

CHAPTER XXVI.

James embarks for France.—William enters Dublin.—The French devastate Teignmouth.—William's march to Limerick.—Siege of Limerick.—The siege raised.—William goes to England.—Parliament.—War supply.—England and Continental Politics.—William leaves for Holland.—Congress at the Hague.—Mons capitulates to the French.—Vacant sees in England filled up.—Plot of Preston and Ashton.—Treason laws.—Marlborough in Flanders.—Limerick surrenders to Ginkell.—Treaty of Limerick.

KING JAMES, "in compliance with the advice of all his friends, resolved to go for France, and try to do something more effectual on that side, than he could hope from so shattered and disheartened a body of men as now remained in Ireland."* "Request of friends" is the apology for the foolish actions of the weak king as well as of the vain scribbler. On the 3rd of July, James quitted Dublin with all speed, about five in the morning; left two troops of horse at Bray, to defend the bridge there against any pursuers; rode over the Wicklow mountains, and baited near Arklow; "mended his pace" when four French officers maintained that the enemy was not far behind; and never stopped till he got to Duncannon about sunrise. His attendants found a merchant ship at Passage. The captain was persuaded to take James on board in the evening. They sailed for Kinsale; and the next day the royal fugitive was secure in a French frigate, and was landed safely at Brest.† James repaired to St. Germain's, where "his Most Christian Majesty came to see him; and in general terms promised all imaginable kindness and support." The sanguine exile having abandoned Ireland, had his ready scheme for invading England, "now naked and ungarnished of troops." Louis received the project coldly; and, finally, would have nothing to do with the affair; although James magnanimously offered to go with a fleet, either with or without an army, for he was sure "his own sailors would never fight against one under whom they so often had conquered."‡ His Most Christian Majesty pretended illness when his brother of

* "Life of James II." Own Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 402.

† Dalrymple.

‡ *Ibid.*

England came to pester him with his new demands for ships and troops. "The court of France could not forbear speaking great disrespect, even in his own hearing; which the queen seemed much more sensible of than he did."* The courtiers of Versailles could guess at the truth; although "the few English courtiers who stayed with the queen in France, to justify the flight of their king, did not spare calumniating the Irish." They averred "that the Irish abandoned their prince, and left him exposed to the enemy;" and this version of the cause of James's return was so believed by the uninformed, that the Irish who had been refugees in France since the days of Cromwell, "durst not walk abroad or appear in the streets, the people were so exasperated against them."†

On the day that James fled from Dublin, the citizens had to apprehend two sorts of danger. The forces of James, scattered about the vicinity, pressed by hunger, might return and rifle the town. The lowest of the Dublin populace, in a pretended zeal for religion, threatened to burn and plunder the houses of the Papists. The city was saved from these calamities chiefly by the firmness of captain Robert Fitzgerald.‡ On the 3rd, the camp of William on the Boyne was broken up. On the 4th, the Dutch guards took possession of Dublin Castle. On the 5th, the head-quarters of the king were at Ferns; and on the 6th, being Sunday, he rode to Dublin, and in the cathedral of St. Patrick returned thanks to God for the success of his arms. William, however, continued to sleep in his camp. On the 8th, "his Majesty in person viewed and took a general muster of all the army, and was fourteen hours on horseback; only for one quarter did he alight to eat and drink."§ The news of the disgrace of Beachy Head had reached Ireland on the 10th, when the king, contemplating a return to England, resolved to secure Waterford, as the most important harbour of the Eastern coast. On the 11th of July the army was on its march. Rowland Davies records how, in defiance of the royal proclamation, the troops "robbed and pillaged all the road along." Execution followed execution. On the 14th, on the march to Carlow, "as we passed, two of the Enniskillen dragoons hung by the wayside, with papers on their breasts exposing their crime; and thereby our march was very regular without any such excursions or pillaging

* Dartmouth's note in Burnet, vol. iv. p. 100.

† "Macariae Excidium," Camden Society edit. p. 41.

‡ Harris, p. 273.

§ Rowland Davies, p. 126.

as before."* On the 21st, Waterford was in possession of William's troops, the garrison having capitulated. The king then determined to return to Dublin, with the view of embarking for England. With a French fleet in the Channel, there was now greater danger to be met on the English shores, than in the resistance which continued to be made in Ireland. The forces which had been scattered on the 1st of July had gathered around Limerick, and were prepared to defend that city. Officers and soldiers, without orders from their superiors, without a leader, all flocked to Limerick, "as if they had been all guided thither by some secret instinct of nature."† But, irregularly fortified, and its defence left to the Irish, it was considered as likely soon to fall. On his road to Dublin, on the 27th, more accurate intelligence from England had reached the king, and he determined to invest Limerick in person.

The shameful discomfiture of the allied fleet at Beachy Head had not been followed up by the French so as to produce any results that should give serious alarm to William. On the 22nd of July, the French admiral, Tourville, was anchored in Torbay, with the fleet which had chased Torrington to the mouth of the Thames; and he had been reinforced with a number of galleys, rowed by slaves. The whole fleet was employed to transport troops. The approach of danger had roused up the spirit of the July of 1588. The beacons are again blazing on the Devonshire hills. From every road in the interior the yeomen of the West are gathering on the coast, not shrinking from trying their strength against the veterans of France. Tourville loses faith in the assurances of the Stuart courtiers, that all England would be up to aid in his enterprise. All England is shouting "God bless king William and queen Mary." But Tourville will do something. He lands some troops at Teignmouth, which Burnet calls a "miserable village," but which the inhabitants represented as consisting of two towns, having three hundred houses. The people of Teignmouth obtained a brief for their losses; and in this document they say that "the French fleet, riding in Torbay, where all the forces of our county of Devon were drawn up to oppose their landing, several of their galleys drew off from their fleet, and made towards a weak unfortified place called Teignmouth, about seven miles to the eastward of Torbay." The narrative then continues to describe the ravages of these heroes:—"Coming very near, and hav-

* Rowland Davies, p. 128.

† "Macariae Excidium.

ing played the cannon of their galleys upon the town, and shot near two hundred great shot therein, to drive away the poor inhabitants, they landed about seven hundred of their men, and began to fire and plunder the towns of East and West Teignmouth—which consist of about three hundred houses; and in the space of three hours ransacked and plundered the said towns, and a village called Shaldon, lying on the other side of the river, and burnt and destroyed one hundred and sixteen houses, together with eleven ships and barks that were in the harbour. And to add sacrilege to their robbery and violence, they in a barbarous manner entered the two churches of the said towns, and in the most unchristian manner tore the Bibles and Common Prayer-books in pieces, scattering the leaves thereof about the streets, broke down the pulpits, overthrew the Communion-tables, together with many other marks of a barbarous and enraged cruelty. And such goods and merchandises as they could not, or durst not, stay to carry away, for fear of our forces, which were marching to oppose them, they spoiled and destroyed, killing very many cattle and hogs, which they left dead in the streets." After these feats, Tourville sailed away to France; and left behind him an amount of indignation that was worth more for defence than even the troops of horse raised by the citizens of London. The brief of the "poor inhabitants" of the towns of East and West Teignmouth and Shaldon,—who "being in great part maintained by fishing, and their boats, nets, and other fishing-craft being plundered and consumed in the common flames," had lost, as they alleged, eleven thousand pounds—went through every parish from the Land's-end to the East, South, and North; and every penny that was dropped in the plate at the church door was accompanied with the pious hope that England might have strength from above to resist the Papists who burnt fishing-huts, and tore the Bible in pieces, and who would ravage this island as they had ravaged the Palatinate.

On the 8th of August king William's main army was encamped at Cahirconlish, about six miles from Limerick. "As we came up," says Davies, "we saw houses in the country round on fire, which put the king into some concern." The earl of Portland had advanced with a large body of horse and foot within cannon-shot of the city; and in the evening of the 8th William himself viewed the position in which the strength of the Irish Catholics was now concentrated. The French General, Lauzun, had declared that the place could not resist the attack of the advancing army. With

the pedantry that sometimes clings to military science as well as to other sciences, he trusted more to walls and moats, such as Vauban constructed on the French frontier, than to resolute hearts, by which Limerick only could be defended. He left the Irish to their fate. The Irish resolved to redeem the dishonour of the Boyne. They had an intrepid counsellor in Sarsfield, their general, who put his own resolute spirit into the twenty thousand defenders of the city. Lauzun and Tyrconnel had marched away to Galway, as the English advanced guard approached. As the setting sun flashed on the broad expanse of the Shannon, William would see an old town entirely surrounded by the main stream and a branch of the great river, and connected with another town by a single bridge. The town on the island, with its ancient castle built by king John on the bank of the stream, was known as the English town. The other was known as the Irish town. The eye of the tactician would quickly see the capacity for defence of this position, even though its walls were not of the most scientific construction. The English town was accessible only through the lower Irish town. The Shannon, in a season of wet, overflowed its flat margin. "The city of Limerick," says one at whom some may laugh as an authority, "lies, an' please your honour, in the middle of a devilish wet swampy country. * * * 'Tis all cut through with drains and bogs." * Thus naturally defended, a besieging army had many difficulties to encounter, and there could be no want of supplies to the besiegers from the open country of Clare and Galway. The river approach from the sea was commanded at this time by a French squadron. William looked upon Limerick, and determined to commence the siege. On the 9th the main body of his army advanced. "When we came near the town, and found all the bridges within a mile of the city lined by the enemy, the king ordered a detachment of grenadiers to go down and clear them, which they immediately did, with all the bravery imaginable." † The peculiar missiles of the grenadiers thus employed, are called "new invented engines;" ‡ and the Irishman of this period is represented as ready to give his one cow, if he could be safe "without these French and Dutch grenados." § Before the night of the 9th, the Irish town, according to Davies, was invested "from river to river." The ex-

* Corporal Trim, in "Tristram Shandy." Sterne, says Lord Macaulay, "was brought up at the knees of old soldiers of William."

† Davies.

‡ "Macaria: Excidium."

§ Notes to the same, by Mr. Crofton Croker.

pression has reference to the remarkable curve of the Shannon in its course to the sea, before it reaches the island on which the English town was built. The river thus encloses, in the form of a horseshoe, a long and narrow tongue of land, but not insulated from the country on the southern bank. William's position was taken up partly on this space between the windings of the stream, and partly on the south bank, near the Irish town. For several days the siege was not actively prosecuted, for the battering train had not arrived. On the night of the 10th, Sarsfield, with about five hundred horse, passed out of Limerick, crossing the Shannon at Killaloe, with the object of intercepting the train of artillery and a supply of military stores and provisions, coming to the besiegers from Dublin. The convoy had arrived within eight miles of the English position. The ruined castle of Ballyneedy was at hand to offer a place of safety for the waggons and guns; but the escort was scattered about in the open plain, securely sleeping whilst a few sentinels watched. Sarsfield suddenly came down from the mountains; killed most of the too confident escort, the rest flying for their lives; loaded the guns to the muzzles, and half buried them; heaped up the barrels of powder around the guns, with a pile of waggons and stores; fired a train; and was safe in Limerick before the dawn. Part of the army was at Drumkeen, waiting for the heavy cannon, which were expected to be within three miles of them on the night of the 11th. "About three in the morning we were all awakened by the firing of two great cannon near us, which made our house shake, and all within it startle; and about an hour after were alarmed by a man that fled to us almost naked, who assured us that the enemy had fallen upon us, taken all our cannon, ammunition, and money, and cut off the guard." * Sarsfield attributed great importance to the success of this daring enterprise; for he told a lieutenant who was taken prisoner, that if he had failed he should have given up all as lost, and have made his way to France. The loss of the cannon and stores was partially repaired by the arrival of two guns from Waterford. But that surprise was in some degree more fatal to the besiegers than in the actual havoc and loss. The success of the exploit gave new courage to those who resolved to defend their city against an army not greatly superior in numbers to themselves. The besiegers were proportionately depressed, for they knew that the materials for a bombardment were insufficient. On the night of the 17th the forces of

* Davies's Journal, p. 136.

William entered the trenches of the besieged; and the same desperate work went forward till the 27th, when a general assault was determined upon. The attack was unsuccessful. As the troops of William mounted a breach with the most determined bravery, the Irish repulsed them with equal resolution. A fort, called the Black Fort, was stormed and carried; when a magazine was exploded, by which the greater part of a Brandenburg regiment was destroyed. After four hours of desperate fighting, the besiegers retired, with fearful loss on both sides. At a council of war on the 29th it was determined to raise the siege. On the 30th king William was on his way to Waterford; and the next day the besiegers had quitted their trenches, and the camp was broken up. There was a reason for this determination of the council of war, even more powerful than the gallant resistance of the Irish. Another assault might be more successful; for in this failure of the 27th some of the besiegers had penetrated to the very streets of the English town. But the elements were opposed to the farther progress of the siege. Evelyn writes in his Diary, "The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hindered, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised." The duke of Berwick asserted that when the siege was raised not a drop of rain had fallen. Rowland Davies, on the 25th of August, says, that day "proved so extremely wet that no one could stir;" but he does not mention bad weather again till the 9th, when in the camp near Thurles the evening "proved extremely wet and stormy." In this uncertain condition of the evidence to disprove the insinuation of Berwick, that the wet weather was a pretence of king William to cover the shame of defeat, the testimony of the humourist who preserved "the traditions of the English mess tables," is worth something. "There was such a quantity of rain fell during the siege, the whole country was like a puddle; 'twas that, and nothing else, which brought on the flux, and which had like to have killed both his honour and myself. Now there was no such thing, after the first ten days, continued the corporal, for a soldier to be dry in his tent, without cutting a ditch all around it, to draw off the water."*

King William landed at Bristol on the 6th of September; and slowly travelled to London. The renown of his victory at the Boyne was slightly diminished by his repulse at Limerick; but the English of all ranks felt proud of their sovereign, and had confidence

* "Tristram Shandy," vol. iii. c. xl.

in his energy and sagacity. His reception by the people was as enthusiastic as could be indicated by buzzes and bonfires,—by peals of bells and loyal addresses. The parliament was to meet on the 2nd of October. In the interval an expedition had set sail for Ireland, under the command of Marlborough. On the 22nd of September the fleet was disembarking troops near Cork. The forces of Marlborough were soon joined by a portion of the army from Limerick, under the duke of Würtemberg. The German prince and the English earl settled a dispute about precedence, by agreeing that they should command on alternate days. Marlborough here displayed that genius which was to culminate in victories far greater than had ever been achieved by English generalship. Cork capitulated, after a struggle of forty-eight hours, on the 29th. On the 30th the Protestant magistrates of Cork proclaimed the king and queen. Marlborough did not wait to receive the freedom of the city, in the silver box which the Corporation voted him. He was on his march to Kinsale; and his cavalry arrived there in time to save the town from destruction, it having been fired by the Irish. The garrison, after a short resistance, also capitulated. Marlborough accomplished these successes with no great loss of men in action; but many perished from the diseases incident to the season and the climate. The duke of Grafton, who had accompanied the expeditions as a volunteer, was wounded in the attack upon Cork, and died on the 9th of October. The spot where he fell is now called Grafton's alley.*

The second Session of the second Parliament of William and Mary was opened by the king on the 2nd of October. His partial success in Ireland was modestly alluded to, with one slight reference to his own exertions: "I neither spared my person nor my pains, to do you all the good I could." He told the Houses that the whole support of the Confederacy abroad would absolutely depend upon the speed and vigour of their proceedings in that Session. The Parliament testified its belief that the support of the Confederacy was a national object, by voting, in less than a fortnight, more than two millions and a half for maintaining an army of nearly seventy thousand men; and a further sum of eighteen hundred thousand pounds for the navy and ordnance. So large a supply had never before been voted by Parliament for warlike operations—"the vastest sum that ever a king of England had asked of his people." † This supply was to be raised by a monthly assessment on land, by

* Note of the Editor of Davies's Journal.

† Burnet, vol. iv. p. 113.

doubling the excise duties, and by increasing the customs' duties on certain articles imported. The community in every rank of life would thus feel the cost of this war. Yet the House of Commons was almost unanimous in voting the supply. Burnet wrote to Mr. Johnston, the English minister at Berlin, that the members "dare not go back into their countries, if they do not give their money liberally. * * * We seem not to be the same people that we were a year ago; and the nation seems resolved to support the king in the war, to the utmost to which it can possibly stretch itself."* Burnet attributes this change to the outrages of the French at Teignmouth, and to the gallant behaviour of William in Ireland as contrasted with the meanness of James. This national conviction of the necessity of carrying on the war with extraordinary vigour may be ascribed to more general causes. Imperfect as were the sources of political information, the English people well knew that an European war against the preponderance of France was inevitable. The hostile attitude of the French king towards England was essentially connected with the long-formed determination of the prince of Orange, to organize a general resistance to the designs of Louis against the independence of nations. William had freed England from a bigoted despotism, and at the same time had put himself at the head of the European coalition. Louis, in his determined endeavour to restore the deposed king—untaught as James was by misfortune, and as obstinate as ever to maintain the prerogatives which he claimed by Divine right—was attacking his continental enemies in the most vital part. William, as King of England, wielded an authority far greater than William as Stadtholder of Holland. When the English people took William as their king, they accepted the involvements of his continental politics as the unavoidable price of their liberty. Had they continued under the rule of James, they might have been spared the vast burdens of a continental war by remaining in a state of semi-vassalage to France. The condition of peace was slavery. They had made their election for freedom at what ever cost, and they were willing to abide by it. The Englishman of 1690 saw, what only dreamers have ever failed to see, that a state of isolation from continental quarrels was simply an impossibility, if his country were to hold her rank among the nations. He knew how she had sunk in all the attributes of honest greatness under the base government of the Restoration. He knew that she had again a leader,

* Quoted in Ralph's History, vol. ii. p. 247.

who would strive to bring her back to the position in which Cromwell had placed her as the head of the Protestant States. But he also knew that, the idea of the isolation of England from continental politics being a delusion, it was better for her to fight her battles on the banks of the Meuse or the Scheldt than on the banks of the Thames or the Humber. In the operations of the Confederacy to which England was committed by the sovereign of the Revolution, there might be the mistakes inseparable from conflicting interests. Perfect co-operation in such alliances was scarcely to be expected. The same summer that saw the disgrace of Beachy Head and the havoc of Teignmouth, also saw the defeat of the allies at Fleurus by the greatest of French generals, Luxembourg. The thought might enter many minds that the power of the great French king was too mighty; had such support in the most skilful of diplomatists; was too entirely under the direction of one head, to be adequately resisted by any combination of jealous courts, held together only by the energy of a prince of infirm health, and blunt manners, who was indeed their natural and acknowledged leader, but as such leader of great kings and petty dukes—the pettiest the most proud and punctilious—exposed to intrigues that would mar every well-concerted project, and rivalries that would arrest every bold enterprise. The victory of the French over the Dutch at Fleurus was attributed to the want of concert of the elector of Brandenburg. Such want of organization might occur again, and the results of the alliance might only go to lead on the ambition of France to new encroachments. So might reason the refining politician of that period. But then would come the instinctive feeling of English common sense, that even a battle lost might not be wholly unprofitable. When William was fighting at the Boyne, England was under the apprehension of an invasion. The news of Fleurus arrived to make men anxious. But to the movements of the allies, connected with the doubtful and bloody day of Fleurus, is attributed the fact that England was saved from the hostile descent of a great army. The French, says Burnet, "had suffered so much in the battle of Fleurus, and the Dutch used such diligence in putting their army in a condition to take the field again, and the elector of Brandenburg bringing his troops to act in conjunction with them, gave the French so much work, that they were forced, for all their victory, to lie upon the defensive, and were not able to spare so many men as were necessary for an invasion."*

* "Own Time," vol. iv. p. 94.

Many thoughtful minds in England would thus see that William was not speaking with an un-English spirit when he said to his Parliament, "if the present war be not prosecuted with vigour, no nation in the world is exposed to greater danger." It was better for the purpose of a continental war that the nation should be heavily taxed—that loans should be raised which should be felt in after time, rather as a precedent than for their actual amount; that the commerce of the country should decay; that even her population should dwindle; than that the country should have peace and dishonour under the tutelage of Louis of France. It was not the French nation that was at war with England, to place a satrap of king Louis on the throne at Whitehall. The man who said he was "himself the State," was the enemy to be opposed. The only man to oppose him was he who shrank from no labour and no privation to earn the position which even Louis himself, a few years later, was obliged to concede to his merits. "I could not see him," writes the French king to Marshal Boufflers, "at the head of so powerful a league as that which has been formed against me, without having that esteem for him which the deference that the principal powers of Europe have for his opinions seems to demand."* The mental qualities of William—what St. Simon describes as the capacity, the address, the superiority of genius, which acquired for him "the confidence, and, to say the truth, the complete dictatorship of all Europe, excepting France"—these qualities were not only the best security of England against the renewal of her degradation under the Stuarts, but reflected some of their lustre upon the country which had chosen their possessor for its ruler. And thus, with treasons against him hatching at home; with non-juring churchmen hating him for his toleration, and praying for a heaven-ordained king though he were a papist; with a popular feeling, not sufficiently propitiated by William himself, that he was more a Dutchman than an Englishman, he set out for the Congress at the Hague, and the nation at any rate felt that its honour was in safe hands.

On the 5th of January, 1691, the king closed the Session of Parliament, with his thanks for the great dispatch they had used "in furnishing the supplies designed for carrying on the war." He was now at liberty, he said, to go into Holland. The wind was adverse for some days; but on the 18th he embarked at Gravesend, with many distinguished persons of his court. The passage

* Letter dated July 12, 1697, in Grimblot, "Letters," &c. vol. i. p. 24.

that is now made in twenty hours occupied five days. The man-of-war in which the king sailed was becalmed off the English coast; and when the shores of Holland were neared, it was thought dangerous to approach in the thick fog that shrouded the land from view. William was resolved to make the coast in an open boat; but a night of cold and darkness was passed, before a landing was effected on the island of Goree. Covered with ice, the king and his nobles were too happy to enjoy the shelter and warmth of a peasant's hovel. The enthusiasm of his reception when he reached the Hague was an ample compensation for the disagreeable incidents of his voyage, and for the perils at which "he himself was the only person nothing at all dismayed."* William had that hatred of parade which belongs to the truly great; and he at first resisted the entreaties of his countrymen that he should make a public entrance at the Hague. He yielded at length to their wishes; and on the 26th of January he passed through long files of his admiring compatriots, under triumphal arches, on which the chief actions of his life were painted. The pomp was soon over, and the real business began. The Tory historian, who has no affection for the person of William, writes, "Of the princes and ministers who attended his Majesty at the Congress, almost all authors affect to give a long and pompous list, in imitation perhaps of the tricks of the stage; where it is used to form a court, or a train, of scenemen or other rabble, to raise a higher idea in the audience of the hero presented before them."† In place of such a list, let us endeavour to give some notion of the interests that were represented at this extraordinary assembly of potentates and ministers.

The emperor of Germany had his representative at the Congress. His real interests were essentially concerned in resisting the oppressions of France; but his ruling desire was to succeed in his war against the Turks, chiefly with a view to the enlargement of his own dominions. He was a Roman Catholic, and had no sympathies for the Protestant coalition of England and Holland. Charles II. of Spain was there represented by the marquis of Gastanaga, the governor of the Netherlands, the imbecile servant of a weak king and a decaying monarchy. The armies of France would soon have overrun the Spanish Netherlands, if they had not been defended by some bolder arm than that of Spain.

* "A Late Voyage to Holland, written by an English Gentleman attending the Court."—1691. Reprinted in Harleian Miscellany.

† Ralph, vol. ii. p. 264.

These great Catholic sovereigns had not been hostile to the prince who had ejected the Papist king of England; for at the time when the Revolution of 1688 was maturing, pope Innocent the Eleventh was not indisposed to encourage any opposition to his oppressor, the French king. His ministers, it is affirmed by the historian of the Popes, had personal knowledge of the designs of the prince of Orange upon England; and if he knew not of the entire scheme, "it is yet undeniable that he attached himself to a party which was chiefly sustained by Protestant energies, and founded on Protestant sentiments."* But at the period of the Congress at the Hague, Innocent the Eleventh was dead. His successor, Alexander the Eighth, had indeed the same disposition to make common cause with those who opposed Louis. In July, 1691, that pope also died. His successor, Innocent the Twelfth, was of a more pacific disposition; and the French king saw the necessity of making concessions to the papal see, and thus removing one cause of the strange union of Catholic and Protestant. Changes such as these rendered the task of William to hold the Coalition together a work of constant and increasing difficulty. At the Congress, however, there were princes who joined the alliance with a zeal for the cause which William represented as the sovereign of Protestant England, and the first magistrate of Protestant Holland. The chief of these was Frederick the Third, elector of Brandenburg—subsequently Frederick, first king of Prussia. His mother was aunt to William; and he succeeded to the electoral dignity seven months before his cousin landed in Torbay. William had sent him the Garter in 1690; and it is said that the young elector was indulging his taste for pageants in a solemn investiture of the insignia of the "most honourable and noble order," at the hands of the English envoy at Berlin, when he ought to have been marching to the Sambre to aid the prince of Waldeck. We have been made somewhat more familiar with the person and character of our William's cousin, in his relation of grandfather to Frederick the Great.† Crooked, through an accident in his infancy; of weak nerves; of a turn for ostentation; an expensive prince; but nevertheless a spirited man and strictly honourable;—this is he who, on the 3rd of February, 1691, is entertained by his cousin, the king and stadtholder, "at his house in the wood;" and sits on William's right hand; whilst the duke of Norfolk is on his left, and

* Ranke's "History of the Popes," translated by Mrs. Austin, vol. iii, p. 181.

† Carlyle. "History of Friedrich II of Prussia."

great nobles, English and foreign, fill up the table. The gentleman who attended on one of these noble English lords tells us how "the first health was begun by the king, who whispered it softly to the elector, and the elector to the rest;" and he also tells us how, ten days after, the king dined with the elector, "who went out in the very street to receive him" when he came; and when he returned, "accompanied him to the very boot of his coach."* The Hohenzollern, "with his back half-broken," knew how to show respect to his heroic little cousin, with the constant asthma. Of other German princes at the Congress there were the elector of Bavaria, and the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt; there were princes of Luxemburg, of Holstein, of Würtemberg, of Anspach. Few came out of disinterested love for the cause of national independence. Of one of these potentates there is this curious notice by a contemporary: "The elector of Saxony, a bold man, and a hard drinker, as well as a zealous assertor of the Protestant religion, was brought into the confederacy by the promise of money: 'For,' said he, 'our friendships, though ever so good, must be confirmed by presents.'"†

Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, had already joined his fortunes to those of the Confederacy. At the period of the Congress he was defending his own dominions against the armies of France. The young prince had become weary of the domination exercised over him by the French court; had for some time been secretly negotiating with Austria; and was watching the progress of the Revolution in England, with a view to make a decisive effort for independence. The vigilance of the diplomatists of Louis frustrated his designs; and, with the ultimate argument of an army marching upon Piedmont, Catinat, the French general, demanded for his master, that French troops should garrison Turin and Vercelli. Victor put on a bold front; refused compliance; and war was the inevitable consequence. An ambassador from Savoy came to London before William set out for the Hague, and in a formal address to the king said, "You have inspired my master with the hope of freedom after so many years of bondage." The first military operations of the duke of Savoy were unfortunate; and at the period of the Congress many an anxious thought of William must have been turned to Piedmont. The talent and bravery of Victor were undoubted—a capacity too much mingled with Italian craft, but a courage that did not shrink from an encounter with

* "A late Voyage to Holland."

† Cunningham. "History," p. 133.