

MARY II.

QUEEN-REGNANT OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

CHAPTER VIII.

Great abilities of Mary II.—Birth and death of princess Anne's daughter—King sails for the Hague—Queen again governs *solus*—Condemns her father's friends to death—Remonstrances of lord Preston's child—Torture of Nevill Payne—Danger of the king—His praises of the queen—Her concerns with the church—Queen's danger at the conflagration of Whitehall—Takes refuge in St. James's-park—Insulted by the Jacobites—Return of the king—Queen's negotiation with Dr. Tillotson—King's departure—Queen appoints Dr. Tillotson primate—Promotes Dr. Hooper—Rage of the king—Grief of the queen—Her differences with her sister and George of Denmark—Anne demands the Garter for Marlborough—Her letter to the king—Contemptuous refusal of the queen—Anne and her favourites malcontent—They write to James II.—Queen's persecution of William Penn, the quaker—Queen's letter to lady Russell—Her conversation with Dr. Hooper—Return of the king—Queen reproached by him—His cynical remark on her—Princess Anne's letter to her father—Queen's open quarrel with her sister—Letters of the royal sisters on the dismissal of Marlborough—Final rupture and ejection of the Marlboroughs from Whitehall—Princess Anne departs with them—She borrows Sion-house of the duchess of Somerset—Queen Mary's reception of her sister at her drawing-room in Kensington-palace—Burnet's private opinions of the conduct of the queen and the princess Anne—She is deprived of her guards by the king and queen—Departure of the king.

THE abilities of queen Mary, and the importance of her personal exertions as a sovereign, have been as much underrated, as the goodness of her heart and Christian excellences have been over-estimated. She really reigned alone the chief part of the six years that she was queen of Great Britain. On her talents for government, and all her husband owed to her sagacity, intelligence, and exclusive affection to him, there is little need to dwell; her own letters fully develop the best part of her character and conduct. William III., with the exception of the first year of his election to the throne of the British empire, was seldom

resident more than four months together in England, and would scarcely have tarried that space of time, but for the purpose of inducing the parliament to advance enormous sums to support the war he carried on in Flanders, where he commanded as generalissimo of the confederated armies of the German empire against France, as heretofore, but with this difference, that all the wealth of the British kingdoms was turned to supply the funds for those fields of useless slaughter, the prospect of obtaining such sinews of war having been the main object of William's efforts to dethrone his uncle.

It is worthy of remark, that Dr. Hooper, the friend and chaplain of queen Mary, held her consort's abilities in as low estimation as he always did his character and religious principles, while he pointed out the great talents of the princess, and said, "that if her husband retained his throne, it would be by her skill and talents for governing. Few gave him credit for this assertion, but all came round to his idea when they had seen her at the helm for some months."¹ The king did not leave her so soon as she had dreaded in the summer, but his stay in England was a mere series of preparations for his spring campaign. Lord Marlborough arrived before the close of the autumn from Ireland, where he had met with brilliant success in reducing Cork and Kinsale: he had an audience^o of thanks from the king and queen at Kensington. Notwithstanding the flattering reception they gave him, he saw that they remembered with secret displeasure his interference when parliament settled the princess Anne's income. At St. James's-palace, the princess gave birth to a daughter, who was baptized Mary, after the queen, but the infant died in the course of a few hours.

The king left the queen to embark for the Hague at a very dangerous and unsettled time, just on the eve of the explosion of a plot for the subversion of their government. He took leave of her January 1^o, 1690-1, and embarked with admiral Rooke and a fleet of twelve ships of the line.

¹ Hooper MS., edited in Trevor's William III., vol. ii.

The queen was left to govern, by the assistance of the same junta of nine, who were called by the discontented "the nine kings." The departure of William was celebrated by some English Jacobite impertinences in rhyme, which were said or sung by more persons than history records; and these lines note what history does not, the increasing corpulence of her majesty.

"DEPARTURE OF KING WILLIAM FROM QUEEN MARY.¹

"He at the Boyne his father beat,
 And mauled the Irish Turk;
 The rebel he did make retreat,
 With Ginkell and with Kirke.
 But now he is to Holland gone,
 That country to defend,
 And left the queen and us alone,
 No states have such a friend.
 The royal dame can fill at once
 Her husband's triple throne,
 For she is thrice as big as he,
 And bears three queens in one."

The minute traits pertaining to the queen's sayings and doings, and personal peculiarities, indicate that the authors of these satires were literally about her path, and stationed round her private apartments.

"Ye whigs and ye tories, repair to Whitehall,
 And there ye shall see majestical Mall;
 She fills up the throne in the absence of Willy,
 Never was monarch so chattering and silly.
 She's governed in council by marquis Carmarthen,
 And praises the virtues of lady Fitzharding;
 She eats like a horse, is as fat as a sow,
 And she's led about by 'republic Jack Howe.'²

"Republic Jack Howe" was her majesty's vice-chamberlain; he was remarked for his great enmity to king William. The sneer at the queen's praises of the virtue of Elizabeth Villiers, lady Fitzharding, is remarkable in the foregoing lines. Elizabeth Villiers is satirized as "Betty the beauty,"³ an epithet little consistent with Swift's opinion of her person.

¹ Lansdowne MS., British Museum. MS. Songs, collected for Robert Harley, earl of Oxford.

² Ibid. Likewise in the MSS. of sir Robert Strange, with some undesirable variations.

³ Ibid.

The very day after the king's departure, the important trial of lord Preston and Mr. Ashton (a gentleman of the household of the exiled queen Mary Beatrice) took place, for conspiring the restoration of James II. Lord Preston and Ashton were found guilty, on slender evidence, and condemned to death. It is said, that the daughter of lord Preston, lady Catharine Graham, a little girl of but nine years old, saved her father's life by a sudden appeal to the feelings of queen Mary. The poor child was, during the trial of her father, left in the queen's apartments at Windsor-castle, where he lately had an establishment as James II.'s lord chamberlain, which probably, in the violent confusion of events, had not been legally taken from his domestics and family. The day after the condemnation of lord Preston, the queen found the little lady Catharine in St. George's gallery, gazing earnestly on the whole-length picture of James II., which still remains there. Struck with the mournful expression of the young girl's face, Mary asked her hastily, "What she saw in that picture, which made her look on it so particularly?"—"I was thinking," said the innocent child, "how hard it is that *my* father must die for loving yours." The story goes, that the queen, pricked in conscience by this artless reply, immediately signed the pardon of lord Preston, and gave the father back to the child.¹

It is an ungracious task to dispel the illusions that are pleasant to all generous minds. Glad should we be to record as a truth that the pardon of lord Preston sprang from the melting heart of queen Mary; but, alas! the real circumstances of the case will not suffer the idea to be cherished for a moment. Lord Preston was only spared in order to betray by his evidence the deep-laid ramifications of the plot, which compromised many of the nobility and clergy; above all, lord Preston's confessions were made use of to convict his high-spirited coadjutor, young Ashton, to

¹ Dalrymple's History of the Revolution of Great Britain, &c. There are several minutiae the author has supplied from traditions, preserved among her northern relatives.

whose case the appeal of little lady Catharine¹ applied as much as it did to her father. Queen Mary, however, signed the death-warrant of Ashton without any relenting, and he was executed. He died with great courage, and prayed for king James with his last breath.

Lord Preston's revelations implicated the queen's uncle, lord Clarendon, who continued under very severe incarceration in the Tower during her regency. The extensive conspiracy was connected with the formidable coalition in Scotland, which the queen had partially detected in the summer, when it will be remembered that Nevill Payne, the Jacobite tutor to the young earl of Mar, had been arrested by her orders during the absence of king William in Ireland. Her majesty had written, before the return of the king, it seems, several autograph letters to the privy council of Scotland, in which she had made some ominous inquiries as to what had become of Mr. Nevill Payne.² These inquiries were, to be sure, blended with many pious expressions, and as many recommendations "to praise God," which hints in state-documents, unfortunately, are too frequently followed by some unusual perpetration of cruelty to his creatures. The result was, the following infliction on her father's faithful and courageous servant. As it is difficult to abstain from indignant language in such a case, we will only use that addressed to the principal minister of her majesty for Scotland, who was then at court, expediting the business relating to this affair with the queen:—

"TO LORD MELVILLE.³

"Yesterday, in the afternoon, Nevill Paine was questioned upon some things that were not of the greatest concern, and had but *gentle* torture given him,

¹ Lady Catharine Graham afterwards married the representative of the heroic line of Widdrington, whose fortunes fell in the subsequent northern struggles for the restoration of the house of Stuart, never to rise again.

² Melville Papers, pp. 582-585.

³ Letter from the earl of Craford, at Edinburgh, to lord Melville, at Mary's court in London. Nevill Payne soon afterwards died of the effects of these cruelties. Great difficulty was experienced by the author of this *Life* in discovering the situation in life of Mr. Nevill Payne; at last, from Cunningham the historian's abuse of him as the preceptor to the young earl of Mar, it appears that he was a clergyman of the Scotch episcopalian church. Cunningham himself was preceptor to the duke of Argyle, lord Mar's opponent at Sheriffmuir.

being resolved to repeat it this day ; which, accordingly, about six this evening, we inflicted on both his thumbs and one of his legs with all the severity that was consistent with humanity, [such humanity !] even to that pitch *that we could not preserve life and have gone farther* ; but without the least success, for his answers to all our interrogatories were negatives. Yea, he was so manly and resolute under his suffering, that such of the council as were not acquainted with all the evidences were *bungled*, [staggered,] and began to give him charity that he might be innocent. It was surprising to me and others that flesh and blood could, without fainting, endure the heavy penance he was in for two hours."

It is some satisfaction to perceive that the narrator of this atrocious scene was ashamed and conscience-stricken, and even sick, at the part he had played as chief-inquisitor in this hideous business, for he adds,—

"My stomach is, truly, so out of tune, by being a witness to an act so far cross to my natural temper, that I am fitter for rest than any thing else ; but the dangers from *such conspirators to the person of our incomparable king* have prevailed over me, in the council's name, *to have been the prompter of the executioner* to increase the torture to so high a pitch."

While these appalling scenes were proceeding in London and Edinburgh, the life of the consort of the queen had been exposed to imminent danger from the elements. King William had made the coast of Holland two days after his departure, but found that the fleet in which he sailed dared approach no nearer to the coast at Goree than four miles, for a dense frost-fog was settled over the shore, and wrapped every object in its impenetrable shroud. The king was extremely anxious to arrive at the Hague, where their high mightinesses the States-deputies were waiting for him to open their sessions, and they had in the previous year expressed great jealousy of his long absence in his new sovereignty. Notwithstanding the fog, some fishermen ventured on board the king's ship, and reported that Goree was not a mile and a half distant ; the king, therefore, resolved to be rowed on shore in his barge, into which he went with the duke of Ormonde, and some of the English nobility of his suite. In a few minutes the royal barge was totally lost in the fog, and could neither find the shore nor regain the fleet. Night fell, and the waves became rough with a ground-swell. The king laid down in the bottom of the open boat, only sheltered by his cloak ; the waves washed over him several times, and the danger seemed great. Some one near the

king expressed his despair at their situation. "What! are you afraid to die with me?" asked his majesty, sternly.¹ At day-break the shore was discovered, and the king landed safely at Aranick Haak, and from thence went to the Hague, where he was received triumphantly, with illuminations and all possible rejoicings. It was his first state entrance into his old dominions as king of Great Britain, which the Dutch firmly believed was as much his conquest as it had been that of Norman William in the eleventh century. In all the pageantry at the Hague he was greeted with the cognomen of William "the Conqueror," to the shame and confusion of face of the duke of Ormonde, and many English nobles he brought in his train. The earl of Nottingham, the friend and confidential adviser of queen Mary, who was present at this entry, made some complimentary remark on the acclamations of the Dutch. William replied, "Ah, my lord! if my queen were but here, you would see a difference. Where they now give one shout for me, they would give ten for her."² Perhaps his recent danger had caused his heart to be unusually tender in its conjugal reminiscences.

It will be allowed that queen Mary must have possessed considerable personal and mental courage, when it is remembered that she was left alone at the helm of government during the awful events which marked the spring of 1690-1, when the execution of the devoted Ashton, and others of her father's friends, took place; likewise the incarceration of her eldest uncle. Far more dangerous was the step she had to take in dispossessing the apostolic archbishop of Canterbury, and other disinterested clergy of the church of England, who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to herself and her spouse. Nor could the queen have succeeded in this bold undertaking had she not been supported by a standing army, and if that army had not been blended with a numerous portion of foreigners: it was likewise under the unwonted terrors of the lash. Infinitely was the church of England beloved by the commonalty, and great reason

¹ Barnard's History of England, p. 525.

² Echard's History of the Revolution.

had the people for manifesting towards its clergy the most ardent gratitude.

Those who are observers of historical facts, will readily concur in the remark, that all the changes in our national modes of worship have been effected by queens. Without dwelling on the tradition that the empress Helena, a British lady, planted the gospel in England, it may be remembered that Ethelburga, the wife of Edwin king of Northumbria, and her mother, revived the Christian religion by the agency of Paulinus; that Anne Boleyn caused Henry VIII. to open his eyes to the Reformation; that Katharine Parr's influence preserved the present endowments of our church; that Mary I. restored the Roman hierarchy to a feeble but cruel exercise of power, which was triumphantly wrested from that still formidable body by the able policy of queen Elizabeth. We have here to record innovations of a scarcely less important nature, which were effected by queen Mary II. in the established church of England. Evidence of the changes in queen Mary's own mind and conduct, from the days of her youth, when Hooper and Ken were her pastors, has been carefully and painfully collected and laid before our readers, who will, without difficulty, analyze the reasons why decadence and sorrow paralysed the church of England for nearly a century after the sway of this highly praised woman. When archbishop Sancroft suffered imprisonment for having resisted the rapid advances of James II. to place the Roman church on an equality with the church of England, all disinterested observers of history will allow that our established religion had attained a degree of perfection not often beheld on this earth; nor were the excellences of her clergy at that period confined to their mere learning and literary merit, although Hall, Hooker, George Herbert, Taylor, Barrow, Sanderson, and Ken, rise to memory as among the classics of their century. Recently tried by the persecutions of Cromwell, and still further purified in 1672 by the abrogation of the worst part of the penal laws, the church of England was thus prepared to offer, in the reign of Mary II., that great example of self-denial for

conscience' sake, which ought never to be forgotten by history.

Mary temporized for upwards of a year, in the astute expectation that the possession of the power, dignity, and splendid revenues of the see of Canterbury, and, above all, that the aversion which old age ever has to change of life and usages, would at last altogether shake the principles of archbishop Sancroft into some compromise with expediency. As she found that this was vain, she declared his deprivation, and warned him to quit Lambeth, February 1, 1690-1. Six other learned and disinterested prelates of the church of England,¹ with several hundred divines, were deprived by queen Mary on the same day.² Sancroft took no notice of this act, but continued to live at the palace, exercising the same charity and hospitality as before. Bishop Ken remonstrated, and read a protestation in the market-place of Wells, pointing out the illegality of the queen's proceedings. Finding this was unavailing, Ken, who carried not away a sixpence from his bishopric, retired to the charity of his nephew, the rev. Isaac Walton, who gave him refuge in his prebendal house in Salisbury-close. No successor had as yet been appointed to the see of Canterbury. Dean Tillotson was supposed to be the future archbishop. It was given out that the queen (regarding whose attachment to the church of England a political cry was raised) had the sole management of ecclesiastical affairs, and that the choice of all the dignitaries was her own unbiassed act. Archbishop Sancroft observed, "that he had committed no crime against church or state which could authorize his degradation, and that if the queen wished for his place at Lambeth, she must send and thrust him out of it by personal violence." He, however, packed up his beloved books, and waited for that hour. Thousands of swords would have been flashing in the defence

¹ Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, and Lake, bishop of Chichester, supplied the places of Lloyd of St. Asaph, and Trelawney of Bristol, and thus the number of the "sacred seven," who had equally resisted the corruptions of Rome and the innovations of dissent, was completed.

² D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*. Some say seven hundred clergy, others four hundred. Further information on this important point is afforded by Palin's *History of the Church of England, from 1688 to 1717*.

of the venerable primate if he would have endured the appeal to arms, but passive resistance he deemed the only, the proper demeanour for a Christian prelate of the reformed church. The people of the present age have forgotten the sneers that prevailed against these principles throughout a great part of the last century, and therefore are better able to appreciate conduct, assuredly more worthy of primitive Christianity than the mammon-worshipping seventeenth century would allow. A dead pause ensued. Queen Mary was perplexed as to the person whom she could appoint to fill the archiepiscopal seat of Canterbury. Her tutor, Compton bishop of London, had the ambition to desire this high appointment; but his extreme ignorance, his military education, and the perpetual blunders he made in his functions, would not permit such advancement.¹

The queen was, at this important juncture, earnestly solicited in behalf of her eldest uncle, Henry lord Clarendon, by his friend Katharine, the dowager lady Ranelagh, and by his brother, her uncle Lawrence, earl of Rochester, particularly, for some relaxation in the severity of his durance in the Tower. The reader will recall the queen's own extraordinary narrative of her committal of her eldest uncle to that fortress in the commencement of her last regency. Attainder and trial for high treason were now hanging over the head of Clarendon, whose health, moreover, was sinking under the depression of solitary confinement. Meantime, lady Ranelagh had previously negotiated the armistice between the queen and her uncle Rochester, through the agency of Burnet. The executor of Burnet² claims much credit for the generosity of that person, as the queen's uncles always disliked him; yet there was a mixture of policy in the interference, as, to use Burnet's own phraseology, " 'twasn't decent" for the people to see one of the queen's uncles in durance in the Tower, and another in estrangement and impoverishment, because they beheld the exaltation of their

¹ With the idea of making his court, however, to the king for this purpose, bishop Compton had left his see, and accompanied him in his voyage to Holland.

² Life of Burnet, p. 272.

sister's daughter with horror. Had they been brothers of the queen's step-mother, such conduct might have been expected; but that the brothers of her *mother* should afford such examples, left on her cause a glaring reproach, which could not too soon be removed.

In one of lady Ranelagh's¹ remonstrances on the subject of the enmity between queen Mary and her uncles, she thus speaks of the queen: "This same royal person would not, I think, act unbecoming herself, or the eminent station God has placed her in, in assisting five innocent children, who have the honour to be related to her royal² mother, (who did still, with great tenderness, consider her own family when she was most raised above it,) especially when, in assisting them, her majesty will need only to concern herself to preserve a property made theirs by the law of England, which, as queen of this kingdom, she is obliged to maintain." It is probable that the allusion here made, is to some grant or pension formerly given by the Stuart sovereigns in aid of the maintenance of the ennobled family of Hyde, the titles of which, howsoever well deserved they might be, were not supported on the broad basis of hereditary estates,—a circumstance which places the conscientious opposition of Henry earl of Clarendon to his royal niece in a more decided light, and accounts, at the same time, for the compliance of her uncle Lawrence, earl of Rochester, after long reluctance. "I know not," says the queen's younger uncle, Lawrence, "whether the queen can do me any good in this affair, but I believe her majesty cannot but wish she could; however, I think I should have been very wanting to my children if I had not laid this case most humbly before her majesty, lest at one time she herself might say I might have been too negligent in making applications to her, which, having now done, I leave the rest, with all possible submission, to her

¹ Katharine lady Ranelagh was the dowager lady of that name, the daughter of Richard, first earl of Cork; she was nearly connected with the queen's maternal relatives.

² Anne Hyde, duchess of York, called "royal" by lady Ranelagh, because she was by marriage a member of the royal family.

own judgment, and to the reflection that *some good-natured moments* may incline her towards my family."

During the earl of Clarendon's hard confinement, his more complying brother thus writes of him: "Such a petition might be presented with a better grace [to the queen] if he were once out of the Tower on bail, than it would be while he is under this *close confinement*."¹ Again the brother strives to awaken some compassion in the heart of the queen, by pathetic reminiscences of their illustrious father, the grand-sire on whose knees Mary had been reared at Twickenham. He writes to Burnet,—

"I will allow you, as a servant of the queen, to have as great a detestation of the contrivance,² as you can wish. But when I consider you, as you once were a concerned friend, to have a respect for his family, and particularly for our father, [the great earl of Clarendon,] who not only lost all the honours and preferments of this world, but even the comforts of it too, for the integrity and uprightness of his heart, you must forgive me if I conjure you, by all that is sacred, that you do not suffer this next heir to my good father's name to go down with sorrow to the grave. I cannot but think that the queen would do (and would be glad to avow it too,) some great thing for the memory of *that gentleman*, though long in his grave."

The queen's grandfather, lord Clarendon, is designated by the expression "that gentleman;" yet all the bearings of her conduct prove that Mary had as little tenderness for her maternal relatives as for her father, for in all her correspondence extant, the words "my mother" are not to be found traced by her pen. Yet this biography brings instances in which that parent's memory, and even that of her grandfather, were pressed on the queen's recollection. "I hope," continues her uncle Lawrence, still pleading against the attainder of his eldest brother by the government of his niece,—

"I hope there may be a charitable inclination to spare the *debris* of our broken family, for the sake of him that was the raiser of it. A calamity of the nature that I now deprecate has something in it so frightful, and *on some accounts so unnatural*, that I beg you [Burnet] for God's sake, from an angry man, to grow an advocate for me and for the family on this account."³

The last of these letters is dated New Park, April 2, 1691.

¹ Burnet's Life, p. 286.

² The Ashton and Preston plot, for participation in which the queen's eldest uncle was then imprisoned.

³ Burnet's Life, p. 286.

It is doubtful whether the unfortunate lord Clarendon was liberated from the Tower until after the death of his old friend, admiral lord Dartmouth, committed to the Tower by queen Mary the day after the date of the above letter. Dartmouth died of grief and regret, after a few months' duration; and when the queen at last liberated her eldest uncle, he was to hold himself a prisoner within the limits of his country-house.

Queen Mary cherished a strong desire to add the noble French colony of Canada to her transatlantic dominions. In the preceding winter of 1691, Quebec was summoned to surrender to king William and queen Mary. The governor of Quebec, Frontinac, replied, "that he knew neither king William nor queen Mary; but, whosoever they might be, he should hold out the garrison given in charge from his master, Louis XIV., against them."¹ Under the queen's regency, a detachment of British troops was despatched to invade the colony, but the expedition was unsuccessful. Canada continued in the power of the original colonists for more than half a century.

King William returned to England to procure supplies of money and troops, April $\frac{3}{15}$, 1691. The night of his arrival, a tremendous fire had reduced the principal part of Whitehall to ashes, which presented only heaps of smoking ruins as he came up the river on the following morning. The conflagration commenced in the Portsmouth apartments, which had been the original cause of the enmity between the queen and her sister Anne. It was occasioned by linen igniting in the laundry. The Jacobite writers accuse king William of setting fire to Whitehall, because he could not bear to inhabit the former palaces of his uncles, and in the hope of excluding the public, who claimed, by prescription too ancient to be then controverted, the right of free entrance while their sovereigns sat in state at meat, or took their diversions. The demolition of Hampton-Court, the desolation of Greenwich-palace, and the desertion of Whitehall for Kensington, were quoted

¹ Dangeau, vol. ii. p. 369.

by the malcontents. The conflagration of Whitehall certainly originated by accident, for queen Mary, who was a very heavy sleeper, nearly lost her life in the flames. The Portsmouth suite being contiguous to the queen's side, or privy-lodgings, the flames had communicated to the latter before the queen could be awakened, and she was dragged, half asleep, in her night-dress into St. James's-park. Here new adventures befell her, for colonel Oglethorpe and sir John Fenwick, two gentlemen devoted to her father, leaders of the Jacobite party, seeing her consternation, followed her through the park to St. James's, reviling her by the lurid light of the flames of Whitehall, and telling her "that her filial sins would come home to her."—"She was notoriously insulted by them,"¹ repeats another manuscript authority. "The long gallery was then burnt, most of the royal apartments, with those of the king's officers and servants." Edmund Calamy is the only printed annalist of the times who alludes to the reproaches made to the queen. This author is too timid to enter into detail. However, those who compare his hints with our quotations, will see that these curious facts are confirmed by that respectable and honest nonconformist. Without particularizing where the offence was committed, Calamy confirms our MS. evidence in these words, speaking of sir John Fenwick: "He had taken several opportunities of affronting queen Mary in places of public resort."²

Many invaluable portraits and treasures of antiquity belonging to the ancient regality of England were consumed with Whitehall-palace. Some nameless poet of that day commemorated the event in these lines:—

" See the imperial palace's remains,
Where nothing now but desolation reigns;
Fatal presage of monarchy's decline,
And extirpation of the regal line."³

Since the pecuniary assistance which Dr. Tillotson had

¹ Birch MS. 4466, British Museum. Diary of Mr. Sampson, p. 43. Another contemporary manuscript repeats the same circumstances of the danger and distress of the queen, of which, no doubt, more detailed particulars exist in private letters, in the unpublished archives of different noble houses.

² Life of Calamy, vol. i. p. 388. ³ "Faction Displayed;" state poem.

rendered on the memorable experiment in popularity at Canterbury, king William had marked him for the highest advancement in the church of England. His majesty considered that Dr. Tillotson was perfectly willing to receive this appointment; nevertheless, some obstacle, stronger than the conventional refusal of episcopal promotion, seemed to deter him. Dr. Tillotson told the king, at last, "that he was married; that there had previously been but one or two married archbishops, and never an archbishop's widow; and as he had no provision wherewith to endow his wife, he considered, in case of her widowhood, it would be an unseemly sight if she left Lambeth to beg alms."¹ The king replied, "if that was his objection, the queen would settle all to his satisfaction, and that of Mrs. Tillotson." Accordingly, after a long interview with queen Mary, Dr. Tillotson declared "he was ready to take the place of archbishop Sancroft, as soon as her majesty found it vacant." That matter, however, promised to be full of difficulty, for Sancroft persisted in his assertion, "that if the queen wanted Lambeth, she must thrust him out of it." King William left her majesty *solus* to encounter all the embarrassments of the archbishop's deprivation and of the new appointment, as he sailed for Flanders, May 11th, 1691. The queen nominated Dr. Tillotson to the primacy, May 31st, 1691. She sent a mandate, signed by her own hand, warning Sancroft to quit Lambeth in ten days. This he did not obey. The emissaries of the queen finally expelled him from his palace, June 23rd; he took a boat at the stairs the same evening, and crossed the Thames to the Temple, where he remained in a private house till August, when he retired to end his days in his village in Suffolk.²

There was but one pen in the world capable of calumniating Sancroft: that pen belonged to Burnet. He has accused the apostolic man of having amply provided for himself from the revenues of Canterbury; but long before Burnet's books were printed, the circumstances in which Sancroft lived and died were well known to the world. In truth, the deprived

¹ Dr. Birch's Life of Tillotson.

² Biographia Britannica.

archbishop went forth from Lambeth, taking no property but his staff and books: he had distributed all his revenues in charity, and would have been destitute if he had not inherited a little estate in Suffolk. To an ancient but lowly residence, the place of his birth, at Fressingfield, where his ancestors had dwelt respectably, from father to son, for three centuries, archbishop Sancroft retired to live on his private patrimony of fifty pounds per annum. On this modicum he subsisted for the remainder of his days, leading a holy and contented life, venerated by his contemporaries, but almost adored by the simple country-folk of Suffolk for his personal merits. The use to which Sancroft put his savings has been revealed by a biography strictly founded on documents, the modest voice of which has, in our times, put to open shame his slanderer. From it we learn, that Sancroft began to devote his savings, when he was only dean of St. Paul's, to amplifying some of those miserable livings which too frequently fall to the lot of the best of the English clergy. The vicarage of Sandon, in Hertfordshire, was thus endowed. Seven livings were augmented by this practical Christian before queen Mary hurled him from his archbishopric: he likewise wrote earnest letters to his rich clergy, recommending them to "aid their poor brethren's livings." One glorious light of our church, Isaac Barrow, followed the example of his friend. Our church has reason to bless Sancroft daily, for his self-denial and charitable exertions set the example to the great 'Bounty of queen Anne.'¹

When Dr. Tillotson vacated the deanery of Canterbury to become primate, William sent the queen, from Holland, three names, as those from whom he chose the deanery to

¹ Burnet *must* have known these facts. In his printed history he accuses him in one page of enriching himself, and on the page opposite he is contemned for poverty. Any reader who wishes to see documentary proofs of Sancroft's good works and of Burnet's slander, may turn to Dr. D'Oyley's *Life of Sancroft*. The attack on Sancroft for enriching himself does not occur in Burnet's manuscript; *there* he only reviles and despises him for his miserable poverty. It is possible that the contradictory statement was introduced by Mackey "the spy," his executor. Collate with Harleian MSS. Burnet's *Own Times*, vol. i. pp. from 148 to 181.

be supplied,—thus usurping the ancient functions of the chapters of old; ¹ a fact in utter contradiction to the assertion that he permitted his queen to exercise entirely the function of head of the church of England. Mary *did* venture to exercise the limited choice he allowed, so far as to appoint Dr. Hooper dean of Canterbury. The king supposed that his enmity to her former almoner was sufficiently known to his submissive partner; for it became evident, that although he had put Hooper's name on the list, it was only to give that divine the mortification of being rejected by her. William's rage was extreme when he found that he was thus taken at his word. One of the queen's ladies, who had married in Holland, (without doubt, the countess Zulestein,) wrote to Mrs. Hooper, "that their royal mistress would be bitterly chid on her husband's return." Indeed this, the worthiest appointment made in her reign, cost Mary many tears: "that was too often her case in England," continues our authority, "but in Holland it was daily so."

When the queen obtained the liberty, as she supposed, for this appointment, she sent for Dr. Hooper, by lord Nottingham, to Whitehall, and forthwith nominated him to the deanery. He was greatly surprised, and begged to know which of his livings, Lambeth or Woodhey, she would be pleased he should resign. "Neither," replied the queen. But the conscientious Hooper refused to retain pluralities,² and he laid down Woodhey, worth 300*l.* per annum, before he quitted the royal presence. Queen Mary was glad to give it to another of her chaplains, Dr. Hearn. The queen

¹ The conduct of king William, in this action, presents a most extraordinary antithesis to the ancient functions of the church on the appointment of dignitaries. The heads of chapters, after sitting in convocation in their chapter-houses, presented *three names* to the king, praying him "to name from these churchmen (either of whom the church considered worthy of the office) the one most agreeable to his grace." The monarch did so, and forthwith received homage for the temporalities. It was not considered courteous of the chapter or chapters to give the monarch less choice than three. Sometimes there were six; the larger the number, the more subversive was the custom of fiction deemed.—Brakelonde's Chronicle of St. Edmund's Bury: Camden Society.

² Dr. Hooper was a married man with a family; his example was therefore the more admirable. It must be remembered, that his daughter was the editress of this journal.

required of her old servant to inform her plainly, "why it was that Tillotson was looked upon as a Socinian?" Dr. Hooper attributed the report to the great intimacy between him and Dr. Firmin,¹ who was often seen at his table at Lambeth. This friendship had begun in their youth, and was still continued.²

The calamity of fire seemed to pursue king William and his royal consort. The queen had scarcely welcomed the king on his return to their newly-finished palace of Kensington, when an awful fire broke out there, about seven in the morning, November 10, 1691; it wrapped in flames the stone gallery and the adjacent apartments. When the roar of the fire became audible, William, believing a treacherous attack on his palace was in progress, called loudly for his sword,³ but soon found that the foe was better quelled by a bucket of water. The queen likewise apprehended treason. At last, being convinced the fire was accidental, she descended with the king, as soon as they were dressed, into the garden, when they stood for some hours watching their foot-guards pass buckets of water, until by their activity the conflagration was subdued.⁴

The differences which subsisted between the royal sisters, Mary and Anne, in the winter of 1691, became more publicly apparent, owing to some awkward diplomacy that the king had set his consort to transact relative to prince George of Denmark. On his majesty's departure from England in the preceding May, the prince had asked permission "to serve him as a volunteer at sea;" the king gave his brother-in-law the embrace enjoined by courtly etiquette, but answered him not a word. George of Denmark took silence for consent, prepared his sea-equipage, and sent all on board the ship in which he intended to sail; but king William had left positive orders with queen Mary, "that she was not to

¹ He was the leader of the Socinians in London. We quote the dialogue, not because we have a wish to discuss controversial points, but because queen Mary was one of the speakers.

² Manuscript account of Dr. Hooper. Trevor's *William III.*, vol. ii. p. 472.

³ Tindal's *Con. of Rapin*, p. 76, from which the above incidents have been drawn.

⁴ Defoe's *Tour through Great Britain*, vol. i. p. 12.

suffer prince George to sail with the fleet; yet she was not openly to forbid him to go." Thus the queen had the very difficult diplomatic task enjoined her by her spouse to impede the intentions of her brother-in-law, making it appear, at the same time, as if he staid by his own choice.

The queen, according to lady Marlborough's account,¹ observed her husband's directions exactly: she sent "a very great lord" to that lady, to desire that she would persuade the princess Anne to hinder prince George from his sea-expedition. The queen expected her (lady Marlborough) to accomplish it without letting her mistress know the reason. Lady Marlborough replied, "that it was natural for the princess to wish that her husband should stay at home, out of danger, yet there was doubt whether she would prevail on him to give up his expedition; but that as to herself, she could not undertake to say any thing to the princess, and conceal her reasons for speaking; yet, if she were permitted to use her majesty's name, she would say whatever was desired by her."² But this did not accord with her majesty's views.

The queen had now entered into a league with Lawrence Hyde, earl of Rochester, her younger uncle, who had been prevailed upon, to the indignation of her captive, his elder brother Clarendon, to take the oaths to her government,³ and become one of her ministers. The earl of Rochester, who had been the particular object of the revilings of the princess Anne and her favourite, was at this time sent by queen Mary to explain her pleasure, "that prince George of Denmark was to relinquish his intention of going to sea, which measure was to appear to be his own choice." Prince George replied to this rather unreasonable intimation, "That there had been much talk in London respecting his intention; and as his preparations were very well known, if he sent for his sea-equipage from on board ship, as the queen desired, without giving any reason for such caprice, that he

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 40.

² Diary of Lord Clarendon.

³ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 40.

should make a very ridiculous figure in the eyes of every one." His representation was undoubtedly true; and it was as true that the king and queen would not have had any objection to his incurring contempt by his obedience, in the eyes of the English people. The queen, finding that the prince of Denmark would not submit to the intervention of her will and pleasure in private, was obliged to send her lord chamberlain, Nottingham, in form, positively to forbid his embarkation.¹ "The queen and princess lived, in appearance," continues lady Marlborough, "as if nothing had happened, all that summer. Yet lord Portland, it was well known, had ever a great prejudice to my lord Marlborough; and Elizabeth Villiers, although I had never done her any injury, excepting not making my court to her, was my implacable enemy."²

The princess Anne, instigated by the restless ambition of her favourite, had thought fit to demand the order of the Garter, as a reward due to the military merit of lord Marlborough in Ireland. The request had been made by letter to her brother-in-law:—

"THE PRINCESS ANNE TO KING WILLIAM.³

"SIR,

"Tunbridge, Aug. 2, [1691].

"I hope you will pardon me for giving you this trouble, but I cannot help seconding the request the prince [George of Denmark] has now made you to *remember your promise of a Garter for lord Marlborough*. You cannot bestow it upon any one that has been more serviceable to you in the late revolution, nor that has ventured *their lives* for you as he has done since your coming to the crown; but if people will not think these merits enough, I cannot believe any body will be so unreasonable as to be dissatisfied, when it is known you are pleased to give it him on the prince's account and mine. I am sure I shall ever look upon it as a mark of your favour to us. I will not trouble you with any ceremony, because I know you do not care for it.

"ANNE."

The queen refused this demand. It has been stated that there was something of contempt in her manner of so doing, which exasperated the favourites of her sister into a degree of rage that led them to conspire the downfall of her husband and herself from the sovereignty. Lord Marlborough, in the same year, wrote to his former master,

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 41.

² Ibid.

³ Dalrymple's Appendix.

James II., declaring "that he could neither sleep nor eat in peace, for the remembrance of his crimes against him." He made unbounded offers of his services, and finished by assuring him, "that he would bring the princess Anne back to her duty, if he received the least word of encouragement."¹ Marlborough was then one of the council of nine assisting in the government. The perils of the queen's position were therefore great. James II., however, did not give much encouragement to this treason, and drily answered to Marlborough "that his good intentions must be proved by deeds rather than words."

Meantime, the queen's regency was agitated by plots, which were ramifications of that of lord Preston. She signed warrants for the arrest of the deprived bishop of Ely and lord Dartmouth; she likewise molested the deprived primate, by sending a commission to his cottage in Suffolk to inquire into his proceedings. One of her messengers could scarcely refrain from tears, when he found that the venerable archbishop himself came to the door to answer his knock, because his only attendant, an old woman who took care of his cottage, happened to be ill. The queen's enmity was exceedingly great to William Penn, whose name was involved in these machinations; an entire stop was put to his philanthropic exertions in the colony of Pennsylvania, and the good quaker was forced to hide his head and skulk about London, as he did in the persecution of his sect before the accession of James II. He wished to have an interview with the queen. "He could," he said, "convince her of his fidelity to the government, to which he wished well, because the predominance of her father's religion must be ultimate destruction to his own. The personal friendship was warm which he bore 'to James Stuart;' but he loved him as such, and not as king. He was his benefactor," he said; "he loved him in his prosperity, and he never could speak against

¹ Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. i. Dalrymple's Appendix. Memoirs of James II., vol. ii. Coxe, in his Life of Marlborough, cannot deny this fact, but excuses it on the plea "that he desired only to deceive king James!"

him in his adversity.”¹ But let him say what he would, William Penn was a persecuted man as long as queen Mary lived.

Queen Mary's government, in the summer of 1691, had been accompanied by a series of circumstances calamitous enough to daunt the courage of a more experienced ruler. Disastrous and bloody battles had been fought in Flanders, and great slaughter of the English troops ensued, without the satisfaction of victory. Corn was at a famine price; the country gentry and merchants were sinking under a weight of taxation, such as never had been heard or thought of in the British islands. The fleet had returned covered with disgrace; English seamen were overcome, merely by the horrible provisions and worthless ammunition which the corrupt ministry had provided for their use. All these tremendous difficulties had the queen to surmount, but her correspondence is not available for the history of this summer. It is known* that she sojourned in her palace without a friend,—nay, without an object of affection. She had no affections except for her husband, and he was absent, exposed to a thousand dangers. She had no female friend among her numerous ladies, for in her voluminous correspondence which has been opened to the reader, where she has entered into the feelings of her own heart with minute and skilful anatomy, she has never mentioned *one* person as a friend. Indeed, her panegyrist, Burnet, in his curious manuscript narrative, observes, in the enumeration of her other “valuable qualities,” that the queen never had a female friend. Her majesty certainly was, in 1691, in the most utter loneliness of heart. She was on ill terms with queen Catharine, and the cold, distant communication of mere state audiences which took place between herself and her sister, the princess Anne, was ready to break out, from the quietude of aversion to the active warfare of hatred that soon ensued.

The queen wrote to lady Russell,² in reply to an applica-

¹ This expression is in his letters in the Pepys' Collections.

² Bibl. Birch, 4163; Plut. cvi. D, p. 42. Dated 1691, July 30.

tion of that lady for the disposal of the auditorship of Wales, worth 400*l.* per annum, for Mr. Vaughan, her son; on this head, queen Mary observed,—

“I am sure that the king will be as willing to please you as myself. You are very much in the right to believe I have cause enough to think this life not so fine a thing as, it may be, others do, that I lead at present. Besides the pain I am almost continually in for the king, it is so contrary to my own inclination, that it can be neither happy nor pleasant; but I see one is not ever to live for one's self. I have had many years of ease and content, and was not so sensible of my own happiness as I ought; but I must be content with what it pleases God, and this year I have had good reason to praise him hitherto for the successes in Ireland,¹ the news of which came so quick upon one another, that made me fear we had some ill to expect from other places. But I trust in God that will not be, though it looks as if we must look for little good either from Flanders or sea. The king continues, God be praised, very well; and though I tremble at the thoughts of it, yet I cannot but wish a battle were over,—I wish it as heartily as Mr. Russell himself.”

While the fleets of England and France were threatening each other, the Jacobites were active. On the other hand, those persons whose prosperity depended on the permanence of the Revolution, indefatigably infused in the queen's mind suspicions of all who were not their friends. Thus instigated, the queen sent for Dr. Hooper one day to chide him for his undutiful conduct to archbishop Tillotson. “I have been told,” she said, “that you never wait on him; neither does Mrs. Hooper visit Mrs. Tillotson, as she ought to do.” Dr. Hooper proved to the queen “that he had paid all the respect, and so had his wife, at Lambeth-palace that was proper, without proving intrusive.” The queen smiled, and said “she did not believe the report was true when she heard it.” The mischief-maker who had approached the ear of majesty then ventured somewhat further, and subsequently informed queen Mary that, of all places in the world, the apostolic Hooper had been figuring at a great cock-match at Bath, which it was supposed was a general muster for the Jacobite gentry of the west of England. Dr. Hooper, being questioned on this matter by queen Mary, replied, very quietly, “that it was true he had been at Bath some months that year, on account of the disastrous health of his wife, who was all the time in danger of her life.” The queen graciously interrupted him to ask, “How Mrs.

¹ Surrender of Limerick, and subsequently of the whole island.

Hooper was then?" When dean Hooper had replied, he resumed the discussion, affirming "that he had never heard a tittle of the cock-match at Bath, or of the meeting of the Jacobite gentlemen there."

The queen then informed him of some minor malicious reports; among others, an accusation that he always travelled on the Sabbath. "It is true," replied Dr. Hooper, "that I am often on the road on the Sabbath, but it is in the pursuance of my clerical duty. I travel with my wife journeys of several days to Bath. I always rest the whole Sunday, and attend both services,—easily ascertained, as I usually preach for the minister where I tarry." The queen then told him, in a very gracious manner, "that she had never believed what he was accused of, but she would always let him know his faults, or rather, what he was accused of." Her majesty concluded by "letting him know" that her informer was Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury.¹ Burnet was noted for his propensity to scandalous gossip, in the promulgation of which he little heeded the conventional decencies of time and place; as, for instance, lord Jersey, the brother of Elizabeth Villiers, told lord Dartmouth² that he had heard bishop Burnet scandalize the duchess of York before her daughter, queen Mary, and a great deal of company, according to the well-known passage of slander printed in his history,—with this difference, that when speaking, he did not conceal the name of the person with whom he affirmed she was in love: this was Henry Sidney, created by William III. earl of Romney, and given an enormous grant of 17,000*l.* per annum. If lord Jersey could hear Burnet hold forth on this subject, the queen could do the same, as that noble was one of her household, whose duties placed him near her chair.

King William arrived safely at Kensington, October the 13th. The queen was for a time relieved from the heavy

¹ Hooper MS., in Trevor's William III., p. 473.

² Notes to Burnet, vol. i. p. 394; note and text. In the latter, Burnet expressly declares that Anne Hyde, duchess of York, induced her husband to become a Roman-catholic at the time when he received the sacrament according to the ritual of the church of England.

weight of the regnal sceptre, but she had to endure the bitterest reproaches, because she had purposely misconstrued his intention by the promotion of Dr. Hooper to the deanery of Canterbury.

Not even in the most important crisis that occurred when the nation was under her guidance for the two previous years, was queen Mary ever permitted to meet her peers and commoners assembled in parliament, for the purpose of convening them or dismissing them. Her husband opened parliament after his return from Flanders, October 22, 1691, and, in his robes and crown, made a speech on the final reduction of Ireland, in the course of which he never once mentioned his wife. The king's neglect, whether proceeding from forgetfulness, ingratitude, or jealousy, was quickly repaired by parliament; for on the 27th of the same month, the lords and commons almost simultaneously moved "that addresses be presented to her majesty at Whitehall,¹ giving her thanks for her prudent care in the administration of the government in his majesty's absence." The new archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, was requested by the lords to draw up their address, which was thus worded:—

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, from a true sense of the quiet and happiness the nation hath enjoyed in your majesty's administration of government in the king's absence, do hold ourselves obliged to present our most humble acknowledgments to your majesty for your prudent conduct therein, to the universal satisfaction as well as the security of the kingdom."

The house of lords also requested lord Villiers (newly raised to the peerage as viscount, and then lord chamberlain to the queen) "to attend her majesty presently, to know what time her majesty will appoint for this house to attend her with the address." After some delay, lord Villiers acquainted the house "that he had attended her majesty as commanded, who hath appointed three o' the clock this Friday afternoon for the house to attend her with the address, in the drawing-room at Whitehall." This room must have been the withdrawing-room adjoining the well-known Banqueting-hall at Whitehall, which had been spared by the

¹ MS. Journals of the House of Lords, from the library of E. C. Davey, esq.

flames that had recently devastated nearly the whole of the palace.

The king had obtained some information on the subject of Marlborough's correspondence with James II. He attributed to his treacherous betrayal the failure of an attack made on Brest by the English fleet in the preceding summer.¹ "Upon my honour," replied Marlborough, "I never mentioned it but in confidence to my wife."—"I never mention any thing in confidence to mine," was the reply of king William. The cynical spirit of this answer bears some analogy to the temper of king William, yet the utter impossibility of the assertion, to one who knew that Mary held the reins of government on the most confidential terms with her husband, makes it doubtful that the king ever made use of any such words. The anecdote is widely known, but it is founded on nothing but hearsay and tradition. It seems to have been invented by Marlborough to account, in an off-hand way, to the world that this serious treachery had accidentally slipped out in a gossip-letter from lady Marlborough to her sister, lady Tyrconnel, who was with the royal exiles at the court of St. Germain; for how could king William say to one of the council of nine that he never told any thing confidentially to the queen, when her letters give full proof that the most important matters were expedited by her? William could make repartees which were not only rude, but brutal, to the queen; neither was his truth unsullied; yet he possessed considerable shrewdness, and was a man of few words. Such characters seldom make remarks which are at once absurd and self-contradictory. Whatsoever might have been the real version of this angry dialogue, it led to the result that Marlborough took the step he had hinted to James II., and under his influence, and that of his wife, the princess Anne was induced to pen a penitential epistle to her father.² It was in these terms:—

¹ There were two attacks on Brest in this reign, both abortive; the one here mentioned, in which there was a great slaughter of the English, and another in 1694, when general Tollemache was killed. There is documentary evidence that Marlborough betrayed the last.—Dalrymple's History.

² James II.'s Memoirs, edited by J. S. Clark, 1691. Likewise Macpherson's History, vol. ii. p. 609, for the letter.

“ Dec. 11, 1691.

“ I have been very desirous of some safe opportunity to make you a sincere and humble offer of my duty and submission to you, and to beg you will be assured that I am both truly concerned for the misfortune of your condition, and sensible, as I ought to be, of my own unhappiness. As to what you may think I have contributed to it, if wishes could recall what is past, I had long since redeemed my fault. I am sensible it would have been a great relief to me if I could have found means to have acquainted you earlier with my repentant thoughts, but I hope they may find the advantage of coming late,—of being less suspected of insincerity than perhaps they would have been at any time before. It will be a great addition to the ease I propose to my own mind by this plain confession, if I am so happy as to find that it brings any real satisfaction to yours, and that you are as indulgent and easy to receive my humble submissions as I am to make them, in a free, disinterested acknowledgment of my fault, for no other end but to deserve and receive your pardon.

“ I have had a great mind to beg you to make *one compliment for me*; but fearing the expressions which would be properest for me to make use of might be, perhaps, the least convenient for a letter, I must content myself, at present, with hoping the bearer will make a *compliment* for me to the queen.”

Now the bearer in whose hands this letter was deposited for conveyance, (as some say, by the princess Anne herself,) was the last person likely to fetch and carry with suitable grace the affected verbal trash called *compliments* by the fine ladies of that day. He was a bluff and stout Welchman, captain Davy Lloyd, one of James II.'s veteran sea-commanders. Davy held the daughters of his old master in the utmost contempt, which he did not scruple to express, at times, without any very refined choice of epithets.

Both queen Mary and king William were soon apprized that some such epistle was compounded, long before it reached the hands of James II. Lady Fitzharding, it has been noted, was the spy¹ of her sister Elizabeth Villiers, in the family of the princess Anne; and by her agency, king William knew accurately, within a very few hours, all that passed at the Cockpit. The princess Anne rather encouraged than suppressed the daring imprudence of her favourite lady Marlborough, and they would vituperate the reigning monarch with the most virulent terms of abuse.² Thus all the elements of discord were ready for violent explosion, which actually took place on the evening of January 9, 1691-2, when a personal altercation ensued between the

¹ This fact is pointed out by Coxe, in his *Life of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 48.

² *Ibid.*

queen and the princess Anne.¹ There is no doubt but that Anne's partiality for the Marlboroughs was the subject of dispute. No particulars, however, transpired, excepting what may be gleaned from subsequent letters of the princess Anne to lady Marlborough. From these it appears that the queen threatened to deprive her sister of half her income. The princess Anne well knew that parliament having secured to her the whole, such threats were vain, since, if the wishes of her sister and her spouse had been consulted, she would have been in possession of neither half of the 50,000*l.* per annum allowed her by her country. The princess Anne had just received her payment of this allowance, and had settled on the Marlboroughs an annuity from it of 1000*l.*,² circumstances which had probably added to the exasperation of the queen, who considered that the whole of that sum was torn from the ways and means of her husband to carry on the war.

The next morning, it was the turn of lord Marlborough to fulfil his duties as one of the lords of the bedchamber to king William, who secretly resolved to expel him from his service, and to make the manner of his doing it very disagreeable to him. Marlborough commenced his waiting-week without the least remark being made; but after he had put on the king's shirt and done his duty for the morning, lord Nottingham was sent to him with an abrupt message, "that the king had no further wish for his services, and that he was commanded to *sell* or *dispose* of all his employments." Every one was immediately busied in guessing his crime; it was, however, generally supposed to be making mischief between the princess and the king and queen. The king and queen further desired "that he, lord Marlborough, would absent himself from their presence for the future."³

The anguish that the princess Anne manifested at this disgrace of her favourite's husband was excessive: she

¹ The date of Coxe is here followed.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough.

³ Letter of lord Basil Hamilton to his father, the duke of Hamilton.

greatly exasperated the king and queen by her tearful eyes and sad countenance when she visited them. The princess's anticipations of still harsher measures probably led to her depression of spirits, since she received an anonymous letter before the end of January, which warned her that the next step taken by the government would be the imprisonment of lord Marlborough. The letter likewise gave her a really salutary warning respecting the treachery of lady Fitzharding, and that "all the tears she had shed, and the words she had spoken on the subject of lord Marlborough's disgrace, had been betrayed to the king" by that household spy. It must excite great surprise in those to whom the under-currents of events are unknown, to think what could impel king William to utterly cashier a person who had been so useful to him in the revolution as lord Marlborough; however, Evelyn, a contemporary, discusses the point plainly enough, in these words:¹ "Lord Marlborough, lieutenant-general, gentleman of the bedchamber, dismissed from all his employments, military and other, for his faults in excessive taking of bribes, covetousness, and extortion, on all occasions, from his inferior officers." These charges were disgraceful enough to induce confusion of countenance in any near connexion of the delinquent; but the practice of robbing the public had become so common, that it was seldom charged against any one who had not been concerned in schemes generally considered more dangerously inimical to the government.

Neither king William nor his consort dared openly accuse the Marlboroughs of having abetted the princess Anne in a reconciliation with the exiled king; they well knew that such an avowal would have led a third of their subjects to follow their example. The silence of the king and queen (at least in regard to the public) on the real delinquencies at the Cockpit, emboldened lady Marlborough sufficiently to accompany her mistress to court on the next reception-day at Kensington, about three weeks after the disgrace of her husband. On the morrow queen Mary forbade the repeti-

¹ Evelyn's Diary, January 24, 1691-2.

tion of lady Marlborough's intrusion, in the following letter to the princess Anne:—

“QUEEN MARY TO THE PRINCESS ANNE.¹

“Kensington, Friday, 5th of Feb.

“Having something to say to you which I know will not be very pleasing, I choose rather to write it first, being unwilling to surprise you, though I think what I am going to tell you should not, if you give yourself time to think, that never any body was suffered to live at court in lord Marlborough's circumstances. *I need not repeat the cause he has given the king to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to extremities, though people do deserve it.*”

In this dark hint is embodied all the information the queen chose to give her sister regarding the cause of the disgrace of her sister's favourites and guides. The passage, written with extreme caution, was prepared thus, to guard against the political mischief which might be done by the princess Anne and her audacious ruler, from making the queen's letter of remonstrance public among their party. At the same time it is manifest, that previous remonstrance and explanation on the offences of the princess and the Marlboroughs had been resorted to by her majesty. What these offences and injuries were, the preceding pages of this biography fully explain. This section of the queen's letter is an instance of the sagacity for which she was famed. The whole is written with moderation, when the provocation is considered, and the fearful dangers with which the throne of Mary and her beloved husband was surrounded in 1692, dangers which the correspondence of Anne and her coadjutors with her exiled father greatly aggravated. Queen Mary continues,—

“I hope you do me the justice to believe it is much against my will that I now tell you that, after this, it is very unfit that lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he should not. I think I might have expected you should have spoke to me of *it*; and the king and I, both believing *it*, made us stay thus long. But seeing you was so far from *it* that you brought lady Marlborough hither last night, makes us resolve to put *it* off no longer, but tell you *she must not stay*, and that I have all the reason imaginable to look upon your bringing her as the strangest thing that ever was done. Nor could all my kindness for you, (which is always ready to turn all you do the best way,) at any other time, have hindered me from

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 44. We have vainly searched for the originals of these letters, being unwilling to take lady Marlborough's version.

showing you so that moment, *but I considered your condition*, and that made me master myself so far as not to take notice of it then."

Contrary to her usual style, in this letter the sentences of the queen are not constructed logically in all their bearings; her reiterated "*it*" seems to mean, that she and king William expected the princess Anne to propose to them the dismissal of lady Marlborough, on account of the disgrace of that person's husband, instead of bringing her into their evening drawing-room as coolly as if nothing had happened. Notwithstanding her folly in thus conducting herself, the situation of the princess Anne required consideration and forbearance, for she was, in February 1691-2, within a few weeks of her confinement, and her health at such times was always precarious. The queen's excessive self-praises of her own kindness to her sister are remarkable enough; they are founded on the fact that, in consideration "for her condition," she did not reprove the princess publicly, and expel the intruder she brought with her, as her majesty thought they deserved.

"But now I must tell you," resumes queen Mary, "it was very unkind in a sister, would have been very uncivil in an equal; and I need not say I have more to claim, which, though my kindness would never make me exact, yet, when I see the use you would make of it, I must tell you I know what is due to me, and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon that account I tell you plainly, lady Marlborough must not continue with you, in the circumstances her lord is.

"I know this will be uneasy to you, and I am sorry for it, for I have all the real kindness imaginable for you; and as I ever have, so will always do my part to live with you as sisters ought; that is, not only like so near relations, but like friends, and as such I did think to write to you. For I would have made myself believe your kindness for *her* [lady Marlborough] made you at first forget what you should have for the king and me, and resolved to put you in mind of it myself, neither of us being willing to come to harsher ways; but the sight of lady Marlborough having changed my thoughts, does naturally alter my style. And since by that I see how little you seem to consider what, even in common civility, you owe us, I have told it you plainly, but, withal, assure you that, let me have never so much reason to take any thing ill of you, my kindness is so great that I can pass over most things, and live with you as becomes [us]. And I desire to do so merely from that motive, for I do love you as my sister, and nothing but yourself can make me do otherwise; and that is the reason I choose to write this rather than tell it to you, that you may overcome your first thoughts. And when you have well considered, you will find that, though the thing be hard, (which I again assure you I am sorry for,) yet it is not unreasonable, but what has ever been practised, and what yourself would do were you [queen] in my place.

"I will end this with once more desiring you to consider the matter impartially, and take time for it. I do not desire an answer presently, because I would not have you give a rash one. I shall come to your drawing-room to-morrow

before you play, because you know why I cannot make one.¹ At some other time we shall reason the business calmly, which I will willingly do, or any thing else that may show it shall never be my fault if we do not live kindly together. Nor will I ever be other, by choice, than

“Your truly loving and affectionate sister,

“M. R.”

Lady Marlborough published queen Mary's letter, but sedulously hid the provocation which elicited both that and the command contained therein. In her narrative of the events of this era, she carefully conceals the spring that caused them, which was, the treacherous correspondence of her husband with the court of St. Germain's, and the letter he had prompted the princess Anne to write to her father.

Historical truth can only be found in contemporary documents and narratives, yet not in one alone; many must be compared and collated, before the mists in which selfish interests seek to envelope facts can be dispelled. Lady Marlborough devotes several pages to the most enthusiastic praises of herself; her disinterestedness and devotion to the princess Anne are lauded to the skies. When in the list of her virtues she discusses her honesty, she thus expresses herself: “As to the present power the princess Anne had to enrich me, her revenue was no such vast thing, as that I could propose to draw any mighty matters from thence; and besides, sir Benjamin Bathurst had the management of it. I had no share in that service.”² Yet 50,000*l.* per annum is a large revenue even in these times, and in the early days of the national debt it bore a much higher comparative value.

The princess Anne, after she had read her sister's letter, summoned her uncle Rochester to her assistance. That nobleman, from a thorough appreciation of the turbulence and treachery which were united in the character of lady Marlborough, had, in her outset of life, strongly advised James II. to exclude her from the household of his daughter Anne;³ but the indulgence of the father yielded to the supplications of his child. When lord Rochester came to the

¹ This was because the queen did not choose to sit down to the basset-table with lady Marlborough.

² *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 54.

³ *Ralph's History*.

Cockpit, at the entreaty of the princess Anne, she put in his hand the following letter. It was evidently the production of a consultation with the favourite, since it is by no means in the style of the princess herself.

“THE PRINCESS ANNE TO QUEEN MARY.¹”

“Your majesty was in the right to think that your letter would be very surprising to me; for you must needs be sensible enough of the kindness I have for my lady Marlborough, to know that a command from you to part from her must be the greatest mortification in the world to me, and, indeed, of such a nature, as I might well have hoped your kindness to me would have always prevented. I am satisfied she cannot have been guilty of any fault to you, and it would be extremely to her advantage if I could here repeat every word that ever she had said to me of you in her whole life. I confess it is no small addition to my trouble to find the want of your majesty’s kindness to me on this occasion, since I am sure I have always endeavoured to deserve it by all the actions of my life.

“Your care of my present condition is extremely obliging, and if you could be pleased to add to it so far as, upon my account, to recall your severe command, (as I must beg leave to call it in a manner so tender to me, and so little reasonable, as I think, to be imposed on me, that you would *scarce* require it from the meanest of your subjects,) I should ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable mark of your kindness to me. And as I must freely own, that as I think this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very sensible mortification, so there is no misery that I cannot readily resolve to suffer rather than the thoughts of parting with her, [lady Marlborough].

“If, after all this that I have said, I must still find myself so unhappy as to be pressed on this matter, yet your majesty may be assured that, as my past actions have given the greatest testimony of my respect both for the king and you, so it shall always be my endeavour, wherever I am, to preserve it carefully for the time to come as becomes

“Your majesty’s very affectionate sister and servant,

“ANNE.

“From the Cockpit, Feb. 6th, 1692.”

It may be worthy of observation, that the date of this epistle is on the birthday of Anne. When lord Rochester had perused this letter, the princess Anne requested that he would be the bearer of it from her to her majesty, to which the uncle put a positive negative. He had hoped, that the end of the controversy between his royal nieces would have been the removal of such a fosterer of strife as lady Marlborough had proved herself to be since she had arrived at woman’s estate, and he would not carry a letter which forbade that hope. He then withdrew from the conference, declaring his intention of mediating in all measures which led to reconciliation; which was, by strenuously advising

¹ Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, pp. 55-57.

the queen to send lady Marlborough at once from the Cockpit to her house at St. Albans. Meantime, after the princess or her favourite had concocted the letter quoted above, it was copied and sent to her majesty that day, by the hands of one of the servants of the princess. Queen Mary returned as answer a mere official message, carried to the Cockpit by her lord chamberlain Nottingham, warning lord and lady Marlborough to abide no longer at the palace of Whitehall,¹ a measure which was the first step her majesty took on the advice of lord Rochester.

The princess Anne considered that her sister had no more right to dictate what servants she should retain in her residence of the Cockpit, than in any other private house, since it had been purchased for her by their uncle Charles II. after it had been alienated from the rest of the palace of Whitehall, in common with many other buildings appertaining to that part of the vast edifice which abutted on St. James's-park. But the Cockpit, the Holbein-gateway, and the adjoining Banqueting-house were, at that period, all that were left of the once-extensive palace. When the queen's message of expulsion from the Cockpit was delivered to lady Marlborough, the princess Anne took the resolution of withdrawing from it at the same time, and announced her intention to her sister in the following epistle:—

“THE PRINCESS ANNE TO QUEEN MARY.²”

“I am very sorry to find, that all I have said myself, and my lord Rochester for me, has not had effect enough to keep your majesty from persisting in a resolution, which you are satisfied must be so great a mortification to me as, to avoid it, I shall be obliged to retire, and deprive myself of the satisfaction of living where I might have frequent opportunities of assuring you of that duty and respect which I always have been, and shall be desirous to pay you, upon all occasions.

“My only consolation in this extremity is, that not having done any thing in all my life to deserve your unkindness, I hope I shall not be long under the necessity of absenting myself from you, the thought of which is so uneasy to me, that I find myself too much indisposed to give your majesty any further trouble at this time.

“February 8, 1692.”

¹ Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, vol. i. p. 48, and Ralph's “*Other Side of the Question*.”

² *Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough*, p. 58.

The approaching accouchement of the princess rendered all harshness to her odious in the eyes of every one. One of the royal palaces had usually been appointed for her retirement at such times, but as the queen had thought proper to expel her favourite friend from her own private residence, the princess affected to consider that she should be too much at the royal mercy, if her accouchement took place either at St. James's-palace or Hampton-Court. It was the policy of the party of the princess Anne to give her, as much as possible, the semblance of injured distress, and the appearance of being hunted out of house and home at a period dangerous to her health, and even to her life. There can be no doubt that the mistress of 50,000*l.* per annum need not have been obliged to sue for the charitable grant of a home to abide in during the period of her accouchement; yet, a few hours before leaving the Cockpit, the princess Anne sent a request to the duchess of Somerset, to lend her Sion-house for her residence during the ensuing summer. This lady was the wife of a kinsman of the princess, commonly called the proud duke of Somerset;¹ she was the heiress of the great Percy inheritance, and as such, the possessor of the ancient historical palace of Sion.

William III., whose activity in petty instances of annoyance is singularly at variance with his received character for magnanimity, immediately sent to the duke of Somerset, and, in a conference with him, endeavoured to induce him to put a negative on the request of the princess Anne.² But such mighty English nobles as Somerset and his consort, the Percy-heiress, soon proved to the foreign monarch how independent they were of any such influence. The duchess of Somerset forthwith sent an affectionate message to the princess Anne, declaring "that Sion-house was entirely at her service." Before the princess left her residence of the Cockpit for Sion-house, she thought proper to attend the drawing-room of their majesties at Kensington-palace.

¹ He was the representative of Katharine Gray, and of course a prince of the English blood-royal from the younger sister of Henry VIII.

² Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 59.

In this interview, according to the phraseology of the Marlborough, the princess Anne made her majesty "all the professions imaginable, to which the queen remained as insensible as a statue."

The massacre of Glencoe¹ occurred February 14, 1692. It is but justice to queen Mary to observe, that this atrocity did not disgrace the period when she swayed the regnal sceptre; neither is her signature appended to the detestable warrant perpetrated by her husband, which authorized the slaughter, in cold blood, of upwards of a hundred men, women, and little children, of her subjects. The circumstances have been of late years too often narrated to need relating here; but, as the wickedness was committed in a reign in which a woman's name is partly responsible, it is desirable, by the production of the documents, to show that the iniquity was wholly devised, as well as executed, by men.²

An historian³ especially partial to the character of William III., considers as a great grievance the inquiry into the massacre of Glencoe, and with much *naïveté* observes,

¹ It may be a point of curiosity to learn what James II. thought of this sacrifice of his faithful subjects. After observing that he had been careful to preserve the lives of his Scottish friends, by candidly acknowledging to them that he had no funds to aid them, and earnestly advising their submission as early as August 1691, he continues, "They accordingly made their submission. But contrary to all faith, by an order that Nero himself would have had a horror of, the prince of Orange ordered the soldiers to massacre the Glencoe people in cold blood. It was hard to imagine that the prince of Orange could apprehend danger from such a handful of men; but he either thought that severity necessary to make an example of, or he had a particular pique against that clan. Either of these reasons, according to his morality, was sufficient to do an inhuman thing. Yet this was the pretended assertor of the lives and liberties of the British nation, to whom all oaths were to be made a sacrifice of, rather than he should not reign over it."—Autograph Memoirs of king James. Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. i. p. 239.

² A document nearly similar, signed by William III., is carefully preserved by the present lord Lovat, authorizing the extermination of the clan Fraser. The conduct of Simon Fraser had, it is true, been intolerably wicked; but that was no fault of the women and children of his district, which likewise comprised the feudal sovereignty of 1000 men capable of bearing arms, of whom many must have been perfectly innocent of wrong.—See Mrs. Thomson's Lives of the Jacobites. These attempts at extermination had for precedents the massacre of St. Bartholomew's-day, the wars in Ireland in the time of Elizabeth, and the conduct of the Spaniards to the Caribs.

³ Cunningham.

that the said inquiry was "remarkably troublesome to many *respectable* people." The Scotch parliament pronounced it "a barbarously murderous transaction." After this opinion, the "respectable people" concerned in it put a stop to the further trouble this decision might have given them, by producing the following warrant:—

"WILLIAM, R.¹

"As for the M'Donalds of Glencoe, if they can well be distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public justice, to *extirpate* that set of thieves.

"W. R."

This extermination, which was extended in intention to the Frasers, and other clans in the highlands, must have originated in the mind of William himself, as is evident by the wording of the warrant. A Scotchman would have spoken with more certainty of the localities of his country; at the same time, it is improbable that any English minister suggested an extirpation, because even the execution of military law in England was always regarded with horror.² Perhaps the open quarrels which then agitated the royal family prevented public attention from dwelling on the atrocities perpetrated by the king's warrant in the north.

The princess Anne withdrew to Sion about the beginning of March, taking with her lady Marlborough, on whom she

¹ Lord Stair proved, that when William III.'s signature was doubly affixed, as in this warrant, the execution was to be prompt and urgent.

² Sir John Dalrymple's History and Appendix. Campbell of Glenlyon was the mere executioner. The following letter will show that the Dutch monarch's agent directed, from his master, that the children of Macdonald of Glencoe were to be murdered:—

"For their Majesties' service.

To Capt. Campbell.

"SIR,

"Ballacholis, Feb. 12, 1692.

"You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have especial care that the old fox *and his cubs* do not escape your hands. You are to secure all the avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put into execution at five in the morning precisely, and by that hour I'll strive and be at you with a stronger party. This is by the king's *especial commission*, for the good of the country, that these miscreants may be cut off root and branch. See these be put in execution without fear, *else you may be expected to be treated as not true to the king's government*, nor as a man fit to carry a commission in king William's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling, as you love yourself, I subscribe these with my hand.

"ROBERT DUNCANSON."

lavished more affection than ever. As an instance of ill-will, king William gave orders that his sister-in-law should be deprived of the guards by whom she had been attended since her father had given her an independent establishment. The princess lost her guards just as she had the most need of them, for the roads all round the metropolis swarmed with highwaymen; her carriage was stopped, and she was robbed, between Brentford and Sion, soon after her establishment there. The adventure was made the subject of many lampoons, and great odium was thrown on the king and queen, on account of the danger to which the heiress-presumptive was exposed through their harshness. The act of depriving the princess Anne of the usual adjuncts of her rank, was a parting blow before her persecutor left England for his usual Flemish campaign. The king resigned the sole government, for a third time, into the hands of his queen, and bade her farewell on the 5th of March. He sailed with a wind so favourable, that he reached the Hague on the succeeding day, and from thence went to Loo.¹

To illustrate the narrative of these royal quarrels, the reader must be given an insight of Burnet's genuine opinion on this subject, written in his own hand.² It will be allowed to be a great historical curiosity; his opinions must raise a smile, when it is remembered how closely and approvingly intimate he and the duchess of Marlborough were in after life:—"About the end of the session in parliament, the king called for Marlborough's commissions, and dismissed him out of his service. The king [William] said to myself upon it, 'He had very good reason to believe that Marlborough had made his peace with king James, and was engaged in a correspondence with France. It was certain he was doing all he could to set

¹ M. de Dangeau writes in his Journal, March 15, 1692, that his news from England announced, "that when the princess of Denmark quitted the court, her husband followed her; that William took all the guards from them, and forbade them the honours of the court they had been accustomed to receive; and that William, after this exploit, went to Holland on the 24th of March."

² Harleian MS. The hand is precisely the same with the autograph papers relative to Burnet's ministry at the death of William lord Russell, in possession of his grace the duke of Devonshire.

on a faction in the army and nation against the Dutch and to lessen the king, as well as his wife, who was so absolute a favourite with the princess, [Anne,] that she seemed to be the mistress of her heart and thoughts, which were alienated both from the king and queen. The queen had taken all possible methods to gain her sister, and had left no means unessayed, except purchasing her favourite, which her majesty thought it below her to do. That being the strongest passion in the princess's breast, all other ways proved ineffectual; so a visible coldness grew between the sisters. Many rude things were daily said at that court, [the establishment of the princess Anne,] and they struggled to render themselves very popular, though with very ill success; for the queen grew to be so universally beloved, that nothing would stand against her in the affections of the nation. Upon Marlborough's disgrace, his wife was ordered to leave court. This the princess Anne resented so highly, that she left the court likewise, for, she said, 'she would not have her servants taken from her.' All persons that have credit with her have tried to make her submit to the queen, but to no purpose. She has since that time lived in a private house, and the distance between the sisters has now risen so high, that the visiting of the princess is looked upon as a neglect of the queen's displeasure; so that the princess is now as much alone as can be imagined. The enemies of the government began to make great court to her; but they fell off from her very soon, and she sunk into such neglect, that if she did not please herself in an inflexible stiffness of humour, it would be very uneasy to her."

Burnet, in his manuscript notations, (where he always used the *present* tense),¹ speaks likewise with much acridity on the impropriety which he asserts was committed by admiral Russell in expostulating, with great rudeness, to king William on Marlborough's disgrace, demanding to see the proofs of his fault, and reminding the king, in a tone "not very agreeable," that it was he who carried the letters between his majesty and Marlborough before the Revolu-

¹ Harleian MSS., 6584.

tion.¹ This was just before he undertook the command of the fleet of La Hogue. Notwithstanding all Burnet's re-vilings of Russell for his rough and brutal temper, and his Jacobitism, every true-hearted person must venerate him for upholding the honour of his country and her naval flag (which had been wofully humbled since the Revolution) above every political consideration. It appears, by the well-known exclamation of his old master, king James, when he beheld the bravery of his English sailors at La Hogue, that he was entirely of the same opinion.

¹ Harleian Collection, No. 6585. It is curious to compare the condemnatory passages which occur against the Marlboroughs, husband and wife, throughout Burnet's manuscripts, with the entire suppression of the same in his printed work, and with the close intimacy which existed afterwards between these congenial souls.