

of any right he has by it; and when he has cut the bough he sat upon, he has little reason to be surprised if he falls to the ground." \*

Two days after the seven bishops were sent to the Tower, the Council announced to the lords-lieutenant of counties that it had "pleased Almighty God, about ten o'clock of this morning, to bless his majesty and his royal consort the queen with the birth of a hopeful son, and his majesty's kingdoms and dominions with a prince." † In the language of the Council it was "so inestimable a blessing," that all the people would be called upon to unite in thanksgiving. Another language was held even by the staunch friends of the monarchy. Evelyn enters in his Diary of June 10th, "A young prince born, which will cause disputes." The legitimacy of this young prince was long disputed. This birth was as little a blessing to the house of Stuart as it promised to be to the weary subjects of that house. A large majority of the nation was convinced that this heir of the crown was supposititious. It was almost universally believed that imposture had been practised. The princess Anne did not give credit to the queen's alleged pregnancy. It was wholly disbelieved at the court of the prince of Orange. The birth arrived a month before it was said to be expected. The most ordinary precautions were not taken to put the fact beyond a doubt; for none but those in whom the people had little confidence were in attendance on the occasion. That there was no imposture is now matter of historical belief; but so convinced were many political partisans that there was no real son of James II., that, seventy years afterwards, Johnson drew the character of a violent Whig, who "has known those who saw the bed into which the Pretender was conveyed in a warming-pan." ‡ Burnet devotes five or six pages of his folio volume to the various accounts of this pretended birth—stories which Swift properly ridicules. The belief in this story is the only blot in the subsequent Declaration of William of Orange to the English people; and James took the manly, though necessarily somewhat indelicate step, of instituting an inquiry and publishing all the evidence to refute the calumny. The most important influence of this birth upon the fortunes of England was, that the prospect of an heir to the Crown, born of a Catholic mother, and to be brought up in the bigoted school of a father who had cast aside Protestantism to be governed by Jesuits and apostates, precipitated the Revolution.

\* Lord Dartmouth's Note in Burnet, vol. iii. p. 228

† Letter to the Earl of Rochester. Ellis. Series I. vol. iii. p. 339.

‡ "Idler," No. 10.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

William, Prince of Orange.—His character and position with regard to English affairs.—The Princess Mary, and the Succession.—Invitation to the Prince of Orange.—Preparations of William.—His Declaration.—Hopes of the English people.—Alarm of the king.—William sails from Helyoetsluys.—The voyage.—Landing at Torbay.—Public entry at Exeter.—The king goes to the army at Salisbury.—Desertions of his officers.—The Prince of Denmark and the Princess Anne.—James calls a Meeting of Peers.—Commissioners to negotiate with the Prince of Orange.—The queen and child sent to France.—The king flies.—Provisional Government.—Riots.—The Irish night.—James brought back to London.—The Dutch guards at Whitehall.—The king again leaves London.—The Prince of Orange enters.—The Interregnum.—The Convention.—William and Mary King and Queen.—The revolution the commencement of a new era in English history.

At the village of Hurley, on the Berkshire side of the Thames between Henley and Maidenhead, stood, in 1836, an Elizabethan mansion called Lady Place, built on the site of a Benedictine monastery by sir Richard Lovelace, who was created a peer by Charles I. This building was the seat of lord Lovelace in the reigns of Charles II. and James II.,—a nobleman whose lavish hospitality and expensive tastes were rapidly wasting "the king of Spain's cloth of silver" \* which his ancestor, one of Drake's privateering followers had won. The spacious hall opening to the Thames, the stately gallery whose panels were covered with Italian landscapes, the terraced gardens—were ruined and neglected when we there meditated, some thirty years ago, upon the lessons of "Mutability." All the remains of past grandeur are now swept away. But beneath the Tudor building were the burial vaults of the house of "Our Lady," which seemed built for all time, and which, we believe, are still undisturbed. In these vaults was a modern inscription which recorded that the Monastery of Lady Place was founded at the time of the great Norman Revolution and that "in this place, six hundred years afterwards, the Revolution of 1688 was begun." King William III., the tablet also recorded, visited this vault, and looked upon the "Recess," in which "several consultations for calling in the prince of Orange were held." During the four years in which James had been on the throne, the question

\* "Worthies."



of armed resistance had been constantly present to the minds of many Whigs; and to the prince of Orange they looked for aid in some open attempt to change the policy of the government by force,—or, if necessary, to subvert it. The wife of the prince of Orange was the presumptive heir to the crown; he was himself the nephew of the English king. His political and religious principles, and those of the republic of which he was the first magistrate, were diametrically opposed to those of his uncle. The chief enemy of his nation was the chief ally of king James. The one great purpose of the life of William of Orange was to resist the overwhelming ambition of Louis XIV. In 1688 he was thirty-eight years of age. When he was only in his twenty-second year, he had arrested the march of French conquest, and had saved his country. His uncle Charles had deserted his alliance, and had become the degraded pensioner of France. His uncle James equally crouched at the feet of the enemy of national independence, and of civil and religious liberty. William, under every difficulty, had in 1686 succeeded in forming the League of Augsburg, to hold in check this overwhelming ambition. His unrivalled sagacity and prudence had united rulers of Catholic as well as Protestant states, in a determination that the Balance of Power in Europe should not be destroyed. James of England was content that his country should remain in the degraded position in which it had been left by his brother, provided that a continuance of that degradation would enable him to establish Jesuits and monks in the high places of the Church, and rule without Parliaments, by a power above the law. William of Orange must have long been convinced that this system could not endure. Holland was the refuge of many an Englishman who had fled from persecution, when dissenters were the objects of king James's hatred. They had no confidence in his pretended toleration, because it was based upon absolute authority. The public opinion of Englishmen at home was uniting in the same conclusion. A crisis was at hand, not only in England, but in the general policy of Europe. William had stood aloof from any connexion with plots in the later years of Charles, or of insurrections in the first year of James. His object was that in England there should be union between the Crown and the Parliament; for then England would be strong, and capable of taking a part once more in such a joint system of action as was contemplated in the Triple Alliance. That hope was now utterly gone. It was clear that James

and his people would never be at accord. It was equally clear that any bold and elevated foreign policy was hopeless. Unless he had determined wholly to separate himself from English affairs William of Orange would necessarily become associated with the leading men of England, who saw that the government was driving on to ruin. His original policy was to wait. The time might come when the princess of Orange would be queen, and then William would naturally be England's ruler. It was the desire of Mary that her husband, in that event, should be the real sovereign. Burnet relates this circumstance with some self-applause, but with evident truth: "I took the liberty, in a private conversation with the princess, to ask her what she intended the prince should be, if she came to the crown. She, who was new to all matters of that kind, did not understand my meaning, but fancied that whatever accrued to her would likewise accrue to him in the right of marriage. I told her it was not so. \* \* \* I told her, a titular kingship was no acceptable thing to a man, especially if it was to depend on another's life: and such a nominal dignity might endanger the real one that the prince had in Holland. She desired me to propose a remedy. I told her, the remedy, if she could bring her mind to it, was, to be contented to be his wife, and to engage herself to him, that she would give him the real authority as soon as it came into her hands, and endeavour effectually to get it to be legally vested in him during life: this would lay the greatest obligation on him possible, and lay the foundation of a perfect union between them, which had been of late a little embroiled. \* \* \* She presently answered me, she would take no time to consider of any thing by which she could express her regard and affection to the prince; and ordered me to give him an account of all that I had laid before her, and to bring him to her, and I should hear what she would say upon it. \* \* \* She promised him, he should always bear rule; and she asked only, that he would obey the command of 'Husbands, love your wives,' as she should do that, 'Wives, be obedient to your husbands in all things.'" \* Dartmouth conjectures that the prince ordered Burnet—whom he calls "a little Scotch priest"—to propose this to the princess, before he would engage in the attempt upon England. When the insane proceedings of James had rendered it more than probable that the event would happen which his brother Charles said should never happen to him—that he should be sent again upon his travels—the prince of

\* "Own Time," vol. iii. p. 129.



Orange, with an ambition that was founded upon higher motives than mere personal advancement, might not unreasonably think that there was a shorter road to the English crown than by succession. At the very climax of the folly of James, a son, or a pretended son, was born. William and his wife believed that their just rights were attempted to be set aside by an imposture. The leading men of England believed the same. The quarrel between the king and the Church appeared to be irreconcilable; and thus the most powerful influence over the people had ceased to be committed to the doctrine of non-resistance to arbitrary power. The time for decision was come in the summer of 1688. Edward Russell had been over to the Hague in May, to urge the prince of Orange to a bold interference with the affairs of England. "The prince spoke more positively to him than he had ever done before. He said, he must satisfy both his honour and conscience, before he could enter upon so great a design, which, if it is miscarried, must bring ruin both on England and Holland; he protested, that no private ambition nor resentment of his own could ever prevail so far with him, as to make him break with so near a relation, or engage in a war, of which the consequences must be of the last importance both to the interests of Europe and of the protestant religion: therefore he expected formal and direct invitation. Russell laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers. The prince said, if a considerable number of men, that might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best, should do it, he would acquiesce in it."\* Russell returned to England, and communicated with Henry, Sidney, the brother Algernon: with the earl of Shrewsbury; the earl of Danby; the earl of Devonshire; and other peers. Compton, the suspended bishop of London, was also confided in. On the 30th of June, the great day of the acquittal of the seven bishops, an invitation to William of Orange, to appear in England at the head of a body of troops, was sent by a messenger of rank; admiral Herbert. It was signed in cipher, by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sidney. William took his determination. He resolved on a descent upon England. With a secrecy as remarkable as his energy, he set about the preparation of such a force as would ensure success, in conjunction with the expected rising of nineteen-twentieths of the people, to free themselves from an odious government.

In this eventful autumn there were dangers immediately sur-

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 263.

rounding the unhappy king of England, which were the almost inevitable results of a long career of government which had weakened, if not wholly extinguished, political honesty. The high public spirit, the true sense of honour, which had characterised the nobles and gentry of England during the Civil War, was lost in the selfishness, the meanness, the profligacy, of the twenty-eight years that succeeded the Restoration. Traitors were hatched in the sunshine of corruption. The basest expediency had been the governing principle of statesmen and lawyers; the most abject servility had been the leading creed of divines. Loyalty always wore the livery of the menial. Patriotism was ever flaunting the badges of faction. The bulk of the people were unmoved by any proud resentments or eager hopes. They went on in their course of industrious occupation, without much caring whether they were under an absolute or a constitutional government, as long as they could eat, drink, and be merry. They had got rid of the puritan severity; and if decency was outraged in the Court and laughed at on the stage, there was greater licence for popular indulgences. The one thing to be avoided was nonconformity, which was a very hard service, even when lawful; and a very desperate sacrifice when it brought fine and imprisonment. Such was the temper of England at the accession of James. It was a temper fitted for any amount of national humiliation. It was a temper apt for slavery. But there was one latent spark of feeling which James blew into a flame. The English hated Popery with a passionate hatred. It was then seen by crafty politicians who had endured and even stimulated the bigotry of the king, that he had gone too far, and that he would not recede. Such a politician was Sunderland, who had even made a public profession of Romanism to retain his places. He became a Catholic to please the king in June. In August the breach between the king and the Anglican Church had become so irreparable that Sunderland was in correspondence with the prince of Orange. The selfish instinct of such men was their storm-barometer. Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, says of this crisis: "It was evident to all the world, that as things were carried on by king James, everybody must be ruined, who would not become a Roman Catholic."\* "Everybody" has a very limited signification, in this lady's vocabulary. It included lord Churchill and a few others. The narrative which we have to pursue to the end of this chapter does not exhibit the nation in any very glorious light. The

\* "Authentick Memoirs," p. 82.



story of the Revolution of 1688 is not a great epic, full of heroism and magnanimity. There is only one real hero on the scene; and he is a cold, impassive man, stirring up no passionate enthusiasm—a hero, the very opposite of the fascinating Monmouth, who had crowds at his chariot-wheels. William of Orange goes steadily forward, flattering none, trusting few, suspecting most—a self-contained man, who will put his shoulder to the work to which he has been called, and if he fails, he fails. Such a man was wanted to re-construct the shattered edifice of English freedom upon solid foundations. A popular king, with an undoubted title, might have found a nation ready enough to be again manacled.

In the "Memoirs of king James" it is said, that he never gave any real credit to the belief that the preparations of the prince of Orange were designed against himself, till the middle of September; "for, besides the repeated assurances he had from the States, by their ambassadors and others, and even the prince of Orange himself, that these preparations were not designed against him, the earl of Sunderland, and some others about him whom he trusted most, used all imaginable arguments to persuade the king it was impossible the prince of Orange could go through with such an undertaking; and particularly my lord Sunderland turned any one to ridicule that did but seem to believe it"\* Louis XIV. saw clearly the danger. He exhorted James; he remonstrated; he offered naval assistance. The envoy of France told the States that his king had taken the king of England under his protection, and that war against James would be war against Louis. James, in a spirit almost incomprehensible, despised the protection, and rejected the proffered aid. The intentions of the prince of Orange to come to England with an army were soon made manifest. A proclamation was prepared by the Grand Pensionary, Fagel; "who," says Burnet, "made a long and heavy draft, founded on the grounds of the civil law, and of the law of nations." Burnet translated it into English, and "got it to be much shortened, though it was still too long." It is, indeed, a long document; very little calculated for popular excitement. It set forth, in a calm and dispassionate tone, the violations of their laws, liberties, and customs, to which the people of England had been subjected. It detailed the various acts by which a religion opposed to that established by law had been attempted to be forced upon the nation. It alluded to the general belief that a pretended heir to

\* "Life of James II." vol. ii. p. 177.

the throne had been set up, against the rights of the princess of Orange. It declared that "since the English nation has ever testified a most particular affection and esteem, both to our dearest consort the princess, and to ourselves, we cannot excuse ourselves from espousing their interest in a matter of such high consequence: and from contributing all that lies in us for the maintaining, both of the Protestant religion, and of the laws and liberties of those kingdoms, and for the securing to them the continual enjoyment of all their just rights; to the doing of which we are most earnestly solicited by a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks." For these reasons, the prince declares that he had thought fit to go over to England, and to carry with him a sufficient force to defend him from the violence of the king's evil counsellors. This expedition had no other design than to have a free Parliament called; of which the members should be lawfully chosen. "We, for our part, will concur in everything that may procure the peace and happiness of the nation, which a free and lawful Parliament shall determine, since we have nothing before our eyes, in this our undertaking, but the preservation of the Protestant religion, the covering of all men from persecution for their consciences, and the securing to the whole nation the free enjoyment of their laws, rights, and liberties, under a just and legal government." The Declaration is dated from the Hague on the 10th of October.

The expectation of the speedy arrival of the prince of Orange with his army was universal at the beginning of October. On the 7th Evelyn writes that the people "seemed passionately to long for and desire the landing of that prince, whom they looked on to be their deliverer from Popish tyranny; praying incessantly for an east wind, which was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent." The king now endeavoured to put himself into a new attitude towards his people. He gave audience to the archbishop of Canterbury and some of the bishops. They represented to him the desirableness of revoking all the acts done under the dispensing power; of restoring the fellows of Magdalen College; of giving back their old franchises to the Corporations. The king did attend to some of these suggestions. He dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. He sent his Chancellor to deliver back to the Corporation of London their ancient charter; and he issued a proclamation restoring all the municipal corporations to their ancient franchises,



He gave powers to the bishop of Winchester, which allowed him, as visitor, to re-instate the ejected fellows of Magdalen College. A sudden amendment of life under the influence of fear is not generally considered as likely to be permanent. A king's sudden redress of unjust acts, when one was at hand who could compel justice, was not likely to propitiate subjects whose confidence had been destroyed.

On the 16th of October, William, having taken a solemn leave of the States of Holland, set forward from the Hague to sail from Helvoetsluys. A fleet of fifty men of war, twenty-five frigates, many fire-ships, and four hundred transports, was there assembled. There were embarked four thousand horse and ten thousand foot soldiers. The command of the army was entrusted to marshal Schomberg. The van of the fleet was led by admiral Herbert. The prince of Orange embarked on the 19th. His ship bore a flag with the arms of England and Nassau, surrounded with the motto, "The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England." Underneath was the motto of the house of Orange, "Je maintiendrai." The equivocal device of his ancestry, "I will maintain," was now associated with a definite purpose, of unprecedented importance.

The east wind, which the people of London had been praying for, bore the fleet of William prosperously towards the English shores. But it suddenly changed; and a strong western gale, which increased to a tempest, compelled the Dutchmen to seek the refuge of their own havens. News reached the court of James that the damage had been so serious, that the arrival of no hostile armament need now be dreaded. The Gazette announced these tidings. But the damage was quickly repaired. On the evening of the 1st of November the fleet of William was again at sea. The east wind was now full and strong. For some time an effort was made to steer northward; but that course was at last abandoned; and about noon of the 2nd the order was given to steer westward. The same wind that bore the Dutch fleet towards our western shores kept the English fleet in the Thames. On the 3rd, midway between Dover and Calais, a Council of War was held. Rapin, the historian, who accompanied the expedition, thus describes the unwonted scene: "It is easy to imagine what a glorious show the fleet made. Five or six hundred ships in so narrow a Channel, and both the English and French shores covered with numberless spectators, are no common sight. For my part, who was then on board

the fleet, it struck me extremely." The 14th of November was William's birth-day. He dedicated that Sunday to private devotion, whilst the fleet rode past Portland, with the intention of anchoring in Torbay. The prince's ship was in the van. The night was dark and rainy; the wind was violent; the pilot mistook his course, and ran past Torbay towards Plymouth. There was danger in attempting a landing at that port, which was strongly garrisoned. But in the morning of the 15th the wind became calm; and a southern breeze carried them back into the magnificent bay. Here Napoleon, gazing on its shores from the deck of the Bellerophon, exclaimed "What a beautiful country!" Here William saw only hills shrouded in mist; and the huts of a fishing village. But Torbay was, according to Rapin, "the most convenient place for landing horse, of any in England." Before night the whole of the infantry was on shore. The horse were landed the next morning. William and Schomberg were amongst the first to land at Brixham. In the market-place of this prosperous fishing town of narrow and dirty streets, there is a block of stone, with this inscription: "On this stone, and near this spot, William, prince of Orange, first set foot on landing in England, 5th of November, 1688." Burnet says, "As soon as I landed, I made what haste I could to the place where the prince was; who took me heartily by the hand, and asked me if I would not now believe predestination. I told him, I would never forget that providence of God, which had appeared so signally in this occasion. He was cheerfuller than ordinary. Yet he returned soon to his usual gravity." Rapin continues the narrative, with the graphic details of an eye-witness: "The prince's army marched from Torbay, about noon the next day, in very rainy weather, and bad roads. The soldiers, before they landed, were ordered to bring three days' bread with them, and they carried their tents themselves. But the officers, even the most considerable, were in a very uneasy situation, at their first encampment, being wet to the skin, and having neither clothes for change, nor bread, nor horses, nor servants, nor other bed than the earth all drenched with rain, their baggage being yet in the ships." Burnet says, "It was not a cold night." After this first disagreeable halt on English ground, the army, by noon the next day, was on its march towards Exeter. It was the fourth day from the landing before William made his public entry into the capital of the West. Two hundred captains of the host, on Flanders steeds, clothed in complete armour, each horse led by



a negro; two hundred Finlanders, with beavers' skins over their black armour; led horses; state coaches; the standard of the deliverer who was to maintain the liberties of England; the prince himself, with white ostrich feathers in his helmet; guards and pages,—volunteers; and then a gallant army, bedabbled indeed with mud, and wearing the orange uniform, strange enough in eyes accustomed to the English scarlet; twenty pieces of cannon, then of enormous size; and, what was almost as potent, waggons loaded with money—such was the spectacle upon which the people of Exeter gazed, as the long procession moved through the steep streets, and welcome was shouted from many a window of the old gabled houses. But William had expected a reception more decisive—a welcome which should give a greater assurance of success than a fleeting popular enthusiasm. No man of rank, with troops of followers, was at Exeter to salute him. “The clergy and magistrates of Exeter were very fearful and very backward. The bishop and the dean ran away.” Lord Dartmouth has a note upon this passage of Burnet. Shrewsbury, he says, informed him, that the prince began to suspect he was betrayed, and had some thoughts of returning; but Shrewsbury told William that “he believed the great difficulty amongst them was, who should run the hazard of being the first; but if the ice were once broken, they would be as much afraid of being the last.”\* It was a week from the landing before any gentleman of Devonshire joined the prince. There was a king upon the throne whose vengeance would be even more terrible than in 1685, if another attempt against him should fail. But in that second week the feeling of confidence became more strong. Sir Edward Seymour arrived with “other gentlemen of quality and estate,” and he organised an Association. The cloth workers and labourers, sufferers as they had been, had shown less calculating apathy than the “gentlemen of quality.” “Whilst the prince stayed at Exeter,” says Burnet, “the rabble of the people came to him in great numbers.” He has no word of gratitude for their generous support. It was the fashion of that day, and long continued to be the fashion, to speak of the common people as “rabble” and “mob.” William, in his cold way, looked upon this rabble of Exeter only as a soldier looks. He did not think it necessary to arm this undisciplined multitude, for he understood, from the temper of the royal army, that, if his cause

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 314.

were likely to prosper, the hired defenders of the throne would come over to him. He was not deceived.

From the time that the news arrived of the landing at Torbay, the metropolis was naturally the scene of the greatest excitement. A proclamation was issued, prohibiting all persons from reading the Declaration of the prince of Orange. Of course the desire to see that manifesto was increased. The king sends for the primate and three bishops, and shows them that passage in which the promised assistance of spiritual as well as temporal peers is set forth. They express a doubt whether the manifesto is genuine. The king upbraids them for their lukewarmness; they recapitulate their old injuries. He requires from them a declaration of abhorrence of the proceeding of William. They refuse to stand alone in such a declaration. The king in anger sent them away; and applied himself to touch for the evil, with a Jesuit and a Popish priest officiating.\* A large force had been assembled at Salisbury. On the 15th, the king received the news that lord Cornbury, the eldest son of the earl of Clarendon, had marched from the camp, at the head of three regiments of cavalry. He did not carry through his design of joining the army of William, for his officers refused to proceed; but he arrived at the Dutch camp himself, and many of the men followed his example. The king was staggered at the treachery of a young man who had been bred up in the household of his own daughter Anne—of a favoured courtier, who was the son of his brother-in-law. James called the officers of the army to give him counsel. He exhorted them to preserve their loyalty as subjects and their honour as gentlemen. “They all seemed,” says James in his Memoirs, “to be moved at this discourse; and vowed they would serve him to the last drop of their blood. The duke of Grafton, and my lord Churchill, were the first that made this attestation, and the first who, to their eternal infamy, broke it afterwards.”† We can sympathise with the indignation of the unhappy king, without shutting our eyes to his errors and his crimes. Still more can we sympathise, when, ten days afterwards, he learnt that his son-in-law, George of Denmark, and his own daughter, Anne, had deserted him. He had set out for Salisbury, which he reached on the 19th. His agitation brought on a violent bleeding at the nose, which lasted three days. Meanwhile support was gathering round the prince of Orange from every quarter. The northern counties were in arms. Nottingham was

\* Evelyn's “Diary.”

† “Life,” vol. ii. p. 219.



the rallying point for the assembling of large bodies of men, headed by Devonshire, and other great earls. On the 22nd, when the army of the prince of Orange was at a short distance from Salisbury, the earl of Feversham, the commander of the royal troops, intimated that there was defection in the camp, and advised arrests. James was still confident that no one could be a traitor to *him*. His prodigious self-esteem and self-confidence blinded him to signs of danger which were evident to all others. He began, however, to think of retreating. He called a council of war on the evening of the 24th. On the morning of the 25th Churchill and Grafton were in William's camp. All was alarm; and an immediate retreat was commanded by the king. At Andover, the prince of Denmark fled from him, with two noblemen. On the king's arrival in London on the 26th he found that his daughter, Anne, was gone. "God help me," exclaimed the wretched king, "my own children have forsaken me." Anne escaped from Whitehall, with the assistance of her friend, lady Churchill; and was taken by the bishop of London to Nottingham. "The king," writes the duchess of Marlborough, "went down to Salisbury to his army, and the prince of Denmark with him; but the news quickly came from thence that the prince of Denmark had left the king, and was gone over to the prince of Orange, and that the king was coming back to London. This put the princess into a great fright. She sent for me; told me her distress; and declared that rather than see her father she would jump out at the window." The crafty duchess says, "it was a thing sudden and unconcerted; nor had I any share in it, farther than obeying my mistress's orders, in the particulars I have mentioned; though indeed I had reason enough on my own account to get out of the way, lord Churchill having likewise at that time left the king, and gone over to the other party."\*

James records his sense of his abandonment when he had come back to London: "The contagion was spread so universally that all parts of England furnished the same news of risings and defections; the only strife was who should be foremost in abandoning the king."† He had sent the infant prince of Wales to Portsmouth, to be conveyed to France, if there was no turn in affairs. Father Petre, and other obnoxious advisers, had fled. There was no manifestation of aid on the part of his Roman Catholic subjects—of those who had lighted bonfires, and madly danced around

\* "Authentick Memoirs," p. 80. † "Life," p. 230—"Original Memoirs."

them when the unfortunate child was born.\* In his deep distress, James called a meeting of all the peers who remained in London. Nine spiritual lords, and between thirty and forty temporal lords, attended him at Whitehall on the 27th. He had received a petition, before he departed for Salisbury, entreating him to convoke a free parliament. At the meeting those who had signed it explained their views. But they further suggested that it would be desirable to send commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange. They also urged a general amnesty. Upon this point the king manifested some impotent anger; but he had provocations of treachery enough to irritate a wiser man; and he was goaded by words from Clarendon, which Burnet even characterises as "insolent and indecent." Three commissioners, Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, were appointed to treat with the prince. Godolphin told Evelyn that "they had little power." A proclamation for a general amnesty was issued; writs were ordered to be sent out to call a parliament for the 13th of January. But James, even in this moment of despairing concession, was insincere. He told Barillon, the French ambassador, that a parliament would impose conditions on him that he could not bear. He must leave England. He would take refuge in Ireland, or in Scotland, or he would seek aid in person from the king of France, as soon as he had secured the safety of the queen and his son. Dartmouth, the admiral of the fleet, refused to be a party to carry the prince of Wales out of the country. The child was therefore brought back to Whitehall. The commissioners proceeded to the camp of the prince of Orange, who was steadily advancing towards the capital. On the 6th of December he had reached Hungerford. A skirmish took place at Reading between two hundred and fifty of his advanced guard, and six hundred Irish troops who had entered the town. The inhabitants joined with the Dutch troops in attacking the Irish, who were regarded by them as enemies. It was the only serious affair of arms during this bloodless contest for a crown. The memory of this Sunday fight was long celebrated in Reading, by ringing the bells on the anniversary of the defeat of the "Papishes," who came to destroy the town "in time of prayer," as a ballad records. At Hungerford, the king's commissioners arrived on the 8th. William would not give them a private audience. They announced to him, amidst a crowd of his supporters, that the proposition which they had to make was, that all matters in dispute should be

\* At Carlisle; Story's Journal.



referred to the parliament, for which writs were being issued; and that in the interval the prince's army should not approach within thirty miles of the capital. The prince retired, leaving the noblemen and gentlemen to consult together. The majority of his adherents considered that the proposition of the king should not be accepted. William thought otherwise. But he required that if his troops were not to approach London within the prescribed distance on the west, the king's troops should be removed to an equal distance on the east. Whilst the negotiation was proceeding at Hungerford, the queen and the prince were privately conveyed down the river, and the vessel in which they were aboard sailed with a fair wind for France. This was on the 10th of December. On that day James wrote to Lord Dartmouth, "Things having so very bad an aspect, I could no longer defer securing the queen and my son, which I hope I have done, and that to-morrow by noon they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at ease now I have sent them away. I have not heard this day, as I expected, from my commissioners with the Prince of Orange, who I believe will hardly be prevailed with to stop his march; so that I am in no good condition, nay, in as bad a one as is possible."\* When the king wrote this letter, he was meditating his own flight. The true character of the man was disclosed in his last hours of sovereignty. He sent for the great seal, and for the writs to summon a parliament that had not gone out. He threw the writs into the fire. He annulled those which had been issued. To no one of his ministers did he reveal his intentions. He had announced to many peers who had been invited by him to the palace, that he had sent his queen and his son away, but that he should himself remain at his post. At three o'clock on the morning of the 11th he stole out of Whitehall by a secret passage; entered a hackney coach provided by Sir Edward Hales, crossed the Thames in a wherry, and threw the great seal into the river. Before London was awake he was far on the road towards Sheerness.

England was without a government. Her king, who would not rule according to law, left his people to the terrible chances of anarchy. In a great metropolis like London, there are marauders always ready to take advantage of any public commotion. James had commanded the earl of Feversham, by letter, to disband his troops; and they were let loose without any of the restraints of discipline. In an emergency like this it was necessary that some

\* "Pepys' Correspondence," vol. v. p. 147.

decided resolution should be instantly taken, to prevent universal confusion. Seven spiritual lords, with Sancroft as their head, and twenty-two temporal peers, drew up a declaration that the flight of the king having destroyed the hope of a parliamentary settlement of affairs, they had determined to join the prince of Orange, and until his arrival to preserve order by their own authority. Never was some authority more necessary. The night came, and a fierce multitude, amidst the cry of No Popery, burnt Roman Catholic chapels, and attacked the houses of ambassadors from Roman Catholic states. But no lives were sacrificed. The next day the train bands were under arms; and tumults were kept down by some troops of cavalry. On that day, the hated lord Chancellor, Jeffreys, was discovered in the disguise of a sailor, in a public house at Wapping. He was saved from a fierce mob by the train-bands, but not without severe injury, and was taken before the Lord Mayor. It was mercy to the terrified judge, who had carried terror into so many families, to send him to the Tower by an order from the peers at Whitehall.

The night of the 12th was long memorable in London: as "the Irish night." The rioters had gone home. The city was peaceful. But a rumour was spread that the Irish troops of Feversham's disbanded army were marching on London. Every citizen came forth with pike and musket to fight for life and property, whilst every window was lighted up, and barricades were hastily constructed in every leading thoroughfare. The alarm was altogether false. But by some unknown agency the same consternation was excited throughout the country. Thoresby has left a vivid picture of a night scene at Leeds. A fearful cry went through the town of "Horse and arms, horse and arms! the enemy are upon us." The drums beat, the bells rang backward, the women shrieked. Thousands of lighted candles were there also placed in the windows. Aged people who remembered the Civil Wars, said they never knew anything like it.\* When the panic was over men felt ashamed of their fears. If the agents in spreading this shameful delusion had expected to excite the people against the Roman Catholics, they were greatly mistaken. The exaggerated terror showed how little there was really to apprehend in a country in which nine-tenths of the people were Protestants. The poor Irish soldiers, wandering through the towns and villages, begged for food, but they neither massacred nor plundered. They were

\* Thoresby. "Diary," vol. i. p. 190.



soon required to deliver up their arms, and were provided with sufficient necessaries.

On the third day from the flight of James, it became known in London that he had not left the country. He had gone on board a hoy near Sheerness. But the vessel was detained by the state of the tide; and the news had come that the king had absconded. The hoy was about to sail at night, when she was boarded by fishermen, who had heard that some persons, dressed as gentlemen, had taken their passage in her. They roughly treated the king, who they fancied was Father Petre, and they carried him and sir Edward Hales ashore to Sheerness. James was recognized by the crowd around the inn to which he was taken; but although they treated him with respect, they refused to let him go. The Council in London were assembled, when a messenger arrived from the king, bringing a paper calling upon all good Englishmen to rescue him. A troop of Life Guards was immediately sent off; and when Feversham, their commander, arrived, he found the king guarded by militia, and surrounded by Whig gentlemen of Kent, who thought it would be an acceptable service to detain him. He was now moved to Rochester. William learnt at Windsor that the flight of James was thus unluckily interrupted. On Sunday, the 16th, the king had been persuaded by his friends to return to Whitehall. Pity, amongst many, had taken the place of hatred. He was received by the people with shows of kindness that misled him. He instantly put on the attitude that had so alienated his subjects. He "goes to mass, dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace." Evelyn adds, "I was present." He called the lords before him who had saved the country from confusion, and haughtily blamed their presumption in taking upon themselves the government. The next day, the 17th, a Council of Lords was held at Windsor. It was determined that the king should not remain at Whitehall. A message was sent to recommend him to move to Ham House, near Richmond. Meanwhile the army of William was advancing. On the night of that Monday, Whitehall was guarded by Dutch troops. The lords from Windsor arrived. James declined to go to Ham. He would prefer Rochester. A messenger was sent to William, who had reached Sion, and returned in a few hours with his approval. One entry from Evelyn's diary briefly tells the great event of the next morning: "I saw the king take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight." That night the prince of Orange slept in St. James' palace.

to him the result of their deliberations. The two bodies met in separate chambers; and they each finally agreed to present to William addresses, to request that he would accept the crown and a Convention of the Estates of the realm, and in the meantime take upon himself the administration of government. These resolutions were agreed to with less hesitation than it was known that

The reign of James II. is held to have terminated on the 11th of December, when he secretly departed from Whitehall, with the intention of leaving the kingdom. The reign of William and Mary is determined by Statute to have commenced on the 13th of February, 1689, "the day on which their majesties accepted the crown and royal dignity of king and queen of England." The interval of about two months is called by historians

#### THE INTERREGNUM.

On the 16th of December the prince of Orange held a court at St. James's. Thither came the Corporation of London in state. All the prelates were there, with the exception of the archbishop of Canterbury. The London Clergy were not wanting in their tribute of respect. Non-conformist divines also attended in a body. "Old Sergeant Maynard came with the men of the law. He was then near ninety, and yet he said the liveliest thing that was heard of on that occasion. The prince took notice of his great age, and said, that he had outlived all the men of the law of his time: he answered, he had like to have outlived the law itself, if his highness had not come over."\* Amidst this throng William stood "stately, serious, and reserved."† His position was one of exceeding difficulty. He was urged to take the crown, as Henry VII. had taken it, by right of conquest. He rejected the advice. Such a claim would have been a violation of his own promises. It would have justly irritated a proud and sensitive people, who already looked with suspicion upon the orange uniform of his guards. He resolved to assemble, provisionally, two bodies that should represent the Lords and Commons of England. He invited the Peers to attend him; he invited also those who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II. and with them the aldermen of London, and a deputation from the Common Council. He begged them to consider the state of the country, and communicate

\* Burnet, vol. iii. p. 341. Swift has a characteristic note on this passage, "He was an old rogue, for all that."

† Evelyn.