THESE

HISTORICAL TRACTS

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED TO MY DAUGHTER,

EMILY MARION,

BY

JOHN BENSON ROSE.

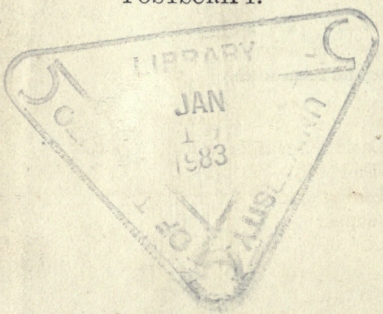
(For private circulation.)

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS,
STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.
1869.

Mrs Turner
with best respects of
John Benson Rose.

Kentchester
11 Nov 1869.

CONTENTS.



11 Harcourt Rd
Kensington W.
11 Nov 1869

My dear Madam

May I request your acceptance of the accompanying book — I believe it would never have had existence but for the care and kind added to professional knowledge of Mr Turner — which fact may find favour for it in your eyes.

Believe me
Dear Madam
truly yours.
John B Rose

Mrs Turner

CONTENTS.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

POSTSCRIPT.

SUPPLEMENT TO A TRIBUTE

TO THE

MEMORY OF QUEEN MARY.

When *we* endeavoured, in writing the 'Tribute to Mary, Queen of Scots,' to give an epitome of the wrongs she suffered, we thought it only needful to commence at that point whence the first accusation against her occurs—namely, the murder of Rizzio—and ignoring the events of the five preceding years: but, since writing the 'Tribute,' it has been *my* employment to investigate the authorities—a wearisome, tedious task—and it now appears to me that the events which preceded the year 1565 have such close affinity with the events succeeding, that they are the root and causes of the sequent miseries; and it is to supply the deficiency of the years from 1561 to 1566, that this second treatise on the subject is written.

The task of reading the authorities is very wearisome and tedious. The fair fame of the royal Lady is made the butt of party spirit, and is treated with disingenuousness and acrimony on one side, and on the other in, generally speaking, a bad style, which mars a strong case by quotations and sarcasms, out of place, where we only seek to investigate truth by evidence; evidence which ought rigidly to be accepted or rejected as it would be in a court of law,

but where forgeries and libels, of matters which never had any real existence, are reproduced, as though they had been proved instead of utterly disproved. Among the authors we come to the history by Bishop Keith and his painstaking editor, which is full and most satisfactory as a complete history of the Church and of Queen Mary's career; but the majority of persons have neither the leisure nor the will to read such voluminous works, excellent though they be. It is the compendium of facts which cheers the spirit, seeking amusement and instruction in history. Neither—complete as any work can be—is it possible to do more than give a compendium of the evidences. Take, for instance, the State Papers. The selection and rejection of their grains of wheat and bushels of chaff must depend upon the author, and his success at the same time depends upon the credit he holds with the reader and public estimation. References are of no use save for public criticism; for private reading the reference equally depends on the candour and judgment of the author for the weight it carries to the reader; and extracts without their contexts, are deceitful. It is most satisfactory to me, in looking back at the 'Tribute,' to believe that there is nothing there set forth exaggerated or needing retraction; on the contrary, I believe its moderation is its fault; the Calvinistic fury of those years, the brutality of Knox, the hypocrisy of Elizabeth, the false dealing of Moray,* the inconceivable state of disorder and rapine on the borders, and, amidst the Scot nobles, the friendlessness of the young Queen, whom all were seeking to devour, so far from being exaggerated, are told but with "too bated breath and whispered humbleness." The persecution of Queen Mary by all parties who could have availed her,

* Moray, and not Murray as heretofore written.

commenced with her earliest career, and was unremitting until it wrought her ruin, and the equal ruin of all those who effected hers followed in due course, as it pleased God to erase them one by one from the stage.

The treaty of Edinburgh, made by the Regent, Mary of Guise, bearing date 6 July, 1560, and ratified by Elizabeth at Windsor, 2 September, 1560, affirmed the right of Elizabeth—"seeing the kingdoms of England and Ireland do of right pertain to the most Serene Lady and Princess Elizabeth," and "therefore the most Christian King and Queen Mary, and both of them, shall in all times coming abstain from using and bearing the said title and arms," &c., was the first subject of Elizabeth's personal persecution of Mary. She sent Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, her Ambassador to Paris, to extort from Mary, that is from herself personally, the ratification of that treaty. It happened that the Lord James was by her side, and, doubtless she was aided by him in this, her first diplomatic difficulty, in which, as Throkmorton has recorded their interview and conversations, nothing can be wiser than her speech and her resolutions—"As for your demand of the Ratification, I do remember all things that you have recited unto me, and I would the Queen, my good sister, should think that I do respite the resolute answer in this matter, and performing thereof, until such time as I might have the advices of the nobles and estates of mine own realm, which I trust shall not be long a doing; for I intend to make my voyage thither shortly. And though this matter," quoth she, "doth touch me principally, yet doth it also touch the nobles and estates of my realm too, and therefore it shall be meet that I use their advices therein. Heretofore they have seemed to be grieved that I should do anything without them, and now they would be more offended if I should proceed in this matter of myself with-

out their advice." This reasonable and exceedingly proper reply is combated by Throkmorton through a volume of conversations; in which, for want of a better accusation, Throkmorton instances the usurpation of the royal arms of England; she responding, "Helas! Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I was then under the commandment of King Henry, my father, and of the King, my lord and husband; and whatsoever was then done by their order and commandments, the same was in like manner continued until both their deaths; since which time you know I neither bore the arms nor used the title of England. . . . . I do assure you, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, and do speak to you truly as I think, I never meant nor thought matter against the Queen, my cousin." In vain did Mary plead her cause with her oppressors. The Queen of England refused a safe conduct and free passage to Scotland, because she could not urge Mary to the despotic act of ratifying a treaty without her nobles and estates. The sequel is well known. Mary escaped the hostile fleet, who made capture of one vessel, in which was Lord Eglintoun, which was released, and Elizabeth omitted not to congratulate Mary on her safe arrival, gave formal assurances that she had not attempted to intercept her passage, and again urged the ratification of the treaty, and of her own title.

Randolph was her Ambassador to Scotland, a man, according to Sir James Melville, very different to Throkmorton, and much more fitted to be the tool of a despot Queen.

And now to adduce the proofs of the early and never-ceasing interference of Elizabeth in the internal affairs of Scotland, and the equally early and unceasing intention of Moray to possess himself of the crown. The congregation is the pivot on which their machinations turn. The Lord James heard Knox, and he and Argyll, his brother-in-law,

sided in 1558 with the congregation: but in 1559 they joined the Regent Mary, disclaiming encouragement to rebellion. Knox fulminated against them for desertion: they then signed the covenant and deserted the Regent, and the treaty of Couper Moor was the result. The Regent Mary then accused the Lord James as aiming at the crown and Elizabeth favoured the congregation and his party. She sent Sir Ralph Sadler "to nourish the faction between Scots and French, and to learn the truth whether the Lord James did enterprise towards the crown." Sadler could only get indefinite terms from them, and Elizabeth looked to Arran or to Lord James to be the King. She sent three thousand pounds, and promised forces to expel the French. She sent a subsequent four thousand pounds, which was captured by Bothwell. She invited Englishmen to enter the Scotch service, and pretended in the same breath to declare them rebels. These facts are taken from Tytler's history. Mary of Guise died in 1560, and the Parliament and estates acted of themselves. They changed the religion of Scotland, passed a confession of faith, ordained a book of discipline, and then sent a deputation of nobles to Elizabeth to propose a marriage between her and the Earl of Arran. From this time Elizabeth never ceases to intermeddle between the parties, professing loyalty to Mary in words, and granting refuge and aid to the rebels when chased into England.

After that attempt to get the ratification of her title from Mary without the concurrence of the estates, and which ratification was eventually materially altered by reserving Mary's right to the succession to the crown of England, the next point of persecution was the marriage of Mary to Lord Robert Dudley. In vain did Mary object. "Now think you, Master Randolph, that it will be honourable in me to imbase my state and marry one of her subjects?"

and that subject also in Cecil's private notes recorded as "debased with the murder of his wife;" that subject with whom Elizabeth had herself dallied, calling him "sweet Robin," and running her fingers in public through his hair as he lay with his head in her lap. The intention was to debase her, and to erase her from the royal houses of Europe, and sink her in renown. This persecution is not the sole to which the royal lady was subjected. After the manner of Scotland, the Earl of Arran, aided by Bothwell, attempted her abduction by force, and which outrage showed in its effects that Mary's bravery in the field was unequal to the vile midnight assaults. She would awake by night and cry out from a fearful dream; whilst she soon after adopted—what she continued for the remainder of her life—a bed-fellow—choosing Mary Fleming for such first nocturnal companion. For there is one other more diabolical assault still which is wrapped in gloom; for, marvellous to state, no one ever thought it requisite then, as now, to notice legally such attempts; and the story of Chatelard and his two assaults is involved in mystery. He was discovered in Holyrood, and ordered to quit the Court and never reappear. He does reappear at Burnt Island, when the Queen was travelling. Moray was present, and led the man off, and he was hanged. The negligence of the household, the extraordinary bearing of the man, and the apparent madness of the procedure, make it appear as a conspiracy. *Moray was at hand*—Moray led him off—Moray hanged him—Moray alone tells a version of the tale; and whether Moray was art and part in an attempt to debase the Queen, there is no attempt on his part to excuse the Queen; whilst, again, it shattered her nerve, and exposed her feminine weakness in so lawless a realm, and was an additional inducement to marry Darnley for a protector in her political and domestic perplexities.

I now propose to take a view of the household Mary found in possession of Holyrood when she arrived from France: and, firstly, a catalogue of her brothers and sisters:—

1. James, Abbot of Kelso and Melrose; his mother was Elizabeth Shaw, of Sanchie. He does not appear to have interfered in political matters.
2. James, Prior of St. Andrew's; his mother, Margaret, daughter of Lord J. Erskine, sister of the Earl of Mar and wife of Douglas, of Lochleven.
3. Robert, Prior of Holyrood, by Euphemia, daughter of Lord Elphinstone, "a man vain and nothing worth, full of all evil." He married Lady Jane Kennedy, became a zealous reformer, was created Earl of Orkney, and lived to serve King James.
4. Lord John Stewart, Prior of Coldingham; his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord John Carmichael. He married Jane Hepburn. Queen Mary was godmother to his son, whom she persuaded King James to restore to the title of Bothwell; and a thorough scamp the boy turned out. Lord John died early in 1563.
5. Lady Janet Stewart, by the same mother as Lord John. She married Archibald, Earl of Argyll, who desired a divorce solely to enable him to marry the daughter of Lord Boyd. Moray hindered the transfer whilst he lived; but on his death Argyll divorced her and married his fellow political Peer's daughter, wife of another man, the young laird of Cunnyngham. Lady Janet clung to Queen Mary in prosperity and adversity.
6. Adam, Prior of the Charter-house at Perth, by Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Lennox.

Secondly. The league and compact of the Douglas faction to supplant Mary, and place James, Earl of Moray, in her stead. Those who signed the warrant for the incarceration of Mary in Lochleven were eight, namely, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Lindsay, Ruthven, Sir William Douglas, Lord Home, and Lord Sempill:—

1. Morton. We may call him chief of the House of Douglas, enemy to the Lennoxes, who claimed the Earldom of Angus: one of the worst of men.
2. Mar (Erskine), was brother to Lady Douglas, the mother of Moray.
3. Glencairn (Cunningham), the destroyer of the abbeys and altars: Calvinist and English pensioner.
4. Ruthven, had married a daughter of Angus, chief of the Douglas's tribe.
5. Lindsay, brother-in-law to Moray, having married his uterine sister.
6. Sir William Douglas, uterine brother to Moray. Moray himself kept out of the way whilst this family compact acted for him.
7. Lord Home, a waverer.
8. Lord Sempill, a hanger on of Moray.

Thirdly. The scattering of Mary's adherents, and some chief causes:—

1. Chatelherault and the House of Hamilton, angry because the Lennoxes were placed above them improperly by Queen Mary.
2. Lennoxes (Stewarts), poor as Job, at feud with the Hamiltons and with the Douglas, on account of the fief of Angus, claimed by Lennox.
3. Huntley (Gordons), ruined by Moray, who assumed their territory and title.
4. Argyll, Archibald Campbell, the maddest of the

mad; hatred of Elizabeth and of popery together; wishing to divorce Janet Stewart, and ally Lord Boyd by marriage to himself; now friendly and now hostile to Mary, as the humour took him. He died 1573, and his successor, Colin, had married the widow of Moray.

5. Athole, a Stewart, a waverer, but must be called hostile to Mary. His son married a Ruthven.
6. Bothwell, the adherent of Mary, the dupe, and the traitor.
7. Lords Herries, Seton, Livingstone, and the junior branches of the Houses of Hamilton and of Gordon, were adherents of Queen Mary, but were not combined in their operations, revenging their own feuds and preserving their own fiefs, mainly instigating their actions.

And, lastly, there was a clique of statesmen and placemen: Lethington (William Maitland), Sir James Balfour, George Douglas, Postulate Bishop of Moray, Master John Wood, Archibald Douglas—men who sought their own interests solely and betrayed Queen Mary constantly.

Let it not be supposed that patriotism, Calvinism, or any moral feeling whatever, actuated these men in their combinations. The confiscation of the Church property drove them mad for its plunder. To rob one another, to take possession, until dispossessed, in turn, of their fiefs and territories, to raid them, and to revenge blood feuds—were the principles on which they acted. The possession of the abbeys and priories supplied a sort of personal property which passed from hand to hand like Exchequer bills, and which formed the revenue of the base-born sons of James the Fifth, who divided St. Andrew's, Holyrood, Coldingham, Kelso, and Melrose, and the Charter-house of Perth—the spoils of the Roman Church—for which the Scotch nobles

fought like wolves. Neither did honour nor justice sway them in this greed: as the Laird of Grange expressed himself, finding fault with the wrecking of men and parties. Master John Wood said, "My Lord, I marvell of you; how shall we, that are my Lord's dependents, get rewards but by the wreck of sic men?" "Yea," said Grange, "is that your holyness, I see nothing bot ye, among you, for envy, greediness, and ambition, are like to wreck a good regent and country." This record, by Sir James Melville, is added to by himself, in speaking of the nobles in 1591, under James the Sixth, as "hated and envied for their ambition, greediness, particulairs, and vengeance; who, so soon as they had attained so weighty a charge, only took care how to make themselves soon rich, and most commonly by the wreck of others or their enemies—so blindly transported by ambition and greediness, that they overlooked both king and commonweal; which," adds Sir James, "I may justly testify for my part."

We have a most notable instance of this mode of procedure in the first act of Moray, who, on being invested with the earldom of Moray, instantly assailed the House of Gordon—the Earl of Huntly—and conquering him (he died on the field of battle), he executed his son, Sir John, and forced the Queen to behold the horrible spectacle of his death. Adam Gordon, a minor, was spared, and Lord Gordon was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the Queen's pleasure, which last clause saved him. Moray spoiled and harried the Gordon possessions, but he could not win the clans, who to a man remained hostile to him; and when his own duplicity and treason appeared, Lord Gordon was restored to the earldom, and Moray fled, in turn, to exile in England. Such is the type of a then Scottish feud, lasting only during the dominance of the winner, lost again at a soon recurring revolution of parties.

Moray appears to have been a hateful character, exceedingly greedy of money and rewards, dark and hypocritical in his heart. "He groped the mind of the young Queen," says Lethington, "to shape his counsels to the congregation and to Elizabeth," and this in his first visit to her in France after her accession, and where he was met by the generous and confiding nature of Mary towards him; he had pensions from France and England, "and had no idea of deserting the lucrative service of England." He pressed to be appointed Governor, which she withheld until she met the estates. He immediately acted contrary to her wishes, visited the Courts of France and England, and advised Elizabeth to capture Mary on the seas. This duplicity went on until the breach took place between them on 8th May, 1565, on the subject of her marriage with Darnley. Mary insisted on his consent, and he as positively refused, and Mary dismissed him with accusations of ingratitude. Lethington, too, at this time proved false; trusted with secret instructions, he betrayed them t Throkmorton. "Are we to wonder," asks Mr. Tytler, "that, when Mary's affairs were managed by such men, she was anxious to change her counsellors, and seek fidelity in another faction?" The convention held at Stirling on the 15th May unanimously agreed to the marriage with Darnley, in face of the bluster and protestations by Throkmorton, by command of Elizabeth. Of their early and persistent intentions to depose Mary and to place Moray in the throne we have reiterated proofs. Throkmorton to Cecil, 26th July, 1559, wrote: "I am surely informed that there is a party in Scotland for placing the Prior of St. Andrew's in the state of Scotland, and that the Prior himself, by all the secret means he can, aspires thereto;" to which fact Elizabeth herself bears testimony in her instructions to the Earl of Shrewsbury. She says: "Before the treaty of

Edinburgh there was an intent discovered unto us by Lethington, to deprive her (Queen Mary) of her crown, which we utterly rejected." So also by the nobility and gentry at Dumbarton, 12th September, 1568: "It is diligently to be remembered how shortly after our Sovereign's homecoming from the realm of France in Scotland, the Earl of Moray having respect then, as it appears yet, by his proceedings to place himself in the government of this realm, and to usurp this kingdom." And proofs of the complicity of Elizabeth and Moray to this end are endless, from Melville, Camden, Knox, Randolph, and Throkmorton; and it is in full accordance with his subsequent acts, and he died "detested and abandoned by every worthy man." And it may be remarked here that the word "gude" attached to his name signifies, in its ambiguous meaning, here the godly, *i. e.*, the Calvinist and the friend of Knox and the altar destroyers; and in proof of this* the next Earl of Moray (James Stewart, Lord Doune), who married Elizabeth, the Regent's daughter, and so succeeded to the title, was called the bonnie Earl of Moray, being the Scottish word for the beloved. This godly Lord James introduced masking into Scotland at his marriage-feast, to the extreme disgust of Knox, who records, "that the greatness of the banquet, and the vanity used thereat, offended many godly; then began the masking, which from year to year has continued since."

There is no need to prove that Mary was persecuted in the matter of her religion and the mass. The Parliament had pronounced the sentence of death on any one who heard mass—a reservation being only granted to her and to her household. Randolph records how on a high mass in her Chapel Royal the Earl of Argyll and Lord James so dis-

* Sir Walter Scott in the 'Monastery' so interprets it, calling him the godly Earl of Murray.

turbed the quire, that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears. The priests and nuns were designated by the magistrates "whoremongers and adulterers." Knox was both brutal and annoying, for whilst he uttered blasphemous prayers against her in the pulpit, out of the pulpit he attributed to her, and called on her to redress, the license of the times. When the Marquis of Elbœuf, Bothwell, and Lord John of Coldingham, committed a most indecent riot in Edinburgh, the Queen is inflicted with a supplication to punish condignly; to which she reasonably replies, "that her uncle was a stranger and that he had a young company, but that she would put such order unto him and others that thereafter they should have no occasion to complain." Imagine the godly magistrates of Edinburgh and John Knox delegating to the young Queen the punishment by law due to a disgraceful riot, and not doing their duty themselves. Randolph records, "that the Queen reproved the doers, in words sharp enough;" and John Knox abuses her thus, "and so deludit she the just petition of her subjects."

She is also accused of great levity of behaviour, which is most unjustifiably attributed to her. We know that she called in the help of John Knox to rebuke his fellow-religionist, Argyll, and his wife, Janet Stewart. Indeed, when we invade her palace to see what she is doing, we oftener find her in tears than in merry-making—in royal duties and correspondence than in pastime.

There was running at the ring; the Field of the Cloth of Gold was still fresh in memory, and so Henry II. of France ran at the ring, and was killed in the tournament; so Henry IV. oft ran in the ring, and carried off the palm. That the young nobles of Scotland were to be forbidden that which was the grace of other courts is absurd to be required. She loved music, poetry, and literature, which is surely in

her favour; and yet the fact of Chatélard and Davy being draughted into the concerts is recorded as a crime against her. Sad was the harmony of the Scottish music of that day, and the introduction of concerts and music is a praiseworthy and womanly deed. It is stated that she played at cards with Rizzio. I doubt the card-playing, which is nowhere else mentioned. We never hear of cards, which were then more the means of gambling than of amusement. Ombre, quadrille, and whist were the growth of sequent years. The private conferences of the Queen and her astute and clever secretary were not cards, but that which cost him his life, his interference in foreign affairs, and correspondence with the Pope, Spain, and the Guises of France. She is recorded to have shot at the butts with Bothwell, which is an untruth, for they were separated on affairs of life and death to Bothwell, and the "butts" is only a calumny of Moray's.

She is recorded to have said, when she rode in panoply, that "she would she were a man!" A silly saying, if a true one, for she was most feminine in soul, and though a fearless and excellent horsewoman, and of considerable strength of person, yet she had none of the firmness and strength of the masculine character; and, if she idly used those words, in private conversation, under the excitation of a gallop on the heath, she made a great blunder. Never did woman want a protector more than she; but her protectors all failed her, Moray, Darnley, and Lethington. On the contrary, we find her in perplexity and tears, confiding in Moray, disputing with Randolph or with Knox, transacting her own business, and trying to reform her terrible court; and only indulging in music and needlework as her own recreations.

Persecution moved her soul to civil and religious liberty, that absolute and first requisite of quiet government; and

it stands forth prominently in her favour, that, whilst the kings of that and the sequent century sought from the bigoted people relaxation from persecution, invoking religious liberty, Charles I. and James II. equally, as also William III. and Marlborough, whilst he ruled under Anne, yet the three queens were all bigoted and intolerant—Mary of England, Elizabeth, and Anne—all forged fetters for their fellow-men of the contrary faith; whilst Anne died the day preceding that on which her "Schism Act" was to have come in force, 1st August, 1714. On the 31st July King George was proclaimed, and the Schism Act fell ere its birth, when civil and religious liberty for the first time became the law of the land, growing with its growth, and strengthening with its strength.

Queen Mary's bedchamber appears to have been a more sacred place than bedchambers were then held to be. For those who are shocked at the fact of Bothwell visiting the Queen, to report progress of events, the morning after the fatal explosion of Kirk-of-Field, and when she was overpowered with affliction, I would commend a perusal of the bedchamber of Mary de Medicis, and Henri Quatre, recorded by Sully, who says, "I found that the courtiers were already admitted." "Come in, Rosny," said his Majesty to me, "you will think me lazy till you know what has kept us so late in bed; my wife, who believes herself to be in her eighth month, having had some pains as she was going to bed," &c.; "but they proved only to be the effect of the cholic. But, in the mean time, let us see your gifts; for I perceive that you have three of your secretaries with you, each loaded with a velvet bag." Rosny replied that he wished to make the new year's offerings in presence of his Majesty and the Queen. "Though she is silent," replied the King, "and plays the dormouse, as usual, yet I know that she is not asleep, but

she is offended both with you and I. But let us see your gifts." I then ordered my three secretaries to approach; and he details the gifts in his own turgid and didactic mode. There were gifts for the ladies of the Queen's chamber:—"But, Rosny, will you give them their new year's gift without making them kiss you for them?" "Truly, Sire, I kiss them as we do relics when we present our offerings." The King laughed aloud, and said to the courtiers, "What do you think of this prodigal financier, who makes such rich presents out of his master's pocket for a kiss?" Then he added to the courtiers, "Go to breakfast, and leave us to confer upon matters of more importance." Every one retiring but Renouillere and Catherine, the King gently pushing the Queen, "Awake you dormouse," said he, "give me a kiss, and groan no more."

The Queen does awake, and complained that her grief was caused by her husband's infidelities with those who were not only unfaithful to him, but hated him in the heart; "and I appeal for the truth of this to M. de Rosny, whose word I will take." Rosny adding that he avoided this explanation.

Such were bedchambers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and, after this graphic scene, let not the fact of Bothwell entering the chamber, where all Mary's retinue stood, to report on the passing events of that dreadful day, be held as to her discredit.

But worse, far worse than these lax manners, as we should hold them to-day, was the facility and abuse of divorce. A single instance will explain as well as a dozen. It is not of Henry VIII., but of his sister Margaret, the wife of James IV. who fell at Flodden. She then married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, Bell the Cat, had by him issue Margaret Douglas, married to Earl of Lennox

and mother of Darnley. Margaret divorced Angus; but the Legislature which granted the divorce, pronouncing the marriage "null and unlauchfull," yet retained the right of her daughter as legitimate, and as if born in lawful marriage. Then Margaret married Henry Stewart, Lord Methuen, in 1526, and in 1537 desired a divorce from him on the ground of relationship in the fourth degree of consanguinity with Angus; but this levity of his mother was stopped by James V.

So Archibald Earl of Argyll, the prop of the reformed religion, divorced Janet Stewart and married the daughter of Lord Boyd, who was divorced from the Master of Caithness, for that purpose, both the women being innocent of any cause for divorce.

The year 1563 saw the Parliament, under the guidance of Moray, proscribe the house of Gordon; after which Moray and his two brothers, Lord John and Lord Robert, went into the north to hold a justice-court to punish thieves and murderers, and to burn two witches; but in reality to raid the earldom of treasure. Lord John of Coldingham died on this progress.

Then followed a most offensive memorial of Queen Elizabeth to Randolph, 20th August, 1563 (Keith ii. 205), insolent in the very extreme, on the subject of Mary's marriage suitors. She declared that any of the Emperor's lineage, proposed by her uncles of Lorraine, would put in jeopardy their private amity, and destroy their mutual concord, &c.; "that Mary must marry some noble person of good birth within this our realm that might be agreeable to her, or if that shall not be, yet of some other country, being one which neither we nor our realm should have manifest cause to judge to be sought for the trouble of this realm." This long and offensive document drives solely at Lord Robert Dudley, or the Earl of Warwick, for her

husband; in fact, to debase her by an unequal alliance. Randolph writes, "Moray seemeth to like well of the match, but dares not persuade, it is so full of difficulty."

But the Court of France wrote thus:—"The Queen-Mother of France and the Cardinal of Guise understand by De Foix this intended match, and intimate to the Queen that it is not safe to trust the Queen of England's counsel in her marriage, who meaneth therein only to serve her own turne; nor honorable to match so basely as with the Lord Robert or Earl of Warwick, of which the one she intendeth to her, and the other to herself."

When Lord Robert Dudley was named as the man in March, 1564, by Randolph, the Queen reasoned smartly with him, and Randolph said as much as his subject would admit, which was very little.

A declaration of the succession to the English crown was next published, reiterating the will of Henry VIII., and deposing the Scottish branch to the claims of the Duke of Suffolk and House of Brandon.

Queen Mary, insulted and vexed, and having no aid from her own ministers, Moray and Lethington, took the reins in her own hands. On the 23rd November, 1564, Moray and Lethington met the Earl of Bedford and Randolph, at Berwick, and debated the matter of the marriage with Lord Robert. The despatch to Queen Elizabeth is given in full by Keith, ii. 250, where apparently all parties concerned are equally dissatisfied and insincere. Leicester is supposed to have been hostile, preferring his hopes on Queen Elizabeth. Moray and Lethington perceived the false position into which they were drifting. The English Commissioners simply were feeling their way. Lennox was then recalled, and his forfeiture was rescinded by the Scottish Parliament. Queen Elizabeth gave Darnley leave to visit Scotland for three months. Lennox renounced the

earldom of Angus in favour of the Douglas; many parties were soothed; Moray had his earldom confirmed, and Grange, Cockburn of Ormiston, and Douglas of Melrose, their lands confirmed to them.

The mass was proclaimed forfeiture of goods, lands, and life, save in the Queen's chapel; and Rizzio succeeded Raulet in the foreign secretaryship; and here it may be well to satisfy my readers on the outward man of Rizzio, not as admitting for a moment any question of love betwixt the Queen and her servant, which is as gross and as baseless a libel as was ever uttered; but Rizzio is a character in himself, who may bear a description of his person. Buchanan, the libeller, states that he was advanced in years and deformed. Hume admits his ugliness, but states that he was not past his youth. Blackwood, a contemporary writer, says that he was "homme assez aage laide morne et mal plaisant." Caussin calls him "aage et prudent." M. Louis Guyon, who knew Rizzio, writes, "étant en Écosse, j'ai bien connu David Rizzio duquel j'ai reçu bien de courtesies à la cour. Il était assez agé et laid." Another writer of 'Vita Mariæ' says he was "senex quidem et corpore deformis."

He was a man of overweening vanity, and rash and presumptuous in his talk. He consulted Sir James Melville on the hostility he had provoked, who advised him to be submissive before the nobles, which advice he scouted as absurd. Moray had presented him with a valuable ring. Darnley himself had made court to him; with the Queen he was the sole one who could conduct her correspondence with the Guises, the Pope, and Philip of Spain, and hold converse freely in the French tongue. These things, conjoined with his joining the Queen's music-band, tended to make the daw consider himself to be a peacock, until he was as rudely stripped of his plumes, as he had been

basely endowed with them by those who courted him in his pride of place. Such was the man who was perhaps the sole foreign secretary true to his mistress. Raulet resumed his old place till death; when the tool Nau assumed the task wherein he played the traitor. Such was the man whom Darnley courted, and to whom Moray "sued very earnestly and more humbly than could have been believed, with a present of a fair diamond enclosed within a letter, full of repentance and fair promises, which the said Rizzio granted to do with the better will, that he perceived the King to bear him little good will and to frown upon him." (Sir J. Melville's Mem.)

In the spring of 1565 the queen appears to have been labouring in her royal duties with wonderful energy and effect, convening the estates, compounding differences between her nobles, especially Argyll and Lennox, and yet tending with marvellous care upon Darnley, who was sick bodily of the measles, and mentally of his unchecked presumption, "boasting to knock Chatelherault's pate when he was whole." Moray hostile, and she herself almost the sole person in her realm acting in honourable integrity of heart to put things to rights, checked by Elizabeth, whose views touching the marriage with Darnley are undiscoverable beneath her cloud of hypocrisy, she and Leicester being supposed by Mary as devising it, yet when Queen Mary herself had resolved upon the marriage, then Queen Elizabeth became hostile. The first blow was struck against her by Moray refusing his consent, although the convention of Stirling of 15th May unanimously assented to the marriage, acting with Throkmorton, who entered and remonstrated loudly in the name of Elizabeth, when Mary replied with great dignity; and a convention was called to meet at Perth for the purpose of ratifying the assent and settling the day of marriage. Randolph writes, "4000*l.* now

would do wonders." Knox was fighting for his Calvinistic Church. Lethington was false. "Moray was the slave of private ambition" when the convention met at Perth.

There the Earl of Glencairn presented a petition to Queen Mary containing the demands of the Calvinist Church: mass to be abolished; conformity to be enforced; pluralities to be abolished; poor-law established; tithes abolished. Now at this time the Protestant Church was in no danger; "the Queen thought not to trouble it." Moray and Lethington had both declared the thing not to be feasible. It really was an assault against her own chapel and her own private mass; but yet her reply was temperate and conciliatory, and, as ever was the case, was also dignified.

And now occurred the event which appears to be the very turning point of Queen Mary's career, and as justifying her subsequent conduct, for whilst her affairs were managed by such men and measures nothing save misery could accrue, and the Queen took the conduct of affairs more into her own hands.

Moray conspired with Argyll, Lord Boyd, and others, to intercept Mary and Darnley on their return from Perth—murder him, and imprison her in Lochleven. He had munitioned Lochleven Castle, and he pretended to be confined there of "the fluxes," whilst the Earl of Rothes was posted at Parrot's Well, a pass near Lochleven, to intercept them; but the plot was divulged, as they ever were divulged by that unruly nation; and Mary had notice of it, and escaped by the simple expedient of forestalling the hour of passing the ambuscade. Mounting steed at five in the morning, attended by Ruthven and Lindsay, and 300 horse, they merrily rode by, two hours before the hour of tryst, and never drew bridle until they had ridden thirty-five miles, and attained the Firth of Forth, whence they

proceeded to Callendar, and reached Lord Livingstone's in safety.

Here again Mary tried her arts of peace; she heard a Protestant sermon, and reassured her subjects on the score of religion; whilst Elizabeth, Moray, and Argyll, were plotting on and preparing to attack Athole, then an adherent of his kinswoman Mary.

Queen Mary commanded them all to disband their forces, and summoned them to a convention at Stirling; to which Moray refused to go, alleging that his life was in danger from the Lennoxes, which Lennox and Darnley both denied, and offered to fight whoever should affirm so. Still Moray refused to attend, and he and Randolph attended her and interceded in the name of Elizabeth for the rebels. Mary replied: "Those whom your mistress calls my best subjects, I can never account so, as they resist my authority; and the Queen must not be offended if I pursue the remedy that I have in my own hands."

The marriage took place on the 29th of July, amidst acclamations, money scattered, and music resounding. It is remarkable to find the Earl of Morton, the bitter enemy of Darnley, present as carver, with Athole, Crawford, Eglinton, Cassilis, and Glencairn. Darnley was proclaimed king the next day, and we then also find Glencairn secede to the rebels.

On the 2nd August Moray was summoned to court. And here it is right to remark that Knox himself has recorded, "that there were divers bruits among the people; some alleging that this dissatisfaction of the Lords was not for religion, but rather for hatred, envy of sudden promotion or dignity, or such worldly causes." However, summoned to appear at court on the 1st August, Moray failed, and was denounced rebel, put to the horne and escheat, that is, life and estate forfeited.

The seceding lords were Chatelherault, Argyll, Moray, Glencairn, Rotheness, Ochiltree, and divers others. Rothes and Kirkaldy of Grange were ordered to surrender themselves prisoners at the Castle of Dumbarton.

And on this revolution of parties Lord Gordon was restored to the Earldom of Huntley; Bothwell returned from France and was favourably received, at this juncture, notwithstanding his offences.

The ambassadors of Elizabeth inform Cecil that "if the rebel lords get no aid from the Queen of England, they are like to be overthrown;" and then began the bickerings of Randolph. Mary required that "he should promise upon his honour not to meddle with her rebels, or she would set a guard upon his house." The other emissary, Tamworth, complained "that he was staid by the Lord Hume." It was replied "it was his own fault, as he had refused a safe conduct." To which Randolph rejoined, "that it had been given under the hand of Darnley, whom he could not acknowledge as king, being a subject of his sovereign." Knox here records that 10,000*l.* was sent from England to their aid.

On the 25th August the king and queen marched to Linlithgow; and here, be it recorded, the main body of Hamiltons left their chiefs and the rebels. The rebels advanced to Edinburgh, but found no response amidst the people, so they changed their tactics to prayer, tendering submission, "provided the true religion of God might be established," else their blood should be dearly bought.

Lennox, Morton, and Darnley, then led the queen's forces of 5000 men; and the rebels retreated to Argyleshire; and Queen Mary and the King pursued a progress by St. Andrew's and Dundee, where they issued a proclamation in favour of the reformed religion, exposing the misrepresentations of the rebels; their forces gathered to

18,000 men, and the rebels then fled over the border to Carlisle, Knox himself hiding in the wilds of Kyle. And then occurred that refined dissimulation of Queen Elizabeth, one of the incredible passages of history, where to their faces Elizabeth objurgated Moray and Hamilton of Kilwynning, asking them how, rebels as they were, they dared to come within her realm, told them that their abominable treason might stir up her own subjects against herself; "therefore get ye out of my presence, ye are but unworthy traitors."

Elizabeth interceded, nevertheless, for the "unworthy traitors," and Mary "wept wondrous sore, but suffered not dictation from Elizabeth." The French and Spanish ambassadors too interfered, accusing Elizabeth to her face of fomenting rebellion in other realms; they likewise exhorted Mary not to pardon the rebels; whilst Sir J. Melville and Throkmorton, on the other hand, urged clemency. And Moray himself stooped to implore both Cecil and Rizzio to intercede for him.

And here we find Mary and the king triumphant, and up to the present time free from the breath of slander; nothing was needed save discretion and wisdom on the part of the king to have ruled Scotland happily; but it was otherwise ordained.

We now come to those wonderful documents, the bands, documents without any legal force, and of as small a moral force as can be imagined; for any one signing a band was as likely to change parties the next day, so that the sole force of a band appears to be a power to prove falsehoods against the banding noble.

There were two of these bands to murder Rizzio, whose crime was his power in foreign policy, which was at this time carried on solely by Mary and himself. They appear to have been submitted to the English ministers and

government, and to have been approved of by them; and we find Queen Elizabeth, Cecil, Leicester, and Moray cognizant of and consenting to the murder of Rizzio, the capture of the queen, and intention to revolutionise the government.

The first band was taken in duplicate, one signed by Darnley, the counterpart by the conspirators is lost; it was very widely signed or connived at by Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, Argyll, Rothes, Boyd, and Maitland. One of the strangest points is the utter carelessness of secresy; for Moray, Grange, and Ochiltree were to be informed, so as to return to Edinburgh on the day fixed for the murder.

The second band was more widely signed, by Moray, Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree, to give Darnley the Crown Matrimonial, and to uphold him in the quarrel. He, the King, to pardon Moray and the lords, about seventy persons, including themselves, to which band the English Government was accessory.

The murder was effected on Saturday, the 9th March, 1565, the Earl of Huntley, Bothwell, Sir Jas. Balfour, and Sir James Melville, escaped from Holyrood, whilst Moray, Rothes, and Ochiltree entered, pursuant to their murderous programme. Mary cast herself into Moray's arms, and ejaculated, "If my brother had been here he would not have suffered me to have been thus cruelly handled." Poor deluded lamb in the lion's jaws.

The next incident in this marvellous tale is that Darnley and Queen Mary escaped from Moray and the conspirators to Dunbar, where 8000 men rushed to their rescue. The conspirators again fled, refused to appear on being summoned, and were again outlawed and proscribed.

There are two detailed records of the death of "Davy," as Rizzio is called. The letter of Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March, and the discourse or con-

fession by Lord Ruthven on his deathbed at Newcastle, which is as superior to the first as gold is to dross. Bedford and Randolph retailed what they heard, and spiced their tale to please the English despot-queen. Lord Ruthven's deposition, on the contrary, is that of a chief actor of the drama, and written in awe, and a full desire to tell the truth. He himself appears to consider the murder of Davy as a meritorious act; but Providence deemed otherwise; no Ruthven succeeded in his enterprise from that day; his son and grandsons were beheaded and slain in conspiracies; and after two more unhappy generations their coat-of-arms was cancelled, their name abolished, and the family proscribed in dignities and property.

Lord Ruthven's statement breathes not a syllable against Queen Mary's honour, in fact he appears to regard her with eyes in which paternal love, and a lover's admiration, and a subject's loyalty are intermingled. The offences of Davy were political, and political only; and Darnley himself was one of the difficulties of cutting Davy off, "for he could not keep a secret, and would tell the queen." And again, when the earls feared craft and policy on the part of Queen Mary, the king would not credit the same, but said, "She was a true princess, and he would set his life for what she promised." These feelings, recorded by Lord Ruthven, we shall find even more strongly reiterated on the home journey from Glasgow to Kirk-of-Field, for Darnley knew well who were his enemies, namely, Morton and the Hamiltons, for the fief of Angus and the reversed succession to the crown.

Randolph, who was not a witness of the scene, wrote home; "It cannot for modesty nor with the honour of a queen be reported what she said of him." Now in Lord Ruthven's statement the complaints are such as can well be repeated. The queen asked, "What offence have I given you that you should do me such shame?" The

king replied that he was superseded by the fellow David: "every day before dinner you were wont to come to my chamber and pass the time with me, and this long time you have not done so; and when I came to your Majesty's chamber you bare me little company, except David had been the third person; and after supper your Majesty asked to sit up at the cards with the said David till one or two after midnight, and this is the entertainment I have had of you this long time." There is much more, but therein lies the matter which neither modesty nor the honour of a queen would suffer to be reported. Lord Ruthven thought not so, "he besought her Majesty to be of good comfort, and to entertain her husband, and use the counsel of the nobility and then her government would be as prosperous as in any king's days." It was here that Lord Ruthven asked for drink for God's sake; and soon after the news was brought of fighting in the close between the queen's followers and Morton, and Ruthven left for the scene of action. The king being left with the queen divulged "that he had sent for the lords to return," to which she replied "that she was not to blame that they had been so long away, she could be well content to have them home at any time but for angering of him," in proof whereof, when she gave remission to the duke "he was miscontent therewith." The sequent conduct of the King shows his childishness: he got drunk or he fell asleep, and entered not the queen's apartment until six the next morning, when he recommenced his petulant complaints, whilst Mary again agreed that "the lords returned should be admitted to her presence, and she would forgive all things by-past, and bury them out of her mind as they had never been." At five in the afternoon the king led in Morton and Moray and Ruthven, and on their knees the lords made their orations, whilst she replied, that she

never had been bloodthirsty nor greedy upon their lands and goods since her coming into Scotland, and Mary took the king and Moray, one in each hand, and walked in the outer chamber by the space of an hour. At six o'clock the lords delivered to the king "articles for their security to be subscribed by the queen," but protesting they placed little faith in him or his promises to get it signed. The lords then, pursuant to their promise, quitted Holyrood, leaving it to the queen's adherents, and as they suspected, the king and queen made off to Dunbar, the queen therein breaking no word, but the king breaking his to the lords he had recalled. At Dunbar her adherents followed. On the 23rd the lords were summoned to appear, who, upon failure, were put to her Majesty's horne, and the conquerors apparently oppressed the conquered. Lord Ruthven ends his statement with these graphic words: "Since the former division the king hath revolted from the queen to the lords, and now is come to her again. The constancy of such a king I leave you to judge of."

It is impossible to transcribe at length the many documents bearing on this subject, state papers, letters, and publications bearing upon it would fill folio volumes, and be utterly unsatisfactory. State papers sound wonderfully grand in histories, but they are in reality bushels of chaff with grains of wheat, which it is the historian's duty to sift and weigh, and on his personal credit depends the value of his extracts or condensations. To adduce the tittle-tattle of Drury and Randolph, hearsay, vitiated as it further is by their desire to please the queen, the sum of the murder of Davy or Rizzio, so far as Ruthven was concerned, was a political deed, in which he thought to do good service to his country and his queen, whom he honoured and loved as queen and as a woman. No breath of scandal attaches to her, save in the incredibly filthy

pages of Buchanan—unfit for perusal, and in the ribald wit of Randolph to Cecil.

The bands against Rizzio lead us on to the more important bands signed to procure the death of the king. They came about in the following way: the king was bearing himself like a vicious madman, thwarting instead of aiding the queen; for whilst Mary reconciled Moray and Bothwell, and Argyll and Atholl, and would have pardoned Morton, the king threw impediments to these praiseworthy efforts; but it may be supposed that he was aware there was deadly feud betwixt him and the Douglas clan, and that the pardon of Morton was the bringing home his deadly enemy. On the 19th June, 1566, Prince James was born, and Mary on that occasion pardoned Morton, which pardon the king took in furious dudgeon, and quitted her in anger, retiring to Glasgow.

It should be remarked that so great had been the perplexities of the poor queen, that she had herself meditated to have retreated to France, leaving the kingdom under a regency of five, but other propositions were made to her, upon which we must treat.

Bothwell fighting on the border against the strapping Elliotts, and his being wounded at Hermitage, and the visit of the queen to him there, is told very differently by Mr. William Tytler and Mr. Goodall from the ordinary versions. Goodall says: "It plainly appears that an insurrection was meditated on the border, headed by Morton," i. 304; and Mr. Tytler says, "On the news of the insurrection, and of Bothwell being slain, the queen, with an armed force, made a sudden march to the Hermitage, but finding the rioters had fled, she that very same day returned to Jedburgh." This appears more probable than the story of a ride of twenty miles to see a wounded man. She heard he was *dead*, rode up with reinforcements, found

him alive and the rioters dispersed, and rode back to Jedburgh instantly, there to fall sick unto death herself, when she made her confession to God, bowed herself to His holy will, besought the nobility to attend to the government of the realm, and to live in love and amity among themselves; she recommended the prince, her son, to their. governance, praying them to suffer none to be with him that would give him evil example, but to instruct him in virtue and godliness; she prayed them to trouble no man in his conscience who professed the Roman religion. Archbishop Leslie records these sentiments, which represent the aspirations of purest Christianity. But the queen recovered to endure more woe.

Queen Mary, who was lying sick at Craigmillar, in deep grief and sorrow, and, as Du Croc wrote, "still she repeats these words, 'I could wish to be deid.'" The Earls of Argyll, Huntley, Bothwell, Moray, and the Secretary Lethington, went together to the Queen and proposed that if she would pardon the lords—Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay—they would find a means, with the rest of the nobility, to bring about a divorce between her and the king, without her having any hand therein. We know the temptation fell dead at Queen Mary's feet—that it was a proposition to which she would by no means agree. But touching the complicity of Moray, the declarations of the Earls of Huntley and Argyll aver that

Lethington stated to the Queen,—

"And albeit that my lord of Moray here present be little less scrupulous for ane Protestant, nor your grace is for ane Papist, I am assured he will look through his fingers thereto, and will behold our doings, saying nothing to the same."

Moray answered this to Queen Elizabeth,—

"To report untruths of me, and namely towards some speech holding in my hearing at Craig Millar, in November, 1566." * * *. "In case ony man will say and affirm that ever I was present when any purposes were holden at Craig.

> millar, in my audience tending to any unlawful or dishonourable end; or that ever I subscribed ony band there, or that ony purpose was holden anent the subscribing of any band by me, to my knowledge, I avow they speak wickedly and untruly, which I will maintain against them as becomes an honest man to the end of my life."

It will be seen that Moray merely evades the question. He is not accused as having signed the band, but of looking through his fingers, which we accordingly find he does; for he runs off to Fife on the 9th February, having asked leave to go to France, and Kirk-of-Field was blown up on the 10th February, a few hours after his retreat, as promised.

The order of events ran thus :—

24th December, 1566, Mary signed the Earl of Morton's pardon, and of seventy-six of his accomplices, excepting only George Douglas, who had stabbed Rizzio over her shoulder; and Andrew Ker of Fawdonside, who had presented a pistol against herself, when the deed was perpetrated. Darnley on the same day left in anger for Glasgow, where he fell sick of his loathsome disease, whatever it was, and Morton returned during the sickness, when Archibald Douglas and Bothwell made him acquainted with their intention to murder Darnley, and pressed him to join the plot. Morton, like Moray, would rather have had it done by others. He liked not to meddle in new troubles ere he was well rid of an old one. "Bring me the queen's handwrit for a warrant." But Maitland (Lethington) sent Archibald Douglas to him to inform him that the queen "would receive no speech of the matter appointed unto him."

On the 24th January, Queen Mary left Edinburgh for Glasgow, and slept at Callendar that night. On the 25th, in the evening, she reached Glasgow, and was met on the way by Lennox's gentleman, Crawford, to whose reputed conversations, as they appear in the first forged letter, no credence can be given, since they appear in a document absolutely false and fictitious, and are in themselves incredible.

On the 27th January the homeward journey to Callendar, Lord Livingstone's, commenced. On the 28th they arrived at Linlithgow, and rested there the 29th, and reached Edinburgh the 30th. And now we enter into as confused and perplexed a story, which is also unhappily not subject to any proof. It is, and must remain, a subject of conjecture.

They were returning to Craigmillar, considered preferable to Holyrood for a convalescent residence, owing to the low situation of the latter; but Darnley positively refused to go thither. He had doubtless heard from Lord Robert, or some one, hints to induce him to refuse. The queen then thought they were to be housed in Hamilton Palace; but contrary to all this expectation, they were led to Kirk-of-Field—to the then buttress-mined tower of Kirk-of-Field. *Moray led them there.* It belonged to Robert Balfour, one of the chief of the conspirators. On the 7th February Lord Robert told Darnley that there was a plot against his life, and that unless he found means to escape from that house, he would never be permitted to leave it alive. Darnley informed Mary, who expressed her opinion that Lord Robert was a mischief-maker, and summoned him to her presence, and desired him to explain his meaning; whereupon he denied that he had ever told Darnley so, who, enraged at the falsehood, they laid hands on their daggers, and Moray, summoned by Mary, parted them.

Moray, ever at hand when evil was on the wing—to lead off Chatelard to the scaffold, or to part Lord Robert and the king, quitted the court on the 9th for Fife—he had not the fluxes then, but his wife was ill, and he was on his way to France, &c.—however, Moray led the cavalcade to Kirk-of-Field. Moray heard the communication of Lord Robert, the godly Moray, of course, *knowing nothing of it himself;* and on the 10th, the day after his departure, Kirk-of-Field was blown up—"dung to dross from buttress foundation-stone."

Now there is no proof whatever—not any, that any person perished by that explosion. The king and William Taylor were found in the orchard strangled. Nelson, with unblushing effrontery, averred that he was in the house, and was awakened by the house falling about his ears. Of the four others *supposed* to have been buried in the ruins, we never hear a syllable more. Sir James Melville was not even permitted to view the corpses of the king and William Taylor. It seems incredible that the charred and rended limbs of the victims, had there been any, should not be mentioned—that no search should have been instituted for their remains. The avowal of Nelson is unequalled in its falsehood since the adventures of Baron Munchausen. Yet it was suffered to pass current as a truth. Had he been, as he avers he was, in the building during the explosion, his mother would not have known her son in the mangled mass and severed limbs of his remains. The house, too, had been mined in its buttresses unknown to Bothwell, who was used as a cat's paw to spread loose powder in the chamber beneath the king's. There were also three bands of men parading the precincts that night—a band of Douglases, a band of Hamiltons, and the servants of Bothwell. It was evidently believed that the king was strangled by the Hamiltons. Old

Lennox hanged Archbishop Hamilton for the murder, and fell himself a victim to the Hamiltons for that act. It is in keeping with the characters of Moray and Morton, to act in the dark, and by vicarious hands. Moray had absented himself—so also had Morton. The Douglases acted ostensibly by the hands of Bothwell, in whom, blinded by greed and expectation of the promise to take Darnley's place, there is a childish simplicity in the proceedings, running about making a clatter himself, and abusing the clatter made by his men: retiring to bed, and suffering himself to be awoke to hear the tidings, and to bear them to the queen. No one chose to move in the matter after the murder had been effected, which murder appears to be limited to two persons—the king and William Taylor; and it was buried in silence and secrecy from the moment of its perpetration. The only evidence we have is that of the victims who died on the scaffold, who all point at Moray and Morton as the authors of the deed. The event taken in any phase, the non-interference of the Provost or Parliament of Edinburgh in the proceedings, the absolute absence of anything like an inquest on the bodies, or of any popular marvel at the charred and blasted limbs of the victims, all represent to a looker-on that he has been deluded by a false tale, and that no one perished by the explosion, which was merely a blind to cover the murder and fix it untruly upon Bothwell. This view gains confirmation from the fact that, although the buttresses of the building had been mined and charged with powder before the entrance of the king; yet the idea of powder as the means, so far as Bothwell is concerned, was only imagined for the first time on the 7th, two days prior to the explosion. It is very evident that Kirk-of-Field had been prepared by the Douglases prior to the entrance therein of the King and Queen, who were both in ignorance that

it was their designed residence until they were taken thither, to the surprise of Queen Mary, by the Earl of Moray!

The next band, 19th April, 1567, is that of "Ainslie's Supper," one of the most extraordinary documents which ever perplexed history, It is signed by at least 21 names, and its purport is—1st., to hold Bothwell purged of the murder of the king—and 2nd., to propose him as the fittest husband for the queen, if she, preferring a native-born subject to a foreign prince, would so far humble herself, that they would uphold it upon their honours and fidelity. The one and sole impeachment to Queen Mary is, whether she was collusive in obtaining that abominable band. The name of Moray appears firstly thereon, and, although he was absent from that supper, yet his name appears there in the copy made by one John Read, a clerk of Buchanan's and Cecil's. Morton's is there. But Sir James Balfour, who had the band in his keeping, was wonted, on making copies, to omit or retain names as it suited at the juncture. Whilst Cecil's copy by John Read has Moray and Glencairn, Balfour omits them and Lord Lindsay's name; whilst in the Declaration of Dumbarton, 12th September, 1568, Morton, Sempil, Lindsay, and Sir J. Balfour are subscribers to that band. Wherefore Balfour retained the name of Morton, whilst he omitted his own, the reason is clear; in January, 1581, when he distributed copies, Morton was his enemy. There was no honour or truth in these rebel lords, and they forged to suit their temporary fleeting purposes. Mr. William Tytler says Moray could not suppress this band, they therefore forged the queen's consent and warrant to the nobility to sign it at that supper. They also, on the 13th May, made her sign a pardon for their having subscribed it. Queen Mary is generally held to have been besotted in her passion for Bothwell; but that

charge appears to me to rest mainly on the authority of Grange and Drury. Grange had been grossly deceived by the letter beginning "Dear hearte," which had been forged expressly to deceive him. He had pledged his word to her on Carberry Hill; he had witnessed the flight of Bothwell, and the contentment of the queen to be rid of him and to revert to the allegiance of her lords; but when she was hurried off to captivity, he was appeased by the production of that letter, stated to have been written by her in the "black turnpike" on that dreadful night when she was a lonely prisoner in darkness and in madness. The letter served its turn, it pacified Grange, and it was never after heard of.* He was now in conjunction with Morton, Argyll, and Atholl, organising a party for the protection of the prince against Bothwell; he was in the pay of England as a spy, and wrote his letters to Drury, who transmitted them with garblings of his own to Cecil. He wrote what he believed perhaps, but of which he was not an eye-witness; that she desired to deliver up her son to Bothwell; an assertion the very contrary to the fact, for she was entreating Mar to hold him safely; that she shot at the butts, and won a wager at Seton Castle, where

* Kirkaldy of Grange affords an excellent example of the materials requisite to form a *preux chevalier* of the time. If he is not *sans peur et sans reproche* as was Bayard, he was "a lover in the house and a lion in the field." In 1545 he was one of those who murdered Cardinal Beton in his own chamber; in 1564 he rebelled against Mary on her marriage; in 1567 he rebelled a second time, and enacted his part at Carberry-hill. In 1569 he forsook Moray who had entrusted Edinburgh Castle to him; in 1570 he murdered Henry Seaton in the streets of Edinburgh; he forged Moray's signature, and he died the queen's adherent, and he wrote a poem in caustic and rugged rhyme in devotion to his queen, ere he perished in her cause on the scaffold. Such tergiversations of the nobles were endless,—those of Argyll and Boyd for instance—and would be politically inexplicable, but we are enabled to see the cause of the changes, in plunder, greed, and private revenge.

a hundred of her best nobility were gathered round her, and Bothwell in Edinburgh working, slaving like a horse, in his vile procedure. All these are, like Drury's communications, held in State papers, and they are not only worthless as evidence, but they bear the print and face of falsehood and libel upon them. Mary, it is well known from trusty documents, was full of sorrow and despair; nor knew which way to turn for aid. Grange and Drury's evidence must be rejected as worthless.

Beyond the State paper communications there is no evidence of any partiality of Queen Mary to Bothwell. We can hardly discover the man's age or antecedents, which appear to be confused with those of Patrick his father: he is thought to be only thirty years old by some and forty-four by others. Lady Reres, a reputed mistress, is described as an old fat woman, whilst he is stated to have a wife in Denmark; and young Reres, her son, aided Mary in her escape from Borthwick Castle. The early antipathy of Mary to him is known to have been great, his attempt upon her with Arran, in 1562, having ruined him in her estimation. He returned from exile in France in 1565, then the mortal enemy of Moray; he was treated by the queen with the greatest severity, and indicted for high treason for his attempt in 1562, and summoned to take his trial. Moray and Argyll came, attended with 5000 men, to keep the day of law, but Bothwell dared not meet them, and appeared not. The queen is described as strongly prejudiced against him for coarse and violent conduct, and declared that he should receive no favour at her hands; but after the rebel lords had failed in their rebellion, on 31st August, 1565, and fled to Dumfries, the tables were turned, and Bothwell again returned, and was more favourably received, at that critical juncture.

From his return, in 1565, until he worked out the band

of Ainslie's supper, 19th April, 1567, he appears to have been one of the truest and most faithful of Queen Mary's followers. That was sufficient reason for his finding favour as one of the most powerful of the barons, as she herself writes in her despatch to France, of the 22nd May:—"At which time, being called home and restored to his former charge of Lieutenant-General, our authority prospered so well in his hands that suddenly our whole rebels were constrained to depart the realm." "It is worthy of remembrance with what dexterity he rid himself of the hands of those who at that time detained our person captive, and how suddenly, by his providence, not only were we delivered out of the *pressoun*, but the whole company of the conspirators was dissolved, and we recovered our former obedience." Queen Mary then very truly tells the tale, how he overweened in his hour of prosperity, and at length "planned attempting to force to have us in his puissance for fear to be disappointed in his purpose. And when he saw us like to reject all his suit and offers, in the end he showed us how far he was proceeded with our whole nobility and estates, and what they had promised him under their handwrits. If we had cause then to be astonished, we remit us to the judgment of the king, the queen, our uncle, and other of our friends. Seeing ourself in his puissance, sequestered from the company of all our servants and others of whom we might ask counsel; yea, seeing them upon whose counsel and fidelity we had before depended, whose force ought and must maintain our authority, without whom in a manner we are nothing (for what is a prince without a people?), beforehand already sealed to his appetite, and so we left alone, as it were, a prey to him; many things we resolved with ourself, but never could find an outgait; and yet gave he us little space to meditate with ourself, ever pressing us with continued and importunate

suit. In the end, when we had no esperance to be rid of him, never man in Scotland making *ane mynt* to procure our deliverance, for that it might appear by their handwrits and silence that he had won them all, we were compelled to mitigate our displeasure." And she then argues the points in his favour, his wisdom, and valour, and his being a Scottish potentate, when her people would not digest a foreign husband:—"We were content to accommodate ourself with the consent of our whole estates, who, as is beforesaid, had already declared their contentations." She then states that the marriage with Lady Jane Gordon was dissolved for lawful cause of consanguinity.

Such is the miserable tale of female helplessness once again told; the fault lies with her unready party. Sir James Melville's statement throws further doubt upon the signatures to the Ainslie's supper band, for he distinctly stated, when he heard the bruit run of the intended marriage, he sought the queen, and humbly upon his knees requested her Majesty to remember her honour and dignity, and the security of the prince. Her Majesty marvelled at such bruits without purpose, and said there was no such thing in her mind. Again, Sir James receives a letter from one Thomas Bishop, a Scot, to the same effect, which he straightway took to the queen, "and after her Majesty had read the said writing, she gave it me again without more speech; but called upon the Secretary Lethington, and said unto him, that I had showed her a strange writing, willing him also to see it. He asked what it could be? She said, a device of his own, tending only to the wreck of the Earl Bothwell. He took me by the hand and drew me apart to see the said writing, and when he had read it he asked what was in my mind, and said, 'So soon as the Earl Bothwell gets word, as I fear he shall, he will not fail

to slay you.' I said it was a sair matter to see that good princess run to utter wreck and nobody to forewarn her. He said that I had done more honestly than wisely. I pray you, said he, retire you with diligence before the Earl Bothwell come up from his dinner," and Sir James ran off. "I was flown and was sought, but could not be found until my lord's fury was slacked, for I was advertised that there was nothing but slaughter in case I had been gotten. Whereat her Majesty was miscontent, and told him he would cause her to be left of all her servants. Then he promised that he would do me no harm; whereof, I being advertised past again unto her Majesty to show her that she never made me such a fault as to think that I had invented the said letter, assuring her that it came from the said Thomas Bishop, and albeit it had not come from him, I was minded in duty to have said my opinion thereanent with all reverence and humility. She said matters were not that far agaitward; but she had no will to enter in the terms." Sir James Melville states his own capture by Captain Blackadder: that he was allowed to leave and go home, "and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lyen with her against her will;" agreeing in that last declaration with the Acts of Parliament proscribing Bothwell, which were passed immediately after.

Bothwell appears, during these seven weeks, to have acted towards all as a thorough ruffian. Lord Herries, Sir James Melville, and Lethington, who fled to Athole, were in danger of their lives from him for having interfered.

Of what value or weight against these testimonies, of the wrongs and the woes, the tears and the despair, of Queen Mary, shown in Sir James Melville's Memoirs, an eye-witness, and her own ingenuous pleading with the

Court of France—what value have the worthless communications of Grange to Drury, and Drury to Cecil? Grange, deceived by a forged letter, was equally deceived by false information of her merriment and besotted passion for Bothwell, of which those State papers emanating from him are the sole worthless proofs. Against them we may put the acts and devotion of Grange to his queen, when the scales of deception had fallen from his eyes. It was not to a besotted passion that Queen Mary fell, but to hard necessity—her lords and estates false, a band dictating her duty—and she fell, as a lamb to a wolf, to the daring ruffian who was cajoled into a course which was intended, as it did, to wreck them both; and, subjected to abduction and force, she accepted the position when she could not reject it, and what good would it have been to have appealed to her unfriendly subjects in Edinburgh, when invoked to do so by the Presbyterian minister, Mr. Craig, what aid could he have afforded? None. What aid the populace of Edinburgh? That of their voices, which shout hot and cold, as their demon sways them. No; Queen Mary, coerced by necessity, accepted the condition and bore it wearily, wearily, the prisoner of Bothwell and his sister, and his harquebussiers, for this short space from the 24th April to the 15th June, a space of about seven weeks, when, at Carberry Hill, salvation seemed to come to her from her false lords, but it was only the closing of the scene. Who, in the interim, had been faithful to her? None. She was preyed upon by all, and calumniated by all, for her own party was scattered and aloof, sheep without a shepherd, and casting the opprobrium of their own trifling proceedings upon her to be misreported at the English Court. The hundred nobles in Seton Castle shot at the butts, and wagered suppers, and passed the time in what merriment they could command, whilst fame fixed it

on the queen, who was weeping in her prison, and suffering maternal pangs for her child in Stirling Castle. Such was the band of the 19th April; there were many others subsequent, but they enter not into the period we are exploring.

And what became of the bands? They were deposited by Bothwell as his treasures with Sir James Balfour, the Governor of Edinburgh Castle, about as notorious a scoundrel as we can find: he retained them as his property, and garbled them to his will and use.

Randolph wrote to Cecil, after Moray's death, in 1570, that the band to murder Darnley was kept in a coffer or desk covered with green, and, after Carberry Hill, was taken by Liddington; Maitland took them thence in presence of James Balfour, Registrar and Keeper of the Keys—a fact notoriously known, as well as corroborated by Balfour's own report—and that another band implicating Moray was produced, in which they had counterfeited the late Regent's (Moray's) hand.

Mr. P. F. Tytler writes that the bands and jewels were retained by Sir J. Balfour, and they were signed by Argyll, Huntly, Lethington, and Balfour; all supposed adherents of Mary. The jewels were delivered to Moray, but the band was appropriated by Lethington, committed to the flames, and destroyed for ever. We learn this fact, new in the controversy, from a letter, Drury to Cecil, 28th November, 1567; Moray consenting to the destruction, but preserving evidence against the queen; which, Sir William Drury remarks, "was dealing very soundly and uprightly," *i. e.*, towards England.

We also know that Bothwell had his portfolio with four locks, and containing a letter from Queen Mary, written in condemnation and complaint, and probably the only letter she ever wrote to him. The band was not in that port-

folio, and it was, perhaps, to obtain possession of it that Dalgleish had been despatched when he was captured, and which Balfour did not send, choosing to retain those documents himself.

It may here be remarked that the silver casket was a likely and appropriate receptacle of jewels, but the desk and the portfolio were more natural receptacles of such deeds and documents.

Lastly, it appears to some that the abduction of Mary, had she been collusive, was utterly unnecessary in face of these documents, and also in opposition to the fearlessness and openness of her character, as well as at variance with the history of the procedure as told by herself and by the eye-witnesses.

Captain Blackadder, who acted a chief part in the abduction, leading off Melville, and telling him that the queen was a consenting party, was the first victim led by Moray to the scaffold, as one of the Bothwell band at the explosion of Kirk-of-Field.

We now approach the subject of the letters attributed to Queen Mary. That she could write fluently and concisely is proved by her existing correspondence, the tenor of which indicates a virtuous and elegant mind.

Such letters were imputed to her in many of the plots of the conspirators, namely, on the journey to Glasgow, on the return from Stirling, when the abduction took place, from the darkness and solitude of the black turnpike, and, in after years, from Chartley, where Nau and Phillips concocted the forgeries on the Babington conspiracy. Queen Mary wrote letters with her own hand, but they were in French; the Scotch correspondence appears to have been effected through her Secretary, Curll, and her French through her Secretaries Rizzio, Roullet, and Nau. Her position necessitated such correspondence; and ofttimes,

when she is accused as being with Rizzio, it was on the political events which at that time bore hardly upon her. The playing at cards receives no confirmation; her amusements never lay in cards, but in music and in needlework, made the medium of mottoed story. It is needless to add that these letters were improbable, out of time, place, and circumstance; that they are indictments of herself, utterly uncalled for from her pen to a presumed lover. It is needless so to affirm, for with Macbeth we may ejaculate on his airy vision departing—

"There's no such thing.

It is a false phantom, a cheat, a deceit, and proved to be so by dates, by non-production of any originals, by productions of indisputable forgeries, by her own constant denial, and by the as constant refusal to produce to her the originals, that she might see "her own handwrit."

Once and once only, did the original letters pretend to see the light. It was when Moray attended, on the 8th December, 1568; that meeting was at Westminster. There he pretended to produce the originals in French, but then and there he refused to deliver them in, or to leave them. The Commission inspected them in their Roman hand, and decided that it was not unlike to Queen Mary's. These meetings were riotous and disorderly, and no real business was effected at them. He, Moray, carried them off on that, which was the eighth meeting of the Commission, and from that time they were never seen or heard of, although conjecture ran riot as to their existence and whereabouts.

Copies were put in—copies in Scotch, Latin, and French. A French copy of a French letter could not contain blunders of composition and of translation; but our French copies contain both, and belie themselves, and the false

diary put in by Moray to uphold them stamps them indelibly as false and libellous.

The following appears to be the history of the letters and sonnets, so far as the veil of time and of investigations arising reveal the facts. It is universally accorded that the Scotch version is the original. It was framed in the castle of Edinburgh, where forging heads and hands abounded; Wood, McGill, and Balnares, Archibald Douglas, Balfour, and Maitland, in the pay of Moray and Morton. The Latin version succeeds, the product of Buchanan's pen, from which we trace the blunders which led to its detection. One Camuz, of Rochelle, a Huguenot, translated them into French, duplicating the blunders of the Latin, and proving the French version to stand third and last upon the list.

For the first of the eight letters is a lawyer's indictment against herself, interspersed with three or four bits of what may be taken to be epistolary correspondence, and containing the supposititious facts upon which Crauford and Nicholas Hubert afterwards signed their attributed depositions; which also caused the execution of the victim Hubert. Both those depositions bear the stamp of untruth. Crauford was old Lennox's servant, and met the royal cavalcade to excuse Lennox's absence; but in his depositions he represents himself as Darnley's confidant and adviser; as well as the reprover of the queen, in presence of the Hamiltons, Livingstones, Flemings, and Maxwells. The notion that he, a retainer, sent to excuse the absence of Lennox, should have bandied words and sentiments to the queen derogatory of her proceedings is not credible. Besides, he has to do dirty work for his master on other occasions. But the story of Hubert (French Paris) is more insolent in its averments, and contradicted fully by facts. On the 25th January, Bothwell was in attendance as

warden on his own border; he quitted Mary on the 25th for Hermitage Castle, and resumed his place at Linlithgow on the 28th. The whole incredible story confessed by the poor fool, if his confession be not another forgery, is nullified by dates, and was followed by his execution; which angered Elizabeth; and the old Duchess of Lennox, for the *practice* was too gross and palpable even for Queen Elizabeth.

The first letter contains (by my computation) 3750 words, or upwards of fifty lawyer's folios—a most dull and wearisome homily, mainly of Darnley, which a lover would not have patiently read, and which no eye unhostile to Queen Mary will believe that she wrote. The reader will like to see specimens of the blunders by which the order of translation was ferreted out by Mr. William Tytler and Mr. Goodall, and which fill a volume.

The Scotch version has—"till I sall end my bybill," *i. e.* epistle; which Buchanan translates, "Biblia," and the Rochelle version, "bible."

The Scotch version has "I am irkit," *i. e.* wearied; this was mistaken for "nakid," and Buchanan has "Ego nudata sum," and the Rochelle "Je suis toute nue." In January, too, in Scotland, in 1567.

The Scotch version has a Scotch proverb, "You have sair going to see sick folk." The long-shaped *s* was mistaken for an *f*, and translated "bella visitatio," and the Rochelle duplicates the blunder, "une belle visitation." The Scottish "but," used for "without," as in the adage, "Touch not the cat but the glove," and so used in the letter, was rendered "sed" and "mais" respectively. Such are specimens of scores of such blunders, which lacking any original in French prove the letters to be nullities and forgeries.

We now approach the Moray and Morton villany in the

matter. Although they averred that they captured Dalgleish with these documents on the 20th June, 1567, yet no mention whatever is made of them until they were ostensibly produced on the sequent 4th of December. Many state papers had been written in the interim, but no mention of the captured documents was ever made. No schedule, no copies were made; the documents are stated, firstly, as unsigned by Mary, and, secondly, appear with her signature. On the 4th December there were only the letters, eight in number, and the bond of marriage, now confessed to have been a forgery. On the 3rd of the next January Dalgleish's depositions were taken, and the man hurried off to the scaffold, that the dead man might tell no more tales. Then another interval occurs; on the 16th September, 1568, the documents reappeared translated, and with the addition of sonnets and love-letters; from thence they went to the Commission at York and Westminster. Moray professed to produce the originals in the Painted Chamber, on the 8th November, the preceding eight sittings of the Commission having been wasted in the fears and chicaneries, the rebuffs of Elizabeth and the *eik*. There they collapsed —vanished into the thinnest air, the murkiest fog— and disappeared from the scene. Herries, Boyd, and Kilwynning put in their protestation, and the plot ended by Moray escaping back to Scotland, by Mary's and Norfolk's aid, whilst Elizabeth detained Herries, Boyd, and Kilwynning, (a Hamilton) in durance, until Moray reached home.

To bolster his falsehood and afford space to write a letter, though barely for the eight letters, Moray put in his diary, endorsed by Cecil, making her start for Glasgow on the 21st January and reach Glasgow on the 23rd, which allowed some time for Hubert's story. Moray falls into the true dates on the return, namely 28th, Tuesday, to

Linlithgow. Thus he got the 24th, 25th, and 26th, at Glasgow for the writing of the letters. He too agrees that Bothwell went to Liddesdale, when he quitted the queen, which was on the 25th, from Callendar, so that Hubert's story is absolutely false; and Moray is—bah! what was perjury to Moray and Morton? It was one of the elements which they breathed, and wherein they had their being.

And do historians dare to repeat and renew the libel? Yes, they dare; there is no court on earth wherein they may be arraigned; there are no damages to be awarded to the dead; the fame of the royal lady is nothing to them, against their espoused side of the controversy, and inditing a catching chapter in favour of the Protestant Queen Elizabeth, and in extenuation of her tyranny, and trampling down the fallen Stewarts.

The only question that remains open against the hapless queen is her marriage with Bothwell. Had she died then, her fame would have been unassailable; but she was involved by frauds and perplexities. Nor until the siege of Borthwick Castle, did she get a glimmer of the truth that Bothwell and herself were the reputed murderers, that the rebel lords were false, and the band a treachery. Three thousand in arms were reviling her aloud in unmitigated terms and threats. She escaped from Borthwick, as I believe, to seek refuge with Balfour in Edinburgh Castle; she fell again into her abductors' hands, and was imprisoned at Dunbar. A new hope was first shed on her at Carberry Hill; she yielded gladly, and the drama ended. Bothwell was there the foiled and baffled tool, and she was there the miserable prisoner and victim. A mother, a queen, outraged in her person, deluded by some, and abandoned by the rest, there was no way open for her to turn with any ray of comfort or of hope; and that which did occur, and

to which she yielded, proved that there was no ray of light or of comfort for her, against the set of incarnate devils seeking her destruction, to batten upon the spoil of the throne, Roman Church, and conquered party.

Did no retribution follow? Retribution, dire and universal, followed; few, very few, are the names of those concerned whom we cannot trace to a bloody and violent death. Captain Blackadder, one of her abductors, died the first on the scaffold, affirming his belief that Morton and Moray were the authors of the murder. James Edmonstone and Mynert Fraser were executed; one Sebastian de Villars escaped. Next followed in succession Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, George Dalgleish, William Powrie, and Captain Cullen; made to sign their confessions, in private conclave, and then hurried off to execution, where they cursed their confederates and fellow-murderers, Morton and Moray.

Black Orminston and French Paris fell equal victims to treachery and murder, on the scaffold.

The four Regents fell in succession—Moray, Mar, Lennox, and Morton.

Lethington, Grange and his brother James, and Atholl, fell by poison and the gibbet.

The Archbishop Hamilton was killed by Lennox, and a hecatomb of victims fell in the death-feud between the Douglas, the Hamiltons, and the Hepburns.

The Ruthvens were proscribed. Bothwell died in lengthened captivity; Arran in madness, as Chatelard had died on the scaffold. Argyll died in his bed, of the stone. Glamis in a brawl.

Lord John of Coldingham died in the raid against the Gordons. Lord Robert survived, and became Earl of Orkney beneath King James I. The arch-villain Archibald Douglas survived, apparently, an exception to the rule.

But we have more victims of another caste, who expired or suffered mental remorse; George Buchanan, and Queen Elizabeth, which may end the tale of wrong and of retributive justice. Buchanan wrote his little Latin book, 'Detectio Mariæ.' The first edition in the Scottish tongue is given in Anderson's Collection. It is, I am bold to affirm, the filthiest publication we are guilty of possessing. It was printed at Rochelle or in London, although it professes to have been printed at Edinburgh 13th Feb., 1572; but as mention is made of two executions for treason in London, of Mather and Barn, on the 11th February, it is impossible it could have been mentioned in a work printed at Edinburgh on the 13th. Neither is the name of the publisher, Thomas Walham, to be traced as a printer or publisher at Edinburgh.

Filthy as its pages are, Elizabeth apparently had read them, for she wrote instructions to her Minister in France: "It were not amiss to have divers of Buchanan's little Latin book, to present it, if need were, to the king, as from yourself, and to some of the other noblemen of his council, for they will serve to good effect to disgrace her."—*W. Tytler*, i. 204.

The respectable authority of Camden, annals 88, and derived from James I., states that Buchanan died "ingemiscens moriens" to the king, and wishing that he might live to wipe out with his blood those aspersions. The publication is so unutterably vile and so impossible in its averments, that it would press heavily on a departing soul, and is the very thing the spirit would be fain to blot ere departing. William Martin and Sir Richard Baker likewise record this death-bed repentance.* From the tool we proceed to

* The following almost contemporary account by the historian William Martin of Exeter, printed 1615, so singularly sets forth the tale of the explosion, that it is inserted here.

"But

the inspiring spirit, where the retribution was so singularly marked and just as to appear to have been strictly providential.

"I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes," is the recorded entry of Mr. Pepys, 17th August, 1667, after witnessing the play of 'Queen Elizabeth's troubles and the history of eighty-eight.' In like manner have we sucked in so much of the praises of her wisdom and goodness, that it is held to be treason to

"But now as those delegates were returned about a month or two after the young prince was christened, the king her husband, in the twenty-first year of his age, in a stormy and tempestuous night was villanous strangled in his bed, and cast forth into the garden; and the house immediately blown up with gunpowder; a wicked and horrible fact, the very mention whereof (as reason good) all honest men abhorred and detested. That the poor innocent prince was thus murdered all the world can tell, but upon whom to lay the blame of the fact, there is the difficulty; a rumour was straightway dispersed far and wide over all Britaine that Morton Murray and their confederates had wrought this exploit; but they (as the times then were) knew well enough to insult over the weaker sex, and posting the crime from themselves derived it upon the queene. What George Buchanan the Scot hath laid open to the world concerning this matter both in his historie of the affairs of Scotland, and a little book intituled 'the Detection,' none can be ignorant of that hath seen the printed book, but forasmuch as he (as is well known) being carried aside by affection and the bounty of Murray (the queen's bastard brother indeed but her mortal enemy), wrote in such sort that the nobles of Scotland afterwards condemned that booke of falschood and impiety to whose testimony more credit should be given, and himself also sighing in perplexed manner (if the word of a king may be taken) would ever and anon reprehend himself that he had in such virulent sort dipped his quill against a well deserving queen; and dying wished he might but live a little while longer that he might wash away, though with his blood, those spots and aspersions which he had wrongfully cast upon her, saving, that he feared (as he said) it would be in vain, for all men would imagine that for very age he doted." (P. 509.)

doubt them. Truth rises from her well. Mr. Froude makes sad havoc with the character of the virgin queen; but Mr. Motley, writing from the Dutch side of the question, ravels her fame.

It is necessary to state *seriatim* the charges against Queen Elizabeth, offensive and adverse to Queen Mary:—

1. She captured and held her prisoner nineteen years, to uphold the Protestant and oppress the Roman cause.

2. She was party to the surreptitious publication of the 'Detectio Mariæ,' printed, there is hardly a doubt, in London; but when required and conjured by Mary to suppress it, she denied any knowledge of it, or that it had been published in her realms.

3. In 1587 she consummated the murder.

Sixtus the Fifth instantly fulminated his bull, denouncing Elizabeth as a bastard and usurper, which was printed at Antwerp in English.

The betrayal of our strongholds of Zutphen and Deventer had slightly preceded that bull, but were strictly consequent on the proceedings against Queen Mary.

Cardinal Dr. Allan published a pamphlet at Antwerp, under the direction of the Duke of Parma, intituled, 'The Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland,' which "accused the queen of every crime and vice which can pollute humanity, and was filled with foul details unfit for the public eye in these more decent days." I can only suggest that it was an adapted copy of Buchanan's "little book." When Queen Elizabeth had cognizance of these, she demanded an explanation of Parma. Dr. Dale, her envoy, with difficulty got an interview with the duke, and categorised him on the pamphlet. Parma replied, "As to the book to which you refer, I have never read it, nor seen it, nor do I take heed of it." He added, "I have nought to do with it, nor can I prevent men from

writing and printing at their pleasure. I know nothing of any bull of the Pope, nor do I care for any, nor do I undertake anything for him." Mr. Motley adds, "at that moment letters were on his table a fortnight old, from Philip II., thanking him (Parma) for having had the Cardinal's book translated at Antwerp."

Just so had Elizabeth had the little book of Buchanan's translated and printed in London, and just so, when Mary demanded its suppression, had Elizabeth avowed her ignorance of, and her inability to prevent, such publications; and in like manner do we find her instructing her French ambassador to circulate the little book, which would serve to debase Mary.

This was followed by the more material events of the Spanish armada; and we have a picture on the retina of our mental vision—of Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury, on horseback, haranguing her army, and Lord Howard of Effingham, crushing the armada. Before Mr. Motley's history it not only all disappears as the baseless fabric of a vision, but it substitutes a story of reckless carelessness, incompetence, and disgusting ill-timed avarice, which curdles the blood in the veins.

The queen's fleet was neither provisioned nor munitioned; there was no communication between Lord Howard of Effingham's fleet and that off Dungeness, under Lord Henry Seymour. From the 19th July to the 1st August there was no attempt to warn Seymour of the presence of the enemy: he was absent at the Downs, to victual his starving men. On the 6th of August, which was the day on which Parma would have crossed the channel, had he been able so to do—for he was shut up by Count Maurice and the Dutch fleet—we had no army, no land force at Tilbury, no food, no weapons, no commissariat. Providence dispersed the armada and sent it round our islands: we had

not a scout to send to follow and report their proceedings. On the 12th, six days after, the review of an unarmed muster of men took place at Tilbury Fort, with the queen on horseback. They were instantly sent away, disbanded, as they had been called together. The sailors were put on shore on the isle of Thanet from the unvictualled ships, penniless and infected with scurvy they died in barns and hedges, of famine and disease; the fleet was laid up before the whereabout of the armada was known, and Cecil vied with Elizabeth in refusing money supplies for fleet or army. Providence and the Dutch saved us from invasion. Mr. Motley asks whether this tale "is credible?" The response is, it is incredible.

Lastly, we have the retributive death of the queen, popularly attributed to grief for the death of Essex. That cause is wholly insufficient for such effect. Elizabeth loved the flattery and adulation, but she never loved her lovers, save perhaps Leicester. It was the lapse and loss of her despotic authority, the rising power of the people, and the discovery that her ministers systematically beguiled her, which broke the despot heart. King James told Sully that he had ruled England for the three last years of her reign. King James probably equally deceived himself on that score. The ministers ruled England silently and surely, and Parliament willingly voted their money, grovelling on the ground to deceive the queen. Elizabeth died a victim to collapsed power and slighted authority, conscience gnawing at her heart unto death.

On the other hand, I know of no devoted follower of Queen Mary who fell a victim from fidelity to her. Moray had raided the possessions of Huntley in 1563, he had also raided the border followers of the Hepburns, with sword, fire, and diabolical cruelty, in 1567. The Hamiltons fell at Falkirk, and in subsequent oppression. Moray, Lennox,

and Morton, all plundered, burnt, and slew in turns; but it was in private feud and Calvinistic rage that their victims fell. The only two I can call to mind as falling are Lord John Gordon in 1563, and Henry Seaton, killed by Grange's servants. Neither can the English victims to the times be laid at Mary's charge, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, Sir John Foster and his six sons; Babington and his fellows were not working for Mary, but making her name their banner and watchword; their deaths belong to Queen Elizabeth and the lack of toleration of her times.

The charges against Queen Mary are mainly four:—

1. Levity of conduct on her regal seat.
2. Rizzio.
3. Darnley.
4. Bothwell.

On the first charge I find the evidence entirely the other way; it may be summed up in the words of Sir James Melville in 1564, when he quitted more lucrative service in France to serve her.

"But the queen my sovereign was so instant, and so well inclined, and showed herself endued with so many princely virtues, that I thought it would be against good conscience to leave her, requiring so earnestly my help and service to draw home again, aye more and more, the hearts of her subjects that had strayed and were grown cold during the late troubles while she was absent in France, and were joined in a great friendship with England; wherein she had also great kindling for the time, to win friends and keep correspondence with that queen. Then she was so affable, so gracious and discreet, that she won great estimation, and the hearts of many, both in England and Scotland, and mine among the rest, so that I thought her more worthy to be served for little profit than any other prince in Europe for great commodity. Then she was

naturally liberal, more than she had *moyen* means, for not only provided she me with a pension of a thousand marks, one part of the same to be taken out of her dowry in France, &c."

Such is the general picture of her queenly demeanour, we find her fostering the courtly arts of the day, music and dancing; but her ear and knowledge of music were before the age, and far beyond the atmosphere of Holyrood —her private hours were employed in needlework and her female friends; and dancing was then so greatly the vogue that the contemporary poem 'Orchestra,' by Sir John Davies, was written expressly in its praise, and is dedicated with fulsome praise to Queen Elizabeth.

We find the godly James introducing masking and licentious manners, unknown before, on his marriage feast—Lord Robert jousting in masquerade—a very trifling breach of decorum, in her presence; six of those who ran wearing female skirts over their armour, and Lord Robert was one of them. The 'Diurnal of Occurrents' states that the queen and her maids masqueraded in male attire, but the uncorroborated testimony of an anonymous publication cannot be accepted as evidence. We find her calling Knox to her aid to reprove the levity of Argyll and his wife, and her sharply reproving the revellers, her guests, for rioting in Edinburgh streets.

We find by Melville that Seigneur David was not very skilful in the inditing of French letters, which must have added to her daily toil. We hear of her sighs and tears after the murder of Davie, and of her misery after the death of Darnley; and amidst this, we have two distinct charges, of cards with Rizzio, and of shooting at the butts with Bothwell, which are found in that sink of malevolence, the State Papers; the hearsay scandal retailed by Randolph to Drury, and Drury to Cecil; also the masquerading of

Sebastian and the servants, which gave offence to the English servants of the embassy, which masquerading was in accordance with the manners of the age, and with which she had nothing to do, save to take equal offence if she was displeased at too much freedom and licence. She laboured to reconcile feuds, repaired as far as possible the troubles excited by Darnley, trusted too much to Moray and Lethington. She was a noble horsewoman, the mode of travelling and pastime of the day; open and fearless in her speech, disdaining hypocrisy or subterfuge from her inmost soul, and applying herself diligently and strictly to the cares of state, defending her servants, and combating in vain the Calvinistic intolerance and the rude manners of the Scottish people, led on by the outrageous Argyll, Glencairn, and Knox. The charge of levity stands on no good evidence, and is contradicted by evidence from every side.

With regard to the second charge, undue freedom with the victim Rizzio, it rests on no foundation. Buchanan then absent, dared to commit to writing a scandalous tale; and a State Paper, fully contradicted by Ruthven's confession, records Randolph's *modesty*, which could not for modesty report what Darnley said of the Queen. Randolph's modesty! risum teneas!

With regard to Darnley's death. The *embarras de richesse* of the bands of Douglases, Hamiltons, and Hepburns, who jostled one another on that fatal night, the dying confessions of a score of victims, her evident ignorance of facts connected with it, of which she sedulously was kept ignorant; the chaos of her affairs which succeeded, all prove her equal innocence, ignorance, and irreparable loss in Darnley's death.

There rests the remaining charge, the wretched story of seven weeks. The abduction or the collusive elopement with Bothwell.

The letters are false—manufactured libels.

The band with twenty-one, true or false, signatures was presented to her eyes, and fettered her, hands and feet. Plots, diabolical plots, to entrap her, and hand her over to the powerful thane, the Earl Bothwell, upon whose ruin they had resolved, were rife and manifold. Her own character never portrayed dissimulation or subterfuge; she knew not fear, save against feminine helplessness and outrage, which had been sorely tried in the cases of Arran and of Chatelard, and which now for the third time she suffered in the extremest outrage a woman can endure. The supposition of collusion in her own abduction was ignored by the Parliament, the peers, the English and foreign courts, by Lennox, by her many suitors, by her own attendants, by her recovered partisans and friends, and by the internecine feuds of foes.

There was nothing novel in forcible abduction. The Hepburns for three generations practised it. The huge bulk of evidence lies on the side that Bothwell, deceived by his false advisers, effected it against her will.

It is base, unjust, unmanly, on supposititious and circumstantial *opinion*, not evidence, to supersede direct and corroborated evidence for the purpose of shifting the crime from the "godly" James and Queen Elizabeth's ministers to the victim head of Queen Mary; but when we remember their fates, the dying days of all — from Arran's madness, Chatelard's gibbet, Bothwell's long imprisonment and death, to the hecatombs of victims who expiated these deeds—almost wholly supplied, so just is God, from the offending side, embittered by the knowledge that they fell betrayed by the hands which had paid and impelled them to the crimes for which they died, we may "mark, and be astonished, and lay hand upon the mouth."

A

REVIEW OF THE LIFE

OF

JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

"When the proud Frenchman's strong rapacious hand,
Spread over Europe ruin and command,
Our smiling temples and expiring law
With trembling dread the rolling tempest saw;
Destined a province to insulting Gaul,
This genius rose, and stopped the pond'rous fall.
His temperate valour formed no giddy scheme,
No victory raised him to a rage of fame;
The happy temper of his even mind
No danger e'er could shock, or conquest blind.
Fashioned alike by nature and by art,
To please, engage, and interest every heart.
In public life, by all he saw approved,
In private hours by all who knew him loved."

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

MARLBOROUGH.

How prone is the human mind to exaggeration! We soothe it in infancy with Jack and the Beanstalk, we progress through Sinbad the Sailor and Baron Munchausen; impossible complications, leading to bigamies and suicides, cheer our youth; and, lastly, the vengeful arrows fix on history. The pensive Clio and her parchment roll are banished with Astræa to the skies, and the savage goddesses of Olympus are invoked in their room. Ay, history, sacred history, intended to instruct the heart and chasten the pride of man, by showing the temporary nature of his successes, and the insufficiency of human means to secure, or to command or control permanent good, must also have its spice of malice or uncharitableness to make its reading savoury. The much vaunted "brilliant passages by Macaulay," have dragged our historians into their vortex, and a brilliant description of an exceptional and accidental fact, like an irregular verb in grammar, usurps and monopolises a space to which it is not entitled; but which, diverting the mind from the calm current of events to the waterfalls and rapids, fails to show the true causes of the rise and fall of dynasties, religions, and executive governments.

The old pagan lore which demanded a sacrifice of blood, "a virgin of the race of Æpytus," still exists in our inner hearts. For every phase of history we demand a hero and a victim, one to bear the presumed glory, and the other the abuse. A female Tudor and a female Hyde, bear easily the glory of the events of their reigns; but for its victims, it

demands the fairest males of the flock to bear the sins of the people. Only in the sex of the expiatory sacrifice do we differ from the first Arcadians. The royal house of Stewart has supplied our scapegoats, and Charles I. and James II., the fairest males, have, laden with our sins, been driven with maledictions into the desert. We may not class Marlborough with those royal victims, for he is only assailed in his historic name and fame. Vituperation has been thrown broadcast upon them, commencing with the gall of Swift, and continued to Macaulay inclusive; but for any proofs—nor do I mean legal proofs, but reasonable proofs—there are none. It should have been their part to have proved their paradoxes urged against him, and we are justified in believing that it is only another instance of envy crawling to wound the good and great, when we trace or are referred to the authorities of "The New Atalantis," "The Female Nine," and the Jacobite pamphlet, clandestinely printed in 1690, called "The Dear Bargain." Such authorities are only disgraceful to the historian, raking up such garbage. Pope, one of the offending personages, has left his line of poetry, classing together

"Who writes a libel, and who copies out."

The venom poisons most of all the page on which it is shed, and must eventually recoil upon the writer.

There is the old fable of the beasts offering the sheep in sacrifice as an atoning victim, wherein each attributed to the victim the especial vice of its own nature. One is vividly reminded of that fable on finding Dean Swift and Alexander Pope, themselves among the mean and stingy of men, writing down Marlborough as parsimonious; of Atterbury and Bolingbroke accusing him of treason, of Harley and Mrs. Masham, of pride of place and crawling to obtain it; and all joining in a chorus to condemn him for ingratitude, in that for which they claim the gratitude of the

nation and posterity on all the rest who brought it about, namely, the revolution of 1688. They would fain make the Duke of Marlborough their atoning victim, but the paradoxes they assert are too gross and untrue. Their pleas that Marlborough owed his rise to the Duchess of Cleveland, to his sister Arabella, or to the Duke of York, are all utterly untenable; had they averred that it had been owing to the Duke of Monmouth, Turenne, Louis XIV., and King Charles II., they had been nearer the mark, but still they would have missed it. To himself, his quiet self-possession, his native genius for diplomacy, and his military prowess, whether as a soldier or a general, did he owe his employments and his rewards; he was the fittest man, and, therefore, the chosen man, and the results proved the wisdom of the choice.

The revolution of 1688 was bloodless and complete, but it was the result of no human forethought. Lord Churchill perhaps might have made it bloody, or perhaps have postponed it to another era, but neither he nor any one else then contemplated the dethronement of James, still less the enthronement of William. That was the act of what the ancients considered Fate, and we term Providence; eternal laws of God, eternally at work fulfilling fixed principles, which we fondly deem to be the results of human will and agency: thus the fly on the chariot wheel thought that he "kicked up the dust." Cromwells and Napoleons are but flies on the chariot wheel.

The royal memoirs of James never mention Churchill as amongst his advisers, his disaffection is there prominently set forth. Lord Feversham advised his arrest. King James could not cast away his support—his best man; neither was that which occurred that which was either wished or expected. The hand that kindles cannot quench the flame, and Churchill, Grafton, and the whole family of the Hydes

were but fuel to feed the lighted pyre. To make Marlborough the one atoning victim for the revolution is absurd as it is illogical.

The accusation of inordinate greed of money and rewards appears to me equally to fail, but the old fable comes again to the fore. The rewards which Marlborough received from England were extremely meagre, and she excuses herself by accusing and condemning her hero of greed. It is almost incredible that the manor of Woodstock, valued by the historians of that time at 40,000*l.*, with an annuity on the Post-office, eventually made perpetual, of 5000*l.* a year, is all that was granted him in excess of the pay and emoluments attaching to his rank and services. Foreign powers did otherwise. Austria, Holland, Savoy, Bavaria, and Prussia rewarded and made Marlborough wealthy, which his niggard country did not do.

He is accused of parsimony. This accusation may be dismissed in the fact that he lived to the age of fifty-four in comparative penury; and when pecuniary rewards came in a flood tide from the age of fifty-four to sixty-one, he was in such active employment, that no private wishes, economical or otherwise, could be consulted or indulged. His emoluments were great, and so were his expenses for that limited period of seven years; and when, according to his defamers, a paralytic stroke had reduced him to senile infirmity, we find him prosecuting the works of Blenheim, and enforcing by covenants in his will his duchess and successors to complete that record of a nation's fickle favour and spite.

The remaining point is that he and the duchess demeaned and debased themselves in their endeavours to retain their places and position at the Court of Queen Anne, after they had been supplanted and superseded by Mrs. Masham and Harley. The knowledge of the change came upon both of

them as a thief in the night. They could neither believe nor realize the fact; but when the fact was apparent and divulged, their attempt to counteract and to reverse it was confined to one interview on the part of either of them.

That the duke dropped tears of bitter sorrow at the downfall of his successful labours of years, and at the abandonment of his policy, of his allies, Holland and Prince Eugene, when victory was hovering over their standards and a march upon Paris was feasible, ought not to be adduced to his discredit.

Sir Robert Walpole and the first Pitt shed historic tears, and in the metaphysics of literature, the king-making Warwick, and also old Bell-the-Cat, Angus, Earl of Douglas, wept at the acts and deeds of their respective kings. How well does the passionate burst of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, apply to this parting interview with Queen Anne:—

> "And must these labours and these honours die?
> Shall Henry's conquests, Bedford's vigilance,
> Your deeds of war, and all our counsel die?
> O peers of England, shameful is this league!
> Fatal this marriage, cancelling your fame,
> Blotting your names from books of memory;
> Razing the characters of your renown;
> Defacing monuments of conquered France;
> Undoing all as all had never been."

And, it may be asked, were the Treaty of Utrecht and the expedition to Quebec minor in "undoing all," than the treaty made by Henry VI. with France? Many a patriot has mingled his tears with those of Marlborough at the Treaty of Utrecht. His tears do him no dishonour, and the result proved his political forethought.

As foreigners were more forward in rewarding Marlborough, so were they in appreciating his deeds. They loaded him with honours and with rewards; they made him

rich. A French princess lullabied Louis XV. in his cradle with an undying chant and refrain, exquisite in its melody and its patriotic irony; and it is reported that Napoleon, crossing the Niemen in 1812, sang, "Malbrough s'en va t'en guerre." At any rate, when Sir Sidney Smith challenged him to single fight, he replied, "You must bring me Marlborough then for an antagonist." Neither do the French, as we do, decry the Battle of Malplaquet, but consider it almost the most disastrous defeat they sustained.

And lastly, we may ask how it occurred that so much obloquy has attached to Marlborough's name? And it is answered in the fact that he took no heed of the libels, of the venal pens of the Harley and Bolingbroke faction; like the old lion Nero, he could not be aroused to smite with his paw the bulldogs assailing him; or, like Sir Walter's old Maida walking contemptuously through the curs of the village, saluting him with canine clamour.

Not so his duchess—"She marked this oversight, And then mistook reverse of wrong for right;" she barked and bit in reply, greatly to the duke's annoyance; and when she desired in her will that the family archives at Blenheim should be arranged and printed, she made it a condition that no line of poetry should be included, so thoroughly and righteously was she sick of Swift, Pope, Prior, and Gay.

Nature, which loves to combine extremes, conjoined to the impassive grandeur of the duke, the petulant impetuosity of the duchess; and doubtless each of these properties was enhanced in striving to counteract the other. The duke's impassiveness was fortified, and the duchess's vivacity was excited, one by the other; but they were a noble pair, nor do I know another of whom it may be more justly said,—"Take them for all in all, You shall not look upon their like again."

JOHN CHURCHILL was second son of Sir Winston Churchill, of Ashe, Devonshire, a loyalist who had suffered in the civil wars of Charles I., he was born in 1650, and became heir by the death of an elder brother. The interest of the baronet procured establishments for his family at Court. Arabella, his daughter, was appointed maid of honour to the Duchess of York, and John, page of honour to the duke. John Churchill received his commission in the army at the age of sixteen, and distinguished himself at Tangier. The Duchess of Cleveland, mistress of Charles II., was his relative, being cousin to his mother, who was daughter of Sir John Drake. She gave him the price of his commission, but having won his commission without purchase, he purchased instead an annuity of 500*l.* of Lord Halifax, which has formed the subject of libel against him. And his sister Arabella, who was remarkably plain, becoming the mistress of James II., has also caused more libels to attach to him which were ungrounded and absurd. Marlborough owed nothing to his royal patron upon the score of his sister's—dishonour is not, perhaps, the term for such alliances. The Duke of Berwick, her gallant son, was the acknowledged issue of James II., the Duke of Monmouth of Charles II., and the Duke of Maine, son of Louis XIV., had the command of his army. Marlborough received neither help nor detriment from this doubtful position of his sister. Owing entirely to his own military genius and prowess, once launched he won his own way; for instance, in 1672 he followed

Monmouth to fight under Turenne. We were in temporary alliance with France at the siege of Nimeguen; a post was abandoned prematurely by an officer; Turenne exclaimed, "I will bet a supper and dozen of claret that my handsome Englishman will recover the post with half the number of men that the officer commanded who has lost it." The wager was taken, and Captain Churchill retook and maintained the post.

Again, at the siege of Maestricht, Monmouth led the storming party, and Churchill accompanied him. He planted the banner of France on the rampart. A mine was sprung, and the enemy recovered the work. Monmouth, Churchill, and eleven others, regained it. He received the thanks of Louis XIV. at the head of the army. Monmouth conceded him the whole honour of the exploit, and presenting him to Charles II., said, "To the bravery of this gallant officer I owe my life."

For five years he fought under Turenne, and caught the spirit of that distinguished commander, and was also at periods in attendance on the Duke of York, and appointed by him gentleman of his bedchamber and master of the robes.

The narrative now turns to his wife, equally with himself the alternate object of adulation and abuse.

Richard Jennings, of Sandridge, St. Albans, was equally a royalist, and his children found appointments at Court. Frances and Sarah were his two gifted daughters. The first became Countess of Abercorn, and Sarah died the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough.

At twelve years of age she was attached to the train of the Duchess of York, and there met the Princess Anne, nine years old, between whom the attachment grew and ripened which is the subject of historical fame. Sarah Jennings possessed every attribute of feminine grace to captivate the heart. She captivated Colonel Churchill, and

made him do due homage at her feet. Coy and fickle, exacting and condescending,

> " A rose-bud set with little wilful thorns,
> And sweet as English air could make her, she,"

but wounding and healing by turns the lover's heart, she lost her own irretrievably. And proud and joyful was she as a wife, and happy the domestic life they led, rising together to the pinnacle of fame, of wealth, and of greatness, and doomed to meet the fate of grandeur, the lot of mortals, and to bear the malice of the dominant party by turns, with the alternating applauses of their own. But " the course of true love did not run smooth " in their case more than in others. Sir Winston and Lady Churchill were dissatisfied with the prospects, and this excited the spirit of Miss Jennings and lovers' quarrels, which eventuated in a private marriage in the presence and under the auspices of the Duchess of York. This occurred early in 1678, but it is singular and remarkable that they kept no record of the date and forgot it, and a letter from her husband, dated Brussels, 12th April, 1678, addressed to Miss Jennings, on account of the privacy of the marriage, is endorsed by her, " I believe I was married when this letter was writ, but it was known only to the duchess (of York)."

King Charles had commissioned Colonel Churchill, for he had a regiment, on a secret mission to the Prince of Orange touching the French affairs; and when forces were despatched from England, Colonel Churchill commanded a brigade under warrant of the Duke of Monmouth. There were no military operations, as France yielded to diplomacy; but it is requisite to note that under Charles II. and his son the Duke of Monmouth, Churchill was already an ambassador in diplomacy and a brigadier in war, and this at the age of twenty-eight. It is extremely

necessary to note this, as the detractors of Marlborough suggest that his rise was owing solely to James II., when he had already won his way to the foremost ranks as statesman and soldier under King Charles.

The narrative now proceeds to his relations with King James. The following declaration, written in a private letter, gives his sentiments at this period: "Though I have an aversion to Popery, yet I am no less averse to persecution for conscience sake. I deem it the highest act of injustice to set any one aside from his inheritance upon bare suppositions of intentional evils, when nothing that is actual appears to preclude him from the exercise of his just rights." And in a conversation with Lord Galway during his embassy to Paris in 1684, after the accession of James, he stated, "If the king should attempt to change our religion and Constitution I will instantly quit his service;" which presumed case eventually came to pass. But we must return to 1679. When the Duke of York and his household refuged from party wrath at the Hague, Churchill accompanied him; he attended him in his secret journey to London, and again to Edinburgh; again to London in 1680, from whence James was again driven by the hostility of the popular party, and returned to Edinburgh. In all these movements James does not appear to have had any other minister—we may call him so—than Colonel Churchill, who, in 1681, appeared in his behalf to plead with King Charles upon the preservation of his prerogative and imperial matters, which extremely difficult commission he executed with as extreme address. The memoirs of James record Mr. Churchill as acting for him in that capacity, which is the first mention of him therein. He is wholly unnoticed at Sedgemoor in those memoirs, in which his name does not recur until 1688, and his defection then.

In 1682 the popular party was defeated, and James obtained for him a Scotch peerage, Baron Churchill of Aymouth, and in 1683 a royal regiment of Horse Guards. His lady during this period was attached to the court of the duchess, maturing the friendship with the Princess Anne, and bringing up their two eldest daughters, Henrietta and Anne.

The Princess Anne married Prince George of Denmark in 1684, and Charles II. died February 6, 1685, when James succeeded to the throne. Churchill attended the coronation, and was raised to the English peerage, as Baron Churchill of Sandridge.

His first employment was to oppose his old friend and commander, Monmouth. At Sedgemoor he countervailed by vigilance the negligence and incapacity of Feversham, and Monmouth was defeated by Churchill. But, notwithstanding this, and his appointment to the 3rd Troop of Horse Guards, Churchill was under the cloud of royal displeasure. The cause is evident and undisputed; he opposed James in his despotic and papist measures. He was alarmed for the civil and religious liberties of the realm, and it is matter of marvel that James did not take from him all countenance as well as his favour.

He at this time informed the Prince of Orange of his own attachment to the Protestant cause, and the determination of the Princess Anne rather to abandon her father than to sacrifice her religion. He was not among the number who dissembled, and who flattered the bigotry of James, and James was thoroughly aware of it. In 1687 James *touched* at Winchester for the king's evil, and challenged Churchill as to his opinion and what the people said. Churchill told him bluntly and frankly, and was equally bluntly interrupted by the king: "I tell you, Churchill, &c.," and he quitted him in displeasure.

Still James did not withdraw his confidence from Churchill, who commanded a brigade at Salisbury under Feversham. Feversham advised the king to arrest him as disaffected and powerful. James hesitated to take that step. Churchill was one with whom he could not afford to break, a man second to none in diplomacy or war. And as this is the grand crime attributed to Churchill, it is requisite to review and determine both the position of Churchill and the overrated gratitude it is presumed that he owed to the king.

Macaulay's description of England arrayed against the Government in the autumn of 1688 runs thus: "All ranks, all parties, all Protestant sects, made up that vast phalanx. In the van were the lords spiritual and temporal, then came the landed gentry and clergy, both the universities, all the Inns of Court, merchants, shopkeepers, farmers, the porters who plied in the streets of great towns, the peasantry who ploughed the fields; the league against the king included the very foremost men who manned his ships, the very sentinels who guarded his palace. The names of Whig and Tory were for a moment forgotten. The old exclusionist took the old abhorrer by the hand. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, forgot their long, long feud, and remembered only their common Protestantism and their common danger." And after the event the same historian writes upon the rejoicings: "The example of London was followed by the provincial towns. During three weeks the gazettes were filled with accounts of the solemnities by which the public joy manifested itself. Cavalcades of gentlemen and yeomen, processions of sheriffs and bailiffs in scarlet gowns, musters of zealous Protestants, with orange flags and ribands, salutes, bonfires, illuminations, music, balls, dinners, gutters running with ale, and conduits spouting claret."

But the question arises, what was the meaning of this demonstration? It was not the deposition of the king; such a catastrophe was not then thought of. It was to carry into effect William's declaration, that he came to call his energetic father-in-law to order, call a parliament, and leave matters in their hands.

When James's nephew, the Duke of Grafton, left Salisbury with Churchill, Colonel Berkeley, and other officers, it was not to depose the king, neither was it to place William on the throne, it was to check the monarch in his headstrong career, it was to right abuses, and re-establish James on a constitutional basis. That was Lord and Lady Churchill's notion of things, as she expresses in her own words, to be presently cited. It is puerile to attribute to Churchill the defection of the nation. Did he rule the nation? Was he the guide of the bishops and the laity? He only went with the tide, instead of opposing it with the drawn sword; and that the revolution was bloodless, is mainly owing to him and his wise and patriotic deeds, the after results are not to be attributed to him, he was not present at the coronation of William and Mary. Grafton was there; James's niece, Henrietta Hyde, daughter of Rochester, was there; Compton, Bishop of London, with whom Anne fled, was there; neither was Churchill in disgrace; the army was temporarily committed to Grafton and him, and whilst he thus performed his silent duty, he never lost the love and esteem of the fallen king. Nor did James on his deathbed, brought about prematurely by religious austerities, when he pardoned his enemies by name, especially naming his daughters and his sons-in-law, ever include the name of Marlborough among those enemies.

To trace the revolution through its hidden causes, from its commencement to its final settlement in placing the

crown on the heads of William and Mary, is far beyond my powers of ratiocination. Like the immense majority of political and religious reformations and revolutions, we drifted into it and drifted through its whole career. We have more cause to blush than to exult at those events; there was no upright, sturdy honesty shown by any set or class of men: all pursued their own career for place and pay. Judges and juries, bishops and ministers, are portrayed, but, I believe, in an extremely exaggerated picture, in this general defection. We underrate James and his motives very greatly. Hume sums up his character in his usual equal and judicious history, and gives him full credit for his intentions. Every king in turn sighed at religious disabilities, and strove to gain indulgence for the fallen sect, but the mob would not have it so. The mob ruled the Commons, and the Commons coerced the king, and yet the king strove for what is the very first principle of a country's weal—civil and religious liberty. James claimed it then for the Roman Catholics in England, and subsequently for the Protestants in Ireland, and was met by a rabid intolerance in the masses both in England and in Ireland. In the great judgment, when King James is weighed, methinks the vices of the popular party on both sides of the Irish Channel will prove to be graver and heavier than those of the king. The tyranny of kings is wholly unequal to the tyranny of mobs, and that chief of mobs, a dominant House of Commons. When the seven bishops refused to read the Declaration of Indulgence, and were prosecuted by the king and absolved by law, it is recorded that James remarked, "so much the worse for them." The same number of seven bishops (four of them were the same), as nonjurors, resigned their livings with other clergy. The popular remark upon them as nonjurors is that William had been too lenient, "he had stroked and pampered when he should

have tried the effects of chains and hunger" (Macaulay, iii. 659).

To return from the great revolution to our private story, there is a touching anecdote preserved from oblivion by Macaulay. That when the family of the Kippins, father and sons, were condemned in the "bloody assizes," the sister of the boys was ushered into the royal presence, to plead for her brothers, led there by Churchill; one may sigh to add unsuccessfully.

On the flight of James, Churchill and his wife appear to have devoted themselves to the cause of Anne and her incompetent husband, "Est-il possible," as James had sobriqueted his son-in-law. Churchill assisted in the Convention Parliament, and he voted for a regency; and when the question narrowed to the two points of, first, recalling James, or, second, crowning William, he withdrew and did not vote. The second alternative was carried by seven voices, which was effected by such absenteeism of himself and others, who would have preferred hereditary descent. He was the adviser of Anne, he persuaded her to accept the state of things, and the postponement of her own right of succession to that of the prince's life, and the order of succession then passed into a law.

This conduct of her husband is in accordance with the naive account of her conduct which the duchess gave when, as she said, "I am now drawing near my end, and very soon there will remain nothing of me but a name." She writes, "It was evident to all the world that as things were carried on by King James, everybody sooner or later must be ruined who would not become a Roman Catholic. This consideration made me very well pleased at the Prince of Orange's undertaking to rescue us from such slavery; but I do solemnly protest that if there be truth in any mortal, I was so very simple a creature that I never once dreamt of his

being king.* Having never read, nor employed my time at anything but playing at cards, and having no ambition in myself, I imagined that the Prince of Orange's sole design was to provide for the safety of his own country by obliging King James to keep the laws of ours; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy. That there was no sort of difficulty in the execution of this design, and that to do so much good would be a greater pleasure to him than to be king of any country on earth. I was soon taught to know the world better. However, as I was perfectly convinced that a Roman Catholic is not to be trusted with the liberties of England, I never once repined at the change of government; no, not in all that long persecution I went through. I might perhaps wish it had been compassed by some other man who had more honour and justice than he, who could depose his father-in-law and uncle to maintain liberty and laws, and then act the tyrant himself in many instances. But I never once wished the change had not been made; and as to giving King William the crown for life, it was the same principle of regard for the public welfare that carried me to advise the princess to acquiesce in it. It is true that when the thing was first started I did not see the necessity for any such measure, and I thought it so unreasonable that I took a great deal of pains (which I believe the king and queen never forgot) to promote my mistress's pretensions; but I quickly found that all endeavours of that kind would be ineffectual, that

* The duchess was fully justified in that opinion by the declaration of William, who declared that he came "to repel violence." He abjured all thought of conquest; he protested that the troops should be kept under the strictest restraints of discipline, and that, as soon as the nation had been delivered from tyranny, they should be sent back. His single object was to have a free and legal Parliament assembled, to whose decision he solemnly pledged himself to leave all questions, both public and private.

all the principal men, except the Jacobites, were for the king, and that the settlement would be carried in Parliament, whether the princess consented to it or not; so that in reality there was nothing advisable but to yield with a good grace. I confess, had I been in her place I should have thought it more for my honour to be easy in this matter, than to show an impatience to get possession of a crown that had been wrested from my father; and as it ought to have been a great trouble to the children of King James to be forced to act the part they did against him, even for the security of liberty and religion, so it seemed to me that she who discovered the less ambition would have the more amiable character. However, as I was fearful about everything the princess did, whilst she was thought to be advised by me, I could not satisfy my own mind till I had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady Russell, of Southampton House, and Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the opinion of the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated. In conclusion, I carried Dr. Tillotson to the princess, and upon what he said to her she took care that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites, who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition." "It is certain, and by everybody known, that the immediate occasion of the open breach between Her Majesty and the Princess of Denmark, was the princess's refusing to obey the queen's command to remove me from about her person. But no one, I think, can be so foolish as to imagine that the queen's dislike to me was only on account of my being the wife of Lord Marlborough, who happened then to be in disgrace with the king; or that Her Majesty would have insisted on a demand so painful to her sister had they till then lived together in the harmony

which should naturally be preserved between sisters, especially when embarked in one common cause against a father in defence of religion." *

Such is the duchess's own account of her conduct in 1688, and it appears to me to be in full concordance with the acts of her husband, Lord Churchill, in that matter. King William raised him to the dignity of Earl of Marlborough, and made him a privy councillor and lord of the bedchamber on 14th February, 1689; but Marlborough withdrew from public affairs, and he and his wife devoted their minds to protect the Princess Anne, and drew down on themselves the hostility of the king and queen.

The first cause of dispute and victory of the Marlboroughs was obtaining the annual allowance of 50,000*l.* for the princess. The odium fell mainly on the countess. William still continued to court Marlborough to serve him, and he commanded the British forces in the Netherlands so successfully, that on the close of the campaign, William laid aside his wonted reserve to receive him with grateful cordiality. The expressions recorded of William towards him mark his strong sense of the worth of Marlborough—that "to the coolest head he united the warmest heart;" on his return from his thirty-seven days' campaign in Ireland, "I know no man who has served so few campaigns so fit to command;" and on his appointment of governor to the young Duke of Gloucester, "Teach him to be like yourself and he will not want accomplishments." As William was phlegmatic and reserved, the sentences acquire addi-

* Macaulay has written severe libels on the duchess, which I do not mean to "copy out," but of the Vindication which she wrote he has availed himself constantly in his work. Anne said all the world knew "that cheating was not the fault of the duchess," Mr. Macaulay ought to have known that falsehood was equally foreign to her nature. He has at any rate quoted all the Vindication that suited his purpose.

tional force from his lips, the more so that Marlborough did not reciprocate them either to the king or his favourite, Bentinck. In the campaign of 1690 we find Marlborough left at home, one of the council of nine to advise and assist the queen. It is thought by Mr. Coxe that William had desired his aid in Ireland against James, and that Marlborough refused to fight against the father of the princess; and agreeably to that supposition, after the battle of the Boyne and thorough defeat and flight of James, he proposed in council in London to reduce Cork and Kinsale, and King William consenting, desired him to conduct the force. They were reduced in thirty-seven days, and elicited the above eulogium.* William, too, was a rival in military glory with Marlborough; his presence at the battle of the Boyne had changed the dilatory proceedings of two campaigns into a matter of a few days. William now enlisted Marlborough's services to induce Godolphin to remain at the Treasury, which he succeeded in effecting to the exceeding satisfaction of King William.

In May, 1691, Marlborough accompanied William to Flanders and returned with him, high in his confidence and esteem, and he was appointed a General to serve in the campaign of 1692. Envy and malice already began to assail him, and Marlborough appealed to the king, who up-

* The Duke of Grafton, son of Lady Castlemaine, here ended his short career; he deserted James with his troop from Salisbury. He bore the crown at William's coronation, and retained his place with Marlborough with the army in their charge. He was then dismissed; but on Marlborough's proceeding to Ireland, he asked and obtained leave to serve under him as a volunteer. He was shot, and fell, at the storming of Cork, and, like a warrior in the Iliad or Æneid, left his name on the shore—Grafton-street marks the spot where he fell.

> "This pleased the shade, he joyed to find his name
> Linked to a spot, in everlasting fame."

held him in the matter, but a change was approaching notwithstanding.

Early in 1692 the two sisters came to open rupture. The Countess of Marlborough was the *bête noire*. Mary insisted on her dismissal. Anne would see her sister at Jericho first. A cabal formed at this juncture, and Marlborough received an order from the king, delivered by Lord Nottingham, dismissing him from all his offices, civil and military, and prohibiting his appearance at Court; followed quickly by a letter from Mary to Anne, commanding the princess to dismiss Lady Marlborough without delay, which followed the countess's having attended a levée of the queen. Anne left the Court and retreated to the house of the Duke of Somerset. The anonymous cabalists propounded causes for these effects, treason in the matter of Dunkirk, &c., &c.; but, as the duchess writes in the Account, "it was well known that *she* herself was the cause, and the sole cause."

Another extraordinary occurrence took place. Marlborough and many others were committed to the Tower on the charge of high treason; it is best related in the indignant language of his wife: "To commit a peer to prison, it was necessary there should be an affidavit from somebody of the treason. My Lord Romney, therefore, Secretary of State, had sent to one Young, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call *a legal evidence*. For the Court lawyers said, Young, not having lost his ears, was an irreproachable witness. I shall not dwell on this fellow's villany, the Bishop of Rochester" (who was one of the accused and imprisoned) "having given a full account of it in print."

No doubt the Ministry had cause to blush at being egregiously duped by the forger Young. All were liberated except Marlborough, and the cause of his detention is

attributed to any possible cause—Dunkirk, James, &c. The Ministers obtained a bill of indemnity for this imprisonment, and the House of Peers passed strong resolutions declaring against any such future arrests and detentions of members of their body. Dismissed and reduced to his private resources, Anne offered him a salary of 1000*l.* a year, which he declined, his wife having already 1000*l.* granted to her on the obtaining the allowance of 50,000*l.* a year.

A period of five years intervenes from the dismissal to the restoration of Marlborough to all his appointments and an office of trust. He appears to have passed the interim in retirement. William expressed his sorrow at not being able to avail himself of his talents, but stated, "that he did not think it for the good of his service to entrust the command of his troops to him." New light, *or darkness*, has been thrown upon this period by the discovery of the letters and memoirs of James II. Those documents are available to show the principles upon which James acted, and the motives by which he was swayed or self-deceived; but to arraign or condemn another, they are utterly invalid. The letter of James, dated Nov. 1692, states that there had been a design the previous year (1691) to recall him, and that my Lord Churchill was to have proposed it in Parliament, but that his friends the Jacobites, believing that all Lord Churchill did was for the Princess of Denmark, and not for him, discovered the plot to *Benthing*, and upset the whole thing. And here I propose to discuss the position of Marlborough in his transactions with James, as shown in the Memoirs of the royal exile. They are unsatisfactory sources upon which to arraign a man for treason. Firstly, they are the exaggerated reports of the revolutionary agents of James to their employer; secondly, they are written with the names in blank, filled in subsequently;

thirdly, they are interspersed with additions and interlineations in the hand of his son, from which the enemies of Marlborough derive their main points, such as "the horrour he had of his vilanies to the best of kings, and it would be impossible for him to be at rest till he," &c.,—an after interlineation in the hand of the Pretender wholly spiteful. These grounds for the charges of treason extend from the beginning of 1692 to the Brest Expedition in 1694. The memoirs and the documents turned up after the accused parties were in their graves; and as it is held that William was cognisant of the matter; as James himself considered himself duped and deceived; as neither Russell, Godolphin, nor himself were ever charged with the treason, nor had any opportunity of rebutting the charges; but whatever else they may prove, or fail to prove, one fact stands forth pre-eminently that, "Lord Churchil"—for that is the only name ever accorded to him—was unfriendly to James wherever he is mentioned, save in 1681 when he was his Minister to spur Charles II. to action and to a bolder exercise of his prerogative. That delicate task was referred to Mr. Churchill, and good-humouredly parried by the king. The name of Churchill does not recur in the memoirs until 1688 and the revolution. We then find condemnatory entries, as "acting in hostility to him" (Clarke ii. 169). We find "The Duke of Grafton, my Lord Churchill, and others had already taken their measures with the Prince of Orange" (p. 187). He was seen, "in company with Lords Sunderland and Godolphin, instead of compassionating his kind master, going hand in hand along the gallery in the greatest transport of joy imaginable" (p. 218). The next entry relates that the king addressed the general officers, granting them permission to surrender their commissions. "The Duke of Grafton and Lord Churchill, Kirke and Trelawney, made the attestation to

serve the king, and broke it" (p. 219). And the next entry records their desertion, after which the name slumbers until 1691. Such are the entries in the Royal Memoirs, all unfriendly to Lord Marlborough.

In the interim, Marlborough had been one of the Council of Nine advising the queen. He had commanded the expedition against Cork and Kinsale, he had accompanied the king to Flanders, and performed his duty admirably. The royal sisters had quarrelled, and he was dismissed on account of the Princess Anne and the duchess. Preston's Plot closed the year 1690, in which plot Russell, Godolphin, and Marlborough do not appear. Marlborough was dismissed prior to the charges of Young, and prior to the events to be recorded. It was for no treasonable acts for which he had been imprisoned, or they would assuredly have been forthcoming in justification of that imprisonment, and exoneration of the Ministry.

Meantime, fundamental changes were on foot. The king formed a Ministry, the first instance of a monarch governing by a Ministry. The Bank of England was founded. The party called Whigs, hostile to the Roman Catholic party and acting in panic fear or determined hostility, refusing all concessions, to the discomfort of the king, all manner of tyranny was essayed in attempted Acts of Parliament, Treason, Reform, the Place Bill, and Triennial Bill which William refused to pass. England was in a state of fermentation, nor was there any cohesion amidst parties; party spirit was intolerant, and waves ran mountain high.

James took the occasion to send Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Lloyd, and Colonel Sackville to sound Russell, then commanding the fleet. Mr. Bulkeley met Marlborough (or Churchill, as the memoirs term him) in the park. "Churchill seemed mighty glad to see him, and invited him to dine at his

lodgings," when and where Churchill expressed his discontent at present matters, and repentance, with all marks of sincerity, at the deposition of James. A correspondence ensued between Marlborough (still called Churchill in the memoirs) and James, in which James granted forgiveness to Marlborough, and his wife, and Godolphin, but getting nothing in return but "bare words and empty promises," which "there was never found a suitable time to put the least of them into execution." "The king thought fit to bear with this sort of double dealing, and seeing him beginning to decline in the Prince of Orange's favour, still hoped he might do service in the end, so accepted his excuses, and continued his correspondence from time to time as long as he lived, though with scarce any other effect than to bring an additional expense upon himself, and additional trouble," &c. In 1692 Anne likewise addressed a penitential and dutiful letter to her father, which was looked upon as an additional proof of Churchill's sincerity (p. 476). We then find Churchill's name amongst the list of the proscribed in James's declaration of an amnesty (p. 485). Then he is considered to be James's principal agent (p. 488), but conjoined with the words "duplicity," "putts off," and the very bitterest complaints of his uselessness.

The story closes in the letter 4th May, 1694, in which Marlborough advertises James of the design on Brest Harbour, "It is but this day come to my knowledge that the bomb-vessels and twelve regiments at Portsmouth are to burn the harbour of Brest." "You may make what use you think best of this intelligence, which you may depend on to be true, but I must conjure you for your own interest to let no one know it but the queen and the bearer of this letter. Russel sails to-morrow with forty ships, and in ten days the rest of the fleet will follow, and at the same time

the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this some time ago from Adm. Russel, but he always denied it to me, though I am very sure that he knew the design for more than six weeks. This gives me a bad sign of this man's intentions. I shall be very well pleased to learn that this letter comes safe to your hands." Macpherson adds to this, that from one of the Earl of Middleton's letters, addressed to a correspondent in England, there is reason to believe that about this time Marlborough had engaged the Prince and Princess of Denmark to enter heartily into terms with their exiled father. The story as it concerns Russell, who was solicited by agents of James, stands on its own footing; he actively pursued his career and won the battle of La Hogue, and sailed in command of the Brest fleet against the enemies of King William. Neither is it of consequence to note that a messenger sent to James on the day prior to the sailing of the fleet, and bringing news already known, communicated by the Earl of Arran (brother to Lord Ormond), had no serious effects in reality. This is a question which does not rest upon its consequences, but on its bare self.

In Mrs. Trollope's 'Austria,' dining at Vienna, she sat next to Metternich, who gave the authoress an anecdote, adding, "Je vous fais cadeau de cela." I cannot help thinking that this communication of Churchill's was a "cadeau de cela." but every one will take this unhappy letter in the view he feels judicially compelled to do. It is the spot on his reputation, the sole one of which I know; and it is satisfactory to know its tidings had been anticipated. The letter turned up long after he could have explained it; it lacks the elements required for evidence, and would be worthless at law, but real fame detests to be shrouded by technicalities. William knew, and James could not profit by, the discontent of Marlborough, and

now, if it may be permitted in this confusion to form an opinion, I would fain offer mine.

Confusion reigned at home. Whigs and intolerance domineered, to the sorrow of those who had sought for constitutional freedom and toleration under the old dynasty. King William was ill, seriously ill with asthma, and likely to die at any moment. The whole family of the Hydes, Mary, Anne, Clarendon, and Rochester, were all far beneath par. The example of Monk was in fresh remembrance. It looked very like a case of "après moi le deluge," which epoch then was surmised to be William's death; and that the statesmen who led England to the height of its grandeur—the Godolphin administration with Sunderland and Marlborough, at that time in conjunction with Russell—thought that at the death of William the restoration of James would be the wisest and best of measures, and that casting their views forward to the next change, which might occur on the morrow, they kept James in hand for the purpose of restoration. The earnestness and impatience of James would not permit him to await time and tide; therefore they were obliged to temporise, and that such was the key to their conduct during 1693-94, until the death of Mary left the Duke of Gloucester and Anne as successors to William, and the death of James, prior to the death of William, upset their plans altogether. Russell's conduct is evidently upon that tack; he disliked the Whig administration of affairs, he would gladly have played the part of Monk and have restored James, had it been feasible with the material weal of England; but it did not weigh with him in the battle of La Hogue; and the like principles swayed Sunderland, Godolphin, and Marlborough; they were miscontented with the Whig rule, and pined to see James restored; but they were men of action and of prudence, and did not run a mad career at an un-

feasible result. Had William died in 1684, instead of Anne, James might have been restored by the self-same men who ruled under Anne with such wisdom and greatness as the Godolphin Administration, and such a reign would probably have been one wholly beneficent to the realm, taught as James had been by adversity, and ruled by the best statesmen of Britain.

Queen Mary died December 28, 1694. Sir John Fenwick's plot to assassinate William occurred next, in which Marlborough's name was included, but which was utterly denied. The correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's apparently was ignored by King William, who employed many of those whom he knew to be implicated in the correspondence—Godolphin, Russell (mad e Lord Orford) and others. And so we find in 1697 Marlborough selected to be the governor of the young Duke of Gloucester, conjointly with Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, with the complimentary speech of King William already quoted.

The royal boy only lived three years more, dying in 1700. Addison's lines on his mother's portrait, in his epistle to Kneller, run thus :—

> " Thetis, the ocean goddess-queen,
> Matched with a mortal then was seen
> Reclining on the funeral urn,
> Her short-lived darling son to mourn."

In this interim, in 1698 and 1699, Marlborough married his two eldest daughters, Henrietta and Anne, to the heirs of the houses of Godolphin and Sunderland, forming the nucleus of the Ministry which reduced Louis the Great from his position and humbled the pride of France. His other two daughters married: the Lady Elizabeth, Scroop Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater; and the Lady Mary, Viscount Mounthermer, son of the Earl of Montagu.

At the marriage of Henrietta to the heir of Godolphin,

Anne pressed the Countess of Marlborough to accept a wedding dowry of 10,000*l.* The countess would not accept more than 5000*l.*, which sum Anne bestowed subsequently on each of the four daughters.

Marlborough had two sons who both died early, and the title has descended through the posterity of Anne and the house of Sunderland.

The Treaty of Ryswick dates 20th September, 1697, from which date unto his death in 1701, King William suffered many offences from the Parliament; they forced him to dismiss the Dutch guards, and they passed a strong Act for the resumption of his grants of Irish lands. In these domestic matters the king confidentially complained to Marlborough, and expressed a design of renouncing the English throne, which exposed him to such mortifications. It does not appear that Marlborough made any court for favour, but acted with thorough independence, and in the matter of repayment of a debt to Denmark he acted with zeal against King William, and suffered his dissatisfaction. The Whigs were dismissed, a new Parliament was called, and Harley first appears on the stage as the friend of Marlborough, and raised to the chair of the House of Commons.

Then came the partition treaties and the War of Succession; Charles of Austria and Philip of Anjou contending for the sovereignty of Spain, the Indies, the Netherlands. William cast himself warmly into the conflict against the Bourbon prince, but was met by coldness and discouragement on the part of the House of Commons; and coincident with this was the question of the English succession, which was then settled by act upon the House of Hanover.

With these great and imperial questions we have no more to do than as concerns the conduct of Marlborough and the advice which he and his Countess gave to Anne.

Anne was sorely perplexed; her heart turned to her father and the Stewart line; but she yielded to her good advisers, and offered no opposition to the measures taken by Parliament. In the matter of the war, Marlborough was adverse to the Parliament, until the Parliament, perceiving the necessity of reducing the power of France, altered their tone, and passed resolutions to which Marlborough contributed all his influence. William prepared for his last journey to the Continent, and, overlooking all other considerations, he placed Marlborough in a confidential post, next to his own person: he selected him to command the forces in the Netherlands and to negotiate foreign treaties, as the fittest man to preserve the confidence of the realm and the favour of his successor. The king and his minister embarked together, and landed at the Hague 3rd July, 1701.

Never, perhaps, were continental affairs in a more complicated state. The War of Succession involved the whole of Europe. William resigned the reins, and committed the negotiations to Marlborough. New heroes enter on the stage, especially Charles XII. of Sweden, with whom Marlborough effected a treaty. Holland, Prussia, and Austria were successively managed, and the treaties of alliances were presented for the sanction of Parliament on the 7th of September.

The reader of the history of this time is fearfully and unnecessarily perplexed by the constant reference to the terms Whigs and Tories, which, strange to say, reverse the significations they at present bear. Under Anne and her minister Harley, the terms become distinct and intelligible: at this period of William's reign they are perplexing and delusive. A general rule may be stated, that the Whigs were for the Protestant religion, and the Hanoverian succession; the Tories were for High Church

and Jacobitish, or, as the Duchess of Marlborough writes, "And as to state affairs, many of these churchmen seemed to me to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured, during the last reign, to undermine that very government which they had contributed to establish" ('Account,' p. 126). Touching toleration we find each extreme party intolerant by turns, each during its tenure of power, and an intermediate party, to which during these years Marlborough belonged, striving to control the dominant party,

> "In moderation setting all his glory,
> That Tories called him Whig, and Whigs a Tory."

And now Marlborough's personal career is to be simplified by the death of James II., on the 16th September. Louis acknowledged his son as heir to the British throne, which aroused the full tide of the wrath of the British lion. Addresses poured in to William, denouncing the perfidy of France. The king tried to cast off the Tories, lukewarm in the war, and dissolved Parliament; but the new Parliament remained like as the old. Harley was chosen Speaker. The *moderate* Tories nevertheless vied with the Whigs in denouncing France, the pretended Prince of Wales, and upholding the Protestant succession. The last acts of the Parliament under William were liberal in supplies towards the prosecution of the war. An act of attainder against "the Pretender" and the Queen Dowager; an oath of abjuration against the pretended Prince of Wales, and clauses protecting Anne: the high Tories, led by Nottingham, vigorously opposed these, but they were in a huge minority. The act of abjuration—palpable absurdity; for if the birth was supposititious, and the Prince a pretender, why abjure the nonentity—was the last act which received William's assent; he died 8th March,

1702, age 52, reign XIV. His last advice was a strong recommendation to his successor, of Marlborough, as the most proper person to lead her armies and direct her counsels, and the advice of the dying king proved his sagacity and his patriotism, forgetful of all save the welfare of his realm.

And now let us pause, and take a summary view of Marlborough before he enters on the career, which I do not intend to review, of unrivalled success; his character mainly depends on the period we have passed. His future life was chequered in its political position and his personal power; but he never underwent the fortunes of Cadmus. His domestic prosperity continued his own to his day of death; and whilst this passage was being written (April, 1868), the blue ribbon was bestowed on the successor to his name and honours, and Earl Spencer was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland a year later, 1869.

Now, so far, I find no fault in this man. He owed his first appointment to his own father, a loyalist baronet, and that appointment was in the service of the Duke of York. The Duchess of Cleveland gave him 5000*l.* to purchase his way, which way he won, and invested that money. She was cousin to his mother, and proud of her handsome and staid relative. He won his own way under Turenne, and saved the life of the Duke of Monmouth, his general. The Duchess of York promoted his secret marriage with his wife. Whilst he was absent the honourable or dishonourable *liaison* of his sister Arabella with James took place, resulting in the birth of the Duke of Berwick,* general and

* Arabella had four children by James: James Fitz-James, Duke of Berwick; Henry Fitz-James, Grand Prior of France; Henrietta married Lord Waldegrave; and another daughter, who probably took the veil. She married, after James's decease, Col. Charles Godfrey, and had by him two daughters. She died 1730, aged 82.

historian. He was employed on political missions, and made a peer of Scotland by Charles II.; and the first marring of his fortunes occurs under James II.; for although he was immediately raised to the British peerage by James, and had a command against the Duke of Monmouth, his old general in Flanders, who was beaten at Sedgemoor, and whose execution doubtless was grief and sorrow to his noble heart, yet James well knew the undisguised sentiments of his best man: that they were hostile to him in his arbitrary proceedings and in his retrogression towards popery; that Lord Faversham advised his arrest, which James could not afford to do, for if he lost Churchill, he lost his best prop and support; that to Lord Gallway, ambassador at Paris, and to Dykvelt, minister of the Prince of Orange, to his own friends, and to James himself, he had never disguised his sentiments, or flattered the infatuation of the king; that owing to the wise measures taken by him, the revolution was bloodless instead of being lost in useless slaughters; that the result again was personal detriment to himself, for although he was raised by William to the rank of Earl of Marlborough, his sequent acts were hostile to William, and he and his Countess attached themselves wholly to the Princess Anne, whose husband was incompetent to act or to think for her. Still William tried to attach him to himself: he sent Marlborough in command of the British forces to the Netherlands, and received him on his return with fresh honours, with cordiality foreign to his nature. In the sequent year he was not sent to Flanders, and is presumed to have declined to act in Ireland against James, the father of his acknowledged mistress; but after the battle of Boyne, and the utter defeat of James, he volunteered, and reduced Cork and Kinsale in five weeks. Then he accompanied, in 1691, William to the Continent, and

returned to all appearance high in royal favour; which was all lost, owing to the refusal of Anne, on the demand of Mary, to remove the Countess of Marlborough from her Court; and Marlborough was dismissed, without any reason assigned, from all his appointments, civil and military. He was arrested on the forgeries of Young and committed to the Tower, where he was arbitrarily and illegally detained, until the House of Lords, asserting their privileges, forced William to liberate him; but the ministry acting so illegally obtained an act of indemnity.* We find him for five years in retirement, declining pecuniary aid from the Princess Anne, and living in decent penury. His relations with James we have already discussed. During 1693 and 1694 he apparently thought that the restoration of James would follow the decease of William; but from the death of Queen Mary his name does not recur in connection with the court of St. Germains. And through the whole of those memoirs there is no word written or act recorded under his name which entitled James to anything more than the rights which one man owes to another in duty and justice. We find Somers, Sunderland, and himself effect a reconciliation between the king and the Princess Anne, and that his loyalty and worth were again recognised, and his services required by the king before he died.

After five years of retirement he was made the governor of the Duke of Gloucester; the slur attempted to be passed upon him of avarice is repelled by his refusal of a pension from Anne; and his countess also refusing half the proposed dowers of their four daughters, and accepting 5000*l.* in lieu of 10,000*l.* on each marriage. Again he accompanied the king to Holland, and, as general and plenipotentiary, con-

* Acts of indemnity to Ministers who have exceeded their legal powers appear to me to be the equivalent to the dispensing powers in the hands of the King.

ducted the negotiations, and concluded the treaties creating the alliance against France; and James died, and William died, recommending him to his successor; and we find him freed from the shackles of the royal exile, and promoted to the highest post of employment and honours under Queen Anne. I can discover no signs of perfidy in his conduct; James shows none; William recognised none. Plots and rumours of Dunkirk and Brest were fabrications of the enemy. When the betrayal of the Brest expedition was laid to his charge, he was not in an office of trust, and could have no knowledge not generally known by the whole political world.* The charge of avarice does not belong to this section of his career. There is the story recorded of the twenty-five broad pieces, "hoarded" to the day of his death, "the first money," said Marlborough to his auditor, "I ever earned, and I look with pride on those pieces." We had no bankers' books and accounts in that era, every man kept a bank of his own, in a stocking, a crock, or beneath his hearthstone. That Marlborough should have twenty-five pieces, good at need, in his private purse, is a small point on which to ground an accusation of avarice. The scandal of Mrs. Manley, touching the Duchess of Cleveland, is below contempt. The honour of his sister was never propounded to him in its left-handed alliance. We find him a fervent lover, a faithful and affectionate husband, a fond father, and a trusty friend. But Swift and Pope say he was avaricious, and Harley and Bolingbroke say he was a

* It is to draw a very far-fetched conclusion to attribute the failure of this expedition to any letter whatever. We had prepared a fleet in 1693, but had relinquished the design, as the attempt was judged impracticable then. Meantime Brest had been sedulously fortified by Vauban. It was the naval station of the fleet of France. A measure designed without due inquiry, and carried out with the reckless and rash bravery then in vogue, accounts for the failure.

traitor. Here we get the clue, which we shall trace and criticise when we have passed the period of his prosperity. Up to this time we have seen him under three kings win his way to posts of honour and employment, but to no riches. The earldom is won, but not yet endowed. We now approach that second part of the enquiry.

CHAPTER II.

With the accession of Queen Anne came the reward of his zeal in her service and disgrace suffered upon her account. Marlborough was created Knight of the Garter, and appointed Captain-General of the British forces both at home and abroad, and Master of the Ordnance. The Countess was made Groom of the Stole, Mistress of the Robes, and Manager of the Privy Purse: and she also received a lodge in Windsor Park, with the rangership of the Park, which Mrs. Morley gave to Mrs. Freeman "for all her days, which I pray God, may be as many and as truly happy as the world can make you." Lady Harriet Godolphin and Lady Spencer, their daughters, were nominated ladies of the bedchamber, and their fathers-in-law, Godolphin and Sunderland, received benefits—Godolphin the post of Lord High Treasurer, and Sunderland a renewal of a pension of 2000*l.* granted by William, with arrears since its suspension. Marlborough and Godolphin formed the administration as moderate Tories, purging it of Whigs, and controlling the Tory element within moderate bounds, nor suffering party antipathies to be indulged.

It is not my intention to dilate upon the battles and victories of the following years: suffice it to say that, where

Marlborough led, victory followed his steps; where Marlborough was not, with few exceptions, the allies were checked. The difficulties necessarily attendant upon alliances which were overcome by him, the nobility of soul which conjoined Prince Eugene to act in brotherly co-operation from first to last; years of unexampled victories and successes merged in the peace of Utrecht—the work of Harley and Bolingbroke: to human eyes woefully inadequate in its provisions to the claims of Great Britain, although, perhaps, happier in its moderation than more brilliant results would have acquired of real good. We must lightly scan the undisputed grandeur of the man, and deeply consider the accusations of avarice, peculation, and greed, which I am prepared utterly to refute and to deny.

Twenty days after the death of King William, Marlborough landed at the Hague, Ambassador-Extraordinary of England. He smoothed the jealousies of the burgomasters, Denmark, Prussia, Hanover, the Duke of Zell, and the Archduke Charles. The 26th of April beheld him in London. On the 4th of May, the conventions concluded by him were sanctioned by Parliament, and on the 12th of May—we may adduce the royal nursery song which soothed the infancy of Louis the Fifteenth:—

"Malbrook s'en va t'en guerre."

In 1702, Venloo was captured; Ruremond and Liége taken by him; and Landau fell to the Austrians—Rooke and Duke of Ormond failed at Cadiz.

Marlborough returned to England when the troops were put into winter quarters. A new Parliament had met, which voted, "The wonderful success of your Majesty's arms under the conduct of the Earl of Marlborough has signally *retrieved* the antient honour of this nation." It was

a slur on the Whigs, and the forced retirement of Marlborough from affairs. The queen created him Duke of Marlborough, and, as he had no property to uphold that title and dignity, the acceptance of which was earnestly opposed by his countess, Anne conferred the annuity of 5000*l.*, for her own life, from the Post Office revenues. She also sent a message to the Parliament desiring them to devise how this grant might be settled on the dukedom in perpetuity; but the House was recalcitrant and refused. The duke intreated the queen to withdraw her message, which she withdrew, but with the further wish and intention to eke out the 5000*l.* annuity with 2000*l.* from her privy purse; but the offer was firmly, but respectfully, declined by Marlborough; who had now an ample income, including 10,000*l.* a year from the states of Holland as Captain-General of their forces. Assuredly the accusation of avarice fails utterly in 1702.

Some domestic afflictions fell on his shoulders—the death of his only remaining son, the Marquis of Blandford, and the secession from his party of his son-in-law, now Lord Sunderland, who joined the Whigs in opposition to him. His two younger daughters were now married, as already stated.

CAMPAIGN OF 1703.—Bonn captured — Failure at Antwerp and Ostend owing to perversity of the Dutch — Huy and Limburg captured — 2000 men withdrawn from his troops and sent to Portugal — Winter quarters — Villars successful on the Upper Rhine — Charles crowned as King of Spain at Vienna.

The political position at home was equally irksome with the Dutch system of warfare. Parties were very hostile to Marlborough and Godolphin. The war Whigs and the High Church peace-at-any-price Tories equally assailed them; and he was the mark of obloquy, satire, and lampoons. Godolphin, in disgust, wished to retire from affairs.

The duchess importuned her lord to join the Whigs; she also assailed the queen, who was high Church, and high Tory, and intolerant in the extreme. And here we may trace the seeds of the defection, if not the defection itself, between Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman, which ripened in secret, and broke out openly at unawares in 1707. In this interim she is self-deceived, thinking she was gaining upon Anne. She termed the high Church Tories Jacobites; whilst the queen held the Whigs to be equally dangerous to the monarchy and to the Church. Marlborough, with his quiet affection, requested his wife to desist. It was not in the duchess' nature to desist; with beautiful petulance in a feminine cause, she introduced it into imperial matters, troubling her husband, offending her queen, and laying the foundation of her own political overthrow.

The year ended with the bugbear of centuries—intolerance; jurors, and non-jurors, Jacobites, and the Protestant succession—upon which point Marlborough was consistent and determined, for the Protestant succession and for tolerance of parties in religion. He writes to his wife that, in defence of the Protestant succession, "I will venture my last drop of blood;" and that he will neither assist any Jacobite whatever, nor any Tory who is for persecution; although he had not yet joined the Whigs, Godolphin, himself, and his duchess, were Whigs at heart.

CAMPAIGN OF 1704.—Schellenberg — Blenheim — Passage of the Rhine — Landau, Treves, Traerbach taken — Ulm taken by Allies — Gibraltar taken by Rooke — Sea-fight off Malaga.

Black was the atmosphere at the commencement of this campaign, dazzlingly bright its setting. The battle of Blenheim was won—the most decisive victory of the war. We must pass over its details: it was conjoined in the vote of

the Commons with the sea-fight off Malaga, after Rooke's capture of Gibraltar—a bull-dog fight, with no results save slaughter. And let us now see how victories are won, and, on the other hand, how victories are wasted through carelessness or incompetency of the commanders.

Marlborough, having resolved to fight on the Danube, intrusted Prince Eugene only, commanding the Austrian army there, with the secret. He pushed forward, regardless of the jealousies and fears of his confederates. He not only kept his own design secret, but he established means of rapid communication in all directions, obtaining intelligence of the French intentions and movements. His army was admired by the Elector of Treves, "These gentlemen all seem dressed for a ball." He moved towards the Neckar, over which he had caused bridges to be constructed; he was now advancing to the Danube, leaving the French in his rear lost in astonishment, the French generals at last completely bewildered. As he advanced, small bodies of Prussians, Hessians, Palatines, flowed into his lines, like tributary streams. He writes to Godolphin then, "If we can hinder the junction of the French and Bavarians, I hope six weeks will reduce and ruin the country." He met Prince Eugene, who expressed his admiration of Marlborough's cavalry. Eugene was forced to yield his command, but co-operated nobly. At the Schellenberg Marlborough ordered hospitals to be prepared in anticipation. At the Wernitz River bridges had been prepared, and his van was provided with pontoons and fascines. Schellenberg was fought and won with fearful slaughter on the 1st July. On the 7th, the River Lech was passed. Here he encamped, for the French had forced their way despite Prince Eugene and reinforcements draughted by Marlborough to him. Thus, the intended surprise was lost, and they all met. Eugene rejoined Marl-

borough, and Tallard, the French general, joined the Elector of Bavaria. "I know the danger," said Marlborough, "but a battle is absolutely necessary, despite of our disadvantages." It was fought with astonishing success. The French and Bavarians lost 35,000 out of 55,000 troops, Marlborough 12,000 in killed and wounded. Tallard complimented him, whilst surrendering his sword, as being the conqueror of the best troops in Europe. His own generalship was unrivalled; and, amidst and through meshes and meshes of difficulties, he had planned and carried into execution a plan of a campaign resulting in a decisive victory. Such is generalship. We must now turn and see the reverse picture.

On the 21st July Sir George Rooke cannonaded Gibraltar, discharging 15,000 shots in five or six hours: and the old rock was carried by assault by our gallant tars streaming like monkeys up its face. Rooke sailed away with his victorious fleet, and came in sight of the French under the Count de Thoulouse on 9th August. On the 13th Rooke resolved to engage: we were unequal in number, guns, our ships were foul: the ships which had bombarded Gibraltar had shot away their powder, there was plenty in the fleet, but it had not been redistributed. In the course of an hour or two some of Rooke's ships were obliged to quit the line for want of gunpowder. Sir Cloudesley Shovel writes how the French shunned the engagement, notwithstanding they had galleys, clean ships, and gunpowder, he writes, "the engagement was very sharp, and I think the like between two fleets never has been in any time, there is hardly a ship that must not shift one mast, and some must shift all; a great many have suffered much, but none more than Sir George Rooke and Captain Jennings in the *St. George*. God send us well home, I believe we have not three spare topmasts, nor three fishes in the fleet, and I

judge there is ten jurymasts now up. After the fight we lay two days in sight of the enemy preparing for a second engagement, but the enemy declined and stood from us in the night."

"Look on this picture and on this." The generalship which won Blenheim: the utter carelessness off Malaga, "ships without powder, whilst others had enough and to spare." Marlborough's horse and foot were both complimented by Eugene and the Elector of Treves. The ships off Malaga were foul, without galleys to tow them, and a bull-dog fight crippling a fleet, had no results save useless slaughter and destruction.

The fight off Malaga reminds one of Falstaff's notion of generalship, "I have taken my rascals where they will be well peppered." It also reminds one that when our best English blood was following in small ships the Spanish Armada, and Elizabeth was caracolling at Tilbury, we likewise made no provision to supply the fleet with powder. It is no marvel that soldiers hail a general like Marlborough or like Wellington, who although they wisely spare them not in the siege or battle-field, never lead their men to be peppered without result. Farewell to battles: Alison and Napier may delight in their descriptions and speculations on what might have happened if a hundred men had charged at a given juncture; it is a wearisome task to read of—

"The feast of vultures and the waste of life,"

but it is generalship and not fortune that wins battle-fields: the capture of the rock of Gibraltar or of the fort of Barcelona, are freaks of fortune; but Blenheim and the lines of Torres Vedras—had results; the effect of generalship enacted under a thousand difficulties.

Ulm then fell to the Austrians, Landau was taken by

Prince Joseph, and Treves and Traerbach by Marlborough. The Emperor then conferred upon Marlborough the title of Prince of the Roman Empire in a most flattering letter. This Marlborough declined until the empty honour could be made real. A principality in land was needed to enable him to sit in their council, and in consequence Mildenheim, worth about 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* a year, and which he held for a period of seven years only, was bestowed. At the peace with Bavaria the Bavarians resumed Mildenheim, and since that time the hereditary honour has been without revenues attached.

Marlborough returned to England to the old story, the conflict of parties, and the detestable Occasional Conformity bill. The queen was present in its favour, and Marlborough and Godolphin helped to kick it out. The national enthusiasm and rejoicing at his victory, failed to upset the modest dignity of his soul; he bore his honours as he bore cabals; and his letters to the duchess pray for repose at home in her society; but parties at home and powers abroad denied such boon. The Whig Junta, hostile mainly to Godolphin, caused Godolphin and himself to conjoin Harley and St. John, in their cabinet. The duchess had better powers of foresight; she would have effected a junction with the Junta and its leading men, and avoided the tricksy statesmen just named, but the fates had otherwise decreed. The duke rebukes his wife sternly and recalls her to the domestic sphere and duties, and bids her look to the progress of the grounds of Woodstock, with which we will wind up this year.

The queen desired the Parliament to free the manors of Woodstock and Wotton of incumbrances, in order to grant them to the victor of Blenheim. The historians are silent as to the value of this gift, but the writers of that time state it as 40,000*l.*, which appears a mean grant enough,

and the queen resolved to embarrass it with a national monument, the palace now existing, for which a sum of 200,000*l.* was appropriated, and which palace was the source of endless trouble to the duke, fraught with national disgrace: the story belongs to the part which tells of the duchess and her conquests. She conquered difficulties and completed Blenheim, overlooked the architects, and was *not* ruined by the sum of 60,000*l.*, at which she accomplished it.

CAMPAIGN OF 1705. — Passage of the French lines — Passage of the Dyle — Capture of Huy, Tirlemont, &c. — Capture of Leuwe and rasure of French line — Capture of Barcelona by Lord Peterborough.

The Dutch counteracted by delay and opposition every success achieved by the generalship of Marlborough. He forced the French military barrier against a superior force, which was victoriously capturing towns. In July, but in vain, did he press his Dutch deputies to pursue the foe whilst they were disorganised and panic-struck; again he forced the passage of the Dyle, and again, with most offensive opposition of their general the opportunity was lost. Slangenberg ejaculated, "murder and massacre," to proposals to fight a demoralised army; but things grew too bad. The English Cabinet sent Lord Pembroke to the Hague to remonstrate, and Slangenberg was removed, which removal paved the way to the success of the ensuing campaign.

In Spain Lord Peterborough captured Barcelona by the most daring *coup de main:* it drove the people at home wild with delight, and mad with expectations. Lord Peterborough himself saw it in its true light, as a freak of fortune, not as an act of generalship. Lord Peterborough became the idol of the hour to oppose to Marlborough. Sir

George Rooke, the hero of last year, they had nevertheless dismissed and appointed Sir Cloudesley Shovel his successor in the fleet, and Lord Peterborough becomes the idol of the Tories.

In Italy the war flagged, the forces of Prince Eugene were overmatched.

The Emperor Leopold died and Joseph succeeded him.

In the mean time party strife was on the increase rather than otherwise, the Tories tacked the occasional conformity bill to the money bill, an old stager trick, which did not succeed. The Whigs were in the majority, and the queen was averse to the peace policy of the Tories. The duchess writes, "I prevailed with Her Majesty to take the great seal from Sir N. Wright, a man despised by all parties, of no use to the crown, &c. His removal, however, was a great loss to the church, for which he had ever been a warm stickler. And this loss was the more sensibly felt as his successor my Lord Cowper was not only of the Whig party, but of such abilities and integrity as brought a new credit to it on the nation. But the worst of all these misfortunes the majority of the House of Commons in the New Parliament of 1705 proved to be Whig."

From domestic strife Marlborough set forth to the Hague and the German courts, settling continental strifes, and preparing for the ensuing campaign. Vienna, Berlin, Hanover, the Hague, all had his presence, without him was the storm and tempest, but where he went the clouds dispersed and serenity returned.

He returned to England to find the Tories had overstepped the bounds of policy. The queen writes, "I believe, dear Mrs. Freeman, we shall not disagree as we have formerly done; for I am sensible of the services those people have done me that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them; and am thoroughly convinced of

the malice and ignorance of others that you have always been speaking against."

Meantime there was a junction of parties, so long urged by the duchess; it was effected at a dinner at the house of Harley. Godolphin and Marlborough, Harley and St. John, with Halifax, Sunderland, and Boyle, but it is added, with suspicions of Harley's subtle and trimming character. And as he is to succeed in his chicanery with the queen in less than two years, the accompanying extract from Lord Cowper's diary, one of the *convives*, throws great light on Harley's character.

"On the departure of Lord Godolphin, Harley took a glass and drank to love and friendship and everlasting union, and wished he had more Tokay to drink it in; we had drunk two bottles good but *thick*. I replied his white Lisbon was best to drink it in being very *clear*. I suppose he apprehended it (as I observed most of the company did) to relate to that humour of his, which was, never to deal clearly or openly; but always with reserve, if not dissimulation, and to love tricks when not necessary, but from an inward satisfaction in applauding his own cunning."

The year closed by the investiture of the duke as a prince of the empire by Joseph, with the lordship of Mildenheim, as this is ever included in Marlborough's gains, and as his non-acceptance of an empty honour in the preceding year is adduced as a proof of his avarice, be it remarked that the cost of the investiture in fees was 8477*l.*, and as the value of the lordship was under 2000*l.* a year, and was not held for seven years, a pecuniary loss, he held he could not afford to incur, would have resulted from an acceptance of an empty honour. The Emperor remitted what fees he could. The cost to Marlborough was only 1500*l.*, and when the lands of Mildenheim were resumed

by Bavaria, the Emperor Charles paid the expenses of Marlborough in attending, as prince, the diet.

CAMPAIGN OF 1706. — Battle of Ramilies — Fall of Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp, Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, Ath, and other places.

Villeroi commanded the French; to save Namur, he was ordered to risk a battle. Ramilies was fought and lost by him, with the loss of 15,000 men, colours, artillery and baggage, on the 24th May, and Marlborough "pressed the enemy whilst confusion reigned among them."

The town of Louvain was evacuated, Brussels opened her gates; Mechlin, Alost, Lierre, Ghent, surrendered, Antwerp, Ostend, and Ypres were taken; the French government was expelled, the Austrian substituted; the King of Prussia ceased to waver; all went merrily as a marriage bell until Nick Frog, as Swift nicknamed the Dutch, put the spoke of jealousy into the wheel; for the Emperor Joseph proposed to confer the government of the Netherlands on its victor, Marlborough; whilst Holland feared such propinquity of England. Marlborough expressed his hope to the Queen of England that she would permit him to decline the offer, which he was suffered to do. But Holland was scared, and as Austria was equally jealous of Holland, no sooner was one pacified than the other took exceptions, and there was a load of jealousies to be controlled. But though Holland stood tardily aloof, Prussia and Hanover came on with their contingents, and Menin, Dendermond, and Ath were captured. In October the campaign closed at Brussels, six horses, gilded cars, and the wine of honour and mad rejoicings met the conquering hero.

In the mean time Prince Eugene held his own well in Italy. But in Spain, there King Charles, the impetuous Peterborough, and Lord Gallway went to wreck—such

troubles did not fall solely to the side of the allies; the Elector of Bavaria proposed peace, to quit the French alliance, and to surrender the frontier towns he held, viz., Namur, Mons, and Charleroi. King Louis meantime made overtures to the Dutch. Our hero burst these diplomatic lines as he burst the military, and the year closed with the continental alliances strengthened rather than weakened, but owing entirely to the military successes of the campaign. The rewards of Marlborough for his victories consisted in transmitting his title through the female line, and making permanent the 5000*l.* annuity from the Post Office revenues.

At home Harley was spreading his meshes to get rid of the Whigs and substitute his own party—St. John and the Tories—but he needed Marlborough and Godolphin. The duchess fought for the Whigs and her son-in-law Sunderland; and she and the queen battled, and the queen was alienated. The year closed with an apparent triumph of the Whig party, which was nevertheless then undermined by Harley and the Tories.

The Hanoverian succession, hated by the queen, was the point where Harley won his vantage ground.

The union with Scotland was carried in this session.

CAMPAIGN OF 1707. — Battle of Almanza lost in Spain — Naval disasters — Failure of siege of Toulon by Prince Eugene — Nothing accomplished in Flanders.

Marlborough visited Charles XII. of Sweden, the King of Prussia, the Elector of Saxony, and met the King of Poland. He won the good-will of Charles, and counteracted the adverse principles with the King of Prussia. He then joined the army, where the first news received was of the fatal battle of Almanza in Spain, where the rout of the allies was complete, and all Spain save Catalonia was

recovered by the Bourbons. In the Netherlands no battle occurred, either the caution of the French under Vendome, or the opposition of the Dutch, confined the campaign to marches and countermarches. The Imperialists besieged Toulon and failed, so that the year closed with disaster to the allies in the field. In the cabinet it was more disastrous. Mrs. Masham obtained her secret influence with the queen, which was fatal to the Whigs. I transcribe the duchess's account of her successful rival:—"She was daughter of a Mr. Hill, merchant, in the city, by a sister of my father, who turned projector and was ruined; but this was long before I was born. I never knew there were such people in the world till after the Princess Anne was married, and when she lived at the Cockpit an acquaintance of mine came to me and said, 'she believed that I did not know that I had relations who were in want,' and she gave me an account of them. I answered, 'that indeed I had never heard before of any such relations,' and immediately gave her ten guineas for their present relief, saying I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent Mrs. Hill more money and saw her; she told me her husband was in the same relation to Mr. Harley as she was to me, but that he had never done anything for her."

The Hills, father and mother, died, leaving four children, two girls and two boys. The duchess relates that she got the elder girl (our famous Mrs. Abigail Masham) a place of bedchamber woman to the princess; the second laundress to the Duke of Gloucester, and when he died, a pension of 200*l.* from the privy purse. The eldest boy was put into the customs by Lord Godolphin, and the duchess procured security for him in the sum of 2000*l.* "His younger brother (whom the bottle men afterwards called *honest* Jack Hill) was a tall boy whom I clothed (for he was all in rags), and put to school at St.

Alban's to one Mr. James, who had been an usher under Dr. Busby at Westminster, and whenever I went to St. Alban's I sent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own child. A vacancy happening of page of honour to the Prince of Denmark, His Highness was pleased at my request to take him. I afterwards got my Lord Marlborough to make him groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester, and although my lord always said that Jack Hill was good for nothing, yet to oblige me he made him his aide-de-camp, and afterwards gave him a regiment. But it was his sister's interest that raised him to be a general, and to command in that ever memorable expedition to Quebec. I had no share in doing him those honours.

"I may here add that even the husband of Mrs. Masham had several obligations to me. It was at my instance that he was made first a page, then equerry, and afterwards groom of the bedchamber to the prince. As for Mrs. Masham herself, I had so much kindness for her, and had done so much to oblige her, without having done anything to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myself to think of her other than a true friend, or forbear rejoicing at any instance of favour shown her by the queen. I observed at length that she had grown more shy of coming to me, and more reserved than usual, but I imputed this to her usual moroseness of temper, and for some time made no other reflection upon it.

"The first thing which led me into enquiries about her conduct was the being told, in the summer of 1707, that my cousin Hill was privately married to Mr. Masham. I went to her and asked her if it were true, she owned it was, and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reason as I had to take ill this reserve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to bashfulness

and want of breeding rather than to anything worse. I embraced her with my usual tenderness, and very heartily wished her joy, and then turning the discourse entered into her concerns in as friendly a manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings by removing her sister into some of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly whether the queen knew of her marriage, and very innocently offered her my service, if she needed it, to make that matter easy. She had by this time learnt the art of dissimulation pretty well, and answered with an air of unconcernedness that the 'bedchamber woman had already acquainted the queen with it,' hoping by this answer to divert any further examination into the matter. But I went presently to the queen and asked her 'Why she had not been so kind as to tell me of my cousin's marriage,' expostulating with her upon the point, and putting her in mind of what she used often to say to me out of Montaigne, that it was no breach of promise of secrecy to tell such a friend anything, because it was no more than telling it to one's self. All the answer I could obtain from Her Majesty was this, 'I have a hundred times bid Masham tell it you, and she would not.'

"The conduct both of the queen and Mrs. Masham convinced me that there was some mystery in the affair, and therefore I set myself to enquire, as particularly as I could, into it, and in less than a week's time I discovered that my cousin was become an absolute favourite; that the queen herself was present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time Her Majesty had called for a round sum out of the privy purse; that Mrs. Masham came often to the queen, when the prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her, and I then likewise discovered beyond dispute Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman.

"I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude, and should not have believed, if there had been any room left for doubting.

"My Lord Marlborough was at first no less incredulous than I, as appears by the following paragraph of a letter from him, in answer to one from me on this subject:—'*June* 3, 1707.—The wisest thing is to have to do with as few people as possible. If you are sure that Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the queen, I should think that you might with some caution tell her of it, which would do good, for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say.'"

Both the queen and Mrs. Masham feared the duchess; they were not of her calibre in honour, truth, or fearlessness; in consequence they machinated in the dark, and dissimulated. The lofty spirit of the duchess did not suspect that which she could hardly be brought to believe, that she could be superseded in the love of the queen. Harley was behind the curtain aiding and abetting, he equally a master of dissimulation, and when the facts broke upon her knowledge the duchess assailed the queen upon her duplicity, and broke the bonds betwixt them by setting the queen in the wrong, who resorted to dissimulation and untruth. Marlborough himself soon saw with a true eye the favour of Harley with the queen. Many letters passed betwixt him and the queen, in which he writes with the earnestness of a loyal adviser; he likewise expostulated with Harley, and desired specific replies to some points, and charged him with having influenced the queen in her choice of bishops, alienating the Whig party. Harley replied with affected humility and surprise, and attributed it all to the malice of the Whigs, professing his sincerity and devotion to Godolphin and himself, but which professions, founded in untruth, failed to carry conviction,

and the year closed with the Whigs alienated, our two ministers exposed to the obloquy of both parties, and Harley ruling in secret. The stormy petrel Peterborough returned, disgraced by failure, from Spain, and ranged with the opposition, and became a great tool in the hands of the Tories. The merchants of London assailed Admiral Churchill as the cause of the naval disasters. After a state of chaotic confusion, in which queen and Tories and Whigs all appear frightened at the situation, a reconciliation between the ministers and the Whigs came to pass, conjoined with the temporary fall of Harley, which was not effected without coercion. The queen upheld her favourite minister, but in the consequent absence of the two ministers the cabinet council refused to proceed to business. Harley was disconcerted, the queen silent, and when she saw the state of the case withdrew with anger and disappointment. The queen summoned Marlborough to her presence and bitterly complained, but dismissed Harley, who resigned the seals, 11th February, 1708, and the Whigs and war party were again dominant.

1708. — Jacobite preparations at Dunkirk foiled by Sir George Byng — Battle of Oudenarde — Siege of Lille — Relief of Brussels — Capture of Lille — Capture of Ghent.

The year commenced with a threatened invasion from Dunkirk under the Chevalier de St. George, which was checked by the British fleet under Sir George Byng. In May, Marlborough took his place at the head of the allies. The French had the advantage of numbers in the field, and commenced offensive movements, and captured Ghent and Bruges, and prepared to assault Brussels, when Eugene appeared timely upon the field, and "Castor and Pollux," as they are figured upon a medal, prepared to assert their divinity. The battle of Oudenarde took place, resulting

in a tremendous victory—9000 prisoners, including 700 officers—and the capture of the French lines followed. Marlborough proposed to mask Lille and penetrate into France: but every victory made the Dutch more averse to war; they were safe, which was all to which they looked or cared, and the lesser proposition of besieging Lille was adopted. The siege was commenced early in August, in the face of a hostile army as strong as the besiegers, but the Duke of Berwick, conjoined with Vendome in the command, aided inadvertently, by opposing counsels, his uncle, against whom he now fought personally. Whilst the allies besieged Lille the French invested Brussels. Marlborough forced the passage of the Scheldt, liberated Brussels; and Lille fell on the 9th December, having stood a siege of four months: the campaign was closed by the recapture of Ghent and Bruges. The keys of Ghent were presented to Marlborough at the gate of St. Leven,* in a gilt ewer, amidst rejoicings, for the advantages had been gained by

* I commend this historical fact to the antiquarians of Cornwall, where, at Land's-End, the church and footpath of St. Leven are subjects of fact and fable. I have pointed out in the first note to the translation of the Æneid, that Æneas found first refuge on Lavinum's shore, and wedded Lavinia, being, in fact, reminiscences of the old solar sanctuary. *Auv On*, the solar fountain, which has descended in our Avon and Leven, and that Numicus had the mound of huge Mezentius, and the rocks (Horace, Book III., Ode 27), which are Druidic rocks, on the intermittent flood of Numicus. The keys in the gilt ewer at St. Leven's gate at Ghent, record another instance of this solar beneficent worship. Aix-la-Chapelle, too, was Aquæ Granè, a synonym. There are mounds, Oudenberg between Ghent and the sea, and we have Wodensburg at Sandwich opposite. These are the Sandals ("Cadit Mezentius ingens," Fasti iv. 895), Woden's mounds, which were superseded by the fountains and St. Leven and gilt ewers; or, to put it in another archæologic phase, this was the Coma (mound) or hair which was divinely burnt off Lavinia (Æneid vii. 75), as also from Hersilia her successor (Met. xiv. 848) preparatory to the worship of the fountain of Anna Perenna.

sheer generalship in face of forces superior in numbers; and on the part of Vendome, be it remarked, that his generals thwarted him in this campaign.

We return to the three witches, misruling at home. After the victory of Oudenarde, the queen wrote to Marlborough letters of thanks, and complained of the Whig party. In answer to these letters Marlborough writes:—"As I have formerly told your Majesty that I am desirous to serve you in the army, but not as a minister, I am every day more and more confirmed in that opinion." The duke wrote also to the duchess, informing her of his conviction of a change in the queen towards him. This letter our petulant duchess sent to the queen. The queen returned it after the following occurrence:—

Te Deum was to be sung at St. Paul's for the victory. The duchess, mistress of the robes, laid out the jewels to be worn by the queen; the queen rejected them and wore others. The duchess, accompanying her to St. Paul's, reproached the queen, and urged the cause of the duke. The queen, about to reply, as they quitted the cathedral, the duchess stopped her speaking. The queen therefore returned the duke's letter, with this one by herself:—

"After the *commands* you gave me on the Thanksgiving Day of not answering you I should not have troubled you with these lines, but to return the Duke of Marlborough's letter safe into your hands, and for the same reason do not say anything to it, nor to yours that enclosed it."

The duchess explained: "I desired* you not to answer me there, for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret as if I had desired you not to answer me at all, which was far from my intention."

* The word *desired* here only signifies *requested*, not *commanded*.

It was nearly a year after, with many an episode, when the duchess desired a "private hour" to wholly free herself from a charge of having spoken disrespectfully of Her Majesty. The queen desired her "to lay before her in writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself in going into the country as fast as I could." The duchess insisted on an interview, and the queen again refused. The duchess then went to Kensington and assailed the palace. The page who went in to acquaint the queen stayed longer than usual, but at last he came out and told me that I might go in. The queen interrupted me *four or five* times, repeating, "Whatever you have to say you may put it in writing." That would not suit the duchess. Then the queen turned away her face, replied to the excuses of the duchess, that "without doubt there were many lies told," and afterwards took up another cuckoo cry, founded on the *commands* on returning from St. Paul's, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none." The duchess was moved by deep feeling at this finale of twenty-seven years' faithful service, but Anne "wanted bowels" equally with her sister Mary, and at last ended this remarkable conversation, "the last I ever had with Her Majesty." The remark of the duke, in reply to this account by his duchess, runs, "It has always been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so just, serve to no end but making the breach wider. If anybody had told me eight years ago, that after such great success, and after you have been a faithful servant twenty-seven years, that ever in the queen's lifetime we should be obliged to seek happiness in a retired life, I could not have believed that possible." The duchess continues: "But, notwithstanding this thorough alienation of the queen's affections from me, I was not yet divested of my employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who

should succeed me, nor whether it were proper Lord Marlborough should have that mortification before the season was fully ripe for the execution of the new scheme. Matters had been so greatly advanced towards maturity by the business of Sacheverell. Everybody knows that whole story, and the terrible cry that was raised about the danger of the Church, from the attempt that was made, in a parliamentary way, to punish an ignorant, impudent incendiary—a man who was the scorn even of those who made use of him as a tool. I shall only observe that the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had voted for the acquittal of that scurrilous declaimer against the queen's ministers, was, in about three weeks after, appointed Lord Chamberlain by Her Majesty."

To revert to the preceding year, and to Mrs. Masham, she, equally with the queen, dreaded an interview with the duchess. The queen had naively made the remark to the duchess, "that she was mightily in the right not to come near me." I answered I did not understand. The queen replied, "that it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me when she saw I was very angry with her." To this I answered, "that she could have no reason to be afraid unless she knew herself guilty of some crime." However, the duchess beat up Mrs. Masham as she had beaten up the queen, and, to the remonstrances of the duchess that she had supplanted her, Mrs. Masham gravely answered, "that she was sure the queen, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me." It was some minutes before I could recover from the surprise with which so extraordinary an answer struck me. To see a woman whom I had raised out of the dust put on such a superior air, and to hear her assure me, by way of consolation, that "the queen would always be very kind to me!" Homer, in the 'Iliad,' before launching into his catalogue of ships, indulges in five similes: from the forest in flames, from the clouds

above and meads below, to the flies buzzing around the milk-pails in the homestead. Five similes might fail to portray the astonishment on the duchess's brow at this change of position between herself and her *protegée* :—

> "And the perturbed spirit suffers then,
> The nature of an insurrection."

On the illness and death of the Prince of Denmark, which occurred in October, 1708, the duchess rushed back to her friend of twenty-seven years. She was present when the prince expired, but although the other attendants withdrew and left her to weep and condole, and assert the superiority of action inherent to her nature, she declined to summon Mrs. Masham when desired, telling the queen, "Your Majesty may send for her at St. James's when and how you please." And then she resigned the place to the favourite after having borne the passive resistance of queen and favourite as long as she could endure so to do.

CAMPAIGN OF 1709. — Siege of Tournay — Battle of Malplaquet — Capture of Mons — Defeat of Charles XII. at Pultowa.

The Whig ascendency at home gave Marlborough some rest in that quarter, but perplexities increased on the continent. The tricksy Dutch were negotiating secretly with France. Negotiations and preliminaries of peace followed, in the course of which attempts were made to bribe Marlborough on the part of France, 80,000*l.* and 160,000*l.* being offered him on conditions set forth in the 'Memoirs of de Torcy.' It is said that Marlborough *blushed*, and like the Burleigh shake of the head, the blush is interpreted to mean no end of contending emotions. In Shakespeare we read :—

> "Blush, if you can, Lord Cardinal."
> *Wolsey.*—"If I blush,
> It is to see a nobleman want manners."

But there was a second blush. On the rejection of the four millions of livres, "De Torcy intimated to the duke that he was in the secret of his intrigues with the Court of St. Germain," whereupon Marlborough blushed again.

Marlborough thought he had concluded by diplomacy a peace in favour of the allies, but Louis rejected the preliminaries, which, be it remarked, were not those of the subsequent Peace of Utrecht, notwithstanding bribes, blushes, and spies of Harley upon the watch. A "Barrier Treaty" was concluded, stipulating neither for the evacuation of Spain nor the razure of Dunkirk, and Marlborough refused to attach his signature to it as utterly inefficient, and the result proved his judgment to have been true. The Barrier Treaty was severely stigmatised by Parliament, Lord Townsend who signed it was severely censured, and all who advised its ratification were declared to be enemies to the queen and kingdom.

In June Marlborough took the field. Tournay fell in a month, by the end of June. The battle of Malplaquet was fought and won with frightful bloodshed on the 11th September; on the 14th Mons was invested, and fell on the 20th October, closing the campaign. In Savoy and in Spain the fortune of arms was adverse, and we lost an ally who had blazed like a meteor-light—Charles the Twelfth—at the battle of Pultowa, where "Fortune left the royal Swede;" which event fluttered the kings of the North—the King of Denmark, the King of Prussia, and King Augustus marched to recover Poland. All formed new projects and combinations which had to be met and combated by Marlborough.

At home the Whigs were outwardly triumphant. They dictated to the queen, and reformed the Admiralty Board. But Harley was conjoining the parties of Tories and Jacobites, and decrying Marlborough and his last campaign,

whilst Marlborough made the chief blunder of his life. Feeling his influence going with the queen, and to secure a position, he desired to be constituted Captain-General for life. He was foiled in his attempt, and, for one of the very few times in his life, was thrown off the balance of equanimity. He sent a reproachful letter to the queen, complained bitterly of her estrangement, and announced his determination to retire from service at the end of the war. This is the only personal request or requirement which I can find that Marlborough ever made. Rewards, pecuniary and honourable, refused—such as the government of the Netherlands, and the wish to refuse the principality of the empire—we meet, and the refusals to accept money from the princess beyond the 1000*l.* annuity and the 5000*l.* dowries, though often urged. But this request is of another sort, it is to be made a military dictator, apparently as the condition of serving any more. The vacillations of party, the barrier treaty, the constant interference with his military plans, have temporarily broken his marvellous equanimity, and he puts in his ultimatum—Captain-General for life—as his conditions of further service. The party to whom he made it was hostile, and Marlborough could not relieve himself of the duty which pressed upon him to go on and serve his country truly.*

Campaign of 1710.—Surrender of Douay, of Bethune, Aire, and St. Venant.

The year was inaugurated with the fall of the Whigs and decline of Marlborough. Sacheverell libelled, and Godolphin would have yielded to the scurrilous scribbler, but the ministers instituted proceedings by impeachment against

* It must be remarked, that he is here in the "winter of his discontent," and adverse fortunes and circumstances.

him. The queen and people sided with him. "High Church and Sacheverell" became a popular cry, and the ministers were foiled by an impudent pretender, who was found guilty, and suspended from preaching for three years. And Harley pursued his advantage to mortify Marlborough, or to drive him to resistance; and, on the death of Lord Essex, Earl Rivers was appointed to the government of the Tower; an appointment most offensive to Marlborough. All Marlborough's own propositions were rejected by the queen, and Marlborough received her orders to confer Lord Essex's regiment on Colonel Hill—i. e., Jack Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham. Marlborough obtained an interview with the queen, represented the prejudice to the service that the appointment of so young an officer as Colonel Hill, before others of higher rank and longer services. "It is, Madam, to set up a standard of disaffection to rally all the malcontent officers in the army"—he added his own mortification on being told to bestow so partial and extraordinary a favour on a brother of Mrs. Masham.

The queen was relentless, and he quitted with disorder upon his face. He asked Somers to accompany him to a second audience. Somers agreed to do so, but did it not. Marlborough retired to Windsor Lodge with his duchess without leave-taking, on the day of a cabinet council. The queen took no notice of his absence.

Marlborough drew up a letter to the queen, ending, "I hope your Majesty will dismiss either Mrs. Masham or myself." Sunderland approved; Godolphin faltered, as he ever did; Somers remonstrated with the queen; Godolphin remonstrated; a compromise was effected; Jack Hill not to have the regiment, but Mrs. Masham to remain. The queen was triumphant with her victory, and received Marlborough with a profusion of kindness; whilst she gave

Jack Hill 1000*l.* a year from her privy purse, and the Whigs were disordered and disgraced.

Douay took nearly two months to be captured. The French army hovered about, but did not hazard a battle. On the 13th July Bethune was invested, and fell on the 28th August. Aire and St. Venant, invested 6th October, fell on the 8th November, dearly purchased by the hardships and sickness of the troops. In Spain Charles gained a battle, and Philip retrieved his loss by gaining another, and entering Madrid in triumph. In Portugal there was loss, and there were no naval transactions.

We revert to the British cabinet. There never were such a set of moles burrowing in the dark, entering the queen's presence by back stairs. The queen chose any small closet, so it communicated with Mrs. Masham's; one "as hot as an oven, where the poor prince could not breathe;" and so the conspirators worked in the dark to supplant the two master-spirits—the duchess and the duke.

The Duke of Shrewsbury had voted to acquit Sacheverell, and his reward was that Anne, without consulting her ministers, removed the Marquis of Kent from the office of Lord Chamberlain, and appointed Shrewsbury to the post April 13th; and then she informed her Lord Treasurer of what she had done. Godolphin immediately replied and remonstrated on her suffering herself to be directed by a private ministry, and for withholding her confidence from her official servants, and the consequences of such acts upon the allies, and the enemies of Britain abroad, and claimed permission to retire.

The queen replied, like an idiot, "That none of the Whigs had been so uneasy at this change as himself." Godolphin's weakness unfitted him for his post, which otherwise he so worthily filled. He had to soothe and explain this trouble to Sunderland; Somers communicated

it to Marlborough, who marked with prophetic eye the sequel of queen and ministry at variance. But the queen pursued her policy and assailed Marlborough by insisting on the promotion of Colonel Hill to a generalship. It became Robert Walpole's duty, then, to remonstrate with her on the dissatisfaction in the army at such favouritism, of the wrong and the perplexity to Marlborough, and how impossible for him to conduct his campaign if his brigadiers were appointed for him. Marlborough refused compliance, but, at the instances of Godolphin, Sunderland, and Walpole, he yielded, and Jack Hill was made a brigadier-general.

We may here anticipate the episode of the expedition under General Hill to Quebec in the following year. The Tories took him and five thousand men from Marlborough's army, and sent him to Quebec, where he proved the worst general conceivable. His brigade was wrecked on the sands and rocks of the St. Lawrence, tomahawked and scalped by the Indians; and—let me quote from the history before me—"Hill, who was not a brave man, and who had as little military skill as the Abigail who had procured him his appointment, on coming in sight of the French, hesitated, quailed, called a council of war, and returned home as quickly as possible. He reached Portsmouth in October, where, to crown the misery of his failure, the admiral's ship, a seventy-four, blew up with every soul on board." This expedition is held to have been St. John's doing; to win Mrs. Masham, and to undermine Harley. The folly of the women in attempting matters beyond their reach, and the gross way in which they are courted and befooled by mere adventurers, are exemplified by the expedition to Quebec, and the generalship of Brigadier Hill.

The queen, Harley, and Mrs. Masham, successful in their hitherto endeavours to rule and to humiliate Godolphin

and Marlborough, struck again whilst the iron was hot, and disgraced and dismissed Sunderland, the son-in-law and favourite of the duchess, from his state-secretaryship. It was not effected without huge difficulties to be overcome, but Godolphin and Somers suffered it, and Marlborough, immersed in his campaign, could only plead, sue, and lament, the rack and ruin of home affairs, and, like a true patriot, work away for the public weal. His feelings may be shown in an extract from a letter to his duchess, "For God's sake, let me beg of you to be careful of your behaviour, for you are in a country amongst tigers and wolves; you have my wishes, and shall have my company whenever I can be master of myself."

Lord Dartmouth, a Jacobite and high Tory, succeeded the ultra-Whig, Sunderland, and the Tories were rampant in their triumph. The United States remonstrated with the queen, and deprecated these changes in her ministry, who had carried her glory to such a height. The Emperor Joseph remonstrated; and Marlborough was deeply affected by the Emperor's and Prince Eugene's letters entreating him not to resign. But the queen only believed these representations to be artifices to alarm and frighten her.

The duchess also remonstrated, unable, like Marlborough, to see and know that these interferences did more harm than good on the settled obstinacy of the queen; she put her finger again into the pie with very marring results. But her advice was as disinterested as it was just; she prayed the queen, metaphorically, on her knees, to defer these changes till there was peace, or an end of the campaign, nor let private feelings tell against the public good.

The Tories now assailed Godolphin. Lord Coningsby, a Whig, was removed from the treasurership of Ireland, and the Tory Earl of Anglesea promoted to the post. Lord Galway also left the command in Portugal, and Lord Port-

more assumed his place without any communication with the minister or general, and an ambassador was sent by Harley on a secret mission to Hanover, and the object was kept a secret. And lastly, all who wished to please the queen treated the duchess with marked disrespect. One may ask, "How these things could be?" They were partly hidden in secrecy, partly slurred by falsehood, and borne with patriotic endurance or in ignorant security by Godolphin and Marlborough. But the mine was sprung beneath their feet. On the 7th August Godolphin had a long audience with the queen. The coldness of the queen made him ask her pointedly whether she wished him to continue in office or not; and wound up with the question, "Is it the will of your Majesty that I should go on?" And the queen replied without hesitation, "Yes."

When he was gone, she wrote him the following letter, delivered by a servant in livery, and left with the porter:—"Kensington, August 7.—The uneasiness which you have showed for some time has given me very much trouble, though I have borne it; and had your behaviour continued the same it was for a few years after my coming to the crown, I could have no dispute with myself what to do; but the many unkind returns I have received since—especially what you said to me personally before the lords—makes it impossible for me to continue you any longer in my service. But I will give you a pension of 4000*l.* a year; and I desire that instead of bringing the staff to me, you break it, which, I believe, will be the easier to us both."

And next morning to Marlborough she wrote—"August 8.—My Lord Treasurer having for some time showed a great deal of uneasiness in my service, and his behaviour not being the same to me that it was formerly, made it impossible for me to let him keep the white staff any longer,

and, therefore, I ordered him this morning to break it, which I acquaint you with now, that you may receive this news first from me, and I do assure you I will take care the army shall want for nothing."

On these matters, and the faith of princes, and the charges of greed, be it remarked that this pension was never paid; that Godolphin was too high (or low) spirited to demand it, and that he lived in very narrow circumstances, after an administration of the public money of strictest honour and economy. His son, Lord Rialton, was then dismissed, and Lord Poulett, under a Commission, became Treasurer, and Harley, Chancellor of the Exchequer. And Marlborough stood alone, with an alienated queen, and without a friend in the Cabinet. He worked away with his wonted vigour to preserve the integrity of the grand alliance, and to keep up the spirits of his friends, no party now, in England.

The Whigs were stunned at the effects of their own jealousies. Sorely did they feel their shame, and regret in vain their temporising in the matters of the Masham and Hill disgraces, and the gradual overthrow of their party. As the loss of a frontier town brought the Dutch to their senses, so the overthrow of their party made them rally in truth around Marlborough. But the party was shaken, Somers retired, Cowper retired, Devonshire, Wharton, all the remains of the famous junta; and Harley, St. John, Rochester, Ormond, succeeded, to the dishonour of the country and the worthy result of back-stair, and hot-as-oven-closet influences.

The war was ruined; the general tethered by the legs; every proposal had to be submitted to the secret council, and to be thwarted by them. It was a case of the Dutch deputies of 1705 over again—marring every plan, and preventing any combination from being put into execution.

France rejoiced; De Torcy shouted that they had gained in England what they had lost in Flanders—over true words; Louis desired Villars to act on the defensive, and pursue the Fabian policy; in fact, England was working out her own dishonour and furthering the interests of France.

Parliament was dissolved; the mob ran riot and frantic in favour of the scurrilous scribbler Sacheverell and High Church; the Tories were triumphant, and the building of Blenheim was stopped. The Tories called it "the golden mine of Blenheim." It was a Charybdis in which national honour and probity were engulfed; the sequel belongs to the history of the duchess, who retrieved, with nobility of soul, the ignominy of this suspension. 200,000*l.* had been the first estimate of this national monument. 134,000*l.* had been expended, and the estimate rose to 250,000*l.*; and the whole expenditure eventually reached 287,000*l.* Estimates in those days, as in our own, were untrusty, but not to the same magnificent degree as at present. And from things to ascend to persons, Marlborough was required by the new Ministry to remain as he was, and prosecute the war; to give up his old friends; to accept the new; to restrain the rage and fury of his wife, or—well, what was the alternative? or to suffer impeachment.

Marlborough's position abroad was still the highest in continental estimation. He replied to the requirements, that he would be of no party, that he would serve the queen, his country, and the ministry, as heartily as he could. This independence did not suit the ministry, and Marlborough was marked out for the shafts of hostility and persecution.

The duchess was disgusted at this behaviour, but the duke manfully and lovingly justified his conduct with her he loved so well; and when she herself is admitted into

active life, by being the agent of the duke's communications with the Whigs, fitter for the task than either of her sons-in-law, she is delighted. She here also mentions the fact that they were trying to fright her into sending money for Blenheim, and she expresses her willingness that what was built should be pulled down, for that his care for that building was the greatest weakness the duke ever had.

St. John, with the impetuosity of his character, assailed the duke with dictatorial and imperious language. Military and diplomatic measures were dictated to him, his generals were cashiered for toasting him in their convivial cups, and the confederacy of the grand alliance began to droop under such perverse management to which it ultimately fell.

CAMPAIGN OF 1711.—Bouchain taken — Hill's failure at Quebec.

This year includes the fall of the duchess and the duke. The duchess was stung by the libels of Swift, of which we shall treat presently. Here the immediate object of her forcing herself into the royal presence by a letter was a charge in the 'Examiner' of her having peculated 22,000*l.* a year whilst Mistress of the Robes: the queen dismissed her letter with the brief remark, "Everybody knows that cheating is not the Duchess of Marlborough's fault."

Marlborough then arrived in England, and the cursed mob, ever a nuisance, surrounded his carriage, shouting, "God bless the Duke of Marlborough!" "No wooden shoes!" "No Popery!" He repaired, therefore, privately, in a hackney coach, to the Palace.

In an interview with Secretary St. John he had to endure all the petulance and domination of such a stormy

petrel; he is bidden to get rid of his wife, &c., or such scenes will open as no victories can varnish over.

On the 17th January Marlborough presented with his own hand a letter from the duchess, couched in terms of great humility. Her aspirations were for nothing personal —only to do nothing to disgrace the duke and bring about the greatest mischief to herself (the queen) and the country. The queen long refused to open it, but the duke persisting, she read it, and observed, "I cannot change my resolution."

Marlborough then pleaded himself. The sole plea was not to disgrace them, and so ruin the alliance, until the war was brought to a close, when his services would be needless. The queen insisted that the duchess should render up the gold key in three days. The duke cast himself on his knees, and prayed at least a respite before springing such a fearful mine. The queen, like the Sibyl, repeated the requirement, limiting the time to two days. He then adverted to the dismissal of his generals. She interrupted him by exclaiming, "I will talk of no other business till I have the key."

The spirit of the duchess was aroused beyond further and futile care of political results; she resigned her offices without a moment's delay. To the duke's wish also to resign his command, she was hostile, and combated it. They attended the queen together that same evening and delivered up the key. The queen is represented as oppressed by their presence, and as speaking unintelligibly and incoherently in reply to the duke.

Why did not the duke resign? The Pensionary and Prince Eugene, the sacrifice of the work of his hands for eight years, and abandoning to other and hostile hands the alliances and combinations of which he was the heart and soul; the assurance that a dishonourable peace would follow

his resignation of the command; Godolphin and Sunderland, the duchess and the Whigs, all dissuading it; patriotism, and honour to the confederated powers of Europe, were the reasons why the duke suffered more insults and did not resign.

There is another episode of female wrath. The duchess, in her first indignation, gave orders to dismantle the lodgings at St. James's of fixtures—the marble chimney-pieces and locks, as well as the looking-glasses and furniture.* Happily the duke heard of the order and prevented it, by appealing to the duchess. Unhappily the queen also heard of it, and treated the intention equal to the undone deed: she averred her intention to stop building Blenheim, as she would build no houses for them, who were pulling hers to pieces. Also, unlike her friend Godolphin, who never received his retiring pension of 4000*l.*, the duchess asked and received with arrears, a pension of 2000*l.*, her sole remaining payment for twenty-seven years' service, which will be mentioned presently when we treat of her administration of the privy purse.

The noble invention of printing was now made the ignoble means of disgracing the duke. Now appeared libels and scoffs, issued by a political clique, who are soon to have their deserts and to fly in disgrace themselves. Harley and St. John pulled the strings, and Swift, Pope, and Prior, were the fertile wits to decry, to debase, and to humiliate Marlborough. The mob, of course, entered into the fun, a shindy of any kind being their dear delight, and the more destruction of noble fames and windows the better the treat. That the Parliament should have proceeded with a spirit of hostility and vengeance equally inveterate and unparalleled is more to be deplored. The reverses

* She was furnishing Marlborough House, adjoining St. James's, at this very moment, and the fixtures were her own.

in Spain were laid at the Whig ministry and Marlborough's door; the Earl of Galway, their general, was run down; Peterborough was made a temporary idol with Parliament and the mob; and the vote in the Lords blamed the late ministry, but a protest of six-and-thirty peers was entered on the proceedings.

Gladly would Marlborough have taken wings like a dove, and fled to St. Alban's, and been at rest, but the array of princes demanding his aid threw a Parliament into the shade, the more especially as it voted upwards of six millions, and solemnly promised him that the war should not be starved. There were the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, the Elector of Hanover, the States, his friend Eugene, and the repentant body of Whigs at home, urging him to his post, but he had to endure the removal of some of his officers, and the substitution of Mashamites in the persons of Mr. Hill, Lord Orrery, and Lord Raby.

He arrived at the Hague a phantom of his former self—a military commander, and no more. He was no longer the diplomatist of the country, which was secretly negotiating with the enemy. Meantime a schism commenced at home. Mrs. Masham fell off from her kinsman Harley, and machinated with St. John against him. If you ask, where was the queen? an echo answers, where? She had lost her trusty Whigs, she had caught her tricksy Tories; and the Tories are pressed in turn by the Jacobites with the queen, hating the Elector, and reverting to her own kith and kin to befriend. In this schism both Harley and St. John laid siege to the duke, but it was too late on all hands, the stone was set a-rolling; and the hand that kindles cannot quench the flame.

The present phase of the story is the inquiry into the millions voted and expended. The credit of Harley was in the balance when he was saved by the penknife of

Guiscard; which attempted assassination raised Harley again into popular favour.

Another incident of the first magnitude occurred. The Emperor of Austria, Joseph, died, and Charles, the object of the succession war, became Emperor, damaging all prior combinations. Spain and Austria in one hand were as baneful as France and Spain, and amidst these complications the campaign opened.

On the 23rd May Eugene and Marlborough were parted from their joint generalship. Eugene was summoned to the Upper Rhine, and Marlborough was left with diminished forces in face of Villars. They remained face to face for a month, Villars having received injunctions not to fight; so the duke took the initiative once more. They played their game of war-chess, manœuvring their men, when Marlborough pushed forward his queen, and invested Bouchain, on the territory of the enemy: this was a second passage of the lines, and bloodless. About the sixth of August was Bouchain invested, and captured on the 14th September, in despite of the French army. Obloquy now fixed on Marlborough, urged, too, by the Dutch, that he had avoided a pitched battle against superior forces! but when Marlborough proposed to proceed by investing Quesnoy, he was counteracted and hindered by the ministry and the Dutch, who were clandestinely, through De Torcy, promoting preliminaries of peace; so the Dutch demurred, and Quesnoy was left alone, and the campaign closed. Nothing was effected in Savoy, Spain, or by Eugene on the Rhine; the war languished before the undivided will of Louis.

Marlborough returned to England to hear the forcing of the lines of Villars designated as crossing the kennel, and the taking of Bouchain as the capture of a dove-cot; but this was the shadow of the evils to come: charges of

fraud, extortion, and embezzlement of the public money were to be brought against him, and before a hostile ministry and parliament.

The payments to the general-in-chief were in those times by percentages on the outlay, as in these days with architects. These percentages, which were his supplies, are now to be urged against him as frauds and embezzlements. The first was on the supply of bread, the percentages of which over a series of years equalled 63,000*l.*

Without a moment's delay Marlborough wrote an explanation of the routine of payments by perquisites, and why they were made, namely, as secret service money: "And I do assure you at the same time that whatever sums I have received on that account have been constantly employed for the service of the public, in keeping secret correspondence, and getting intelligence of the enemies' motions and designs." He then proceeded to inform the commissioners that there were other sources of payment not adverted to in the public accounts, namely, a sum of 10,000*l.* a year voted to King William in the prior war, "for secret service without account";* that it having been found insufficient, the king, William, had obtained of the auxiliary powers a deduction of 2½ per cent. on their pay, instead of all other stoppages appropriated to the same purpose; that in the royal warrant, 6th July, 1702, the queen had continued the same privilege to him to receive and employ that percentage without account, which sum had been applied from time to time to intelligence and secret service, and with such success, that next to the blessing of God and the bravery of the troops might be attributed the secret intelligence procured by this fund. He adds: "and now, gentlemen, as I have laid the whole matter

* Secret service money grew under Sir Robert Walpole to a sum of 250,000*l.* annually.

fairly before you, I hope you will allow I have served my queen and country with that faithfulness and zeal which becomes an honest man," &c. Marlborough followed his explanation to England, arriving at Greenwich by ill-hap on the 17th November, the anniversary of the inauguration of Queen Elizabeth, when the effigies of the pope, the devil, and the pretender were burnt by the mob.

The ministry, incompetent at home as abroad, had seized the effigies, and disappointed the mob of their annual custom; they called out the train-bands, and denounced the Whig Kit Cat club, and tried to make out a plot against the queen, which ended in ridicule of themselves.

As Marlborough had rebuked King James for his arbitrary measures, as he had rebuked King William in the matter of the Princess of Denmark and the Irish land grants, so now he has to rebuke Queen Anne, and fall a third time into disgrace for doing his duty. He remonstrated against the disgraceful conditions of the preliminaries of peace, and then absented himself from the cabinet council. His remonstrances were echoed from the Dutch, the Emperor, and the Elector of Hanover. Baron Bothmar, the minister of the Elector, presented a memorial, and Prince Eugene was on his way to England to oppose in person the measures of the Tory ministry.

When the measure was debated in the Lords, where the queen hoped to support by her presence her ministry, Marlborough stood up, and in accents of indignant truth repelled the charges fixed on him of prolonging the war for his own emolument and position, the consequence was, the Tory ministry were beaten by a majority of one. But the Commons supported the ministry by an overwhelming majority, and paragraphs were inserted in their address intended as censures on Marlborough, "that they

would disappoint as well the acts and designs of those who, for private views, might delight in war, &c." The Whigs cemented their party by agreeing to pass a bill of occasional conformity,—a bad preliminary, but they wrongly imagined that they had power in their hands. The queen seemed to waver: St. John declared the queen was false; Mrs. Masham was in trepidation; Swift wrote Harley, "Your lordship will lose your head, and I only shall be hung, and so carry my body entire to the grave."

Happy would it have been had the queen proved false, although purchased by the hanging of Dean Swift; but the Commons pushed their majority to take proceedings against Marlborough on the percentages of the bread contracts, and the 2½ per cent. on the payments of foreign auxiliaries, and they resolved that the duke had illegally appropriated a sum, mentioned in alternative of 282,366*l.*, deductions on all foreign troops in the British service, or 177,695*l.* on foreign auxiliaries. Outside libellers added the two together, and made the sum 460,366*l.* There was no withstanding the pressure from within and without, and on the 31st December, the last day of 1711, the queen communicated by her own handwriting to the duke his dismissal from all his employments, that these matters might undergo an impartial investigation. Marlborough wrote a manly reply; and the Jacobites at St. Germains, and Louis at the Louvre shouted shouts of joy, adding, "the dismission of Marlborough will do all we can desire."

On the day after, to inaugurate the new year of Tory incompetence and rule, the queen made twelve new peers to restore the Tory majority in the Lords, who were introduced and took their seats on the second. The Commons voted, "That the taking several sums of money annually by the Duke of Marlborough from the contractors for furnishing the bread and bread waggons in the Low

Countries was unwarrantable and illegal," also "that the deduction of 2½ per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops in her Majesty's service is public money, and ought to be accounted for."

The sequel shows the villany of the vote, for in granting the vote of supply, the Commons illogically nullified their prior resolution, by resolving that the 2½ per cent., which ought to be deducted, or had been deducted from the pay of the foreign troops, should be applied to the public service, and the Duke of Ormond, the new commander-in-chief, continued to receive it in like manner as King William and the duke had received it, to apply it as secret service money, without account.

In vain did the ministry seek and hope to find other charges to support their imputation of peculation, but they could find none.

Prince Eugene came over, and was received with empty respect; the queen excused herself from reading the Emperor's letter, and Eugene was presented with a sword set with diamonds to the value of 4500*l.*, and was dismissed to the formal honours of the nation, where the sentences he uttered in praise of his brother in arms are the chief matters recorded. The ministry resolved to take no note of the Emperor's missive letter, set about to create a rumour of a plot, to seize the queen, murder the Tories, and set the Elector of Hanover on the throne; but Oxford and St. John could not stand the brunt of such absurdity, and the plotters ended in failure. Eugene was charged in it as a man without pity or remorse, and of an Italian cruelty of disposition, &c. He re-embarked, as did the Dutch ambassador also, grieving at the deplorable position of the English court, swayed by Masham and Harley. The Dutch appointed Eugene to the post of generalissimo, and unhappy Ormond was to represent a ministry who

betrayed him, and dragged him through the mire and dirt of their diplomacy.

Louis had suffered terrible domestic afflictions; he now saw an army under Eugene and Ormond greatly overnumbering his own. He prepared for the worst, and bore his misfortunes with singular dignity, and as he humbled himself to fallen fortunes, fortune turned her wheel again in his favour.

The campaign of 1712 was a series of disgraces to us. The position of Ormond was humiliating to himself and treacherous to the allies. Whilst they prepared to move and invest Quesnoy, specific orders came from St. John to hazard no battle, and to engage in no siege: they directed him to enter into correspondence with Villars to inform him that the movements were for forage and subsistence, and for no offensive operations. On the 28th May, Eugene, suspecting the treachery of his colleague, put it to the test by calling on him to concur in attacking the hostile camp. Ormond was confounded; he evaded and withheld his assent. Eugene and the Dutch upbraided him, and they opened the siege of Quesnoy alone.

This fell like a petard in our House of Lords. Lord Halifax opened the debate, Marlborough followed, and appealed to the Duke of Argyle. Argyle evaded the question, and Lord Poulett, in his speech, said, "No one can doubt the Duke of Ormond's bravery, but he does not resemble a certain general who led troops to the slaughter to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head to fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions." Marlborough held his peace—he heard the earl apparently with silent contempt. The Tories were triumphant on a division; and, on quitting the house, Marlborough sent Lord Bohun to Earl Poulett to take the air with him in the country. The Countess Poulett informed Lord Dartmouth,

the earl was put under arrest, and an order from the queen enjoined Marlborough to proceed no further in the affair—nuts for the 'Examiner'—and when subsequently Lord Bohun fought with the Duke of Hamilton a duel wherein they both fell, heavy strictures were laid at the duke's door for setting an example of party duels and making Lord Bohun the bully of his faction.

And now clandestine negotiations were begun in which French policy was to regain what French arms had lost, and, by means of English Jacobites, they resulted in the peace of Utrecht. Marlborough, in the Lords, declared: "The measures pursued in England for the last year are directly contrary to Her Majesty's engagements with her allies, sully the triumphs and glories of her reign, and will render the English nation odious to all other nations." The first Pitt subsequently called it "the indelible reproach of the age;" and later, Mr. Hallam has written, "that an English minister should have thrown himself into the arms of the enemy at the first overture of negotiation; that he should have renounced advantages upon which he might have insisted; that he should have restored Lille, and almost attempted to procure the sacrifice of Tournay; that throughout the whole correspondence, and in all personal interviews with De Torcy, he should have shown the triumphant queen of Great Britain more eager for peace than her vanquished adversary; that the two Courts should have been virtually conspiring against those allies, without whom we had bound ourselves to enter into no treaty; that we should have withdrawn our troops in the midst of a campaign, and even seized upon the towns of our confederates whilst we left them to be overcome by a superior force; that we should thus have deceived those confederates by the most direct falsehood, in denying our clandestine treaty, and then dictated to them its acceptance—are facts

so disgraceful to Bolingbroke, and in somewhat a less degree to Oxford, that they can hardly be palliated by establishing the expediency of the treaty itself."

It was all true; Ormond was the tool of St. John's machinations. Villars asked him if the troops of England were employed in the siege of Quesnoy? Then Ormond apprized Prince Eugene of his orders, and of a suspension of arms of two months having been concluded between England and France; he required the allies to conform, or subsidies would cease, and the British troops and their auxiliaries separate from the confederate army. On the 16th July he separated; his troops hissed and murmured at his presence; some cursed him as a stupid tool and general of straw. As they marched, Bouchain, Tournay, and Douay, shut their gates, and refused them entrance into the towns. France also accused him of not fulfilling engagements with his refractory troops, and refused to give up Dunkirk. Ormond was forced to seize Ghent and Bruges to shelter his men; which continued until France was induced to yield Dunkirk as had been stipulated. In the mean time Quesnoy fell the day after he quitted—last shadow of triumph. Villars then took the offensive, and Quesnoy, Douay, Bouchain, and a host of small conquests, and great advantages gained, crowned the campaign in his favour, and the ruin of the confederate cause. St. John was made Lord Bolingbroke, and the treaty of Utrecht resulted.

But we must follow our hero. Godolphin died at Marlborough's house at Holywell, in penury, never having been paid, nor having applied for, his promised pension.

A suit was commenced against Marlborough, in the Court of Queen's Bench, for the recovery of 15,000*l.* a year for nine years, on account of the contribution of 2½ per cent.; and a second suit, in the Court of Exchequer, for

advanced loans, amounting to 30,000*l.*, on account of the building of Blenheim. Although he had refused to guarantee this loan, the part of the government wholly, with the promise of the queen and the Acts of Parliament, yet it was persecution and not justice which was inflicted on him, and he resolved to retire from the strife and visit the continent. Harley agreed, and the queen said "he was acting wisely in going abroad." Why they connived and assisted the exile is only to be accounted for that, as in the case of James II., his absence was fraught with less inconvenience to themselves than his presence. He quitted England with a retinue of two gentlemen and twelve servants. He was received with almost regal honours at Ostend, Antwerp, and Maestricht, on his way to Aix. He stopped there under an *incognito*, but quitted it from a suspicion of a conspiracy to seize him, and returned to Maestricht, where the duchess joined him, thence to Frankfort, thence to his principality of Mindelheim, where he was received as its feudal prince.

Here the last charges of the Commission at home acting against him were received and refuted, and the Commission ceased its persecutions. Here, too, the peace of Utrecht troubled his spirit equally as those of all true-minded Britons.

The Emperor Charles was left to stand alone against France. He prosecuted the war, and concluded a peace on the basis of the Treaty of Ryswick, thus putting Utrecht into the shade: and still refusing to acknowledge Philip as King of Spain.

By the peace and the restoration of Mindelheim to the Elector of Bavaria, Marlborough lost the revenues and lands of his principality, retaining the empty title of Prince of the Empire, attaching to his successors still. Marlborough applied to the emperor to reimburse his loss,

which was ever promised and never performed. There were doubtless other claims as just and as urgent as his own overpowering the Imperial Court of Vienna.

There are few points to be recorded connected with the duke in the ensuing two years of exile. The most noted was a backsliding of England towards intolerance in passing an act called the Schism Act, which allowed no education in England save by the High Church party. The Earl of Nottingham denounced it in graphic terms, showing how it might hand over his own children to Dean Swift as their tutor:—"My lords, I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish them to have; therefore, my lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is suspected of being hardly a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licenses to those who shall be entrusted with the education of youth." The fate of this act is remarkable; it was to come into operation on the 1st August. On the 31st July Anne died, and King George was proclaimed, and civil and religious liberty became the ruling law of England. The disgraceful and baneful conflicts of religion, and the persecutions by the dominant party since the reign of Henry VIII. ceased, and, be it remarked, it was the hierarchy and the mob who perpetuated those conflicts which James II. and William III. found most oppressive to their rule as sovereigns. If we gained nothing else from the accession of the House of Guelph, this alone was a noble boon.

The next point is back-stair and bedchamber and feminine domination. Harley opposed a certain pension his cousin, Lady Masham, desired to possess. He vowed he would leave her as low as he had found her. But Bolingbroke had courted Lady Masham, and, in lieu of her lady-

ship being deposed, Harley, or Oxford we should call him now, was ordered to give up the white staff. The post of Lord Treasurer was put into commission, and a Jacobite administration was formed hostile to the House of Hanover. And the queen, too, the queen proved the adage of blood being thicker than water, and pined in her soul that the pretender might succeed her; but without inflicting his presence on her during her reign notwithstanding. Marlborough was still considered by both parties as the arbiter of the position. He was true as steel to the established order of succession; and, had he been otherwise, the strong tide of events would have foiled him. He was arbiter, because he was with the right and strong party of Whigs and Protestants, and therein only lay his strength.

Absurd as the squabble reads betwixt Harley and Masham, its effects were momentous. The squabble had taken place in presence of the queen, and resulted in an apoplectic fit which proved fatal, and she expired on the 31st July, the day prior to the intended reign of the Schism Act, which virtually expired with the queen. King George was proclaimed. Marlborough landed at Dover on the 1st August, having anticipated the event, and he was escorted through the City of London by a volunteer company of city grenadiers, the mob, this time in the right, huzzaing, "King George and Marlborough, Marlborough and King George."

In the interim-government Marlborough found himself and his son-in-law, Sunderland, excluded. He retired to his house at St. Alban's until the landing of George I., when he was restored to his posts. His mode of accepting office again must be told in the duchess' own words:—"I begged of the Duke of Marlborough, upon my knees, that he would never accept of any employment. I said everybody that liked the revolution and the security of the law

had a great esteem for him; that he had a greater fortune than he wanted; and that a man who had had such success, with such an estate, would be of more use to any court than they could be to him: that I would live civilly with them, if they were so to me, but would never put it into the power of any king to use me ill. He was entirely of this opinion, and determined to quit all, and serve them only when he could act honestly and do his country service at the same time. Any extraordinary pay as general he quitted at first, there being an end of the war, so that he had only the empty name of it. And his other preferments were—Master of the Ordnance, and his regiment of guards, for which he had only the settled allowances, and what he resolved to quit was of no consideration to him, added to his estate."

After this, will it be credited that we find in history a passage such as follows, applicable to this very time, writing of the Jacobites and the pretender, and a renewed correspondence with him, "Foremost amongst these scoundrels was the illustrious Marlborough, who, though Commander-in-Chief of the British Army under George, sent a sum of money to France as a loan to the chevalier, who was at the moment planning to kindle the flames of civil war in Scotland.—(Stuart Papers)." Opposed to this, we will insert a paragraph from the same history:—"As Swift, the foulest of calumniators, had been consulted in the composition of this opening speech, and had revised it, we may give him some of the credit due to the following clause:—'I cannot,' said the queen, 'but express my displeasure at the unparalleled licentiousness in publishing seditious and scandalous libels. The impunity such practices have met with has encouraged the blaspheming everything sacred, and the propagating opinions to the overthrow of all religion and government. Prosecutions have been ordered,

but it will require some new law to put a stop to this growing evil, and your best endeavours in your respective stations to discourage it.' "

As this is only against the Whig libellings, what must have been those of Mrs. Manley and Swift? Is it marvel to find Marlborough's name in the Stuart Papers? Depend upon it wherever it was thought that name would be useful to appear, there lacked not hands or pens to lodge it at the credulous court of St. Germains. Marlborough had been two years abroad, without going near that court, where he was held as its worst enemy. He had now fulfilled the work of his life in the Protestant succession and civil liberty, and we are bidden to believe that he sent money to St. Germains. Why, Judæus Apella would not credit that absurd libel. But further, I do not think one could find a more instructive case of how prone we are to adopt a bit of scandal on utterly untenable grounds. Here we find the double proposition—that Marlborough offers a loan of 20,000*l.* to King George, and simultaneously a gift to the pretender, and the sole proof is in a letter of Bolingbroke's to the pretender, dated 25th September, 1714. Lord Mahon has treated it as serious, and printed the letter in his appendix; and his lordship is dispassionate and deeply thoughtful; unlike the fashion of the day. We have contemporary letters of James and the Duke of Berwick treating the name of Marlborough as hostile to them. The facts of the case are these:—Bolingbroke fled, and entered the pretender's service July 25th, 1714. Twenty days after, we find him at Paris in the arms of a Delilah, furnished to wile out his secrets, and whisper her own in his ear. Sixty days after date of flight and traitorship he writes a long despatch to the pretender, 25th September, 1714, at the fag-end of which he tells James Edward that, by-the-by, his secrets are badly kept, that the French

minister knew the force of the armaments preparing, ships and regiments, and "named the exact sum of money advanced by Marlborough." I imagine this to be written *ironicè*, and as a witty winding up of his epistle; for if James, Bolingbroke, the French minister, and his informant, knew of this piece of treason, it was no secret. A state paper, a harlot, Bolingbroke, and an ambiguous sentence, which might as well have signified that Marlborough gave *nothing*, cannot seriously be brought forward as even a *primâ facie* case. It is trumpery scandal, or a joke, in the mouths of disgraceful witnesses. Such charges were rife against all succeeding ministers—Townsend, Stanhope, and Walpole. It was the Bolingbroke system of opposition.

In spite of the admonitions of the duchess, and the aspirations of the duke for honourable repose, the Whig party could not permit it. Marlborough was obliged to resume his posts and employments, and honours were showered upon his children and his sons-in-law, Lords Godolphin, Bridgewater, and Montagu.

And now, as Swift had often prophesied, the late Tory ministry were impeached. Bolingbroke fled, and entered the service of the Pretender. Ormond fled and did the like. They were outlawed and attainted. Oxford stood the brunt, was sent to the Tower, where he remained two years, and was eventually acquitted—Walpole aiding him, and the Tory peers siding with him.

In the rebellion of 1715, the Duke of Argyle proved incompetent to command, or lukewarm in the service of the House of Hanover; and Marlborough's friend and aide-de-camp, General Cadogan, was appointed to the sole command, and ended the troubles in a month.

Domestic history succeeds. Marlborough lost his third daughter, the Countess of Bridgewater, in 1714; and in

1716 Anne, the Countess of Sunderland, died, to the intense grief of the parents; and soon after, he was seized by a paralytic stroke, from which he quickly recovered sufficiently to be removed to Marlborough House, where he quite recovered, and resumed his duties in the Peers, but which became the subject of a lasting libel under the respectable hand of Dr. Johnson, in his 'Vanity of Human Wishes,' that the tears of dotage fell from the eyes of Marlborough, coupling it with the line on Swift, "And Swift expired a driveller and a show"—bad lines in words and in thoughts. Swift did expire in idiotic woe; but all the rest is as bad metaphor as it is untrue. It is the lot of so high a fame to be misrepresented. Marlborough never heeded it alive, and assuredly it does not disturb his dust. Another episode appears as the South Sea Scheme. Sunderland was a chief promoter of that scheme; and through their son-in-law, Marlborough and the duchess both invested in its funds; but when the duchess saw the national infatuation, and that ruin portended on its folly, she withstood her son-in-law, she coerced her husband, and withdrew with 100,000*l.* profit before the crash came. This affair caused a breach between the duchess and Sunderland, who had married another wife, and settled part of his property on her, to the detriment of the grandchildren of the duchess. She quarrelled also with Lord Cadogan, and hated the secretary Craggs, so lauded by Pope, for his patronage of the South Sea Scheme; and in consequence of all this petulance and capriciousness of temper, she found herself accused of participation in a plot in favour of the Pretender. Sunderland informed Marlborough of the accusation, which was wholly false. The duchess, through the Duchess of Kendal, sought an interview with the king, and left a letter translated into French. The king avoided the question, and replied in the following letter,

proving that, though he believed in the duke's non-participation, he did not believe in her vindication:—

"*December* 17, 1720.—Whatever I may have been told on your account, I think I have shown, on all occasions, the value I have for the services of the duke, your husband; and I am always disposed to judge of him and you by the behaviour of each of you in regard to my service. Upon which I pray God, my Lady Marlborough, to preserve you in all happiness.

"GEORGE R."

The sequel is sad. The duchess, indignant at the imputation levelled at her, because she murmured her discontents against the Whig ministry, broke off entirely with Sunderland, who died in April, 1722, which involved Marlborough in another suit at law for the recovery of official secret service papers in his hands. The duchess and the executors of Marlborough prosecuted the suit successfully, and those papers are now among the archives of Blenheim.

Blenheim! and a nation's gratitude! commenced by Queen Anne and the Parliament in 1704, in the ferment of the victory of the same name—discontinued after the dismissal of Godolphin in 1710. The new ministry evaded the grant of further supplies, and endeavoured to cast the whole expense on the duke or his duchess, by a promise, on their parts, to indemnify the contractors and workmen; renounced by Queen Anne on the dismissal of the duchess in 1711, and roofed in to protect it from the winter's flaw, and which promise they declined to give. On the return of spring, the contractor raised 7000*l.* on a warrant due, signed by Godolphin. Oxford, too, saw the national necessity of keeping faith, and obtained the queen's sign manual for 20,000*l.*, and got an estimate for its completion for

60,000*l.* more. Oxford obtained the grant of 60,000*l.*, but only appropriated to its object one sum of 10,000*l.* We have seen Marlborough prosecuted for a sum of 30,000*l.* due to the contractors, and leaving England to escape that and other persecutions; and at the accession of King George those arrears were liquidated, and one more national payment was made of 9000*l.*, leaving an estimate of 54,000*l.* to complete it. The creditors again instituted a claim in the Court of Exchequer against the duke, which was confirmed on appeal by the House of Lords. The duke then proceeded in Chancery to examine the claims, and fraud and mismanagement were proved against the contractors. The duke died in the interim, having made provision in his will by allotting 50,000*l.*, under the sole control of the duchess, to complete it. The duchess fought as long as she might fight at law, then turned out Vanbrugh the architect, took it into her own hands and management, and fulfilled her task within the time, and half the money allotted to it. She also raised the triumphal arch, and the column and statue; and so Blenheim, and a nation's gratitude, was completed by this glorious woman—the national expenditure having been about 240,000*l.*, and the private expenditure 60,000*l.* more.

Marlborough expired at Windsor Lodge in 1722, in the arms of the duchess, in thorough possession of his mental faculties, in the seventy-second year of his age, and received the last honours due to mortal dust in a public interment in Westminster Abbey, followed by the king and the Prince of Wales.

The charges against the Duke of Marlborough are ingratitude to King James II., and excessive greed and parsimony in respect of pay and emoluments.

I can find no title which King James possessed to be considered as the benefactor of young Churchill. The original appointment was granted to Sir Winston, after the ordinary mode of appointments and vacancies. The pair of colours in his own regiment was filled in like manner by a deserving youngster, who was then sent forth to fight and win his way, when he signalised himself in every service, and quickly won his way, under the Duke of Monmouth and Turenne. He had been made independent in circumstances accidentally through the gift of his kinswoman, the Duchess of Cleveland; and he was selected by King Charles as his ambassador to the Prince of Orange, where he became acquainted with him. Charles II. made him an Irish peer, James inaugurated his reign by raising him to the English peerage, and William inaugurated his reign by conferring an earldom on him.

What special claims on him had James in 1688? King James probably hoped something on the score of his sister Arabella, and his being the uncle to four promising, though illicit, scions of his race. We have equally the right to view that circumstance in the contrary light, and to consider it as detracting from the royal claims. We can discover no grounds warranting such claims in the royal memoirs, which have undone, on Marlborough's behalf, in respect to his fame, as much as ever their author did for the subject of supposed gratitude; in fact, King James stands as the historic enemy of the man of whom he claims service, as though he had been a serf born in his feudal

thraldom. We find Marlborough strongly imbued with Protestant feelings, and hostility to Papal rule, although of liberal principles, and making no secret of his opinions, expressing them in the highest quarters: to the Prince of Orange; to the ambassador, Lord Galway, at Paris; to King James, personally, himself. We know of two political victims whom he would have saved, and whose executions revolted his private feelings—his old commander, Monmouth, and the hapless family of the Kippins. His disaffection was known and is shown in the Royal Memoirs (p. 81, *supra*), and that Lord Feversham advised his arrest, which advice it did not suit the king to follow. The state vessel was cut adrift and abandoned to the storm, and Churchill seems to have done the best and wisest thing in making the revolution bloodless. The defection of his own children, and "Est-il possible" and William, was the injury which grated on his soul. To Marlborough he seems to have turned in hope and for aid to the day of his death; and who appears to have acted with too much of deference and temporising with the royal exile. The letter on the Brest Expedition is *the* one black spot, lately come to light, and now not capable of being explained, although it only told a fact, known openly, and which had been already reported to James. Such deference and temporising I believe to have been the effect of real pity on the unhappy exiled king, and also of doubt, until the death of Queen Mary, of what must follow on the death or the abdication of King William.

It was for no private advantage that Marlborough opposed James and forwarded the cause of freedom under William. He did not join William, although the first act of that king had been to raise him to his earldom, he joined Anne and her incompetent husband, the Prince of Denmark; he forced from the Government her allowance of 50,000*l.* in the teeth of the king and queen; he forced the repayment

of the 85,000*l.* to the prince; he opposed William in the matter of the grants of Irish lands; he called the favourites, Bentinck and Keppel (Portland and Albemarle), wooden fellows. He, apparently, declined to fight personally against James, but William and the Duke of Schomberg were commanders-in-chief, nor was another needed; yet, when the king did employ him after the flight of James from Ireland, he knew that he was served by him marvellously well. He was dismissed from all his offices, because Anne would not cast out Lady Churchill at the requirement of Queen Mary from her household. He retired to private life, and lived in comparative penury at St. Albans for five years, until, Queen Mary being dead, he was appointed governor of the Duke of Gloucester, with the fullest approbation of William, who dying, not only invested Marlborough with the fullest posts of employment, military and diplomatical, but recommended him to his successor as the fittest person to serve in both those capacities.

With respect to Queen Anne and her husband, if ever mortal souls owed gratitude to another, she in especial owed it to the duke and duchess, the master spirits of the age, who left all to follow her, to guard her rights, to advise her in action, to guard and control her expenditure, to cheer her under the oppression of her sister. The duke cast lustre upon her reign, such as no man individually had ever before effected, and the duchess for a long series of years, twenty-seven we may say, served her with a loyalty ranking her with other ministers who have served kings and been badly requited for faithful service.

Retribution inflicted Anne with Mashams, Hills, Harleys, and Bolingbrokes, and merged her in disgrace, terror, and death, which followed their squabbles on the pillage of the privy purse. The ingratitude was wholly upon Anne's

side, with exceeding pain on that of the duchess; we shall dwell on her administrative powers and ability in a chapter upon herself.

We now approach the second charge of greed and of avarice, and penuriousness. It is remarkable that these vices are urged by the hands of men who possessed them in a superlative degree. Biography will furnish us with no names meaner or more stingy, than Pope and Swift, or more base than their employers, Masham, Harley, and Hill. The *tu quoque* plea will not serve us, we have reputations to uphold of the noblest names, and we will uphold them.

Firstly, as to the duke. I neither know the wealth he was rewarded with nor the modes of its having been acquired and amassed; the whole is a sealed book, so far as I find any proof. Of the two paternal properties (Churchill and Jennings) there is no mention, but of the charges of his enemies published at the time, the refutation is easy and complete.

His kinswoman gave him his first 5000*l.*, which he needed not, to purchase the commission, for that his deserts won for himself, but he does not appear to have received any pecuniary rewards from James or from William, during five years of whose life he lived at St. Albans on a pittance, mainly his wife's allowance of 1000*l.* from the Princess Anne, who proposed during that dismissal from Court favour, to have given him a second 1000*l.* a-year, which he declined. Affluence returned with the governorship of the Duke of Gloucester, the restoration to his posts, and the countenance and favour of William.

In 1702 Anne succeeded, and the Marlboroughs, husband and wife, fell into the tide of places and emoluments. Britannicus, an anonymous writer, gives "A Short Computation of the Annual Income of a certain Great Man since

the beginning of the War," written in the year 1704, *i.e.* after Blenheim :—

	Per annum.
Plenipotentiary to the States	£7,000
General for the English forces on Mr. Howe's establishment	5,000
General in Flanders on Mr. Bridge's establishment ..	5,000
Master of the Ordnance	3,000
Travelling charges as Master of the Ordnance	1,825
Colonel of the Foot Guards, being 24 companies ..	2,000
Pension	5,000
From the States-General as General of their forces ..	10,000
From the foreign troops in English pay, at 6*d.* per £, as per warrant	15,000
For keeping a table	1,000
	£54,825

We must deduct the sixpence per £ for foreign troops, for it was for secret service money, and a smaller sum than King William had employed, and which was continued to the Duke of Ormond, the successor of Marlborough, in face of the disgraceful votes of the Parliament; the sum total will then stand as 39,825*l.* yearly, of which 10,000*l.* was payment by the States of Holland, which reduces again the British emoluments to 29,825*l.*; the other allowances of travelling charges and table, 2825*l.*, are also for expenses, and not annual income, which further reduces the estimate of Britannicus to 27,000*l.* annual, which would extend from the year 1703 to 1711 inclusive, nine years, a sum total of 243,000*l.**

* There are, besides, sale of commissions, prizes, and ransoms, the amounts of which are known at head-quarters, but are not subjects of history, or known to the world. They are the usual and recognised rights of army and navy; and the army never raised a murmur against the Duke of Marlborough, but rose in his defence when he was assailed. There is also another hidden page in history, the acts of generosity and of renunciations made by this kind-hearted man, whom we have seen leading a young girl to beg for the life of her brothers.

We will now give another estimate of capital from the hand of Dean Swift, and I must show the *animus* in transcribing the entry in the 'Examiner' in full.

A BILL OF ROMAN GRATITUDE.

Imprim.	£	*s.*	*d.*
For frankincense and earth-pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A bull for sacrifice .	8	0	0
An embroidered garment	50	0	0
Laurel	0	0	2
A statue.	100	0	0
A trophy	80	0	0
1000 copper medals, value half-pence a-piece	2	1	8
Arch	500	0	0
Car, valued as a modern coach . . .	100	0	0
Casual charges at the triumph	150	0	0
	£994	11	10

A BILL OF BRITISH GRATITUDE.

Imprim.	£
Woodstock	40,000
Blenheim	200,000
Post-office Grant . . .	100,000
Mildenheim	30,000
Pictures, Jewels . . .	60,000
Pall-mall Grant, the West Rangership, &c.	10,000
Employments	100,000
	£540,000

Dean Swift's wit is rather illogical, in respect that Roman conquerors used to give of their spoils at triumphs, and not to receive; but we must pass that to consider seriatim these items, and criticise and correct them.

Firstly, with respect to the manors of Woodstock and Wootton, stated at 40,000*l.*; it really is as small a repayment for a victory, such as that of Blenheim, followed by the triple surrenders of Ulm, Landau, and Treves, as ever was offered by a *grateful* nation. It was coupled with a grant, *for the life of the queen only*, all she could give, of 5000*l.* on the Post-office, to which she proposed to add 2000*l.* from the privy purse, which last was respectfully declined by Marlborough.

The building of the national monument of the Palace was entirely the act of the queen and parliament. It was a dread infliction on so poor a property as Woodstock Manor. It was condemned by that clear-sighted woman the duchess, who declared that the greatest weakness Lord Marlborough had ever shown was in caring for that record of his triumph: as the duchess writes, "It is a chaos that turns one's brains but to think of it, and it will cost an immense sum to complete the causeway, and that ridiculous bridge in which I counted thirty-three rooms. Four houses are to be at each corner of the bridge; but that which makes it so much prettier than London Bridge is that you may sit in six rooms and look out at windows into the high arch, &c."

Marlborough still in 1704 was pressed by titles and by poverty to support them; his dukedom was received with doubt and fear on his part, as he writes to his wife in 1702: "We ought not to wish for a greater title till we have a better estate." And when the principality of the empire was conferred in 1704, the same prudential objections recurred, but were overruled by circumstances enforcing the acceptation of the pecuniary infliction. Blenheim Palace was a sore annoyance to the duke; he never lived there; the litigation with the architect partly drove him from England; it was a subject of dissension between him and his gifted wife, and finally it cost him 60,000*l.* to complete and hand over to his successor, on whom it was entailed. I should imagine the endowment in 1706 of the Post-office pension of 5000*l.*, made perpetual by the Parliament, after the victory of Ramillies, does not support the house and grounds, and the heirlooms they contain. It was an abominable incubus on the estate, even if granted finished by the people as it stands; so far from being an item in the list of assets, it must figure on the

adverse column as 60,000*l.* expended, and with a charge annually equal to the Post-office endowment.

The Post-office endowment comes next. It was in 1704 when Swift compiled the Bill of British Gratitude, a grant of 5000*l.* for the queen's life. How this could be capitalised at 100,000*l.* is for the Dean to explain. As Anne lived ten years after, the sum total received in ten years would only stand as 50,000*l.*

Mildenheim is the next item, 30,000*l.* Marlborough accepted the principality of the empire with mingled feelings, first, that his estate did not permit the expenditure; with the knowledge, as he expresses it to his wife, that it was beyond their means, but would be a lasting honour to the family. It was conferred at last without his consent; the fees of investiture, 8200*l.*, were paid by the emperor; and yet that investiture cost Marlborough 1500*l.*; so that the rank needed endowment. It was held until the peace in the spring of 1714 restored it to Bavaria, and a pecuniary equivalent was never obtained from Austria: from 1706 to 1714 both exclusive gives six years holding at 1500*l.* a year, equals 9000*l.* in hard cash; less, cost of investiture and expenses of attending the Diet, we have a sum fully equal *per contra;* therefore Mildenheim must figure as *nil.*

"Pictures, jewels, 60,000*l.*" Sir Walter Scott terms them better as "rattletraps;" to class pictures and diamond-hilted swords, articles of honour, as wealth is a strange perversion of terms, besides, they all came from foreign kings and princes. The establishment of Rundall and Bridge is a myth to me, nor know I aught of jewels or their nominal and real value; of pictures I know that they are expensive heirlooms, and unsatisfactory to boot. In the year 1861 Mr. Paskell, of Brompton, was cleaning some pictures for me, when I saw imported from Blenheim

a superb Rubens, the panel was cracked from top to bottom, and it was sent to be repaired, most carefully packed, and insured on its journey at 3000*l.* Whilst that beautiful Rubens was being mechanically righted by the dædalian hands of Mr. Paskell, fire was consuming the gift of the Prince of Savoy—the Titians at Blenheim. They had suffered dire damage before from that peremptory critic, Dr. Waagen, who *ex cathedrâ* had pronounced them to be no Titians at all. Doctors disagree, happily. For myself I never saw them. Twice in autumnal vacations have I asked leave at the Woodstock entry, and twice have found the family at home, and the day and hour of my applications for admittance unpropitious. National Galleries are modern inventions, and will save much annoyance to the palace holders from autumnal vacation men, at least I hope so. But to our task: strike the pen through the British gratitude of 60,000*l.* in pictures. Queen Anne presented Prince Eugene with a 4500*l.* jewelled sword, but if that be included by the Dean, as he was very capable of doing, out it must come.

Of the West Rangership in Pall Mall I know nothing. Rent was paid for the site of Marlborough House, held for a term of fifty years, and granted to the duchess. As Blenheim was the husband's weakness, so Marlborough House was the weakness of the wife: he states that house to have cost him 70,000*l.*; she appropriates 40,000*l.* of expenditure to it. The Rangership must come out, there was no 10,000*l.* of assets there.

Employments 100,000*l.*, an item unintelligible; if it means his offices capitalised, it is absurdly moderate; if it means anything else, it is absurdly great. The amended estimate of Bill of a Nation's Gratitude will stand :—

Dr.	£	*Cr.*	£
Woodstock Manor . .	40,000		
Blenheim Palace . .	—	Blenheim	60,000
Post-office on Queen's life, say	40,000		
Mildenheim	—		
Pictures and heirlooms .	—	Repairs and custody of .	*unknown*
Ranger	—	Litigation concerning Blenheim exclusive of costs and annoyances	30,000
Employments	100,000		
	£180,000		
Less Blenheim . .	90,000		£90,000
	£90,000		

I pause to ask, is it on trash like this that a reputation is blasted? and, with historians, in the words of Pope, that

> "Destroy his web of sophistry, in vain,
> The creature 's at his dirty work again."

Marlborough's wealth came from foreign powers, who were grateful. The same authority informs us that after Blenheim the States-General presented him a bank bill of 50,000*l.* The emperor gave equally 50,000*l.*, besides what was given by the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and other Courts; British gratitude giving Woodstock, worth 40,000*l.*, and miserably endowing the gift; add to which, in after years, Ramillies, Malplaquet, and a host of towns captured by sieges, and we have ample cause for Marlborough's wealth; but the greatest cause is that he had an unequalled financier in his wife, who managed his exchequer for a period of forty years, from 1703 to 1744; for nine years we have seen his emoluments amount to 30,000*l.* a-year, independently of the 90,000*l.* received as generalissimo of the United States. That Marlborough was rich was as inevitable as that Crassus, or Clive, or our own admirable Iron Duke were rich; and the General who

rescued Europe from the tyranny of Louis the Great, was as deserving of his reward as he who rescued the same Europe from the tyranny of Napoleon, also called the Great.

In a life of seventy and two years, nine only were years of harvest and riches; thus he had lived fifty-four years in comparative penury. No money was obtained of King Charles or King James, nor any from William, until the governorship of the Duke of Gloucester, salary, 2000*l.* a-year for three years. No fixed allowance for a household, but the expenses had to be specially applied for. We find Marlborough in the days of penury refusing the aid offered by Anne. Her advent to the crown was the beginning of his harvest, but again he refused an annuity of 2000*l.* from the privy purse, to eke out the shabbiness of Parliament in the Post-office grant, only for the queen's life. We find him in 1705 raising 100,000 crowns at Vienna, and pledging his own credit for it; so at home he upheld the banks with pecuniary aid in their difficulties; he is also said to have offered 20,000*l.* on loan to King George; whilst when he travelled abroad, in his disgrace, he had a retinue amounting to fourteen; and, lastly, we find him patriotically refusing, in 1706, the noblest guerdon ever offered him, the government of the Netherlands.

He reformed the army, and was adored by it. The army indignantly repelled accusations against him in the matter of bread; prayers were read at the head of regiments, as we read in the tale of Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim, and the not less pleasing character, the Baron of Bradwardine. He himself took the holy communion before Blenheim and other pitched battles; the fidelity of his love for his wife is the most touching part of all his voluminous correspondence; and we may close this list by recording the praises

given to him by King William, Prince Eugene, and his military rival Peterborough, who said that his virtues were so great that he could not see his faults; and of his political foe, Bolingbroke, who has left recorded of him thus:—"I take with pleasure this opportunity of doing justice to that great man whose faults I knew, and whose virtues I admired, and whose memory as the greatest general and as the greatest minister that our country or any other has produced, I honour."

The last chapter of this defence is appropriated to the lady, whose character I regard with admiration. A paragraph written in vindication and reply to the pamphleteers of 1742, when the duchess published, at the age of eighty, 'The Account of her conduct,' states thus:—"That her Grace is superior to all meanness, that she knows her own great consequence, that her vast abilities are no more hid from herself than from those who have the honour of her conversation, I readily agree." But it is better to let this magnanimous woman tell her own story: "I am now drawing near my end, and very soon there will nothing remain of me but a *name;* I am grown desirous, under the little capacity which age and infirmities have left me for other enjoyments, to have the satisfaction, before I die, of seeing that *name* (which from the station I have held in the great world must unavoidably survive me) in *possession* of what was only designed it for a *legacy*."

She states that the Princess Anne, in choosing her for a friend, unlike kings and princes in general, pined for friendship; she, the duchess, found herself engaged to the princess by a sentiment, "which I chuse to call *honour*, rather than *gratitude* or *duty*;" for, as she declares, "I laid it down for a maxim that flattery was falsehood to my trust, and ingratitude to my greatest friend;" and that the

princess proposed the names of Morley and Freeman to permit the equality for which she yearned to exist betwixt them.

Never did any mortal soul need ministers and advisers more than did Anne and her husband; they were incompetent to manage their monetary or their imperial affairs. God sent them the Churchills, than whom the world did not hold more capable and honourable ministers; and on the flight of James, and the advent of William, the Churchills devoted themselves, although warned by Lady Fitzhardinge from the queen, "that it would be the ruin of my lord, and, consequently, of all our family."

The motive which impelled Churchill to serve the princess was the friendship of his wife, and probably to serve James in guarding the rights of his daughter. Guarding those rights cast them into the shade of royal favour, and five years of retirement were spent at Holywell, where, deprived of his employment, the 1000*l.* paid by Anne to them for having enforced the allowance of 50,000*l.* a-year, and the repayment of 85,000*l.* to the prince, was their main source of existence with a large family (of six) rising on their hands. During this period the Churchills refused the offer of Anne to double that allowance; as the guardians of her purse, they refused to permit the gift, or to accept it.

The payments received by the Churchills, which commenced in 1683 to 1688, were 200*l.* a-year, as lady of the bed chamber; from 1639 to 1702, the accession, thirteen years, were 400*l.* as lady, and 1000*l.* gift. At the accession, her places as mistress of the robes, privy purse, and groom of the stole, amounted to 5600*l.* a-year, lasting 6½ years, to her dismissal in 1709: after which she applied for and obtained the pension of 2000*l.* she had refused when in possession of those offices, with arrears

18,000*l.*, which 2000*l.* she held to the death of Anne (five years).

The gifts made by Anne to her were 5000*l.* dowry to each of her four daughters, which she had accepted from the privy purse, instead of 10,000*l.* generously proposed by Mrs. Morley, and as generously refused by Mrs. Freeman. The Rangership of Windsor Park and two lodges therein, which in their drives had been coveted for their situations, but only having keeper's lodges upon them: this entitled her to feed her cows, and receive the top and lop as fuel, which were the perquisites attaching; and, lastly, she obtained the lease for fifty years of the ground whereon Marlborough House stands, which was no pecuniary gift, but a grant of a lease from the Crown, for which due rent was paid to the Woods and Forests. Upon Windsor Lodge, her favourite retreat, and where Marlborough died, she expended 5000*l.* in building a suitable lodge. She bestowed the lodge in the smaller park on General Churchill, her brother-in-law, who expended 6000*l.* in building a suitable dwelling upon that site, the tenure being the duchess's own life; the duke and duchess expended, he says, 70,000*l.*, and she says roundly 50,000*l.*, on her "weakness," Marlborough House, held for a term of fifty years; whilst, as we have seen before, on the duke's weakness, Blenheim House, a sum of 60,000*l.* was expended by them. Assuredly, so far from being avaricious and niggardly in respect of these grants, the contrary is the case; for to sum up, on their houses alone, omitting Holywell at St. Albans, a favourite and sufficient residence for them—and the Duke never had another, for Blenheim was never inhabited by him—we find a sum of 141,000*l.* expended on National and the British gratitude property.

	£
Lodge, Great Park, Windsor	5,000
Lodge, Little Park, Windsor	6,000
Marlborough House	70,000
Blenheim House	60,000
	£141,000

In the tabular incomes in the anonymous Review, in which the duke's income was stated at 54,000*l.*, which we reduced to 29,000*l.*, so the duchess's income is stated thus :—

	£
Keeper of the Great and Home Parks	1500
Mistress of the Robes	1500
Privy Purse	1500
Groom of the Stole	3000
A Pension out of the Privy Purse	2000
	£9500

The 1500*l.* as keeper is like the 10,000*l.* given by Swift as Rangership, and suppositious, resolving itself into the right to turn out cows, which remains now as then, nor was the pension received during the holding of the offices, but was allowed only after the holding of the offices had ceased : these sums omitted leave the remaining items near the truth, which was 5600*l.* annually.

We must end this pecuniary inquiry by a capitalising of the sums the duchess received in the twenty-seven years of service, pursuing the subject.

		£
1683 to 1688.	Bed-chamber 200*l.* × 6 years = ..	1,200
1689 to 1702.	First Lady ditto 400*l.* × 13 years = ..	5,200
	1000*l.* allowance from the Privy Purse × 13 years = ...	13,000
1702 to 1709.	6½ years, at 5600*l.* = ...	36,400
		£55,800
	55,800*l.* ÷ 26 years = 2146*l.* annually.	
1709 to 1714.	2000*l.* pension (and 18,000*l.* arrears) 5 years = ...	28,000
	Add dowries of four daughters	20,000

and gift of the Rangership, and the sum total is given of the payments to and emoluments of the Duchess of Marlborough from the Queen Anne, against which we find 141,000*l.* spent upon the royal and national property. And, lastly, to explain how the duchess acquired her wealth; the reply is, by being financier to her husband, and unequalled in her task. Witness her anger with Sunderland and Craggs on the South Sea scheme and national madness, from which she withdrew as early as she saw the nature of the infamy; and whilst Craggs and her son-in-law, Sunderland, were ruined, she rescued 100,000*l.* from the wreck.

The next point is her management of the privy purse and mistress of the robes. Anne and her husband exceeded their means until the duchess took them in hand, after which debt never recurred. Dean Swift proposed to try the question of peculation to the amount of 22,000*l.* a-year, but was checked by the queen's replying, that all the world knew there was nothing of the sort, that cheating was not her fault. That it was not, is evident from the reform which the duchess brought into her office; she made the auditor Harley pass her accounts through the office, who objected through the clerks, that such accounts had never been brought there before. Harley himself wrote to her as follows, August 8, 1706: "Madam, I missed the opportunity of paying my duty to your Grace last time at Windsor, which occasions you the trouble of this letter. My brother having made a statement of your Grace's accounts, desired that I would receive your pleasure when you would permit him to wait upon your Grace with it. I perceive your Grace's conduct will shine on all occasions, for my brother tells me that he has made a collection from all the accounts which have been brought in for the robes for forty-six years since the year 1660; and by

that it will appear upon the comparison how much better (to a great value) your Grace has managed for the Crown." "And this is the man who then hired his creatures to misrepresent me throughout the nation as no better than a pickpocket," is the sequent remark of the duchess.

It appeared that 5040*l.* was the average of the forty-six years, and 2900*l.* the average of the first four years of Anne's reign: the mourning for the Duke of Gloucester raised the average of the following five years to about 3800*l.* a-year; but this includes salaries of 1400*l.* a-year; the duchess estimates her saving in both departments as near 90,000*l.* in the nine years; but that is comparing with her immediate predecessor only, who had been apparently extravagant.

So in the privy purse she made the queen audit and pass the accounts, signing them with her own hand. And further, this financier enforced further reforms; "The money of the privy purse was paid upon my notes, by Mr. Coggs, a goldsmith, over against St. Clement's Church, whom I strictly charged never to take any poundage, which used constantly to be taken before my time." And she adds, that by her economy and fidelity she saved her Majesty more than ever she received, all payments and gifts whatsoever included.

Next, as to the charge that she prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust. She writes: "When the queen in the first year of her reign resolved to create four peerages, I prevailed that Mr. Hervey, the present Earl of Bristol, should be made a peer, the sole Whig of the five then created;" and she gives Lady Hervey's letter of gratitude; "and that it was not effected by purchase of money, Lord Bristol is still living, who will vouch for the truth of this account." Secondly, that she had been offered 6000*l.* to get Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, made a peer, a gentleman so

eligible to the peerage that there would have been no difficulty; but she replied that her Majesty was the fountain of honour, and that these honours should not be purchased by money.

And, lastly, as to the sale of places: she writes, "When I succeeded Lady Clarendon, at which time the salary was 400*l.* a-year, two new pages of the backstairs were appointed, which appointments Mrs. Morley gave to Mrs. Freeman." 400*l.* were paid to her by each; yet she writes: "It was not long before I began to condemn in my mind this practice; there was something, I thought, that felt wrong in the selling of employments; and when the princess resolved to part with her Roman Catholic servants, three in number, of whom one had purchased his place, as mentioned, I paid him back that sum," and she returned the purchase-money to the other (whose name was Gwyn), "who for five and twenty years afterwards was ever at my coach-side, when I set out upon a journey from London, full of good wishes for my health and happiness."

She then enumerates Mr. Maul, Lord Delaware, and Lord Lexington, who on receiving appointments sent her present money, to which she replied that she was resolved against everything of that kind. Grooms of the stole had purchased their places at a thousand guineas. She appointed Mr. Kirk, Mr. Saxton, and Mr. Smith, on recommendations of others.

She then enumerates the places in her gift, and concludes: "Those who are satisfied with what I have replied, will, I am persuaded, believe me, upon my word, when I affirm, as I here solemnly do, that (excepting the pages' money above mentioned) I never received the value of one shilling in money or jewels, or in any other form, either directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other person for

procuring any place or preferment, or any title of honour, or any employment in my own disposal, or, in a word, for doing any favour, during my whole life."

These words were published at eighty years of age, and we may blush at the necessity that called them forth. The creatures, Pope and Swift, of Harley, persecuted her on charges of peculation, as the Commission persecuted the duke on the like charges: both utterly failed. The charge of being niggard in expenditure also fails. The duke was at the ripe age of fifty-four before he emerged from penury, when riches rolled upon him for a period of nine years. The sums which he expended are enormous, and the charge of avarice against himself and the duchess I should rather attribute to their reforming and financial exactitude in accounts, annoying to tradesmen and to bankers. Mr. Coggs, opposite St. Clement's Church, must needs have been disgusted by ready-money payments, hindering the discounts, and tradesmen being kept in due order and method; but, most of all, the mean souls of Swift and Pope urged against their victims the very faults peculiar to themselves; and the peculation of the privy purse by Lady Masham, and the consequent opposition and fall of Harley, killed the queen.

From peculation, and greed, and avarice, the charges lessen to meanness in behaviour in the duchess and the duke to keep their places; but the charges fail. When the duchess sought the queen to justify herself, and to *discover* the causes of the collapse of her friendship, she did it in ignorance that she was supplanted clandestinely by the queen and by her new favourites. So soon as the truth was known, her behaviour was as noble as it could be. She could not credit the fact that Anne could renounce her true and faithful service for Mrs. Masham; it was incredible until indisputably evident. She saw the queen

rushing into disgrace and dishonour, acting more illegally than her father, in appointing brigadiers to the army, ministers clandestinely to the ministry, creating twelve peers to trim the House of Lords, and bishops at her sole will, casting off the Whig and war party, and admitting Tories, which devolved into the Jacobite cabinet, which fled and escaped to the Pretender at her death, and covering her name with shame, conjoins it with Abigail Masham and Jack Hill. Then, metaphorically, "on her knees" she prayed her friend of twenty-seven years, her queen, and the monarch of the land, in which the duchess could truly ejaculate, "pars magna fui," to desist in time, and whilst she might do so. That Marlborough himself cast himself literally on his knees to his queen to urge her also to the path of honour and duty, and prayed her only to restrain her hostile feelings to them until the war should be closed, is an act and deed of deepest devotion and patriotism, which may be compared with that of any patriot serving his king and country in face of ingratitude and hostility. It was not so hard a task to the even and composed mind of Marlborough as it was to that of his daring and petulant wife. Her feelings must have been sadly wrung at the eternal submission of Godolphin, and the quiet contempt in which Marlborough endured calumny and never replied. His time was otherwise absorbed, and his duchess was but too prone to enter the lists of dispute, which he had always to moderate, and sometimes to rebuke. The duchess saw Godolphin dismissed, and his pension never paid to him; she saw Sunderland, her son-in-law, dismissed, and proudly refuse a pension; she saw herself dismissed, after she had received less in gross payments than she had saved the crown, and less than she had expended upon crown property; and we end this inquiry with considering the one doubtful point of her life,

whether she was right or wrong, whether it was a derogatory or a proper action, when she was denuded of the offices she held, to claim and to receive the undrawn and theretofore refused pension of 2000*l.* a-year, and nine years of arrears, 18,000*l.* in money, which the queen then granted on the requisition of the duchess.

In this one and sole act does Anne shine over the duchess, inasmuch as it is nobler to give than to receive. The duchess had bound herself to the expenditure of the houses on the crown property. Blenheim was cast by the queen upon their hands; she saw the new favourite raiding the privy purse; she had four sons-in-law, supported mainly by herself; she had a right to a pension on the civil list; she claimed and received a long rejected one, and it stands recorded against her as a disgraceful act. If we could condescend to *tu quoques*, we might point out that Godolphin retired on false promises of 4000*l.* a-year, and died penniless in her house of Holywell. If this act is to rank to her disrepute, it is the sole act of which I know or can discover in her long and noble life, calumniated and stung by poets to such a degree, that in decreeing a certain sum to the compiler of the Archives of Blenheim, she made a condition that there should not be a line of verse inserted; she likewise showed her political foresight of coming greatness by a bequest to the first Pitt of 10,000*l.* She outlived all her daughters save one, the Lady Montagu, and retired into private life satiated with the world, and seeking refuge in the fidelity of dogs. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and her daughter Lady Bute, and such equally worthy and affectionate friends were exceptions.

> "And hence it falls, that rarely can we find
> One who departs contented in his mind
> With his past life; but rather, when released,
> Departs like a stuffed convive from a feast."
>
> HORACE, *Sat I. Book I.*

Lord Coningsby and the Duke of Somerset wooed the dowager-duchess at sixty-two years of age with the fervour of youthful lovers. How men could so delude themselves is for their consideration; the dowager-duchess lived their very sincere friend, but her husband was the duke alone, for twenty-two years which she survived him, and found employment and pleasure in nursing her estates to found the house of Althorpe and the line of the Earl Spencer. The name of Atossa, assigned to her by Pope, she well deserved, in a sense not intended by that scoffing monkey. Another offensive tirade, printed in 'The Review of the Conduct,' probably by Swift, laid the foundation of her detestation of poets, also depicts her of a soaring ambition; but the fact was, both the duke and herself were singularly magnanimous, she petulantly so, and he, on the contrary, very demurely so.

The domestic privacy of the duke and duchess has not been invaded in this treatise, nor in the histories concerning them; the fervent love they had one to the other is shown in their correspondence—but one anecdote recorded in the life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, by her descendant the first Lord Wharncliffe, deserves repeating. Lady Mary and her daughter Lady Bute were ever welcome visitors to the duchess at any hour, nor could Lady Mary, say what she would, in jest or in earnest, ever affront or offend her. Lady Bute sat by her while she dined, or watched her as she cast up her accounts; a curious process, for, clever as was the duchess, she knew nothing of common arithmetic, but she had devised an arithmetic of her own, "and scrabbled over the paper, yet every sum came right to a fraction at last, in defiance of Cocker." She was extremely communicative, and it need not be added, proportionally entertaining; thus far, too, very fair and candid; she laboured at no self-vindication,

but told facts just as they were, or as she believed them to be, with an openness and honesty that almost redeemed her faults; though this might partly proceed from never thinking herself in the wrong, or caring what was thought of her by others. She had still, at a great age, considerable remains of her beauty: most expressive eyes, and the finest hair imaginable. By this superb head of hair hung a tale, an instance of her waywardness and violence, which, strange to say, she took particular pleasure in telling. None of her charms, when they were at their proudest height, had been so fondly prized by the duke, therefore one day, upon his offending her by some act of disobedience to her will, the bright thought occurred as she sat considering how she could plague him most, that it would be a hearty vexation to see his favourite tresses cut off; instantly the deed was done; she cropped them short, and laid them in an ante-chamber he must pass through to enter her apartment; but to her cruel disappointment he passed, entered, and repassed, calm enough to provoke a saint, neither angry nor sorrowful, seeming quite unconscious both of his crime and his punishment. Concluding he must have overlooked the hair, she ran to secure it; lo! it had vanished; and she remained in great perplexity the rest of the day; the next, as he continued silent, and her looking-glass spoke the change a rueful one, she began for once to think she had done rather a foolish thing. Nothing more ever transpired upon the subject until after the duke's death, when she found her beautiful ringlets carefully laid by in the cabinet where he kept whatever he held most precious; and at this point of the story she regularly fell a crying.*

* 'Biographical Anecdotes,' by Lord Wharncliffe.

POSTSCRIPT.

My daughter, my story is done, the tale is ended, but I feel a disinclination to lay down the pen. There is a chaotic crowd of thoughts jarring in the brain requiring fixity and separation; for in history, unlike to historians of to-day, *I* cannot be sure of my facts, or run a-tilt without fear of being wrong. Excellent Sir Roger said there was much to be said on both sides; but beyond that we have our own predilections to control, to think more humbly than we are wonted to think, and to condemn less surely and less severely than we are wonted to condemn. My mind impels me to say some words upon the three great estates of our realm, each of which have been dominant and ruled supreme in its day, and to find them each in the day of their domination all despotic in their wishes, all wearied by opposition and striving at despotism, as we have seen Marlborough ask, in the time of *his* need, to be made Captain-General. It is in adversity that people ask for a dictator to save them. When a state is safe, it wishes to run wild itself. "It is the bright day that brings forth the adder," and it is the foul day in which men wrap themselves in any covering of security most adapted to their needs, changing with the political thermometer. We have not yet discovered the secret how to frame an Utopia, or rather no one is willing to bear and to forbear sufficiently to attempt to make one. The existence of the animal tribe suits us in practice better than the renunciations virtue continually calls upon us to make in the lordly theoretic man; and we, perhaps, wisely submit to the ills incident to humanity, than strive ineffectually for a perfection with which we should still be dissatisfied.

I can find nothing more paradoxical than the praises and the blame we bestow upon our kings and queens. Writing their histories, and following out foregone conclusions, we heap virtues pell-mell on the backs of some, and faults are attributed in heaps in like manner to others. A successful reign creates a lauded monarch, an unsuccessful career condemns one to blame; and as one master motive, like Aaron's serpent, swallows all the rest, so does one act of indisputable worth shed its halo over a king, and condone his faults; and so does an unsuccessful attempt sully a career and condemn the monarch to be struck with "charcoal, and not chalk," in the annals of the times:—

> "Upon the king let all our lives, and souls,
> Our debts, our careful wives, our children, and
> Our sins, lay on the king; we must bear all,
> Subjected to the breath of every fool."

The battle of Crecy followed that sentiment, and made the day of St. Crispin a red-letter day, and Harry the king, Talbot, and Salisbury, household words. Had Crecy been lost we should have forgotten it ere now. And let us to our theme, and descant, first, upon the king.

Under the Heptarchy a monarch, to take Alfred as the type, was a judge. Our present circuits somewhat represent their historical beds of justice. Grimwald's oak and the twelve aldermen have changed their appellations, but exist still in town-halls and the monarch sitting vicariously by his judge. That fundamental principle of royalty stands forth in simplicity like a law in the decalogue, and apparently it is a very perfect law. King Egbert united the Heptarchy by fraud or force in A.D. 800, and the kingdom descended regularly for two hundred years to Canute the Dane.

Then came the feudal monarchs, when the realm fell to the Norman Conqueror. Feudality existed until Henry VII.,

and may be said to have died on Bosworth Field, when the rival roses were conjoined, and opened a new era. Under feudality the Commons of Britain appear to have enjoyed very great freedom and great happiness, foreigners visiting the land, like Philip de Comines, competent to judge, so aver. So also do our old literature and ballads show a state of material freedom and plenty at which it is absurd to scoff. If we take a Saxon or a Norman noble with two hundred retainers, and compare them with two hundred peasants of to-day, or to a manufactory employing two hundred hands in one of the hives of trade or marts of commerce, it is my opinion that the sources of pleasure and happiness were greater by far in the earlier than in the later period. Serfs by name, they were not so in fact; whilst we, free by boast, are pretty well shackled by law and property. In fact to-day it is penal, under certain circumstances, to shoot a sea-gull on the sea cliff from a boat on the high seas. Then, it will be replied, there were forest laws. Without arguing the point, I have expressed my opinion; and, on the point of forest laws, you may be assured enormous fable is mixed up with the facts. Sanctuaries are among the things that have passed away. Henry VIII. outrooted those nests of iniquity, save, I believe, seven; and William III. put the last blow when the Savoy and Alsatia were eradicated from London, and their privileges destroyed. The state of things was the same at Paris, under Louis Quatorze. It needed a small army, with sappers and miners, to quell the sanctuary called La Cour des Miracles. The inmates fought as long as the sanctuary walls held together; but when that "*triste vestige de la barbarie d'un autre âge*" was cast down they suffered the inmates to escape, as we also did from Alsatia and the Savoy. M. Pierre Clement in his work, 'La Police sous Louis Quatorze,' there states that

there were other places more difficult to win than La Cour des Miracles, namely, Les Enclos du Temple, &c., L'Abbaye de St. Germain, L'Hôtel de Soissons, Le Louvre, and Les Tuileries. An edict of 1674 suppressed all the places of "*justices seigneuriales*" of the capital, but the feudal spirit, beaten in its holds, refused to submit to law or edicts. The Hôtel de Soissons, belonging to the house of Savoy, claimed still its privilege to shield robbers. In 1682 Colbert deplored that the Château de la Tuileries gave refuge to ruffians, and that refugees in the bounds of the Temple were annoying.

These names of places in Paris show that the sanctuary grounds fell to the Crown, and it is remarkable to find a Savoy sanctuary equally in Paris and in London. Such sanctuaries were *innumerous* in the feudal times, in the days of the Norman kings, and appear to have been somewhat like the borders of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, haunts of freebooters and robbers. Large tracts of land were seized and held by them. Sherwood, and what we now call the New Forest, Hampshire, and the forest of Gualtrè in Yorkshire, will be sufficient instances; although, perhaps, as many tracks as there are counties might be discovered of forests with rights of sanctuary and life and subsistence by bow and arrow. Robin Hood personifies the outlaw of Sherwood. To add to any lore on his behalf would be very superfluous, but I have scanned the New Forest with a critical eye, and I firmly believe the story of the destruction of villages—some thirty—to be a pure romance; and that William the Conqueror, or his son Rufus, did but uproot a den of thieves, and appropriated their sanctuaries as woods and forests, leaving Beaulieu as the sanctuary, as we now leave a plot as playground on enclosing a common.

I am fortified in this opinion by the fact that the forest

of Galtres, in Yorkshire, was granted to the Clusiac monks to expel the demons therefrom, who were enjoined to build about as many churches to that end as William Rufus is stated to have destroyed in the New Forest. I further believe Rufus to have been shot in revenge by an outlaw. A little later we find Houghton Regis—where Dunstable now stands—disforested by proclamation in 1110, as a haunt of robbers. The land was sold at 12*d.* an acre, a town was to be built there, with markets and privileges of citizens of London, which fact is recorded in Dugdale's 'Monasticon;' and in Westminster itself, as the antiquary addressed his friend ('Tales,' vol. ii. p. 49):—"Here you stand now in Thieving-lane, in Westminster,—Knoll Sanctuary." Yes, Camden will tell you how Tothill (*i.e.* Toot's-hill) was Burywic (*i.e.* free from the sheriff) to Westminster. We have many Toot's-hills. Another stands on, I believe, another Thorny Isle at Peterborough, both with an abbey and a mound, named Toot's, who is the old Saxon god, whom the Romans recognised and called Mercurius, both apparently known by the Cippus once upon the mound. Our feudal kings, who recognised, innately, in municipalities their deadly foes, could sometimes turn their prerogative to account; and Richard II. resolved to get some revenue from the inhabitants of Westminster by granting a fair to be held in Toothill-fields, and the inhabitants of Westminster hurried to raise money to buy off the nuisance. Even in the days of Elizabeth these fields must have been common fields, as we find that in a litigation touching the Mote, in Harty Isle, Sheppy, the wager by battle was ordained to be tried in Toothill-fields. Our innumerable commons in the vicinity of London are proofs of the power and freedom of the people from encroaching power. Toothill Sanctuary has been divided and allotted, and the allotments are now disappearing before population and

its necessities; but in the schools, charities, and almshouses which occupy it, we recognise the common property and its unwilling resignation to the irresistible demands of civic increasing population. At Beverley, in Yorkshire, there was a sanctuary, which, as it retains its stone chair, may claim a word. It protected equally debtors and capital offenders, men of blood, and the inscriptions run as follow:—"Hæc sedes lapidea, freedstool, dicitur, pacis cathedra ad quam reus fugiendo perveniens omnimodam habet securitatem." Also:—

> "Als fre, make I the,
> As hert may thinke
> Or egh may see."

I will pursue the matter no further. You can visit no forest-land without finding reliques of the old days in which we worshipped the sun and the moon, and dedicated sanctuaries and rivers to them. Paganism, like religion, flies to the desert, and lives there until civilisation comes with its broom and national schools and sweeps it all away; and yet our boys and girls will not relinquish without a struggle the May-day, or the Midsummer visit to the Clay and Clee hills, Woodburys, or Castles, or forego the bonfire at Midsummer and Yule; still, with the antiquary, remember that Tintagel is invisible twice in the year, and that Allhallow Eve is the night to hear the spirit on the Eildon-hill, or to drop the pin in the well of St. Roche, or draw blood at the stone of Odin in the circle of Stennis. These paganisms had their charms, and were sanctified by faith, but they have also paid penalty. Many a poor soul, man and woman, has been burnt or drowned for witchcraft, which was the spirit that hovered over the mountain and fountain fanes of paganism.

We must return to our subject theme. We are well instructed in our feudal times in their broad and general

aspect; the two magic pens of Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott have portrayed the times and the manners. No doubt the details may do wrong to some names, and more than right to others, but the story is told to us in undying worthiness. We had our national foes with whom to contend—France, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and principally the Pope; and in the interims of peace the feudal nobles fought for the mastery, and made the king their tool. Simon de Montfort, king-making Warwick, Northumberlands, Cliffords, and Somersets, often ruled with a weak king as their subject. Their contests were :—

> "The imposthume of much health and peace
> Which inly breaks, and shows no cause without
> Why the man dies."

The Crusades, the Wars of the Roses, the contention of rival feudal barons, are all proofs of exuberant wealth, which dwarfed the throne and became the curse of the age, fighting for the prize of confiscated estates; whilst monasteries and municipalities won their way silently, yielding to the tide when necessary, but ever increasing in power, whilst the feudal lords were ever reducing their own; and as everything runs to decay, so also does a vicious system; feudalism died of old age on the field of Bosworth, and inaugurated the reign of monarchy in the person of Henry VII. and the Tudor line, who inherited a kingdom impoverished by the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, and craving repose.

Under Henry VII. it was enough that the realm had peace, and that money fructified in the pockets of the municipals. Foreigners also began to immigrate into England, refuging from ecclesiastical tyranny. The reign of wealth and trade commenced, in furtherance of which Henry VIII. scattered the monks, and restored to whole-

some circulation and national wealth the accumulated stagnant stores of the Roman Church. He likewise disforested the sanctuaries, and the outlaws, who were called *thieves*, died in his reign to the amount of seventy thousand. The page of history is obscure, but if the foresters and mendicant monks are included among the thieves, the number is very credible. This monarch not only spared the pockets of his lieges but he materially made them rich, and the tyrant's reign is marked rubric, and he is our bluff King Hal.

England swayed to and fro under Edward VI. and Mary of bad renown, like a swan contending with the tide, while toil and misery inaugurated the reign of Elizabeth—Protestant and parsimonious. Her long and prosperous reign is a boundless sea for conjecture. She died and left a rubric fame behind, but, had she lived longer, she might have had the fate of the second James, and have vacated the throne. London had a hundred churches, as Crete had her hundred towns, and Libya her hundred altars to Jupiter Ammon. The hundred churches ordered a hundred marble monuments. There were six model forms of eulogistic epitaphs. Probably they were contracted for by the score, and each church severally placed one form of grateful adulation on its walls. Almost all were destroyed in the fire of 1666. One score of them ran thus:—

> "Spain's rod, Rome's ruin, Netherland's relief;
> Heaven's Jem, Earth's joy, World's wonder, Nature's chief."

Another:—

> "Britain's blessing, England's splendor,
> Religion's nurse and Faith's defendor."

They are recorded in full in Stowe's 'London,' and are worth perusing. Another point is most justly lauded—the restoration of the coinage; but how much the queen

promoted or retarded these works may be a moot question:—

> "My liege, he has obtained my slow consent,
> By laboursome petition."

And also whether her ministers did not urge them at the risk of their liberties and fortunes. Modern historians, whom I do not laud, ravel the fame of the Virgin Queen very seriously and sadly; Mr. Motley and Mr. Froude would have suffered on the block in her reign; but she spared the pockets of the burghers. Jeremy Collier, in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' when he draws attention to Queen Elizabeth, contrasts her with her sister Mary thus:—"The one made martyrs, and the other made beggars; the one executed the men, and the other the estates." She oppressed the old remains of feudality in the persons of the nobility. Still continental intolerance continued to enrich our realm with worthy immigrants. The muncipalities rose in position and power. We never suffered invasion, although we invaded, and the queen took shares in an adventure to rob Spain in her colonies. Elizabeth died lauded, and left to her successors the legacy to repay her debts of despotic policy, rigorously demanded by the Commons House of Parliament from her successors.

James I. succeeded, niggard and pedantic, retrograding from good to bad commercial principles, governing by Court favouritism and weakness of soul; but, in despite of Court greed and peculation, the municipalities grew and waxed fat, and we mark James's reign with chalk.

Charles I. succeeded, and I cannot write the name of the royal martyr without bowing my head in reverence to his memory:—

> "Great, good, and just, could I but rate
> My grief and thy too rigid fate,
> I'd weep the world to such a strain,
> That it should deluge once again;

> But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies
> More than Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
> I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds."

So wrote Montrose. Mr. Pepys set it to music, and found himself, before he was up—Jan. 30, 1660—singing of his song, "Great, good, and just." Democracy ran her career, and bathed her growing in royal and noblest blood. The Tudor despotism found an expiatory victim required, and it was paid in full by the race of Stewart. The great trial of the right and wrong in that cause is only now to be tried at the great judgment-seat on high.

Cromwell raided the purses of the commonalty, removed the bauble from the Rump Parliament—nay, call it not by the name of Parliament—from the Rump; sent his bloody messengers, in form of cannon-shot, through Ireland and Scotland; died a wretched death of mental panic-terror; was exhumed from his grave, and his corpse was treated at Tyburn as that of a murderer, by a coarse-minded but revengeful mob. He paid the penalty, too, of the faults of preceding times, and bore his burden here.

Of Charles II. it may be remarked, that adversity, to judge from his example and from that of Henri IV. of France, is the very worst school in which to educate a king. The courts of the two kings were very similar, and both sank into degrading sensuality. I do not remember whether the eight sons of Charles II. were *all* dukes; I think they were so. James II. added another, a most gallant warrior and historian, the Duke of Berwick. Louis XIV. sent his Duke of Maine, son of Madame de Montespan, to misconduct his armies; and James II. finished his life in warning his son of the pitfall which illegitimate children are between kings and their subjects. Doubtless carving out estates for them from confiscated

estates, or by alienating crown-lands in their favour, are ruinous to morals and probity. Under this reign England fell to her depth of degradation; but it must not be supposed that the morals of the court were the morals of the realm; they set an imaginary *fashion*, which tinged the times and degraded the literature, but we have not in our tongue a more thorough romance than the memoirs left by the Count of Grammont. It is a pure romance where Una, in lieu of being led by a lion and a knight through antres vast and deserts wild, fighting with physical demons and dragons, changes the scene to the royal court, through which the heroines walk as dangerously to sight, but as securely to the goal, as Spenser's Faërie Queene; Grammont himself wedding la belle Hamilton, and the other couples being duly united in wedlock in repayment of the pains and perils successfully passed in royal courts.

Of James II. we have written much in the preceding pages. He imagined that his father had fallen a victim to concession. He had been shocked at the lax manner in in which Charles II. had exerted the prerogative. Resolving to try another tack, and to hold the reins with a firm and steady grasp, he irritated his steeds, who threw him like another Phaeton. He was the unfortunate ruler who made a mistake, the greatest of political faults, wherein crimes de not equal blunders in their fatal results. No one can read dispassionately his memoirs and not feel that in a happier school and staider times, he was a good and might have been a great man, whilst on the contrary he is a theme for satiric song.

The king ruled no longer. William was coerced and was amongst the ruled. The fight commenced between the estates of the realm. William's short reign was strictly one of reform; but religious intolerance was the curse of the time. The wonderful wealth of the people, the success

of our arms by land and sea in this and the sequent reign of Anne, and the still increasing power of the people, caused the House of Commons to be contented with their progress to power, which was now attaining its height. Under the reign of Anne, we may say that power concentered in the Commons for the first time, and George I. followed her in the realm, and lo! all was peace.

It seems to me that we have been led away by a false lure in following out an imaginary struggle between the Commons and their king. The Commons had no objection to king or to despotism, so it was wielded by them and not by the House of Lords. It was against the House of Lords that the fight was fought and won. The hypocrisy of that time and the snake-like way of proceeding of the Commons, make the story plausible as told by those who run a tilt against prerogative and the powers which had been entrusted to the throne. Against those powers neither Lords nor Commons objected; all they desired was to wield them themselves severally. What were those powers? First, the raising of the national revenue. This the Commons pertinaciously refused both to James I. and Charles I., but they could raise money in their own rebellion against their king by every means which they had denied to him. They were not embued with bowels of compassion for the rich burgher, but, allured by the love of power in their own hands, they raised money ruthlessly by votes of Parliament which they passed by their own will. Freedom of debate, in like manner, was a freedom to be determined by themselves. Whilst the Petition of Right lay on the table under discussion, the Lords imprisoned Ashley, the King's Sergeant, who, pleading before them, said that "the king must govern by acts of state as well as law." The Lords committed him to prison for those words, from whence he was not released but on his recantation and

submission. And whilst the Peers assailed the legal, the Commons assailed the clerical, and impeached Manwaring on a sermon upholding regal power, for which he was imprisoned during the pleasure of the House (of Commons, reader!), fined 1000*l.*, and suspended for three years.

The historian (Hume) writing on these subjects, justly remarks, "It is a melancholy, perhaps a necessary truth, that in every government the magistrate must either possess a large revenue and a military force, or enjoy some discretionary powers, in order to execute the laws and support his own authority." In furtherance of which proposition the Commons, through the rebellion, assumed despotic rights infringing two other points of the Petition of Right, "billeting of soldiers and martial law." These points fulfil the grievances in the Petition of Right; and every one had been conceded both by James I. and Charles I., in most perfect sincerity on their side, and accepted in utter insincerity on the side of the Commons; for these points were not the prize for which they fought, which was to supplant the Peers. Recognising that ruling motive, we understand the following remark by the same author pursuing the same train of ideas. "All the severities of this reign were exercised against those who triumphed in their sufferings, who courted persecution, and braved authority." And those who are conversant with 'Hudibras,' and the 'Tale of a Tub,' will recognise that position, and readily agree in it. They acquired rank in the Puritan ranks, and gratified their own hearts by winning a victory over monarchy. And to prove their insincerity it will be enough to add that when, in 1628, they condescended to grant five subsidies, about 300,000*l.*, they also denied the tonnage and poundage to the same value, which had been received by every king since the fourth Henry, sometimes with the formality of their vote and sometimes without it, but now resumed in

their cajoling tyranny. The insincerity imputed to the king belongs to the Commons, and the body which was really vanquished in the battle-strife was the House of Peers.

The modes of raising revenue varied with times and circumstances. The feudal kings were rich in their landed possessions, forests, and estates, purveyance, wardships, escheats, charters, customs, as tonnage and poundage (only refused to Charles I.), and in case of wars, benevolences and fifteenths. The clergy taxed themselves, and the Commons House of Parliament taxed the laity. I have already cited the case of Richard II. granting a charter for a fair in Tothill-fields as a mode of fining the burghers of Westminster. The appropriation of the estates of nobles by their conquering or dominant party, appears to have been constant to the Restoration in 1660. Henry VIII. enriched his reign by the raided monasteries and the ruin of nobility. Edward VI. had the like resources of revenue. Burnet, in the 'History of the Reformation' states that after the fall of the Seymours and the appropriation of their wealth, "the Earl of Warwick, beginning to form great designs, resolved first to make himself popular," by raiding the fallen party. Lord Arundel submitted to a fine of 12,000*l.*, and all the Duke of Somerset's friends made their compositions. Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Thomas Fisher, and Wm. Gray, each of them acknowledged they owed the king 3,000*l.*, and Sir John Thynne submitted to 6000*l.* fine. Hamlet's definition, or we should more truly say Shakespeare's, on this period and mode of proceeding, apply to Wolsey, to the houses of Norfolk, the Seymours and the Dudleys:—

Hamlet: Besides, to be demanded of a sponge!

Rosencrantz: Take you me for a sponge, my lord?

Hamlet: Ay, sir, that soaks up the king's countenance, his rewards, his authorities. But such officers do the king the best service in the

end: he keeps them as an ape, in the corner of his jaw; first mouthed, to be last swallowed. When he needs what you have gleaned, it is but squeezing you, and, sponge, you are dry again.

Queen Mary brought large sums of money from Spain, through Philip, by way of bribery. The base servility of her Parliament must be attributed to Philip's gold.

Queen Elizabeth sold crown-lands and granted monopolies, raided her nobles in every way she found feasible, in the cat-like way in which she watched and seized her prey; fines under various pretences forming a great revenue.

James I. found himself impoverished on his throne by his predecessor: he, amidst other sources of revenue, sold baronetcies; but as these were purchased willingly, it appears to me to be far preferable to forcing knighthoods under the false and exploded pretences of feudal services. All these princes had the customs (tonnage and poundage), but all which were refused to Charles I., or, worse than refused, by a trumpery sum granted in mockery.

Since then the Commons have managed the purse-strings, and have never betrayed any great predilection for economy. The grand discovery was made of mortgaging the revenue, and a loan has ever been looked on as a sugar-plum to the capitalists, whilst wars and expenditure are the delight of the commonalty; therefore, from William III. to the present day, the purse-strings have been lavishly loosed, in condemnation of the hypocrisy of those who refused Charles I. a supply, whilst they shouted huzzas at his accession to the throne.

Of our barons, peers, or lords, as they were synonymously called, it is pleasing to write in almost continuous praise. The early barons met in armour, and Magna Charta and Runnymede are deathless words in their praise. At that time half their body was composed of prelates who sided with the Pope, and who were coerced by the barons. We

may adduce the magic verse of Shakespeare in the mouth of King John, as an exemplification :—

> " No Italian priest
> Shall tithe or toll in our dominions ;
> But as we, under Heaven, are supreme head,
> So, under Him, that great supremacy,
> Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
> Without the assistance of a mortal hand :
> So tell the Pope ; all reverence set apart,
> To him, and his usurp'd authority."

The barons warred equally with the prelates and with the kings, and always, methinks, in favour of substantial liberty and right. We find them following in the wake of worthy kings, and opposing the unworthy. In the days of their prosperity they contended amongst themselves for the mastery, and were subject to the vices of humanity in taking their neighbour's goods, and keeping what they could hold—that " good old plan," as the ballad avers it to be. But what regal power lost at the battle of Lewes, it regained at the battle of Bosworth, and the reign of barons passed away. Under the Tudors they were systematically oppressed, and invited to waste their estates in regal pageants, fields of cloth of gold, and regal visitations, whilst the riches of the people increased, as Stowe in his Annals sets forth : " The universal increase of commerce and traffic throughout the kingdom, great building of royal ships and by merchants, the repeopling of royal towns and villages," &c., which occurred under the Tudors, and which laid the foundation for the rule of the Commons, for the Peers, as they are now, never again ruled in Britain : they fell with Charles I. The courtier rule, under the other Stewarts, was a mere travesty of baronial rule, and the House of Peers was temporarily destroyed by the Long Parliament, who first ejected the bishops, impeached Laud and Strafford, mobbed and intimidated other peers, who sought the royal

wing at York or Oxford, until the House of Lords was reduced to sixteen, who were at the beck of the ruling spirits of the time, bent to pull them down and rise on their ruin, which was accomplished with blood and murder, and expiated under the Commonwealth, when the fat burghers had their money-bags ripped, and the malcontents of Scotland and Ireland had the pleasure of the Protector's protection, which left a lasting mark and remembrance behind. But Charles II., following the lax manners which belonged equally to the House of Stewart and the House of Bourbon, polluted the peerage by making dukes of his illegitimate offspring, and endowing them from plundered nobles or sale of crown-lands, or other baneful and hateful sources, which cast disgrace upon the order. King William and Anne continued to rule monarchically through the House of Peers, wherein they formed their ministries, and where Anne committed the villanous act of a creation of twelve Peers to give a majority to her own party in the Lords, which unconstitutional act probably gave the final blow to the House of Peers as the first and chief estate militant.

George I. succeeded, and the present system was inaugurated; the causes of his then siding with the Commons were probably this act of Queen Anne, and hatred to his son and successor, which made him desire to clip his wings of power, and which made resignation of monarchical rule a pleasure to him. It passed quickly to the Commons, where it ran through an early stage of corruption, and free spirits, like the first Pitt, when the attainder or impeachment of former days would have been a state necessity to the ruling minister, were "pitchforked into the Lords," which operation also extends until this day.

The House of Peers is now the grand safeguard of our liberties against democratic encroachment. It is the ballast in the hull of the vessel of the state, which, if assailed by

democratic power, has no innate power of defence more than has the monarch or the church. It is a beneficent institution which we have inherited from earliest time, itself changing with the time. It has been twice seriously assailed by the royal prerogative of creation of peers. In neither instance did the ill do more than act a temporary tyranny. The creation of Peers by Anne was reacted upon by the carelessness of monarchical power in George I.; and the creation of Peers by William IV. to pass the Reform Bill reacted more than anything else against the Whig party. William and the nation cursed the Whigs in their hearts; ere four years had passed over their heads, the Conservative party resumed the reins with a great majority in the House of Commons. The safeguard which we possess in the House of Peers is that none more than themselves have a greater interest in the welfare of the realm in which they themselves are the chiefs; so on their side are they bound never, under any adverse circumstances, to abandon their trust. The secession of Peers in the days of the Long Parliament, gave the Puritan Parliament its power. The Peers must, like the conscript fathers of Rome, die, if the fates so call, at their post. I will not repeat the "dulce et decorum est;" but it is their bounden duty not to betray a trust. The meanest sentinel is subject to death if he sleep or betray his watch; tenfold greater is the duty of the Peer to die in defence of the realm and the commons; and if the people call for the self-immolation, and it should unhappily be required, it ought to be met as the conscript fathers met the Gauls, on the marble seats in the forum. Should any such event occur, you may be sure *the Gauls are in the capitol.*

The Commons were not originally a part of the Parliament; they came in with the rebellion of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and, as the offspring of rebellion,

they have ever been rebellious, and apparently mean to continue so until the prophecy comes to pass which avers that Britain is to be ruined by her Parliament sinking her into democracy. Neither was their original element that of the people, but that of the municipalities, who strove against the feudal barons. To attempt to exemplify by searching out the leading principle:—It was the municipalities against the barons; or it was commerce against realised property; or it was holders of income against holders of capital: all which definitions, though they may be liable to objections, meet the case in a general way.

They ever claimed the sway of the purse-strings, and granted benevolences and fifteenths to the kings on occasion of foreign wars, or on any points which they held to affect themselves for their own benefit or advancement; but in the international strifes and civil wars, sequestrations and attainders, and the assumption and resumption of properties formed the guerdon for which men fought; and whilst the lion and the bear of the fable lay exhausted with their duel, the fox crept in between and ran off with the prey, so did the Church and the municipalities enrich themselves as the feudal barons declined.

The first gulph of Charybdis where the barons sank, was the Crusades, the second was the Wars of the Roses; and the feudality of the barons expired, as before said, on Bosworth-field, after a reign of say four centuries. The Tudor tyranny and repose then lasted 120 years, three long generations, during which the Commons grew and waxed rich. During this period they were humble exceedingly, they literally grovelled at the feet of their kings, the economy of whose reigns enriched and delighted them. Whether they still feared the resuscitation of the feudal barons, or dreaded to excite the wrath of the living lion, may be moot points. Henry VII. gave the realm rest and

repose in its extreme weariness. Henry VIII. sluiced the monastery and abbatial wealth from stagnation into wholesome circulation; he rooted out the accursed forest sanctuaries, and appropriated the forest tracts, which were probably akin to the monasteries, and the 70,000 *robbers* executed during his reign, which I interpret to mean that that number by estimation of souls lived by rapine in the forest sanctuary tracts, which he reduced to seven cities of refuge. Both these kings levied money arbitrarily on their subjects, but that arbitrary principle hindered them from pushing their powers to an extreme or cord-breaking point; their despotic acts were not overstrained; also the things which *were*, were new and real. Tonnage and poundage, benevolences and fifteenths, were facts, not fictions, as they fell to be before they were wiped out with a sponge. The balance of real good over despotic principles was on the popular side, and therefore they submitted; but purveyance prerogative, dispensing powers, commissions, monopolies and star-chambers had now their reign, and culminating in Henry VIII.'s time, retained their nominal power until the end of Elizabeth's; but the ministers ruled in her reign, and the despotic principles were not strained by her beyond the ministerial or the popular endurance.

The position of the Commons in Edward VI. and Queen Mary's reign, appears to have been singularly low and degraded, so much so as to induce the inquirer to seek a motive for such degradation. The clergy then sat apart in convocation; the Peers used to come down to the Lower House and address them haughtily. When Mary succeeded, we are told by Burnet, that her words were soft; "that though her own conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or restrain other people's consciences;" adding, "these soft words were not long remembered." But the obsequiousness of

the Commons is astonishing; tonnage and poundage was passed in two days; Henry VIII.'s laws and Edward VI.'s were reversed in mere twinklings of the eye; Cranmer was put down, and Gardiner and Bonner set up; Ecclesiastical Courts re-established; and all was again as if reformation had never been. The Commons house aided willingly to reverse their previous policy. The commons out of doors beheld the fagots and flames, and all appeared willing that things should be so. "Have I taken any bribe to blind mine eyes withal?" is the question Samuel asked of the people. We find the Members of the House of Commons having 100*l.* and 200*l.* bribes of Spanish money. 400,000*l.* was sent to corrupt the Parliament, and Philip entered the realm parading 27 chests of bullion, which prepares us for the catastrophe of both houses on their knees before the king and queen, petitioning to be reconciled to the see of Rome; whereas they had been guilty of a most horrible defection and schism from the apostolic see, they prayed the king and queen to be intercessors with the legate Cardinal Pole (whose attainder they had just reversed, passing it through both houses in two days), to grant them absolution and to receive them again into the bosom of the Church. The bribes had blinded their eyes beyond belief. And how did the bold arms and hearts of the commons out of doors submit to the tyranny of martyrdoms; to the confiscations of the properties of the martyrs; to the plunder of their estates or cottages? It was the age of corruption.* And another noteworthy point to be remarked is the carelessness of life in the victims and the realm. Men went to the

* Mary rather gave than received from the Commons or Convocation. To the first she resigned all taxes unpaid on her accession, leaving the debtors of the state to lament. To the latter she resigned the forfeited temporalities. The Navy cost about 10,000*l.* a-year, and Calais had 300 efficient men in it when captured. The Commons appear not to have paid, but received money from the crown.

block and to the stake as though it had been their natural death. The highwaymen who succeeded made it a point to "play a spring and dance a round beneath the gallows tree." Sir Walter Scott has put it into the mouth of one of his Highland caterans, that death on the gallows was a noble end, and that to die on straw was the death of a dog. Some such influence seems to have moved the rebellious of these ages; they fought for wealth, lands, and power, and, failing, they accepted death in lieu of beggary.

As when we sail upon a tidal way, we only see the sparkling surface of the waters in the fair, and the troubled surface in the foul weather—as we know not the depths beneath, nor the strength of the tide, neither can the eye perceive whether the ship makes way or if the waves run by her, or whether they bear her back, whilst lee-ways and drifts of currents carry her unknown from the course. Such and more things unnumbered affect a state; we see the progress in the effects, and can "very wisely" argue upon foregone conclusions, which, to have foretold would have been like the old consultations of the Sibyl:

"Inconsulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllæ,"

which means, that after consultation we pass on our way uninstructed and curse her in our hearts.

I propose to do little more in looking back on the reign of Queen Elizabeth; it is full of paradoxes; she appears to have been imbued with the same theory which impelled Goldsmith when he wrote the lines we will parody for her:—

"Princes and Peers may perish and may fade,
A breath shall make them, as a breath has made;
But a community, a country's pride,
When once destroyed, can ne'er be resupplied."

Therefore she worked out the weal of the Commons, and

she murdered and ruined the Peers; the confiscated estates were bribes enough "to bribe one's eyes withal." She had favourites on whom to bestow them, and she cursed the land with every monopoly she could invent on their behalf. She pushed in theory her despotic principles to their full tether, but did not so in fact; she also raised money by selling the crown property; nor cared she to what extent she misruled, so that she could escape a meeting and a collision with her people in Parliament. I believe firmly that the ruling principle of persecution of the Papists during her reign was the robbery and confiscation of their properties, rather than any fear, which was a hypocritical covering for tyrannic rule. Fortune favoured both her father and herself in the continental religious persecutions, which sent us many immigrants possessing either knowledge of some handicraft, or often considerable capital. We enjoyed then the position the United States of America hold to-day, of an immense immigration of adult workmen, but it was to us a far greater boon and good than the mere supply of labour is to America; it most materially enriched England, but, more than all, it strengthened the towns and the Commons, aided in nothing more than in the restoration of the coinage, which was the work of her ministry.

The regal good effected by Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth—for we dismiss Edward VI. as a fair day in the spring-tide of the year, and Queen Mary as a foul day in the same spring-tide, which passed away and left no lasting mark—we may consider the regal good as superior to the regal evil, and we find Elizabeth quitting her subjects, and the City of London ordering a hundred monuments for its hundred churches, to laud her happy reign. Looking back, we ask the question, what that long reign might have been, had it possessed a Trajan or an Antonine for king, or her

own ministry unoppressed by a despotic queen. Whatever opinion we may have of the wisdom of the virgin queen, the matter in hand, the growth of the Commons, is indisputable; they groped on their knees and grovelled to her to her last day, but she was the last to whom they did so; servility changed to assailment in the reign of her successor, to whom she left a legacy of debts, despite her penury, of a commerce fettered with monopolies, of crown-lands sold, the regal estate impoverished, and a continent hostile from personal hatred to the defunct sovereign, and a Commons grown fat and baring their brawny arms for a contest with the Crown.

The reign of James is the turning-point between the Tudor tyranny, which had been beneficent in its season, and the sequent Commons' tyranny, which was ever maleficent and detestable. The Commons, by intuition, knew their power and vantage-ground over the pedantic king, and the first action occurred from the Puritans, who assailed him to relax the ecclesiastical laws in their favour, and to do it by means of his dispensing power. James was thoroughly in the power of the Commons on the matter of supplies. His predecessor had alienated the hereditary revenues of the Crown; she had oppressed commerce with grants of monopoly; she had left charges upon the Crown which the diminished property was unable to support. The Commons gave their first blow in 1610, in voting about 100,000*l.* as a blind to refusing any supply. The king then relinquished all the monopolies in favour of their demands, and on what he knew to be true commercial policy; tonnage and poundage was reducing itself to a fiction, through evasions; the price of the commodity was understated, and the tonnage and poundage produced yearly less and less. When he had reigned twenty years, the Commons broke out against him under the guidance of Pym.

The imprisonment of a Member (Sir Edwin Sandys) was the immediate cause. A breach occurred; the leading Members of the Commons were imprisoned; but to say that they were *alarmed* is to misstate the case,—not a bit alarmed were they; it was their challenge, and they rejoiced to find it answered, so as to create a grievance on their parts, to which they could appeal to the democracy out of doors, and, backed by them, the refusal of supplies, and goading the king to acts of assertion of, soon to be, proscribed prerogative, was the inevitable consequence, which would bring the point to an issue, and intuitively they felt themselves the stronger of the two.

Then they revived the process of impeachment of ministers, and Lord St. Albans (Bacon) and the Earl of Middlesex were impeached and condemned, and sentenced respectively to pay 40,000*l.* and 50,000*l.* The king remitted the fines, but the Commons won the victory. They likewise assailed him in his foreign policy, and James cut the page of resolutions out of the journals, but, as in the case of the Jewish monarch who did the like, the page was written anew. James, as all monarchs ever do, and have done, and will do, desired to relax religious disabilities, but was met with refusal; and two Arian victims were burnt in his reign, victims of popular intolerance.

As a general rule of James's reign, he fought valiantly for the theory of monarchical rule, but he yielded the substance to avoid and postpone the schism with his people; in fact, both the last Tudor and the first Stewart monarch yielded to monetary and political pressure, leaving the battle to be fought by their successor, Charles the Martyr.

There is no instance of a monarch succeeding to the throne, save amidst the plaudits of the people. Whether fresh blood pleases them, as it does the swarm of gnats, or whether they cannot forego an orgie on any pretence, or

whether hope, which Pandora left behind in the casket, still sways their breasts, so it is, they shout and ring peals on the advent of any new king and try to flatter his vanity to the skies. It is the animal nature which we see in bees, emmets, rooks, storks, and all gregarious communities of birds and beasts, to worship madly, or to sting and strike to death. King Charles, whom the House of Commons had doomed to be their tool or their victim, was greeted with the shouts and plaudits of the people. This reign is the *aristeia* or *innings* of the Commons: Diomedes wounded two gods; they also overthrew king and peers. 'Bitterly did Diomedes regret his innings; and methinks equally bitterly had we cause to regret the Rump, Cromwell, and the flight of honour and probity to the skies. The Puritans, by hypocrisy, so paved the way, that licentiousness, practised openly, was fairer to the sight, and we endured the extremes of both.

Surely some star does reign, influencing mortal natures. Puritanism appears to me as a plague or pestilence, descending from the foggiest south wind and rain, and as purely the curse of heaven sent on mortal man, as is a morning frost in the month of June. It is hateful to the mass of men. Libertinism, on the contrary, is a painted syren which enchants him, and which it needs reason to combat; but God, who works his ends by most undreamt-of means—by the captive Hebrews, the least of people, by Cyrus, the chief of heathens—raised the Puritans to work out the change in England from despotism to constitutional rule. It is a grievous story: granted that the Commons expelled the bishops from the House of Peers, that they intimidated that House until they reduced it to some sixteen vassals of their own, annulled Convocation, and that they murdered their king; yet, on the other hand, they saw their bauble removed from the table by their king

Cromwell, and suffered in their turn, all the miseries of revolution and despotic oppression.

The Commons tried by every means in their power, to induce the king to cast aside Convocation and the Peers, and to rule through and by them. The means they took were as vile and as filthy as those of Milton's serpent in Paradise; they approached crawling, with daily addresses and petitions, couched in the most lowly and servile strains, to beg him to surrender his forts, his arsenals, his appointments, his magazines, to them, and humbly deign to rule by and through his faithful Commons; exactly as the rattlesnake fascinates the bird on the bough, did they essay the wisdom of the serpent, to induce the king to fall into their open maw. But whilst they spread their snares, they pursued their material course. We have approached the time when royal prerogative was a shade and an empty name, when every grievance had been willingly granted, and prerogative renounced. But the Commons had not attained their desire. Mordecai sat at the king's gate; the Peers sat too near to the throne, which was a crime to be expiated and reversed. The king was goaded by every feasible means invented by a thousand-headed monster, the people. Supplies were utterly and absolutely refused, and the king driven to bay, unable to govern by means of the Parliament, resumed the old system by which his ancestry had ruled.

He made peace with foreign lands, and studied economy here; but in the eleven years which intervened, he wore out materials and resources, whilst the burghers sat still, ate, drank, and saved their money, and accumulated complaints of grievances. The regal power came to a close from exhaustion. The Commons returned as a giant refreshed. Then came the impeachments of Strafford and Laud.

"They murdered Wentworth, and they exiled Hyde."

And again:—

"Rebellion's vengeful talons seized on Laud,"

and they made the king their tool. It could not, it did not go on. On the 25th August, 1642, the king's standard was set up at Nottingham.

"How fought and bled the noble cavaliers;"
"How Falkland died, the virtuous and the just,"

are now, far, far in the past horizon of political events, but as subject to different opinions as ever. The great bulk of writers and readers condemn the losing and applaud the winning side, and Charles is execrated by the political party which praise Hampden and Cromwell to the skies.

I think we may here pause, to take a view of the Commons House of 1640, and to ask whereunto can we liken it? To nothing better than to the herd of swine possessed of the legion of devils, and rushing down the hill-side until they were choked in the sea: or unto those husbandmen who thrust the son of the lord of the vineyard from the vineyard, that the inheritance might be their own, and who were miserably destroyed by the lord of the vineyard. They had waited impatiently eleven years to see the king and the royal party ruin themselves; when they were again convoked and inaugurated they commenced proceedings with the impeachment of Strafford and Laud; scaring from their posts Lord-Keeper Finch and Secretary Windebank, who fled for their lives. And then they set to work, and in arbitrary tyranny coined the word and fact of *delinquency*. The following were delinquents:—1st. All sheriffs to whom the order to levy ship-money had been addressed. 2nd. All farmers and officers of the customs who had levied tonnage and poundage, who bought a com-

position pardon by the payment of 150,000*l.* 3rd. Every soul who had had anything to do with Star Chamber or High Commission Courts. The judges who had condemned Hampden, and Judge Berkeley, were dragged from the tribunal seat by their order. 4th. Almost all the bishops and clergy who had voted in the last Convocation.

They then purged their house, expelling all monopolists and projectors who were on the king's side, but pardoning those upon their own side; and any act of injustice they performed was popular with the 'prentice boys out of doors. They next annulled prior sentences, and released offenders, and strengthened their own ranks; they cancelled, and annulled, and voted things arbitrary and illegal by their own votes. They paid the Scot army to oppose the regal, and then they attacked the bishops. They appointed their own Court of Inquisition, to which their newly-framed epithet of *scandalous* has attached itself historically. It tried *scandalous* ministers of religion; their proceedings were arbitrary and cruel. They harassed, imprisoned, and molested, and ejected or sequestrated those who bowed the head at the Saviour's name, or had placed the communion-table at the east, or had read the king's ordinance for Sunday sports. The discourse of these rulers of the realm "was polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy."

Then they upraised the damnable cry of intolerance, and bawled for execution of the laws, and seizing the properties of recusants. The king comes out as an offender on the score of lenity, having suffered the poor wretches to compound in sequestration, and refused to sign warrants for execution. This outcry on the part of the Commons was not, as they professed, fear, but greed and plunder, and appropriating other men's goods. But they carried out the hypocrisy in requesting the queen-mother of Queen

Henrietta, to depart the realm, as their prototypes the Gadarenes had requested the Saviour to depart out of their coasts.

Then, as they had granted some quarter of a million to the king, they resumed the royal droits of tonnage and poundage, that is, custom-dues, and the king consented. It may be here reiterated, that the king was sincere, and the Commons the exact reverse. Every act of his life was objected to as too lenient against Churchmen, and too harsh against Puritans. The Irish people rebelled, and joined the rebellious Scots and the English Puritans—they were bringing the noble stag to bay. We may class together two historical events which occurred simultaneously: the impeachment of the bishops of high treason by the Commons, and the impeachment of the five Members of Parliament of high treason by the Crown.

The bishops were on the first demand sequestrated from Parliament, and committed to custody, as were likewise Strafford and Laud, and any who were accused as amenable to the laws.

The king perceived that the Commons were playing upon him, that they were insincere, and were goading him on to a losing game. He fell into the snare, and did as they did; with this difference, that he appealed to the laws, and they appealed to themselves. He sent his attorney-general to impeach five Members of high-treason —Hollis, Hazelrig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode.

Sauce for the goose, was not sauce for the gander. Two centuries and upwards have passed away, the impeachment of the bishops by the Commons and their submission is utterly out of mind and forgotten. Of the parallel action on the part of the king, I suppose if all the books in existence had been scrawled with it we should not have heard the end of it. The action by the Commons was aggressive,

that of the king was purely accidental. The Privy Council then bore messages to the Commons, and sat on the ministerial seats. Sir Henry Vane brought them a message directly from the king. The king could command their attendance, or the attendance of the Speaker. Unwittingly he went himself—wholly unwittingly—instead of going to the Lords, and commanding their attendance. If Elizabeth had done so, they would have shed tears of gratitude at her condescension. Now they acted otherwise. Then fled the five and refuged with the apprentice-boys in their sanctuary of the City; then fell the Speaker on his knees. What Speaker Lenthal meant by the words he uttered is not evident, whether he was in fear or in indignation. But I think he was in fear; he was but a weak man. Then arose the shibboleth of *privilege! privilege!* followed by the avowal that the king was about to burn the city. Then the king went to Guildhall, as he had gone to the House of Commons, and heard the cry, "To your tents, O Israel," shouted by the apprentice-boys, every act he did adding fuel to the bonfire. The defeated monarch fled to Hampton Court. Contending emotions drove him to refuge; but he fled, not through fear, but discomfiture. The Commons feigned fear, and entreated the apprentice-boys, who were the heroes of the day. The king never feigned to fear. Then came the petitions. The apprentice-boys petitioned; the home counties, Essex, Herts, Surrey, and Berks petitioned; the City of London petitioned; the beggars petitioned; the women petitioned; and Pym came to the door of the House, and—well, I do not know how many fish-fags he kissed. Kissing is a heirloom of Westminster. A subsequent kiss of the butcher and the beautiful Whig duchess has recorded a kiss immortal. Pym was not so blessed in his kissing of 1642. What could oppose the beggars and Billingsgate in the sacred persons of her

queans and their most sweet breaths and voices? Happy monarch at Hampton Court, happy bishops in the Tower. But the question is still disputed, and the majority, as in the days of the rebellion, are hostile to the king. The impartial Judge Blackstone wrote:—"Wild and absurd as the doctrine of Divine right undoubtedly is, it is still more astonishing that when so many human hereditary rights had centered in James I., his son and heir, Charles I., should be told by those infamous judges who pronounced his unparalleled sentence, that he was an elective prince, elected by his people, and therefore accountable to them in his own proper person for his conduct. The confusion, instability, and madness which followed the fatal catastrophe of that pious and unfortunate prince will be a standing argument in favour of hereditary monarchy to all future ages."

Sir Erskine May, in his 'Constitutional History,' writes thus:—"The Stuarts had strained prerogative so far that it had twice snapped asunder in their hands. They had exercised it personally, and were held personally responsible for its exercise. One had paid the penalty with his head, another with his crown, and their family had been proscribed for ever."

I should rather write that prerogative was fought and conquered by privilege; and, as the Jacobins in the French revolution succeeded the Girondists, so privilege succeeded prerogative, more despotic, more irresponsible, more tyrannical than its predecessor. Privilege did not hate despotic and tyrannic power when wielded by itself, nor would it have warred with prerogative would the king have ruled through a Puritan section of his people, and oppressed, at their desire, the rest of the realm. With this addition, that whilst prerogative descended from a line of kings, and had a halo of nobility, privilege was an usurpation,

ignoble in its nature, for it was equally hypocritical and cruel, and was stamped out like a plague, and we pass by its record in history, as Tam o'Shanter rode at midnight by the spot where:—

"Mungo's mither hanged hersel."

Prerogative and privilege are both stamped out, but it was Popery, and not prerogative, that expelled the house of Stuart from the throne.

When the revolution passed away, and Charles II. was restored, there was no rule, no government, either by king or Parliament. It was a helpless case of drifting. It was a time of slumber and arelessness, disgrace and dishonour.

The maligned James would have stopped this misrule, but prerogative was beaten in the duel by privilege, and Popery was hated with pretended fear, but really from a wish to rob the Papists of lands and possessions by every variety of persecution. In Izacke's 'Antiquities of Exeter,' he writes on these periods of affliction:—"It is well known what sufferings persons of the best quality within this city, in the time of the late rebellion, did undergo by manifesting their loyalty to their sovereign lord and king, even by fines, imprisonments, by sea and by land, compositions, sequestrations, decimations, and what not. A sequestrator was then found to be like the great Sultan's horse, that where he treads the grass grows no more. In a word, they ruined the father, beggared the son, and strangled the hopes of all posterity in many flourishing families, as too sad experience hath informed too many now alive. My litany or supplication is steadfast:—

'Dii terris talem nostris avertite pestem.'"

Robbery and greed were at the bottom of the persecution of the Papists—fear never was a true motive cause. The

monks had been hated by the commonalty under the feudal kings, and never had held any popular sway in England. A Papistical government was dreaded—the Inquisition in Queen Mary's time had effected that—but the monks were hated, but not feared, and the Roman Catholics were robbed and oppressed, and were legitimate sources of revenue. The conflict with James II. was on the Church, not the taxation, and it was carried on against him by all parties in the realm, which brought about the unexpected and the then half-welcome result of the enthronement of William. The rule of James was essentially economical, and on that score there was no collision.

The reign of William stands also alone in its characteristics. He ruled personally, or personally he inaugurated the measures of his reign, and was checked and thwarted by the Parliament, but the peers stood then in the van of opposition. The reign of Anne was enveloped in the glory of our arms. The Commons voted unheard-of sums voluntarily, but the rule was in the House of Peers, and it was requisite, when Harley gained the reins, to make him Earl of Oxford, and set him in the ruling body of the realm. George I. succeeded, and the rule was, by his aid and connivance, thrown into the Lower House. The moving causes, attainders and sequestrations of estates and compounding with the forfeiting victims passed away, and changed its phase into that of pure bribery and corruption, through the Minister and secret service money. The duel of Whigs and Tories was fought within the walls of the House; and under the two Pitts, who loved glory better than rewards and their country above all, and the honest probity of George III. to whom this nation does not accord honour due, we purified from attainders and from corruption, and ministers and ministries contented themselves with the lawful and necessary patronage of rule. For

upwards of a century Whigs and Tories have contended for the mastery on the floor of the House of Commons. For three reigns the Whig party came in under high auspices, but under neither could they retain their ground. Thus George IV., on attaining the throne, threw off his Whig friends. The order of events is thus ranged by Sir Erskine May. First, he separated from his political friends; then he neglected their advice, and disappointed their hopes; he avowed he had no predilections to indulge; then he became indifferent to the persons and the principles of the Whig leaders, from whence his feelings devolved to estrangement and to animosity. He would endure one or two, but would abdicate rather than come in contact with them, and that, had they been forced upon him, he would have abdicated.

So also King William. He also found the coercion of Lord Grey and of Lord Brougham to be unbearable, forcing him to swamp the Lords, and force the Reform Bill. The consequence was that Lord Melbourne succeeded and reigned, "sinking in estimation of his own supporters, and without recovering the king's favour."

The present reign began under Whig rule and advice, but the rule was soon forced on the Tory Iron Duke, who had been pelted by the mob in London streets, and fortified Apsley House with iron shutters. Since then the contention has been financial. Real and fixed property has been taxed to ease trade and manufactures, and trade and manufactures, under Schedule D, have rated themselves. The Commons have resumed their original function to back income against capital, but the means they have employed for forty-one years, since 1828, when the Tests and Corporation Oaths—the popular creation of 1673—were equally popularly repealed, have been by a series of reforms—Catholic emancipation, the Reform Bill, municipal reforms,

slavery abolished, Jews emancipated, a second Reform Bill, and with all and each of these a new, short, flitting rule to the Whigs, who could only pass their measures by the aid of the Radicals within, and the "people" outside the House. Undreamed-of discoveries and events have occurred — steamboats and railways, gas and the electric telegraph; and to supply sinews for these modern giants gold-fields were first discovered in California and Australia, then in British Columbia and in New Zealand, with effects to which it is bewildering to look back, and dazzling to look forward. The Whigs likewise resolved to feed the population on foreign breadstuff, and to purchase it from the foreigner. They argued that it would be paid for by manufactured goods, but I believe it is paid for by capital, and helps to keep down that life-blood of manufactures.

Greed again—eternal greed. As our ancestry sequestered, raided, and divided estates, so now we tax, and make land and property pay the taxation. We have a poor rural instead of a rich rural community, and the foreigner does not take our manufactures for his corn, so our manufactures suffer equally as before. Providence aids us. I heard the discovery of gold described in the House of Commons as the greatest *godsend* to Britain that ever befell a realm. It has made the national debt easy to be borne, through guineas becoming more plentiful, and lessened the private debts and credits through the realm. Freedom of trade has been a desideratum with the Tories as well as Whigs from time immemorial. It is the brotherly bond of union between nations. But as in individual families we find each brother caring firstly for himself, so with nations, they will make reciprocity as much as they can to be on one and on their own side. The *Free-trade* proper which Whigs inscribe upon their banner should be called *home taxation.* It dooms the agricultural

peasantry to ten shillings a week wage—wholly insufficient for their livelihood in this realm, and makes them at the same time poor customers in the home market, which the manufacturer has scorned for the foreign one, and stands somewhat like the dog in the fable, who snaps at the shadow in the stream, and drops the substance. When Sir Robert Peel succeeded in forcing his free importation of foreign grain, he expressed his hopes that cheapness would induce our absentees to return from the Continent and spend their means in their own land; and, second, that the labourer should eat his loaf unembittered by taxation. The absentee has not returned, and the agricultural peasant eats his loaf embittered by undue taxation; whilst to the mechanic and artisan the difference of a penny or two in the four-pound loaf is as nothing to a due amount of capital to keep the factory going. And cheapness in bread—tending to raise an under *stratum* of man lately described as the *residuum*, including thieves, paupers, cheats, and vagabonds, which residuum "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished;" but cheap bread and tobacco, and alms extorted in the streets to buy gin are all they need, and as drones they live among and upon the working bees—with this difference, that the bees proper periodically kill off the drones, which the human bee is not allowed to do. Emigration has re-commenced in a flood-tide: it will enrich the young lands to which it flows, but it will not relieve the old land at home. Population is pressing on subsistence; and as population increases fast, and subsistence slow, it is an unfair race, or rather no race at all. Population is the greyhound that snaps the hare, whilst our remedy is to purchase more foreign corn and pay with more capital, sending our gold after our emigrants. There is a very old story of a certain tower of Babel, in which the men said, Let us build up to

heaven, where neither floods nor earthly influence shall annoy us. I need not repeat the fate of the tower, but it ever appeared to me to be applicable to the dogma of making all the world supply food to us, and living ourselves on the unassailable tower. Further, it appears that we have built the tower as high as it can go, and that we are by no means free of the earthly influences. There is another old fable, not so well known, of the partridge who dwelt on such a citadel as that tower, but, being imbued with wisdom, and seeing the danger of his position, he ever after made his nest on the ground. But in these marvellous days—for marvellous they are—where any one who chooses may think and say, in answer to the question When will the millennium come? "that the millennium has come already;" but whether that be so or not, the eternal laws of God remain, to which we are eternally subject; and presumption will still have its fall, as in the days of Nimrod, and undue greed will be subject to all the influences we can justly assign it in moral essays. The philosopher's stone and paper currency, &c., as assured means of wealth, have disappeared in the far horizon. Industry and labour still, like the early bird, get the worm, neither can one part of the community be at ease whilst another part is paralysed or gouty. We have paralysed the peasant, we have fed some branches of trade into goutiness—the building trade, to wit—but the man is ill. The sooner commerce takes agriculture by the hand, and acknowledges that she has been wrong in being greedy at the other's expense, and that it will be better for trade to keep capital at home than to send it abroad for cheap bread, upon which alone man doth not live, the sooner the better. These, or such as these, are the questions on which our welfare depends, and which are committed to the wisdom of the Commons. The Commons is the index to the people

outside, but the people outside form themselves mainly from the discussions in Parliament. They latterly have gone off more in abstract questions and coercing the Lords towards democracy, than in labouring for the common weal. We have questions enough which press—dwellings are of more importance to us than cheap bread. Dwellings include health and morals. The point of sight on which to fix our eye is the artisan, mechanic, and rural classes—the backbone of the state. Bread ought not to be a vital question with them more than it is with the more monied classes; and the residuum, we should weed it out or force it to honest labour. Many of the small establishments termed Charities, are delusions as baneful as the gifts of mortmain of old. A Charity with a secretary ought to have a licensing charter, or be regarded as a swindle—swindling money from the monied, and time and temper from the labourer.

We use the terms rich and poor, words utterly senseless and delusive. The monied man may be very poor, the mechanic well-to-do. The upper classes are as humble in spirit as are the lower. Trace the whole of the annual income of a realm from its rising to its setting, you will find the latter resolve itself into purchase of food and the fruits of the earth which are consumed. The delicacies of the monied are not the delicacies of the labourers. Woodcocks are not equal in worth to fat geese, nor are red mullet equal to fresh herrings and sprats. The monied man does not consume so much as a labourer, neither is that which he does consume that for which the labourer would care. Claret is not better than stout, nor sherry than ale, nor do the dyspeptic stomachs of the thoughtful professions clash with the strong digestion of the workman. Luxury is but a form through which labour elaborates itself to earn a part of the three hundred millions

which we are truly taught fall into the hands of the labouring classes, which is, indeed, about the sum at which we reckon the income of the realm, and shews that the whole of that income runs through the community until it purchases that on which we live; for though that include rent, food, fire, and clothes, food is the item consumed by each, though classes subsist solely on rent, fuel, and clothes, and so the three hundred millions fall at last into the sewer annually. A monied man may divert his expenditure from one train to another more worthy, but he cannot help his sovereigns swelling the three hundred millions of the labouring classes, for flow to them it will. Say we are thirty millions of population, it gives an average of 10*l.* each. The cost of a pauper in a workhouse is about 8*l.* Behold how we float, and know it not. The monied man is no object for envy; the riches the Scriptures denounce are, ever so in my thoughts, the strong, the fair, the gifted and the proud. These belong to no class, but these are the rich. The afflicted and the humble-minded are the poor, although they have the gold of Crœsus, which they neither consume, but of which others eat the fruit, for neither have we misers now, I mean in a national sense. No hoards are buried like the Scriptural talent in the napkin, but put out at the bankers, who use it if we do not. No money now lies idle. Another banking blessing is that housebreakers and highwaymen have ceased with banking. It really signifies not to the community who holds the capital, provided it be here; and as population ever presses on means of subsistence, so will enterprise ever press upon capital, whatever be its amount.

APPENDIX.

TOUCHING for the king's-evil was one of the special services of the Church, printed in the Prayer-Book until George I. It must have been the most wearisome of regal duties. It was originated in England by Edward the Confessor, probably emulating our Saviour when the palsied man was let down through the roof on account of the press. Charles II. touched 100,000 people in his reign. In 1684 many were trampled to death. James touched 800 at once in the cathedral at Chester. The cost for the gold tokens was as much as 10,000*l.* a year. Shakespeare has illustrated the subject in 'Macbeth,' and, speaking of Edward the Confessor, who originated it:—

"*Malcolm:* Comes the king forth, I pray you?
Doctor: Ay, sir: there are a crew of wretched souls
That stay his cure: their malady convinces
The great assay of art; but, at his touch,
Such sanctity hath heaven given his hand,
They presently amend.
Macduff: What's the disease he means?
Malcolm: 'Tis called the evil;
A most miraculous work in this good king;
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
Himself best knows: but strangely-visited people,
All swollen and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures;
Laying a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken,
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction. With this strange virtue,
He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy;
And sundry blessings hang about his throne
Which speak him full of grace."

It may well be presumed that the people did not like losing the golden stamp any more than losing their claim to be touched by royalty, but King William would not submit to the impiety, and that was one of the many causes of discontent against him. It was equally a source of evil to King James that he devoutly believed in the kingly power, offending the best of his subjects, as King William offended only the worst. Nor is it difficult to believe that many instances of fraud occurred, shamming disease, pocketing the gold, and asserting a cure. Queen Anne apparently touched for the evil at Bath, in October, 1702. It is so stated in Narcissus Luttrell's brief diary without comment.

THE FRENCH NURSERY SONG.

"Malbrough s'en va t'en guerre,
Mironton, mironton, mirontaine;
Malbrough s'en va t'en guerre
N'en sait qu'en reviendra. (Thrice)
Il reviendra z'à paques,
Ou à la trinité;

La trinité se passe,
Malbrough ne revient pas.

Madame à sa tour monte
Si haut qu'elle peut monter,

Elle apperçoit son page,
Tout de noir habillé:

Beau page, Oh mon beau page,
Quelle nouvelle apportez?

Aux nouvell's que j'apporte
Vos beaux yeux vont pleurer:

Quittez vos habits roses
Et vos satins broches;

Monsieur d'Malbrough est mort,
Est mort et enterré,

Je l'ai vu porté au terre
Par quatre z'officiers;

L'un portait son cuirasse,
L'autre son bouclier.

L'un portait son grand sabre
Et l'autre ne portait rien.

À l'entour de sa tombe
Romarins l'on planta,

Sur la plus haute branche
Le rossignol chanta;

Ou vit voler son âme
Au travers des lauriers.

Chacun mit ventre à terre
Et puis se releva,

Pour chanter les victoires
Que Malbrough remporta.

La cérémonie faite,
Chacun s'en fut coucher:

Je n'en dis pas davantage,
Car en voilà z'assez."

THE END.

PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, DUKE STREET, STAMFORD STREET,
AND CHARING CROSS.