, one of VI.
their ſhips, laden with proviſion, being burnt by 1699.
accident, they likewiſe deſerted the place: another reenforcement arrived, and being better provided than the two former, might have maintained their footing; but they were ſoon divided into factions that rendered all their ſchemes abortive. The Spaniards advanced againſt them; when, finding themſelves incapable of withſtanding the enemy, they ſolicited a capitulation, by virtue of which they were permitted to retire. Thus vaniſhed all the golden dreams of the Scottiſh nation, which had engaged in this deſign with incredible eagerneſs, and even embarked a greater ſum of money than ever they had advanced upon any other occaſion. They were now not only diſappointed in their expectations of wealth and affluence, but a great number of families were abſolutely ruined by the miſcarriage of the deſign, which they imputed ſolely to the conduct of King William. The whole kingdom of Scotland ſeemed to join in the clamour that was raiſed againſt their Sovereign, taxed him with double-dealing, inhumanity, and baſe ingratitude, to a people who had laviſhed their treaſure and beſt blood in ſupport of his government, and in the gratification of his ambition: and had their power been equal to their animoſity, in all probability a rebellion would have enſued.

§ XXI. William, mean while, enjoyed himſelf at Loo, where he was viſited by the Duke of Zell, with whom he had long cultivated an intimacy of friendſhip. During his reſidence in this place, the Earl of Portland and the Grand Penſionary of Holland frequently conferred with the French Ambaſſador, Count Tallard, upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. The firſt plan of the partition being defeated by the death of the young Prince of Bavaria, they found it neceſſary to concert another, and began a private negociation for that purpoſe. The Court of

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of Spain, appriſed of their intention, ſent a written remonſtrance to Mr. Stanhope, the Engliſh miniſter at Madrid, expreſſing their reſentment at this unprecedented method of proceeding, and deſiring that a ſtop might be put to thoſe intrigues, ſeeing the King of Spain would of himſelf take the neceſſary ſteps for preſerving the publick tranquillity, in caſe he ſhould die without heirs of his body. A repreſentation of the ſame kind was made to the miniſters of France and Holland: the Marquis de Canales, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador at London, delivered a memorial to the Lords-Juſtices, couched in the moſt virulent terms, againſt this tranſaction, and even appealing from the King to the Parliament. This Spaniard was pleaſed with an opportunity to inſult King William, who hated his perſon, and had forbid him the Court, on account of his appearing covered in his Majeſty's preſence. The Regency had no ſooner communicated this paper to the King, than he ordered the Ambaſſador to quit the kingdom in eighteen days, and to remain within his own houſe till the time of his departure. He was likewiſe given to underſtand, that no writing would be received from him or any of his domeſticks. Mr. Stanhope was directed to complain at Madrid of the affront offered to his Maſter, which he ſtiled an inſolent and ſaucy attempt to ſtir up ſedition in the kingdom, by appealing to the People and Parliament of England againſt his Majeſty. The Court of Spain juſtified what their miniſter had done, and in their turn ordered Mr. Stanhope to leave their dominions. Don Bernardo de Quiros, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador in Holland, prepared a memorial on the ſame ſubject, to the States-General; which, however, they refuſed to accept. Theſe remonſtrances did not interrupt the negociation, in which Louis was ſo eager, that he complained of William, as if he had not employed his whole influence in prevailing upon the Dutch to ſignify their acceſſion to the articles agreed upon by France

France and England: but his Britannick Majeſty found means to remove this jealouſy. CHAP. VI. 1699.

§ XXII. About the middle of October, William returned to England, and conferred upon the Duke of Shrewſbury the office of Chamberlain, vacant ſince the reſignation of Sunderland. Mr. Montagu at the ſame period reſigned his ſeat at the Treaſury-board, together with the chancellorſhip of the Exchequer; either foreſeeing uncommon difficulty in managing a Houſe of Commons, after they had been diſmiſſed in ill-humour, or dreading the intereſt of his enemies, who might procure a vote that his two places were inconſiſtent. The King opened the ſeſſion of Parliament, on the ſixteenth day of November, with a long ſpeech, adviſing a further proviſion for the ſafety of the kingdom by ſea and land, as well as the repairs of ſhips and fortifications; exhorting the Commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, diſcharge the debts of the nation, and provide the neceſſary ſupplies. He recommended ſome good bill for the more effectual preventing and puniſhing unlawful and clandeſtine trading; and expreſſed a deſire, that ſome method ſhould be taken for employing the poor, which were become a burthen to the kingdom. He aſſured them, his reſolutions were to countenance virtue and diſcourage vice: and that he would decline no difficulties and dangers, where the welfare and proſperity of the nation might be concerned. He concluded with theſe words: "Since then, our aims are only "for the general good, let us act with confidence in "one another; which will not fail, with God's "bleſſing, to make me a happy King, and you a "great and flouriſhing people."—The Commons were now become wanton in their diſguſt. Though they had received no real provocation, they reſolved to mortify him with their proceedings. They affected to put odious interpretations on the very harmleſs expreſſion of, "Let us act with confidence

in

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in one another." Inſtead of an addreſs of thanks, according to the uſual cuſtom, they preſented a ſullen remonſtrance, complaining that a jealouſy and diſguſt had been raiſed of their duty and affection; and deſiring he would ſhow marks of his high diſpleaſure towards all perſons who had preſumed to miſrepreſent their proceedings to his Majeſty. He declared, in his anſwer, that no perſon had ever dared to miſrepreſent their proceedings, and, that if any ſhould preſume to impoſe upon him by ſuch calumnies, he would treat them as his worſt enemies.

§ XXIII. The Houſe was not in a humour to be appeaſed with ſoothing promiſes and proteſtations: they determined to diſtreſs him, by proſecuting his miniſters. During the war, the colonies of North-America had grown rich by piracy. One Kidd, the maſter of a ſloop, undertook to ſuppreſs the pirates, provided the government would furniſh him with a ſhip of thirty guns, well manned. The board of Admiralty declaring that ſuch a number of ſeamen could not be ſpared from the publick ſervice, Kidd was equipped by the private ſubſcription of the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Shrewſbury, the Earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harriſon, and Colonel Livingſtone, of New-York. The King promiſed to contribute one half of the expence, and reſerved to himſelf one-tenth of the profits; but he never advanced the money. Kidd, being thus equipped, and provided with a commiſſion to act againſt the French, as well as to make war on certain pirates therein mentioned by name, ſet ſail from Plymouth: but, inſtead of cruiſing on the coaſt of America, he directed his courſe to the Eaſt-Indies, where he himſelf turned pirate, and took a rich ſhip belonging to the Moors. Having divided his booty with his crew, ninety of whom left him, in order to join other adventurers, he burned his own ſhip, and ſailed with his prize to the Weſt-Indies. There he purchaſed a ſloop, in which

which he ſteered from North-America, leaving part of his men in the prize, to remain in one of the Leeward Iſlands, until they ſhould receive further inſtructions. Arriving on the coaſt of New-York, he ſent one Emmet to make his peace with the Earl of Bellamont, the governor of that province, who inveigled him into a negociation, in the courſe of which he was apprehended. Then his lordſhip ſent an account of his proceedings to the Secretary of State, deſiring that he would ſend for the priſoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for puniſhing piracy with death, and the majority of the people favoured that practice. The Admiralty, by order of the Lords-Juſtices, diſpatched the ſhip Rocheſter to bring home the priſoners and their effects: but, after having been toſſed for ſome time with tempeſtuous weather, this veſſel was obliged to return to Plymouth in a ſhattered condition. This incident furniſhed the malcontents with a colour to paint the miniſtry as the authors and abettors of a piratical expedition, which they wanted to ſcreen from the cognizance of the publick. The old Eaſt-India company had complained to the Regency, of the capture made by Kidd in the Eaſt-Indies, apprehending, as the veſſel belonged to the Moors, they ſhould be expoſed to the reſentments of the Mogul. In the beginning of December, this ſubject being brought abruptly into the Houſe of Commons, a motion was made, That the letters patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of pirates' goods, were diſhonourable to the King, againſt the laws of nations, contrary to the laws and ſtatutes of the land, invaſive of property, and deſtructive of trade and commerce. A warm debate enſued, in the courſe of which, ſome members declaimed with great bitterneſs againſt the Chancellor and the Duke of Shrewſbury, as partners in a piratical ſcheme: but theſe imputations were refuted, and the motion was rejected by a great majority. Not but they might

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have juſtly ſtigmatized the expedition as a little mean adventure, in which thoſe noblemen had embarked with a view to their own private advantage.

§ XXIV. While this affair was in agitation among the Commons, the attention of the Upper Houſe was employed upon the caſe of Dr. Watſon, Biſhop of St. David's. This prelate was ſuppoſed to have paid a valuable conſideration for his biſhoprick: and, after his elevation, had ſold the preferments in his gift, with a view of being reimburſed. He was accuſed of ſimony; and, after a ſolemn hearing before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and ſix ſuffragans, convicted and deprived. Then he pleaded his privilege: ſo that the affair was brought into the Houſe of Lords, who refuſed to own him as a peer after he had ceaſed to be a biſhop. Thus diſappointed, he had recourſe to the court of delegates, by whom the Archbiſhop's ſentence was confirmed. The next effort that the Commons made, with a view of mortifying King William, was to raiſe a clamour againſt Dr. Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum. He was repreſented in the Houſe as a very unfit preceptor for the Duke of Glouceſter, both as a Scottiſh man, and author of that paſtoral letter which had been burned by order of the Parliament, for aſſerting that William had a right to the Crown from conqueſt. A motion was made for addreſſing his Majeſty, that this prelate might be diſmiſſed from his employment, but rejected by a great majority. Burnet had acted with uncommon integrity in accepting the truſt. He had declined the office, which he was in a manner forced to accept. He had offered to reſign his biſhoprick, thinking the employment of a tutor would interfere with the duty of a paſtor. He inſiſted upon the Duke's reſidence all the ſummer at Windſor, which is in the dioceſe of Sarum; and added to his private charities the whole income of his new office.

§ XXV. The circumſtance on which the anti-courtiers

courtiers built their chief hope of diſtreſſing or diſ- CHAP.
gracing the government, was the enquiry into the VI.
Iriſh forfeitures, which the King had diſtributed 1699
among his own dependents. The commiſſioners appointed by Parliament to examine theſe particulars, were Anneſly, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewſter, and Sir Richard Leving. The firſt four were actuated by all the virulence of faction: the other three were ſecretly guided by miniſterial influence. They began their enquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with ſuch ſeverity as ſeemed to flow rather from reſentment to the court, than from a love of juſtice and abhorrence of corruption. They in particular ſcrutinized a grant of an eſtate which the King had made to Mrs. Villiers, now Counteſs of Orkney, ſo as to expoſe his Majeſty's partiality for that favourite, and ſubject him to an additional load of popular odium. In the courſe of their examination, the Earl of Drogheda, Leving, and Brewſter, oppoſed the reſt of the commiſſioners in divers articles of the report, which they refuſed to ſign, and ſent over a memorial to the Houſe of Commons, explaining their reaſons for diſſenting from their colleagues. By this time, however, they were conſidered as hirelings of the court, and no regard was paid to their repreſentations. The others delivered their report, declaring that a million and a half of money might be raiſed from the ſale of the confiſcated eſtates; and a bill was brought in for applying them to the uſe of the publick. A motion being made to reſerve a third part for the King's diſpoſal, it was over-ruled: then the Commons paſſed an extraordinary vote, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any perſon whatſoever concerning the grants; and that they would conſider the great ſervices performed by the commiſſioners appointed to enquire into the forfeited eſtates. They reſolved, That the four commiſſioners who had ſigned the

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report had acquitted themſelves with underſtanding, courage, and integrity; and, That Sir Richard Leving, as author of groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſions caſt upon his four colleagues, ſhould be committed priſoner to the Tower. They afterwards came to the following reſolution, which was preſented to the King in form of an addreſs: That the procuring and paſſing thoſe grants had occaſioned great debts upon the nation, and heavy taxes upon the people, and highly reflected upon the King's honour; and, That the officers and inſtruments concerned in the ſame had highly failed in the performance of their truſt and duty. The King anſwered, That he was not only led by inclination, but thought himſelf obliged in juſtice to reward thoſe who had ſerved well in the reduction of Ireland, out of the eſtates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom. He obſerved, that as the long war had left the nation much in debt, their taking juſt and effectual ways for leſſening that debt, and ſupporting publick credit, was what, in his opinion, would beſt contribute to the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of the kingdom. This anſwer kindled a flame of indignation in the Houſe. They forthwith reſolved, That the adviſer of it had uſed his utmoſt endeavours to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the King and his people.

§ XXVI. They prepared, finiſhed, and paſſed a bill of reſumption. They ordered the report of the commiſſioners, together with the King's promiſe and ſpeeches, and the former reſolutions of the Houſe touching the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, to be printed and publiſhed for their juſtification; and they reſolved, That the procuring or paſſing exorbitant grants by any member, now of the Privy-Council, or by any other that had been a privy-counſellor, in this or any former reign, to his uſe or benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanour. That juſtice might be done to purchaſers and creditors in the act of

of reſumption, thirteen truſtees were authoriſed and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to thoſe eſtates, to ſell them to the beſt purchaſers; and the money ariſing from the ſale was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It paſſed under the title of a bill for granting an aid to his Majeſty, by the ſale of forfeited and other eſtates and intereſts in Ireland; and that it might undergo no alteration in the Houſe of Lords, it was conſolidated with the money bill for the ſervice of the year. In the Houſe of Lords it produced warm debates; and ſome alterations were made, which the Commons unanimouſly rejected. They ſeemed to be now more than ever exaſperated againſt the miniſtry, and ordered a liſt of the Privy-Council to be laid before the Houſe. The Lords demanded conferences, which ſerved only to exaſperate the two Houſes againſt each other; for the Peers inſiſted upon their amendments, and the Commons were ſo provoked at their interfering in a money-bill, that they determined to give a looſe to their reſentment. They ordered all the doors of their Houſe to be ſhut, that no members ſhould go forth. Then they took into conſideration the report of the Iriſh forfeitures, with the liſt of the privy-counſellors; and a queſtion was moved, That an addreſs ſhould be made to his Majeſty, to remove John Lord Somers, Chancellor of England, from his preſence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The King was extremely chagrined at the bill, which he conſidered as an invaſion of his prerogative, an inſult on his perſon, and an injury to his friends and ſervants; and he at firſt reſolved to hazard all the conſequences of refuſing to paſs it into a law: but he was diverted from his purpoſe by the remonſtrances of thoſe in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, diſſemble his reſentment. He became ſullen, peeviſh, and moroſe; and his enemies did not fail to make uſe

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Burnet. Oldmixon. Cole's Mem. State tracts. Lamberty. Tindal. Ralph.

BOOK I. 1699. uſe of this additional ill humour, as a proof of his averſion to the Engliſh people. Though the motion againſt the Chancellor had miſcarried, the Commons reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty, that no perſon who was not a native of his dominions, except his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his Majeſty's councils in England or Ireland. This reſolution was levelled againſt the Earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway: but, before the addreſs could be preſented, the King went to the Houſe of Peers, and having paſſed the bill which had produced ſuch a ferment, with ſome others, commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, Speaker of the Houſe, in the abſence of the Chancellor, who was indiſpoſed, to prorogue the Parliament to the twenty-third day of May.

An. 1700. § XXVII. In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the Commons having proſecuted their enquiry into the conduct of Kidd, brought in a bill for the more effectual ſuppreſſing of piracy, which paſſed into a law: underſtanding afterwards, that Kidd was brought over to England, they preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring that he might not be tried, diſcharged, or pardoned, till the next ſeſſion of Parliament; and his Majeſty complied with their requeſt. Boiling ſtill with indignation againſt the Lord Chancellor, who had turned many diſaffected perſons out of the commiſſion of the peace, the Houſe ordered a bill to be prepared for qualifying Juſtices of the Peace; and appointed a committee to inſpect the commiſſion. This, reporting that many diſſenters and men of ſmall fortunes, depending on the court, were put into thoſe places, the Commons declared, in an addreſs, That it would much conduce to the ſervice of his Majeſty, and the good of this kingdom, that gentlemen of quality and good eſtates ſhould be reſtored, and put into the commiſſions of the peace and lieutenancy: and that men of ſmall eſtates be neither continued, nor put into the

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ſaid commiſſions. The King aſſured them he was of the ſame opinion; and that he would give directions accordingly. They were ſo mollified by this inſtance of his condeſcenſion, that they thanked him in a body for his gracious anſwer. They paſſed a bill to exculpate ſuch as had neglected to ſign the aſſociation, either through miſtake, or want of opportunity. Having received a petition from the Lancaſhire clergy, complaining of the inſolence and attempts of Popiſh prieſts, they appointed a committee to enquire how far the laws againſt Popiſh refugees had been put in execution; and upon the repôrt a bill was brought in, complying with the prayer of the petition. It decreed a further reward to ſuch perſons as ſhould diſcover and convict Popiſh prieſts and Jeſuits: and perpetual impriſonment for thoſe convicted on the oath of one or more witneſſes. It enacted, That no perſon born after the twenty-fifth day of March next enſuing, being a Papiſt, ſhould be capable of inheriting any title of honour or eſtate within the kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and, That no Papiſt ſhould be capable of purchaſing any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, either in his own name or in the name of any other perſon in truſt for him. Several alterations were made in this firſt draft, before it was finiſhed and ſent up to the Lords, ſome of whom propoſed amendments: theſe, however, were not adopted; and the bill obtained the Royal aſſent, contrary to the expectation of thoſe who proſecuted the meaſure, on the ſuppoſition that the King was a favourer of the Papiſts. After all, the bill was deficient in neceſſary clauſes to enforce execution; ſo that the law was very little regarded in the ſequel. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXVIII. The Court ſuſtained another inſult from the old Eaſt-India Company, who petitioned the Houſe that they might be continued by parliamentary authority during the remaining part of the time

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time preſcribed in their charter. They, at the ſame time, publiſhed a ſtate of their caſe, in which they expatiated upon the equity of their claims, and magnified the injuries they had undergone. The new company drew up an anſwer to this remonſtrance, expoſing the corrupt practices of their adverſaries. But the influence of their great patron, Mr. Montagu, was now vaniſhed: the ſupply was not yet diſcuſſed, and the miniſtry would not venture to provoke the Commons, who ſeemed propitious to the old company, and actually paſſed a bill in their favour. This, meeting with no oppoſition in the Upper-Houſe, was enacted into a law, renewing their eſtabliſhment: ſo that now there were two rival companies of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies. The Commons, not yet ſatisfied with the vexations to which they had expoſed their ſovereign, paſſed a bill to appoint commiſſioners for taking and examining the publick accounts. Another law was made, to prohibit the uſe of India ſilks and ſtuffs which interfered with the Engliſh manufactures: a third, to take off the duties on the exportation of woollen manufactures, corn, grain, meal, bread, and biſcuit; and a fourth, in which proviſion was made for puniſhing Governors, or Commanders in Chief of Plantations and Colonies, in caſe they ſhould commit any crimes or acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion in the exerciſe of their adminiſtration.

§ XXIX. The people of Scotland ſtill continued in violent agitation. They publiſhed a pamphlet, containing a detail of their grievances, which they in a great meaſure aſcribed to his Majeſty. A complaint being preferred to the Houſe of Commons againſt this performance, it was voted a falſe, ſcandalous, and traiterous libel, and ordered to be burned by the hands of the Common hangman. The Commons addreſſed his Majeſty, to iſſue his Royal proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publiſher of the ſaid libel; and he complied

plied with their requeſt. The Scottiſh company had ſent up an addreſs to the King, in behalf of ſome adventurers who were wrongfully detained priſoners in Carthagena: but Lord Baſil Hamilton, who undertook the charge of this petition, was refuſed admittance to his Majeſty, on pretence of his being ſuſpected of diſaffection to the government. The King, however, wrote to his council for Scotland, that he would demand the enlargement of the priſoners, and countenance any laudable meaſure that could advance the trade of that kingdom. The Directors of the Company, not content with this declaration, importuned their Lord Chancellor, who was in London, to procure acceſs for Lord Baſil Hamilton: and the miniſtry took ſhelter from their ſolicitations behind a parliamentary enquiry. The ſubject of the Scottiſh colony being introduced into the Houſe of Lords, where the miniſterial influence preponderated, a vehement debate aroſe, not from any regard to the intereſt of Scotland, but from mere oppoſition to the Court, which, however, triumphed in the iſſue. A motion was made, that the ſettlement of the Scotch colony at Darien was inconſiſtent with the good of the plantation trade of England; and paſſed in the affirmative by a ſmall majority. Then they preſented an addreſs, declaring their ſympathy with the loſſes of their fellow-ſubjects, and their opinion, that a proſecution of the deſign muſt end, not only in far greater diſappointments to themſelves, but alſo prove very inconvenient to the trade and quiet of the kingdom. They reminded him of the addreſs of both Houſes, touching that ſettlement; and they expreſſed their approbation of the orders he had ſent to the governors of the plantations on this ſubject. The King, in his anſwer to the addreſs, in which the Commons refuſed to concur, took the opportunity of exhorting them to conſider of an union between the two kingdoms, as a meaſure, than which nothing could more contribute to their

BOOK I. 1700. their mutual ſecurity and advantage. The Lords, in purſuance of this advice, prepared a bill, appointing certain commiſſioners of the realm of England to treat with commiſſioners of Scotland for the weal of both kingdoms: but it was obſtructed in the Houſe of Commons, who were determined to thwart every ſtep that might tend to leſſen the diſguſt, or appeaſe the animoſity of the Scottiſh nation. The malcontents inſinuated, that the King's oppoſition to the Scottiſh company flowed neither from his regard to the intereſt of England, nor from his punctual obſervance of treaties with Spain; but ſolely from his attachment to the Dutch, who maintained an advantageous trade from the iſland of Curacoa to the Spaniſh plantations in America, and were apprehenſive that the Scottiſh company would deprive them of this commerce. This interpretation ſerved as fuel to the flame already kindled in Scotland, and induſtriouſly blown up by the calumnies of the Jacobites. Their Parliament adopted the company as a national concern, by voting, That the colony of Caledonia in Darien was a legal and rightful ſettlement, which the Parliament would maintain and ſupport. On account of this reſolution the ſeſſion was for ſome time diſcontinued: but, when the Scots underſtood their new ſettlement was totally abandoned, their capital loſs, and all their hope entirely vaniſhed, the whole nation was ſeized with a tranſport of fury. They loudly exclaimed, that they had been ſacrificed and baſely betrayed in that quarter where they were intitled to protection. They concerted an addreſs to the King, couched in a very high ſtrain, repreſenting the neceſſity of an immediate Parliament. It was circulated about the kingdom for ſubſcriptions, ſigned by a great number of thoſe who ſat in Parliament, and preſented to the King by Lord Roſs, who with ſome others was deputed for that purpoſe. The King told them, they ſhould know his intention in Scotland; and in the mean time

time adjourned their Parliament by proclamation. The people exaſperated at this new provocation, began to form the draft of a ſecond national addreſs, to be ſigned by the ſhires and boroughs of the kingdom: but, before this could be finiſhed, the King wrote a letter to the Duke of Queenſbury, and the Privy-Council of that nation, which was publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the people. He profeſſed himſelf grieved at the nation's loſs, and willing to grant what might be needful for the relief and eaſe of the kingdom. He aſſured them, he had their intereſt at heart; and that his good ſubjects ſhould have convincing proofs of his ſincere inclination to advance the wealth and proſperity of that his ancient kingdom. He ſaid, he hoped this declaration would be ſatisfactory to all good men: that they would not ſuffer themſelves to be miſled; nor give advantage to enemies, and ill-deſigning perſons, ready to ſeize *every opportunity of embroiling the government.* He gave them to underſtand, that his neceſſary abſence had occaſioned the late adjournment; but as ſoon as God ſhould bring him back, their Parliament ſhould be aſſembled. Even this explanation ſeconded by all the credit and addreſs of his miniſters, failed in allaying the national ferment, which roſe to the very verge of rebellion. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXX. The King, who, from his firſt acceſſion to the throne, had veered occaſionally from one party to another, according to the circumſtances of his affairs, and the oppoſition he encountered, was at this period ſo incenſed and embarraſſed by the caprice and inſolence of the Commons, that he willingly lent an ear to the leaders of the Tories, who undertook to manage the Parliament according to his pleaſure, provided he would part with ſome of his miniſters, who were peculiarly odious to the Commons. The perſon againſt whom their anger was chiefly directed, was the Lord Chancellor Somers, the moſt active leader of the Whig party.

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They demanded his diſmiſſion, and the King exhorted him to reſign his office: but he refuſing to take any ſtep that might indicate a fear of his enemies, or a conſciouſneſs of guilt, the King ſent a preremptory order for the ſeals by the Lord Jerſey, to whom Somers delivered them without heſitation. They were ſucceſſively offered to Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, and Trevor, the Attorney-General, who declined accepting ſuch a precarious office. Meanwhile, the King granted a temporary commiſſion to three Judges to ſit in the Court of Chancery; and at length beſtowed the ſeals, with the title of Lord Keeper, on Nathan Wright, one of the Serjeants at Law, a man but indifferently qualified for the office to which he was now preferred. Though William ſeemed altogether attached to the Tories, and inclined to a new Parliament, no perſon appeared to take the lead in the affairs of government; and, indeed, for ſome time the adminiſtration ſeemed to be under no particular direction.

§ XXXI. During the tranſactions of the laſt ſeſſion, the negociation for a ſecond partition treaty had been carried on in London by the French miniſter, Tallard, in conjunction with the Earls of Portland and Jerſey, and was ſoon brought to perfection. On the twenty-firſt day of February the treaty was ſigned in London; and on the twenty-fifth of the next month it was ſubſcribed at the Hague by Briord, the French envoy, and the Plenipotentiaries of the States-General. By this convention the treaty of Ryſwick was confirmed. The contracting parties agreed, that, in caſe of his Catholick Majeſty's dying without iſſue, the Dauphin ſhould poſſeſs, for himſelf and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the iſlands of St. Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, in exchange for which laſt, the Duke of Lor-

raine ſhould enjoy the Duchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche ſhould remain in ſovereignty to the Prince of Vaudemont: that the Archduke Charles ſhould inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but, in caſe of his dying without iſſue, it ſhould devolve to ſome other child of the Emperor, excepting him who might ſucceed as Emperor or King of the Romans: that this monarchy ſhould never deſcend to a King of France or Dauphin; and that three months ſhould be allowed to the Emperor, to conſider whether or not he would accede to this treaty. Whether the French King was really ſincere in his profeſſions at this juncture, or propoſed this treaty with a view to make a clandeſtine uſe of it at the Court of Spain for more intereſted purpoſes, it is not eaſy to determine; at firſt, however, it was concealed from the notice of the publick, as if the parties had reſolved to take no ſtep in conſequence of it, during the life of his Catholick Majeſty. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXXII. In the beginning of July the King embarked for Holland, after having appointed a Regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence. On the twenty-ninth day of the ſame month, the young Duke of Glouceſter, the only remaining child of ſeventeen which the Princeſs Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the Engliſh nation, not only on account of his promiſing talents and gentle behaviour, but alſo, as it left the ſucceſſion undetermined, and might create diſputes of fatal conſequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the intereſt of the Prince of Wales: but the Proteſtants generally turned their eyes upon the Princeſs Sophia, Electreſs Dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. It was with a view to concert the eſtabliſhment of her ſucceſſion, that the Court of Brunſwick

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wick now returned the viſit of King William. The preſent ſtate of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable proſpect. The people were generally alienated from the perſon and government of the reigning King, upon whom they ſeem to have ſurfeited. The vigour of their minds was deſtroyed by luxury and ſloth: the ſeverity of their morals was relaxed by a long habit of venality and corruption. The King's health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No perſon was appointed to aſcend the throne when it ſhould become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprizing, and elate. They diſpatched Mr. Graham, brother of Lord Preſton, to the Court of St. Germains, immediately after the death of the Duke of Glouceſter; they began to beſtir themſelves all over the kingdom. A report was ſpread that the Princeſs Anne had privately ſent a meſſage to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with civil war, confuſion, anarchy, and ruin.

§ XXXIII. In the mean time, King William was not inactive. The Kings of Denmark and Poland, with the Elector of Brandenburgh, had formed a league to cruſh the young King of Sweden; by invading his dominions on different ſides. The Poles actually entered Livonia, and undertook the ſiege of Riga: the King of Denmark, having demoliſhed ſome forts in Holſtein, the Duke of which was connected with Sweden, inveſted Tonninghen. The Swediſh miniſter in England demanded that aſſiſtance of William which had been ſtipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The States of Holland were ſollicited to the ſame purpoſe. Accordingly, a fleet of thirty ſail, Engliſh and Dutch, was ſent to the Baltick, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who joined the Swediſh ſquadron,

and bombarded Copenhagen, to which the Daniſh fleet had retired. At the ſame time, the Duke of Lunenbourg, with the Swediſh forces, which happened to be at Bremen, paſſed the Elbe, and marched to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Holſtein. The Danes immediately abandoned the ſiege of Tonninghen; and a body of Saxons, who had made an irruption into the territories of the Duke of Brunſwick, were obliged to retreat in diſorder. By the mediation of William, a negociation was begun for a treaty between Sweden and Denmark, which in order to quicken, Charles the young King of Sweden made a deſcent upon the iſle of Zealand. This was executed with great ſucceſs. Charles was the firſt man who landed; and here he exhibited ſuch marks of courage and conduct, far above his years, as equally aſtoniſhed and intimidated his adverſaries. Then he determined to beſiege Copenhagen; a reſolution that ſtruck ſuch terror into the Danes, that they proceeded with redoubled diligence in the treaty, which was brought to a concluſion, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holſtein, about the middle of Auguſt. Then the Swedes retired to Schonen, and the ſquadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltick. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXXIV. When the new partition treaty was communicated by the miniſters of the contracting parties to the other powers of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable conſtruction. Saxony and the northern Crowns were ſtill embroiled with their own quarrels, conſequently could not give much attention to ſuch a remote tranſaction. The Princes of Germany appeared cautious and dilatory in their anſwers, unwilling to be concerned in any plan that might excite the reſentment of the Houſe of Auſtria. The Elector of Brandenburgh, in particular, had ſet his heart upon the regal dignity, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the Emperor. The Italian States were averſe

BOOK I. averſe to the partition-treaty, from their apprehenſion of ſeeing France in poſſeſſion of Naples, and other diſtricts of their country. The Duke of Savoy affected a myſterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his conſent for ſome conſiderable advantage. The Swiſs cantons declined acceding as guarantees. The Emperor expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that any diſpoſition ſhould be made of the Spaniſh monarchy without the conſent of the preſent poſſeſſor, and the States of the kingdom. He obſerved, that neither juſtice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was the rightful heir, to except a part of his inheritance within three months, under penalty of forfeiting even that ſhare to a third perſon not yet named; and he declared, that he could take no final reſolution, until he ſhould know the ſentiments of his Catholick Majeſty, on an affair in which their mutual intereſt was ſo nearly concerned. Leopold was actually engaged in a negociation with the King of Spain, who ſigned a will in favour of his ſecond ſon Charles; yet he took no meaſures to ſupport the diſpoſition, either by ſending the Archduke with a ſufficient force to Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

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§. XXXV. The people of Spain were exaſperated at the inſolence of the three foreign powers who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride took the alarm, at the proſpect of their monarchy's being diſmembered: and their grandees repined at the thought of loſing ſo many lucrative governments which they now enjoyed. The King's life became every day more and more precarious, from frequent returns of his diſorder. The miniſtry was weak and divided, the nobility factious, and the people diſcontented. The hearts of the nation had been alienated from the Houſe of Auſtria, by the inſolent carriage and rapacious diſpoſition of the Queen Mariana. The French had gained

gained over to their intereſts the Cardinal Portocarrero, the Marquis de Montercy, with many other noblemen and perſons of diſtinction. Theſe, perceiving the ſentiments of the people, employed their emiſſaries to raiſe a general cry that France alone cold maintain the ſucceſſion entire: that the Houſe of Auſtria was feeble and exhauſted, and any Prince of that line muſt owe his chief ſupport to deteſtable hereticks. Portocarrero tampered with the weakneſs of his Sovereign. He repeated and exaggerated all the ſuggeſtions: he adviſed him to conſult Pope Innocent XII. on this momentous point of regulating the ſucceſſion. That Pontiff, who was a creature of France, having taken the advice of a college of Cardinals, determined that the renunciation of Maria Thereſa was invalid and null, as being founded upon compulſion, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the Spaniſh monarchy. He, therefore, exhorted King Charles to contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repoſe of Chriſtendom, by making a new will in favour of a grandſon of the French Monarch. This admonition was ſeconded by the remonſtrances of Portocarrero; and the weak Prince complied with the propoſal. In the mean time, the King of France ſeemed to act heartily, as a principal in the treaty of partition. His miniſters at foreign courts cooperated with thoſe of the maritime powers, in ſoliciting the acceſſion of the different Potentates in Europe. When Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial Ambaſſador at Paris, preſented a memorial, deſiring to know what part France would act, ſhould the King of Spain voluntarily place a grandſon of Louis upon the throne, the Marquis de Torcy anſwered in writing, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would by no means liſten to ſuch a propoſal: nay, when the Emperor's miniſter gave them to underſtand that his maſter was ready to begin a ſeparate negociation with the Court of Verſailles, touching the

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Spaniſh ſucceſſion, Louis declared he could not treat on that ſubject without the concurrence of his Allies.

§ XXXVI. The nature of the partition-treaty was no ſooner known in England, than condemned by the moſt intelligent part of the nation. They firſt of all complained, that ſuch an important affair ſhould be concluded without the advice of Parliament. They obſerved, that the ſcheme was unjuſt, and the execution of it hazardous: that, in concerting the terms, the maritime powers ſeemed to have acted as partiſans of France; for the poſſeſſion of Naples and the Tuſcan ports would ſubject Italy to her dominion, and interfere with the Engliſh trade to the Levant and Mediterranean; while Guipuſcoa, on any future rupture, would afford another inlet into the heart of the Spaniſh dominions: they, for theſe reaſons, pronounced the treaty deſtructive of the balance of power, and prejudicial to the intereſt of England. All theſe arguments were trumpeted by the malcontents, ſo that the whole kingdom echoed with the clamour of diſaffection. Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earneſt of eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh Crown upon the perſon of the Prince of Wales. They are ſaid to have ſent over Mr. Graham to St. Germain's with overtures to this purpoſe, and an aſſurance that a motion would be made in the Houſe of Commons, to paſs a vote that the Crown ſhould not be ſupported in the execution of the partition-treaty. King William was not ignorant of the cenſure he had undergone, and not a little alarmed to find himſelf ſo unpopular among his own ſubjects. That he might be the more able to beſtow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he reſolved to take ſome meaſures for the ſatisfaction of the Scottiſh nation. He permitted the Parliament of that kingdom to meet on the twenty-eighth day of October, and

and wrote a letter to them from his houſe at Loo, containing an aſſurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reaſonably propoſed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promiſed to give his royal aſſent to ſuch acts as they ſhould frame for the better eſtabliſhment of the Preſbyterian diſcipline; for preventing the growth of popery, ſuppreſſing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preſerving and ſecuring perſonal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the loſſes, and promoting the intereſt of their African and Indian companies. He expreſſed his concern that he could not aſſert the Company's right of eſtabliſhing a colony at Darien, without diſturbing the peace of Chriſtendom, and entailing a ruinous war on that his ancient kingdom. He recommended unanimity and diſpatch in raiſing competent taxes for their own defence; and told them he had thought fit to continue the Duke of Queenſberry in the office of High-Commiſſioner. Notwithſtanding this ſoothing addreſs, the national reſentment continued to rage, and the Parliament ſeemed altogether intractable. By this time the Company had received certain tidings of the entire ſurrender of their ſettlement; and on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, they repreſented to Parliament, that for want of due protection abroad, ſome perſons had been encouraged to break in upon their privileges even at home. This remonſtrance was ſucceeded by another national addreſs to the King, who told them he could not take any further notice of that affair, ſince the Parliament was now aſſembled; and he had already made a declaration, with which he hoped all his faithful ſubjects would be ſatisfied. Nevertheleſs, he found it abſolutely neceſſary to practiſe other expedients for allaying the ferment of that nation. His miniſters and their agents beſtirred themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully, that the heats in Parliament

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BOOK I. 1700. were entirely cooled, and the outcry of the people ſubſided into unavailing murmurs. The Parliament reſolved, That in conſideration of their great deliverance by his Majeſty, and as, next under God, their ſafety and happineſs wholly depended on his preſervation and that of his government, they would ſupport both to the utmoſt of their power, and maintain ſuch forces as ſhould be requiſite for thoſe ends. They paſſed an act for keeping on foot three thouſand men for two years, to be maintained by a land tax. Then the Commiſſioner produced the King's letter, deſiring to have eleven hundred men on his own account to the firſt day of June following: they forthwith complied with his requeſt, and were prorogued to the ſixth of May. The ſupernumerary troops were ſent over to the States-General; and the Earl of Argyle was honoured with the title of Duke, as a recompence for having concurred with the Commiſſioners in managing this ſeſſion of Parliament.

§ XXXVII. King William had returned to England on the eighteenth day of October, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he found himſelf involved; and, in the beginning of the next month, he received advice that the King of Spain was actually dead. He could not be ſurprized at this event, which had been ſo long expected; but it was attended with a circumſtance which he had not foreſeen. Charles, by his laſt will, had declared the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the Dauphin, the ſole heir of the Spaniſh monarchy. In caſe this Prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the Crown of France, he willed that Spain ſhould devolve to the Duke of Berry; in default of him, and children, to the Archduke Charles and his heirs; failing of whom, to the Duke of Savoy and his poſterity. He likewiſe recommended a match between the Duke of Anjou and one of the Archducheſſes. When this teſtament was firſt notified to the French court,

Louis ſeemed to heſitate between his inclination and engagements to William and the States-General. Madame de Maintenon is ſaid to have joined her influence to that of the Dauphin, in perſuading the King to accept of the will; and Pontchartrain was engaged to ſupport the ſame meaſure. A cabinet-council was called in her apartment. The reſt of the miniſtry declared for the treaty of partition; the King affected a kind of neutrality. The Dauphin ſpoke for his ſon, with an air of reſolution he had never aſſumed before: Pontchartrain ſeconded his argument: Madame de Maintenon aſked what the Duke of Anjou had done to provoke the King, that he ſhould be barred of his right to that ſucceſſion? Then the reſt of the members eſpouſed the Dauphin's opinion; and the King owned himſelf convinced by their reaſons. In all probability, the deciſion of this council was previouſly ſettled in private. After the will was accepted, Louis cloſetted the Duke of Anjou, to whom he ſaid, in preſence of the Marquis des Rois, "Sir, the King of "Spain has made you a King. The grandees de-"mand you; the people wiſh for you, and I give "my conſent. Remember only, you are a Prince "of France. I recommend to you to love your "people, to gain their affection by the lenity of "your government, and to render yourſelf worthy "of the throne you are going to aſcend." The new Monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the Princes of the blood; nevertheleſs, the Duke of Orleans and his ſon proteſted againſt the will, becauſe the Archduke was placed next in ſucceſſion to the Duke of Berry, in bar of their right as deſcendants of Anne of Auſtria, whoſe renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria-Thereſa. On the fourth day of December, the new King ſet out for Spain, to the frontiers of which he was accompanied by his two brothers.

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§ XXXVIII. When the will was accepted, the French miniſter, de Torcy, endeavoured to juſtify his maſter's conduct to the Earl of Mancheſter, who reſided at Paris in the character of Ambaſſador from the Court of London. He obſerved, That the treaty of partition was not likely to anſwer the end for which it had been concerted: That the Emperor had refuſed to accede: That it was reliſhed by none of the Princes to whom it had been communicated: That the people of England and Holland had expreſſed their diſcontent at the proſpect of France's being in poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily: That if Louis had rejected the will, the Archduke would have had, a double title derived from the former will, and that of the late King: That the Spaniards were ſo averſe to the diviſion of their monarchy, there would be a neceſſity for conquering the whole kingdom before the treaty could be executed: That the ſhips to be furniſhed by Great-Britain and Holland would not be ſufficient for the purpoſes of ſuch a war; and it was doubtful whether England and the States-General would engage themſelves in a greater expence. He concluded with ſaying, That the treaty would have been more advantageous to France than the will, which the King accepted purely from a deſire of preſerving the peace of Europe. His Maſter hoped, therefore, that a good underſtanding would ſubſiſt between him and the King of Great Britain. The ſame reaſons were communicated by Briod, the French Ambaſſador at the Hague, to the States-General. Notwithſtanding this addreſs, they ordered their Envoy at Paris to deliver a memorial to the French King, expreſſing their ſurprize at his having accepted the will; and their hope, that as the time ſpecified for the Emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would take the affair again into his conſideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Louis, in his anſwer to this

this memorial, which he diſpatched to all the Courts of Europe, declared, That what he chiefly conſidered was the principal deſign of the contracting parties, namely, the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to his principle, he only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the ſpirit of the treaty. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XXXIX. With this anſwer he ſent a letter to the States, giving them to underſtand, that the peace of Europe was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by the will of the King of Spain, in favour of his grandſon, that he did not doubt their approbation of his ſucceſſion to the Spaniſh Crown. The States obſerved, That they could not declare themſelves upon an affair of ſuch conſequence, without conſulting their reſpective provinces. Louis admitted the excuſe, and aſſured them of his readineſs to concur with whatever they ſhould deſire for the ſecurity of the Spaniſh Netherlands. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador at the Hague preſented them with a letter from his new Maſter, who likewiſe notified his acceſſion to all the powers of Europe, except the King of England. The Emperor loudly exclaimed againſt the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partition; and threatened to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. The Spaniards apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial Majeſty and the maritime powers, for ſetting aſide the ſucceſſion of the Duke of Anjou, and, conſcious of their own inability to defend their dominions, reſigned themſelves entirely to the protection of the French Monarch. The towns in the Spaniſh Netherlands and the duchy of Milan admitted French garriſons: a French ſquadron anchored in the Port of Cadiz; and another was detached to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies. Part of the Dutch army that was quartered in Luxembourg, Mons, and Namur, were made priſoners of war, becauſe they would not own the King of Spain, whom their Maſters had not

BOOK I. 1700. yet acknowledged. The States were overwhelmed with conſternation by this event, eſpecially when they conſidered their own naked ſituation, and reflected that the Spaniſh garriſons might fall upon them before they could aſſemble a body of troops for their defence. The danger was ſo imminent, that they reſolved to acknowledge the King of Spain without further heſitation, and wrote a letter to the French King for that purpoſe: this was no ſooner received, than orders were iſſued for ſending back their battalions.

§ XL. How warmly ſoever King William reſented the conduct of the French King, in accepting the Will ſo diametrically oppoſite to his engagements, he diſſembled his chagrin; and behaved with ſuch reſerve and apparent indifference, that ſome people naturally believed he had been privy to the tranſaction. Others imagined that he was diſcouraged from engaging in a new war by his bodily infirmities, which daily increaſed, as well as by the oppoſition in Parliament, to which he ſhould be inevitably expoſed. But his real aim was to conceal his ſentiments, until he ſhould have ſounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and ſeen how far he could depend upon his new miniſtry. He now ſeemed to repoſe his chief confidence in the Earl of Rocheſter, who had undertaken for the Tories, and was declared Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Lord Godolphin was appointed firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Lord Tankerville ſucceeded Lord Lonſdale, lately deceaſed, as Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and Sir Charles Hedges was declared Secretary of State, in the room of the Earl of Jerſey; but the management of the Commons was entruſted to Mr. Robert Harley, who had hitherto oppoſed the meaſures of the Court with equal virulence and ability. Theſe new undertakers, well knowing they ſhould find it very difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſecure a majority in the preſent parliament, prevailed

vailed on the King to diſſolve it by proclamation: then the Sheriffs were changed according to their nomination, and writs iſſued for a new Parliament to meet on the ſixth day of February. During this interval, Count Wratiſlaw arrived in England, as Ambaſſador from the Emperor, to explain Leopold's title to the Spaniſh monarchy, ſupported by repeated entails and renunciations, confirmed in the moſt ſolemn treaties. This miniſter met with a very cold reception from thoſe who ſtood at the helm of affairs. They ſought to avoid all connections that might engage their country as a principal in another war upon the Continent; ſmarting as they were from the loſſes and incumbrances which the laſt had entailed upon them and their poſterity. They ſeemed to think that Louis, rather than involve himſelf in freſh troubles, would give all the ſecurity that could be deſired for maintaining the peace of Europe; or even, ſhould this be refuſed, they ſaw no reaſon for Britain's exhauſting her wealth and ſtrength to ſupport a chimerical balance, in which her intereſt was but remotely concerned. It was their opinion, that, by keeping aloof, ſhe might render herſelf more reſpectable. Her reſerve would over-awe contending powers: they would in their turn ſue for her aſſiſtance, and implore her good offices; and, inſtead of declaring herſelf a party, ſhe would have the honour to decide as arbitreſs of their diſputes. Perhaps they extended this idea too far; and, in all probability, their notions were enflamed by a ſpirit of faction. They hated the Whigs as their political adverſaries, and deteſted the war, becauſe it had been countenanced and ſupported by the intereſt of that party. The King believed, that a conjunction of the two monarchies of France and Spain would prove fatal to the liberties of Europe; and that this could not be prevented by any other method than a general union of the other European powers. He certainly was an enthuſiaſt

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BOOK I. 1700. enthuſiaſt in his ſentiments of this equilibrium; and fully convinced that he himſelf, of all the potentates in Chriſtendom, was the only Prince capable of adjuſting the balance. The Imperial Ambaſſador could not, therefore, be long ignorant of his real purpoſe, as he converſed with the Dutch favourites, who knew and approved of their Maſter's deſign, though he avoided a declaration, until he ſhould have rendered his miniſters more propitious to his aim. The true ſecret, however, of that reſerve with which Count Wratiſlaw was treated at his firſt arrival, was a private negociation which the King had ſet on foot with the Regency of Spain, touching a barrier in the Netherlands. He propoſed, that certain towns ſhould be garriſoned with Engliſh and Dutch troops, by way of ſecurity againſt the ambitious deſigns of France; but the Regency were ſo devoted to the French intereſt, that they refuſed to liſten to any propoſal of this nature. While this affair was in agitation, William reſolved to maintain a wary diſtance from the Emperor; but, when his effort miſcarried, the Ambaſſador found him much more open and acceſſible.*

§ XLI. The Parliament meeting on the ſixth, was prorogued to the tenth day of February, when Mr. Harley was choſen Speaker by a great majority in oppoſition to Sir Richard Onſlow. The

* This year was diſtinguiſhed by a glorious victory which the young King of Sweden obtained in the nineteenth year of his age. Riga continued inveſted by the King of Poland, while Peter the Czar of Muſcovy made his approaches to Narva, at the head of a prodigious army, purpoſing, in violation of all faith and juſtice, to ſhare the ſpoils of the youthful Monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the ſiege of Riga, and having ſupplied the place, marched with a handful of troops againſt the Muſcovites, who had undertaken the ſiege of Narva. The Czar quitted his army with ſome precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his perſon, while Charles advanced through ways that were thought impracticable, and ſurprized the enemy. He broke into their camp before they had the leaſt intimation of his approach, and totally routed them, after a ſhort reſiſtance. He took a great number of priſoners, with all their baggage, tents, and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph.

King

King had previouſly told Sir Thomas Lyttelton, it would be for his ſervice that he ſhould yield his pretenſions to Harley at this juncture; and that gentleman agreed to abſent himſelf from the Houſe on the day of election. The King obſerved, in his ſpeech, That the nation's loſs, in the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary for them to make further proviſion for the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant line: That the death of the King of Spain had made ſuch an alteration in the affairs of the Continent, as required their mature deliberation. The reſt of his harangue turned upon the uſual topicks of demanding ſupplies for the enſuing year, reminding them of the deficiencies and publick debts, recommending to their enquiry the ſtate of the navy and fortifications: exhorting them to encourage commerce, employ the poor, and proceed with vigour and unanimity in all their deliberations. Though the elections had been generally carried in favour of the Tory intereſt, the miniſtry had ſecured but one part of that faction. Some of the moſt popular leaders, ſuch as the Duke of Leeds, the Marquis of Normanby, the Earls of Nottingham, Seymour, Muſgrave, How, Finch, and Showers, had been either neglected, or found refractory, and reſolved to oppoſe the Court meaſures with all their influence. Beſides, the French King, knowing that the peace of Europe would in a great meaſure depend on the reſolutions of the Engliſh Parliament, is ſaid to have diſtributed great ſums af money in England, by means of his miniſter Tallard, in order to ſtrengthen the oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons. Certain it is, the nation abounded, at this period, with the French coins called Louis-d'ors and piſtoles; but whether this redundancy was owing to a balance of trade in favour of England, or to the largeſſes of Louis, we ſhall not pretend to determine. We may likewiſe obſerve, that the infamous practice of bribing electors had

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BOOK I. 1700. had never been ſo flagrant as in the choice of repreſentatives for this Parliament. This ſcandalous traffick had been chiefly carried on by the Whig party, and, therefore, their antagoniſts reſolved to ſpare no pains in detecting their corruption. Sir Edward Seymour diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal and activity: he brought ſome of theſe practices to light, and, in particular, ſtigmatized the new Eaſt-India Company, for having been deeply concerned in this ſpecies of venality. An enquiry being ſet on foot in the Houſe of Commons, ſeveral elections were declared void; and divers perſons, who had been illegally returned, were firſt expelled the Houſe, and afterwards detained in priſon. Yet theſe proſecutions were carried on with ſuch partiality, as plainly indicated that they flowed rather from party zeal than from patriotiſm.

§ XLII. A great body of the Commons had reſolved to preſent an addreſs to his Majeſty, deſiring he would acknowledge the King of Spain; and the motion, in all probability, would have been carried by a conſiderable majority, had not one bold and lucky expreſſion given ſuch a turn to the debate, as induced the anti-courtiers to deſiſt. One Mr. Monckton, in the heat of his declamation againſt this meaſure, ſaid, he expected the next vote would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales. Though there was little or no connection between theſe two ſubjects, a great many members were ſtartled at the information, and deſerted the meaſure, which was dropped accordingly. The King's ſpeech being taken into conſideration, the Houſe reſolved to ſupport his Majeſty and his government; to take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, and the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion. This reſolution was preſented in an addreſs to the King, who received it favourably. At the ſame time, he laid before them a memorial he had received from the States-General,

and

and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance in the points that conſtituted the ſubſtance of this remonſtrance. The States gave him to underſtand, that they had acknowledged the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain: that France had agreed to a negociation, in which they might ſtipulate the neceſſary conditions for ſecuring the peace of Europe; and that they were firmly reſolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his Majeſty and their other allies. They therefore begged he would ſend a miniſter to the Hague, with neceſſary powers and inſtructions to cooperate with them in this negociation: they told him that, in caſe it ſhould prove ineffectual, or Holland be ſuddenly invaded by the troops which Louis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the aſſiſtance of England, and hoped his Majeſty would prepare the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, to be uſed, ſhould occaſion require. The memorial was likewiſe communicated to the Houſe of Lords. Mean while, the Commons deſired that the treaties between England and the States-General ſhould be laid before their Houſe. Theſe being peruſed, they reſolved upon an addreſs, to deſire his Majeſty would enter into ſuch negociations with the States-General, and other Potentates, as might moſt effectually conduce to the mutual ſafety of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces, as well as to the preſervation of the peace of Europe, and to aſſure him of their ſupport and aſſiſtance, in performance of the treaty ſubſiſting between England and the States-General. This reſolution, however, was not carried without great oppoſition from thoſe who were averſe to the nation's involving itſelf in another war upon the continent. The King profeſſed himſelf extremely well pleaſed with this addreſs, and told them he would immediately order his miniſters abroad to act in concert with the States-General and other Powers, for the attainment of thoſe ends they propoſed. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XLIII.

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§ XLIII. He communicated to the Commons a letter, written by the Earl of Melfort to his brother the Earl of Perth, Governor to the pretended Prince of Wales. It had been miſlaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. It contained a ſcheme for another invaſion of England, together with ſome reflections on the character of the Earl of Middleton, who had ſupplanted him at the Court of St. Germain's. Melfort was a mere projector, and ſeems to have had no other view than that of recommending himſelf to King James, and bringing his rival into diſgrace. The Houſe of Lords, to whom the letter was alſo imparted, ordered it to be printed. Next day they preſented an addreſs, thanking his Majeſty for his care of the Proteſtant religion; deſiring all the treaties made ſince the laſt war might be laid before them; requeſting him to engage in ſuch alliances as he ſhould think proper for preſerving the balance of power in Europe: aſſuring him of their concurrence: expreſſing their acknowledgement for his having communicated Melfort's letter; deſiring he would give orders for ſeizing the horſes and arms of diſſaffected perſons; for removing Papiſts from London: and for ſearching after thoſe arms and proviſions of war mentioned in the letter: finally, they requeſted him to equip ſpeedily a ſufficient fleet for the defence of himſelf and his kingdom. They received a gracious anſwer to this addreſs, which was a further encouragement to the King to put his own private deſigns in execution: towards the ſame end the letter contributed not a little, by inflaming the fears and reſentment of the nation againſt France, which in vain diſclaimed the Earl of Melfort, as a fantaſtical ſchemer, to whom no regard was paid at the Court of Verſailles. The French miniſtry complained of the publication of this letter, as an attempt to ſow jealouſy between the two Crowns: and, as a convincing proof of their ſincerity, baniſhed the Earl of Melfort to Angers.

§ XLIV.

§ XLIV. The credit of Exchequer-bills was ſo lowered by the change of the miniſtry, and the lapſe of the time allotted for their circulation, that they fell near twenty per cent. to the prejudice of the revenue, and the diſcredit of the government in foreign countries. The Commons having taken this affair into conſideration, voted, That proviſion ſhould be made from time to time for making good the principle and intereſt due on all Parliamentary funds; and afterwards paſſed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called Exchequer-bills. This was ſent up to the Lords on the ſixth day of March, and on the thirteenth received the royal aſſent. The next object that engroſſed the attention of the Commons was the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion to the throne, which the King had recommended to their conſideration in the beginning of the ſeſſion. Having deliberated on this ſubject, they reſolved, That for the preſervation of the peace and happineſs of the kingdom, and the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion, it was abſolutely neceſſary that a further declaration ſhould be made of the limitation and ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant Line, after his Majeſty and the princeſs, and the heirs of their bodies reſpectively: and, That further proviſion ſhould be firſt made for the ſecurity of the rights and liberties of the people. Mr. Harley moved, That ſome conditions of government might be ſettled as preliminaries, before they ſhould proceed to the nomination of the perſon, that their ſecurity might be complete. Accordingly, they deliberated on this ſubject, and agreed to the following reſolutions: That whoever ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this Crown, ſhall join in communion with the Church of England as by law eſtabliſhed: That, in caſe the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this realm ſhall hereafter come to any perſon, not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions

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or

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or territories which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the conſent of Parliament: That no perſon who ſhall hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the Crown ſhall go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of Parliament: That, from and after the time that the further limitation by this act ſhall take effect, all matters and things relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the Privy-Council, by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, ſhall be tranſacted there, and all reſolutions taken thereupon ſhall be ſigned by ſuch of the Privy-Council as ſhall adviſe and conſent to the ſame: That, after the limitation ſhall take effect, no perſon born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen (except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents) ſhall be capable to be of the Privy-Council, or a member of either Houſe of Parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of truſt, either civil or military, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the Crown to himſelf, or to any others in truſt for him: That no perſon who has an office or place of profit under the King, or receives a penſion from the Crown, ſhall be capable of ſerving as member of the Houſe of Commons: That, after the limitation ſhall take effect, Judges' commiſſions be made *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but upon the addreſs of both Houſes of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them: That no pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an impeachment by the Commons in Parliament. Having ſettled theſe preliminaries, they reſolved, That the Princeſs Sophia, Ducheſs Dowager of Hanover, be declared the next in ſucceſſion to the Crown of England, in the Proteſtant Line, after his Majeſty, and the Princeſs, and the heirs of their bodies reſpectively: and, That the

the further limitation of the Crown be to the ſaid Princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Proteſtants. A bill being formed on theſe reſolutions, was ſent up to the Houſe of Lords, where it met with ſome oppoſition from the Marquis of Normanby: a proteſt was likewiſe entered againſt it by the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guildford and Jeffries. Nevertheleſs, it paſſed without amendments, and on the twelfth day of June received the royal aſſent: the King was extremely mortified at the preliminary limitations, which he conſidered as an open inſult on his own conduct and adminiſtration; not but that they were neceſſary precautions, naturally ſuggeſted by the experience of thoſe evils to which the nation had been already expoſed, in conſequence of raiſing a foreign Prince to the throne of England. As the Tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late King's intereſt, they exerted themſelves zealouſly on this occaſion, to wipe off the aſperſion, and inſinuate themſelves into the confidence of the people; hoping, that in the ſequel they ſhould be able to reſtrain the nation from engaging too deep in the affairs of the Continent, without incurring the charge of diſaffection to the preſent King and Government. The act of ſettlement being paſſed, the Earl of Macclesfield was ſent to notify the tranſaction to the Electreſs Sophia, who likewiſe received from his hands the Order of the Garter.

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§ XLV. The act of ſucceſſion gave umbrage to all the Popiſh Princes who were more nearly related to the Crown than this Lady, whom the Parliament had preferred to all others. The Ducheſs of Savoy, grand-daughter to King Charles I. by her mother, ordered her Ambaſſador, Count Maffei, to make a proteſtation to the Parliament of England, in her name, againſt all reſolutions and deciſions contrary to her title, as ſole daughter to the Princeſs Henrietta, next in ſucceſſion to the Crown of England,

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after King William and the Princeſs Anne of Denmark. Two copies of this proteſt Maſſei ſent in letters to the Lord-Keeper and the Speaker of the Lower Houſe, by two of his gentlemen, and a publick notary to atteſt the delivery; but no notice was taken of the declaration. The Duke of Savoy, while his miniſter was thus employed in England, engaged in an alliance with the Crowns of France and Spain, on condition, That his Catholick Majeſty ſhould eſpouſe his youngeſt daughter without a dowry: That he himſelf ſhould command the allied army in Italy, and furniſh eight thouſand infantry, with five and twenty hundred horſe, in conſideration of a monthly ſubſidy of fifty thouſand crowns.

§ XLVI. During theſe tranſactions, Mr. Stanhope, envoy extraordinary to the States-General, was empowered to treat with the miniſters of France and Spain, according to the addreſſes of both Houſes of Parliament. He repreſented, that though his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had thought fit to deviate from the partition-treaty, it was not reaſonable that the King of England ſhould loſe the effect of that convention; he, therefore, expected ſome ſecurity for the peace of Europe; and for that purpoſe inſiſted upon certain articles, importing, That the French King ſhould immediately withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands: That, for the ſecurity of England, the cities of Oſtend and Nieuport ſhould be delivered into the hands of his Britannick Majeſty: That no kingdom, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the Crown of Spain, ſhould ever be yielded or transferred to the Crown of France, on any pretence whatever: That the ſubjects of his Britannick Majeſty ſhould retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to their navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholick Majeſty; and alſo all ſuch immunities, rights, and franchiſes, as the ſubjects of France, or any other power, either poſſeſs for

for the preſent, or may enjoy for the future: That all treaties of peace and conventions between England and Spain ſhould be renewed: and, That a treaty formed on theſe demands ſhould be guaranteed by ſuch powers as one or other of the Contractors ſhould ſolicit and prevail upon to accede. Such likewiſe were the propoſals made by the States-General, with this difference, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, all the ſtrongeſt places in the Netherlands. Count D'Avaux, the French miniſter, was ſo ſurpriſed at theſe exorbitant demands, that he could not help ſaying, They could not have been higher, if his Maſter had loſt four ſucceſſive battles. He aſſured them, that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands as ſoon as the King of Spain ſhould have forces of his own ſufficient to guard the country: with reſpect to the other articles, he could give no other anſwer, but that he would immediately tranſmit them to Verſailles. Louis was filled with indignation at the inſolent ſtrain of thoſe propoſals, which he conſidered as a ſure mark of William's hoſtile intentions. He refuſed to give any other ſecurity for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick; and he is ſaid to have tampered, by means of his agents and emiſſaries, with the members of the Engliſh Parliament, that they might oppoſe all ſteps tending to a new war on the Continent. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XLVII. King William certainly had no expectation that France would cloſe with ſuch propoſals; but he was not without hope, that her refuſal would warm the Engliſh nation into a concurrence with his deſigns. He communicated to the Houſe of Commons the demands which had been made by him and the States-General; and gave them to underſtand, that he would from time to time make them acquainted with the progreſs of the negociation. The Commons, ſuſpecting that his intention was to make them parties in a congreſs which he

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might conduct to a different end from that which they propoſed, reſolved to ſignify their ſentiments in the anſwer to this meſſage. They called for the treaty of partition, which being read, they voted an addreſs of thanks to his Majeſty, for his moſt gracious declaration, that he would make them acquainted with the progreſs of the negociation: but they ſignified their diſapprobation of the partition-treaty, ſigned with the great ſeal of England, without the advice of the Parliament which was then ſitting, and productive of ill conſequences to the kingdom, as well as to the peace of Europe, as it aſſigned over to the French King ſuch a large portion of the Spaniſh dominion. Nothing could be more mortifying to the King than this open attack upon his own conduct: yet he ſuppreſſed his reſentment, and without taking the leaſt notice of their ſentiments with reſpect to the partition-treaty, aſſured them, that he ſhould be always ready to receive their advice on the negociation which he had ſet on foot, according to their deſire. The debates in the Houſe of Commons upon the ſubject of the partition-treaty roſe to ſuch violence, that divers members in declaiming againſt it, tranſgreſſed the bounds of decency. Sir Edward Seymour compared the diviſion which had been made of the Spaniſh territories to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe did not ſcruple to ſay it was a felonious treaty: an expreſſion, which the King reſented to ſuch a degree, that he declared he would have demanded perſonal ſatisfaction with his ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the diſparity of condition between himſelf and the perſon who had offered ſuch an outrageous inſult to his honour: whether the Tories intended to alienate the minds of the nation from all foreign connections, or to wreak their vengeance on the late miniſters, whom they hated as the chiefs of the Whig party, certain it is, they now raiſed an univerſal outcry againſt the partition-

treaty,

treaty, which was not only condemned in publick pamphlets and private converſation, but even brought into the Houſe of Lords as an object of Parliamentary cenſure. In the month of March a warm debate on this ſubject was begun by Sheffield Marquis of Normanby, and carried on with great vehemence by other noblemen of the ſame faction. They exclaimed againſt the article by which ſo many territories were added to the Crown of France: they complained, that the Emperor had been forſaken: that the treaty was not communicated to the privy-council or miniſtry, but clandeſtinely tranſacted by the Earls of Portland and Jerſey: that the ſanction of the great ſeal had been unjuſtly and irregularly applied, firſt to blank powers, and afterwards to the treaty itſelf. The courtiers replied, that the King had engaged in a treaty of partition at the deſire of the Emperor, who had agreed to every article, except that relating to the duchy of Milan, and afterwards deſired, that his Majeſty would procure for him the beſt terms he could obtain; above all things recommending ſecrecy, that he might not forfeit his intereſt in Spain, by ſeeming to conſent to the treaty: that foreign negociations being entruſted to the care of the crown, the King lay under no legal obligation to communicate ſuch ſecrets of State to his council: far leſs was he obliged to follow their advice: and that the keeper of the great ſeal had no authority for refuſing to apply it to any powers or treaty which the King ſhould grant or conclude, unleſs they were contrary to law, which had made no proviſion for ſuch an emergency*. The Earl of Portland, apprehending

CHAP. VI. 1700.

* In the course of this debate, the Earl of Rochester reprehended some Lords for speaking disrespectfully of the French King, observing, that it was peculiarly incumbent on Peers to treat monarchs with decorum and respect, as they derived their dignity from the Crown. Another affirming, that the French King was not only to be respected, but likewise to be feared; a certain Lord replied, "He hoped no man "in England need to be afraid of the French King; much less the Peer "who spoke last, who was too much a friend to that Monarch to fear "any thing from his resentment."

that

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that this tempeſt would burſt upon his head, declared on the ſecond day of the debate, that he had by the King's order communicated the treaty, before it was concluded, to the Earls of Pembroke and Marlborough, the Lords Lonſdale, Somers, Hallifax, and Secretary Vernon. Theſe noblemen owned, that they had been made acquainted with the ſubſtance of it: that when they excepted to ſome particulars, they wer told, his Majeſty had carried the matter as far as it could be advanced, and that he could obtain no better terms; thus aſſured that every article was already ſettled, they ſaid they no longer inſiſted upon particulars, but gave their advice that his Majeſty ſhould not engage himſelf in any meaſure that would produce a new war, ſeinſeg the nation had been ſo uneaſy under the laſt. After long debates, and great variety as well as virulance of altercation, the Houſe agreed to an addreſs, in which they diſapproved of the partition-treaty, as a ſcheme inconſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of Europe as well as prejudicial to the intereſt of Great-Britain. They complained, that neither the inſtructions given to his plenipotentiaries, nor the draft of the treaty itſelf, had been laid before his Majeſty's council. They humbly beſought him, that for the future, he would in all matters of importance, require and admit the advice of his natural-born ſubjects of known probity and fortune; and that he would conſtitute a council of ſuch perſons, to whom he might impart all affairs which ſhould any way concern him and his dominions. They obſerved, that intereſt and natural affection to their country would incline them to every meaſure that might tend to its welfare and proſperity; whereas ſtrangers could not be ſo much influenced by theſe conſiderations: that their knowledge of the country would render them more capable than foreigners could be of adviſing his Majeſty touching the true intereſts of his kingdom: that they had exhibited ſuch repeated demonſtrations of their duty

Burnet. Oldmixon Cole. Lamberty. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

duty and affection, as muſt convince his Majeſty of their zeal in his ſervice; nor could he want the knowledge of perſons fit to be employed in all his ſecret and arduous affairs: finally, as the French King appeared to have violated the treaty of partition, they adviſed his Majeſty, in future negociations with that Prince, to proceed with ſuch caution as might imply a real ſecurity. CHAP. VI. 1700.

§ XLVIII. The King received this ſevere remonſtrance with his uſual phlegm; ſaying, it contained matter of very great moment: and he would take care that all treaties he made ſhould be for the honour and ſafety of England. Though he deeply felt this affront, he would not alter his conduct towards the new miniſters: but, he plainly perceived their intention was to thwart him in his favourite meaſure, and humble him into a dependence upon their intereſt in Parliament. On the laſt day of March, he imparted to the Commons the French King's declaration, that he would grant no other ſecurity than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick: ſo that the negociation ſeemed to be at an end. He likewiſe communicated two reſolutions of the States-General, with a memorial from their envoy in England, relating to the ſhips they had equipped with a view to join the Engliſh fleet, and the ſuccours ſtipulated in the treaty concluded in the year 1677, which they deſired might be ſent over with all convenient expedition. The Houſe having conſidered this meſſage, unanimouſly reſolved to deſire his Majeſty would carry on the negociations in concert with the States-General, and take ſuch meaſures therein as might moſt conduce to their ſafety: they aſſured him, they would effectually enable him to ſupport the treaty of 1677, by which England was bound to aſſiſt them with ten thouſand men, and twenty ſhips of war, in caſe they ſhould be attacked. Though the King was nettled at that part of this addreſs, which, by confining him to one treaty, implied their diſapproAn. 1701.

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bation of a new confederacy, he diſcovered no ſigns of emotion: but thanked them for the aſſurance they had given, and told them he had ſent orders to his envoy at the Hague, to continue the conferences with the Courts of France and Spain. On the nineteenth day of April, the Marquis de Torcy delivered to the Earl of Mancheſter, at Paris, a letter from the new King of Spain to his Britannick Majeſty, notifying his acceſſion to that throne, and expreſſing a deſire of cultivating a mutual friendſhip with the King and Crown of England. How averſe ſoever William might have been to any correſpondence of this ſort, the Earl of Rocheſter and the new miniſters importuned him in ſuch a manner to acknowledge Philip, that he at length complied with their intreaties, and wrote a civil anſwer to his Moſt Catholick Majeſty. This was a very alarming incident to the Emperor, who was bent upon a war with the two crowns, and had determined to ſend Prince Eugene with an army into Italy, to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, as a fief of the empire. The new Pope, Clement XI. who had ſucceeded to the papacy in the preceding year, was attached to the French intereſt: the Venetians favoured the Emperor; but they refuſed to declare themſelves at this juncture.

§ XLIX. The French King conſented to a renewal of the negociations at the Hague; but, in the mean time tampered with the Dutch deputies, to engage them in a ſeparate treaty. Finding them determined to act in concert with the King of England, he protracted the conferences, in order to gain time, while he erected fortifications, and drew lines on the frontiers of Holland, divided the Princes of the Empire by his intrigues, and endeavoured to gain over the ſtates of Italy. The Dutch, mean while, exerted themſelves in providing for their own ſecurity. They re-enforced their garriſons, purchaſed ſupplies, and ſolicited ſuccours from foreign potentates. The States wrote a letter, to King William, explaining

explaining the danger of their ſituation, profeſſing the moſt inviolable attachment to the intereſt of England, and deſiring that the ſtipulated number of troops ſhould be ſent immediately to their aſſiſtance. The three Scottiſh regiments which he had retained in his own pay were immediately tranſported from Scotland. The letter of the States-General he communicated to the houſe of Commons, who having taken it into conſideration, reſolved to aſſiſt his Majeſty to ſupport his allies in maintaining the liberty of Europe; and to provide immediate ſuccours for the States General, according to the treaty of 1677. The Houſe of Peers, to whom the letter was alſo communicated, carried their zeal ſtill farther. They preſented an addreſs, in which they deſired his Majeſty would not only perform the articles of any former treaty with the States-General, but alſo engage with them in a ſtrict league offenſive and defenſive, for their common preſervation; and invite into it all the Princes and States that were concerned in the preſent viſible danger ariſing from the union of France and Spain. They exhorted him to enter into ſuch alliances with the Emperor, as his Majeſty ſhould think neceſſary, purſuant to the ends of the treaty concluded in the year 1689. They aſſured him of their hearty and ſincere aſſiſtance, not doubting that Almighty God would protect his ſacred perſon in ſo righteous a cauſe; and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his ſubjects would carry him with honour and ſucceſs through all the difficulties of a juſt war. Laſtly, they took leave humbly to repreſent, that the dangers to which his kingdom and allies had been expoſed, were chiefly owing to the fatal counſels that prevented his Majeſty's ſooner meeting his people in Parliament. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ L. Theſe proceedings of both Houſes could not but be very agreeable to the King, who expreſſed his ſatisfaction in his anſwer to each apart. They were the more remarkable, as at this very time conſiderable

BOOK I. 1700. ſiderable progreſs was made in a deſign to impeach *the old miniſtry.* This deviation, therefore, from the tenour of their former conduct could be owing to no other motive than a ſenſe of their own danger, and reſentment againſt France, which, even during the negociation, had been ſecretly employed in making preparations to ſurpriſe and diſtreſs the States-General. The Commons having expreſſed their ſentiments on this ſubject, reſumed the conſideration *of the partition treaty.* They had appointed a committee to examine the journals of the Houſe of Lords, and to report their proceedings in relation to the treaty of partition. When the report was made by Sir Edward Seymour, the Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider the ſtate of the nation: after warm debates, they reſolved, That William Earl of Portland, by negociating and concluding *the treaty of partition, was guilty of a high* crime and miſdemeanour. They ordered Sir John Leveſon Gower to impeach him at the bar of the Houſe of Lords: and named a committee to prepare the articles of his impeachment. Then, in a conference with the Lords, they deſired to know the particulars of what had paſſed between the Earl of Portland and Secretary Vernon, in relation to the *partition-treaty,* as alſo what other information they had obtained concerning negociations or treaties of partition of the Spaniſh monarchy. The Lords demurring to this demand, the Lower-Houſe reſolved to addreſs the King, That copies of both treaties of partition, together with all the powers and inſtructions for negociating thoſe treaties, ſhould be laid before them. The copies were accordingly produced, and the Lords ſent down to the Commons two papers, containing the powers granted to the Earls of Portland and Jerſey, for ſigning both treaties of partition. The Houſe afterwards ordered, That Mr. Secretary Vernon ſhould lay before them all the letters which had paſſed between the Earl of Portland

Portland and him, in relation to thoſe treaties; and he thought proper to obey their command. Nothing could be more ſcandalouſly partial than the conduct of the Commons on this occaſion. They reſolved to ſcreen the Earl of Jerſey, Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Mr. Vernon, who had been as deeply concerned as any others in that tranſaction; and pointed all their vengeance againſt the Earls of Portland and Orford, and the Lords Somers and Hallifax. Some of the members even tampered with Kidd, who was now a priſoner in Newgate, to accuſe Lord Somers as having encouraged him in his piracy. He was brought to the bar of the Houſe, and examined: but he declared that he had never ſpoke to Lord Somers; and that he had no order from thoſe concerned in the ſhip, but that of purſuing his voyage againſt the pirates in Madagaſcar. Finding him unfit for their purpoſe, they left him to the courſe of law; and he was hanged, with ſome of his accomplices. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LI. Lord Somers, underſtanding that he was accuſed in the Houſe of Commons of having conſented to the partition-treaty, deſired that he might be admitted and heard in his own defence. His requeſt being granted, he told the Houſe, that when he received the King's letter concerning the partition-treaty, with an order to ſend over the neceſſary powers in the moſt ſecret manner, he thought it would have been taking too much upon him to put a ſtop to a treaty of ſuch conſequence, when the life of the King of Spain was ſo precarious; for, had the King died before the treaty was finiſhed, and he been blamed for delaying the neceſſary powers, he could not have juſtified his own conduct, ſince the King's letter was really a warrant: that, nevertheleſs, he had written a letter to his Majeſty, objecting to ſeveral particulars in the treaty, and propoſing other articles which he thought were for the intereſt of his country: that he thought himſelf bound to put

BOOK I. 1701. the great ſeal to the treaty when it was concluded: that as a Privy-Counſellor, he had offered his beſt advice, and as Chancellor, executed his office according to his duty. After he had withdrawn, his juſtification gave riſe to a long debate, which ended in a reſolution carried by a majority of ſeven voices, That John Lord Somers, by adviſing his Majeſty to conclude the treaty of partition, whereby large territories of the Spaniſh monarchy were to be delivered up to France, was guilty of a high crime and miſdemeanour. Votes to the ſame effect were paſſed againſt Edward Earl of Orford, and Charles Lord Halifax; and all three were impeached at the bar of the Upper Houſe. But the Commons knowing that thoſe impeachments would produce nothing in the Houſe of Lords, where the oppoſite intereſt predominated, they reſolved to proceed againſt the accuſed noblemen in a more expeditious and effectual way of branding their reputation. They voted and preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring he would remove them from his councils and preſence for ever, as adviſers of a treaty ſo pernicious to the trade and welfare of England. They concluded, by repeating their aſſurance, that they would always ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty to the utmoſt of their power, againſt all his enemies both at home and abroad. The King, in his anſwer, artfully overlooked the firſt part of the remonſtrance. He thanked them for their repeated aſſurances; and told them he would employ none in his ſervice but ſuch as ſhould be thought moſt likely to improve that mutual truſt and confidence between him and his people, which was ſo neceſſary at that conjuncture, both for their own ſecurity and the preſervation of their allies.

§ LII. The Lords, incenſed at this ſtep of the Commons, which they conſidered as an inſult upon their tribunal, and a violation of common juſtice, drew up and delivered a counter-addreſs, humbly beſeeching

beſeeching his Majeſty, that he would not paſs any cenſure upon the accuſed Lords until they ſhould be tried on the impeachments, and judgments be given according to the uſage of Parliament. The King was ſo perplexed by theſe oppoſite repreſentations, that he knew not well what courſe to follow. He made no reply to the counter-addreſs; but allowed the names of the impeached Lords to remain in the council-books. The Commons having carried their point, which was to ſtigmatize thoſe noblemen, and prevent their being employed for the future, ſuffered the impeachments to be neglected, until they themſelves moved for trial. On the fifth day of May the Houſe of Lords ſent a meſſage to the Commons, importing, That no articles had as yet been exhibited againſt the noblemen whom they had impeached. The charge was immediately drawn up againſt the Earl of Orford: him they accuſed of having received exorbitant grants from the Crown: of having been concerned with Kidd the pirate: of having committed abuſes in managing and victualling the fleet, when it lay on the coaſt of Spain: and laſtly, of having adviſed the partition-treaty. The Earl in his own defence declared, that he had received no grant from the King, except a very diſtant reverſion, and a preſent of ten thouſand pounds, after he had defeated the French at La Hogue: that in Kidd's affair he had acted legally, and with a good intention towards the publick, though to his own loſs; that his accounts with regard to the fleet which he commanded had been examined and paſſed; yet he was ready to wave the advantage, and juſtify himſelf in every particular; and he abſolutely denied that he had given any advice concerning the treaty of partition. Lord Somers was accuſed of having ſet the ſeals to the powers, and afterwards to the treaties: of having accepted ſome grants: of having been an accomplice with Kidd; and of having ſome guilt of partial and dilatory proceedings in Chancery.

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day for Orford's trial, and ſignified their reſolution to the Commons. Theſe deſired that a committee of both Houſes ſhould be named for ſettling preliminaries, one of which was, That the Lord to be tried ſhould not ſit as a Peer; and the other imported, That thoſe Lords impeached for the ſame matter ſhould not vote in the trial of each other. They likewiſe deſired, that Lord Somers ſhould be firſt tried. The Lords made no objection to this laſt demand; but they rejected the propoſal of a committee conſiſting of both Houſes, alledging, that the Commons were parties, and had no title to ſit in equality with the judges, or to ſettle matters relating to the trial: that this was a demand contrary to the principles of law and rules of juſtice, and never practiſed in any court or nation. The Lords, indeed, had yielded to this expedient in the Popiſh plot, becauſe it was a caſe of treaſon, in which the King's life and ſafety of the kingdom were concerned, while the people were jealous of the Court, and the whole nation was in a ferment; but at preſent the times were quiet, and the charge amounted to nothing more than miſdemeanours; therefore, the Lords could not aſſent to ſuch a propoſal as was derogatory from their juriſdiction. Neither would they agree to the preliminaries; but, on the twelfth day of June, reſolved, That no Peer impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanours, ſhould, upon his trial, be without the bar: and, That no Peer impeached could be precluded from voting on any occaſion, except in his own trial. Divers meſſages paſſed between the two Houſes; the Commons ſtill inſiſting upon a committee to ſettle preliminaries: at length the diſpute was brought to a free conference. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LIII. Mean while, the King going to the Houſe of Peers, gave the royal aſſent to the bill of ſucceſſion. In this ſpeech he expreſſed his warm acknowledgements for their repeated aſſurances of ſupporting

BOOK I. 1701. supporting him in ſuch alliances as ſhould be moſt proper for the preſervation of the liberty of Europe, and for the ſecurity of England and the States-General. He obſerved, that the ſeaſon of the year was advanced: that the poſture of affairs abſolutely required his preſence abroad: and he recommended diſpatch of the publick buſineſs, eſpecially of thoſe matters which were of the greateſt importance. The Commons thanked him in an addreſs for having approved of their proceedings: they declared they would ſupport him in ſuch alliances as he ſhould think fit to make in conjunction with the Emperor and the States-General, for the peace of Europe, and reducing the exorbitant power of France. Then they reſumed their diſpute with the Upper Houſe. In the free conference, Lord Haverſham happened to tax the Commons with partiality, in impeaching ſome Lords, and ſcreening others who were equally guilty of the ſame miſdemeanours. Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave and the managers for the Commons immediately withdrew: this unguarded ſally being reported to the Houſe, they immediately reſolved, That John Lord Haverſham had uttered moſt ſcandalous reproaches and falſe expreſſions, highly reflecting upon the honour and juſtice of the Houſe of Commons, tending to a breach in the good correſpondence between the two Houſes, and to the interruption of the publick juſtice of the nation: That the ſaid Lord Haverſham ſhould be charged before the Lords for the ſaid words: That the Lords ſhould be deſired to proceed in juſtice againſt him, and to inflict upon him ſuch puniſhment as ſo high an offence againſt the Commons did deſerve. The Commons had now found a pretence to juſtify their delay; and declared they would not renew the conference until they ſhould have received ſatisfaction. Lord Haverſham offered to ſubmit to a trial; but inſiſted on their firſt proving the words which he was ſaid to have ſpoken. When this declaration

was

was imparted to the Commons, they ſaid, the Lords ought to have cenſured him in a ſummary way, and ſtill refuſed to renew the conference. The Lords, on the other hand, came to a reſolution, That there ſhould not be a committee of both Houſes concerning the trial of the impeached lords. Then they reſolved, That Lord Somers ſhould be tried at Weſtminſter-hall on Tueſday the ſeventeenth day of June, and ſignified this reſolution to the Lower-Houſe; reminding them, at the ſame time, of the articles againſt the Earl of Portland. The Commons refuſed to appear, alledging, they were the only judges, and that the evidence was not yet prepared. They ſent up the reaſons of their non-appearance to the Houſe of Lords, where they were ſupported by the new miniſtry and all the mal-contents, and produced very warm debates. The majority carried their point piecemeal, by dint of different votes, againſt which very ſevere proteſts were entered. On the day appointed for the trial, they ſent a meſſage to the Commons, that they were going to Weſtminſter-Hall. The other impeached lords aſked leave, and were permitted to withdraw. The articles of impeachment againſt Lord Somers, and his anſwers, being read in Weſtminſter-Hall, and the Commons not appearing to proſecute, the Lords adjourned to their own houſe, where they debated concerning the queſtion that was to be put. This being ſettled, they returned to Weſtminſter-Hall; and the queſtion being put, "That John "Lord Somers be acquitted of the articles of im-"peachment againſt him, exhibited by the Houſe "of Commons, and all things therein contained: "and, *That the impeachment be diſmiſſed*," it was carried by a majority of thirty-five. The Commons, exaſperated at theſe proceedings, re-reſolved, That the Lords had refuſed juſtice to the Commons: That they had endeavoured to overturn the right of impeachment lodged in the Commons by the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom:

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well as the charge againſt Lord Haverſham, were diſmiſſed for want of proſecution. Each Houſe ordered a narrative of theſe proceedings to be publiſhed; and their mutual animoſity had proceeded to ſuch a degree of rancour, as ſeemed to preclude all poſſibility of reconciliation. The Commons, in the whole courſe of this tranſaction, had certainly acted from motives of faction and revenge: for nothing could be more unjuſt, frivolous, and partial, than the charge exhibited in the articles of impeachment, their anticipating addreſs to the King, and their affected delay in the proſecutions. Their conduct on this occaſion was ſo flagrant as to attract the notice of the common people, and inſpire the generality of the nation with diſguſt. This the Whigs did not fail to augment by the arts of calumny, and in particular, by inſinuating that the Court of Verſailles had found means to engage the majority of the Commons in its intereſt. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LIV. This faction had, ſince the beginning of this ſeſſion, employed their emiſſaries in exciting a popular averſion to the Tory miniſters and members, and ſucceeded ſo well in their endeavours, that they formed a ſcheme of obtaining petitions from different counties and corporations, that ſhould induce the Commons to alter their conduct, on the ſuppoſition that it was contrary to the ſenſe of the nation. In execution of this ſcheme, a petition ſigned by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty juſtices of the peace, the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Kent, had been preſented to the Houſe of Commons on the eighteenth day of May, by five gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction. The purport of this remonſtrance was to recommend union among themſelves and confidence in his Majeſty, whoſe great actions for the nation could never be forgotten without the blackeſt ingratitude: to beg they would have regard to the voice of the people; that their religion and ſafety might be effectually provided for; that their loyal addreſſes might

BOOK I. 1701. be turned into bills of ſupply; and that his moſt ſacred Majeſty might be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his allies before it ſhould be too late. The Houſe was ſo incenſed at the petulance of the petition, that they voted it ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious; and ordered the gentlemen who had preſented it to be taken into cuſtody. They were afterwards committed to the Gatehouſe, where they remained till the prorogation of Parliament: but they had no reaſon to repine at their impriſonment, which recommended them to the notice and eſteem of the publick. They were viſited and careſſed by the chiefs of the Whig intereſt, and conſidered as martyrs to the liberties of the people. Their confinement gave riſe to a very extraordinary paper, intitled, "A memorial from the gentlemen, freeholders, and "inhabitants, of the counties of——, in behalf of "themſelves, and many thouſands of the good peo-"ple of England." It was ſigned *Legion*, and ſent to the Speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thouſand Engliſhmen, to deliver it to the Houſe of Commons. In this ſtrange expoſtulation, the Houſe was charged with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars: a new claim of right was ranged under ſeven heads: and the Commons were admoniſhed to act according to their duty, as ſpecified in this memorial, on pain of incurring the reſentment of an injured nation. It was concluded in theſe words: "For "Engliſhmen are no more to be ſlaves to Par-"liaments than to kings—our name is Legion, "and we are many." The Commons were equally provoked and intimidated by this libel, which was the production of one Daniel de Foe, a ſcurrilous party-writer, in very little eſtimation. They would not, however, deign to take notice of it in the Houſe: but a complaint being made of endeavours to raiſe tumults and ſeditions, a committee was appointed to draw up an addreſs to his Majeſty, informing

informing him of thoſe ſeditious endeavours, and beſeeching him to provide for the publick peace and ſecurity. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LV. The Houſe, however, perceiving plainly that they had incurred the odium of the nation, which began to clamour for a war with France, and dreading the popular reſentment, thought fit to change their meaſures with reſpect to this object, and preſent the addreſs we have already mentioned, in which they promiſed to ſupport him in the alliances he ſhould contract with the Emperor and other States, in order to bridle the exorbitant power of France. They likewiſe proceeded in earneſt upon the ſupply, and voted funds for raiſing about two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds to defray the expence of the enſuing year. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved that ten thouſand troops ſhould be tranſported from Ireland to Holland, as the auxiliaries ſtipulated in the treaty of 1677 with the States-General. The funds were conſtituted of a land tax, certain duties on merchandize, and a weekly deduction from the Exciſe, ſo as to bring down the civil liſt to ſix hundred thouſands pounds; as the Duke of Glouceſter was dead, and James's Queen refuſed her allowance. They paſſed a bill for taking away all privileges of Parliament in legal proſecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; their laſt ſtruggle with the Lords was concerning a bill for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the publick accounts. The perſons nominated for this purpoſe were extremely obnoxious to the majority of the Peers, as violent partiſans of the Tory faction: when the bill, therefore, was ſent up to the Lords, they made ſome amendments, which the Commons rejected. The former animoſity between the two Houſes began to revive, when the King interrupted their diſputes, by putting an end to the ſeſſion, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the Parliament for their

BOOK I. 1701. their zeal in the publick ſervice, and exhorted them to a diſcharge of their duties in their ſeveral counties. He was, no doubt, extremely pleaſed with ſuch an iſſue of a ſeſſion that had begun with a very inauſpicious aſpect. His health daily declined; but he concealed the decay of his conſtitution, that his allies might not be diſcouraged from engaging in a confederacy of which he was deemed the head and chief ſupport. He conferred the command of the ten thouſand troops deſtined for Holland upon the Earl of Marlborough, and appointed him at the ſame time his Plenipotentiary to the States-General: a choice that evinced his diſcernment and diſcretion; for that nobleman ſurpaſſed all his contemporaries, both as a general and a politician. He was cool, penetrating, intrepid, and perſevering, plauſible, inſinuating, artful, and diſſembling.

§ LVI. A Regency being eſtabliſhed, the King embarked for Holland in the beginning of July. On his arrival at the Hague he aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the States-General, whom he harangued in very affectionate terms, and was anſwered with great cordiality: then he made a progreſs round the frontiers, to examine the ſtate of the garriſons; and gave ſuch orders and directions as he judged neceſſary for the defence of the country. Mean while, the French miniſter, D'Avaux, being recalled from the Hague, delivered a letter to the States from the French King, who complained that they had often interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected: but he aſſured them it wholly depended upon themſelves, whether they ſhould continue to receive marks of his ancient friendſhip for their republick. The letter was accompanied by an inſolent memorial, to which the States-General returned a very ſpirited anſwer. As they expected nothing now but hoſtilities from France, they redoubled their diligence in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their

their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries. King William and they had already engaged in an alliance with the King of Denmark, who undertook to furnish a certain number of troops, in consideration of a subsidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden and Poland; but this they could not effect. France had likewise offered her mediation between those powers in hopes of bringing over Sweden to her interest; and the Court of Vienna had tampered with the King of Poland; but he persisted in his resolution to prosecute the war. The Spaniards began to be very uneasy under the dominion of their new master. They were shocked at the insolence of his French ministers and attendants, and much more at the manners and fashions which they introduced. The grandees found themselves very little considered by their Sovereign, and resented his œconomy; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expence of the Court, which had used to support their magnificence. Prince Eugene, at the head of the Imperial army, had entered Italy by Vicenza, and passed the Adige near Carpi, where he defeated a body of five thousand French forces. The enemy were commanded by the Duke of Savoy, assisted by Marescha Catinat and the Prince of Vaudemont, who did not think proper to hazard an engagement: but Marescha Villeroy arriving in the latter end of August with orders to attack the Imperialists, Catinat retired in disgust. The new General marched immediately towards Chiari, where Prince Eugene was entrenched, and attacked his camp; but met with such a reception, that he was obliged to retire with the loss of five thousand men. Towards the end of the campaign the Prince took possession of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itself, and Goito, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks

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of the moſt invincible courage, indefatigable vigilance, and extenſive capacity in the art of war. In January he had well nigh ſurprized Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct. They forced one of the gates, by which the Prince and his followers entered: Villeroy being wakened by the noiſe, ran out into the ſtreet, where he was taken; and the town muſt have been infallibly reduced, had Prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops, which he had ordered to march from the Parmeſan, and ſecure the bridge. Theſe not arriving at the time appointed, an Iriſh regiment in the French ſervice took poſſeſſion of the bridge, and the Prince was obliged to retire with his priſoner.

§ LVII. The French King, alarmed at the activity and military genius of the Imperial General, ſent a reinforcement to his army in Italy, and the Duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country: he likewiſe importuned the Duke of Savoy to aſſiſt him effectually: but that Prince having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His ſecond daughter was by this time married to the new King of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where he found himſelf involved in diſputes with the States of Catalonia, who refuſed to pay a tax he had impoſed, until their privileges ſhould be confirmed; and he was obliged to gratify them in this particular.—The war continued to rage in the North. The young King of Sweden routed the Saxons upon the river Danu: thence he marched into Courland, and took poſſeſſion of Mittau without oppoſition; while the King of Poland retired into Lithuania. In Hungary the French emiſſaries endeavoured to ſow the ſeeds of a new revolt. They exerted themſelves with indefatigable induſtry in almoſt every Court of Chriſtendom. They had already gained over the Elector of Bavaria, and his brother, the Elector of Cologn, together with the Dukes of Wolfen-

Wolfenbuttle and Saxa-Gotha, who profeſſed neutrality, while they levied troops, and made ſuch preparations for war, as plainly indicated that they had received ſubſidies from France. Louis had alſo extorted a treaty of alliance from the King of Portugal, who was perſonally attached to the Auſtrian intereſt: but this weak Prince was a ſlave to his miniſters, whom the French King had corrupted. During this ſummer, the French coaſts were over-awed by the combined fleets of England and Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who ſailed down the Channel in the latter end of Auguſt, and detached Vice-Admiral Benbow with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt-Indies. In order to deceive the French King, with regard to the deſtination of this fleet, King William demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours, as if his deſign had been to ſend a ſquadron to the Mediterranean: but he met with a repulſe, while the French ſhips were freely admitted. About this period the King revoked his letters-patent to the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, and conſtituted the Earl of Pembroke Lord High-Admiral of England, in order to avoid the factions, the diſputes, and divided counſels of a board. The Earl was no ſooner promoted to this office, than he ſent Captain Loades with three frigates to Cadiz, to bring home the ſea ſtores and effects belonging to the Engliſh in that place, before the war ſhould commence; and this piece of ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed. The French King, in order to enjoy all the advantages that could be derived from his union with Spain, eſtabliſhed a company, to open a trade with Mexico and Peru; and concluded a new Aſſiento treaty for ſupplying the Spaniſh plantations with negroes. At the ſame time, he ſent a ſtrong ſquadron to the port of Cadiz. The French dreſs was introduced into the Court of Spain; and, by a formal edict, the grandees of that kingdom and the peers of France were put on a level in each nation.

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There was no vigour left in the councils of Spain: her finances were exhauſted; and her former ſpirit ſeemed to be quite extinguiſhed; the nobility were beggars, and the common people overwhelmed with indigence and diſtreſs. The condition of France was not much more proſperous. She had been harraſſed by a long war, and now ſaw herſelf on the eve of another, which in all probability would render her completely miſerable.

§ LVIII. Theſe circumſtances were well known to the Emperor and the Maritime Powers, and ſerved to animate their negociations for another grand alliance. Conferences were opened at the Hague; and, on the ſeventh day of September, a treaty was concluded between his Imperial Majeſty, England, and the States-General. The objects propoſed, were to procure ſatisfaction to the Emperor in the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, and ſufficient ſecurity for the dominions and commerce of the Allies. They engaged to uſe their endeavours for recovering the Spaniſh Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and for putting the Emperor in poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, with the lands and iſlands upon the coaſt of Tuſcany belonging to the Spaniſh dominions. They agreed, that the King of England, and the States-General, ſhould keep and poſſeſs whatever lands and cities they ſhould conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: That the Confederates ſhould faithfully communicate their deſigns to one another: That no party ſhould treat of peace, or truce, but jointly with the reſt: That they ſhould concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the ſame government; and hinder the French from poſſeſſing the Spaniſh Indies: That, in concluding a peace, the Confederates ſhould provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards, and ſecure the States by a barrier: That they ſhould, at the ſame time, ſettle the exerciſe

exerciſe of religion in the new conqueſts: That they ſhould aſſiſt one another with all their forces, in caſe of being invaded by the French King, or any other Potentate, on account of this alliance: That a defenſive alliance ſhould remain between them, even after the peace: That all Kings, Princes, and States, ſhould be at liberty to engage in this alliance. They determined to employ two months, to obtain, by amicable means, the ſatisfaction and ſecurity which they demanded; and ſtipulated, that within ſix weeks the treaty ſhould be ratified. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LIX. On the ſixteenth day of September, King James expired at St. Germain's, after having laboured under a tedious indiſpoſition. This unfortunate Monarch, ſince the miſcarriage of his laſt attempt for recovering his throne, had laid aſide all thoughts of worldly grandeur, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his ſoul. Though he could not prevent the buſy genius of his Queen from planning new ſchemes of reſtoration, he was always beſt pleaſed when wholly detached from ſuch chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diverſion; but religion was his conſtant care. Nothing could be more harmleſs than the life he led; and, in the courſe of it, he ſubjected himſelf to uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently viſited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper ſeem to have vaniſhed with his greatneſs. He became affable, kind, and eaſy to all his dependents; and his religion certainly opened and approved the virtues of his heart, though it ſeemed to impair the faculties of his ſoul. In his laſt illneſs he conjured his ſon to prefer his religion to every worldly advantage, and even to renounce all thoughts of a Crown, if he could not enjoy it without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of juſtice and Chriſtian forgiveneſs; he himſelf declaring, that he heartily forgave the

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the Prince of Orange, the Emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own requeſt, in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral ſolemnity.

§ LX. Before his death he was viſited by the French King, who ſeemed touched with his condition, and declared, that, in caſe of his death, he would own his ſon as King of England. This promiſe James's Queen had already extorted from him, by the intereſt of Madame de Maintenon and the Dauphin. Accordingly, when James died, the pretended Prince of Wales was proclaimed King of England at St. Germain's, and treated as ſuch at the Court of Verſailles. His title was likewiſe recognized by the King of Spain, the Duke of Savoy, and the Pope. William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he diſpatched a courier to the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to complain of this manifeſt violation. At the ſame time, he recalled the Earl of Mancheſter from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking an audience of leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having intimated to the Marquis de Torcy the order he had received. Louis, in vindication of his own conduct, diſperſed through all the Courts of Europe a manifeſto, in which he affirmed, that in owning the Prince of Wales as King of England he had not infringed any article of the treaty of Ryſwick. He confeſſed, that in the fourth article he had promiſed that he would not diſturb the King of Great-Britain in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his dominions; and he declared his intention was to obſerve that promiſe punctually. He obſerved, that his generoſity would not allow him to abandon the Prince of Wales or his family: that he could not refuſe him a title which was due to him by birth; that he had more reaſon to complain of the King of Great-Britain, and the States-General, whoſe declarations

rations and preparations in favour of the Emperor might be regarded as real contraventions to treaties: finally, he quoted ſome inſtances from hiſtory, in which the children enjoyed the titles of kingdoms which their fathers had loſt. Theſe reaſons, however, would hardly have induced the French King to take ſuch a ſtep, had not he perceived that a war with England was inevitable; and that he ſhould be able to reap ſome advantages in the courſe of it, from eſpouſing the cauſe of the Pretender. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXI. The ſubſtance of the French manifeſto was publiſhed in London, by Pouſſin, the Secretary of Tallard, who had been left in England, as agent for the Court of Verſailles. He was now ordered to leave the kingdom, which was filled with indignation at Louis, for having pretended to declare who ought to be their Sovereign. The city of London preſented an addreſs to the Lords-Juſtices, expreſſing the deepeſt reſentment of the French King's preſumption; aſſuring his Majeſty that they would at all times, exert the utmoſt of their abilities for the preſervation of his perſon, and the defence of his juſt rights, in oppoſition to all invaders of his crown and dignity. Addreſſes of the ſame nature were ſent up from all parts of the kingdom, and could not but be agreeable to William. He had now concerted meaſures for acting with vigour againſt France; and he reſolved to reviſit his kingdom, after having made a conſiderable progreſs in a treaty of perpetual alliance between England and the States-General, which was afterwards brought to perfection by his Plenipotentiary, the Earl of Marlborough. The King's return, however, was delayed a whole month by a ſevere indiſpoſition, during which, the Spaniſh miniſter De Quiros hired certain phyſicians, to conſult together upon the ſtate and nature of his diſtemper. They declared, that he could not live many weeks; and this opinion was tranſmitted to Madrid. William, however, baffled the prognoſtick, though his

BOOK I. 1701. his conſtitution had ſuſtained ſuch a rude ſhock, that he himſelf perceived his end was near. He told the Earl of Portland he found himſelf ſo weak, that he could not expect to live another ſummer: but charged him to conceal this circumſtance until he ſhould be dead. Notwithſtanding this near approach to diſſolution, he exerted himſelf with ſurprizing diligence and ſpirit in eſtabliſhing the confederacy, and ſettling the plan of operations. A ſubſidiary treaty was concluded with the King of Pruſſia, who engaged to furniſh a certain number of troops. The Emperor agreed to maintain ninety thouſand men in the field againſt France: the proportion of the States was limited to one hundred and two thouſand: and that of England did not exceed forty thouſand, to act in conjunction with the Allies.

§ LXII. On the fourth day of November the King arrived in England, which he found in a ſtrange ferment, produced from the mutual animoſity of the two factions. They reviled each other in words and writing with all the falſehood of calumny, and all the bitterneſs of rancour: ſo that truth, candour, and temperance, ſeemed to be baniſhed by conſent of both parties. The king had found himſelf deceived in his new miniſters, who had oppoſed his meaſures with all their influence. He was particularly diſguſted with the deportment of the Earl of Rocheſter, who proved altogether imperious and untractable; and, inſtead of moderating, inflamed the violence of his party. The King declared, the year in which that nobleman directed his councils was the uneaſineſs of his whole life. He could not help expreſſing his diſpleaſure in ſuch a coldneſs of reſerve, that Rocheſter told him he would ſerve his Majeſty no longer, ſince he did not enjoy his confidence. William made no anſwer to this expoſtulation, but reſolved he ſhould ſee him no more. The Earl, however, at the deſire of Mr. Harley, became

became more pliant and ſubmiſſive; and, after the King's departure for Holland, repaired to his government of Ireland, in which he now remained, exerting all his endeavours to acquire popularity. William foreſeeing nothing but oppoſition from the preſent ſpirit of the Houſe of Commons, cloſeted ſome of their leaders, with a view to beſpeak their compliance: but finding them determined to purſue their former principles, and to inſiſt upon their impeachments, he reſolved, with the advice of his friends to diſſolve the Parliament. This ſtep he was the more eaſily induced to take, as the Commons were become extremely odious to the nation in general, which breathed nothing but war and defiance againſt the French Monarch. The Parliament was accordingly diſſolved by proclamation, end another ſummoned to meet on the thirtieth day of December. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXIII. Never did the two parties proceed with ſuch heat and violence againſt each other, as in their endeavours to influence the new elections. The Whigs, however, obtained the victory. as they included the monied-intereſt, which will always prevail among the borough-electors. Corruption was now reduced into an open and avowed commerce; and, had not the people been ſo univerſally venal and profligate, that no ſenſe of ſhame remained, the victors muſt have bluſhed for their ſucceſs. Though the majority thus obtained was ſtaunch to the meaſures of the Court, the choice of Speaker fell upon Mr. Harley, contrary to the inclination of the King, who favoured Sir Thomas Lyttelton: but his Majeſty's ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe. It was ſo much admired by the well-wiſhers to the Revolution, that they printed it with decorations, in the Engliſh, Dutch, and French languages. It appeared as a piece of furniture in all their houſes, and as the King's laſt legacy to his own and all Proteſtant people. In this celebrated harangue, he expatiated

BOOK I. 1701. expatiated upon the indignity offered to the nation by the French King's acknowledging the pretended Prince of Wales: he explained the dangers to which it was expoſed, by his placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain: he gave them to underſtand he had concluded ſeveral alliances, according to the encouragement given him by both Houſes of Parliament, which alliances ſhould be laid before them, together with other treaties ſtill depending. He obſerved, that the eyes of all Europe were upon this parliament; and all matters at a ſtand, until their reſolution ſhould be known: therefore, no time ought to be loſt. He told them, they had yet an opportunity to ſecure for themſelves and their poſterity the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties, if they were not wanting to themſelves, but would exert the ancient vigour of the Engliſh nation; but he declared his opinion was, that ſhould they neglect this occaſion they had no reaſon to hope for another. He ſaid, it would be neceſſary to maintain a great ſtrength at ſea, and a force on land proportionable to that of their allies. He preſſed the Commons to ſupport the publick credit, which could not be preſerved without keeping ſacred that maxim, That they ſhall never be loſers who truſt to the parliamentary ſecurity. He declared, that he never aſked aids from his people without regret: that what he deſired was for their own ſafety and honour, at ſuch a critical time; and that the whole ſhould be appropriated to the purpoſes for which it was intended. He expreſſed his willingneſs that the accounts ſhould be yearly ſubmitted to the inſpection of Parliament. He again recommended diſpatch, together with good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and ſuppreſſing vice. He expreſſed his hope that they were come together, determined to avoid diſputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cauſe. He ſaid, he ſhould think it as great a bleſſing as could befall

befal England, if they were as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy fatal animoſities which divided and weakened them, as he was diſpoſed to make all his ſubjects ſafe and eaſy, as to any, even the higheſt offences committed againſt his perſon. He conjured them to diſappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always ſhown, and always would ſhow, how deſirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he deſired they would lay aſide parties and diviſions, ſo as that no diſtinction ſhould be heard of amongſt them, but of thoſe who were friends to the Proteſtant religion and preſent eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who wiſhed for a Popiſh prince and a French government. He concluded by affirming, that if they, in good earneſt, deſired to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and be indeed at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt, it would appear by their improving the preſent opportunity. The Lords immediately drew up a warm and affectionate addreſs, in which they expreſſed their reſentment of the proceedings of the French King, in owning the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England. They aſſured his Majeſty, they would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power againſt all his enemies: and when it ſhould pleaſe God to deprive them of his Majeſty's protection, they would vigorouſly aſſiſt and defend againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders whatſoever, every perſon and perſons who had right to ſucceed to the Crown of England, by virtue of the acts of Parliament for eſtabliſhing and limiting the ſucceſſion. On the fifth day of January, an addreſs to the ſame effect was preſented by the Commons, and both met with a very gracious reception from his Majeſty. The Lords; as a further proof of their zeal, having taken into conſideration the dangers that threatened Europe, from the acceſſion of the Duke of Anjou to the Crown of Spain, drew up another addreſs, explaining their

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BOOK I. 1701. ſenſe of that danger; ſtigmatizing the French King as a violator of treaties; declaring their opinion, that his Majeſty, his ſubjects, and allies, could never be ſafe and ſecure, until the Houſe of Auſtria ſhould be reſtored to their rights, and the invader of the Spaniſh monarchy brought to reaſon; and aſſuring his Majeſty that no time ſhould be loſt, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might anſwer the reaſonable expectations of their friends abroad; not doubting but to ſupport the reputation of the Engliſh name, when engaged under ſo great a Prince, in the glorious cauſe of maintaining the liberty of Europe.

§ LXIV. The King, in order to acquire the confidence of the Commons, ordered Mr. Secretary Vernon to lay before them copies of the treaties and conventions he had lately concluded, which were ſo well approved, that the Houſe unanimouſly voted the ſupply. By another vote, they authorized the Exchequer to borrow ſix hundred thouſand pounds at ſix per cent. for the ſervice of the fleet, and fifty thouſand pounds for the ſubſiſtence of guards and garriſons. They deliberated upon the ſtate of the navy, with the debt due upon it, and examined an eſtimate of what would be neceſſary for extraordinary repairs. They called for an account of that part of the national debt for which no proviſion had been made. They ordered the Speaker to write to the truſtees for the forfeited eſtates in Ireland, to attend the Houſe with a full detail of their proceedings in the execution of that act of Parliament. On the ninth day of January, they unanimouſly reſolved, That leave be given to bring in a bill for ſecuring his Majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant line, for extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and ſecret abettors. They reſolved to addreſs his Majeſty, that he would inſert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing,

That

That no peace ſhould be made with France, until his Majeſty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French King, in owning, and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They agreed to maintain forty thouſand men for the ſea ſervice, and a like number by land, to act in conjunction with the forces of the Allies, according to the proportions ſettled by the contracting powers. The ſupplies were raiſed by an impoſition of four ſhillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, penſions, and ſtipends, and on the profits ariſing from the different profeſſions: by a tax of two and one-half per cent. on all ſtock in trade, and money at intereſt; of five ſhillings in the pound on all ſalaries, fees, and perquiſites: a capitation tax of four ſhillings: an impoſition of one per cent. on all ſhares in the capital ſtock of any corporation or company which ſhould be bought, ſold or bargained for; a duty of ſixpence per buſhel on malt, and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXV. The Commons ſeemed to vie with the Lords in their zeal for the government. They brought in a bill for attainting the pretended Prince of Wales, which being ſent up to the other Houſe, paſſed with an additional clauſe of attainder againſt the Queen, who acted as Regent for the Pretender. This, however, was not carried without great oppoſition in the Houſe of Lords. When the bill was ſent back to the Commons, they excepted to the amendment as irregular. They obſerved, that attainders by bill conſtituted the moſt rigorous part of the law; and that the ſtretching of it ought to be avoided. They propoſed, that the Queen ſhould be attainted by a ſeparate bill. The Lords aſſented to the propoſal; and the bill againſt the pretended Prince of Wales paſſed. The Lords paſſed another for attainting the Queen; however, it was neglected in the Houſe of Commons. But the longeſt and

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warmeſt debates of this ſeſſion were produced by a bill, which the Lords brought in, for abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales, and ſwearing to the King, by the title of rightful and lawful King, and his heirs, according to the act of Settlement. It was propoſed, that this oath ſhould be voluntary, tendered to all perſons, and their ſubſcription and refuſal recorded without any other penalty. This article was violently oppoſed by the Earl of Nottingham, and other Lords of the Tory intereſt. They obſerved, that the government was firſt ſettled with another oath, which was like an original contract: ſo that there was no occaſion for a new impoſition: that oaths relating to men's opinions had been always conſidered as ſevere impoſitions; and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful. During theſe diſputes, another bill of abjuration was brought into the Houſe of Commons by Sir Charles Hedges, that ſhould be obligatory on all perſons who enjoyed employments in church or ſtate; it likewiſe included an obligation to maintain the government in King, Lords, and Commons, and to maintain the Church of England, together with the toleration for Diſſenters. Warm debates aroſe upon the queſtion, Whether the oath ſhould be impoſed or voluntary; and at length it was carried for impoſition, by the majority of one voice. They agreed to inſert an additional clauſe, declaring it equally penal to compaſs or imagine the death of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Anne of Denmark, as it was to compaſs or imagine the death of the King's eldeſt ſon and heir. In the Houſe of Peers this bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the Tories; and, when after long debates it paſſed on the twenty-fourth day of February, ten Lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as an unneceſſary and ſevere impoſition.

§ LXVI. The whole nation now ſeemed to join in the cry for a war with France. Party heats began to abate: the factions in the city of London were

were in a great meaſure moderated by the union of the two companies trading to the Eaſt-Indies, which found their mutual intereſt required a coalition. The Tories in the Houſe of Commons, having concurred ſo heartily with the inclinations of the people, reſolved, as far as it lay in their power, to juſtify the conduct of their party in the preceding Parliament. They complained of ſome petitions and addreſſes which had reflected upon the proceedings of the laſt Houſe of Commons, and particularly of the Kentiſh petition. The majority, however, determined, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England to petition or addreſs the King, for the calling, ſitting, or diſſolving of Parliaments, and for the redreſſing of grievances; and that every ſubject under any accuſation, either by impeachment or otherwiſe, had a right to be brought to a ſpeedy trial. A complaint being likewiſe made, that the Lords had denied the Commons juſtice in the matter of the late impeachments, a furious debate enſued; and it was carried by a very ſmall majority that juſtice had not been denied. In ſome points, however, they ſucceeded: In the caſe of a controverted election at Maidſtone, between Thomas Bliſſe and Thomas Culpepper, the Houſe reſolved, That the latter had been not only guilty of corrupt, ſcandalous, and indirect practices, in endeavouring to procure himſelf to be elected a burgeſs; but likewiſe, being one of the inſtruments in promoting and preſenting the ſcandalous, inſolent, and ſeditious petition, commonly called the Kentiſh petition, to the laſt Houſe of Commons, was guilty of promoting a ſcandalous, villainous, and groundleſs reflection upon that Houſe, by aſperſing the members with receiving French money, or being in the intereſt of France; for which offence he was ordered to be committed to Newgate, and to be proſecuted by his Majeſty's Attorney-General. They alſo reſolved, That to aſſert that the Houſe of Commons is not the only repreſentative of the

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the Commons of England, tends to the ſubverſion of the rights and privileges of the Houſe of Commons, and the fundamental conſtitution of the government of this kingdom: That to aſſert, that the Houſe of Commons have no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the Houſe of Commons: That to print or publiſh any books, or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his ſervice therein, is a high violation of the rights and privileges of the Houſe of Commons. Notwithſtanding theſe tranſactions, they did not neglect the vigorous proſecution of the war. They addreſſed his Majeſty to interpoſe with his allies, that they might increaſe their quotas of land forces, to be put on board the fleet in proportion to the numbers his Majeſty ſhould embark. When they had ſettled the ſums appropriated to the ſeveral uſes of the war, they preſented a ſecond addreſs, deſiring he would provide for the half-pay officers, in the firſt place, in the recruits and levies to be made. The King aſſured them, it was always his intention to provide for thoſe officers. He went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to an act, appointing Commiſſioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the tranſport ſervice; and alſo to take an account of prizes taken during the war.

§ LXVII. The affairs of Ireland were not a little embarraſſed by the conduct of the truſtees appointed to take cognizance of the forfeited eſtates. Their office was extremely odious to the people, as well as to the Court, and their deportment was arbitrary and imperious. Several individuals of that kingdom, provoked by the inſolence of the truſtees on one hand, and encouraged by the countenance of the courtiers on the other, endeavoured, by a circular letter, to ſpirit up the grand jury of Ireland againſt the

the act of reſumption: petitions were preſented to the King, couched in very ſtrong terms, affirming, that it was injurious to the Proteſtant intereſt, and had been obtained by groſs miſinformations. The King having communicated theſe addreſſes to the Houſe, they were immediately voted ſcandalous, falſe, and groundleſs: and the Commons reſolved, That, notwithſtanding the complaints and clamours againſt the truſtees, it did not appear to the Houſe but thoſe complaints were groundleſs: nevertheleſs, they afterwards received ſeveral petitions, imploring relief againſt the ſaid act; and they ordered that the petitioners ſhould be relieved accordingly. Propoſals were delivered in for incorporating ſuch as ſhould purchaſe the ſaid forfeitures, on certain terms therein ſpecified, according to the rent-roll, when verified and made good to the purchaſers: but, whereas in this rent-roll the value of the eſtates had been eſteemed at ſomething more than ſeven hundred and ſixteen thouſand pounds, thoſe who undertook to make the purchaſe affirmed, they were not worth five hundred thouſand pounds; and thus the affair remained in ſuſpenſe. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXVIII. With reſpect to Scotland, the clamours of that kingdom had not yet ſubſided. When the bill of abjuration paſſed in the Houſe of Peers, the Earl of Nottingham had declared, that although he differed in opinion from the majority in many particulars relating to that bill, yet he was a friend to the deſign of it; and in order to ſecure a Proteſtant ſucceſſion, he thought an union of the whole iſland was abſolutely neceſſary. He therefore moved for an addreſs to the King, that he would diſſolve the Parliament of Scotland now ſitting, as the legality of it might be called in queſtion, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that a new Parliament ſhould be ſummoned, that they might treat about an union of the two kingdoms. The King had this affair ſo much at heart, that

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that even when he was diſabled from going to the Parliament in perſon, he ſent a letter to the Commons, expreſſing an eager deſire that a treaty for this purpoſe might be ſet on foot, and earneſtly recommending this affair to the conſideration of the Houſe: but, as a new Parliament in Scotland could not be called without a great riſque, while the nation was in ſuch a ferment, the project was poſtponed to a more favourable opportunity.

§ LXIX. Before the King's return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the enſuing campaign. He had engaged in a negociation with the Prince of Heſſe-D'Armſtadt, who aſſured him, that if he would beſiege and take Cadiz, the Admiral of Caſtile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the Houſe of Auſtria. The Allies had alſo determined upon the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which the Elector of Cologn had delivered into the hands of the French: the Elector of Hanover had reſolved to diſarm the Princes of Wolfenbuttle: the King of the Romans, and Prince Louis of Baden, undertook to inveſt Landau: and the Emperor promiſed to ſend a powerful reinforcement to Prince Eugene in Italy: but William did not live to ſee theſe ſchemes put in execution. His conſtitution was by this time almoſt exhauſted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exerciſe. On the twenty-firſt day of February, in riding to Hampton-court from Kenſington, his horſe fell under him, and he himſelf was thrown upon the ground with ſuch violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton-court, where the fracture was reduced by Ronjat, his ſerjeant-ſurgeon. In the evening he returned to Kenſington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been diſunited by the jolting of the carriage, were replaced under the inſpection of Bidloo, his phyſician. He ſeemed

ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the firſt day of March, when his knee appeared to be inflamed, with great pain and weakneſs. Next day he granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal to ſeveral Peers, for paſſing the bills to which both Houſes of Parliament had agreed; namely, the act of attainder againſt the pretended Prince of Wales, and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, That their ſolemn affirmation and declaration ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form. CHAP. VI. 1701.

§ LXX. On the fourth day of March the King was ſo well recovered of his lameneſs, that he took ſeveral turns in the gallery at Kenſington; but, ſitting down on a couch where he fell aſleep, he was ſeized with a ſhivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa. He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colledon, Dr. Bidloo, and other eminent phyſicians; but their preſcriptions proved ineffectual. On the ſixth he granted another commiſſion for paſſing the bill for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration; and, being ſo weak that he could not write his name, he, in preſence of the Lord-keeper and the Clerks of Parliament, applied a ſtamp prepared for the purpoſe. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the poſture of affairs abroad: but he received his informations with great coldneſs, and ſaid, "*Je tire vers ma "fin.*—I approach the end of my life." In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderneſs, ſaying, "I know that you and the other learned "phyſicians have done all that your art can do for my "relief; but, finding all means ineffectual, I ſub-"mit." He received ſpiritual conſolation from Archbiſhop Tenniſon, and Burnet, Biſhop of Saliſbury; on Sunday morning the ſacrament was adminiſtered to him. The Lords of the privy-council, and divers noblemen attended in the adjoining apartments, and to ſome of them who were admitted he ſpoke a little.

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tle. He thanked Lord Auverquerque for his long and faithful ſervices: he delivered to Lord Albemarle the keys of his cloſet and ſcrutoire, telling him he knew what to do with them. He enquired for the Earl of Portland; but, being ſpeechleſs before that nobleman arrived, he graſped his hand, and laid it to his heart, with marks of the moſt tender affection. On the eighth day of March he expired, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. The Lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no ſooner perceived the King was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring, containing ſome hair of the late Queen Mary. The body, being opened and embalmed, lay in ſtate for ſome time at Kenſington; and on the twelfth day of April was depoſited in a vault of Henry's chapel in Weſtminſter-Abbey. In the beginning of May, a Will which he had entruſted with Monſieur Schuylemberg was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his couſin Prince Friſon of Naſſau, Stadtholder of Frieſland, his ſole and univerſal heir, and appointed the States-General his executors. By a codicil annexed, he had bequeathed the Lordſhip of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thouſand guilders, to the Earl of Albemarle.

§ LXXI. William III. was in his perſon of the middle ſtature, a thin body, a delicate conſtitution, ſubject to an aſthma and continual cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave ſolemn aſpect. He was very ſparing of ſpeech: his converſation was dry, and his manner diſguſting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, ſpirited, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the moſt eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural ſagacity made amends for the defects in his education, which had not been properly ſuperintended.

intended. He was religious, temperate, generally juſt and ſincere, a ſtranger to violent tranſports of paſſion, and might have paſſed for one of the beſt princes of the age in which he lived, had he never aſcended the throne of Great-Britain. But the diſtinguiſhing criterion of his character was ambition. To this he ſacrificed the punctilios of honour and decorum, in depoſing his own farther in-law and uncle; and this he gratified at the expence of the nation that raiſed him to ſovereign authority. He aſpired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the conteſts of Europe; and the ſecond object of his attention was, the proſperity of that country to which he owed his birth and extraction. Whether he really thought the intereſts of the Continent and Great-Britain were inſeparable, or ſought only to drag England into the confederacy as a convenient Ally, certain it is, he involved theſe kingdoms in foreign connections, which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to eſtabliſh this favourite point, he ſcrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary ſanction for a ſtanding army, which now ſeems to be interwoven in the conſtitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that neceſſarily hatched a brood of uſurers, brokers, contractors, and ſtock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a ſyſtem of politicks big with miſery, deſpair, and deſtruction. To ſum up his character in a few words —William was a fataliſt in religion, indefatigable in war, enterpriſing in politicks, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent huſband, a diſagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious ſovereign.

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Burnet. Oldmixon Boyer. Lamberty. State Tracts. Tindal. Ralph. Voltaire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

§ I. *Anne ſucceeds to the throne.* § II. *She reſolves to fulfil the engagements of her predeceſſor with his allies.* § III. *A French memorial preſented to the States-General.* § IV. *The Queen's inclination to the Tories.* § V. *War declared againſt France.* § VI. *The Parliament prorogued.* § VII. *Warm oppoſition to the miniſtry in the Scottiſh Parliament.* § VIII. *They recognize her Majeſty's authority.* § IX. *The Queen appoints Commiſſioners to treat of an union between England and Scotland.* § X. *State of affairs on the Continent.* § XI. *Keiſerſwaert and Landau taken by the Allies.* § XII. *Progreſs of the Earl of Marlborough in Flanders.* § XIII. *He narrowly eſcapes being taken by a French partiſan.* § XIV. *The Imperialiſts are worſted at Fridlinguen.* § XV. *Battle of Luzzara, in Italy.* § XVI. *The King of Sweden defeats Auguſtus at Liſſou in Poland.* § XVII. *Fruitleſs expedition to Cadiz by the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke.* § XVIII. *They take and deſtroy the Spaniſh galleons at Vigo* § XIX. *Admiral Benbow's engagement with Ducaſſe in the Weſt-Indies.* § XX. *The Queen aſſembles a new Parliament.* § XXI. *Diſputes between the two Houſes.* § XXII. *The Lords enquire into the conduct of Sir George Rooke.* § XXIII. *The Parliament make a ſettlement on Prince George of Denmark.* § XXIV. *The Earl of Marlborough created a Duke.* § XXV. *All commerce and correſpondence prohibited between Holland and the two Crowns of France and Spain.* § XXVI. *A bill for preventing occaſional conformity.* § XXVII. *It miſcarries.* § XXVIII. *Violent animoſity between the two Houſes, produced by the enquiry into the publick accounts.* § XXIX. *Diſputes between the two Houſes of Convocation.* § XXX. *Account of the parties in Scotland.* § XXXI.

Dangerous heats in the Parliament of that kingdom. § XXXII *The Commiſſioner is abandoned by the Cavaliers.* § XXXIII. *He is in danger of his life, and ſuddenly prorogues the Parliament.* § XXXIV. *Proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament.* § XXXV. *They paſs a ſevere act againſt Papiſts.* § XXXVI. *The Elector of Bavaria defeats the Imperialiſts at Scardingen, and takes poſſeſſion of Ratiſbon.* § XXXVII *The Allies reduce Bonne.* § XXXVIII. *Battle of Eckeren.* § XXXIX. *The Prince of Heſſe is defeated by the French at Spirebach.* § XL. *Treaty between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. The King of Portugal accedes to the grand alliance.* § XLI. *Sir Cloudeſly Shovel ſails with a fleet to the Mediterranean.* § XLII. *Admiral Graydon's bootleſs expedition to the Weſt-Indies.* § XLIII. *Charles King of Spain arrives in England.*

§ I. WILLIAM was ſucceeded as Sovereign of England by Anne Princeſs of Denmark, who aſcended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general ſatisfaction of all parties. Even the Jacobites ſeemed pleaſed with her elevation, on the ſuppoſition, that as in all probability ſhe would leave no heirs of her own body, the dictates of natural affection would induce her to alter the ſucceſſion in favour of her own brother. She had been taught to cheriſh warm ſentiments of the Tories, whom ſhe conſidered as the friends of monarchy, and the true ſons of the church; and they had always profeſſed an inviolable attachment to her perſon and intereſt; but her conduct was wholly influenced by the Counteſs of Marlborough, a woman of an imperious temper and intriguing genius, who had been intimate with the Princeſs from her tender years, and gained a ſurpriſing aſcendancy over her. Anne had undergone ſome ſtrange viciſſitudes of fortune in conſequence of her father's expulſion, and ſuſtained a variety of mortifications in the late reign, during CHAP. VII. 1701.

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during which ſhe conducted herſelf with ſuch diſcretion, as left little or no pretence for cenſure or reſentment. Such conduct, indeed, was in a great meaſure owing to a natural temperance of diſpoſition, not eaſily ruffled or inflamed. She was zealouſly devoted to the Church of England, from which her father had uſed ſome endeavours to detach her before the Revolution; and ſhe lived in great harmony with her huſband, to whom ſhe bore ſix children, all of whom ſhe had already ſurvived. William had no ſooner yielded up his breath, than the privy-council in a body waited on the new Queen, who, in a ſhort but ſenſible ſpeech, aſſured them, that no pains nor diligence ſhould be wanting on her part, to preſerve and ſupport the religion, laws, and liberties of her country, to maintain the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and the government in Church and State, as by law eſtabliſhed. She declared her reſolution to carry on the preparations for oppoſing the exorbitant power of France, and to aſſure the Allies, that ſhe would purſue the true intereſt of England, together with their's, for the ſupport of the common cauſe. The members of the privy-council having taken the oaths, ſhe ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, ſignifying her pleaſure, that all perſons in office of authority or government at the deceaſe of the late King, ſhould ſo continue till further directions. By virtue of an act paſſed in the late reign, the Parliament continued ſitting even after the King's death. Both Houſes met immediately, and unanimouſly voted an addreſs of condolence and congratulation; and, in the afternoon, the Queen was proclaimed. Next day the Lords and Commons ſeverally attended her with an addreſs, congratulating her Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne; and aſſuring her of their firm reſolution to ſupport her againſt all her enemies whatſoever. The Lords acknowledged, that their great loſs was no otherwiſe to be repaired but by a vigorous adherence to her Majeſty

Majeſty and her Allies, in the proſecution of thoſe measures already concerted to reduce the exorbitant power of France. The Commons declared, they would maintain the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant line, and effectually provide for the publick credit of the nation. Theſe addreſſes were graciouſly received by the Queen, who, on the eleventh day of March, went to the Houſe of Peers with the uſual ſolemnity, where, in a ſpeech to both Houſes, ſhe expreſſed her ſatisfaction at their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of their Allies in humbling the power of France; and deſired they would conſider of proper methods towards obtaining an union between England and Scotland. She obſerved to the Commons, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government was expired; and that ſhe relied entirely on their affection for its being ſupplied in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt ſuitable to the honour and dignity of the Crown. She declared it ſhould be her conſtant endeavour to make them the beſt return for their duty and affection, by a careful and diligent adminiſtration for the good of all her ſubjects. "And as I know my own heart to be "entirely Engliſh" (continued ſhe) I can very ſincerely aſſure you, there is not any thing you can "expect or deſire from me, which I ſhall not be "ready to do for the happineſs and proſperity of "England; and you ſhall always find me a ſtrict "and religious obſerver of my word." Theſe aſſurances were extremely agreeable to the Parliament; and ſhe received the thanks of both Houſes. Addreſſes of congratulation were preſented by the biſhop and clergy of London: by the Diſſenters in and about that city; and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England. She declared her attachment to the Church: ſhe promiſed her protection to the Diſſenters; and received

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BOOK I. the compliments of all her ſubjects with ſuch affability as inſured their affection.

1701. § II. William's death was no ſooner known at the Hague, than all Holland was filled with conſternation. The States immediately aſſembled, and, for ſome time, gazed at each other in ſilent fear and aſtoniſhment. They ſighed, wept, and interchanged embraces and vows, that they would act with unanimity, and expend their deareſt blood in defence of their country. Then they diſpatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and exhorting them to union and perſeverance. The expreſs from England having brought the Queen's ſpeech to her Privy-Council, it was tranſlated and publiſhed, to revive the drooping ſpirits of the people. Next day Penſionary Fagel imparted to the States of Holland a letter which he had received from the Earl of Marlborough, containing aſſurances, in the Queen's name, of union and aſſiſtance. In a few days, the Queen wrote a letter in the French language to the States, confirming theſe aſſurances: it was delivered by Mr. Stanhope, whom ſhe had furniſhed with freſh credentials as Envoy from England. Thus animated, the States reſolved to proſecute vigorous meaſures: their reſolutions were ſtill more inſpirited by the arrival of the Earl of Marlborough, whom the Queen honoured with the order of the garter, and inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraodinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General: he was likewiſe declared Captain-General of her forces both at home and abroad. He aſſured the States, that her Britannick Majeſty would maintain the alliances which had been concluded by the late King, and do every thing that the common concerns of Europe required. The ſpeech was anſwered by Dickvelt, preſident of the week, who, in the name of the States, expreſſed their hearty thanks to her Majeſty, and their reſolutions of concurring

curring with her in a vigorous proſecution of the common intereſt. CHAP. VII.

§ III. The importance of William's life was evinced by the joy that diffuſed itſelf through the kingdom of France at the news of his deceaſe. The perſon who firſt brought the tidings to Calais was impriſoned by the Governor, until his information was confirmed. The Court of Verſailles could hardly reſtrain their tranſports ſo as to preſerve common decorum: the people of Paris openly rejoiced at the event: all decency was laid aſide at Rome, where this incident produced ſuch indecent raptures, that Cardinal Grimani, the Imperial miniſter, complained of them to the Pope, as an inſult on his maſter the Emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally. The French King diſpatched credentials to Barre, whom the Count D'Avaux had left at the Hague to manage the affairs of France, together with inſtructions to renew the negociation with the States, in hope of detaching them from the alliance. This miniſter preſented a memorial implying ſevere reflections on King William, and the paſt conduct of the Dutch; and inſinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the Court of France hoped they would conſult their true intereſt. The Count de Goes, Envoy from the Emperor, animadverted on theſe expreſſions in another memorial, which was likewiſe publiſhed: the State produced in publick an anſwer to the ſame remonſtrance, expreſſing their reſentment at the inſolence of ſuch inſinuations, and their veneration for the memory of their late Stadtholder. The Earl of Marlborough ſucceeded in every part of his negociation. He animated the Dutch to a full exertion of their vigour: he concerted the operations of the campaign: he agreed with the States-General and the Imperial miniſter, that war ſhould be declared againſt France on the ſame day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague: 1701.

BOOK I. and on the third of April embarked for England, after having acquired the entire confidence of thoſe who governed the United Provinces.

An. 1702. § IV. By this time the Houſe of Commons in England had ſettled the civil liſt upon the Queen for her life. When the bill received the royal aſſent, ſhe aſſured them, that one hundred thouſand pounds of this revenue ſhould be applied to the publick ſervice of the current year: at the ſame time, ſhe paſſed another bill, for receiving and examining the publick accounts. A commiſſion for this purpoſe was granted in the preceding reign, but had been for ſome years diſcontinued; and, indeed, always proved ineffectual to detect and puniſh thoſe individuals who ſhamefully pillaged their country. The villainy was ſo complicated, the vice ſo general, and the delinquents ſo powerfully ſcreened by artifice and intereſt, as to elude all enquiry. On the twenty-fourth day of March the oath of abjuration was taken by the Speaker and members, according to an act for the further ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon, and the ſucceſſion of the crown in the Proteſtant line, and for extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales. The Queen's inclination to the Tories plainly appeared in her choice of miniſters. Doctor John Sharp, Archbiſhop of York, became her ghoſtly director and counſellor in all eccleſiaſtical affairs. The Earl of Rocheſter was continued Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great ſhare of her Majeſty's confidence: the privy-ſeal was entruſted to the Marquis of Normanby: the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were appointed Secretaries of State: the Earl of Abingdon, Viſcount Weymouth, Lord Dartmouth, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Grenville, Howe, Gower, and Harcourt, were admitted as members of the Privy-Council, together with Sir Edward Seymour, now declared Comptroller of the Houſehold. The Lord Godolphin

phin declined accepting the office of Lord High-Treaſurer, until he was over-ruled by the perſuaſions of Marlborough, to whoſe eldeſt daughter his ſon was married. This nobleman refuſed to command the forces abroad, unleſs the Treaſury ſhould be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whoſe punctuality in point of remittances he knew he could depend. George, Prince of Denmark, was inveſted with the title of Generaliſſimo of all the Queen's forces by ſea and land; and afterwards created Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Pembroke having been diſmiſſed from this office with the offer of a large penſion, which he generouſly refuſed. Prince George, as Admiral, was aſſiſted by a council, conſiſting of Sir George Rooke, Sir David Michel, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. Though the legality of this board was doubted, the Parliament had ſuch reſpect and veneration for the Queen, that it was ſuffered to act without queſtion. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ V. A rivalſhip for the Queen's favour already appeared between the Earls of Rocheſter and Marlborough. The former, as firſt couſin to the Queen, and chief of the Tory faction, maintained conſiderable influence in the council: but even there the intereſt of his rival predominated. Marlborough was not only the better courtier, but by the canal of his counteſs, actually directed the Queen in all her reſolutions. Rocheſter propoſed in council, that the Engliſh ſhould avoid a declaration of war with France, and act as auxiliaries only. He was ſeconded by ſome other members: but the opinion of Marlborough preponderated. He obſerved, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late King's engagements; and affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unleſs the Engliſh would enter as principals in the quarrel. This allegation was ſupported by the Dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, the Earl of Pembroke, and the majority of the council. The

BOOK I. 1702. Queen being reſolved to declare war, communicated her intention to the Houſe of Commons, by whom it was approved: and on the fourth day of May the declaration was ſolemnly proclaimed. The King of France was, in this proclamation, taxed with having taken poſſeſſion of great part of the Spaniſh dominions; with deſigning to invade the liberties of Europe, and obſtruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; with having offered an unpardonable inſult to the Queen and her throne, by taking upon him to declare the pretended Prince of Wales King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The three declarations of the Emperor, England, and the States-General, which were publiſhed in one day, did not fail to diſconcert, as well as to provoke, the French monarch. When his miniſter De Torcy recited them in his hearing, he ſpoke of the Queen with ſome acrimony; but with reſpect to the States-General, he declared with great emotion, that "Meſſieurs the Dutch merchants ſhould one "day repent of their inſolence and preſumption, "in declaring war againſt ſo powerful a Monarch;" he did not, however, produce his declaration till the third day of July.

§ VI. The Houſe of Commons, in compliance with the Queen's deſire, brought in a bill, empowering her Majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat with the Scots for an union of the two kingdoms. It met with warm oppoſition from Sir Edward Seymour, and other Tory members, who diſcharged abundance of ſatire and ridicule upon the Scottiſh nation: but the meaſure ſeemed ſo neceſſary at that juncture, to ſecure the Proteſtant ſucceſſion againſt the practices of France, and the claims of the Pretender, that the majority eſpouſed the bill, which paſſed through both Houſes, and on the ſixth day of May received the royal aſſent, together with ſome bills of leſs importance. The enemies of the late King continued to revile his memory.

memory*. They even charged him with having formed a design of excluding the Princess Anne from the throne, and of introducing the Elector of Hanover as his own immediate successor. This report had been so industriously circulated, that it began to gain credit all over the kingdom. Several Peers interested themselves in William's character; and a motion was made in the Upper House, that the truth of this report should be enquired into. The House immediately desired that those Lords who had visited the late King's papers would intimate whether or not they had found any among them relating to the Queen's succession, or to the succession of the House of Hanover. They forthwith declared, that nothing of that sort appeared. Then the House resolved, That the report was groundless, false, villainous, and scandalous; to the dishonour of the late King's memory, and highly tending to the disservice of her present Majesty, whom they besought to give order that the authors or publishers of such scandalous reports should be prosecuted by the Attorney-General. The same censure was passed upon some libels and pamphlets, tending to inflame the factions of the kingdom, and to propagate a spirit of irreligion†. On the twenty-first day of May, the Commons, in an address, advised her Majesty to engage the Emperor, the States-General, and her other allies, to join with her in prohibiting all intercourse with France and Spain; and to concert such methods with the States-General

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* In their hours of debauch they drank to the health of Sorrel, meaning the horse that fell with the King; and, under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, toasted the mole that raised the hill over which the horse had stumbled. As the beast had formerly belonged to Sir John Fenwick, they insinuated that William's fate was a judgment upon him, for his cruelty to [illegible] gentleman; and a Latin epigram was written on the occasion.

† Doctor Binkes, in a sermon preached before the Convocation on the thirtieth day of January, drew a parallel between the sufferings of Christ and those of King Charles, to which last he gave the preference, in point of right, character, and station.

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§ VII. In Scotland a warm conteſt aroſe between the Revolutioners and thoſe in the oppoſition, concerning the exiſtence of the preſent Parliament. The Queen had ſignified her acceſſion to the throne, in a letter to her Privy-Council for Scotland; deſiring they would continue to act in that office, until ſhe ſhould ſend a new commiſſion. Mean while, ſhe authoriſed them to publiſh a proclamation, ordaining all officers of ſtate, counſellors, and magiſtrates, to act in all things conformably to the commiſſions and inſtructions of his late Majeſty, until new commiſſions ſhould be prepared. She likewiſe aſſured them of her firm reſolution to protect them in their religion, laws, and liberties, and in the eſtabliſhed government of the church. She had already, in preſence of twelve Scottiſh counſellors, taken the

* During this ſhort ſeſſion, the Queen gave her aſſent to an act for laying a duty upon land; to another for encouraging the Greenland trade; to a third for making good the deficiencies and the publick credit; to a fourth for continuing the imprisonment of Counter, and other conſpirators againſt King William; to a fifth for the relief of Proteſtant purchaſers of the forfeited eſtates of Ireland; to a ſixth enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration; to a ſeventh obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their Proteſtant children.

coronation-

coronation-oath for that kingdom: but thoſe who wanted to embroil the affairs of their country affirmed, that this was an irregular way of proceeding, and that the oath ought to have been tendered by perſons deputed for that purpoſe, either by the Parliament, or the Privy-Council of the kingdom. The preſent miniſtry, conſiſting of the Duke of Queenſberry, the Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford, and Selkirk, were devoted to Revolution principles, and deſirous that the Parliament ſhould continue, in purſuance of a late act for continuing the Parliament that ſhould be then in being, ſix months after the death of the King; and that it ſhould aſſemble in twenty days after that event. The Queen had, by ſeveral adjournments, deferred the meeting almoſt three months after the King's deceaſe; and, therefore, the Anti-revolutioners affirmed that it was diſſolved. The Duke of Hamilton was at the head of this party, which clamoured loudly for a new Parliament. This noblemen, together with the Marquis of Tweedale, the Earls Marſhal and Rothes, and many other nobleman, repaired to London, in order to make the Queen acquainted with their objections to the continuance of the preſent Parliament. She admitted them to her preſence, and calmly heard their allegations: but ſhe was determined, by the advice of her Privy-Council for that kingdom, who were of opinion that the nation was in too great a ferment to hazard the convocation of a new Parliament. According to the Queen's laſt adjournment, the Parliament met at Edinburgh on the ninth day of June, the Duke of Queenſberry having been appointed High Commiſſioner. Before the Queen's commiſſion was read, the Duke of Hamilton, for himſelf and his adherents, declared their ſatisfaction at her Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, not only on account of her undoubted right by deſcent, but likewiſe becauſe of her many perſonal virtues and royal qualities. He ſaid they were reſolved

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to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes in defence of her Majeſty's right againſt all her enemies whatever; but, at the ſame time, they thought themſelves bound in duty to give their opinion, that they were not warranted by law to ſit and act as a Parliament. He then read a paper to the following effect: That foraſmuch as, by the fundamental laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, all Parliaments do diſſolve on the death of their Sovereign, except in ſo far as innovated by an act in the preceding reign, that the Parliament in being at his Majeſty's deceaſe ſhould meet, and act what might be needful for the defence of the true Proteſtant religion, as by law eſtabliſhed, and for the maintenance of the ſucceſſion to the Crown, as ſettled by the claim of right, and for the preſervation and ſecurity of the publick peace: and ſeeing theſe ends are fully anſwered by her Majeſty's ſucceſſion to the throne; we conceive ourſelves not now warranted by law to meet, ſit, or act; and, therefore, do diſſent from any thing that ſhall be done or acted. The Duke having recited this paper, and formally proteſted againſt the proceedings of the Parliament, withdrew with ſeventy-nine members amidſt the acclamations of the people.

§ VIII. Notwithſtanding their ſeceſſion, the Commiſſioner, who retained a much greater number, produced the Queen's letter, ſignifying her reſolution to maintain and protect her ſubjects in the full poſſeſſion of their religion, laws, liberties, and the Preſbyterian diſcipline. She informed them of her having declared war againſt France: ſhe exhorted them to provide competent ſupplies for maintaining ſuch a number of forces as might be neceſſary for diſappointing the enemy's deſigns, and preſerving the preſent happy ſettlement; and ſhe earneſtly recommended to their conſideration an union of the two kingdoms. The Duke of Queenſberry and the Earl of Marchmont having enforced the different articles of this letter, committees were appointed for

for the ſecurity of the kingdom, for controverted elections, for drawing up an anſwer to her Majeſty's letter, and for reviſing the minutes. Mean while, the Duke of Hamilton and his adherents ſent the Lord Blantyre to London, with an addreſs to the Queen, who refuſed to receive it, but wrote another letter to the Parliament, expreſſing her reſolution to maintain their dignity and authority againſt all oppoſers. They, in anſwer to the former, had aſſured her, that the groundleſs receſſion of ſome members ſhould increaſe and ſtrengthen their care and zeal for her Majeſty's ſervice. They expelled Sir Alexander Bruce, for having given vent to ſome reflections againſt Preſbytery. The Lord Advocate proſecuted the Faculty of Advocates before the Parliament, for having paſſed a vote among themſelves in favour of the proteſtation and addreſs of the diſſenting members. The Faculty was ſeverely reprimanded; but the whole nation ſeemed to reſent the proſecution. The Parliament paſſed an act for recognizing her Majeſty's royal authority: another for adjourning the court of judicature called the ſeſſion: a third declaring this meeting of Parliament legal; and forbidding any perſon to diſown, quarrel with, or impugn the dignity and authority thereof, under the penalty of high treaſon: a fourth for ſecuring the true Proteſtant religion and Preſbyterian church government: a fifth for a land tax; and a ſixth, enabling her Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners for an union between the two kingdoms.

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§ IX. The Earl of Marchmont, of his own accord, and even contrary to the advice of the High-Commiſſioner, brought in a bill for adjuring the pretended Prince of Wales: but this was not ſupported by the Court party, as the Commiſſioners had no inſtructions how to act on the occaſion. Perhaps the Queen and her Engliſh miniſtry reſolved to keep the ſucceſſion open in Scotland, as a check upon the Whigs and Houſe of Hanover. On the thirtieth day

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§ X. While Britain was engaged in theſe civil tranſactions, her allies were not idle on the Continent. The old Duke of Zell, and his nephew, the Elector of Brunſwick, ſurprized the Dukes of Wolfenbuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their attachments to France, and concur in the common councils of the Empire. Thus the north of Germany was re-united to the intereſt of

the Confederates; and the Princes would have been in a condition to aſſiſt them effectually, had not the neighbourhood of the war in Poland deterred them from parting with their forces. England and the States-General endeavoured in vain to mediate a peace between the Kings of Sweden and Poland. Charles was become enamoured of war, and ambitious of conqueſt. He threatened to invade Saxony through the dominions of Pruſſia. Auguſtus retired to Cracow, while Charles penetrated to Warſaw, and even ordered the Cardinal-Primate to ſummon a diet for chooſing a new King. The ſituation of affairs at this juncture, was far from being favourable to the Allies. The Court of Vienna had tampered in vain with the Elector of Bavaria, who made uſe of this negociation to raiſe his terms with Louis. His brother, the Elector of Cologn, admitted French garriſons into Liege, and all his places on the Rhine. The Elector of Saxony was too hard preſſed by the King of Sweden, to ſpare his full proportion of troops to the Allies: the King of Pruſſia was over-awed by the vicinity of the Swediſh conqueror: The Duke of Savoy had joined his forces to thoſe of France, and over-run the whole State of Milan; and the Pope, though he profeſſed a neutrality, evinced himſelf ſtrongly biaſſed to the French intereſts. CHAP. VII. 1702

§ XI. The war was begun in the name of the Elector-Palatine with the ſiege of Keiſerſwaert, which was inveſted in the month of April by the Prince of Naſſau-Saarburgh, Mareſchal-du-camp to the Emperor: under this officer the Dutch troops ſerved as auxiliaries, becauſe war had not yet been declared by the States-General. The French garriſons made a deſperate defence. They worſted the beſiegers in divers ſallies, and maintained the place until it was reduced to a heap of aſhes. At length the Allies made a general attack upon the counterſcarp and ravelin, which they carried after a very obſtinate engagement, with the loſs of two thouſand men. Then the

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the garriſon capitulated on honourable terms, and the fortifications were razed. During this ſiege, which laſted from the eighteenth day of April to the middle of June, Count Tallard poſted himſelf on the oppoſite ſide of the Rhine, from whence he ſupplied the town with freſh troops and ammunition, and annoyed the beſiegers with his artillery; but finding it impoſſible to ſave the place, he joined the grand army, commanded by the Duke of Burgundy in the Netherlands. The ſiege of Keiſerſwaert was covered by a body of Dutch troops under the Earl of Athlone, who lay encamped in the Duchy of Cleve. Mean while General Coehorn, at the head of another detachment, entered Flanders, demoliſhed the French lines between the forts of Donat and Iſabella, and laid the chatellanie of Bruges under contribution: but a conſiderable body of French troops advancing under the Marquis de Bedmar, and the Count de la Motte, he overflowed the country, and retired under the walls of Sluys. The Duke of Burgundy, who had taken the command of the French army under Boufflers, encamped at Zanten, near Cleve, and laid a ſcheme for ſurprizing Nimeguen; in which, however, he was baffled by the vigilance and activity of Athlone, who, gueſſing his deſign, marched thither, and encamped under the cannon of the town. In the beginning of June, Landau was inveſted by Prince Louis of Baden: in July, the King of the Romans arrived in the camp of the beſiegers, with ſuch pomp and magnificence as exhauſted his farther's treaſury. On the ninth day of September, the citadel was taken by aſſault: and then the town ſurrendered.

§ XII. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, the Earl of Athlone, in quality of Veldt mareſchal, inſiſted upon an equal command with the Engliſh General; but the States obliged him to yield this point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared Generaliſſimo of all their forces. In the

the beginning of July he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he ſoon aſſembled an army of ſixty thouſand men, well provided with all neceſſaries; then he convoked a council of the general officers, to concert the operations of the campaign. On the ſixteenth day of the month he paſſed the Maeſe, and encamped at Over-aſſelt, within two leagues and a half of the enemy, who had entrenched themſelves between Goch and Gedap. He afterwards repaſſed the river below the Grave, and removed to Gravenbroeck, where he was joined by the Britiſh train of artillery from Holland. On the ſecond day of Auguſt, he advanced to Petit Brugel, and the French retired before him, leaving Spaniſh Guelderland to his diſcretion. He had reſolved to hazard an engagement, and iſſued orders accordingly: but he was reſtrained by the Dutch deputies, who were afraid of their own intereſt, in caſe the battle ſhould have proved unfortunate. The Duke of Burgundy, finding himſelf obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expoſe himſelf longer to ſuch a mortifying indignity, returned to Verſailles, leaving the command to Bouffiers, who loſt the confidence of Louis by the ill ſucceſs of this campaign. The deputies of the States-General having repreſented to the Earl of Marlborough the advantages that would accrue to Holland, from his diſpoſſeſſing the enemy of the places they maintained in the Spaniſh Guelderland, by which the navigation of the Maeſe was obſtructed, and the important town of Maeſtricht in a manner blocked up, he reſolved to deliver them from ſuch a troubleſome neighbourhood. He detached General Schultz with a body of troops to reduce the town and caſtle of Werk, which were ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance. In the beginning of September he undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after fort St. Michael had been ſtormed and taken by Lord Cutts and

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BOOK I. 1702. and the Engliſh volunteers, among whom the young Earl of Huntingdon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by very extraordinary acts of valour. Then the General inveſted Ruremonde, which he reduced after a very obſtinate defence, together with the fort of Stevenſuaert, ſituated on the ſame river. Bouffiers, confounded at the rapidity of Marlborough's ſucceſs, retired towards Liege, in order to cover that city: but, at the approach of the Confederates, he retired with precipitation to Tongeren, from whence he directed his route towards Brabant, with a view to defend ſuch places as the Allies had no deſign to attack. When the Earl of Marlborough arrived at Liege, he found the ſuburbs of St. Walburgh had been ſet on fire by the French garriſon, who had retired to the citadel and the Chartreux. The Allies took immediate poſſeſſion of the city; and in a few days opened the trenches againſt the citadel, which was taken by aſſault. On this occaſion, the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel charged at the head of the grenadiers, and was the firſt perſon who mounted the breach. Violani the Governor, and the Duke of Charoſt, were made priſoners. Three hundred thouſand florins in gold and ſilver were found in the citadel, beſides notes for above one million, drawn upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. Immediately after this exploit, the garriſon of the Chartreux capitulated on honourable terms, and were conducted to Antwerp. By the ſucceſs of this campaign, the Earl of Marlborough raiſed his military character above all cenſure, and confirmed himſelf in the entire confidence of the States-General; who, in the beginning of the ſeaſon, had trembled for Nimeguen, and now ſaw the enemy driven back into their own domains.

§ XIII. When the army broke up in November, the General repaired to Maeſtricht, from whence he propoſed to return to the Hague by water. Accordingly,

cordingly, he embarked in a large boat, with five-and-twenty ſoldiers, under the command of a Lieutenant. Next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Coehorn, in a larger veſſel, with ſixty men; and they were moreover eſcorted by fifty troopers, who rode along the bank of the river. The large boat outſailed the other, and the horſemen miſtook their way in the dark. A French partizan, with five-and-thirty men from Gueldres, who lurked among the ruſhes in wait for prey, ſeized the rope by which the boat was drawn, hauled it aſhore, diſcharged their ſmall arms and hand-grenades, then ruſhing into it, ſecured the ſoldiers before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. The Earl of Marlborough was accompanied by General Opdam, and Mynheer Gueldermalſen, one of the deputies, who were provided with paſſports. The Earl had neglected this precaution: but recollecting he had an old paſſport for his brother General Churchill, he produced it without any emotion; and the partizan was in ſuch confuſion that he never examined the date. Nevertheleſs, he rifled their baggage, carried off the guard as priſoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. The Governor of Venlo receiving information that the Earl was ſurpriſed by a party, and conveyed to Gueldres, immediately marched out with his whole garriſon to inveſt that place. The ſame imperfect account being tranſmitted to Holland, filled the whole province with conſternation. The States forthwith aſſembling, reſolved that all their forces ſhould march immediately to Gueldres; and threaten the garriſon of the place with the utmoſt extremities, unleſs they would immediately deliver the General. But, before theſe orders could be diſpatched, the Earl arrived at the Hague, to the inexpreſſible joy of the people, who already looked upon him as their ſaviour and protector. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XIV.

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§ XIV. The French arms were not quite ſo unfortunate on the Rhine as in Flanders. The Elector of Bavaria ſurprized the city of Ulm in Suabia, by a ſtratagem, and then declared for France, which had by this time complied with all his demands. The diet of the empire aſſembled at Ratiſbon, were ſo incenſed at his conduct in ſeizing the city of Ulm by perfidy, that they preſented a memorial to his Imperial Majeſty, requeſting he would proceed againſt the Elector, according to the conſtitutions of the empire. They reſolved, by a plurality of voices, to declare war in the name of the empire, againſt the French King and the Duke of Anjou, for having invaded ſeveral fiefs of the empire in Italy, the Archbiſhoprick of Cologn, and the dioceſe of Liege: and they forbad the miniſters of Bavaria and Cologn to appear in the general diet. In vain did theſe powers proteſt againſt their proceedings. The empire's declaration of war was publiſhed and notified, in the name of the diet, to the Cardinal of Limberg, the Emperor's Commiſſioner. Mean while the French made themſelves maſters of Neuburgh, in the circle of Suabia, while Louis Prince of Baden, being weakened by ſending off detachments, was obliged to lie inactive in his camp near Fridlinguen. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the Marquis de Villars and the Count de Guiſcard; and the Prince, thinking himſelf in danger of being encloſed by the enemy, reſolved to decamp. Villars immediately paſſed the Rhine, to fall upon him in his retreat, and an obſtinate engagement enſuing, the Imperialiſts were overpowered by numbers. The Prince, having loſt two thouſand men, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy, together with his baggage, artillery, and ammunition, and retired towards Stauffen, without being purſued. The French army, even after they had gained the battle, were unaccountably ſeized with ſuch a panick,

panick, that if the Imperial General had faced them with two regiments, he would have ſnatched the victory from Villars, who was upon this occaſion ſaluted Mareſchal of France by the ſoldiers; and next day the town of Fredlinguen ſurrendered. The Prince being joined by ſome troops under General Thungen, and other re-inforcements, reſolved to give battle to the enemy: but Villars declined an engagement, and repaſſed the Rhine. Towards the latter end of October, Count Tallard, and the Marquis de Lomarie, with a body of eighteen thouſand men, reduced Triers and Traerbach: on the other hand, the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel, with a detachment from the allied army at Liege, retook from the French the towns of Zinch, Lintz, Briſac, and Andernach. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XV. In Italy, Prince Eugene laboured under a total neglect of the Imperial court, where his enemies, on pretence of ſupporting the King of the Romans in his firſt campaign, weaned the Emperor's attention entirely from his affairs on the other ſide of the Alps, ſo that he left his beſt army to moulder away for want of recruits and re-inforcements. The Prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the Duke de Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquiſh ſome other places he had taken. Philip King of Spain, being inſpired with the ambition of putting an end to the war in this country, ſailed in perſon for Naples, where he was viſited by the Cardinal-legate, with a compliment from the Pope; yet he could not obtain the inveſtiture of the kingdom from his Holineſs. The Emperor, however, was ſo diſguſted at the embaſſy which the Pope had ſent to Philip, that he ordered his ambaſſador at Rome to withdraw. Philip proceeded from Naples to Final, under convoy of the French fleet, which had brought him to Italy: Here he had an interview with the Duke of Savoy, who began to be alarmed at the proſpect of the French King's being maſter of the Milaneſe; and,

BOOK I. 1702. in a letter to the Duke de Vendome, he forbade him to engage Prince Eugene until he himſelf ſhould arrive in the camp. Prince Eugene, underſtanding that the French army intended to attack Luzzara and Guaſtalla, paſſed the Po, with an army of about half the number of the enemy, and poſted himſelf behind the dyke of Zero, in ſuch a manner that the French were ignorant of his ſituation. He concluded, that on their arrival at the ground they had choſen, the horſe would march out to forage, while the reſt of the army would be employed in pitching tents, and providing for their refreſhment. His deſign was to ſeize that opportunity of attacking them, not doubting that he ſhould obtain a complete victory: but he was diſappointed by mere accident. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curioſity to aſcend the dyke, in order to view the country, when he diſcovered the Imperial infantry lying on their faces, and their horſe in the rear, ranged in order of battle. The French camp was immediately alarmed; and as the intermediate ground was covered with hedges, which obliged the aſſailants to defile, the enemy were in a poſture of defence before the Imperialiſts could advance to action: nevertheleſs, the Prince attacked them with great vivacity, in hopes of diſordering their line, which gave way in ſeveral places: but night interpoſing, he was obliged to deſiſt; and in a few days the French reduced Luzzara and Guaſtalla. The Prince, however, maintained his poſt, and Philip returned to Spain, without having obtained any conſiderable advantage.

§ XVI. The French King employed all his artifice and intrigues in raiſing up new enemies againſt the Confederates. He is ſaid to have bribed Count Mansfield, preſident of the council of war at Vienna, to with-hold the ſupplies from Prince Eugene in Italy. At the Ottoman Porte he had actually gained over the Viſir, who engaged to renew the war

war with the Emperor. But the Mufti and all the other great officers were averſe to this deſign, and the Viſir fell a ſacrifice to their reſentment. Louis continued to embroil the kingdom of Poland by means of the Cardinal Primate. The young King of Sweden advanced to Liſſau, where he defeated Auguſtus. Then he took poſſeſſion of Cracow, and raiſed contributions: nor could he be perſuaded to retreat, although the Muſcovites and Lithuanians had ravaged Livonia, and even made an irruption into Sweden. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XVII. The operations of the combined ſquadrons at ſea did not fully anſwer the expectation of the publick. On the twelfth day of May, Sir John Munden ſailed with twelve ſhips, to intercept a French ſquadron appointed as a convoy to a new viceroy of Mexico, from Corunna to the Weſt-Indies. On the twenty-eighth day of the month, he chaſed fourteen ſail of French ſhips into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was ſtrongly fortified, and that ſeventeen of the enemy's ſhips of war rode at anchor in the harbour, it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their inſtructions, by which they were directed to cruiſe in ſoundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly, and being diſtreſſed by want of proviſions, came into port, to the general diſcontent of the nation. For the ſatisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a Court-Martial, and acquitted; but as this miſcarriage had rendered him very unpopular, Prince George diſmiſſed him from the ſervice. We have already hinted, that King William had projected a ſcheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterwards againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies. This deſign Queen Anne reſolved to put in execution. Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet, and the Duke of Ormond

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was appointed General of the land-forces deſtined for this expedition. The combined ſquadrons amounted to fifty ſhips of the line, excluſive of frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmaller veſſels; and the number of ſoldiers embarked was not far ſhort of fourteen thouſand. In the latter end of June the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's: on the twelfth of Auguſt they anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from Cadiz. Next day the Duke of Ormond ſummoned the Duke of Brancaccio, who was governor, to ſubmit to the Houſe of Auſtria; but that officer anſwered, he would acquit himſelf honourably of the truſt repoſed to him by the King. On the fifteenth the Duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a ſmart fire from ſome frigates, and repulſed a body of Spaniſh cavalry; then he ſummoned the governor of Fort St. Catharine's to ſurrender; and received an anſwer, importing, that the garriſon was prepared for his reception. A declaration was publiſhed in the Spaniſh language, intimating, that the Allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but only to free them from the yoke of France, and aſſiſt them in eſtabliſhing themſelves under the government of the Houſe of Auſtria. Theſe profeſſions produced very little effect among the Spaniards, who were either cooled in their attachment to that family, or provoked by the exceſſes of the Engliſh troops. Theſe having taken poſſeſſion of Fort St. Catharine, and Port St. Mary's, inſtead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders iſſued by the Duke of Ormond, to prevent this ſcandalous practice: even ſome general officers were concerned in the pillage. A battery was raiſed againſt Montagorda fort oppoſite to the Puntal: but the attempt miſcarried, and the troops were reimbarked.

§ XVIII. Captain Hardy having been ſent to water in Lagos bay, received intelligence that the galleons

galleons from the Weſt-Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French ſquadron. He ſailed immediately in queſt of Sir George Rooke, who was now on his voyage back to England, and falling in with him on the ſixth day of October, communicated the ſubſtance of what he had learned. Rooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter their courſe, and attack the enemy at Vigo. He forthwith detached ſome ſmall veſſels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons, and the ſquadron commanded by Chateau Renault, were actually in the harbour. They ſailed thither, and appeared before the place on the eleventh day of October. The paſſage into the harbour was narrow, ſecured by batteries, forts and breſt-works on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom, conſiſting of iron chains, top-maſts, and cables, moored at each end to a ſeventy-gun ſhip; and fortified within by five ſhips of the ſame ſtrength lying athwart the channel, with their broad-ſides to the offing. As the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the Admirals ſhifted their flags into ſmaller ſhips; and a diviſion of five-and-twenty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips of the line with their frigates, fire-ſhips and ketches, was deſtined for the ſervice. In order to facilitate the attack, the Duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men, at the diſtance of ſix miles from Vigo, and took by aſſault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour. The Britiſh enſign was no ſooner ſeen flying at the top of this fort, than the ſhips advanced to the attack. Vice-Admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, crowding all his ſail, ran directly againſt the boom, which was broken by the firſt ſhock: then the whole ſquadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ſhips and batteries. Theſe laſt, however, were ſoon ſtormed and taken by the grenadiers who

CHAP. VII. 1702.

BOOK I. 1702. who had been landed. The great ſhips lay againſt the forts at each ſide of the harbour, which in a little time they ſilenced; though Vice-Admiral Hopſon narrowly eſcaped from a fireſhip by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French, finding themſelves unable to cope with ſuch an adverſary, reſolved to deſtroy their ſhips and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran aſhore eight ſhips and as many advice-boats; but ten ſhips of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had ſecured the beſt part of their plate and merchandiſe before the Engliſh fleet arrived, the value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was deſtroyed in ſix galleons that periſhed; and about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: ſo that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquiſition to the Allies. Immediately after this exploit, Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who had been ſent out with a ſquadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and diſmantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

§ XIX. The glory which the Engliſh acquired in this expedition was in ſome meaſure tarniſhed by the conduct of ſome officers in the Weſt-Indies. Thither Admiral Benbow had been detached with a ſquadron of ten ſail, in the courſe of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that Monſieur Du Caſſe was in the neighbourhood of Hiſpaniola, and reſolved to beat up to that iſland. At Leogane he fell in with a French ſhip of fifty guns, which her Captain ran aſhore and blew up. He took ſeveral other veſſels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, bore away for Donna Maria bay, where he underſtood that Du Caſſe had ſailed for the coaſt of Carthagena. Benbow reſolved to follow the

the ſame courſe; and on the nineteenth of Auguſt diſcovered the enemy's ſquadron near St. Martha, conſiſting of ten ſail, ſteering along ſhore. He formed the line, and an engagement enſued, in which he was very ill ſeconded by ſome of his Captains. Nevertheleſs, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ſhips at the diſtance of three or four miles aſtern, except the Ruby, commanded by Captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chaſe-guns. On the twenty firſt theſe two ſhips engaged the French ſquadron; and the Ruby was ſo diſabled, that the Admiral was obliged to ſend her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues aſtern: and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the twenty-third the Admiral renewed the battle with his ſingle ſhip, unſuſtained by the reſt of the ſquadron. On the twenty-fourth his leg was ſhattered by a chain-ſhot; notwithſtanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largeſt ſhips of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four ſail of the Engliſh ſquadron poured their broadſides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the ſignal for battle. Then the French bearing down upon the Admiral with their whole force, ſhot away his main top-ſail-yard, and damaged his rigging in ſuch a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their diſabled ſhip in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his Captains, and expoſtulated with them on their behaviour. They obſerved, that the French were very ſtrong, and adviſed him to deſiſt. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmoſt reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only loſt a leg, but alſo received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while

CHAP. VII. 1702.

BOOK I. 1702. he in perſon attempted to board the French Admiral. Exaſperated at the treachery of his Captains, he granted a commiſſion to Rear-Admiral Whetſtone, and other officers, to hold a Court-Martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudſon, of the Pendennis, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and ſentenced to be ſhot: Conſtable, of the Windſor, was caſhiered and impriſoned: Vincent, of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the Admiral's own Captain of the Breda, were convicted of having ſigned a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other puniſhment than that of a proviſional ſuſpenſion. Captain Walton had likewiſe joined in the conſpiracy, while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterwards renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ſhip was diſabled. The boiſterous manner of Benbow had produced this baſe confederacy. He was a rough ſeaman; but remarkably brave, honeſt, and experienced *. He took this miſcarriage ſo much at heart: that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occaſioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were ſent home in the Briſtol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, ſhot on board of the ſhip, by virtue of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for ſome time. The ſame pre-

* When one of his Lieutenants expreſſed his ſorrow for the loſs of the Admiral's leg, "I am ſorry for it too, (replied the gallant Benbow) "but I had rather have loſt them both than have ſeen this diſhonour "brought upon the Engliſh nation. But, do you hear? If another "ſhot ſhould take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." When Du Caſſe arrived at Carthagena, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:

"SIR,

"I Had little hope on Monday laſt but to have ſupped in your "cabin; but it pleaſed God to order it otherwiſe. I am thankful for "it. As for thoſe cowardly Captains who deſerted you, hang them "up, for, by God, they deſerve it.

"Your's, DU CASSE."

caution

caution had been taken in all the weſtern ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour. CHAP VII. 1702.

§ XX. During theſe tranſactions, the Queen ſeemed to be happy in the affection of her ſubjects. Though the continuance of the Parliament was limitted to ſix months after the King's deceaſe, ſhe diſſolved it by proclamation before the term was expired: and iſſued writs for electing another, in which the Tory intereſt predominated. In the ſummer the Queen gave audience to the Count de Platens, Envoy-Extraordinary from the Elector of Hanover; then ſhe made a progreſs with her huſband to Oxford, Bath, and Briſtol, where ſhe was received with all the marks of the moſt genuine affection. The new Parliament meeting on the twentieth day of October, Mr. Harley was choſen Speaker. The Queen in her ſpeech declared, ſhe had ſummoned them to aſſiſt her in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war in which the nation was engaged. She deſired the Commons would inſpect the accounts of the publick receipts and payments, that if any abuſes had crept into the management of the finances, they might be detected, and the offenders puniſhed. She told them, that the funds aſſigned in the laſt Parliament had not produced the ſums granted; and that the deficiency was not ſupplied even by the hundred thouſand pounds which ſhe had paid from her own revenue for the publick ſervice. She expreſſed her concern for the diſappointment at Cadiz, as well as for the abuſes committed at Port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for the ſtricteſt examination of the particulars. She hoped they would find time to conſider of ſome better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which ſhe was determined to encourage. She profeſſed a firm perſuaſion, that the affection of her ſubjects was the ſureſt pledge of their duty and obedience. She promiſed to defend and maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed:

BOOK I. 1702. eſtabliſhed: and to protect her ſubjects in the full enjoyment of all their rights and liberties. She proteſted, that ſhe relied on their care of her: ſhe ſaid her intereſt and their's were inſeparable; and that her endeavours ſhould never be wanting to make them all ſafe and happy. She was preſented with a very affectionate addreſs from either Houſe, congratulating her upon the glorious ſucceſs of her arms, and thoſe of her Allies, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough: but that of the Commons was diſtinguiſhed by an implicated reproach on the late reign, importing, that the wonderful progreſs of her Majeſty's arms under the Earl of Marlborough had ſignally "retrieved" the ancient honour and glory of the Engliſh nation. This expreſſion had excited a warm debate in the Houſe, in the courſe of which many ſevere reflections were made on the memory of King William. At length, the queſtion was put, whether the word "Retrieved" ſhould remain? and carried in the affirmative, by a majority of one hundred.

§ XXI. The ſtrength of the Tories appeared in nothing more conſpicuous than in their enquiry concerning controverted elections. The borough of Hindon, near Saliſbury, was convicted of bribery, and a bill brought in for disfranchiſing the town: yet no vote paſſed againſt the perſon who exerciſed this corruption, becauſe he happened to be a Tory. Mr. Howe was declared duly elected for Glouceſterſhire, though the majority of the electors had voted for the other candidate. Sir John Packington exhibited a complaint againſt the Biſhop of Worceſter and his ſon, for having endeavoured to prevent his election: the Commons having taken it into conſideration, reſolved, that the proceedings of William Lord Biſhop of Worceſter, and his ſon, had been malicious, unchriſtian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the Commons of England. They voted an addreſs to the

the Queen, deſiring her to remove the father from the office of Lord-Almoner; and they ordered the Attorney General to proſecute the ſon, after his privilege as member of the convocation ſhould be expired. A counter-addreſs was immediately voted, and preſented by the Lords, beſeeching her Majeſty would not remove the Biſhop of Worceſter from the place of Lord-Almoner, until he ſhould be found guilty of ſome crime by due courſe of law; as it was the undoubted right of every Lord of Parliament, and of every ſubject of England, to have an opportunity to make his defence before he ſuffers any ſort of puniſhment. The Queen ſaid ſhe had not as yet received any complaint againſt the Biſhop of Worceſter: but ſhe looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or diſplace any ſervant attending upon her own perſon, when ſhe ſhould think proper. The Peers having received this anſwer, unanimouſly reſolved, That no Lord of their Houſe ought to ſuffer any ſort of puniſhment by any proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, otherwiſe than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of Parliament. When the Commons attended the Queen with their addreſs againſt the Biſhop, ſhe ſaid ſhe was ſorry there was occaſion for ſuch a remonſtrance, and that the Biſhop of Worceſter ſhould no longer continue to ſupply the place of her Almoner. This regard to their addreſs was a flagrant proof of her partiality to the Tories, who ſeemed to juſtify her attachment by their compliance and liberality. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XXII. In deliberating on the ſupplies, they agreed to all the demands of the miniſtry. They voted forty thouſand ſeamen, and the like number of land forces, to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies. For the maintenance of theſe laſt, they granted eight hundred and thirty-three thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; beſides three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for guards and garriſons;

BOOK I. 1702. garriſons; ſeventy thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three pounds for ordnance; and fifty-one thouſand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for ſubſidies to the allies. Lord Shannon arriving with the news of the ſucceſs at Vigo, the Queen appointed a day of thankſgiving for the ſignal ſucceſs of her arms under the Earl of Marlborough, the Duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke; and, on that day, which was the twelfth of November, ſhe went in ſtate to St. Paul's church, attended by both Houſes of Parliament. Next day the Peers voted the thanks of their Houſe to the Duke of Ormond for his ſervices at Vigo; and, at the ſame time, drew up an addreſs to the Queen, deſiring ſhe would order the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings: a requeſt with which her Majeſty complied. Thoſe two officers were likewiſe thanked by the Houſe of Commons: Vice-Admiral Hopſon was knighted, and gratified with a conſiderable penſion. The Duke of Ormond, at his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rooke's conduct, and ſeemed determined to ſubject him to a publick accuſation; but that officer was ſuch a favourite among the Commons, that the Court was afraid to diſoblige them by an impeachment, and took great pains to mitigate the Duke's reſentment. This nobleman was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Rooke was admitted into the Privy-Council. A motion, however, being made in the Houſe of Lords, that the Admiral's inſtructions and journals relating to the laſt expedition might be examined, a committee was appointed for that purpoſe, and prepared an unfavourable report: but it was rejected by a majority of the Houſe; and they voted, That Sir George Rooke had done his duty, purſuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the Britiſh nation.

§ XXIII.

§ XXIII. On the twenty-firſt day of November, the Queen ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Secretary Hedges, recommending further proviſion for the Prince her huſband, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her. This meſſage being conſidered, Mr. Howe moved, That the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled on the Prince, in caſe he ſhould ſurvive her Majeſty. No oppoſition was made to the propoſal: but warm debates were excited by a clauſe in the bill, exempting the Prince from that part of the Act of Succeſſion by which ſtrangers, though naturalized, were rendered incapable of holding employments. This clauſe related only to thoſe who ſhould be naturalized in a future reign; and indeed was calculated as a reſtriction upon the Houſe of Hanover. Many members argued againſt the clauſe of exemption, becauſe it ſeemed to imply, that perſons already naturalized would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though already poſſeſſed of the right of natural-born ſubjects, a conſequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act. Others oppoſed it, becauſe the Lords had already reſolved by a vote, That they would never paſs any bill ſent up from the Commons, to which a clauſe foreign to the bill ſhould to tacked; and this clauſe they affirmed to be a tack, as an incapacity to hold employments was a circumſtance altogether diſtinct from a ſettlement in money. The Queen expreſſed uncommon eagerneſs in behalf of this bill; and the Court influence was managed ſo ſucceſsfully, that it paſſed through both Houſes, though not without an obſtinate oppoſition, and a formal proteſt by ſeven-and-twenty Peers. CHAP. VII. 1708.

§ XXIV. The Earl of Marlborough arriving in England about the latter end of November, received the thanks of the Commons for his great and ſignal ſervices, which were ſo acceptable to the Queen, that ſhe created him a Duke, gratified him with a penſion

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ſion of five thouſand pounds upon the revenue of the Poſt-Office during his natural life; and, in a meſſage to the Commons, expreſſed a deſire that they would find ſome method to ſettle it on the heirs-male of his body. This intimation was productive of warm debates, during which Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave obſerved, that he would not derogate from the Duke's eminent ſervices; but he affirmed his Grace had been very well paid for them, by the profitable employments which he and his Ducheſs enjoyed. The Duke, underſtanding that the Commons were heated by the ſubject, begged her Majeſty would rather forego her gracious meſſage in his behalf, than create any uneaſineſs on his account, which might embarraſs her affairs and be of ill conſequence to the publick. Then ſhe ſent another meſſage to the Houſe, ſignifying, that the Duke of Marlborough had declined her interpoſition. Notwithſtanding this declaration, the Commons in a body preſented an addreſs, acknowledging the eminent ſervices of the Duke of Marlborough, yet expreſſing their apprehenſion of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the Crown, which had been ſo much reduced by the exorbitant grants of the late reign, and ſo lately ſettled and ſecured by her Majeſty's unparalleled grace and goodneſs. The Queen was ſatisfied with their apology; but their refuſal in all probability helped to alienate the Duke from the Tories, with whom he had been hitherto connected.

§ XXV. In the beginning of January, the Queen gave the Houſe of Commons to underſtand, that the States-General had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to render ineffectual the great and early preparations of the enemy. The Commons immediately reſolved, That ten thouſand men ſhould be hired, as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the Allies; but on condition that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain

Spain on the part of the States-General. The Lords presented an address to the Queen on the same subject, and to the same effect; and she owned that the condition was absolutely necessary for the good of the whole alliance. The Dutch, even after the declaration of war, had carried on a traffick with the French; and, at this very juncture, Louis found it impossible to make remittances of money to the Elector of Bavaria in Germany, and to his forces in Italy, except through the channel of English, Dutch, and Geneva merchants. The States-General, though shocked at the imperious manner in which the Parliament of England prescribed their conduct, complied with the demand without hesitation, and published a prohibition of all commerce with the subjects of France and Spain.

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§ XXVI. The Commons of this Parliament had nothing more at heart than a bill against occasional conformity. The Tories affected to distinguish themselves as the only true friends to the Church and Monarchy; and they hated the Dissenters with a mixture of spiritual and political disgust. They looked upon these last as an intruding sect, which constituted great part of the Whig faction that extorted such immense sums of money from the nation in the late reign, and involved it in pernicious engagements, from whence it had no prospect of deliverance. They considered them as encroaching schismaticks that disgraced and endangered the hierarchy; and those of their own communion who recommended moderation, they branded with the epithets of lukewarm Christians, betrayers, and apostates. They now resolved to approve themselves zealous sons of the Church, by seizing the first opportunity that was in their power to distress the Dissenters. In order to pave the way to this persecution, sermons were preached, and pamphlets were printed, to blacken the character of the sect, and inflame the popular resentment against them. On the fourth day

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day of November, Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley, were ordered by the House of Commons to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. In the preamble, all persecution for conscience-sake was condemned: nevertheless, it enacted, That all those who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or the magistracy of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of Dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day in which they continued to act in their employments after having been at any such meeting: they were also rendered incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity; and, upon a relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity were doubled. The promoters of the bill alledged, that an established religion and national church were absolutely necessary, when so many impious men pretended to inspiration, and deluded such numbers of the people: that the most effectual way to preserve this national church, would be the maintenance of the civil power in the hands of those who expressed their regard to the church in their principles and practice: that the Parliament, by the Corporation and Test-acts, thought they had raised a sufficient barrier to the hierarchy, never imagining that a set of men would rise up, whose consciences would be too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough to break them: that, as the last reign began with an act in favour of Dissenters, so the Commons were desirous that in the beginning of her Majesty's auspicious government, an act should pass in favour of the Church of England; that this bill did not entrench on the Act of Toleration, or deprive the Dissenters of any privileges they enjoyed by law, or add any thing to the legal rights of the Church of England: that occasional conformity was an evasion of the law, by which the Dissenters might insinuate themselves into the management

ment of all corporations: that a ſeparation from the Church, to which a man's conſcience will allow him occaſionally to conform, is a mere ſchiſm, which in itſelf was ſinful, without the ſuperaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: that the toleration was intended only for the eaſe of tender conſciences, and not to give a licence for occaſional conformity: that conforming and non-conforming were contradictions; for nothing but a firm perſuaſion that the terms of communion required are ſinful and unlawful could juſtify the one; and this plainly condemns the other. The members who oppoſed the bill argued, That the Diſſenters were generally well affected to the preſent conſtitution: that to bring any real hardſhip upon them, or give riſe to jealouſies and fears at ſuch a juncture, might be attended with dangerous conſequences: that the toleration had greatly contributed to the ſecurity and reputation of the Church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conſcience and gentle meaſures were the moſt effectual means for increaſing the votaries of the Church, and diminiſhing the number of Diſſenters; that the Diſſenters could not be termed ſchiſmaticks without bringing an heavy charge upon the Church of England, which had not only tolerated ſuch ſchiſm, but even allowed communion with the reformed Churches abroad: that the penalties of this bill were more ſevere than thoſe which the laws impoſed on Papiſts, for aſſiſting at the moſt ſolemn act of their religion: in a word, that toleration and tenderneſs had been always productive of peace and union, whereas perſecution had never failed to excite diſorder, and extend ſuperſtition. Many alterations and mitigations were propoſed, without effect. In the courſe of the debates, the Diſſenters were mentioned and reviled with great acrimony; and the bill paſſed the Lower Houſe by virtue of a conſiderable majority.

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§ XXVII. The Lords, apprehenſive that the Commons would tack it to ſome money-bill, voted, That the annexing any clauſe to a money-bill was contrary to the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, and the uſage of Parliament. The bill met with a very warm oppoſition in the Upper Houſe, where a conſiderable portion of the Whig intereſt ſtill remained. Theſe members believed that the intention of the bill was to model corporations, ſo as to eject all thoſe who would not vote in elections for the Tories. Some imagined this was a preparatory ſtep towards a repeal of the toleration; and others concluded that the promoters of the bill deſigned to raiſe ſuch diſturbances at home, as would diſcourage the Allies abroad, and render the proſecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the Biſhops, and among theſe Burnet of Sarum, objected againſt it on the principles of moderation, and from motives of conſcience. Nevertheleſs, as the Court ſupported this meaſure with its own power and influence, the bill made its way through the Houſe, though not without alterations and amendments, which were rejected by the Commons. The Lower Houſe pretended, that the Lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties that the Commons ſhould fix in bills ſent up for their concurrence, on the ſuppoſition, that thoſe were matters concerning money, the peculiar province of the Lower Houſe: the Lords ordered a minute enquiry to be made into all the rolls of Parliament ſince the reign of Henry the Seventh; and a great number of inſtances were found, in which the Lords had begun the clauſes impoſing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the Commons, and even changed the uſes to which they were applied. Theſe precedents were entered in the books: but the Commons reſolved to maintain their point without engaging in any diſpute upon the ſubject. After warm debates, and a free conference between the two Houſes,

Houſes, the Lords adhered to their amendments, though this reſolution was carried by a majority of one vote only: the Commons perſiſted in rejecting them; the bill miſcarried, and both Houſes publiſhed their proceedings, by way of appeal to the nation*. A bill was now brought into the Lower Houſe, granting another year's conſideration to thoſe who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended Prince of Wales. The Lords added three clauſes, importing, that thoſe perſons who ſhould take the oath within the limited time might return to their benefices and employments, unleſs they ſhould be already legally filled; that any perſon endeavouring to defeat the ſucceſſion to the Crown, as now limited by law, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon: and that the oath of abjuration ſhould be impoſed upon the ſubjects in Ireland. The Commons made ſome oppoſition to the firſt clauſe; but, at length, the queſtion being put, Whether they ſhould agree to the amendments, it was carried in the affirmative by one voice. CHAP. VII. 1702.

§ XXVIII. No object engroſſed more time, or produced more violent debates, than did the enquiry into the publick accounts. The Commiſſioners appointed for this purpoſe pretended to have made great diſcoveries. They charged the Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaſter-General of the army, with flagrant miſmanagement. He acquitted himſelf in ſuch a manner as ſcreened him from all ſeverity of puniſhment: nevertheleſs, they expelled him from the Houſe for a high crime and miſdemeanour, in miſapplying ſeveral ſums of the publick money; and he

* While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foe published a pamphlet intituled, "The shortest Way with the Dissenters; or Proposals for the Establishment of the Church." The piece was a severe satire on the violence of the Church party. The Commons ordered it to be burned by the hands of the Common hangman, and the author to be prosecuted. He was accordingly committed to Newgate, tried, condemned to pay a fine of two hundred pounds, and stand in the pillory.

BOOK I. 1702. thought proper to reſign his employment. A long addreſs was prepared and preſented to the Queen, attributing the national debt to miſmanagement of the funds; complaining that the old methods of the Exchequer had been neglected; and that iniquitous frauds had been committed by the Commiſſioners of the prizes. Previous to this remonſtrance, the Houſe, in conſequence of the report of the Committee, had paſſed ſeveral ſevere reſolutions, particularly againſt Charles Lord Hallifax, Auditor of the receipt of the Exchequer, as having neglected his duty, and been guilty of a breach of truſt. For theſe reaſons, they actually beſought the Queen, in an addreſs, that ſhe would give directions to the Attorney-General to proſecute him for the ſaid offences; and ſhe promiſed to comply with their requeſt. On the other hand, the Lords appointed a committee to examine all the obſervations which the Commiſſioners of Accounts had offered to both Houſes. They aſcribed the national debt to deficiencies in the funds: they acquitted Lord Hallifax, the Lords of the Treaſury, and their officers, whom the Commons had accuſed; and repreſented theſe circumſtances in an addreſs to the Queen, which was afterwards printed with the vouchers to every particular. This difference blew up a fierce flame of diſcord between the two Houſes, which manifeſted their mutual animoſity in ſpeeches, votes, reſolutions, and conferences. The Commons affirmed, That no cognizance the Lords could take of the publick accounts would enable them to ſupply any deficiency, or appropriate any ſurpluſage of the publick money: that they could neither acquit nor condemn any perſon whatſoever, upon any enquiry ariſing originally in their own Houſe; and that their attempt to acquit Charles Lord Hallifax was unparliamentary. The Lords inſiſted upon their right to take cognizance originally of all publick accounts: they affirmed, that

that in their reſolutions, with reſpect to Lord Halli- CHAP. VII.
fax, they had proceeded according to the rules of 1702.
juſtice. They owned, however, that their reſolutions did not amount to any judgment or acquittal; but that finding a vote of the Commons reflected upon a member of their Houſe, they thought fit to give their opinion in their legiſlative capacity. The Queen interpoſed by a meſſage to the Lords, deſiring they would diſpatch the buſineſs in which they were engaged. The diſpute continued even after this intimation: one conference was held after another, till at length both ſides deſpaired of an accommodation. The Lords ordered their proceedings to be printed, and the Commons followed their example. On the twenty-ſeventh day of February the Queen, having paſſed all the bills that were ready for the royal aſſent, ordered the Lord-Keeper to prorogue the Parliament, after having pronounced a ſpeech, in the uſual ſtile. She thanked them for their zeal, affection, and diſpatch; declared, ſhe would encourage and maintain the Church as by law eſtabliſhed; deſired they would conſider ſome further laws for reſtraining the great licenſe aſſumed for publiſhing ſcandalous pamphlets and libels; and aſſured them, that all her ſhare of the prizes which might be taken in the war ſhould be applied to the publick ſervice. By this time the Earl of Rocheſter was entirely removed from the Queen's councils. Finding himſelf out-weighed by the intereſt of the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, he had become ſullen and intractable; and, rather than repair to his government of Ireland, choſe to reſign the office, which, as we have already obſerved, was conferred upon the Duke of Ormond, an accompliſhed nobleman, who had acquired great popularity by the ſucceſs of the expedition to Vigo. The parties in the Houſe of Lords were ſo nearly matched, that the Queen, in order to aſcertain an undoubted majority

in

BOOK I. 1702. in the next ſeſſion, created four new Peers*, who had ſignalized themſelves by the violence of their ſpeeches in the Houſe of Commons.

§ XXIX. The two Houſes of Convocation, which were ſummoned with the Parliament, bore a ſtrong affinity with this aſſembly, by the different intereſts that prevailed in the upper and lower. The laſt, in imitation of the Commons, was deſirous of branding the preceding reign; and it was with great difficulty that they concurred with the Prelates in an addreſs of congratulation to her Majeſty. Then their former conteſt was revived. The Lower Houſe deſired, in an application to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and his Suffragans, that the matters in diſpute concerning the manner of ſynodical proceedings, and the right of the Lower Houſe to hold intermediate aſſemblies, might be taken into conſideration, and ſpeedily determined. The Biſhops propoſed, that in the intervals of ſeſſions, the Lower Houſe might appoint committees to prepare matters; and when buſineſs ſhould be brought regularly before them, the Archbiſhop would regulate the prorogations in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould have ſufficient time to ſit and deliberate on the ſubject. This offer did not ſatisfy the Lower Houſe, which was emboldened to perſiſt in its demand by a vote of the Commons. Theſe, in conſequence of an addreſs of thanks from the Clergy, touching Mr. Lloyd, ſon to the biſhop of Worceſter, whom they ordered to be proſecuted after his privilege as member of the Convocation ſhould be expired, had reſolved, That they would on all occaſions aſſert the juſt rights and

* Theſe were John Granville, created Baron Granville of Potheridge in the county of Devon: Heneage Finch, Baron of Guernſey in the county of Southampton: Sir John Leveſon Gower, Baron Gower of Sittenham in Yorkſhire; and Francis Seymour Conway, youngeſt ſon of Sir Edward Seymour, made Baron Conway of Ragley in the county of Warwick. At the ſame time, however, John Harvey, of the oppoſite faction, was created Baron of Ickworth in the county of Suffolk; and the Marquis of Normanby was honoured with the title of Duke of Buckinghamſhire.

privi-

privileges of the Lower Houſes of Convocation. The Prelates refuſed to depart from the Archbiſhop's right of proroguing the whole Convocation with conſent of his Suffragans. The Lower Houſe propoſed to refer the controverſy to the Queen's deciſion. The Biſhops declined this expedient, as inconſiſtent with the epiſcopal authority, and the preſidence of the Archbiſhop. The Lower Houſe having incurred the imputation of favouring Preſbytery, by this oppoſition to the Biſhops, entered in their books a declaration, acknowledging the order of Biſhops, as ſuperior to Preſbyters, and to be a divine apoſtolical inſtitution. Then they deſired the Biſhops, in an addreſs, to concur in ſettling the doctrine of the divine apoſtolical right of Epiſcopacy, that it might be a ſtanding rule of the Church. They likewiſe preſented a petition to the Queen, complaining, That in the Convocation called in the year 1700, after an interruption of ten years, ſeveral queſtions having ariſen concerning the rights and liberties of the Lower Houſe, the Biſhops had refuſed a verbal conference; and afterwards declined a propoſal to ſubmit the diſpute to her Majeſty's determination: they, therefore, fled for protection to her Majeſty, begging ſhe would call the queſtion into her own royal audience. The Queen promiſed to conſider their petition, which was ſupported by the Earl of Nottingham; and ordered their Council to examine the affair, how it conſiſted with law and cuſtom. Whether their report was unfavourable to the Lower Houſe, or the Queen was unwilling to encourage the diviſion, no other anſwer was made to their addreſs. The Archbiſhop replied to their requeſt preſented to the Upper Houſe, concerning the divine right of Preſbytery, that the preface to the form of ordination contained a declaration of three orders of miniſters from the times of the Apoſtles; namely, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, to which they had ſubſcribed: but he and his brethren conceived, that, without

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BOOK I. 1702. without a royal licence, they had not authority to attempt, enact, promulge, or execute any canon, which ſhould concern either doctrine or diſcipline. The Lower Houſe anſwered this declaration in very petulant terms; and the diſpute ſubſiſted when the Parliament was prorogued. But theſe conteſts produced diviſions through the whole body of the Clergy, who ranged themſelves in different factions, diſtinguiſhe by the names of High-church and Low-church. The firſt conſiſted of eccleſiaſtical Tories; the other included thoſe who profeſſed Revolution principles, and recommended moderation towards the Diſſenters. The High-church party reproached the other as time-ſervers, and Preſbyterians in diſguiſe; and were, in their turn, ſtigmatiſed as the friends and abettors of tyranny and perſecution. At preſent, however, the Tories both in Church and State triumphed in the favour of their Sovereign. The right of Parliaments, the memory of the late King, and even the act limiting the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, became the ſubjects of ridicule. The Queen was flattered as poſſeſſor of the prerogatives of the ancient monarchy: the hiſtory written by her grandfather, the Earl of Clarendon, was now for the firſt time publiſhed, to inculcate the principles of obedience, and inſpire the people with an abhorrence of oppoſition to an anointed Sovereign. Her Majeſty's hereditary right was deduced from Edward the Confeſſor, and, as heir of his pretended ſanctity and virtue, ſhe was perſuaded to touch perſons afflicted with the King's Evil, according to the office inſerted in the Liturgy for this occaſion.

§ XXX. The change of the miniſtry in Scotland ſeemed favourable to the Epiſcopalians and Anti-Revolutioners of that kingdom. The Earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Selkirk, Leven, and Hyndford, were laid aſide: the Earl of Seafield was appointed Chancellor: the Duke of Queenſberry, and the Lord Viſcount

count Tarbat, were declared Secretaries of State: the Marquis of Annandale was made Preſident of the Council, and the Earl of Tullibardin Lord Privy-Seal. A new Parliament having been ſummoned, the Earl of Seafield employed his influence ſo ſucceſsfully, that a great number of Anti-Revolutioners were returned as members. The Duke of Hamilton had obtained from the Queen a letter to the Privy-Council in Scotland, in which ſhe expreſſed her deſire that the Preſbyterian clergy ſhould live in brotherly love and communion with ſuch diſſenting miniſters of the reformed religion as were in poſſeſſion of benefices, and lived with decency, and ſubmiſſion to the law. The epiſcopal clergy, encouraged by theſe expreſſions in their favour, drew up an addreſs to the Queen, imploring her protection; and humbly beſeeching her to allow thoſe pariſhes in which there was a majority of epiſcopal freeholders to beſtow the benefice on miniſters of their principles. This petition was preſented by Dr. Skeen and Dr. Scott, who were introduced by the Duke of Queenſberry to her Majeſty. She aſſured them of her protection and endeavours to ſupply their neceſſities; and exhorted them to live in peace and Chriſtian love with the clergy, who were by law inveſted with the church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland. A proclamation of indemnity having been publiſhed in March, a great number of Jacobites returned from France and other countries, pretended to have changed their ſentiments, and took the oaths, that they might be qualified to ſit in Parliament. They formed an acceſſion to the ſtrength of the Anti-Revolutioners and Epiſcopalians, who now hoped to out number the Preſbyterians, and outweigh their intereſt. But this confederacy was composed of diſſonant parts, from which no harmony could be expected. The Preſbyterians and Revolutioners were headed by the Duke of Argyle. The Country-party of malcontents, which took its riſe from the diſappointments

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Burnet. Oldmixon Tovey's Mem. Lamberty's Mem. Feuquieres Burchet.

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pointments of the Darien ſettlement, acted under the auſpices of the Duke of Hamilton and Marquis of Tweedale; and the Earl of Hume appeared as chief of the Anti-Revolutioners. The different parties, who now united, purſued the moſt oppoſite ends. The majority of the Country-party were friends to the Revolution, and ſought only redreſs of the grievances which the nation had ſuſtained in the late reign. The Anti-Revolutioners conſidered the acceſſion and government of King William as an extraordinary event, which they were willing to forget, believing that all parties were ſafe under the ſhelter of her Majeſty's general indemnity. The Jacobites ſubmitted to the Queen, as tutrix or regent for the Prince of Wales, whom they firmly believed ſhe intended to eſtabliſh on the throne. The Whigs under Argyle, alarmed at the coalition of all their enemies, reſolved to procure a parliamentary ſanction for the Revolution.

An. 1703. § XXXI. The Parliament being opened on the ſixth day of May at Edinburgh, by the Duke of Queenſberry as commiſſioner, the Queen's letter was read, in which ſhe demanded a ſupply for the maintenance of the forces, adviſed them to encourage trade, and exhorted them to proceed with wiſdom, prudence, and unanimity. The Duke of Hamilton immediately offered the draft of a bill for recognizing her Majeſty's undoubted right and title to the Imperial Crown of Scotland, according to the declaration of the eſtates of the kingdom, containing the claim of right. It was immediately received; and at the ſecond reading, the Queen's Advocate offered an additional clauſe, denouncing the penalties of treaſon againſt any perſon who ſhould queſtion her Majeſty's right and title to the Crown, or her exerciſe of the government, from her actual entry to the ſame. This, after a long and warm debate, was carried by the concurrence of the Anti-Revolutioners. Then the Earl of Hume produced the draft of a bill for

for the ſupply: immediately after it was read, the Marquis of Tweedale made an overture, that, before all other buſineſs, the Parliament would proceed to make ſuch conditions of government, and regulations in the conſtitution of the kingdom, to take place after the deceaſe of her Majeſty and the heirs of her body, as ſhould be neceſſary for the preſervation of their religion and liberty. This overture and the bill were ordered to lie upon the table; and, in the mean time, the Commiſſioner found himſelf involved in great perplexity. The Duke of Argyle, the Marquis of Annandale, and the Earl of Marchmont, gave him to underſtand in private, that they were reſolved to move for an act, ratifying the Revolution; and for another, confirming the Preſbyterian government: that they would inſiſt upon their being diſcuſſed before the bill of ſupply, and that they were certain of carrying the points at which they aimed. The Commiſſioner now found himſelf reduced to a very diſagreeable alternative. There was a neceſſity for relinquiſhing all hope of a ſupply, or abandoning the Anti-Revolutioners, to whom he was connected by promiſes of concurrence. The Whigs were determined to oppoſe all ſchemes of ſupply that ſhould come from the Cavaliers: and theſe laſt reſolved to exert their whole power in preventing the confirmation of the Revolution and the Preſbyterian diſcipline. He foreſaw that on this occaſion the Whigs would be joined by the Duke of Hamilton and his party, ſo as to preponderate againſt the Cavaliers. He endeavoured to cajole both parties; but found the taſk impracticable. He deſired in Parliament, that the act for the ſupply might be read, promiſing that they ſhould have full time afterwards to deliberate on other ſubjects. The Marquis of Tweedale inſiſted upon his overture; and, after warm debates, the Houſe reſolved to proceed with ſuch acts as might be neceſſary for ſecuring the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation, before

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BOOK I. 1703. any bill for ſupply or other buſineſs ſhould be diſcuſſed. The Marquis of Athol offered an act for the ſecurity of the kingdom, in caſe of her Majeſty's deceaſe: but, before it was read, the Duke of Argyle preſented his draft of a bill for ratifying the Revolution, and all the acts following thereupon. An act for limiting the ſucceſſion after the death of her Majeſty, and the heirs of her body, was produced by Mr. Fletcher, of Saltoun. The Earl of Rothes recommended another, importing, that, after her Majeſty's death, and failing heirs of her body, no perſon coming to the Crown of Scotland, being at the ſame time King or Queen of England, ſhould, as King or Queen of Scotland, have power to make peace or war without the conſent of Parliament. The Earl of Marchmont recited the draft of an act for ſecuring the true Proteſtant religion and Preſbyterian government: one was alſo ſuggeſted by Sir Patrick Johnſton, allowing the importation of wines, and other foreign liquors. All theſe bills were ordered to lie on the table. Then the Earl of Strathmore produced an act for toleration to all Proteſtants in the exerciſe of religious worſhip. But againſt this the general aſſembly preſented a moſt violent remonſtrance; and the promoters of the bill foreſeeing that it would meet with great oppoſition, allowed it to drop for the preſent. On the third day of June, the Parliament paſſed the act for preſerving the true reformed Proteſtant religion, and confirming Preſbyterian church government, as agreeable to the word of God, and the only government of Chriſt's church within the Kingdom. The ſame party enjoyed a further triumph in the ſucceſs of Argyle's act, for ratifying and perpetuating the firſt act of King William's Parliament: for declaring it high treaſon to diſown the authority of that Parliament, or to alter or renovate the claim of right, or any article thereof. This laſt clauſe was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed; but at laſt the bill paſſed, with the concurrence

rence of all the miniſtry, except the Marquis of Athol and the Viſcount Tarbat, who began at this period to correſpond with the oppoſite party. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XXXII. The Cavaliers thinking themſelves betrayed by the Duke of Queenſberry, who had aſſented to theſe acts, firſt expoſtulated with him on his breach of promiſe, and then renounced his intereſt, reſolving to ſeparate themſelves from the Court, and jointly purſue ſuch meaſures as might be for the intereſt of their party. But of all the bills that were produced in the courſe of this remarkable ſeſſion, that which produced the moſt violent altercation was the act of ſecurity, calculated to abridge the prerogative of the Crown, limit the ſucceſſor, and throw a vaſt additional power into the hands of the Parliament. It was conſidered paragraph by paragraph: many additions and alterations were propoſed, and ſome adopted: inflammatory ſpeeches were uttered; bitter ſarcaſms retorted from party to party; and different votes paſſed on different clauſes. At length, in ſpite of the moſt obſtinate oppoſition from the Miniſtry and the Cavaliers, it was paſſed by a majority of fifty-nine voices. The Commiſſioner was importuned to give it the royal aſſent; but declined anſwering their entreaties till the tenth day of September. Then he made a ſpeech in Parliament, giving them to underſtand that he had received the Queen's pleaſure, and was empowered to give the royal aſſent to all the acts voted in this ſeſſion, except to the act for the ſecurity of the kingdom. A motion was made to ſolicit the royal aſſent in an addreſs to her Majeſty; but the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative by a ſmall majority. On the ſixth day of the ſame month, the Earl of Marchmont had produced a bill to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. At firſt the import of it was not known; but, when the clerk in reading it mentioned the Princeſs Sophia, the whole Houſe was kindled into a flame. Some propoſed that

BOOK I. 1703. that the overture ſhould be burned: others moved that the Earl might be ſent priſoner to the caſtle; and a general diſſatisfaction appeared in the whole aſſembly. Not that the Majority in Parliament were averſe to the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover: but they reſolved to avoid a nomination without ſtipulating conditions; and they had already provided in the act of ſecurity, that it ſhould be high-treaſon to own any perſon as King or Queen after her Majeſty's deceaſe, until he or ſhe ſhould take the coronation oath, and accept the terms of the claim of right, and ſuch conditions as ſhould be ſettled in this or any enſuing Parliament.

§ XXXIII. Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun a man of undaunted courage and inflexible integrity, who profeſſed republican principles, and ſeemed deſigned by nature as a member of ſome Grecian commonwealth, after having obſerved that the nation would be enſlaved, ſhould it ſubmit, either willingly or by commiſſion, to the ſucceſſor of England, without ſuch conditions of government as ſhould ſecure them againſt the influence of an Engliſh miniſtry, offered the draft of an act, importing, That after the deceaſe of her Majeſty, without heirs of her body, no perſon being ſucceſſor to the Engliſh throne ſhould ſucceed to the Crown of Scotland, but under the following limitations, which, together with the coronation-oath and claim of right, they ſhould ſwear to obſerve: namely, That all offices and places, civil and military, as well as penſions, ſhould for the future be conferred by a Parliament to be choſen at every Michaelmas head-court, to ſit on the firſt day of November, and adjourn themſelves from time to time, till the enſuing Michaelmas: That they ſhould chooſe their own preſident: That a committee of ſix-and-thirty members, choſen out of the whole Parliament, without diſtinction of eſtates, ſhould, during the intervals of Parliament, be veſted, under the King, with the adminiſtration

niſtration of the government, act as his council, be accountable to Parliament, and call it together on extraordinary occaſions. He propoſed that the ſucceſſor ſhould be nominated by the majority: declaring for himſelf, that he would rather concur in nominating the moſt rigid Papiſt with thoſe conditions than the trueſt Proteſtant without them. The motion was ſeconded by many members; and though poſtponed for the preſent, in favour of an act of trade under the conſideration of the Houſe, it was afterwards reſumed with great warmth. In vain the Lord-Treaſurer repreſented that no funds were as yet provided for the army, and moved for a reading of the act preſented for that purpoſe: a certain member obſerved, that this was a very unſeaſonable juncture to propoſe a ſupply, when the Houſe had ſo much to do for the ſecurity of the nation: he ſaid they had very little encouragement to grant ſupplies, when they found themſelves fruſtrated of all their labour and expence for theſe ſeveral months; and when the whole kingdom ſaw that ſupplies ſerved for no other uſe but to gratify the avarice of ſome inſatiable miniſters. Mr. Fletcher expatiated upon the good conſequences that would ariſe from the act which he had propoſed. The Chancellor anſwered, That ſuch an act was laying a ſcheme for a commonwealth, and tending to innovate the conſtitution of the monarchy. The miniſtry propoſed a ſtate of a vote, whether they ſhould firſt give a reading to Fletcher's act or to the act of ſubſidy. The country-party moved that the queſtion might be, "Overtures for ſubſidies, or "overtures for liberty." Fletcher withdrew his act, rather than people ſhould pervert the meaning of laudable deſigns. The Houſe reſounded with the cry of "Liberty or Subſidy." Bitter invectives were uttered againſt the miniſtry. One member ſaid it was now plain the nation was to expect no other return for their expence and toil, than that of being

CHAP. VII. 1709.

BOOK I. 1703. being loaded with a ſubſidy, and being obliged to bend their necks under the yoke of ſlavery, which was prepared for them from that throne: another obſerved, that as their liberties were ſuppreſſed, ſo the privileges of Parliament were like to be torn from them; but that he would venture his life in defence of his birthright, and rather die a free man than live a ſlave. When the vote was demanded, and declined by the Commiſſioner, the Earl of Roxburgh declared, that if there was no other way of obtaining ſo natural and undeniable a privilege of Parliament, they would demand it with their ſwords in their hands. The Commiſſioner, foreſeeing this ſpirit of freedom and contradiction, ordered the foot-guard to be in readineſs, and placed a ſtrong guard upon the eaſtern gate of the city. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, he ran the riſque of being torn in pieces; and, in this apprehenſion, ordered the Chancellor to inform the Houſe, that the Parliament ſhould proceed upon overtures for liberty at their next ſitting. This promiſe allayed the ferment which had begun to riſe. Next day the members prepared an overture, implying, That the elective members ſhould be choſen for every ſeat at the Michaelmas head-courts. That a Parliament ſhould be held once in two years at leaſt: That the ſhort adjournments *de die in diem* ſhould be made by the Parliaments themſelves, as in England: and that no officer in the Army, Cuſtoms, or Exciſe, nor any gratuitous penſioner, ſhould ſit as an elective member. The Commiſſioner being appriſed of their proceedings, called for ſuch acts as he was empowered to paſs, and having given the royal aſſent to them, prorogued the Parliament to the twelfth day of October*. Such was the iſſue of this remarkable ſeſſion of the Scottiſh Parliament, in

* Though the Queen refuſed to paſs the act of ſecurity, the Royal aſſent was granted to an act of limitation on the ſucceſſor, in which it was declared that no King or Queen of Scotland ſhould have power to

in which the Duke of Queenſberry was abandoned by the greateſt part of the miniſtry; and ſuch a ſpirit of ferocity and oppoſition prevailed, as threatened the whole kingdom with civil war and confuſion. The Queen conferred titles upon thoſe * who appeared to have influence in the nation, and attachment to her government, and revived the Order of the Thiſtle, which the late king had dropped. CHAP. VII. 1708.

§ XXXIV. Ireland was filled with diſcontent, by the behaviour and conduct of the truſtees for the forfeited eſtates. The Earl of Rocheſter had contributed to foment the troubles of the kingdom, by encouraging the factions which had been imported from England. The Duke of Ormond was received with open arms, as heir to the virtues of his anceſtors, who had been the bulwarks of the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland. He opened the Parliament on the twenty-firſt day of September, with a ſpeech to both Houſes, in which he told them, that his inclination, his intereſt and the examples of his progenitors, were indiſpenſable obligations upon him, to improve every opportunity to the advantage and proſperity of his native country. The Commons having choſen Allen Broderick to be their Speaker, proceeded to draw up very affectionate

to make war or peace without conſent of Parliament. Another law was enacted, allowing French wines and other liquors to be imported in neutral bottoms: Without this expedient, it was alledged that the revenue would have been inſufficient to maintain the government. An Act paſſed in favour of the company trading to Africa and the Indies; another for a commiſſion concerning the publick accounts; a third for puniſhing ſlanderous ſpeeches and writings. The commiſſion for treating of an union with England was vacated, with a prohibition to grant any other commiſſion for that purpoſe without conſent of Parliament; and no ſupply having been provided before the adjournment, the army and expence of government were maintained upon credit.

* The Marquis of Athol, and the Marquis of Douglas, though this laſt was a minor, were created dukes: Lord Tarbat was inveſted with the title of Earl of Cromarty: the Viſcounts Stair and Roſeberry were promoted to the ſame dignity. Lord Boyle was created Earl of Glaſgow; James Stuart, of Bute, Earl of Bute; Charles Hope, of Hopetoun, Earl of Hopetoun; John Crawfurd, of Kilbirnie, Viſcount Garnock; and Sir James Primroſe, of Carrington, Viſcount Primroſe.

BOOK I. 1703.

addreſſes to the Queen and the Lord-lieutenant. In that to the Queen they complained, that their enemies had miſrepreſented them, as deſirous of being independent of the crown of England: they, therefore, to vindicate themſelves from ſuch falſe aſperſions, declared and acknowledged, that the kingdom of Ireland was annexed and united to the imperial Crown of England. In order to expreſs their hatred of the truſtees, they reſolved, That all the Proteſtant freeholders of that kingdom had been falſely and maliciouſly miſrepreſented, traduced, and abuſed, in a book intitled, "The Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the Iriſh Forfeitures;" and it appearing that Francis Anneſley, member of the Houſe, John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they further reſolved, That theſe perſons had ſcandalouſly and maliciouſly miſrepreſented and traduced the Proteſtant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the people of England and the Proteſtants of Ireland. Anneſley was expelled the Houſe, Hamilton was dead, and Trenchard had returned to England. They had finiſhed the enquiry before the meeting of this Parliament; and ſold, at an under value, the beſt of the forfeited eſtates to the Sword-blade company of England. This, in a petition to the Iriſh parliament, prayed that heads of a bill be brought in for enabling them to take conveyance of lands in Ireland: but the Parliament was very little diſpoſed to confirm the bargains of the truſtees, and the petition lay neglected on the table. The Houſe expelled John Aſgill, who, as agent to the Sword-blade company, had offered to lend money to the publick in Ireland, on condition that the Parliament would paſs an act to confirm the company's purchaſe of the forfeited eſtates. His conſtituents diſowned his propoſal; and when he was ſummoned to appear before

before the Houſe, and anſwer for his prevarication, he pleaded his privilege, as member of the Engliſh Parliament. The Commons, in a repreſentation of the ſtate and grievances of the nation, gave her Majeſty to underſtand, that the conſtitution of Ireland had been of late greatly ſhaken; and their lives, liberties, and eſtates, called in queſtion, and tried in a manner unknown to their anceſtors; that the expence to which they had been unneceſſarily expoſed by the late truſtees for the forfeited eſtates, in defending their juſt rights and titles, had exceeded in value the current caſh of the kingdom: that their trade was decayed, their money exhauſted; and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures: that many Proteſtant families had been conſtrained to quit the kingdom, in order to earn a livelihood in foreign countries: that the want of frequent Parliaments in Ireland had encouraged evil-minded men to oppreſs the ſubject; that many civil officers had acquired great fortunes in that impoveriſhed country, by the exerciſe of corruption and oppreſſion: that others, in conſiderable employments, reſided in another kingdom, neglecting perſonal attendance on their duty, while their offices were ill executed, to the detriment of the publick, and the failure of juſtice. They declared, that it was from her Majeſty's gracious interpoſition alone they propoſed to themſelves relief from thoſe their manifold grievances and misfortunes. The Commons afterwards voted the neceſſary ſupplies, and granted one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds to make good the deficiencies of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. CHAP. VII. 1709.

§ XXXV. They appointed a committee to inſpect the publick accounts, by which they diſcovered, that above one hundred thouſand pounds had been falſely charged as a debt upon the nation. The committee was thanked by the Houſe for having ſaved this ſum, and ordered to examine what perſons

BOOK 1. 1703. were concerned in ſuch a miſrepreſentation, which was generally imputed to thoſe who acted under the Duke of Ormond. He himſelf was a nobleman of honour and generoſity, addicted to pleaſure, and fond of popular applauſe: but he was ſurrounded by people of more ſordid principles, who had ingratiated themſelves into his confidence by the arts of adulation. The Commons voted a proviſion for the half pay officers; and aboliſhed penſions to the amount of ſeventeen thouſand pounds a year, as unneceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. They paſſed an act ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, after the pattern ſet them by England: but the moſt important tranſaction of this ſeſſion was a ſevere bill to prevent the growth of popery. It bore a ſtrong affinity to that which had paſſed three years before in England: but contained more effectual clauſes. Among others, it enacted, That all eſtates of Papiſts ſhould be equally divided among the children, notwithſtanding any ſettlement to the contrary, unleſs the perſons to whom they might be ſettled ſhould qualify themſelves by taking the oaths, and communicating with the Church of England. The bill was not at all agreeable to the miniſtry in England, who expected large preſents from the Papiſts, by whom a conſiderable ſum had been actually raiſed for this purpoſe. But, as they did not think proper to reject ſuch a bill while the Engliſh Parliament was ſitting, they added a clauſe which they hoped the Parliament of Ireland would refuſe: namely, that no perſons in that kingdom ſhould be capable of any employment, or of being in the magiſtracy of any city, who did not qualify themſelves by receiving the ſacrament, according to the Teſt-act paſſed in England. Though this was certainly a great hardſhip on the Diſſenters, the Parliament of Ireland ſacrificed this conſideration to their common ſecurity againſt the Roman Catholicks, and accepted the amendment without heſitation. This affair being

ing diſcuſſed, The Commons of Ireland paſſed a vote againſt a book intituled, "Memoirs of the late King James II." as a ſeditious libel. They ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and the bookſeller and printer to be proſecuted. When this motion was made, a member informed the Houſe, that in the county of Limerick, the Iriſh Papiſts had begun to form themſelves into bodies; to plunder the Proteſtants of their arms and money; and to maintain a correſpondence with the diſaffected in England. The Houſe immediately reſolved, That the Papiſts of the kingdom ſtill retained hopes of the acceſſion of the perſon known by the name of the Prince of Wales in the life-time of the late King James, and now by the name of James III. In the midſt of this zeal againſt Popery and the Pretender, they were ſuddenly adjourned by the command of the Lord-Lieutenant, and broke up in great animoſity againſt that nobleman *. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XXXVI. The attention of the Engliſh miniſtry had been for ſome time chiefly engroſſed by the affairs of the continent. The Emperor agreed with the Allies, that his ſon the Archduke Charles ſhould aſſume the title of King of Spain, demand the Infanta of Portugal in marriage, and undertake ſomething of importance, with the aſſiſtance of the maritime powers. Mr. Methuen, the Engliſh miniſter at Liſbon, had already made ſome progreſs in a treaty with his Portugueſe Majeſty; and the Court of Vienna promiſed to ſend ſuch an army into the field as would in a little time drive the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But they were ſo dilatory in their preparations, that the French King broke all their meaſures, by ſending powerful rein-

* They had beſides the bills already mentioned, paſſed an act for an additional Excise on beer, ale, and other liquors: another encouraging the importation of iron and staves: a third for preventing Popiſh priests from coming into the kingdom: a fourth ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject: and for prevention of impriſonment beyond ſeas, and a fifth for naturalizing all Proteſtant ſtrangers.

BOOK forcements to the Elector, in whose ability and attachment Louis reposed great confidence. Mareschal Villars, who commanded an army of thirty thousand men at Strasburgh, passed the Rhine, and reduced fort Kehl, the garrison of which was conducted to Philipsburgh. The Emperor, alarmed at this event, ordered Count Schlick to enter Bavaria on the side of Salsburgh, with a considerable body of forces; and sent another under Count Stirum, to invade the same electorate by the way of Newmark, which was surrendered to him, after he had routed a party of Bavarians: the city of Amberg met with the same fate. Mean while Count Schlick defeated a body of militia that defended the lines of Saltsburgh, and made himself master of Riedt, and several other places. The Elector assembling his forces near Brenau, diffused a report that he intended to besiege Passau, to cover which place Schlick advanced with the greatest part of his infantry, leaving behind his cavalry and cannon. The Elector having by this feint divided the Imperialists, passed the bridge of Scardingen with twelve thousand men, and, after an obstinate engagement, compelled the Imperialists to abandon the field of battle: then he marched against the Saxon troops which guarded the artillery: and attacked them with such impetuosity, that they were entirely defeated. In a few days after these actions, he took Newburgh on the Inn by capitulation. He obtained another advantage over an advanced post of the Imperialists near Burgenfeldt, commanded by the young Prince of Brandenburgh Anspach, who was mortally wounded in the engagement. He advanced to Ratisbon, where the Diet of the empire was assembled, and demanded that he should be immediately put in possession of the bridge and gate of the city. The Burghers immediately took to their arms, and planted cannon on the ramparts: but when they saw a battery erected against them, and the Elector determined to bombard

CHAP. VII. 1704.

ſard the place, they thought proper to capitulate, and comply with his demands. He took poſſeſſion of the town on the eighth day of April, and ſigned an inſtrument obliging himſelf to withdraw his troops, as ſoon as the Emperor ſhould ratify the Diet's reſolution for the neutrality of Ratiſbon. Mareſchal Villars having received orders to join the Elector at all events, and being reinforced by a body of troops under Count Tallard, reſolved to break through the lines which the Prince of Baden had made at Stolhoffen. This General had been luckily joined by eight Dutch battalions, and received the French army, though double his number, with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that Villars was obliged to retreat with great loſs, and directed his route towards Offingen. Nevertheleſs, he penetrated through the Black Foreſt, and effected a junction with the Elector. Count Stirum endeavoured to join Prince Louis of Baden: but being attacked near Schwemmingen, retired under the cannon of Nortlingen.

§ XXXVII. The Confederates were more ſucceſsful on the Lower Rhine and in the Netherlands. The Duke of Marlborough croſſed the ſea in the beginning of April; and aſſembling the allied army, reſolved that the campaign ſhould be begun with the ſiege of Bonne, which was accordingly inveſted on the twenty-fourth day of April. Three different attacks were carried on againſt this place; one by the Hereditary Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel; another by the celebrated Coehorn; and a third by Lieutenant-General Fagel. The garriſon defended themſelves vigorouſly till the fourteenth day of May, when the fort having been taken by aſſault, and the breaches rendered practicable, the Marquis d'Alegre, the Governor, ordered a parley to be beat: hoſtages were immediately exchanged; on the ſixteenth the capitulation was ſigned; and in three days the garriſon evacuated the place, in order to be conducted to Luxemburgh. During the ſiege of Bonne, the Mareſchals

BOOK I. 1709.

Mareſchals Boufflers and Villeroy advanced with an army of forty thouſand men towards Tongeren, and the confederate army commanded by M. D'Auverquerque was obliged at their approach to retreat under the cannon of Maeſtrich. The enemy having taken poſſeſſion of Tongeren, made a motion againſt the confederate army, which they found already drawn up in order of battle, and ſo advantageouſly poſted, that notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority in point of number, they would not hazard an attack; but retired to the ground from whence they had advanced. Immediately after the reduction of Bonne, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been preſent at the ſiege, returned to the confederate army in the Netherlands, now amounting to one hundred and thirty ſquadrons, and fifty-nine battalions. On the twenty-fifth day of May, the Duke having paſſed the river Jecker, in order to give battle to the enemy, they marched with precipitation to Boekwern, and abandoned Tongeren, after having blown up the walls of the place with gunpowder. The Duke continued to follow them to Thys, where he encamped, while they retreated to Hannye, retiring as he advanced. Then he reſolved to force their lines: this ſervice was effectually performed by Cochorn, at the point of Callo, and by Baron Spaar, in the county of Waes, near Stoken. The Duke had formed the deſign of reducing Antwerp, which was garriſoned by Spaniſh troops, under the command of the Marquis de Bedmar. He intended with the grand army to attack the enemy's lines on the ſide of Louvaine and Mechlin: he detached Cochorn with his flying camp on the right of the Scheldt, towards Dutch Flanders, to amuſe the Marquis de Bedmar on that ſide; and he ordered the Baron Opdam, with twelve thouſand men, to take poſt between Eckeren and Capelle, near Antwerp, that he might act againſt that part of the lines which was guarded by the Spaniſh forces.

§ XXXVIII.

§ XXXVIII. The French Generals, in order to fruſtrate the ſcheme of Marlborough, reſolved to cut off the retreat of Opdam. Boufflers, with a detachment of twenty thouſand men from Villeroy's army, ſurprized him at Eckeren, where the Dutch were put in diſorder; and Opdam, believing all was loſt, fled to Breda. Nevertheleſs, the troops rallying under General Schlangenburgh, maintained their ground with the moſt obſtinate valour, till night, when the enemy was obliged to retire, and left the communication free with fort Lillo, to which place the Confederates marched without further moleſtation, having loſt about fifteen hundred men in the engagement. The damage ſuſtained by the French was more conſiderable. They were fruſtrated in their deſign, and had actually abandoned the field of battle: yet Louis ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung for the victory: nevertheleſs, Boufflers was cenſured for his conduct on this occaſion, and in a little time totally diſgraced. Opdam preſented a juſtification of his conduct to the States-General: but by this overſight he forfeited the fruits of a long ſervice, during which he had exhibited repeated proofs of courage, zeal, and capacity. The States honoured Schlangenburg with a letter of thanks for the valour and ſkill he had manifeſted in this engagement: but in a little time they diſmiſſed him from his employment, on account of his having given umbrage to the Duke of Marlborough, by cenſuring his Grace for expoſing ſuch a ſmall number of men to this diſaſter. After this action, Villeroy, who lay encamped near St. Job, declared he would wait for the Duke of Marlborough, who forthwith advanced to Hoogſtraat, with a view to give him battle: but, at his approach, the French General, ſetting fire to his camp, retired within his lines with great precipitation. Then the Duke inveſted Huy, the garriſon of which, after a vigorous defence, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, on the twenty-ſeventh day

CHAP. VII. 1709.

BOOK I. 1706. day of Auguſt. At a council of war held in the camp of the Confederates, the Duke propoſed to attack the enemies' lines between the Mehaigne and Leuwe, and was ſeconded by the Daniſh, Hanoverian, and Heſſian Generals: but the ſcheme was oppoſed by the Dutch officers, and the deputies of the States, who alledged that the ſucceſs was dubious, and the conſequences of forcing the lines would be inconſiderable: they, therefore, recommended the ſiege of Limburg, by the reduction of which they would acquire a whole province, and cover their own country, as well as Juliers and Gueldres, from the deſigns of the enemy. The ſiege of Limburgh was accordingly undertaken. The trenches were opened on the five-and-twentieth day of September, and in two days the place was ſurrendered; the garriſon remaining priſoners of war. By this conqueſt the Allies ſecured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologn, from the incurſions of the enemy: before the end of the year, they remained maſters of the whole Spaniſh Guelderland, by the reduction of Gueldres, which ſurrendered on the ſeventeenth day of September, after having been long blockaded, bombarded, and reduced to a heap of aſhes, by the Pruſſian General, Lottum. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which in all probability would have produced events of greater importance, had not the Duke of Marlborough been reſtricted by the deputies of the States-General, who began to be influenced by the intrigues of the Louvenſtein faction, ever averſe to a ſingle dictator.

§ XXXIX. The French King redoubled his efforts in Germany. The Duke of Vendome was ordered to march from the Milaneſe to Tyrol, and there join the Elector of Bavaria, who had already made himſelf maſter of Inſpruck. But the boors riſing in arms, drove him out of the country before he could be joined by the French General, who was, therefore, obliged to return to the Milaneſe. The Imperialiſts

Imperialiſts in Italy were ſo ill ſupplied by the Court of Vienna, that they could not pretend to act offenſively. The French inveſted Oſtiglia, which, however, they could not reduce: but the fortreſs of Barſillo, in the duchy of Reggio, capitulating after a long blockade, they took poſſeſſion of the Duke of Modena's country. The Elector of Bavaria rejoining Villars, reſolved to attack Count Stirum, whom Prince Louis of Baden had detached from his army. With this view, they paſſed the Danube at Donawert, and diſcharged ſix guns, as a ſignal for the Marquis D'Uſſon, whom they had left in the camp at Lavingen, to fall upon the rear of the Imperialiſts, while they ſhould charge them in front. Stirum no ſooner perceived the ſignal, than he gueſſed the intention of the enemy, and inſtantly reſolved to attack D'Uſſon before the Elector and the Mareſchal ſhould advance. He accordingly charged him at the head of ſome ſelect ſquadrons, with ſuch impetuoſity, that the French cavalry were totally defeated; and all his infantry would have been killed and taken, had not the Elector and Villars come up in time to turn the fate of the day. The action continued from ſix in the morning till four in the afternoon, when Stirum being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to retreat to Norlingen, with the loſs of twelve thouſand men, and all his baggage and artillery. In the mean time, the Duke of Burgundy, aſſiſted by Tallard, undertook the ſiege of Old Briſac, with a prodigious train of artillery. The place was very ſtrongly fortified, though the garriſon was ſmall, and ill provided with neceſſaries. In fourteen days, the Governor ſurrendered the place, and was condemned to loſe his head, for having made ſuch a ſlender defence. The Duke of Burgundy returned in triumph to Verſailles, and Tallard was ordered to inveſt Landau. The Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel being detached from the Netherlands, for the relief of the place, joined the Count of Naſſau-Weilbourg,

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BOOK I. 1703. bourg, General of the Palatine forces, near Spires, where they reſolved to attack the French in their lines. But by this time Monſ. Pracontal, with ten thouſand men, had joined Tallard, and enabled him to ſtrike a ſtroke which proved deciſive. He ſuddenly quitted his lines, and ſurprized the Prince at Spirebach, where the French obtained a complete victory, after a very obſtinate and bloody engagement, in which the Prince of Heſſe diſtinguiſhed himſelf by uncommon marks of courage and preſence of mind. Three horſes were ſucceſſively killed under him, and he ſlew a French officer with his own hand. After incredible efforts, he was fain to retreat with the loſs of ſome thouſands. The French paid dear for their victory, Pracontal having been ſlain in the action. Nevertheleſs, they reſumed the ſiege, and the place was ſurrendered by capitulation. The campaign in Germany was finiſhed with the reduction of Augſburg by the Elector of Bavaria, who took it in the month of December, and agreed to its being ſecured by a French garriſon.

§ XL. The Emperor's affairs at this juncture wore a very unpromiſing aſpect. The Hungarians were fleeced, and barbarouſly oppreſſed, by thoſe to whom he entruſted the government of their country. They derived courage from deſpair. They ſeized this opportunity, when the Emperor's forces were divided, and his councils diſtracted, to exert themſelves in defence of their liberties. They ran to arms, under the auſpices of Prince Ragotzki. They demanded that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and their privileges reſtored. Their reſentment was kept up by the emiſſaries of France and Bavaria, who likewiſe encouraged them to perſevere in their revolt, by repeated promiſes of protection and aſſiſtance. The Emperor's proſpect, however, was ſoon mended, by two incidents of very great conſequence to his intereſt. The Duke of Savoy, foreſeeing how much he ſhould be expoſed to the mercy of the French

French King, ſhould that Monarch become maſter of the Milaneſe, engaged in a ſecret negociation with the Emperor, which, notwithſtanding all his caution, was diſcovered by the Court of Verſailles. Louis immediately ordered the Duke of Vendome to diſarm the troops of Savoy that were in his army, to the number of two-and-twenty thouſand men: to inſiſt upon the Duke's putting him in poſſeſſion of four conſiderable fortreſſes; and demand that the number of his troops ſhould be reduced to the eſtabliſhment ſtipulated in the treaty of 1696. The Duke, exaſperated at theſe inſults, ordered the French Ambaſſador, and ſeveral officers of the ſame nation, to be arreſted. Louis endeavoured to intimidate him by a menacing letter, in which he gave him to underſtand, that ſince neither religion, honour, intereſt, nor alliances, had been able to influence his conduct, the Duke de Vendome ſhould make known the intentions of the French Monarch, and allow him four-and-twenty hours to deliberate on the meaſures he ſhould purſue. This letter was anſwered by a manifeſto: in the mean time, the Duke concluded a treaty with the Court of Vienna; acknowledged the Archduke Charles as King of Spain; and ſent Envoys to England and Holland. Queen Anne, knowing his importance, as well as his ſelfiſh diſpoſition, aſſured him of her friendſhip and aſſiſtance; and both ſhe and the States ſent Ambaſſadors to Turin. He was immediately joined by a body of Imperial horſe under Viſconti, and afterwards by Count Staremberg, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, with whom that General marched from the Modeneſe, in the worſt ſeaſon of the year, through an enemy's country, and roads that were deemed impaſſable. In vain the French forces harraſſed him in his march, and even ſurrounded him in many different places on the route: he ſurmounted all theſe difficulties with incredible courage and perſeverance, and joined the Duke of Savoy at Canelli,

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ſo as to ſecure the country of Piedmont. The other incident which proved ſo favourable to the Imperial intereſt, was a treaty by which the King of Portugal acceded to the grand alliance. His miniſtry perceived, that ſhould Spain be once united to the Crown of France, their Maſter would ſit very inſecure upon his throne. They were intimidated by the united fleets of the maritime power, which maintained the empire of the ſea; and they were allured by the ſplendour of a match between their Infanta and the Archduke Charles, to whom the Emperor and King of the Romans promiſed to transfer all their pretenſions to the Spaniſh Crown. By this treaty, concluded at Liſbon, between the Emperor, the Queen of Great-Britain, the King of Portugal, and the States-General, it was ſtipulated, That King Charles ſhould be conveyed to Portugal by a powerful fleet, having on board twelve thouſand ſoldiers, with a great ſupply of money, arms, and ammunition; and that he ſhould be joined immediately upon his landing by an army of eight-and-twenty thouſand Portugueſe.

§ XLI. The Confederates reaped very little advantage from the naval operations of this ſummer. Sir George Rooke cruized in the Channel, in order to alarm the coaſt of France, and protect the trade of England. On the firſt day of July, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel ſailed from St. Helen's, with the combined ſquadrons of England and Holland: he directed his courſe to the Mediterranean, and being reduced to great difficulty by want of water, ſteered to Altea, on the coaſt of Valentia, where Brigadier Seymour landed, and encamped with five-and-twenty hundred marines. The Admiral publiſhed a ſhort manifeſto, ſignifying that he was not come to diſturb, but to protect, the good ſubjects of Spain, who ſhould ſwear allegiance to their lawful Monarch, the Archduke Charles, and endeavour to ſhake off the yoke of France. This declaration produced

produced little or no effect; and the fleet being watered, Sir Cloudesley sailed to Leghorn. One design of this armament was to assist the Cevennois, who had in the course of the preceding year been persecuted into a revolt on account of religion, and implored the assistance of England and the States-General. The Admiral detached two ships into the gulf of Narbonne, with some refugees and French pilots, who had concerted signals with the Cevennois: but the Mareschal de Montrevil having received intimation of their design, took such measures as prevented all communication; and the English Captains having repeated their signals to no purpose, rejoined Sir Cloudesley at Leghorn. This Admiral, having renewed the peace with the piratical States of Barbary, returned to England, without having taken one effectual step for annoying the enemy, or attempted any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme for that purpose. The nation naturally murmured at the fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such a considerable expence. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with convoys. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provision; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as council to the Lord High-Admiral.

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§ XLII. Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West-Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean Captain Hovender Walker, with six ships of the line and transports having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under Colonel Codrington, they made a descent upon the island of Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and reimbarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landed nine hundred men

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whole kingdom with conſternation. The houſes in London ſhook from their foundations, and ſome of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins. The water overflowed ſeveral ſtreets, and roſe to a conſiderable height in Weſtminſter-hall. London-bridge was almoſt choaked up with the wrecks of veſſels that periſhed in the river. The loſs ſuſtained by the capital was computed at a million ſterling; and the city of Briſtol ſuffered to a prodigious amount; but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ſhips of war were loſt, together with fifteen hundred ſeamen, including Rear-Admiral Beaumont, who had been employed in obſerving the Dunkirk ſquadron, and was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ſhip foundered. This great loſs, however, was repaired with incredible diligence, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. The Queen immediately iſſued orders for building a greater number of ſhips than that which had been deſtroyed, and ſhe exerciſed her bounty for the relief of the ſhip-wrecked ſeamen, and the widows of thoſe who were drowned, in ſuch a manner as endeared her to all her ſubjects. CHAP. VII. 1703.

§ XLIII. The Emperor having declared his ſecond ſon Charles, King of Spain, that young Prince ſet out from Vienna to Holland, and at Duſſeldorp was viſited by the Duke of Marlborough, who, in the name of his miſtreſs, congratulated him upon his acceſſion to the crown of Spain. Charles received him with the moſt obliging courteſy. In the courſe of their converſation, taking off his ſword he preſented it to the Engliſh General, with a very gracious aſpect, ſaying, in the French language, "I am not "aſhamed to own myſelf a poor Prince. I poſſeſs "nothing but my cloak and ſword; the latter may "be of uſe to your Grace; and I hope you will not "think it the worſe for my wearing it one day." "On the contrary (replied the Duke) it will always

BOOK I. 1708. "put me in mind of your Majeſty's juſt right and "title, and of the obligations I lie under to hazard "my life in making you the greateſt Prince in "Chriſtendom." This nobleman returned to England in October; and King Charles embarking for the ſame kingdom, under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty-ſixth day of September. There he was received by the Dukes of Somerſet and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windſor; and on the road he was met by Prince George of Denmark. The Queen's deportment towards him was equally noble and obliging; and he expreſſed the moſt profound reſpect and veneration for this illuſtrious Princeſs. He ſpoke but little; yet what he ſaid was judicious; and he behaved with ſuch politeneſs and affability as conciliated the affection of the Engliſh nobility. After having been magnificently entertained for three days, he returned to Portſmouth, from whence, on the fourth of January, he ſailed for Portugal, with a great fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having on board a body of land-forces, under the Duke of Schomberg. When the Admiral had almoſt reached Cape Finiſterre, he was driven back by a ſtorm to Spithead, where he was obliged to remain till the middle of February. Then being favoured with a fair wind, he happily performed the voyage to Liſbon, where King Charles was received with great ſplendour, though the Court of Portugal was overſpread with ſorrow, excited by the death of the Infanta, whom the King of Spain intended to eſpouſe. In Poland, all hope of peace ſeemed to vaniſh. The Cardinal-Primate, by the inſtigation of the Swediſh King, whoſe army lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, aſſembled a Diet at Warſaw, which ſolemnly depoſed Auguſtus, and declared the throne vacant. Their intention was to elect young Sobieſki, ſon of their late Mo-

narch, who reſided at Breſlau, in Sileſia: but their ſcheme was anticipated by Auguſtus, who retired haſtily into his Saxon dominions, and ſeizing Sobieſki, with his brother, ſecured them as priſoners at Dreſden. CHAP. VII. 1703.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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