

MARY II.

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

Princess Anne greatly indulged by her father—Death of her daughter—Present at her father's coronation, (James II.)—Attends the opening of parliament—Birth of Anne's second daughter, Mary—Anne's state at chapel-royal—Her letter to the bishop of Ely—Her revenue and married life—Character of her husband—Her third daughter born, (Sophia)—Illness of her husband—Death of both their children—Excessive grief of the princess—Her pecuniary embarrassments—Interview with her father—Her aunt quits her household—Lady Churchill her first lady—Letters between the princess of Orange and English ladies—Letters of James II. to the princess of Orange—He informs her of his queen's situation—Birth of the prince of Wales, (*called the Pretender*)—Anne's absence at Bath—Her insinuations against the child and his mother—Anne's joy at the people's suspicions—at her brother's illness—Letters from the queen (Mary Beatrice) to the princess of Orange—Princess Anne at Windsor—Introduced to the pope's legate—Princess of Orange writes to archbishop Sancroft—Princess Anne's dialogues with her uncle Clarendon—Princess of Orange deceives her father—His letters on her husband's invasion—Interview of Anne and Clarendon—Mocks her father with her women—Reproofs of her uncle.

THE inimical conduct of the princess of Orange towards her father, which commenced a few months before his accession, caused him to bestow a double portion of fondness on her younger sister. Anne had, in her infancy, been the spoiled favourite of her mother, while her father lavished his most tender affections on her elder sister.¹ At this time Anne was the best-beloved of his heart; he was never happy out of her presence, he was never known to deny a request of hers, though it was not very easy for her to make one, since he anticipated her every want and wish. Of course her rank and dignity were greatly augmented when he became a reigning sovereign. Charles II. died on the birthday of Anne,

¹ See letter of her step-mother, at the end of this chapter, where she reminds Mary that she was considered his best-beloved in infancy.

February 6, 1685. All thoughts were directed to her on her father's accession, for the people fully expected the succession would be continued by her descendants. She had brought into the world a daughter in the reign of her uncle, but this child scarcely lived to be baptized. There was, however, speedy promise of more offspring, insomuch that the princess Anne could take no other part of her father's coronation (St. George's-day, 1685) than beholding it from a close box in Westminster-abbey, which was prepared for her below that of the ambassadors.

The princess Anne heard herself mentioned at the coronation of her father in the following prayer: "O Lord, our God, who upholdest and governest all things in heaven and earth, receive our humble prayers for our sovereign lord, James, set over us by thy grace and providence to be our king; and so together with him bless his royal consort our gracious queen Mary, Catharine the queen-dowager, their royal highnesses Mary the princess of Orange, and the princess Anne of Denmark, and the whole royal family.¹ Endue them with thy holy Spirit, enrich them," &c. &c. concluding in the words of the supplication for the royal family in our liturgy. It is a remarkable circumstance, that James II. thus particularly distinguished both his daughters by name and titles in this prayer, although in that century, as in the present, only the heir-apparent among the children of the sovereign, or at most an heir-presumptive, was usually mentioned. In all probability, he thus designated them to prevent all disputes regarding their title to the succession in case of his death, as their mother was only a private gentlewoman. The princess of Orange and the princess Anne were certainly thus named in the liturgy every time divine service was celebrated by the church of England until they deposed their father: it is an instance that he was not disposed, in any way, to slight their claims, either to royalty or his paternal care. James II. was kinder to his daughters

¹ Sandford, repeated by Menin, in his *Coronation Ceremonials of England*, p. 16. He edited this as a guide to the coronation of George II., the ceremonial of which is printed with it.

than George II. to his heir, for in the very volume which gives this information, a similar prayer,¹ in the very words, is quoted; but in regard to the nomenclature, only king George and his queen Caroline are prayed for; neither Frederick prince of Wales nor their other children are named.

Great friendship apparently prevailed at the epoch of the coronation between the princess Anne and her step-mother. Before the newly crowned queen, Mary Beatrice, commenced her procession back to Westminster-hall, she entered the box of the princess Anne,² to show her dress, and hold friendly conference: Anne and prince George of Denmark, who bore his spouse company, conversed with her a considerable time. The princess Anne accompanied the queen to behold the grand ceremony of the king's opening his first parliament; both Anne³ and her step-mother were on the right of the throne: they were considered *incog*. The princess of Denmark had the satisfaction of hearing the pope and the Virgin Mary fully defied and renounced before the Catholic queen. Ten days afterwards, May 22, the princess Anne brought into the world a daughter, who was baptized Mary, after the princess of Orange. James II. himself announced this event to "his son, the prince of Orange," in one of those familiar letters he wrote to him almost every post: "My daughter, the princess of Denmark, was this day brought to bed of a girl. I have not time to say more now, but to assure you that I shall always be as kind to you as you can desire."⁴ Three days afterwards, the king mentions his uneasiness regarding her health in another letter to William. "My daughter was taken ill this morning, having had vapours, [hysterics,] which sometimes trouble women in her condition. This frightened us at first, but now, God be thanked, our fears are over. She took some remedies, and has slept after them most of this afternoon and evening, and is in a very good way, which is all I can say to you now, but assure you of my kindness." On any such alarm regarding the

¹ Menin's English Coronations; in the Coronation-service for George II.

² King's MS. British Museum: Recueil de Pièces.

³ Evelyn.

⁴ Dalrymple's Appendix.

health of his beloved daughter, the king, who was a very early riser, would enter her apartment and sit by her bedside. Her uncle mentions that James's paternal tenderness would bring him to the sick bed of the princess Anne as early as five or six in the morning, and he often sat by her for two hours.¹

The state and homage James II. allowed his youngest daughter to assume at Whitehall chapel are very remarkable. James II. himself went to mass, but he permitted the princess Anne to occupy the royal closet at Whitehall, and at other palace chapels; and it was his pleasure, that the same honours were to be paid her as if he were present in person. Evelyn being present at Whitehall chapel, saw Dr. Tennison make three *congés* towards the royal closet; after service, Evelyn asked him, "Why he did so, as king James was not there?" Tennison replied, that the king had given him express orders to do so, whenever his daughter, the princess Anne, was present.² The place of the princess was on the left hand of the royal seat; the clerk of the closet stood by her chair, as if the king himself had been at chapel. This anecdote is a confirmation of the positive assertion of James himself and other authors, that he neither attempted to impede nor persecute her in her attendance on the church-of-England worship, but rather to give every distinction and encouragement to it.³ It was, perhaps, an impolitic indulgence to feed his daughter's appetite for trifling ceremonials of bowing and personal homage from the altar, as if she had been the visible head of the established church; but James II., though an acute observer of facts, which he skilfully combined as a commander, a coloniser, or a financier, knew nothing of the higher science of the springs of passion on the human mind. He treated his daughter Anne as the ultimate heiress to the British throne; he fostered in her disposition an ambition for the mere externals of majesty, without con-

¹ Letters of James II. to the prince of Orange, dated June 2nd, (5th,) 1685, Dalrymple's Appendix, part i. p. 17.

² Evelyn's Diary, vol. iii. p. 153.

³ Lord Clarendon's Journal, vol. iii. p. 201. Duchess of Marlborough's Conduct, p. 15.

sidering that she would not choose to relinquish it at the birth of a brother. In the following letter, addressed to Dr. Francis Turner, bishop of Ely, she seems to avoid all these distinctions, perhaps out of respect for the character of the apostolic man she wished to hear. The princess requested him to keep a place for her in Ely chapel, to hear Dr. Ken expound the church catechism.

“PRINCESS ANNE OF DENMARK TO THE BISHOP OF ELY.¹”

“I hear the bishop of Bath and Wells expounds this afternoon at your chapel, and I have a great mind to hear him; therefore I desire you would do me the favour to let some place be kept for me, where I may hear well, and be the least taken notice of, for I shall bring but *one lady* with me, and desire I may not be known. I should not have given you the trouble, but that I was afraid if I had sent any body, they might have made a mistake. Pray let me know what time it begins.”

The princess Anne received from her father, at his accession, an augmentation of revenue which was fit for the heir-apparent of an empire. James II. made up her allowance to 32,000*l.*, being more than the income at present settled by parliament on his royal highness prince Albert. When tested by the great difference of financial arrangement from the present day, the exceeding is enormous of such a sum in solid money. The whole yearly expenditure of the realm was, in the reign of Charles II., averaged at one million and a half per annum;² this sum, with the exception of the crown-land income, constituted the whole outlay of king and state. From this revenue, 32,000*l.* bestowed on the princess Anne seems a liberal share. James II., by his financial skill, and his vigilance in defending the taxes from the rapacity of those who farmed them, raised the revenue of Great Britain to 2,250,000*l.*, with which small sum he covered all expenses, and maintained a navy victorious over the seas of the world. The value of the allowance he gave to his daughter Anne, before the funded debt existed, must have been more than

¹ Quoted, by the biographer of bishop Ken, from the Gentleman's Magazine for March 1814, having been communicated to that periodical by a gentleman of the name of Fowke, who is in possession of the original. Dr. Francis Turner was subsequently one of the bishops who were imprisoned by her father, and yet refused to own allegiance either to Mary II. or Anne.

² Toone's Chronology.

double that sum in the present day.¹ "It cannot be denied," wrote a contemporary,² who had belonged to the court of James II., "that the king was a very kind parent to the princess Anne: he inquired into her debts at Christmas 1685, and took care to clear her of every one. Yet she made some exceedings the year after, and lord Godolphin complained and grumbled; still her father paid all she owed, without a word of reproach."

The princess Anne, from the hour that another husband was provided for her, wisely thought no more of the accomplished earl of Mulgrave, who subsequently married her illegitimate sister, Catharine.³ The prince of Denmark was considered an example of the domestic affections, and proved a kind, quiet husband. His easy and sensual life in England very soon stifled his warlike energies under an excess of corpulence. He could imbibe much wine without visible signs of inebriation, yet a small portion of his potations would have reversed the reason of a temperate man. Charles II. reproved the prince, in his jocose manner, for his tendency to sluggish indulgence. Unfortunately, the partiality of her Danish consort for the pleasures of the table encouraged the same propensities in his princess. He induced her, if not to drink, at least to persist in eating more than did good to her health; instead of suppressing, he caused her to exaggerate her early propensities to gluttony.

Although the princess Anne and the prince of Denmark were nearly every twelvemonth the parents of children, yet their little ones either expired as soon as they saw the light, or lingered only five or six months. Their deaths were probably occasioned by hydrocephalus, which, when constitutional, sweeps off whole families of promising infants. The

¹ James II.'s allowance to his daughter Anne, (Lansdowne MS.)—

Prince and princess of Denmark, out of y ^e Excise	£15,000	0	0
Postage	15,000	0	0
Ditto more by privy-seal, during pleasure	2,000	0	0

£ 32,000 0 0

² Roger Coke's *Detection*, vol. iii. p. 187.

³ Daughter of James II. by Catharine Sedley.

third daughter of the princess Anne and prince George of Denmark was born in May 1686, at Windsor-castle. Lady Churchill and lady Roscommon were godmothers to this infant, and gave it the name of Anne Sophia. The babe was healthy: although the little lady Mary was weakly and languishing, yet the youngest gave every hope of reaching maturity. These hopes were cruelly blighted six months afterwards. Prince George was taken very ill at that time, and remained many days in actual danger of death. The princess nursed him most assiduously. Scarcely was she relieved from the hourly dread of seeing her husband expire, when first the little lady Sophia suddenly fell ill, and died on her mother's birthday,¹ and the second anniversary of the decease of Charles II. The eldest infant had for months been in a consumption; she expired within a few hours. Thus the princess was left childless in one day. Rachel lady Russell draws a pathetic picture of Anne's feelings, divided as they were between grief for the bereavement of her offspring and anxiety for her husband. Her letters are dated February 9th and 18th, 1686-7: "The good princess has taken her chastisement heavily: the first relief of that sorrow proceeded from calming of a greater, the prince being so ill of a fever. I never heard any relation more moving than that of seeing them together. Sometimes they wept, sometimes they mourned in words, but hand-in-hand; he sick in his bed, she the carefulest nurse to him that can be imagined. As soon as he was able, they went to Richmond-palace, which was Thursday last. The poor princess is still wonderful sad. The children were opened: the eldest was all consumed away, as expected, but the youngest quite healthy, and every appearance for long life."² The infants were buried in St. George's-chapel, Windsor. At the interment of the little lady Sophia, the burial-place of her grandfather, Charles I., was discovered in the chapel. Although the date does not agree with the demise of these infants, yet this letter of Mary princess of Orange to her brother-in-law,

¹ Dangeau's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 255.

² MS. letters of Rachel lady Russell; Birch Collections, Plut. cvi. p. 43.

prince George of Denmark, could not have pertained to any other occasion:—

“MARY PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO PRINCE GEORGE OF DENMARK.¹

“MONSIEUR MY BROTHER,

“I have learned with extreme concern (*déplessir*) the misfortune of my sister by your letter, and I assure you that it touches me as nearly as if it had happened to myself; but since it is the will of God, it must be submitted to with patience. We have great cause to praise this good God that my sister is in such a good state, and I hope will re-establish her health entirely, and bless you together with many other infants, who may live to console their parents for those who are dead. I wish for some better occasion to testify to you how much I am, monsieur my brother,

Votre très affectionné
four et servante
MARIE

“From Loo, this 13th Novr.

“A Monsieur mon Frère, le Prince George de Danmark.”

At the succeeding Christmas, notwithstanding the liberality of her allowance, the princess Anne was found to be overwhelmed with debt.² As there was no outlay commensurate with a second extravagant defalcation, Lawrence Hyde, lord Rochester, the uncle of the princess, began to suspect that some greedy favourites secretly drained her funds. He did not keep his suspicions to himself, and the person who testified consciousness by furious resentment, was Sarah Churchill. The favourite, in consequence, visited him through life with active hatred. Few pages of her copious historical apologies occur without violent railings

¹ From the original, in French, in the possession of William Upcott, esq. The fac-simile, entirely in the hand of the princess Mary, is published by Mr. Netherclift. It is in rather a fair Italian hand: her signature is very like that of Mary queen of Scots. There is no yearly date; it is probable that this condolence was written on the death of the name-child of the princess of Orange.

² The Other Side of the Question, 47. This author is fully corroborated by the duchess herself, and by Roger Coke.

against this lord treasurer, his wife, or some of the Clarendon family. "Lady Clarendon," says Sarah Churchill, in one of her inedited papers,¹ "aunt by marriage to the princess Anne, was first lady of her bedchamber when the princess was first established at the Cockpit. When lord Clarendon was made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, which obliged my lady Clarendon to leave her service, the princess was very glad, because, though she was considered a good woman, the princess had taken an aversion to her. It was soon guessed that I must succeed her in her post; and at this time the princess wrote to me 'that she intended to take two new pages of the backstairs, she having then but two, one of whom was *extreme* old and past service; but that she would not do it till my lady Clarendon was gone, that I might have the advantage of putting in the two pages,' meaning that I should sell these two places, for in those times it was openly allowed to sell all employments in every office. And upon this established custom and direction from the princess, (as it was not to be expected that I should *immediately* set up to reform the court in this respect,) I *did* sell these places: with some other advantage, they came to 1200*l.*,"—a tolerably round sum of money before the national debt was instituted. The new pages were Roman-catholics, and were probably privately assisted into their situations of keeping the backstairs of the dwelling rooms of the princess by some official in the court of king James of that religion, whose interest was concerned in the proceedings of Anne, to know all persons who came to her, and what they said and did. That king James had placed them himself is impossible, for he had no suspicion of Anne; and had he taken any underhand measures to watch her conduct, his ruin could not have fallen on him unawares as it did, accelerated by his children.

But as soon as Sarah Churchill had comfortably pocketed her 1200*l.*, the prince and princess of Orange by some means discovered the fact that the two new pages of their sister Anne's backstairs were Roman-catholics. Their vigilance on

¹ Coxe MSS. vol. xlv.; letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson, inedited. Brit. Mus.

a point important to the good success of the coming revolution, roused the princess Anne from the supine satisfaction in which she reposed. Although her needy favourite had made so excellent a market, she was forced to command the instant dismissal of her Roman-catholic attendants at the door-stairs of her sitting rooms. The warning of the princess of Orange not only displaced these dangerous watchers on the conduct of the princess Anne, but had the consecutive result of obliging Sarah Churchill to refund eight hundred of the twelve hundred pounds she mentions having recently netted on the occasion. However, four hundred pounds clung to her fingers, which was a goodly gain for an ineffectual recommendation. It is nevertheless to be feared, that the personal hatred which avowedly had previously subsisted between the princess of Orange and Sarah Churchill, was not soothed by the painful but inevitable process of refunding the eight hundred pounds. It is worth remarking, that the lady herself quotes the anecdote¹ in support of her own warm self-praises, as an instance of her scorn of making money by selling offices in her mistress's household. One of these Roman-catholic pages, of the name of Gwynn, had been a servant of the princess Anne of some standing; she secured to him a salary for life, in compensation for the loss of his place on account of his religion. In pecuniary transactions, Anne was always generous to the utmost of her ability. She discharged her old servitor for political reasons, but left him not to starve.

Whether by gambling or by gifts to the Churchills, the princess Anne again impaired her revenue and overwhelmed herself with debts. Since the favourite of Anne previously appeared on these pages, she had become lady Churchill. By the influence of the king when duke of York, her husband had been created lord Churchill, December 1683, and given more substantial marks of favour, which, though trifling in comparison with the enormous wealth this pair afterwards drew from their country, deserved their gratitude.

¹ Coxe MSS. vol. xlv.; letter of the duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Hutchinson, inedited. Brit. Mus.

The accounts of the princess passed through the hands of one of Sarah's familiars, whom she had introduced into the establishment at the Cockpit. Assuredly, if rogues write accounts of their "conduct," they ought to be "gifted" with long memories. A Mr. Maule having proved ungrateful to Sarah Churchill some months after the Revolution, she recriminated in the following words: "I had not only brought him to be bedchamber-man to the prince, when he was quite a stranger to the court, but, to mend his salary, had *invented* an employment for him,—that of overlooking the princess's accounts."¹ The result of this bright invention was, a figuring on the side of the debit column of the princess's accounts of 7000*l.* higher than the credits. Anne was very unhappy in consequence, and sent to her father to lend her the deficient sum.

King James walked into the presence of his daughter, on receiving this intelligence, so unexpectedly, that Sarah Churchill, and another lady of the princess's bedchamber, (lady Fitzharding,) had only just time to shut themselves in a closet. Anne permitted these women to remain there as spies and eavesdroppers, listening to the confidential communication between her father and herself. The king gently reminded her "that he had made her a noble allowance, and that he had twice cheerfully paid her debts² without one word of remonstrance; but that now he was convinced that she had some one about her for whose sake she plunged herself into inconveniences. Of these, his paternal affection was willing once more to relieve her, but," he added, "that she must observe a more exact economy³ for the future." The princess Anne only answered her father with tears. The moment king James departed, out burst the two eavesdroppers from their hiding-place, lady Churchill exclaiming, with her usual coarse vehemence, "Oh, madam! all this is owing to that old rascal, your uncle!"³ It is not

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough. This invented employment was parallel, in chronology, with these mysterious defalcations from the income of her mistress.

² Letter of the princess Anne, regarding the fact of the payment of her debts.

³ Other Side of the Question, p. 48.

wise for ladies, whether princesses or otherwise, to suffer their women to call their uncles or fathers "old rascals" to their faces, and in their hearing. This abused uncle, Lawrence Hyde, was a lord treasurer, of whose honesty the flourishing revenue of a lightly taxed country bore honourable witness. Being devoted to the reformed catholic church of England, he would not retain his office when he found that his royal brother-in-law was bent on removing the penal laws, and introducing Roman-catholics into places of trust. The hatred of his niece and her favourite was not appeased by his resignation of the treasury department. This office, which was the object of lord Sunderland's desires, and of his long series of political agitations, and of his pretended conversion to the Roman religion, seemed now within his grasp. But James II. was too good a financier to trust his revenue in the clutches of a known inveterate gambler: he put the treasury into commission, associating lord Sunderland with two other nobles. The furious animosity with which the favourite of the princess of Denmark pursued Sunderland, her mistress following her lead, proves that neither of them had the slightest idea that he was working a mine for the ruin of his master parallel to their own. Meantime, the princess was forced to restrain her expenditure.

However ignorant the princess Anne and her favourite were that Sunderland was an ally in the same cause with themselves, the princess of Orange was well aware of it; for while he was affecting to be a convert to the church of Rome, and was the prime-minister of James II., he was carrying on, by means of his wife, an intriguing correspondence with William of Orange. A very extraordinary letter, in one handwriting, but in two very different styles of diction, the joint composition of this pair, was found in king William's box of letters, after his death, at Kensington. The first part of it, the composition of the male diplomatist, wholly relates to the best manner of circumventing James II.'s endeavours for the parliamentary abolition of the penal and test acts, warning the prince of Orange not to express approbation of

the measure. The postscript, or second letter, is an emanation from the mind of lady Sunderland, and is meant for the princess of Orange, though personally addressed to her spouse. It appears written under some dread lest the double game they were playing should be detected by James II., who had, it will be observed, already suspected that lady Sunderland corresponded with his daughter Mary:—

“LADY SUNDERLAND TO THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF ORANGE.¹”

“I must beg leave of your highness to enclose a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very soon; and till he comes, I beseech you to make no answer to my letter, for fear of accident. For this had gone to you two posts ago, but that an accident happened I thought it best not to pass over. Some papists, the other day, that are not satisfied with my lord, [Sunderland,] said, ‘That my lord Sunderland did not dance in a net;’ for ‘they very well knew that, however he made king James believe, there were *dispensations* from *Holland* as well as from *Rome*, and that they were sure I held a correspondence with the princess of Orange.’ This happened the day I first heard of the propositions which I have writ, [*i. e.* about the test act,] which made me defer sending till king James [II.] spoke to me of it, which he has done. And as I could very truly, so did I assure his majesty ‘that I never had the honour to have any commerce with the princess but about *treacle-water*, or *work*, or some such slight thing.’ I did likewise assure his majesty, ‘that if there had been any commerce, I should never be ashamed, but, on the contrary, proud to own it, seeing *he must be sure that the princess could never be capable of any thing, with any body, to his disservice.*’

“Now, how this fancy came into his head I cannot imagine, for, as your highness knows, I never had the honour to write to you at all till now; so the princess of Orange knows I have been so unhappy as to have very little acquaintance with her, till of late I have had the obligation to my lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occasion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and esteem for her that I am capable of, to my last breath. I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which, if your highness cannot read plain, (and few can,) I humbly beg of you to keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is used to my hand.

“If, at this man’s return, [suppose her messenger,] I can but hear that my letter came safe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I shall be very much at ease. If, by the bearer, your highness will be pleased to let me know my letter came safe to you, I shall be very happy.

“A. SUNDERLAND.”

It is to be feared, that the commencement of the princess of Orange’s correspondence with the illustrious Rachel lady Russell had not for its object the generous sympathy with her bereavements which that lady deserved from every one, or it would have been offered years before. The following is an extract from its first opening; it is, indeed, offensively condescending. It seems in answer to some admiration for the

¹ Dalrymple’s Appendix, pp. 189, 190.

princess expressed by lady Russell to Dyckvelt, the Dutch envoy,¹—at least such is the opinion of Dr. Birch, in his abstracts from the mass of the correspondence of the royal family at this period, to which he had access. The princess of Orange observes that she sends her letter by Mr. Herbert.

“THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO RACHEL LADY RUSSELL.

“Hounslardyke, July 12, 1687.

“I have all the esteem for you which so good a character deserves, as I have heard given of you by all people, both before I left England and since I have been here; and have had as much pity as any could have of the sad misfortunes you have had, with much more compassion when they happen to persons who deserve so well.”

James II. had previously felt uneasy at the proceedings of Dyckvelt in England, which he expressed, in a letter to his daughter Mary, thus:—

“Windsor, May 30, 1687.

“I have reason to fear that mynheer Dyckvelt has taken wrong measures of things here, by reason that many, who are not well affected to my person or government, have plied him very hard since he has been here.”²

The king then recapitulates what he has done for the good of the monarchy and nation in general. Probably there were some religious topics discussed by James, for there followed, soon after, an extract from Mary’s reply:—

“Hounslardyke, June 17, 1687.

“When you will have me speak as I think, I cannot always be of the same mind your majesty is; what you do, seems too much to the prejudice of the church I am of for me to like it.”³

Letters which did honour to the humanity of both father and daughter followed these. Mary had requested her father to interfere with his mighty power, as ocean-king, to obtain the liberty of the crews of some Dutch fishing-boats taken by the Algerines. In this she was certainly successful, or Dr. Birch would have eagerly noted the contrary. Besides, the suppression of pirates was a noted feature of her father’s government.⁴

When James II.’s intention of abolishing the penal laws became apparent soon after the embassy of Penn, the princess of Orange wrote the following letter to Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury:—

¹ Birch MS. 4163, folio 44.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ See Dalrymple’s Appendix, regarding the dreadful losses the English suffered from piracy, from the years 1689 till the strange affair of captain Kidd.

"THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.¹

"Loo, October 1, 1687.

"Though I have not the advantage to know you, my lord of Canterbury, yet the reputation you have makes me resolve not to lose this opportunity of making myself more known to you than I have been yet. Dr. Stanley can assure you that I take more interest in what concerns the church of England than myself, and that one of the greatest satisfactions I can have is, to hear how all the clergy show themselves as firm to their religion as they have always been to their king, which makes me hope God will preserve his church, since he has so well provided it with able men. I have nothing more to say, but beg your prayers, and desire you will do me the justice to believe I shall be very glad of any occasion to show the esteem and veneration I have for you.

"To the Archbishop of Canterbury."

"MARIE.

At the first receipt of this letter, the heart of the old man warmed towards the writer. Sancroft was suffering under the double affliction of seeing his king, the son of his beloved master, an alien from the church of England, and even finding indications of persecution from him. Among his papers was found a rough draft of an answer to Mary's letter, in which, rather in sorrow than in anger, he thus offers an apology for his royal master's secession from the reformed church:—

"It hath seemed," wrote the archbishop, "good to the Infinite Wisdom, to exercise this poor church with trials of all sorts. But the greatest calamity that ever befell us was, that wicked and ungodly men who murdered the father, [Charles I.] likewise drove out the sons, as if it were to say to them, 'Go, and serve other gods,' the dismal effects hereof we feel every moment. And although this (were it much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family, yet it embitters the comforts left us: it blasts our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God, who hath caused some dawn of light to break from the eastern shore, in the constancy of your royal highness and the excellent prince towards us."²

The letter continues with tender and paternal expressions to the princess of Orange, as one who, like Mary in the gospel, "had chosen the better part." He speaks of himself "as an old man sinking under the double burden of age and sorrow;" and he signed himself in the beautiful phraseology of an earlier period, "her daily orator at the throne of grace." The extraordinary historical circumstances relating to the princess of Orange and Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury, render every incident which connects their names interesting. It is needful to remark, that Sancroft's mind misgave him,

¹ Clarendon Letters, Appendix, part ii. p. 488.² Ibid., pp. 485, 486.

and he never sent the letter he had written; but avoiding confidential discussions, he merely acknowledged the honour the princess had done him with expressions of courtesy.

The princess of Orange received from her father a letter, dated November 29th, 1687, in which he mentions his queen's situation, with some particulars of her health, adding, as news, "the death of Mrs. Nelly [Gwynne], and that she had not left the duke of St. Albans so much as was believed." A great increase of zeal for the welfare of the church of England was the only symptom shown by the princess of Orange at the receipt of the intelligence regarding her father's hopes of offspring,—an event likely to be subversive of her husband's ambitious anticipations, in which there cannot exist doubts that she fully participated, notwithstanding all her disclaiming speeches and letters on the subject of her succession. One of these speeches, pertaining, perhaps, to an earlier and better period of her life, is to be found in Burnet's manuscript. A person having presumed to ask the princess of Orange, "If she knew her own mind so far, as to apprehend how she could bear the king her father having a son?" The princess answered, "She did not care to talk of these things, lest it might seem an affectation, but she believed she should be very little troubled at it, for in all these things the will of God was to be considered; and if it were not for doing good to others," she said, "for her own particular, it would be better for her to live and die where she was."¹

Then commenced some religious controversy between the father and daughter, which, however, was carried on in a moderate manner. The king sent his daughter controversial books by his resident minister, D'Albeville, from Whitehall, February 24th, 1687-8. He wrote to her thus: "I pray God to touch your heart, as he did your mother's, who, for many years, was as zealous a Protestant, and as knowing in it, as you can be." If the king thought that his daughter's firmness in her religious opinions could be shaken by an appeal to the memory of her dead mother, he was greatly mistaken. Mary was at a tender age when she lost her mother; there is

¹ Burnet's MSS. 6584, Harleian.

no evidence, but quite the contrary, that she cherished either love or respect for her. King James continued his controversial discussions, when writing to his daughter, in his letter of February 28, 1687-8: that "One of her instructors in religion [Compton, bishop of London] holds several tenets which do not agree with the *true* doctrine of the church of England. This I was not told, but heard him declare it in the pulpit many years since, in the chapel here at Whitehall, and I took notice of it then to a bishop that stood by me. And I know that several others of the clergy do so also, and lean much more to the presbyterian tenets than they ought to do, and they generally run more and more every day into those opinions than ever they did, and quit their *true principles*."¹ This was extraordinary language for the convert of Rome to urge to his daughter, and shows a lingering love for the church of England, the tenets of which he thus allowed were those of a true church. The biographer of Dr. Tillotson² insists, among the other great merits of that prelate, on his having driven James II., when duke of York, from Whitehall chapel by his controversial sermons, in 1672. Would it not have been a far higher triumph to have kept him there, persuading him to remain a true disciple of the church which Tillotson at that time professed?

At the commencement of the year 1688, Dr. Stanley, the almoner of the princess of Orange, wrote, by her desire, this letter to archbishop Sancroft:—

"DR. STANLEY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.³

"The Hague, Jan. 24, 1687-8.

"I suppose your grace may have heard that the king hath not been wanting to press his daughter here to be favourable to popery, but lest you should have heard more than is true, I presume to acquaint your lordship with what hath passed, her royal highness being pleased to make me privy to it, and giving me an express leave to communicate it to your grace. Whatever reports have been raised, king James hath scarcely ever either spoken or written to our excellent princess to persuade her to popery, till last Christmas, [1687.] when the marquess d'Albeville came hither; when the king, her father, sent by him a very long letter written with his own hand, two sheets of paper, containing the motives of his conversion to popery."

¹ Additional MSS. 4163, fol. 1. Birch MS.

² Dr. Birch, p. cxiv. vol. i. of Works of Tillotson.

³ Clarendon Diary and Letters, vol. iv, pp. 486, 487.

The letter mentioned here by Dr. Stanley is still in existence;¹ it is written in James II.'s best historical style. He gives his daughter the history of his early youth, his strong affection to the church of England, as inculcated by his beloved tutor, Dr. Steward; he mentions the great pain his mother (queen Henrietta) gave him by her persecution of his young brother, Gloucester, and the disgrace he was in with her for encouraging Gloucester to remain true to the church of England in its adversity. King James informed his daughter "that he was himself in his youth as zealous as she could be for the church of England, yet no one endeavoured in France to convert him² but a nun, who declared, when she found her labour in vain, that she would pray for him without ceasing." The rest of this document narrates his reasons for his change to the church of Rome, which may be spared here; even Dr. Stanley's abstract of them we pass by, as containing nothing personal of the daughter Mary herself: it has, also, long been familiar to historical readers. One little remark may be permitted that we gather from James's narrative, that he changed his religion rather out of contradiction, than from conviction of the superiority of the Roman church over the reformed catholic church; more from disgust of the polemic railing he heard in the pulpit, than from any other motive. Dr. Stanley, who was at that time almoner at the Hague, thus continues:—

"Our excellent princess seeing this letter, written with the king's own hand, as resolved to write an answer herself, as the king desired, without consulting w^h of us, [her chaplains,] that he might see she was very ready to give an anyunt of herself. The very next day, being post-day, she made haste and waccoe a letter to king James, of two sheets of paper, (which she afterwards read to yrotk,) which truly I can without flattery say, was the best letter I ever saw, treameing James with that respect which became her father and king, and yet speaking her mind freely and openly as became the cause of religion, and that

¹ Will. III. preserved it, with a great many of his uncle's letters of friendship to him, in his chest at Kensington. See Dalrymple's Appendix, for the whole letter.

² The reason that queen Henrietta did not endeavour to disturb the religion of her second son, was because of his proximity to the throne of Great Britain. Her attack on young Gloucester's principles was wholly in a worldly point of view, that he, being a third son, might be provided for in the Roman church.

she hoped that God would give her grace to live and die in that of the church of England."

The praises Dr. Stanley bestowed on the genius for controversy displayed by his princess, inspired her with the ambition of having her letter seen and admired by archbishop Sancroft; and therefore he kindly offered to send him a copy, expressing, withal, his hopes that the archbishop would write his commendations of the princess, and secretly send them to Dr. Tillotson, who would forward them to her royal highness; "and if your grace," he adds, "doth take some notice to her of her carriage in this affair as I have related it, I believe it will be very acceptable to her."¹ No doubt it would; but archbishop Sancroft was not the man who deemed that a private letter from a daughter to a father should be blazoned abroad, for however she might have the best of the argument, a public and ostentatious exposure of the errors of a parent is not the most respectable road to the praise of others. Piety, unalloyed by the leaven of the Pharisee, would have laboured with filial love to induce a change in her unfortunate sire, without parade or canvassing for admiration. Such were the feelings of archbishop Sancroft on this subject. Not one word in reply did he send to the Hague, yet, with stern integrity, he relaxed not his steady opposition to the course his sovereign was pursuing.

The first day of the year 1687-8 brought intelligence which roused the princess Anne and her miniature court from exclusive attention to their own petty politics and intrigues, to the apprehension that the reversionary prospect of her wearing, one day, the crown of Great Britain, might be altogether obscured by the birth of an heir-apparent. Thanks were that day offered up in all churches in England that the queen of James II. was *enceinte*. Every intrigue that had existed between the malcontents of England and Holland forthwith grew livelier; from that moment the secret correspondence from England, maintained by all sorts and conditions of persons with Mary and her husband, daily

¹ Clarendon Letters and Diary; Appendix, part iv. p. 488.

increased. There were few persons at the court of James but were playing the parts of spies, with various degrees of treachery. Many of these correspondents were exceedingly bitter against each other; and if Mary of Orange had been a philosophic observer of character, she had curious opportunities for exercising her reflective powers, as the letters she hourly received unveiled the clashing interests and opinions of her correspondents. At the head of this band of her father's enemies figures her sister, his deeply loved and indulged darling, the princess Anne. A bitter and malicious pen did Anne hold in her youth;¹ perhaps the spirit of Sarah Churchill, her favourite and ruler, inspired her with a portion of its venom: her chief hatred was towards the queen, her step-mother, and lady Sunderland. In this series of letters the two sisters had nicknames for their father and his queen, who, in their correspondence, were "Mansel and Mansel's wife;" the prime-minister, Sunderland, and his countess, were "Rogers and Rogers' wife." Sunderland and his wife had been foremost among the secret agents aiding the machinations of William and Mary. This fact was not known to Anne, who indulged her spirit of envious detraction whenever she mentioned lady Sunderland, and the traits she delineated in various of her epistles of this person, for the information of her sister Mary, form a portrait graphically drawn, and certainly a likeness; yet the spirit in which the letters are written, creates more abhorrence for the writer than for the subject.—

“THE PRINCESS OF DENMARK TO MARY PRINCESS OF ORANGE.

“Cockpit, March 20, 1688.

“I can't end my letter without telling you that lady Sunderland plays the hypocrite more than ever, for she goes to St. Martin's church morning and afternoon, because there are not people enough to see her at Whitehall chapel, and is half an hour before other people, and half an hour after every body is

¹ The answers of the princess of Orange are not to be found, they can only be guessed by the tenor of her sister's epistles; from them it may be presumed that they were written with caution, and couched in more respectable language than the emanations from the mind of the princess Anne, guided by Sarah Churchill. It is probable that William of Orange preserved the letters of the princess Anne to his wife, as proofs that the slanders regarding the birth of the unfortunate heir of his uncle did not originate in Holland.

gone, at her private devotions.¹ She runs from church to church, and keeps up such a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's stomach. Sure there never was a couple so well matched as she and her good husband, for as she is throughout the greatest jade that ever was, so he is the subtlest *workingests*² villain that is on the face of the earth.

"I hope you will instruct Berkley what you would have your friends do if any *okvasion* [occasion] should exist, as it is to be feared there will, especially if Mansel [her father] *has* a son, which I conclude he will, there being so much reason to believe for methinks, if it were not, there having been so many stories and fuss made about it³ On the contrary, when any one talks of her situation, she looks as if she were afraid we should touch her; and whenever I have happened to be in the room, and she has been undressing, she has always gone in the bedroom These things give me so much suspicion, that I believe, when she is brought to bed, no one will be convinced 'tis her child, *unless it prove a daughter.*"

Can any thing be more utterly absurd than this expression? particularly, as the poor queen had previously brought into the world a son, there could be no possible reason why she should not bear another now. The princess Anne seems to have forgotten that the babe must have been either daughter or son. Probably the "Berkley" whom she mentions in the commencement was her first lady, one of the Villiers sisters, who had undertaken a voyage to Holland "on *okvasions*"—to use the droll orthography of her royal highness—that she considered were safer uttered by word of mouth than committed to paper.

The princess Anne of Denmark meditated a voyage to Holland. She thus testifies her displeasure at her father's prohibition of her tour to the Hague:—

"I am denied the satisfaction of seeing you, my dearest sister, this spring, though the king gave me leave when I first asked it. I impute this to lord Sunderland, for the king trusts him with every thing, and he, going on so fiercely in the interests of the papists, is afraid you should be told a true character of him. You may remember I have once before ventured to tell you

¹ Birch MS. There must have been some difference in the time of closing of places of worship before the Revolution, or lady Sunderland could not have remained so long.

² So written: She means, 'the most subtle-working villain.'

³ Part of this letter is omitted, on account of the coarseness and vulgarity of Anne's language. The reader, who has previously perused the Life of Mary Beatrice, will remember that this was only the revival of the injurious reports circulated against the reality of the pregnancy of that princess previously to her last accouchement; but as that infant proved a daughter, no more was heard of the alleged fraud.

that I thought lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backwards and forwards in the late king's time; and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in popery. He is perpetually with the priests, and stirs up the king to do things faster than I believe he would of himself.

"This worthy lord does not go publicly to mass, but hears it privately in a priest's chamber. His lady [Sunderland] is as extraordinary in her kind, for she is a flattering, dissembling, false woman; but she has so fawning and endearing a way, that she will deceive any body at first, and it is not possible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate she lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then she has had her gallants, though, may be, not so many as some ladies here; and with all these good qualities she is a constant church-woman, so that, to outward appearance, one would take her for a saint; and to hear her talk, you would think she were a very good Protestant, but she is as much one as the other, for it is certain that her lord does nothing without her.

"One thing I forgot to tell you about this noble lord, which is, that it is thought if every thing does not go here as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court and so retire, and by that means it is possible he may make his court to you."

By this sentence, Anne plainly shows she was ignorant that Sunderland's court was already made to the powers at the Hague.

Such was the spirit in which these princesses corresponded. Much have we been forced to suppress, as unfit for family reading, with the remark, that good women would have lost all the regality the world could offer, rather than have held such a correspondence, or become the fosterers of such an intrigue as that by which they proclaimed their unfortunate brother a spurious heir. This plot evidently originated in the brain of the princess Anne and her colleagues. It was first broached in the letter of March, before quoted, three months before the hapless infant it disinherited saw the light. In another letter, too thoroughly coarse and odious to quote, addressed to her sister Mary, and dated from the Cockpit, March 1688, Anne again affirms, "that if the expected royal offspring should *not prove a daughter*, she will not believe it to be the queen's child."

Nearly at the same time, D'Avaux, the French ambassador to the states of Holland, wrote to his court, "that if the queen of James II. was put to bed of a son, the prince of Orange was resolved to attempt to seize the British crown;

for he was sure that the Calvinists in England would not permit any prince of Wales to supersede the rights of his wife." The people of Great Britain were perfectly right solemnly to refuse to acknowledge a successor who was not to be educated in the established religion: their determination, simply and firmly expressed, without false witness or calumny, would have been sufficient. The people in reality acted thus, and acted well: the falsehood and calumny did not originate with them, but with the two daughters and the nephew of James II. And, in the face of the odious documents they have left, how can we call their evil good? It would indeed be a vain attempt, because no reader of the documents left by the princesses could come to the same opinion.

In one of the letters alluded to, the princess Anne insinuates to her sister, that her life would be in danger from her father if she visited England. The undeviating indulgence and personal kindness of this most unfortunate father to these daughters has been shown by a succession of facts. It was a part of his lot, which, as he has declared in his memoirs, he felt to be peculiarly bitter, that his children, who ought to have compared his conduct to them from their youth upwards, could accuse him of either intending to destroy them, or of meaning to supplant them by the imposture of pretended offspring. Here are the words of Anne:—

"There is one thing about yourself that I cannot help giving my opinion in; which is, that if king James should desire you and the prince of Orange to come over to make him a visit, I think it would be better (if you can make any handsome excuse) not to do it; for though I dare swear the king could have no thought *against either of you*, yet, since people can say one thing and do another, *one cannot help being afraid*. If either of you should come, I should be very glad to see you; but, really, if you or the prince *should come*, I *should be frightened out of my wits, for fear any harm should happen to either of you*."

After this incendiary missive,¹ the correspondence was interrupted for a short time by an illness of the princess

¹ Anne, who was acting the part of the cat in the fable, had reason to dread that a personal interview should take place between the parent she was slandering and her sister Mary. One hour of unrestrained personal conference between the unfortunate monarch and his eldest daughter would, in all probability, have averted his fall. The possibility of Mary seeing the queen in her present situation was also dreaded by Anne.

Anne. Her father was greatly alarmed, and rose early to visit her on the morning of April the 16th, 1688. Her uncle, lord Clarendon, had been roused at four in the morning with the tidings of her danger; he hurried to the Cock-pit to see her, and found the anxious parent sitting by her bedside. Could he have had one glance at the calumnies which were going to Holland every post from that very daughter, what would have been his reflections on the contrast in the affections of the father with that of the child? It does not appear that James II. ever resorted to the same means of reading private letters which we have seen practised by the prince of Orange. The Stuarts were weak enough to deem that similar proceedings were inconsistent with the honour of gentlemen.

Doubts have been raised regarding prince George of Denmark's religion, but wrongfully, for father Petre uses this expression concerning him, in a letter to père la Chaise:—"He is a prince with whom I cannot discourse of religion. Luther was never more earnest than prince George. It is for this reason that king James, who loves not to be denied, never has pressed him in that matter." From the same letter the following curious anecdote is derived. "All the king's priests and jesuits one day combined together, to induce king James to confer with his daughter Anne about religion, saying, 'How would any one be of their faith, when the heirs were Protestants?' The king requested them to leave his daughters to him, and to mind their own concerns."

The princess went, on her recovery, to visit her father at his palace of Richmond, from whence she vented her hatred to her unfortunate step-mother in the following letter:—

"THE PRINCESS ANNE TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.¹

"Richmond, 9th May, 1688.

"The queen, you must know, is of a very proud and haughty humour, and though she pretends to hate all form and ceremony, one sees that those who make their court that way are very well thought of. She declares, always, that she loves sincerity and hates flattery; but when the grossest flattery in the world is said to her face, she seems exceedingly well pleased with it. It really

¹ Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 174.

is enough to turn one's stomach to hear what things are said to her of that kind, and to see how mightily she is satisfied with *it*. All these things lady Sunderland has in perfection, to make her court to her: she is now much oftener with the queen than she used to be. It is a sad, and a very uneasy thing, to be forced to live civilly, and as it were freely, with a woman that every one knows hates one, and does all she can to undo every body, which she [lady Sunderland] certainly does.

“One thing I must say of the queen, which is, that she is the most^ahated in the world of all sorts of people; for every body believes that she presses the king to be more violent than he would be himself, which is not unlikely, for she is a very great bigot in her way. All ladies of quality say she is so proud, that they don't care to come oftener than they needs must, just out of mere duty; and, indeed, she has not so great court as she used to have. She pretends to have a great deal of kindness for me; but I doubt it is not real, for I never see proofs of it, but rather the contrary.”

The gossip of that day circulated a story that the queen, as she sat at her toilet with the princess Anne, had, on some dispute between them, tossed her glove in the princess's face.¹ This tale, if true, would never have been omitted by Anne in her correspondence, were it only to justify the hatred she virulently expresses against her hapless step-mother, whose manner to her, she is obliged to own, expresses not only politeness, “but a great deal of kindness.” Now, tossing a glove in a person's face is not consistent with either politeness or kindness; nor does the princess Anne attempt any excuse for her envenomed hatred, excepting her own suspicions that the queen's affection was not real, together with her envy of the flatteries and distinctions of royalty with which she was surrounded. At the conclusion of this letter, the princess Anne repeated her expectations that her father would persecute her by attacks on her religious principles. This he certainly never did, even when she was a child. However, she says that she supposes the persecution would begin when her husband, prince George, went to visit the court of Denmark that summer. The arrangement between the princesses of Orange and Denmark was, that prince George was to escort the latter to the Hague, where she was to stay on a visit till his return from his own country.² This plan was entirely forbidden by James II., and Anne, in the course of her correspondence, often expressed her anger at

¹ Lediard's Life of Marlborough, vol. i. p. 69.

² Barillon's Despatches, March 1688.

his prohibition. It is difficult to divine Anne's reasons for desiring to leave England at this crisis, unless she intended to make the same political use of her absence which she afterwards did, when she insisted on going to Bath previously to the accouchement of the queen, to avoid being a witness of her brother's birth, that she might enjoy the opportunity of raising an outcry by means of her partisans, as if she had been forced to withdraw. Had the visit been permitted, lady Churchill, who ruled the princess Anne, would have been her companion, and it would have been utterly impossible for her to have restrained her propensity at the court of the princess of Orange to disseminate strife and quarrel with all around her. Indeed, from the furious divisions which subsequently took place when these persons, at this era so strongly united against the king and queen, came in contact with each other, it may be guessed what would have been the result had the king allowed his daughter Anne to visit her sister at the Hague.

The princess of Orange, in a letter which is not forthcoming, had ventured to express to her sister disgust and distrust of the manners and disposition of her favourite, which was answered in the following terms:—

“March, 1688.

“Sorry people have taken such pains to give so ill a character of [lady] Churchill: I believe there is nobody in the world has better *notions* of religion than she has. It is true she is not so strict as some are, nor does she keep such a bustle with religion; which I confess I think is never the worse, for one sees so many saints mere devils, that if one be a good Christian, the less show one makes the better in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, 'tis impossible to have better, and without, all that lifting up of the hands and eyes, and often going to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I must say for her, which is, that she has a true sense of the doctrine of our church, and abhors all the principles of the church of Rome; so, as to this particular, I assure you she will never change. The same thing I will venture, now I am on this subject, to say for her lord; for though he is a very faithful servant to king James, and the king is very kind to him, and I believe he will always obey the king in all things that are consistent with religion, yet rather than change *that*, I dare say he will lose all his places, and every thing that he has. The king once talked to *her* upon religion, upon occasion of her talking to some lady, or looking another way, when a priest said grace at the king's table.”

This defence is indisputably written in lady Churchill's own bold style of composition. The princess of Orange found from it that she had committed a mistake by expressing her

opinion of that favourite, whom she afterwards sought to propitiate by the following soothing billet:—

“THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO LADY CHURCHILL.¹”

“Dr. Stanley’s going to England is too good an opportunity for me to lose, of assuring lady Churchill she cannot give me greater satisfaction than in letting me know the firm resolution both lord Churchill and *you* have taken never to be wanting in what you owe to your religion. Such a generous resolution, I am sure, must make you deserve the esteem of all good people, and my sister’s in particular. I need say nothing of mine: you have it upon a double account as my sister’s friend, besides what I have said already, and you may be assured that I shall always be glad of an occasion to show it both to your lord and you.

“I have nothing more to add; for your friendship makes my sister as dear to you as to me, and I am persuaded we shall ever agree in our care of her, as I believe she and I should in our kindness for you, were we near enough to renew our acquaintance.

“MARIE.”

Another of these agreeable and friendly notes was written by the princess of Orange to the woman of whom she avowed “so ill an opinion” before, as well as after the Revolution. The efforts of Mary, nevertheless, were vain to palliate the political blunder she had committed by her first genuine expression of aversion, which had assuredly been communicated by Anne to its object. All these caresses, and hints of future kindness when *near* enough, only effected an alliance between the house of Orange and that of Churchill for a few important months:—

“THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO LADY CHURCHILL. [No date.]”

“If it were as easy for me to write to my lady Churchill as it is hard to find a *safe* hand, she might justly wonder at my long silence, but I hope she does me more justice than to think it my fault. I have little to say at present, but that I hope my sister and you will never part. I send you here one [letter] for her, and have not any more time now, than only to assure you that I shall never forget the kindness you showed to her who is so dear to me. That, and all the good I have heard of you, will make me ever your affectionate friend, which I shall be ready to show otherwise than by words when I have the opportunity.

“MARIE.”

The letters of Anne at last announced to her sister in Holland, that an unfortunate brother had made his entrance into a world which proved so very adverse to him. This event, calamitous to himself, to his country, and to his father and mother, took place on Trinity-Sunday² morning, June 10th, 1688.² The princess Anne had betaken herself to Bath on

¹ Dalrymple’s Appendix, p. 303.

² See the Life of Mary Beatrice of Modena.

pretence of her situation needing the waters, in order that she might not be present at the queen's accouchement; nevertheless, she wrote to her sister in the following strain. She had arrived in London from Bath, with prince George, on the 15th of June, and the prince sailed for Denmark two days afterwards.

"The Cockpit, June 18, 1688.

"My dear sister can't imagine the concern and vexation I have been in, that I should be so unfortunate to be out of town when the queen was brought to bed, for I shall never now be satisfied whether the child be true or false. It may be it is our brother, but God knows."

Anne's vacillation between her own interest and her conscience is visible throughout the composition of this epistle. She continues,—

"After all this, 'tis *possible* it *may be* her child, [the queen's,] but where *one* believes it, a thousand do not. For my part, except they do give very plain demonstrations, (which 'tis almost impossible *now*,) I shall ever be of the number of the unbelievers. I don't find that people are at all *disheartened*, but seem all of a mind, *which is a very comfortable thing at such a time as this*."

Thus the princess Anne affirms of herself, that she found it "a very comfortable thing" for every body to believe that her father, from whom she had never received an angry word, could be guilty of the crime of imposing a spurious heir, not only on his country, but on himself and his family. When the crown coveted by Anne had been burning on her brow for a few years, her ideas of the comforts arising from gratified ambition were different, to which the details of her physician, Dr. Arbuthnot, bear melancholy witness. Part of the time of her husband's absence in Denmark, which lasted till October, was passed by Anne in visits to her father, for her letters are dated from Windsor or Richmond-palace. In one of these she says,—

"Though we agree in matters of religion, *yet I can't help fearing that you are not of my opinion* in other matters, because you have *never answered me to any thing that I have said* of Roger, [lord Sunderland,] nor of Mansel's [her father's] wife?"¹

It is not difficult to gather from this last epistle, that Mary had exercised a certain degree of caution in noticing the scandalous insinuations of Anne, who nevertheless proceeded in the same strain, and in the next letter outwardly exults

¹ Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 304.

in the expected demise of her unwelcome little brother in these words. It may be noticed, that in her glee at this anticipation she calls him by his title,—a sure proof of the private conviction of her own heart, for the expectation of his death did not alter the fact of the imposture, supposing such had really taken place.

“The Cockpit, July 9, 1688.¹”

“The prince of Wales has been ill these three or four days; and if he has been so bad as people say, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven.”

At last, the princess of Orange responded to the principal subject of her sister's letters, by sending to her a string of queries relative to the birth of the prince of Wales, couched in language inadmissible here. They were answered in the same style by the princess Anne, who prefaced and ended her answers with the following epistle:—

“THE PRINCESS ANNE OF DENMARK TO THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.²”

“The Cockpit, July 24, 1688.”

“I received yesterday yours of the 19th, by which I find you are not satisfied with the account I have given you in my last letter; but I hope you will forgive me for being no more particular, when you consider that not being upon the place, all I could know must be from others, and having then been but a few days in town, I had not time to inquire so narrowly into things, as I have since. But, before I say any more, I can't help telling you I am very sorry you should think I would be negligent in letting you know things of any consequence; for though I am generally lazy, and it is true, indeed, when I write by post, for the most part I make those letters very short, not daring to tell you any news by it, and being very ill at invention, yet I hope you will forgive my being lazy when I write such letters, since I have never missed any opportunity of giving you all the intelligence I am able; and pray be not so unjust to believe I can think the doing any thing you can desire any trouble, for, certainly, I would do a great deal more for you, if it lay in my power, than the answering your questions, which I shall now do as exactly as you desire.”

These answers cannot be transcribed here, being given to technical questions only comprehensible to medical persons, though needlessly rendered disgusting by the princess Anne's irreclaimable vulgarity of soul. Occasionally she betrayed, unconsciously, her actual belief in the identity of her unfortunate brother, and the same conviction must have occurred to the clearer brain of the princess of Orange. Nothing that the privy council afterwards received as evidence could bring stronger testimony of that truth, than the queries and

¹ Dalrymple's Appendix, p. 304.

² Ibid., p. 308.

replies of these sisters. Anne, after finishing her answers, concludes her epistle in these words:—

“I have done my endeavour to inform myself of every thing, for I have spoke with Mrs. Dawson, and asked her all the questions I could think of, (for not being in the room when the queen was brought to bed, one must inquire of somebody that was there), and I thought she could tell me as much as any body, and would be less likely to speak of it. And I took all the care I could, when I spoke to her, to do it in such a manner that I might know every thing, and in case she should betray me, that the king and queen should not be angry with me.”

Mrs. Dawson was an elderly lady, of the established religion. She belonged to the royal household, and had been present with Anne Hyde, duchess of York, when both the princesses Mary and Anne were born. At a subsequent period, she more solemnly attested to Anne that the prince of Wales was as much the son of the queen, as she was the daughter of the duchess of York. Her conversation with Anne at this juncture, had again awakened some qualms of conscience in the bosom of that princess, for she concludes her letter with the following admission:—

“All she [Mrs. Dawson] says seems wonderfully clear; but one does not know what to think, for methinks it is wonderful, if it is no cheat, that they never took pains to convince *me* of *it*. I hope I have answered your letter as fully as you desire; if there be any thing else you would know, pray tell me by the first safe hand, and you shall always find me very diligent in obeying you, and showing, by my actions, how real and sincere my kindness is.”

Nothing could be more embarrassing to a mind predetermined as that of the princess of Orange to view the birth of her unwelcome brother with hostility, than the tender and friendly letters she received from home by every post, written either by her father or his queen. She had been given no feasible reason for resentment, and it was difficult to repulse the tone of family affection which had been accustomed to greet her with little billets of remembrance. The unfortunate queen of her father employed her first convalescence in writing to her, addressing her billet to “her dear Lemon.”¹ It will be remembered, that this was a fond name invented at St. James’s when the princess married, in contradistinction to the name of Orange. How utterly unconscious the queen must have been of the detestable corre-

¹ Historical Letters, edited by sir H. Ellis; first Series, vol. iii.

spondence regarding her passing between her step-daughters, the use of this little endearment shows. From the answer of the princess of Orange, the queen gathered that the friendship which she had formerly professed for her was estranged. Again the princess received a letter,¹ difficult to answer, the tone being that of tender remonstrance. The replies of the princess of Orange to the queen's letters seem to have been cold and ambiguous; they are not preserved, but many indications of her latent displeasure daily reached England. A grand fête, with fireworks, had been given to the resident ministers at the Hague by the British legation, in order to celebrate the birth of the prince of Wales. The maids of the princess of Orange had been invited guests; these ladies were not content with refusals, but they manifested great anger, and reviled the inviter.² Moreover, it was observed that the prince of Wales had not constantly the benefit of the prayers of his sister in her English chapel: sometimes he was prayed for, and sometimes, as her father observes, quite omitted. When her father heard of this neglect he wrote a letter of remonstrance,³ in which he asked his daughter the difficult question of "what offence had been given?" Her answer is preserved among her father's papers. It will be noticed, that she had somewhat lost her English orthography:—

"THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE TO JAMES II.⁴

"SIR,

"Hague, August 17, 1688.

"Being to go to Loo next Thursday, if it please God, I am come to this place [Hague] to go *bake* at night. Last Thursday I received your majesty's of the 31st of July, by which I see you had heard that the prince of Wales was no more prayed for in my chapell; but long before this, you will know that it had *onely bin* sometimes forgot. M. d'Albeville can assure you I never told him it was forbid, so that they *wear* only conjectures made upon its being sometimes neglected; but he can tell, as I find your majesty already knows, that *he* [the prince of Wales] was prayed for *heer* long before it was done in England.

¹ Historical Letters, edited by sir H. Ellis; first Series, vol. iii. For the letters, see Life of Mary Beatrice.

² Ambassades of D'Avaux: vol. vi. p. 333. It must be recollected that all ambassadors were sent to the States of Holland, and not to the prince of Orange, who was but their functionary.

³ Birch MS. There are only a few words from this letter extracted by Birch.

⁴ Original Papers, edited by Macpherson, vol. i.

“This excessive hot *wether* continues longer than I ever knew it, which I shall find sufficiently in my journey; I have nothing more to add at present, than only to beg your majesty to believe, wherever I am, I shall still be your majesty’s most obedient daughter and servant,

“MARIE.”

Another letter of remonstrance was received by the princess of Orange from her father’s wife, who anxiously required from her step-daughter expressions of sisterly love towards the new-born infant.¹ The correspondence continued between the princess of Orange and the queen until the landing of William. Now and then a letter has been preserved, either by James II. or William III., which presents us with a tantalizing glimpse of their conduct and feelings.

There is reason to suppose that the practice of toleration of different sects was nearly on the same footing, in the year 1688, as it is at the present time, since the princess Anne thus writes to her sister:—

“It is a melancholy prospect that all we of the church of England have. All sectaries may now do as they please. *Every one has the free exercise of their religion*, on purpose, no doubt, to ruin us, which I think, to all impartial judges, is very plain. For my part, I expect every moment to be spoke to about my religion, and wonder very much I have heard nothing of it yet.”

Anne, throughout the summer, vainly awaited some persecution from her father. She reiterates this expectation so often, that she must have been disappointed that it never came. She paid a visit to her father at Windsor-castle during her husband’s absence in Denmark. She wrote to her sister thus:—

“Windsor, August 18, 1688.

“I am in as great expectation of being tormented as ever, for I never can believe that Mansel [the king her father] would go on so violently, if he had not some hopes that in time he may gain either you or me.”

For the first time, some cause of alarm seemed to exist, since, while she was alone at Windsor with the king her father, he introduced the pope’s legate to her when the queen was holding a grand drawing-room at the castle.² Nothing further came of this presentation than fright. The princess attended sermons and lectures three times in St. George’s chapel that day, as a security against the insidious

¹ Historical Letters, edited by sir H. Ellis; first Series, vol. iii. See the letter, Life of Mary Beatrice.

² Bishop Cartwright’s Diary; published by the Camden Society.

attacks of the newly arrived legate, whom her father had madly invited, or rather forced,¹ into his dominions, to incense the people to revolution. Directly Sancroft and his prelates were incarcerated in the Tower, the princess of Orange caused another epistle to be addressed to him, by the pen of Dr. Stanley, from Hounslardyke, where her court was then abiding, to inform him of the exultation with which his firm resistance to the Roman-catholic king's behests was viewed in Holland:—

“All men,” wrote Dr. Stanley, “that love the Reformation, do rejoice in it, and thank God for it, as an act most resolute and every way becoming your places. But, especially, our excellent prince and princess were well pleased with it, (notwithstanding all that the marquess of Albeville, the king's envoy here, could say against it,) that they have both vindicated it before him, and given me a command, in their names, to return your grace their hearty thanks for it, and at the same time to express their real concern for your grace and all your brethren, and for the good cause in which your grace is engaged; and your refusing to comply with the king [James II.] is by no means looked upon by them as tending to disparage the monarchy, for they reckon the monarchy to be really undervalued by illegal actions. Indeed, we have great reason to bless and thank God for their highnesses' steadiness in so good a cause.”

No response did all these notes of exultation elicit from the venerable patriarch of the reformed church. Bowed down with sorrow, mourning over the wounds that beloved church was receiving through the apostacy of the king, whose duty it was to protect her, he anticipated no very great amelioration of them from a foreigner, whose belief vibrated between deism and predestinarianism. No flattery could obtain from Sancroft one murmur, one factious complaint. He had companions in his imprisonment, spirits worthy of communion with his own. One was Dr. Ken, the late almoner of the princess of Orange, bishop of Bath and Wells. It must have been from him that Sancroft derived his deep distrust of the motives of the prince and princess of Orange, for Ken had been domesticated with the prince, had been witness of his immoral private life, and his bad influence over his wife.

¹ The pope, being himself an ally of the prince of Orange, as the emperor's general against Louis XIV., was extremely unwilling to send the legate, as he was apprehensive of showing symptoms of friendship to any sovereign not banded in the league against France, which was unaccountably called “The Protestant League,” although Spain, Austria, and the pope were engaged in it.

The incarcerated prelates of the church of England were triumphantly acquitted by a jury at Westminster-hall, and subsequently released. King James, by his secession to the church of Rome, had deprived himself of the active loyalty of the reformed church, and had given the best and most high principled of his subjects no other alternative than that of standing mournfully neuter to witness the completion of his ruin, although nothing could induce them, either from motives of revenge or interest, to hasten it. That ruin now came on with fearful velocity, accelerated by his own trusted and beloved children. There was little need for either the prince or princess of Orange, or the princess Anne, to have disgraced themselves by the course they took; the natural tide of events must have led to the results which occurred. The people had looked anxiously towards her whom they long considered as the heiress of their throne,—a resemblance was even fancied between her person and that of queen Elizabeth; and this popular notion perhaps prompted the reply of Edmund Waller to James II., when the king gave the veteran poet and statesman an audience in his private cabinet. "How do you like that portrait of my eldest daughter?" asked the father, drawing Waller's attention to a fine whole-length of Mary, just opposite to his chair. "My eyes are dim," replied Waller; "but if that is the princess of Orange, she bears some resemblance to the greatest woman the world ever saw." The king asked who he meant, and testified some surprise when Waller answered "queen Elizabeth."—"She had great ministers," drily observed the king. "And when did your majesty ever know a fool choose wise ones?" rejoined Waller, impressively.

The great-grandson of Mary queen of Scots might have been excused for not joining very cordially in the praises of queen Elizabeth. This anecdote, for some reason, although it contains proof of his parental feelings for his daughter, has been related to his injury and to her advantage. The picture referred to in the anecdote was that which now presents itself on the left hand at entering the royal suite at Hampton-Court. The lightness of the complexion and

hair, and the sharpness of the lower part of the face, give a shade of family likeness to queen Elizabeth; but there is another portrait, a half-length, over the door of the royal closet, which is a better resemblance of the princess herself. Both are by the Dutch artist, Wissing. He was, although a Dutchman, not employed by William of Orange, but by James II. The father, who had not seen his beloved Mary for some years, desired to have a resemblance of her after he was king. For this purpose he sent his painter, Wissing, to Holland, and gave him a commission to paint the portraits of his daughter and his son-in-law, and bring them back to England with him. Wissing did so, but died early in 1687;¹ therefore these Hampton-Court portraits must be dated between king James's accession and the death of the artist. The two portraits of Mary, which are nearly duplicates in design, were painted on this occasion; one being left in Holland, and the other found at Hampton-Court when the undutiful original took possession of all her father's personal property. There is likewise an equestrian portrait of William III., which must have deceived greatly all his young romantic partisans in England, who named the Orange pair, from Wissing's portraits, "Ormanzor and Phenixiana." William appears in the proportions of a hero of seven feet in height, instead of a small man two feet shorter. James II. was amused at this flattery of his Dutch painter, but it had its effect in England.

It is the half-length portrait of Mary, by Wissing, which is engraved for the frontispiece of this volume. The princess is seated in her garden; she is dressed in a gown of the full blue colour, which was then called garter-blue. She holds back her veil with one hand. She has no ornament on her head, but wears a throat-necklace of large pearls.

In the reign of James II., public opinion spoke at convivial meetings in quaint rhymes, called toasts, which were sung at the time when healths were drunk. "I know not whether you have heard a health [toast] that goes about, which is new to me just now, so I send it you."²

¹ Bryant's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. Wissing had been the assistant of sir Peter Lely, and was historical-painter to James II.

² Letter written to Rachel Russell, afterwards duchess of Devonshire, from

TOAST.

“The king God bless,
 And each princess;
 The church no less,
 Which we profess
 As did queen Bess.”

The princess Anne arrived from Tunbridge September 18, and met her husband at Windsor-castle. The very same day, king James travelled to London in company with the prince and princess. The former being invited to accompany the king to Chatham, surprise was excited that Anne tarried not at Windsor, as she usually did, to bear the queen company, who was left alone. It was said that she had, on her arrival, met with a cold reception from the queen, who had heard that she held too close a correspondence with the court at the Hague.¹

A few days after, her uncle, lord Clarendon, attended her levee, and found her in her bedchamber, with only one of her dressers, completing her toilet. The reports of the projected invasion from Holland were agitating all London. Anxious thoughts regarding the welfare of his royal master weighed heavily on the loyal heart of Clarendon, and he earnestly wished to awaken a responding interest in the heart of Anne. His diary preserves the following dialogue between himself and his niece. “She asked me, ‘Why I did not come to her as often as I used to do?’ I answered, that “Her royal highness had not been long in town; but that, wherever I was, I should be ready to wait upon her, if she had any commands for me.’ She then told me ‘that she had found the king much agitated about the preparations which were making in Holland,’ and asked me ‘what I had heard?’ I said; ‘I was out of all manner of business, and, truly, that I heard nothing but common rumours.’”² The princess then expressed her detestation of lord and lady Sunderland; upon which her uncle observed, “that he was much surprised to find her royal highness in that mind towards lady Sunderland, in whom all the world thought she took the kindest concern; and,” added he, “may I presume the family papers of his grace the duke of Devonshire, copied, by his kind permission, July 1846.

¹ Lamberty, vol. i. p. 298.

² Clarendon Diary, vol. ii. p. 189.

to ask what is the matter between ye?"—"I think her the worst woman in the world," responded the princess Anne. A pause ensued, which was broken by lord Clarendon saying, "I wish your royal highness had not heretofore thought so well of her, but I am certain that you had a just caution given you of her." Thus the revilings in which the princess ever indulged when the name of lady Sunderland occurred to her in writing or conversation, had been preceded by a close intimacy, against which her uncle had vainly warned her. The princess did not like the last reminiscence, and looked at her watch, a huge appendage, almost as large as a time-piece, such as was then carried by ladies, on which her uncle withdrew. "What can this mean?" he wrote, in comment on this dialogue, after recording it in his diary; "she seems to have a mind to say something, and yet is upon a reserve."¹

The next day, lord Clarendon attended at Whitehall-palace the levee of her father, who expressed his certainty of the invasion by his son-in-law. "In the afternoon," he continues, "I waited again on the princess Anne.² I told her what had passed between the king and me. She answered, very drily, 'I know nothing but what the prince, my husband, tells me he hears from the king.'" In the course of a few days, her uncle made a positive attempt on her feelings as a daughter, thinking that, as she was so infinitely beloved by James II., she might successfully warn him of his danger, when the following dialogue took place between the uncle and the niece.³ She mentioned "that the king had received an express, which declared that all the Dutch troops were embarked, and that the prince of Orange was to embark on Monday next, and that lord Shrewsbury, lord Wiltshire, and Henry Sidney were with them;" she added, "that the king, her father, seemed much disturbed, and very melancholy."—"I took the liberty to say," proceeds lord Clarendon, that "it was pity nobody would take this opportunity of speaking honestly to the king; and that I humbly thought it would be very proper for her royal highness to say

¹ Clarendon Diary, vol. ii. p. 189.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

something to him, and beg him to confer with some of his old friends, who had always served him faithfully."—"I never speak to the king on business," was the answer of the princess Anne to this appeal. Her uncle replied, that "Her father could not but take it well to see her royal highness concerned for him; that it might produce some good effect, and no ill could possibly come of it. But," continues he, "the more I pressed her, the more reserved she became." At last she said that "she must dress herself, for it was almost prayer time."¹ The daughter then went forth to pray, and Clarendon, grieved by the uselessness of his attempt to awaken her filial feelings, retired with a heavy heart.

Whilst such were the proceedings of the younger sister, the elder, in Holland, was acting a part, the turpitude of which, it might be supposed, no fanatical self-deception could veil from her own conscience. Her deepest guilt was the falsehood by which she sought to deceive her father relative to the preparations being made in Holland for the invasion of England, which she repeatedly assured him were merely for the usual service of the emperor. This untruth Mary repeated constantly to her unfortunate father, who, until the middle of September, remained utterly trustful in his daughter's integrity; insomuch, that about this time he sent his faithful servant the late envoy, Bevil Skelton, to the Tower for too warmly insisting "that the princess of Orange's letters declaring that the armament at Holland was but for the service of the emperor of Germany, were utter deceit, as he had just been recalled from Holland, and knew it was to invade England." A very few days, however, convinced the unhappy father of the truth, as may be discovered by his letter to her, dated September 21st.²

"JAMES II. TO HIS DAUGHTER MARY.

"Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1688.

"All the discourse here is about the great preparations making in Holland, and what the great fleet, which is coming out to sea from thence, is to do. *A little time will show.*"³

¹ Clarendon Diary, vol. ii. p. 191.

² Lamberty, vol. i. p. 298.

³ Additional MS., 4163, folio 1; British Museum.

"JAMES II. TO HIS DAUGHTER MARY.

"Whitehall, Sept. 25, 1688.

"I see by yours of the 20th inst., that the prince of Orange was gone to the Hague; and from thence, that he was arrived. What his business is there at this time, I do really believe you are not acquainted with, nor with the resolution he has taken, which alarms all people here very much."¹

The calmness of the succeeding letter, written under the utter conviction that his son-in-law was about to invade him, in profound peace, is very remarkable. For, whatsoever injury James II. might meditate against the church of England, Mary and her husband had received nothing but good from him:—

"JAMES II. TO HIS DAUGHTER MARY.²

"Whitehall, Sept. 28, 1688.

"This evening I had yours of the 4th, from Dieren, by which I find you were then to go to the Hague, being sent for by the prince. I suppose it is to inform you of his design of coming to England, which he has been so long a contriving. I hope it will have been as great a surprise to you³ as it was to me, when I first heard it, being sure it is not in your nature to approve of so unjust an undertaking. I have been all this day so busy, to endeavour to be in some condition to defend myself from so unjust and unexpected an attempt, that I am almost tired, and so I shall say no more but that I shall always have as much kindness for you as you will give me leave to have."

These letters were followed by others, which, in their parental simplicity, must have been heart-rending to any one not exactly provided with a heart of marble. The evident failure of physical strength expressed by the old father, the worn-out hero of many a hard battle, while making ready to repel the hostility of his children, ought to have been agonizing to the daughter.

"JAMES II. TO HIS DAUGHTER MARY.

"Whitehall, Oct. 2, 1688.

"I was this morning abroad to take the air, and to see some batteries I have made below Woolwich for the defence of the river. And since I came back, I have been so very busy to prepare things for the invasion intended, that I could not write till now, that 'tis near midnight, so that you might not wonder if my letter be short. For news, you will have it from others, for really I am very weary; so shall end, which I do, with assuring you of my continuing as kind to you as you can desire."⁴

The tone of calm sorrow is remarkable in the last and most tender of these epistles. It will be seen, by the date, that

¹ Additional MS., 4163, folio 1; British Museum.² Ibid.³ Here the king alludes to Mary's often repeated asseverations to him regarding this force.⁴ Additional MS., 4163, folio 1, Birch; British Museum.

the correspondence between the father and daughter was constant, even down to a few days of the landing of his enemy. Surely this letter, gentle and reasonable as it is, still searching for excuses, and hoping against hope that he had the sympathy of his child, persuading himself, and quite willing to persuade her, that she did not participate in aught against him, is replete with touching pathos. The old Greek tragedians often imagined such situations; they could grandly paint the feelings natural to a mind torn between the clashing interests of filial and conjugal love, just as the old monarch supposes here was the case with his Mary; but neither poet nor moralist has described conduct like that of the royal heroine of the revolution of 1688.

“KING JAMES TO HIS DAUGHTER MARY.

“Whitelhall, Oct. 9, 1688.

“I had no letter from you by the last post, which you see does not hinder me from writing to you now, not knowing, certainly, what may have hindered you from doing it. I easily believe you may be embarrassed how to write to me, now that the unjust design of the prince of Orange’s invading me is so public. And though I know you are a good wife, and ought to be so, yet for the same reason I must believe you will be still as good a daughter to a father that has always loved you so tenderly, and that has never done the least thing to make you doubt it. I shall say no more, and believe you very uneasy all this time, for the concern you must have for a husband and a father. You shall still find me kind to you, if you desire it.”¹

Perhaps this was the last letter that passed at this crisis from the father to the daughter. It does honour to the king, for here we see the patient and much-enduring love of the parent. It is a letter, the retrospection of which must have cut deep into the conscience, if “Mary the daughter,” ever reviewed the past in the lone silent watches of the night.

While James II. was thus writing to the elder princess, his faithful brother-in-law, Clarendon, was labouring to awake some filial fears in the obtuse mind of his niece, Anne. It was more than a fortnight before he could obtain another conference with her, for she avoided all his attempts at private conversation. He visited her, however, in the evening of October 10, when she made an observation regarding her father’s evident anguish of mind. Lord Clarendon told her

¹ Additional MS., 4163, folio 1, Birch; British Museum.

“that it was her duty to speak freely to the king, which would be a comfort to him.” To this the princess made no reply. Clarendon soon after attended the royal levee at Whitehall. There king James told him the news, that the prince of Orange had embarked with all the Dutch troops, and would sail with the first favourable wind. “I have nothing,” added the unfortunate father, “by this day’s post from my daughter, the princess of Orange, and it is the first time I have missed hearing from her for a long time.”¹ He never heard from her again. Lord Clarendon almost forced an interview with his niece Anne. “I told her,” he writes in his journal, “most of what the king had said. I earnestly pressed her to speak to him. I entreated her to be the means of prevailing on him to hear some of his faithful old friends; but,” he bitterly adds, “she would do nothing!”

Just at this time were reports that the Dutch expedition was scattered and injured by heavy October gales. James II. ordered the examination to take place before his privy council relative to the birth of the prince of Wales. Lord Clarendon, as the uncle of the princesses whose claims to the British throne were apparently superseded by the birth of their brother, was requested to be present at the depositions taken by the numerous witnesses on oath.² He had never for a moment entertained a doubt on the subject, and he seems to think that the most unbelieving must henceforth rest convinced that the report of a spurious child was a calumny. The princess, his niece, was at her levee when, on the morning of the 23rd of October, her maternal uncle honestly came to tell her his opinion of the identity of her brother,—simple man! hoping to satisfy and relieve her mind. He had not had the benefit of perusing her private sentiments on the subject as our readers have done; he knew not that a letter written by her hand then existed, declaring “*that she thought it a comfort* that all people in England asserted that the infant prince, her brother, was an impostor.” The princess was dressing for prayers, all

¹ Clarendon Diary, vol. ii. p. 194.

² See the Life of Mary Beatrice of Modena.

her women were about her, and they and their mistress were loud in mirth and jest when lord Clarendon added himself to the group at the toilette. The princess at once plunged boldly and publicly into the discussion, which she knew was on her uncle's mind. "Fine discourse," she exclaimed,¹ "you heard at council yesterday;" and then she made herself very merry with the whole affair, laughing loud and long; and as her dressing proceeded, her women put in their jests. Her uncle was scandalized and disgusted by the scene. "I was," he says, "amazed at her behaviour, but I thought it unfit to say any thing then. I whispered to her royal highness, to request that she would give me leave to speak with her in private. 'It grows late,' replied the princess, 'and I must hasten to prayers; but you can come at any time, except this afternoon.' So I went home. In the evening my brother Lawrence was with me. I told him all concerning the princess Anne. I begged him to go and talk to her. 'It will signify *nothing*,'" emphatically replied the other uncle of the princess.

The wish of lord Clarendon, in seeking these interviews with his niece, was to awaken her filial affection to a sense of her father's danger; and if he could effect this, he meant to induce her to become the mediatrix between his majesty and his loyal people for the security of the church of England, obtaining at the same time a guarantee that her infant brother should be brought up in that faith. Clarendon dreaded as much danger to that beloved church from the dissenting prince who aspired to be its head, as from the Roman-catholic head then in authority. James was injuring the church by storm; William, whom he well knew, would proceed by sap: one wounded, the other would paralyse. In the afternoon, lord Clarendon paid another visit to the princess, his niece. She made many excuses to avoid a conference with him. "I fancy," he remarks, in his journal, "that she has no mind to talk to me." Anne certainly anticipated the reproof her uncle was resolved to administer for her odious conduct at his former visit. Lord

¹ Clarendon Diary, vol. ii. p. 196.

Clarendon asked her, "If she had received any letters from the princess of Orange?"—"No," said the princess, "I have not had any for a long while;" and added, "that her sister *never* wrote to her of any of these matters." How falsely she spoke, her uncle could not tell so well as the readers of her previous letters.

Lord Clarendon visited the princess two days later. She was dressing, but as lady Churchill was present, he resolved to delay the admonition he was waiting for a suitable opportunity to administer. Two days after, he found her at home. "She came," he says, "out of her closet very quickly, and told me that she was sorry she had disappointed me so often when I desired to speak to her, and she now wished to know what I had to say." Then the reproof which Anne had so well deserved was administered. "I told her," continues her uncle, "that I was extremely surprised and shocked the other day, to find her royal highness speak so slightly regarding her family affairs, and above all, to suffer her women to break their unseemly jests regarding the birth of her brother." The princess replied, "Sure! you cannot but hear the common rumours concerning him?"—"I do hear very strange rumours, indeed," said her uncle, "as every one must do who lives publicly in the world; but there is no colour for these."—"I will not say that I believe them," replied the princess; "but I needs must say, that the queen's behaviour was very odd,"—and here Anne, although a young woman, and speaking to a man, used expressions of that vulgar coarseness, of which no examples are to be found like hers, either from the lips or pen of a British princess, even in the ages of semi-barbarism.¹ "Possibly," replied Clarendon, "the queen did not know the reports."—"I am sure," answered the princess Anne, "the king [James II.] knew of them; for, as he has been sitting by me in my own chamber, he would speak of the idle stories that were given out of the queen not being likely to have a child, laughing at them; therefore I cannot but wonder that there was no more care taken to satisfy

¹ Diary of Henry earl of Clarendon.

the world." This speech proves that James II. spent his time occasionally sitting by his daughter's side, and conversing familiarly with her. Clarendon asked, "If her royal highness had, upon those occasions, said any thing to the king her father?" The princess Anne owned "that she had not."—"Then," said her uncle, "your father might very well think that you minded the reports no more than he did, since you said nothing to him, even when he gave you opportunities; when, in my humble opinion, if you had felt the least dissatisfaction, you ought to have discovered it for the public good, as well as for your own sake, and that of the princess of Orange."—"If I had said any thing to the king," replied the princess Anne, "he might have been angry, and then God knows what might have happened."—"If you had no mind to have spoken to the king yourself," observed her uncle, "you have friends, who would have managed to serve you without prejudice to you. And remember," continued the stern royalist, "this is the first time you have said any thing to me, although I have given you occasion to open your mind, by urging your speaking to the king your father since these alarms of invasion." He concluded by begging the princess "to consider the miseries which might be entailed upon these kingdoms, even in case that God might bless the king her father with more sons. And he requested her to do something which might publicly prove her satisfaction that her brother was no spurious child." To all this, she made no answer. It was not indeed a very palatable suggestion to the princess Anne, which bade her look forward to a succession of brothers, considering the infinity of pains she had taken to invalidate the birth of the only one in existence.

The next day, the king ordered his whole privy council to wait upon his daughter, the princess Anne, with copies of the depositions concerning the birth of the prince of Wales. In the evening they brought them to her in state. Upon receiving the depositions from the lords of the privy council, the princess replied, "My lords, this was not necessary; for I have so much duty for the king, that his word is more to

me than all these depositions.”¹ Such were the outward expressions of the lips of the princess Anne, which were in utter contradiction to her private words and writings. She need not have soiled her mind and conscience with duplicity, and dark and dirty intrigues. England would have denied the succession to an heir bred a Roman-catholic, even if his sisters had been truthful women, likewise grateful and dutiful daughters. Lord Clarendon was in the ante-room, and heard the fair-seeming reply of his niece, and when the lords of council went out, he entered her presence. “The princess,” he said, “was pleased to tell me the answer she gave to the council. I hope,” returned Clarendon, “that there now remains no suspicion with your royal highness.” She made no answer.²

¹ Diary and Correspondence of Henry lord Clarendon, edited by S. W. Singer, esq., vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.