

S H R E W S B U R Y

A BIOGRAPHY

1660-1718

"Oft, in the clear, still mirror of retreat,
I studied Shrewsbury, the wise and great."

- Pope.

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Preface.

The subject of this thesis was suggested to me first by Dr. Browning in 1924, and work on it was begun in the following year. Since then, with the publication of "Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury", by L. C. Nicholson and A. S. Lusberville, in the autumn of 1930, the first modern biography of Shrewsbury has appeared. The author had not, however, exhausted all the available sources of material, and I felt justified in proceeding with a work already partially composed.

In dealing with a lifetime of almost fifty-eight years, covering five different reigns, the main difficulty was what to omit.

The temptation to make of a work of this sort a general history, and to linger on events, which, however important in themselves, bore a proportionally small interest to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, was considerable. The period leading up to the Revolution presented a real problem in this direction, as did also, though to a lesser extent, the early years of the reign of Anne, and if I have appeared to lay insufficient stress on important events which in substance shaped Saxe-Weimar's life, it has been done only after some thought, and from the fear that an accumulation of

acts, already well known to any student of the period, would serve only to dwarf the central figure. No apology, however, is needed to explain why an entire chapter is devoted to Irish affairs during Shrewsbury's second Secretaryship. A glance at the volume of correspondence should be enough, and the difficulties of the Irish Lord Lieutenantcy cannot be appreciated without some understanding of the Lord Lieutenant's earlier relations with Ireland.

Materials for the biography of the Duke of Shrewsbury are numerous and

scattered. The wandering of such of the Duke's papers as have survived is a story in itself; and it seemed best, therefore, not to attempt a description of the sources within the short limits of a Preface, but to conclude with a short Bibliographical Chapter. To this, and to the formal Bibliography, the reader is referred.

As regards the spelling and punctuation of original letters, for the purposes of this thesis the original version has been retained wherever possible. Translations of

a few French letters have, however, been made. Dates are given in Old Style, unless where New Style is indicated; but the year is dated from January and not from March.

In the course of my researches I have experienced much kindness, and wish to acknowledge with gratitude the liberality shown me in the matter of access to papers bearing on my subject. I am most grateful to the Duke of Buccleuch and to Viscount Fitzalan for the privilege of using their Shrewsbury Papers. My thanks are due also to the Trustees of the Earl

of Shrewsbury for permission to use a
letter from the Duke of Shrewsbury to
Lord Godolphin from Rome, and to the Earl
Spencer for access to his manuscripts
at Althorp. Kindness shown me by the
possessor of portraits of the Duke, I
hope to acknowledge in another place.

Not the least of my debt of
gratitude I owe to the actual custodians
of the paper, whose courtesy and
assistance have been of the greatest service,
and to the librarians of this district, without
whose good offices the work could not
have proceeded.

I must not omit my thanks to the Rev. P. Whigham, S.J., Principal of Heythrop College, for the trouble he took to give me the history of Heythrop House.

For transcripts of Archbishop King's correspondence, I am indebted to Mrs. Phelps of Trinity College, Dublin.

Lastly, but for the assistance and encouragement of my husband, there could have been no thesis at all. Without his help, the material at my disposal would never have been available to me.

The subject has been a pleasant one. Burnet said of the Duke of Shrewsbury that

he was of so sweet a temper that he charmed all who knew him. It would be hard for even a biographer to resist that charm, or to part from him without regret.

Loucky H. Sonerville.

Chester.
Nov. 30th. 1931.

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CHAPTER I

BOYHOOD.

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CHAPTER I - BOYHOOD

On the 24th of July, 1660, two months after the King for whom he had fought had returned from his 'travels,' Francis, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, knew himself so fortunate as to have a son to carry on his proud and ancient title. The blessing was the more real since he had already lost two male children in infancy, one daughter only remaining from the children of his first wife.(a) In 1659 he had married a second time, his bride being the most comely of the Earl of Cardigan's three daughters, Anna Maria Brudenell, much younger than himself, and of a totally different disposition; for she was fond of pleasure and of late hours.(b) The consequences of an unwise match had not, however, at that time affected the Earl, and his satisfaction must have been complete when King Charles did him the honour to make his infant son the first royal godchild.(c)

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- (a) G.E.C. gives their names as Conyers and George. For the daughter, Mary, see Burke, and Phillips' "Genealogia" (Bodleian)
- (b) They were married in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields before a Justice of the Peace on 10th January 1658-9.- Althorp Memoirs 25.
Rachel Newport to her brother Sir Richard Leveson Sutherland MSS. 145.
Reresby 67.
- (c) Anonymous Life 3.
Cooksey's Life of Somers 16.

As Charles Talbot, therefore, the heir to the Shrewsbury earldom makes his appearance to history. Both his father's and his mother's families were Catholic, and the child was baptised in the faith of his parents.

With characteristic Stuart generosity, Charles II had rewarded with a name the son of a man who had suffered ill fortune in his service. The Shrewsbury fortunes were at the beginning of that reign at a low ebb. Representatives of the second oldest Earldom in England, the Talbots believed that they could trace their descent back before Domesday Book, and took no pleasure in claiming Norman ancestry, since the boast of Saxon blood was of more ancient honour. In the female line they were proud to show the sister of De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, as one of their progenitors.(d) Whatever doubts might surround the founder of their family,(e) history cast no shadow on the first Earl of their line, who won both title and renown in the French wars of Henry VI. With the death of Edward the eighth Earl in 1618, the main branch of the family died out, and George, the ninth Earl, who was a priest, a great uncle of Francis, was descended from a younger son of the second Earl, Sir Gilbert Talbot

(d) Add. MSS. 18446. History of the Talbots.

(e) The family apparently claimed a more ancient origin than some of the peerages would allow them. - "Great Governing Families of England."

of Grafton in Worcestershire.(f) Sir Gilbert's son, John, known as Sir John Talbot of Albrighton, appears to have made Albrighton in Shropshire his family seat. His son was buried there, and after him many of the Talbot family.(g) By descent and by marriage, the Shrewsbury lands were wide, but the family wealth had not correspondingly increased, so that the property was encumbered.(h) Like many another loyal gentleman, Earl Francis had held out for the Stuart family to his own detriment after the battle of Worcester,(a) but even before his time the Shrewsbury fortunes must have suffered to some extent by the adherence of the main line of the family to the Catholic faith.

With the settlement upon him by his father of the family lands at Alton, when he was only three years old, Charles Talbot began his life as a landowner. The years of his childhood seem to have been spent at Grafton, in company with his half-sister, Mary.(b) His mother, one of the acknowledged beauties of the Restoration Court,(c) must have

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- (f) Burke, G.E.C. Phillips .
 - (g) Albrighton Parish Registers.
Cranage's Architectural Account.
 - (h) Buccleuch MSS. I passim.
 - (a) Boscobel Tracts.
 - (b) Muniment Book. Fitzalan Papers.
Buccleuch MSS. I. Letters 2, 21, 29.
 - (c) Grammont. I 133 .

had little time or inclination to care for her small son and the daughter of a former Countess. Their early education probably gave the family little trouble. One Mr. Rathbone, who filled some minor position at Grafton, later put in a claim to be paid for teaching the boy, but though some money was allowed him because he was in necessity, the justice of his claim appeared to be dubious.(d) The child's affections were centred on his sister Mary, "who I love as well," he wrote, "as any Brother can love a sister."(e) Of his mother he knew little in these early years, certainly nothing of the constant intriguing, or of the numerous succession of admirers that sought and obtained favours from the Countess of Shrewsbury.(f) The gaiety of the Merry Monarch's Court had gone to her head like wine. Her portrait shows a vivacious, provocative woman, like a full-blown flower, of a dazzling pink and white that may well have owed much to nature, for her son inherited the beautiful, unhealthy blush-rose complexion. Admiration was the air she breathed, and her custom was to set one rival

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot April 6.1675? N.S. Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 29.
 (e) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot Dec.31. 1673. Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 8.
 (f) Shrewsbury's correspondence suggests that he believed the intrigue with Buckingham to be the only one.

against another, until duels about her charms became a common outlet for roused passions.(g) Her husband bore the scandal well, made no complaints that the world could see, said little, and kept aloof from the quarrelsome gallants. Her extravagance and his own lack of money were food enough for worry. But this solemn indifference to the frailties of his wife may have been the most aggravating thing about him in her eyes. She complained that he offered no rebukes to affronts shown her. The most scandalous of all her lovers, the shameless Killigrew,(h) when he found himself replaced in her affections by the Duke of Buckingham, took revenge in descriptions of his mistress that even Grammont found unprintable; but such treatment did not rouse the Earl, and his infuriated wife left him and fled to France.(a) The intrigue with Buckingham had commenced a year earlier, in the summer of 1666, when the Cardigans and the Shrewsburys stayed with Buckingham at York. So patent was the growth of this new intimacy that Shrewsbury's

(g) Grammont. I 150-2. II 44.

Verney MSS. App; to 7th Report. - Aug. 21. 1662.

(h) For Henry Killigrew see "Thomas Killigrew. Cavalier Dramatist" by Alfred Harbage 126. Cf. Pepys July 22, 1667; May 30, 1668; May 19, 1669 Grammont. II 193-5.

(a) Henry Savile to Sir G. Savile Sept. 17. 1667. Savile Correspondence 21. House of Lords Calendar 9th Report Jan. 14. 1674.

friends had remonstrated with the Countess, but her power over her husband was sufficiently great to induce him to prolong his stay.(b) Her association with Buckingham so begun, was of longer duration and of more seriousness than most of her intrigues. Where the daily scandals surrounding his wife had failed to move the Earl, her flight after the dispute with Killigrew in the autumn of 1667 succeeded in rousing him to defend his honour. He believed, perhaps with good reason, that she had left him to join Buckingham: their intimacy was at least common gossip: and in the following January he challenged Buckingham to a duel. It was fought on the 16th of the month at Barn Elms, with disastrous results. Buckingham with two seconds engaged the Earl, who was supported by two of his kinsfolk, his 'cousin,' Sir John Talbot and one of the Howards.(c) Jenkins, one

(b) Reresby 67.

Luke Whittington to Williamson July 14. 1666.
S.P.Dom.534.

(c) The editor of the Report on the Buccleuch Papers, and, following him, the biographers of Shrewsbury, have strangely assumed that Sir John Talbot was a brother of Francis. He was, in fact, a fairly distant 'cousin,' being descended from Sir John Talbot of Albrighton by his second wife, while the Earls of Shrewsbury were descended from the first wife.

1st wife. - Sir J. Talbot of Albrighton - 2nd wife.

John Talbot of Salwarpe
 Sherington Talbot of Salwarpe and Lacock.

Sherington Talbot. William Talbot (5th? son)
 Sir John Dr. William Talbot.

Bernard Howard, ancestor of the present Duke of Norfolk
 There was a marriage relationship with the Howards, the daughter of the seventh Earl having married Thomas Howard

of Buckingham's seconds, was killed outright; all were in greater or less degree wounded, Shrewsbury so badly that he did not recover. He was carried to Arundel House, where he died exactly two months later. The duel, and its cause, scandalised even the London of Charles II's day. That so much blood should be shed for such a reason, and that a minister of the King should so sully his honour, was a stimulus to the Town's disapproval. The story went about that the Countess had accompanied her lover to the scene of the fight, and, disguised as a page, had held his horse while he cut down her husband. It was perhaps only a story, but it cast a further slur upon the lady's already spotted reputation(d). No signs of remorse were shown by her on her husband's death. On the contrary, she openly became the mistress of Buckingham, took up her residence in his house, went everywhere with him, and eventually bore him a son. The infant did not live, but was buried in the Buckingham vault in Westminster Abbey, under the style of Earl of Coventry.(e)

- (d) Pepys. Jan.17, 19.
 Cooksey's Life of Somers 16.
 W. Denton to Sir Ralph Verney. Jan.23. March 19.
 Verney MSS. App.7th Report.
 Newsletter, Fleming MSS. 55.
- (e) Pepys. May 15.1668.
 Sir Bernard Gascon to Williamson Jan.9. 1674.
 Cal. S.P.Dom. 1673-5. p.98.
 Portland III 322.
 Cf. Petition of Shrewsbury's Guardians to the House of Lords
 Harleian Soc. X 173. Westminster Abbey Registers.
 Charles II was godfather to this infant also!

Charles Talbot was thus left fatherless, and, in a sense, motherless, before he was eight years old. By the death of his father, he became the twelfth Earl of Shrewsbury, (f) and a weight of responsibility beyond his years was soon to be thrust upon him. So confused were the family finances upon the death of Francis, that a sale of the furniture and pictures at Grafton had to take place, (g) and the boy and his sister were sent to stay with their uncle, Mervin Tuchett at Southcot in Berkshire. (h) Throughout, his grandfather, the Earl of Cardigan, took an interest in the young Earl, and during the summer had

(f) Doyle gives his titles as "Earl of Shrewsbury, Wexford and Waterford, Baron Talbot, Strange of Blackmere, Furnival, Verdon, Lovetot, Giffard of Brimsfield, Comyn de Badenoch, Valence and Montchesny."

(g) Buccleuch MSS. I. Letters 21, 29.
One Mr. Mawson appears to have advanced money for the expenses of Shrewsbury and his sister.
Ibid. Letter 2.

(h) Buccleuch MSS. I. *passim*.
Mervin or Mervyn Tuchett, afterwards fourth Earl of Castlehaven, had married Lady Mary Talbot, sister of Francis, the 11th Earl of Shrewsbury, and widow of Charles Arundell.
One can only reject Cooksey's story that Shrewsbury made his home with the Somers family at White Ladies from 1672-1674. White Ladies is so near Grafton that he may well have known John Somers, but there is not sufficient reason to suppose that he stayed with him, and if he did, it certainly was not then; for he had gone to Southcot before the summer of 1672.
Cooksey states that Somers's father managed Shrewsbury's affairs; yet his name has not been discovered on one family document or letter of the period.
Cf. Cooksey's *Life of Somers* 16-17.

him to stay at Deene in Northamptonshire.(a) But relations between his mother's and his father's families were not at first too cordial, and the boy found himself in a difficult position in his endeavour to please both sides. On the one hand, there were his grandfather, his grandmother and his aunt, Lady Westmoreland, who were showing affection towards him, and yet who in a measure were involved in the disgrace attending his mother's conduct; on the other were his father's relations, distant, most of them, and many of them seemingly indifferent, to whom he desired to be loyal. Uncle and Aunt Tuchett he heartily disliked. They showed him no affection; he could not trust them; and dimly he guessed that they offered him and his sister a home only for the opportunities of remuneration, present and future, that might arise from his stay. For Sir John Talbot, in the course of his boyhood, he developed a strong feeling of respect and affection, and an interest that perhaps arose from the part that Sir John had played in the drama that robbed him of a father. His cousin Will Talbot, who, like Sir John, belonged to the Protestant branch of the family, also won his liking. But the life at Southcot was

(a) Sir John Robinson to Williamson from Farmingwoods. Aug.24. 1671 - S.P.Dom.

"Last Tuesday I had to dine with me the Earl of Shrewsbury with his grandfather, Earl Cardigan, Earl Westmoreland, Lord Hinchinbrooke, Lord Brudenell, Lord Montague, Arthur Montague." - Farming Wood Hall was a few miles distant from Deene.

Cf. Buccleuch MSS. Letter 8.

dreary. The atmosphere was one of suspicion and complaint; and the child grew up to feel that those to whom he was forced to entrust his business were trying by all means to take unfair advantage of him. (b) At an early age he was obsessed with the idea of straightening all his accounts, and finding some way out of his financial difficulties. But no one could be found to help him with accounts. The Tuchetts only grumbled at the expense of keeping him and his sister; an attempt to go to Deene for the help of his grandfather laid him open to a charge of slighting his father's relations; and he begged Sir John Talbot to assist him. His earliest known letter to Sir John is full of concern for his worldly affairs that comes strangely from a boy of twelve. (c)

"At my first coming hither" - he wrote - "I found a greate forewardness in my Uncle Tuchett, as to my greate affaure of my estate, and y^t the overseers would not take their accounts, w^{ch} was greate trouble to me, and my Ants complaint was, y^t she was not able to live without she could have her areare payed of, w^{ch} was run behind for my diet, on the other-side I found little or noe debts p^d, w^{ch} made me press to goe to my Grand-father summer was twelve-month, where I got my Cossin Will: Talbot to meete me there, to

(b) Correspondence with Sir John Talbot - passim.

(c) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot December 31 '73.
Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 8.

consult him about this business, who is a man, y^t I could trust my soule in his hands, and all things elce y^t belongs to me, therefore y^u did not in the least fright me, in threatning to place me with him, but alas I laughed at all those things. When I came theither it was ordered by my Grand-father my Uncle Tuchett, and my Cosin Will: Talbott, y^t all ye accounts should be brought into me because the overseers would not looke after them, and when I came home my Uncle Tuchett tolde me he would goe up to London, and bring them all downe to me, and from y^t time till this yeare as I went to Deane againe I heard noe more of them, and I found my ant Tuchett was conserved y^t they were to be brought to me"----

Sir John Talbot responded to the boy's appeal, and assisted him with the perplexing accounts.(d) Assistance was needed; for few of those concerned would render proper accounts for anything, and so little ready money was to be had, that the only expedient suggested was to sell part of the estates.(e) The idea roused the boy to an anguish of anxiety.

(d) Buccleuch MSS. I. Letters 2, 3, 4, 5.

(e) Buccleuch MSS. I. Letters 4, 20, 21.

"I am concerned," he wrote to Sir John, "to heare they talke of selling my lands, which if they should, I must expect noe better an account, then I have had hitherto, both of my reall, and personall estate. As concerning my Unckle Tuchetts Legacys, they being payed of, he will still be indebted to me abve a 100 pds: What he pretends due to him, upon the account of looking after my affaires, (f) I supose will wholly depend upon me to be the Judge of, which he shall find will allwas be according to equity and reason If you find any crying debts upon you, I shall condescend to the selling^{of} of leas within this twelve months, and is about 80 pds a yeare, and y^t S^r William Coventry would give twenty years purchasse for it at that rate. But never will give my consent for selling a foot more in which (I hope) both you and Mr. Crouch (g) will stick close unto me, and if they should except against your acting as a Guardian in my affaires, doe not be concerned thereat, for I know my Cosin Will Talbott will be soe iust to you, and soe kind to me as not to doe anything without our knowledge, and approbation. I am most sensible both of the charge and trouble I put you to, but I hope, I shall live, one day to repay all your kindnesse" ---

(f) He claimed £600.

(g) Gilbert Crouch appears to have been the family solicitor. Buccleuch MSS. I and Fitzalan Papers.

The letter contains expressions so remarkable from a boy of thirteen, that it may have been prompted by a more mature mind. From boyhood to death Shrewsbury was followed by a faithful servitor, John Arden. In later years he was steward to the Shrewsbury estates, but in what capacity he acted in the early days it would be hard to say. He was devoted to the boy, and could not do enough for his interests. To some extent, indeed, he fell under the displeasure of the guardians, who suspected that he interfered over much, and Shrewsbury, who evidently gave little credit to the charge, mockingly called him the Agitator.(h)

One other thing besides accounts troubled Shrewsbury greatly. The Tuchetts, he thought, treated his sister badly, and he felt that he was her only protector.(a) His guardians had planned for himself an education abroad, and it concerned him that no suitable match had been found for her.(b) That the Tuchetts had made their own arrangements for the disposal of Mary, arrangements totally beneath her

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Jan. 15 N.S. (1678) and postscript to Letter of March 2. - Buccleuch MSS. Letters 69 and 74.

(a) Ibid. Letters 8, 13.

"You shall know all my agrivances, w^{ch} I doe asssure you are very many," he wrote to Sir John, "and the more to see my sister soe dealt with as she is."

(b) Ibid Letter 15.

position, he was convinced. He described the situation in bitter words as a plan "to betray my sister to Tom Buttler. To have her cast away thus," he continued, "would have cut my very hart to have seene it." (c) He was, therefore, anxious to have arrangements made for her marriage to some fitting person while he himself was yet in England. Early in 1674 the plans for his own departure had matured. (d) By that date, his guardians had been roused to a sense of their own responsibility, and of the shame that was cast on the name of Shrewsbury by the doubtful position of his mother. The Talbot family had been deeply resentful of the stain of the Countess's continued association with the murderer of her husband. Sir John Talbot had after the death of Francis procured a promise from the Queen through Lord Arlington that Lady Shrewsbury would not be permitted to appear at Court, (e) but he could not prevent Buckingham and the Countess from appearing together in other places in public. (f)

(c) Ibid. Letter 8.

(d) Ibid. Letters 3. 11. 15.

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Feb. 26 N.S. 1676. Bucc. II 20.

(f) Cf. Pope's well known lines

"_____ in Cliveden's proud alcove
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and love"
Cliefden was, however, unfinished even at the time
of Buckingham's death.

Evelyn noted her bold behaviour at Newmarket.(g) She accompanied Buckingham everywhere, and so great was her influence over him that she was actually paid a pension by the French King.(h) The scandal weighed heavily with the Talbots. More heavily still perhaps weighed the favour enjoyed by their enemy, Buckingham, at the expense of his rival, Arlington; for they had all along been supporters of Arlington.(a) When they, therefore, decided to make the shame to their family a matter for redress by the House of Lords, it may have been that the political far outweighed the personal necessity. Buckingham's favour with the King, always an unstable thing, was rapidly declining. By 1674 the whole power of the Cabal was tottering, but the rivalry between Buckingham and Arlington continued, and the relations and guardians of the young Earl of Shrewsbury made a shrewd attack on their enemy by presenting a petition to the Lords against his scandalous behaviour, which had been meant to synchronise with his impeachment in the Lower House.(b)

(g) Evelyn Oct. 21. 1671.

Cf. R. Brockenden to Sir Robt. Paston Aug.19. 1671. 6th Report 369.

(h) Dalrymple Appendix 81-2 Colbert's Despatches of Aug.25. 1670. Jan. 1 and Nov. 9. 1671.

It was Arlington strangely enough who proposed the pension.

(a) Pepys 12th Dec. 1667.

Bucclench MSS. I. Letters 47, 48.

Bucc. II 20.

(b) Sir Gilbert Talbot to Williamson. Jan.2. 1673-4.

Williamson Correspondence 105.

Sir Bernard Gascon to Williamson. Jan. 9. S.P.Dom.

The Talbots were reinforced in this move by Lord Brudenell, brother of Anna Maria, so that there was an appearance of a united front on the part of both families. The three Talbot uncles, Gilbert, Thomas and Beuno, Mervin Tuchett, and Shrewsbury's cousin, William Talbot, were the other petitioners.

The Earl, they petitioned, "a youth of great hopes, as he grows in age and understanding, becomes every day more sensible of the deplorable death of his father, and of the dishonour caused to his family by the wicked and scandalous life led by George, Duke of Buckingham with Anna Maria, Countess of Shrewsbury, relict of the late Earl, multiplying new provocations to two noble families by the insolent and shameless manner of their cohabiting together since the death of the late Earl. The Petitioners, apprehending dangerous consequences therefrom, feel bound to complain to their Lordships. They would not have done so, had the offenders employed the usual care to cover their guilt and shame; but inasmuch as no sense of reproach, nor of the blood that has been spilt by the occasion of their open and odious way of living together, has wrought so much as an outward show of remorse or amendment, but on the contrary, they ostentatiously persist in their shameless course of life, in defiance of the laws of God and man, having caused a base son of theirs to be buried in the Abbey

Church of Westminster, with all solemnities, under the title of Earl of Coventry, the petitioners hope their Lordships will not think this address presumptuous or irregular: since the unparalleled circumstances of the case afford them no other hope of relief. They pray their Lordships to take the honour of the orphan peer under their protection, and, by timely relief, exempt him from the danger of such unjustifiable ways of resentment as have already plunged that noble family into so sad and bloody misfortune."

The petition, presented on the 7th of January, was answered by Buckingham a week later.(c) His defence was ingenious if not successful. He suggested first that his faults ought to be tried in the ordinary courts. In any case, he asserted, the late Earl had had little ground for resentment against him, since the Countess had left her husband for his non-vindication of a public affront, and had taken refuge in a 'monastery' and not, as the late Earl believed, with him. He pointed out that as nothing had been said in the petition about his killing Shrewsbury, their Lordships did not require any discovery from him. He did not say what he well knew, that the King's pardon

(c) House of Lords Calendar. 9th Report.
 Sir E. Seymour to his wife Jan.10. 1674. Somerset MSS. 104.
 Reresby 92.
 Portland III 343,

had been extended to all the participants in the duel within a few weeks of its occurrence, and some months later he had been granted a royal pardon for killing Shrewsbury, afterwards to be confirmed by a bill.(d)

Before the matter was closed, Buckingham was brought to ask pardon for his faults; and the House required both him and the Countess of Shrewsbury to enter into bonds of ten thousand pounds each, as a guarantee of their future good behaviour, the Countess's jointure to be sacrificed in case of default.(e) Thus abruptly was concluded Lady Shrewsbury's association with Buckingham, which had astonished the Town both by its audacity and its duration.(f) In spite of this public humiliation, however, she soon reappeared with her father in London, as though nothing had happened.(g) One way of progress being shut to her, she bethought herself of another. Her son was to come to London to make preparations

- (d) House of Lords Calendar 9th Report. Jan.14.
Cal. S. P. Dom. vol. 66 p.p. 192, 193, 198, 205, 233, 400.
Cal. S. P. Dom. vol. 70. p.226.
Pepys. Feb.5, 1668.
- (e) Letter of Jan.31 and Feb.7.1673. Essex Papers 169. 173.
House of Lords Calendar 9th Report. Feb.6, 7, 10, 17.
Sir Gilbert Talbot to Williamson Jan.16. 1673-4.
Williamson Correspondence 118.
- (f) Grammont.
- (g) When the Petition was first brought before the House, the Countess had fled.
Williamson Correspondence 120; Essex Papers 160.
Bucleuch MSS I. Letters 15 and 26.

for his going abroad, (h) and she was anxious that he should visit her there, to wipe out the marks of the family's displeasure. Perhaps her attitude was not wholly selfish, and in the melancholy of parting from a lover, she may have been stirred by a mother's natural affection for her first-born son. She wrote to him, and the letter was one calculated to move the boy to pity and tenderness. (a)

"My dearest Sonne" - it ran - "I have for some time bin putt in hopes of receiving the satisfaction of seeing you, w^{ch} I doe truly (?) assure you I have not, nor doe desire out of any worldly consideration so much as that I might have an opportunity to express to you the true sence I have of my former errors, and most hartly sorrow for, those high provocacions and iniuries done to y^r deceased Father now wth God, whose excell^t virtues I hope you will ever imitate, and who I am now too late made sensible was a blessing given mee by heaven greather then I knew how to prize. I thanke God I am now noe less sensible of the injuries I have since that done to you and the hono^r thereby of y^r owne Family, and that I have the same compunction and sorrow for it and firme resolutions for y^e future never to err in that kind, the same Almighty w^{ch} hath given mee a prospect of my past condition and whose highest attribute is that his mercy is above all his

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot. April 26, 1674. Buce.II 17; May 3. Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 15.

(a) Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 9.

workes, will I hope through y^e assistance of y^r prayers (w^{ch} I hereby request) and merits of Jesus in his due time seale my pardon. Sonne I begg you to believe that I doe really intend my future deoportment shall convince you and the world of the truth of what I write and if you do not find the effects of it (if you will afford mee the satisfaction of seeing you once before you leave England) I shall bee left wthout a just pretence of ever claiming it for y^e future although I have y^e title of y^r mother w^{ch} is that I most value my self upon.

"I am informed that you have taken umbrage at some women w^{ch} have and some that doe resort to mee, at some settlem^{ts} w^{ch} have bin made to me by y^e unhappy author of my miseries, as to the first I doe hereby promise you I will neither see converse nor correspond wth (from ye time I shall have the satisfaction to see you) either M^{rs}. Knight, or any other men or women that you shall disapprove of, and that I will live to y^r satisfaction rather as a Wife then a Mo^r to you. As to y^e other perticular bee most assured I will wth all expedition wash my hands of any remaines of it. I will satisfie those just debts w^{ch} I am lyable too (but have not singly contracted) and I will make hast after you into France to putt my self into such a retirem^t that you will not bee displeas'd at and w^{ch} may afford me a bett^r title then that of y^r most unhappy Mother."

The boy had been brought up to feel that there was no person especially eager for his companionship, and the picture of his mother, penitent and begging only to see him, moved him to plead with his relations that he should be allowed to stay with his grandfather in town, and pay his respects to his mother privately.(b) The Earl of Cardigan having invited him, let it be understood that if his grandson should refuse to visit him, he would himself leave the town when Shrewsbury arrived in it. The poor lad was torn both ways. "Pray, Sir John," was his cry, "what ever you doe, doe not disoblige my Grand-Father,(c)" and finding no concurrence among his relations, he wrote off to the Marquis of Halifax, who was one of his guardians, to ask his advice.(d) The Talbot family, however, was determined that there should be no reconciliation at that time with his mother, and he was refused permission to call on her when he visited London in **May**. True to his threat, Cardigan retired in great annoyance, and Shrewsbury was sent off to France in June without having seen his mother.(e)

(b) Buccleuch MSS. I. Letters 15 and 22.

(c) Ibid. Letter 5. I am, however, a little doubtful as to the date of this letter. The letters have not been in every case bound in their correct order.

(d) Ibid. Letter 11 (undated but makes an appointment for Friday 22 May)

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Aug.25 N.S. 1674 and Nov.24. Buccleuch MSS. I Letters 22 and 26.

One James Morgan had been chosen to accompany him abroad as his 'governor.'(f) The boy's shrewdness (or perhaps Arden's) was evident even at that early age; for he had enquired most particularly concerning Morgan's abilities, since, if the governor were not a talented man, he saw that there would be further expenses involved in engaging masters to teach him French and 'all things els-----fit for him to learn.' Morgan's qualifications proving satisfactory, he and Arden accompanied their young charge across the Channel, both of them very sick during the crossing, and much surprised that the Earl was not the same. Morgan, writing to the boy's guardians in obedience to their commands, and in the necessity he was under of finding further supplies of money, suggested that this immunity from sea-sickness argued that Shrewsbury was rather "designed to become an admiral at sea, than to be esteemed a passenger, the first time he ever was on ship-board."(g) Many years later, the Earl was even to offer his services as an admiral;(h) but there is reason to believe that he did not go through life without the melancholy experience of mal de mer! (a)

(f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot (undated) Buccleuch MSS.I Letter 3

(g) Morgan to the Guardians. June 20 N.S. Bucc.II 17.
Morgan to Sir J. Talbot June 23 N.S. Buccleugh MSS.I Letter 18

(h) Infra Chapter IV.

(a) Journal. Bucc.II 765.

Boy though he was, Shrewsbury had decided views in the small matters that affected him personally. He was to study at Navarre College in Paris, but he refused to "shut himself up in the walls of it," and chose instead to lodge in a neighbouring house, his window overlooking the great court of the College - an arrangement that cost more than his guardians intended to expend, and this in spite of the fact that the food was poor. His uncle, Beuno Talbot, had met him on the journey, and accompanied him to Paris to see him safely settled there. Sir John Talbot's son was also in Paris, 'exercising' at the Academy, and probably not sorry to see how his young cousin admired his riding, dancing, and perfection in speaking French.(b) As soon as he was settled, Shrewsbury wrote to Sir John to describe everything to him.

"I am now in pention iust by Navarre College, which I thought more convenient then being in it: the furniture I have been forced to bye (which I should have done if I had gone into the Colledg) will amount to a great deal more then I find, by the letter to Mr. Morgan, is reckned upon, though there is nothing laied out, which could have been conveniently spared. I must also acquaint you that I find the dyat soe bad, that I believe I shall hardly be long able to endure it; soe that there must be some expedient found out; if you write to

(b) Morgan to Sir J. Talbot June 23 N.S. supra.

Mr. Morgan, he will be best able to give you an account of what it is, and the remedy how to mend it. I have seen my Cosen Sharington doe all his exercises, which I doe assure you noe body dose better; and if you where here to see him, it would very much pleas you, as it has done me: -----I am confident none of you will think it much to allow me what is necessary, as long as there is nothing spent, which can conveniently be avoided"----- (c)

Expenses were a real anxiety, as a letter from Sir John Talbot made clear. The expedient of selling part of the Shrewsbury estates had again come up, and the boy wrote back begging that his guardians would reconsider the matter, and "lay by the thoughts of selling one acre of inheritance." He proposed, he declared, to live as sparingly as he could without denying himself what was necessary, and when a further letter showed him how bad things really were, boyishly he agreed to deny himself even necessities in order to avoid selling 'one foote' of his lands. Once more he reverted to his old complaint that accounts were not properly kept, and he had the gravest suspicions regarding his uncle Tuchett's management of his affairs. Three thousand pounds only of the debt had

(c) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. July 7 N.S. Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 19.

been paid, although on his own calculations, much more money ought to have come in. No proper account of the goods sold at Grafton had ever been delivered, and a 'sett of Hangings' from Mary's room there had been sold to his uncle and was in use at Southcot, yet his uncle denied having purchased them and would give no money for them. "If my Unkle is soe forgetful in these things y^t he hath dayly in his sight," Shrewsbury wrote bitterly, "he may well forgett the money he received, keeping noe account!"(d)

In August a fresh problem arose, on which the boy sought advice from his friend Sir John. His grandfather, the Earl of Cardigan, had been, or affected to be, deeply offended at Shrewsbury's neglect of his mother. There had been an understanding that if Anna Maria were allowed to see her son before his departure to Paris, she would thereafter follow him to France, and lead a retired life there. Cardigan took the method of addressing a letter to his grandson, to be delivered by a Benedictine monk, in which he described himself as persuaded to a reconciliation with the boy, only by the good offices of his mother and grandmother.

(d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot July 28 N.S; Aug.4 N.S.
Buccleuch MSS. I Letters 20 and 21.

"I looke upon it as an ill omen," he wrote to Sir John on the proposal to sell land, "haveing for this six years lived in hopes yt my debts would have been payed before I came of age" -

He urged Shrewsbury, therefore, to write and thank them. "As you shall steer yourself to them, so shall you find me to you," he assured him, and further informed him that he and the Countess of Shrewsbury were coming at once to Paris, where the Countess intended to take lodgings in a convent.(e) Questions of the desirability of a visit from his mother were, however, soon forgotten; for no sooner had his mother and grandfather arrived in France than they heard that he had fallen ill with small-pox, and they at once made haste to be with him.(f) The attack, though not severe, gave some anxiety to Morgan and Arden. Morgan had lost his heart to the Earl, even before the journey to Paris was completed. "I find wt is within him is as charming as wt is without," he had explained to Sir John Talbot; and now they could not do enough for him. Arden had not himself had small-pox, yet he attended the boy both day and night.(g) A nurse-keeper¹ was found for him, and a doctor, whose virtues

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J.Talbot. Aug.25 N.S. Buccleuch MSS.I. Letter 22.

Cf. Letter from his mother. supra.

(f) Cardigan to Sir J. Talbot in Arden's hand. Nov.7 N.S. Fitzalan Papers (Calendared H.MSS.Com.)

The biography "Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury," by T.C.Nicholson and A.S.Turberville, suggests that it was because of Shrewsbury's illness that Cardigan and Lady Shrewsbury went over to France. But this was not so. In any case, they heard of his illness only on their arrival in France, as the letter shows.

"At my comming into France I was very much trubled, at ye newes of my Lord Shrewsbury's being ill, wch^h caused us to make all ye hast wee possiblie could to him."

(g) Morgan to Sir J.Talbot. June 23 N.S. Oct.17.NS. Buccleuch MSS.I. Letters 18 and 23.

did not stop with medical skill, but extended to a knowledge of the Shrewsbury family, and whose pleasure in seeing "soe worthy a descendant of soe great and warlike Progenitors" impressed Morgan exceedingly.(h)

By the time the boy's mother and grandfather had arrived in Paris, the worst of the illness was over, and it was certain that he would not be disfigured.(a) While he was still convalescent, he interested himself in a matter that he was most anxious to see settled, the arrangements for his sister's marriage. One of his greatest concerns at the refusal of his grandfather to be friendly with him so long as he did not visit his mother had been that he wished the Earl of Cardigan's advice as to the disposal of Mary.(b) A suitable match had at last been found in the son of Mr. Stonor of Watlington Park in Oxfordshire, of an ancient Catholic family, but details remained to be arranged, and Shrewsbury was concerned that the settlements should be made so as to give his sister ample "pinne money." Sir John Talbot was deputed to have everything settled to the

(h) Morgan to Sir J. Talbot. Oct.20 N.S. Ibid Letter 24.

(a) Cardigan to Sir J. Talbot supra.

(b) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. May 3 (1674)
Buccleuch MSS. Letter 15.

satisfaction of both parties.(c) Sir John's hands were full, for he was also supervising Shrewsbury's affairs on his estates at Grafton and Pepperhill.(d) The marriage negotiations, however, were not concluded in any hurry, and in spite of the Earl's desire to see his sister happily settled as soon as possible, the ceremony was delayed until the summer of the following year.(e)

Meanwhile, the Countess of Shrewsbury was doing her best to make a favourable impression on the young son by whose approval alone she could hope for any reinstatement into the favour of society. She succeeded remarkably well. A present of a diamond ring and a pair of silver candlesticks helped to please him; but, to the lonely boy, her unhappy circumstances were enough to draw his pity, and the fact that she was his mother, and apparently eager for his affection, stirred a nature that all through life was deeply affectionate.(f)

- (c) Cardigan and Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot - joint letter of Nov.7. N.S.
Cardigan and Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Jan.16 N.S.
"We both wish y^u a good journey to Wattleton parke, and shall threw an old shew after y^u, wishing y^u may finish yt affaure, to my Lady Marys happynes, and our satisfaction"
Bucclouch MSS.I. Letter 12.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Nov.29. N.S.
Bucclouch MSS. I Letter 27.
- (e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. July 27 N.S.1675 Ibid.
Letter 36.
- (f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Nov.24 N.S.1674. Ibid.
Letter 26.

Almost his first outing, when he had recovered from his illness, was to see his mother in her "monastery." She told him she liked the people there very well, and he began to have hopes that she would be content to spend the next few years of her life retired from the world, so that he might enjoy her company.(g) Within a few weeks of her coming to France, he was beginning to feel even his grandfather's presence a hindrance to that enjoyment. "I wish wth all my soull," he confided to Sir John Talbot, "y^t my Grand-Father was with you in England, y^t I might have my Mo: to my self, for good man he is soe passionately fond of her, y^t I must as well work wth my friends, to perswade him to let her stay, as to perswade her to stay. You may well imagine the difficulty I have, being obliged to force honour, and reason, to overcome nature betwixt my Mo: and me but by the grace of God, I will banish nature till I can in full comply wth it. She doth now show a very repentant heart, and she must continue soe till all the world sees it. There is none of my freinds shall complaine y^t my unkindness to her should make her returne back into England, for whilst she stayes here I will be as kind to her as any child

(g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Nov.10 N.S. Ibid Letter 25.

can be to a mother. Still reserving the main chance till I see it is over y^t must be done by degrees. I doe asshure she has gone through a part of a Purgatory since she came hither"-----(h)

In a short time the boy had become so intimate with his mother, and visited her so frequently, that his friends in England were beginning to complain.(a) Some surprise was felt among those who had known her previously at the Countess's reformed life.(b) But her son was determined that so long as her way of living warranted his visiting her, he would continue his "expressions of duty." The truth was that he had grown to love her, and owned that he could not think of parting with her "without a great deal of grief and concern."(c)

His money difficulties still continued. In his endeavour to live sparingly, he made up his mind to move into cheaper lodgings.(d) In the spring of 1675 his godmother died, and left him a small legacy, but this he

- (h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Nov. 24 N.S. supra.
 (a) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. March 27. N.S. 1675:
 April 10 N.S. September 25 N.S.
 Buccleuch MSS. I Letters 28, 30, 39.
 (b) Letter from Sir W. Throckmorton Dec. 1 N.S. 1674.
 "I have been to visit my Lady Shrewsbury to whom Mr. Serjant is now Confessor. All I can say of that business is that she makes strong resolutions and he has great faith."
 Fitzherbert MSS. 51.
 (c) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. March 27 N.S. supra.
 (d) Ibid.

was reserving to buy plate.(e) His father's family had devised a fresh way of saving money, which apparently involved diverting all or part of the Countess's jointure for the boy's needs, but he begged them not to mention such a thing, since he was sure it would drive his mother back to her old way of living.(f) His fear was that he might not be able to attach her to him so that she might take her place in his household when his studies should be over. On one occasion, when he was with her, he read over a letter he had just received from Sir John Talbot, and omitted a part referring to her, but, seeing that she was troubled at the omission, he afterwards showed her the letter.

"She fell a crying," he wrote to Sir John, "and tould me y^t she must confesse y^t she had done very ill formerly but for the future all that she desired of me was y^t I would be kind to her as she should deserve. This saying of hers did please me better then any thing she hath ever given me or could (have) sayd to me. She aloweth me now £100 a yeare for coach hire £50 of it is already payd.--- In the way she now lives we may very well hope that God hath forgiven her and during her living thus any body may visit

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. March 27 N.S.; an undated letter; April 6 N.S. and April 20. N.S.
Buccleuch MSS. I Letters 28; 31; 29; 32.

(f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot April 10 N.S. Ibid Letter 30.

her without the least blemish to their honours." (g)

In May, he accompanied his mother and grandfather to Pontoise. He wrote to Sir John Talbot from there, but was so long in receiving a reply that he began to suspect that his kinsman was displeased.(h) On his return to Paris his mother spent a week at his lodgings, and together they visited Versailles, with Lord Abbot Montague, who used his interest, to Shrewsbury's delight, to get the fountains to play. In accordance with the Countess's new determination to lead a retired life, the visit was made when the Court was absent, and her son assured his relations in England that she would not have gone at all had the King been there. He believed that the end of that summer would settle his mother's future one way or another, either that she would cut herself quite adrift from her old associates, sell the Irish lands, which were the mark of her shame with Buckingham, and retire altogether to a convent until the boy was old enough to return to the management of his estates, or that she would go back to England by herself and be lost to the Talbot family.(a) By the beginning of July,(N.S.) his

(g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Ibid Letter 31.

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot, May 16.N.S.1675 (The date in the original appears like 1674, but the letter is written from Pontoise and must be 1675).

June 22 N.S. Ibid Letters 16 and 33.

(a) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. June 22nd 1675 N.S. Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 33. Part of this letter is printed in Bucc.II 19.

grandfather informed him that he and the Countess would both be in London in the autumn.(b) There had been a suggestion that Shrewsbury himself should pay a visit to London at that time, for, since the beginning of that year, his guardians had been trying to arrange a match for him with the Earl of Northampton's daughter, and he had made it a stipulation of his consent that he should first see the lady. Approval of her person he counted "a condition equal if not more necessary to our future happiness than either Fortune or Alliance."(c) The proposal had lagged somewhat, partly owing to the alternative suggestion of a match with the Earl of Peterborough's daughter;(d) but as Lord Northampton appeared to be willing to proceed with a match, Sir John Talbot thought the autumn a suitable time for his young cousin to view the lady. The appearance of his mother at the same time might present complications, which Shrewsbury himself was shrewd enough to realise. The startling news

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- (b) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot (undated) Buccleuch MSS.I. Letter 41; and July 27 N.S. Ibid Letter 36.
- (c) Shrewsbury and Cardigan to Sir J. Talbot (in Arden's hand) Jan.16, 1674-5. N.S. Ibid. Letter 12.
Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot March 27, May 16, July 3 N.S. Ibid Letters 16, 28, 34.
- (d) One of the Talbot uncles appears to have been managing the match. The Earl of Peterborough had two daughters, Elizabeth, who died unmarried in the summer of 1676, and Mary, who married the Duke of Norfolk in 1677 and was divorced in 1700. The Correspondence does not show which daughter was regarded as a prospective bride. Charles Mordaunt, their cousin, afterwards suggested that Shrewsbury had been the Duchess of Norfolk's lover.

of his mother's proposed return to London, therefore, led him to write a most amusing letter to Sir John, in the first part of which he spoke of his journey as almost a settled thing, while at the end he advanced many reasons why it should not be made. Without an explanation, Sir John might well have been puzzled, but the explanation was simple. His grandfather had come in while he was writing. "The latter part of my other letter," he wrote in a separate communication to his kinsman, "I have worded as y^u see, to shew my unwillingnesse of coming over at this time if possibly I can avoid it; and if I had not writ soe they would most certainly have sayed, y^t you had perswaded me to the contrary, if I had not seemed unwilling before it had come to yur knowledge, and might have caused her to have laine as hard on y^u (if in her power) as she hath formerly done"----(e) The boy had sufficient knowledge of his Talbot relations to know that they would forbid his returning to London and living there in the same state of friendliness with his mother as he had done in France. The fact that he accompanied her on her return journey as far as Rouen, was sufficient to annoy Sir John extremely,

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot July 3 N.S. supra.
Cf. undated letter No.41.

and draw from him a demand as to why it had been done without his knowledge. Shrewsbury protested that the expedition had been decided upon at the last moment, and declared that he could not at first remember that he had omitted to write to England about it. He assured his cousin that it was "purely forgetfulness and nothing else." "Nor can you imagine," he continued, "any designe I could have in concealing it from you, it being done in the face of soe many English. The strangers, y^t tould you this news, are like some whom I have had formerly to deale with, who take pleasure in setting(?) friends, and Relations together by the ears: you alsoe say they replied I might see by yt how much I was made a stranger to the interest the Lady had got in your kindnesse, and they coulde telle me of presents and other things(f) in answer to this I desire you to have recourse to my former letters, and there take notice how freely I have opened my hart to you, which I have not done the like to any Relation I have; and in such a measure that I could almost take it unkindly that you should, even soe much as harbour a thought, that might question my syncerity: I am sure, as to matters of any considerable moment, I have at all times given you an

(f) The underlined portion is a quotation from Sir John's letter.

account of; for the presents you speake of, the greater I have acquainted you with, the smaller are not worth your trouble, nor mine. You must imagine it is my Mothers interest to make the world believe, how kind I am to her: but (I think) I am not soe great a stranger to my selfe, but yt I know my owne resolutions: neither doe I know any harme in expressing my kindnesse to her, by a free correspondence; and shall make noe scruple of it soe long as she continues her present course of life. I doe not question but you will alsoe heare of my Picture y^t she had drawne here and has now with her which being as publicque as my going to Roan, I thought it as little worth my paines of acquainting withall." He concluded with the complaint that Sir John was "to scrupelously iealous."(g)

His own journey to England was not made just then, although the idea of a suitable match for him was the main subject of his thoughts and correspondence during the next few months. The prosposals regarding Peterborough's daughter had not matured, and Shrewsbury begged that nothing should be done "to revive such a treaty."(h) A new suggestion arose

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- (g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Oct.26. 1675 N.S.
Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 40.
A small portion of this letter is printed Bucc.II 19.
- (h) "As to the new treaty you speak of, with my Lord Peterborough; I am wholly a stranger to it; if there is any such thing, they act without my knowledge; I hope there is none of my freinds, will be soe indiscreet, as to revive such a treaty, or offer to propose it to me."

for a match with Lady Elizabeth Seymour, whom the Earl hoped to see at the same time as he saw Northampton's daughter, the Lady Alatheia.(a) There was one serious drawback to the alliance with Northampton. It was the difference in religion, a difference which Lady Pembroke, the lady's grandmother,(b) thought so grave that the negotiations had to be conducted without her knowledge. Sir John Talbot seems to have suggested that Shrewsbury might be able to alter his faith to suit his friends, but the boy's reply was decisive. "As for --- the Lady of 16800 l a yeare," he wrote, "---if she cannot be got any other way, then by a change in a matter of this importance I desire you will not mention it to me againe

(a) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Dec.11 N.S.
Buccleuch MSS.I. Letter 42.

(b) George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland

(1) Richard Sackville - Anne, Baroness Clifford - (2) Philip Herbert:
3rd Earl of Dorset. 4th Earl of Pembroke.

Margaret = John Earl of Thanet
Isabella = James Earl of Northampton.
Alatheia.

and you once promesed me never to touch upon y^t point w^{ch}
 I suppose you have forgott for as nothing could be more
 welcome to me then a fortune of 16000 l a yeare so I would
 not for 16 times 16000 have her upon these termes. This
 is the plaine sense of my hart, which as it is alwaies
 yours so it shall ever be freely opened to you"-----(c)

Meanwhile, his mother was continuing in England the
 quiet, retired life that she had been leading in France.
 Sir John Talbot even was able to tell Shrewsbury how
 prudently she was behaving.(d) There was a special reason
 for the discreet conduct; for the Countess was hoping that,
 with her son's help, she might be permitted to appear at
 Court once more, and so wipe out the "particular blot" that
 had been put upon her. During the month of January Abbot
 Montague approached Shrewsbury with the request that he
 should write to Lord Arlington asking him to procure for
 his mother the privilege of kissing the Queen's hands.
 The boy was inclined to resent this interference on the
 part of the Abbot; but it was followed by a letter from
 his grandfather containing a similar request, and one from
 his mother to Morgan. Abbot Montague then brought him a

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- (c) Shrewsbury and Cardigan to Sir J. Talbot. Jan.16.1674-5.N.S.
 Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. April 10.N.S. Buccleuch MSS.I.
 Letter 30.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Jan.22 N.S. 1676.
 Ibid.Letter 43.

letter from his mother in which she begged that her son should write to his uncles, Gilbert and Thomas, to ask them to join with Arlington in the request, since the Queen was pledged to the Talbot family not to admit her to Court without their consent. Shrewsbury turned to his usual friend and adviser, Sir John Talbot, gave him an account of the whole matter, and enclosed two letters for his uncles.(e) The letter to Lord Arlington he delayed until he should have a reply from his own relations. Quite obviously, he did not wish to bring any person outside the family into the matter. Sir John Talbot was not altogether pleased, but probably considered the result inevitable. He kept back the letters that Shrewsbury had written to his uncles; they were, in fact, unnecessary, since it was he himself with his own uncle, Sir Gilbert,(e¹) who had secured Arlington's influence with the Queen to forbid Lady Shrewsbury to appear at Court; and, after consultation with Lord Bellasis, resigned himself to the idea of a restitution of Lady Shrewsbury's position in society. He was anxious, however, that it should be done only a short time before Shrewsbury arrived in England, since, as

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Jan.22 and Feb.26 N.S.1676. Bucc. II 19-21 and Buccleuch MSS.I. Letter 43.
 Shrewsbury to "My Uncle Talbotts" Jan.22. Letter 45.
 Shrewsbury to Cardigan. Jan.22 Letter 45.

(e¹) Sir Gilbert Talbot, younger brother of Sherington Talbot, and Master of the Jewel House. A volume of his papers is with the Buccleuch MSS.

he told his cousin, "If it be done some very little time before you come over, it may prevent her going to Court, when you goe, which to me waies much." Shrewsbury, boy as he was, had a shrewder notion of his mother's real desire. "Doe you believe," he retorted, "she will never goe but one time? & if she goes oftener, doe you think she will not goe along with me, when ever I goe?" The opportunity might at least be taken, he believed, to get the Countess to give up her Irish lands, and to drop her acquaintance with Mrs. Knight, (f) of which her son seriously disapproved. (g) Sir John having given it as his considered decision that the request for Lady Shrewsbury's forgiveness should be made, Shrewsbury begged him not to "stand upon the ceremony but doe it out of hand." (h) He wrote also a formal letter, from a draft sent by his kinsman, thanking Sir John and Sir Gilbert for their kindness in obtaining from the Queen the ban against his mother's appearance at Court, and begging that as her enforced retirement had

(f) Presumably Mrs. Knight, the singer, one of the King's mistresses.

(g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb.1 N.S. 1676. Buccleuch MSS.I Letter 46.

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Feb.5 (N.S?) Ibid. Letter 10. This letter is bound with those of 1674, but the contents I believe refer to 1676. The postmark, however, appears to be Feb.11. which, of course, raises a doubt.

~~had~~ brought her to "a happy temperament" they would not obstruct her in her suit to the Queen for pardon.(a)

Nevertheless, Lady Shrewsbury's reappearance at Court did not take place until the following December, and came even then somewhat as a surprise to her son. Sir John Talbot had apparently managed the business, but he did not keep Shrewsbury informed of the various stages in the Countess's pardon, until her reappearance at Court was an accomplished fact.(b) Possibly the Queen was slow to forgive insults given her in the past, for when the ban was lifted it was done, according to the gossip of the day, by express command of the King, "who did beg it -----to gratify as he said the long reiterated request of her son and father."(c)

Long before that Shrewsbury had been back in England in order to see the Lady Alatheia, although the journey that he had deemed so necessary some months earlier, he now undertook with the greatest reluctance. Possibly his mother's presence in London, and his disinclination for the gossip that would necessarily follow his own arrival there, had brought about an alteration in his wishes. Certainly,

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- (a) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Feb.8. N.S. Ibid. Letter 48. Cf. Undated Letter No.51. and Letter 47, dated Feb.5th (N.S.)
- (b) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Jan.9 N.S. 1677. Bucc.II 23. Part of letter pasted on back of Letter 69. Buccleuch MSS.I.
- (c) Rutland MSS. Dec.19 and 25. 12th Report Ap.5. p.33.

when Sir John Talbot in February of 1676 renewed the project of his return, he was most unenthusiastic.(d) Already he had been displeased that news of his possible visit had leaked out in public, and was afraid that his real object might also be known.(e) He advanced as many reasons as possible against leaving France at that time, pointing out how serious an interruption in his studies would be, and to how great an expense the journey would put him. Yet he remained determined not to bind himself in any way without a sight of the lady. "In a thing of this neere concerne which may make my life happy or unfortunate to me, as long as I live," he declared, "I will chiefly depend upon my owne eyes." If his journey that year were considered necessary, he suggested May as the most suitable month, since his studies at Navarre College would by that time be drawing to a close, and in the autumn he intended beginning his "exercises" at the Academy.(f) Sir John, however, insisted that the time had come for a personal step in the direction of the match, and urged him to hasten to England by the middle of March, accompanying the messenger who brought Sir John's letter. Shrewsbury

(d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb.26 N.S. Buccleuch MSS.I. Letter 52.

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J.Talbot. Dec.11 N.S.1675. Ibid. Letter 42. He believed that both items of news might have "runne thorough the same sive" - in other words, that his Uncle Tuchett was the culprit.

(f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb.26 N.S. supra.

was most indignant.

"I have received yours on the 24th of February," he replied, "and in it your resolution for my coming over, though in a much different style from what I expected by your former; for in that you asked me whether, when, and for how long I desired it? whereas now you fix a necessity upon the thing; limit a time that circumstances make impossible to comply with, nay, your own orders contradict; and lastly tell me of a month's stay, as if you designed me nothing but the drudgery of a troublesome journey to and fro.

"As to the first, though it is necessary I should have a view of the young lady, yet I cannot see the necessity of this particular time, or at least how you should not necessarily have foreseen it, and so be able to have given me timely notice, that I might not have been forced upon the disorder I am now in to prepare myself, upon such a troublesome journey as I must expect from a Lenten accommodation, and such a distraction as I must necessarily receive in the Holy Week, a time far differently employed by other countries, and other beliefs, than that you live in.(g)

(g) This implied reproach must have stung Sir John.

It is an easy thing to give orders; those that comply only find the inconveniences that attend them. If you had reflected on that maxim, may be you would have concluded after Easter had been as proper a time to travel as Lent; a competency to have prepared in, much easier than precipitation; a yacht more commodious than a nasty packet boat. But by a good fire-side in a handsome room, and good company, none of these unpleasant circumstances have admittance; and so it was resolved I was to come over in ten or twelve days' time, though the impossibility of my compliance is sufficiently grounded upon the contradiction of your own orders; for you would have me bring over two suits of clothes, two suits of linen, periwigs, belts, hats, gloves, shoes, boots, etc. (for all must be new, nay, even my lacquays' liveries too, having delayed from time to time the clothing them and myself in expectation of this journey); and to prepare all this tackling you allow me bare two or three days' time, whereas under ten or twelve Chedreux will not undertake to make a periwig, and it is a great favour if he keeps his word.

"When I reflect on the troubles and inconveniences of my journey out of England, and those that I am like to meet with in my return back again, I conclude I was not born

under the favourable influence of that wandering planet
which bewitches so many travellers with the unquiet passion
of visiting worse countries than their own; though (may be)
hereafter, when the reins are in my own hand, I may chance
to change my opinion, for it will be then in my own power to
avoid those rubs which hitherto I have uneasily jolted over.
 But in the mean time I hope this will be the last which will
 be thought fit for me to undergo. What relates to my stay
 in England I shall better discuss when I am with you than at
 this distance; only, in a few words, a month's time is very
 short to enjoy my mother my sister, and wait upon the rest
 of my friends, especially since this journey will not prove
 so much an interruption of my studies as a conclusion of
 them; and the weather and season, at my return, like to
 be too hot to begin any exercises in the Academy.

"But, in conclusion, as for my coming over, you see a
 moral impossibility at the time you have prefixed, and
 therefore you must not expect me by the 15th or 16th of
 March. All I can promise you is, that I will make the
 greatest haste I can."-----(h)

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot, March 14 N.S. Bucc.II 21.
 The underlining is omitted in the printed letter.

This letter, so unlike the lad's usual courteous and affectionate style, naturally offended his kinsman, who requested him to bring over with him the letter at which Shrewsbury had shown such annoyance, that he might justify his conduct. Sir John's kind concern did more than railing could have done. Probably Shrewsbury was the first to recognise that his indignant outpourings had been both rude and ungrateful. He certainly took an ingenious way of apologising; for he protested that the whole thing was written in "mirth," and only intended to show that he could not possibly be in England until a later date than that requested. He begged Sir John to burn his former letter, "& soe remove out of the world what ever may be the least subject to breed any coldnesse & difference betwixt us," and he promised to leave Paris without fail on the 30th of March N.S.(a)

One of the royal yachts was sent for him, and on the 24th of March O.S. he arrived in England.(b) His sister Mary had been married in July of the previous year,(c) and after his business in London was done, he was looking

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- (a) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. March 28 N.S. Ibid. Letter 54
 (b) James Walsh to Williamson March 24.
 Cal. S.P.Dom.
 (c) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot July 27.N.S. 1675.
 Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 36.
 She was married on the 8th.

forward to going to stay with her in Oxfordshire. Part of May, therefore, he spent at Watlington Park.(d) Rather to his surprise, the Earl of Northampton did not receive him with the encouragement that he had been led to expect, and the young man was nettled at the coldness shown him.(e) He was allowed to meet the Lady Alatheia, but was given the impression that she was not satisfied with the match proposed.(f) This, his first serious rebuff in life, he did not easily forget. His return to France was delayed by the illness of his governor, so that he waited on in England until September.(g) He took back with him his brother Jake, who was going to begin his studies at Navarre College.(h) History remains almost silent as to the birth and short life of this younger son of Francis Talbot. Shrewsbury mentions him so seldom that he can hardly have been brought up along with him, and must have been considerably younger than himself.(a) Morgan, who was

(d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. May 19 (O.S.) Ibid. Letter 55
 (e) Ibid. Letter 67.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot July 10.1677? Ibid. Letter 56. Cf. Letter to Lord Montagu April 27. 1679. Bucc. I 330
 (g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Oct.14 N.S. Ibid. Letter 57. and Oct.28 N.S. Bucc.II 23.
 (h) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1676. p.308.
 (a) In the letters to Sir John Talbot, Cardigan mentions him once, and Shrewsbury once. If Jake was under twenty-one when he was killed in 1686 (infra), he must have been about five years younger than his brother.

not sufficiently recovered to be able to travel with them, followed later.(b) Shrewsbury was to begin his "exercise" at the Academy in the autumn; but for this he needed a coach, and he was doubtful whether to hire a coach by the month, or obtain one of his own. To hire would be "both cheaper and more serviceable," but he doubted whether a hired coach would be consistent with his position, and, rather than do 'a thing below himself,' in the end he procured a coach of his own.(c) In the first place, however, money for the new necessities was essential, and Sir John Talbot's reply to his request for more was hardly encouraging. "I suppose you know," Shrewsbury retorted impatiently, "Coach and horses are not bought without cash, soe that I hope to have a sudden supply."(d) Within a few months' time, the money difficulty had become so vexatious that he was enquiring once more into his accounts, and questioning the justice of some items in them.

"I should be unwilling," he wrote, "to doe anything that should in the least question my honour, as any body,

(b) Bucc.II 23.

(c) Ibid and at p.25. and Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 62.

(d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Dec.2 N.S. Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 60.

wherefore as to the businesse wee are now upon, it is my judgement soe long as I pay every man soe farr, as Law, and Conscience oblidges me, that is honorable, and just but to be exacted upon farther is noe way honorable, except you count it honorable to be imposed upon, and to pay that which will be drowned in Account and then noebody will give you thanks for it. The first part of the Coachmakers Bill which is ^l 14 ^s 16 ^d 11 I desire may be payed, for the latter part of that Bill, you may see there was nothing but what might have beene done at Reading and what should my Coach doe at London, when you know I was not there nor had noe occasion to send it up. I am very sorry to understand that my Unckle Tuchett is selling Land, and that he should say, 'tis principally occasioned by his sufferance upon my sisters account and mine, this dose very much trouble me and the more, because I never as yet could see the least apperence of it, in any of his accounts, therefore in my Judgement I ought to desire my Unckle Tuchett, either to dis-abuse himselfe, or mee, otherwise I am affraid he will talk himselfe into a beliefe of it, and doe me a prejudice without reason. --- Tho you sent me a while a goe a bill for ¹ 200, I suppose you remember it was to pay for my coach, and horses and therefore will not think it much, if I now make it againe my request for a speedy suply of ¹ 200 more: I hope

you will not look upon my expences, as any ways extraordinary I am as frugall in all things, as I handsomely can bee, and if any of you shall think my present revenew, will not allow what I am necessarily forced to spend, I think noe body can think it much if I scruple at paying what I am not indebted for, or making liberalities to those whose kindnesse to me, or my unckle, little deserves; and shall be less thanked for it;" ----(e)

It is little to be wondered at that the search for rich heiresses continued. Gossip had suggested, when he was in England, that he was thinking of a match with Mistress Downes, a lady of considerable fortune.(f) But in May, just a year after he had seen the Lady Alatheia, the Northampton match was again proposed. It was brought to Cardigan's ears that the lady had said she did not refuse Shrewsbury of her own accord, but only on persuasion.(g) Nobody was more surprised than Shrewsbury himself. He strongly suspected that there must be some pitfall. He suggested that perhaps the lady's fortune was not so great

(e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb.13. 1677. Ibid Letter 62

(f) J. Verney to Sir R. Verney Nov.17. 1676. App. to 7th Report.

C. Hatton to his brother Charles Hatton. June 29. 1676 - Hatton Correspondence I 133-4.

(g) Shrewsbury to Cardigan. May 12 N.S. enclosed in letter to Sir John of the same date. Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 64.

as was believed, and that her father, having failed to obtain a better match, was trying that method of interesting the Talbots again. With the recollection of how coldly Northampton received "the forward indifferent traveller" of a year before, he was determined to be extremely cautious how he moved in the matter, and urged his relations to the utmost care and secrecy in any enquiries they might make.(h) The difference in religion also weighed with him. "Few people marry to a contrary opinion and engage themselves so young," he maintained, "without it be either for Love, or else to better their condition by a very considerable fortune."(a) The discussions on the subject, therefore, went on slowly, and by the autumn Shrewsbury had convinced himself that the fortune was not after all so considerable or so desirable, and waxed sarcastic at his own kinsfolk's gullibility. A broad hint that he would do well to put himself in readiness for a journey to England amused almost as much as it annoyed him. "Things standing in this posture," he protested, "and you sufficiently assured

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot July 10; Oct.20. Ibid. Letters 56 and 67.

(a) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Juin 5th N.S. Ibid Letter 65.

I was not in Love but only expected a fortune, could my comeing over againe (have) beene rationally expected till all things were settled and agreed upon?" — "Was not one folly sufficient, for certainly tho now the young Ladys case may be deplorable, I am sure myne would have then been ridiculous --- I hope they doe not think me soe young, or soe weake, as to marry me before I know what I am going about," he added.(b) Possibly by this time, the young man's inclinations were attracted elsewhere. A match had been suggested also with Mistress Preston;(c) but it was in some third lady whom he did not mention by name that the Earl appeared most interested. "The person you know of," he called her to Sir John Talbot.(d) Lord Bellasis' daughter was a match suggested to him during that year, and at the beginning of 1678 a rumour went round that a marriage was being arranged between the Earl and the daughter of Will Chiffinch, who was keeper of the King's private closet, and extremely wealthy, though of humble origin.(e) Shrewsbury was indignant when the gossip came to his ears.(f) Chiffinch was much in Charles's favour,

- (b) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Oct.20 supra.
 (c) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Oct.20. 1677; Jan.15,1678. Ibid. Letters 67 and 69.
 (d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Nov.13. Ibid. Letter 68.
 (e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Feb.5. Ibid Letter 71.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Jan.15; Jan.26.
 Shrewsbury to Cardigan. enclosed in letter to Sir John of Feb.5.Ibid. Letters 69, 70, 71.

and the bait of preferment at Court for the Earl should he accept the proposed match was held out. But this increased rather than abated his resentment. When he understood that his grandfather was actually advocating the match, he considered it time to deny the rumour, though in such civil terms as should not give Chiffinch the excuse, as he had the power, to do him any harm at Court. Sir John Talbot was at first tempted to disown the affair with boldness and less discretion, but had the sense to see that Shrewsbury's way was best. "The gentler the refusall is the better," was the Earl's view, "provided it doe the busynesse." Discretion was the more necessary, since Sir John believed that the family was promised preferment, if the proposal should meet with success. Perhaps," wrote Shrewsbury, "you may deserve the titles, and preferments you speake of, when you shall produce her pedigree, which perhaps few Heralds could doe."(g) In these early years, pride of his position played a large part in the Earl's conduct. The story had already been told of him how as a boy not sixteen, he had angered Berkeley, during a visit to the Ambassador, by seating himself and keeping his hat on, because Berkeley would not do his callers the honour of offering them a chair.(h) So now, the idea of a marriage beneath his rank,

(g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb.5; Feb.9; Feb.16;
Ibid. Letters 71, 72, 73.

(h) J.Verney to Sir R.Verney. April 12, 1676. 7th Report p.49

though accompanied with ample wealth, greatly offended his pride. The fact that Mervin Tuchett favoured the match was only another reason for disclaiming it, and he laughed at his uncle's efforts to prove the lady's gentle birth. "Mrs. Nun and her family ought not to be ungrateful to my Un: Tu: for makeing them Gentry," he declared. Mrs. Nun was a sister of Chiffinch, and had brought up his daughter.(a) He was perhaps the more hurt that his mother also was said to have an interest in the matter; but he hastened to assure Sir John Talbot that she had not communicated with him on the subject. His mother had repaid her son's kindness with scant courtesy. All his dreams of binding her to him through the depth of their mutual affection, and of having her to live with him on his return to England, had been abruptly shattered. She had been able to endure the retired life in France for less than a year, and had chosen to go back with her father to England rather than share the company of her young son, to whom she had promised to act "rather as a wife than a mother."(b) Having obtained her object - her reinstatement at Court in the winter of 1676 - she wrote to him but seldom. In the summer of 1677, she made

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- (a) Quotation from his grandfather's letter in a letter from Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb.5.
Cf. Pepys. May 26th and 29th 1669.
- (b) Lady Shrewsbury to her son. 1674. supra.

public that she had married again, but kept her son in ignorance for six weeks later.(c) The Cardigans were extremely indignant at the match, which provided her with a Protestant husband, and she was forced to leave Cardigan House.(d) The new husband was George Rodney Bridges, and he was suitably rewarded by the Countess with the purchase of a place as gentleman of the bedchamber at the price of £4,500.(e) Two years earlier, a rumour had gone round the Town that Sir John Talbot was trying to persuade someone to marry her, no doubt with a view to removing her from the Talbot family and from her son.(f) Whether the Bridges match was of his arranging or not, he probably was not ill-satisfied with it. Shrewsbury heard the news first from his own kinsfolk, and, anticipating that Bridges might himself write to acquaint him of the marriage, wished to know what answer he should make. His boyish affection for his mother had been stunted in its growth, and he looked, or affected to look, only on worldly considerations, wished to know whether the book

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- (c) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Feb. 16. part printed Bucc. II 24.
 (d) H. Savile to Sir G. Savile. June 24. 1677.
 Savile Correspondence Letter 51.
 (e) G. Lady Chatworth to Lord Roos, Rutland MSS. II 52.
 Bridges, however, lost this place in February of 1684,
 "for speaking words tending that Colonel Sidney had not a
 fair trial." - Portland III 377.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Sept. 25 N.S. 1675. Buccleuch
 MSS. I. Letter 39.

debts his mother had promised to pay were yet satisfied, and professed to have no further "occasion of dispute." (g) But his letters began to acquire a more acid flavour. There was less talk of the affections of life, and more of the material reckonings; and he grew more frequently sarcastic at the expense of his cousin and his grandfather. (h)

(g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot July 21 N.S. (The letter is otherwise undated, and has been bound with the letters of 1675) Ibid Letter 35.

(h) Later rumour spoke of Charles II's frequent visits to the Bridges' residence at Avington, and hinted that the King enjoyed the favour that had once been Buckingham's. The Countess appears in the scurrilous poems of the day as the mistress of both Charles and James, Duke of York. She certainly enjoyed a pension on the Crown lands in Ireland; but this was probably in exchange for the "Irish lands," which the Talbots had wished her to give up. Bridges well knew of its existence, for in 1697, during Shrewsbury's second Secretaryship, he petitioned successfully for the renewal and arrears of this grant. Political Satires of the 17th Century edited by Edmund Gothschmid. Edinburgh 1885 - Satire by Earl of Dorset 1683. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1697 - Petition of George Rodney Bridges, May 26.

Althorp Memoirs p. 33 note.

CHAPTER II

STARTING IN LIFE

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In November of 1687, James, Duke of York's elder daughter, Mary, the heiress presumptive to the throne, had been married, much to her father's regret, to William of Orange; and it became part of Charles II's tortuous policy for a short time to oppose instead of support Louis XIV. The English Commons was clamorous for war; Charles saw that supplies would not be forthcoming without a move in the popular direction; and there was always the expectation of annoying France into promises of further remuneration. As Barillon, the French ambassador, pointed out, also, in a letter to Louis of January 13th N.S., the King "could not without his own ruin allow the rest of Flanders to be taken by the French." (a) By January, both in France and in England, everyone was talking of "a breach between the two Kings," (b) and by March men were raised and troops sent out to the Netherlands "to help the Spaniards," as Mary of Modena put it, "who are very few,

(a) Dalrymple's Appendix.

(b) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. Jan. 26. 1678.
Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 70.

and have lost almost the whole of Flanders."(c)

Shrewsbury, fresh from his military exercises at the Academy, was eager to see what turn events would take, and whether he could have any part in them. He wrote to ask Sir John to talk things over with the other relations, and let him know what was expected of him. He professed indifference himself, so long as he should do what was "most convenient and honorable," but the interest he showed belied the assumed indifference, particularly when he received word that he was to wait on the Duke of York, whose 'commands were positive for his going.'(d) Sir John Talbot's son, Sher~~ington~~ington, had already advanced so far to maturity as to have procured 'an employment.' 'Tell him I am extream glad ----" wrote Shrewsbury, when congratulating the father on his Cousin Shell's good luck. "----and for your selfe I know not well what to wish you any more then that you may have your owne desires, and good success in your employment and allways love S^r John your most affectionate kinsman and humble servant ---"(e)

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- (c) Duchess of York to her brother March 10. in Haile's "Mary of Modena." 69.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot March 9 N.S. and March 30 N.S. Bucc. II 25, 26.
Sir John Talbot had approached the Duke of York for advice in refusing the Chiffinch match (Letter of Feb. 9 N.S.) so apparently the Duke had begun to evince an interest in the Earl.
- (e) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot March 16 N.S. Buccleuch MSS. I Letter 76.

On the threshold to manhood, himself, he too was eager to be up and doing. He was a little afraid that his grandfather might not approve of his wish to go on campaign; but was determined that, although he must, for civility's sake, inform him of his intention, he would do it in such a way as admitted of no refusal.(f) He and his grandfather had been drifting away from the old days when Cardigan had been the one kindly, interested relation that the boy knew. One or two differences of opinion had arisen between them, particularly on the subject of Shrewsbury's marriage. Cardigan, looking around for someone to blame, had turned on Sir John Talbot, who, he evidently believed, had put into Shrewsbury's mind the objections against the match with Mistress Chiffinch; and he had at last stated bluntly that he would no longer act along with Sir John Talbot in Shrewsbury's affairs.(g) One or other of them must go. The military situation offered a way out of the impasse; for Sir John, on the plea of other duties, appointed one Mr. Woolf to act for him, and Shrewsbury hoped that his grandfather might be persuaded to act again. The loss of Sir John as one of his trustees he lamented exceedingly.

(f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot March 9 N.S. Bucc.II 25.

(g) Shrewsbury to Cardigan, in letter to Sir John of Feb. 5 N.S. Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. March 9 N.S. and April 2 N.S. . Buccleuch MSS. I Letters 71, 75 and 79.

"The only persen I could willingly part with," he exclaimed, "and whome I conceave to be the unhappy author not only of these, but many of my former troubles, does so cunningly manedge my grandfathers weaknesse, to effect his owne designe; that I want opportunity of speaking those trubles to him, which I dare not urge to his L^{dp}; least his subtle interpretation should cast upon my G:father, what was only intended, and due to himself."(h)

But there was not much chance of losing the services of the 'unhappy author of his troubles.' "My Unckle Tuchett," as he wrote in another letter, "will too farr apprehend being taken at his word ever to desire not to act."(a)

The request to Cardigan did not after all give rise to any difficulty. A discreet letter was duly penned.

"The noise of warr with France," he wrote, "has beene the discourse and now I find is come to preparation and that the greatest part of the young nobility intends to waite upon the Duke into Holland this Campagne. My ambition of rendring my service to his R.H. in the same engagement is not lesse than others of my age and quality I have alreddy his countenance and encouragement and therefore only want your L^{dps} leave and approbation to make

(h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot March 26. N.S. Ibid. Letter 77.

(a) Letter 75. supra.

my resolution inchangeable, when I shall immediately settle my affaires here and dispose my selfe for a journey into England where I remit a farther answer to your L^{dps} former letter hoping to give you a fuller satisfaction by word of mouth then what you can receive at this distance!"(b)

The anticipated outburst from his grandfather, upon the receipt of this letter, never came. Cardigan took the quiet course of approaching the Duke of York for advice, and then gave his consent that Shrewsbury should return to England.(c) Shrewsbury, meanwhile, was eagerly preparing for his campaign. For weeks past, he had been discussing with Sir John the question of equipage, and the advantages and disadvantages of red, blue and pink as colours for livery. Red he discarded as too common in France and too presumptuous in England, since it was the royal colour: pink he thought "neither handsome nor lasting." So blue it was to be, with blue and orange "clothes for the led horses." The colours for the embroidery he left to his kinsman to choose, and anything else which in his inexperience he might have omitted. His coach, which had been purchased for his exercise at the Academy, he debated taking over with him,

(b) Shrewsbury to Cardigan. March 30. N.S.
Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 78.

(c) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot April 6.N.S. Bucc II.27.

for while it had not "the lustre of a new coach," it was yet "neat enough for anybody to ride in;" but in the end, perhaps with some qualms, he sold it.(d) Ready money was, as usual, a burning question. He was hopeful of raising money from the tenants,(e) and dreaded lest his grandfather, acting as his guardian, should obstruct him financially.(f) By the first week of April O.S. he was ready to come over to England, in some haste, since all the English in Paris were removing, and his grandfather had urged him to come speedily, so that he was prepared to forego even the comforts of a yacht, and come away in the "nasty packet boat" that two years earlier had been beneath his dignity.(g)

In actual fact the military preparations came to little. Shrewsbury did that summer have his first taste of campaigning(h); but his patron, the Duke of York, did not get the length of leaving England before the end of hostilities, and lived to regret during the remainder of the reign that his

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot March 2, March 9, March 30, April 6 N.S. Ibid 24-27.
 (e) Probably, in view of the statute 12 Charles II cap.24., not very successfully.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot. April 2 N.S. Buccleuch MSS. I. Letter 79.
 (g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot April 13 N.S. Bucc.II 27.
 (h) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot from Chareville June 17 N.S. Ibid 28.

military ambitions, and the popularity he had envisaged as coming from them, had perforce to remain unsatisfied.(a) An English force under Monmouth assisted the Prince of Orange; another body of troops under Ossory supported the Spaniards; but England's ardour for war soon became lukewarm; the English Parliament which had pressed for hostilities was slow to give supplies; and in September the Peace of Nimeguen put an end to the fighting.(b) Shrewsbury, while he had enjoyed his first experience of "this sort of curiosity," had thus no opportunity to win glory for himself in war, and returned to England to a sterner and harder conflict than he had yet known.

Before the autumn of that year England was in the throes of the Popish Plot panic. For some years previous, there had been growing increased animosity to Catholics, which had expressed itself on one hand in the Test Acts, and on the other in the output of literature of an anti-Romanist bias. The open avowal of Catholicism by the heir to the throne, and his marriage to a Catholic wife, appeared to bring the threat against the Protestant Church all too near. Monmouth's amazing popularity was due in great measure to distaste for a Popish successor to the throne.

(a) "Mary of Modena" 70.

Barillon to Louis XIV April 18. Dalrymple's Appendix. Cf. Barillon to Louis May 28. Ibid.

(b) Coxe's Marlborough I 10-11.

Even before 1678 the Duke of York was unpopular. The Test Act of 1673 had already deprived him of his position as Lord High Admiral and when, at the end of 1678, Catholics were excluded by statute from both Houses of Parliament, an exception was made in his favour by only two votes. The troops he had gathered round him in the spring of 1678, which had been meant to restore Britain's military prestige, served only to raise more bitter dislike and greater fear among those who apprehended his adopted religion. The spreading unrest awaited only a flame to set it alight, and Titus Oates' tales of the plot were material to start a conflagration that was not so easily put out. While the flames raged, the Catholics were in no enviable position. Shrewsbury, returned from the continent, ready to begin his manhood's career, and eagerly awaiting a start in his fortunes, found all roads blocked to him. Full of pride of birth, and an anxious desire to do everything becoming to his noble position, he saw himself one of a suspected and despised sect. As the terror increased, so increased the violence with which his co-religionists were treated; and, instead of the promise that his youth should have held out, he was given the poor comfort of finding protection with his Protestant cousins, William Talbot's family, at Stourton.(c)

While Shrewsbury was still a child, Sir John Talbot seems to have spoken to him on the subject of changing his religion, and when the negotiations for the Northampton match were afoot, some definite suggestion of the kind was made.(d) There was every reason, during the scare of the Plot, for renewed persuasions on the part of the Sher~~ington~~ Talbot branch of the family. In December of 1678 the new Test Act excluded all Catholic peers from the House of Lords, and, quite apart from the fact that the Earl had thus no political future, feeling had run so high that no Catholic could be certain of going unmolested. Houses of Papists were being searched; their persons were not always respected; in Worcestershire a priest had been put to death.(e) Even Tom Oakley, who had been the butler at Grafton, was thought worthy of examination by the House of Lords, and was thrown into prison.(f) Shrewsbury's relations would have little difficulty in advancing reasons both of profit and of safety for a change in faith. Moreover, the kinsmen of whom he was most fond were Protestants, although, on the other hand, his sister Mary retained the faith in which she had been reared, and became in time the mother of a Catholic churchman.(f¹)

(d) Supra.

(e) Victoria County History.

(f) Buccleuch MSS.I. Letter 29.

House of Lords MSS. 11th Report Ap.2 p.70. Dec.4.1678

(f¹) John Talbot Stonor (1678-1756) afterwards Bishop of Thespieae. - Catholic Record Society vol. IX p.113.
Cf. Chapter XIV

He had once told Sir John that considerations of profit could never move him to a change of religion; but to some minds safety has a stronger pull than profit, and where profit could not attract, motives of safety led him to be willing at least to consider the differences between the two faiths, with a view to being persuaded if he could. In December of 1678, while he was at Stourton, Sir John Talbot and the Marquess of Halifax, were both urging that he should come up to London, and when Shrewsbury accepted it was no doubt with a tacit understanding that he was prepared to examine into the controversies of religion. He was extremely agitated at the prospect of the journey, dreading the thoughts of the publicity he must suffer, and the inconveniences and indignities that he might be forced to endure. He begged Sir John to tell him which was the safest way to travel, and whether there were any pass procurable or special privilege to plead by which he might be secure from affront.(g)

When he arrived in London at the beginning of the year 1679, he found his first patron, the Duke of York, in such disfavour that he was soon to be banished from the Court. The talk of the exclusion of the Catholic heir from the throne was everywhere. Both his immediate, and his more distant future, therefore, must have appeared

(g) Shrewsbury to Sir J. Talbot Dec.14 and 21.
Bucc. II 28-29.

unpromising to the **Earl**; and his examination into the Protestant doctrines was, not very surprisingly, followed by a change of faith. He was not alone, and enjoyed the family support of his brother, and his uncle Lord Brudenell.(h) On the 4th of May he made his first public appearance at the Anglican service conducted by Dean Tillotson in Lincoln's Inn Chapel.(a) It was the reasoning of the Dean that was said to have converted him, though one may well suspect that the cause as well as the occasion of his change was the panic of the Plot. His anonymous biographer suggests that for two years Shrewsbury had seriously considered the merits of the two faiths, weighing evidence put forward by Tillotson with that procured for him on the Catholic side by his grandfather; but this is manifestly mistaken.(b) That Shrewsbury knew Tillotson before coming up to London at the beginning of 1679 is extremely improbable, and though his cousins may have obtained for him some of Tillotson's sermons, which were, in later life, favourites with him,(c) his consideration

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- (h) **Memoirs of Publick Transactions (Defoe?) 7.**
Dartmouth's note in Burnet III 275.
- (a) **Birch - Life of Tillotson I 38.**
- (b) **Anonymous Life 4.**
Burnet III 275 and Original Memoirs 288.
Tillotson to Shrewsbury April 22. 1679. Chequers Court MSS.
- (c) **Bucc. II 752. Journal.**
Buccleuch MSS. Duke of Shrewsbury's Remarks on Various Books. IV.

of the matter cannot have extended even over one year. His attachment to Catholicism cannot certainly have been very deep. There was, possibly, little in the lives of those who had educated him to suggest their devotion to a higher life. His mother's short-lived reformation had induced him to cynicism; and he was at an age when doubts of his childhood's easy beliefs frequently come to a man. For Tillotson he had a great respect: the charm of the man's writing, the beauty of his sincerity, and the affectionate interest which he showed in himself, all made a lasting impression upon him. Having once altered his faith, he became a loyal Protestant. He was always fond of the dictum that actions speak louder than words,(d) and in all his future actions he upheld the Church of England, refusing in James II's reign to reconsider his steps, and in later years remaining a Protestant in the midst of numerous persuasions to make his peace with Rome.(e) Twice he used his influence to bring converts to the Anglican Church, and twice he secured the Protestant succession. In his own words, if he could not be a good Protestant, he would at least be a true one - no very enthusiastic vindication of Protestantism, but typical of the man.(f)

(d) Shrewsbury to Somers July 5 N.S.1704. Coxe 642. That he prided himself on his actions did not escape the ballad writers of his day. Cf. "Polyphemus" (infra).

(e) Cf. Chapter XI.

(f) Shrewsbury to Dr. William Talbot 1704. Downshire I 838.

As to his real faith, it was tied to no creed. A contemporary repeats a story purporting to have come from Pope, to whom, it was said, Shrewsbury once remarked that he held the same religion as he did when he was ten years old; whereupon Pope is reported to have called him a deist. Unfortunately for the aptness of the story, it seems a rather improbable occurrence and appears in somewhat bad company: but in Pope's remark, if Pope really did make it, there probably lies the truth.(g) Burnet's criticism of him that he was "too sceptical and too little fixed in the points of religion" was no doubt equally true;(h) but to read into it indifference to religion is to misunderstand Shrewsbury. Whatever shortcomings he may have had in embracing a new doctrine without proper conviction, he endeavoured in after years to remove by a careful study of controversial works, and the weight of evidence as he found it was with the Protestant side. But he suffered from grave doubts as to the reality of religion; in his periods of retirement from public affairs he read what he could on the subject, and, if one may judge from the remarks that he wrote, pondered deeply. His conclusions, who can tell. On his death-bed he solemnly declared that he died in the religion of the Church of England, but no intimate

(g) Egmont MSS. App. 7th Report 244.

(h) Burnet III 275.

joy in salvation came from his dying lips; rather the age-old, human cry of "Whither." (a)

His brother **Jake**, who must have been a mere boy in 1679, did not live to have his loyalty to his new faith tested as Shrewsbury's was. He met his end seven years later, as his father had met his, in a duel, but fought for a less honourable cause. The night before, he had given "ill words" to the King's natural son, the Duke of Grafton, and in the morning he was killed where he stood. The superstitious recalled a prophecy that he would be killed before he was twenty-one, and spoke of how he had mocked at death by dancing at the Duke of Devonshire's ballet in a shroud.(b) This was the third death of the kind in the Talbot family. Less than a year earlier, ~~Sherington~~ Talbot, Sir John's son, had been killed as a result of a dispute with a fellow-militiaman as to whose soldiers fought the better at Sedgemoor.(c)

- (a) Buccleuch MSS. Remarks on Various Books.
Anonymous Life. 33-4.
- (b) His name was John, but he appears to have been known as Jake.
Robert Harley to his father Feb.2 and Feb.9. 1686. Portland III 393-4.
Luttrell I 371.
Bucc. I 345.
Downshire I 115.
Moray to Queensberry Feb.2. Bucc. MSS. at Drumlanrig.
- (c) Evelyn July 8. 1685.
Henry Shere to Lord Dartmouth. July 8.
Dartmouth MSS. 11th Report Ap. 5 p.128.

The immediate effect of the acceptance of Anglicanism on Shrewsbury himself was that it allowed him to mix without fear in the social life of the London of his day, with its accompanying lack of moral restraints. In the following October, Tillotson, who continued to feel an interest in the Earl, was moved to remonstrate with him on his loose way of living.

"It was a great satisfaction to me," he wrote, "to be anyways instrumental in the gaining of your Lordship to our religion which I am most firmly persuaded to be the truth; but yet I am, and always was more concerned that your Lordship should continue a virtuous and good man than become a Protestant, being assured that the ignorance and errors of men's understanding will find a much easier forgiveness with God than the faults of their wills. I remember your Lordship once told me you would endeavour to justify the sincerity of your change by a conscientious regard to all the other parts and actions of your life: I am sure you cannot more effectually condemn your own act than by being a worse man after your profession to have embraced a better religion." (d)

(d) Tillotson to Shrewsbury Oct. 23. 1679 Add. MSS. 32084 f. 8. This copy differs in a few words from the letter as printed in Birch's Life of Tillotson.

The idle life about town did not, however, quench all Shrewsbury's young enthusiasm. By the beginning of June, 1680, he had volunteered, along with others of the youthful nobility, for a second military expedition. The cessation of war, by the Peace of Nimeguen, had meant no cessation in the Moorish attacks upon the King's possession of Tangier, attacks which were in all probability encouraged by the French; and the English garrison there was finding it more and more difficult to preserve the place. Public feeling, already mortified by the sale of Dunkirk, was roused about Tangier, especially as it was suspected that the King's ministers would be glad enough to yield it up. Many volunteers, among them Shrewsbury, offered to go during the summer of 1680, to see if the place might yet be saved. By the middle of June the troops were ready to leave London. But only a small part of the expedition ever sailed. In July, the Earl of Ossory was appointed Governor and General of the forces; but his untimely death from fever on the eve of his departure discouraged the King.(e) The troops that were ready to sail were countermanded, a small relief force only being sent, and the adventurous young nobles were disappointed of their share of glory(f).

(e) Evelyn. July 26. 1680.

(f) Barillon to Louis XIV 10 Juin 1680 et seq.
Baschet Transcripts 145.

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Although he had not yet attained his majority, Shrewsbury was summoned to the Parliament that met in October of that same year, and, having subscribed the Test, took his seat with the Lords.(g) That session of Parliament saw the real struggle for the Exclusion Bill, which was defeated in the Lords largely owing to the efforts of Halifax, who was hoping to substitute limitation for exclusion. But the session came to an abrupt end with the prorogation of Parliament in the following January, and the Earl had little chance of gaining political experience during Charles II's reign. Charles's only other meeting of Parliament, the Oxford session of 1681, lasted for one week. In all probability, Shrewsbury's political ambitions were not roused so early as this. He preferred to be one of a set of fashionable young men in town.(h) He was still unmarried, though rumour

(g) Lords MSS. 11th Report Ap.2. p.157. October 21.

(h) In September 1679 Evelyn mentions him as one of Sunderland's guests. In 1681 he was one of the fashionable company at Fitz Harris's trial. Luttrell I 80.

continued to suggest suitable brides.(a) He himself appears to have considered approaching Lord Ogle's widow, the sole heiress of the Earl of Northumberland, but the lady was persuaded to marry Thomas Thynne, a wealthy friend of the Duke of Monmouth.(b) No sooner was the ceremony completed than the bride fled to Holland, declaring that her grandmother had arranged the match without her wishes.(c) Thynne applied to the courts(d); but the sequel to this strange wedding was peculiarly horrible. In February of 1682, Thynne was brutally murdered. He was passing along the Strand in his coach, when he was set upon by three men and mortally wounded. As one of Monmouth's most ardent supporters, it was at first feared that he was the victim of party violence. But the motive for the murder was not political, but personal. One of

- (a) In May 1679 there was talk of a marriage between him and Lady Henrietta Wentworth.
App. to 7th Report. 472.
Eight years later he was the innocent cause of a domestic quarrel between the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle. The Duchess wished him as a husband for her daughter Margaret, but the Duke refused to provide the necessary portion. - Reresby 366.
- (b) Information is scanty, but Lord Fauconberg's letter, below, read in conjunction with the entry in Lady Cowper's Diary for 26th and 27th October 1714, certainly suggests that Shrewsbury considered Lady Ogle as a suitable bride.
- (c) Reresby 230, 235.
Evelyn. Nov.15. 1681.
Verney MSS. Nov.26. 7th Report. 479.
- (d) 8th Report Ap. I p.51.

Lady Ogle's suitors had been the notorious Count Koningsmark, and he it was who had set on the murderers to attack and kill Thynne, with a view to marrying the lady himself. No sooner was the widow free from her unwelcome husband than a number of fortune-seeking young suitors pursued her into Holland, Shrewsbury among them. "The murder," wrote Lord Fauconberg, "has carried Lord Shrewsbury and several young lords into Holland, where we may expect to hear of more blood, such force has gold upon the minds of poor mortals, and such, at long run, are the effects of it in all families."(e) Shrewsbury was not, however, the one to carry off this matrimonial prize. The Duke of Somerset, who had been in Paris at the same time as he, was the one favoured, and Lady Ogle takes her place in history as the red-haired Duchess of Somerset.(f)

Shrewsbury had already by that date been given the responsibility of the Lord Lieutenancy of the County of Stafford, which he continued to exercise until the year 1687.(g) In the party strife of Charles II's last years,

(e) Feb. 23. 1682. Chequers Court MSS. 49.

(f) Reresby 235-241.

O. Wynne to Lord Preston June 1. 1682.

Sir J. Worden to Lord Preston June 1.

Graham MSS. 353, 371.

Verney MSS. 497.

(g) Luttrell I 122 and 413.

Doyle.

Cal. S.P.Dom. Dec. 4. 1679. Aug. 6. 1681.

however, he took no part.(h) It would be unsafe to hazard a guess at his sympathies even from the fact that he copied out Lord Russell's last speech, and preserved it with his own papers.(a) He was young enough to be able to stand aside from political feuds, though of an age when the life of the Court proved attractive. Upon the Earl of Manchester's death, in the spring of 1683, his attachment to the Court was secured by his being made, along with Lord Lansdowne, gentleman extraordinary of the bedchamber,(b) and before the King's death he was reported to be treating for the Chamberlain's staff.(c) But the death of his royal godfather in February of 1685 altered many things, Shrewsbury's position at Court among them.

(h) Memoirs of Publick Transactions 7.

Cf. Halifax to William of Orange Aug.25, 1687.
Dalrymple's Appendix.

(a) Buccleuch MSS. Miscellaneous Papers.

(b) O. Wynne to Lord Preston April 2. Graham MSS. 363.

(c) B. Grenville to Sir W.L.Gower Jan.17. 1684/5.
Sutherland MSS.186.

Defoe, and perhaps following him, the Memoirs of Saint-Simon declare that he was actually Chamberlain at the beginning of James II's reign. But this is not likely. The "Memoirs of Publick Transactions" contains many obvious inaccuracies.

The first alterations were not immediately felt to be serious. James's speech to his Council, in which he promised to make it his endeavour to preserve the Government both in Church and State as it was by law established, was reassuring to those who had feared his rule so greatly that they had wished to exclude him from the throne.(d) For Shrewsbury's part, he might well wonder how his first patron would act towards him since his change of religion; but it seemed at first as though the King were generous enough to reward instead of penalise him. In March the Recordership of the town of Shrewsbury was bestowed on him.(e) At the coronation in April he had the honour of holding the "curtana" as a former Earl had done when Henry VIII was crowned.(f) From being Captain of a troop of horse in June, he was promoted in July to be Colonel of the Second Regiment of Horse (later the Fifth Dragoon Guards), one of the new regiments raised after the Monmouth Rebellion. (g)

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- (d) Barillon to Louis 19 Febrier Fox's Appendix XVI
Burnet III 6.
Cobbett IV 1342.
- (e) History of Shrewsbury.
- (f) Coronation Volume Lambeth Palace Library 1083.
Doyle. His father carried the second sword at Charles II's coronation.
- (g) History of the British Standing Army - Colonel Clifford Walton. - p.p. 42-3 and note 97.
Doyle.
Cf. Lords MSS. New Series III 281.
MSS. of Lord Edmund Talbot (Fitzalan Papers) p.312.
Commission to be captain dated June 20. 1685.

The failure of Monmouth's rising, however, and the loyalty with which the nation generally had rallied round the King, emboldened James to endeavour to put into practice his wish for a liberty of conscience in the Catholics' favour in England, (h) and Shrewsbury's position in this new scheme of things was to depend on how far he could fall in with the King's desires. James had taken the opportunity of the rebellion to introduce into the army Catholic officers, hoping that a loyal Parliament, which had already granted him a revenue for life, would acquiesce in his defiance of the law. Unfortunately for the King, the unlawful presence of these officers was one of the first matters raised when Parliament **reassembled** in the autumn of 1685, and James, having prorogued his Parliament the same month as it had met, was forced to find his sanction elsewhere. He accordingly obtained from the Bench a judgment in favour of his use of the dispensing power to enable Catholics to serve in his army. (a) This was but the beginning to make way for Catholics in every branch of public life, while, in his zeal for his adopted religion, the King tried to

(h) Barillon to Louis Feb. 19. Dalrymple's Appendix.

(a) Godden v. Hales.

convince certain of the nobility of the benefits of conversion. Where these proved unresponsive, they soon felt his displeasure. Thus Rochester was forced to give up his Treasurer's staff.(b) Shrewsbury, as one who had formerly left the Catholic Church, must have been approached early, for by December of 1686 the Dutch Ambassador was remarking that his regiment was to be reorganised and the command taken from him.(c) Some astonishment was felt that both he and Lumley would not yield to the King's wishes, since both were such recent converts, and both owed their military commands to James.(d) But both chose to lose their regiments rather than somersault in this undignified way. Shrewsbury was deprived of his command in January of 1687, although he had as yet kept himself apart from political party.(e)

(b) He was however given "a great pension."

Burnet III 122-6.

Original Memoirs 224.

(c) Dec.28. Add. MSS. 34507 f.128.

(d) Original Memoirs 220.

History of the British Standing Army - Colonel Clifford Walton.

Shrewsbury's commission was dated 29th July, Lumley's 31st July, 1685.

(e) Luttrell I.393.

Letter Book of Sir George Etherege 354-5. Letter from T.Maule - Jan.25. 1686/7.

"I will now fill up my sheet and tell you that the King has taken away my Lord Shrewsbury's and my Lord Lumley's regiments for reasons best known to himself, though the town will have it because of their refusal to comply with the King's desires in taking off the Test."

Throughout that year the King's experiments in the way of extending toleration to Catholics went on; but he well knew that his real security would lie in obtaining such toleration from Parliament itself. He began, therefore, by sounding members of both Houses, on their views as to taking off the Test Acts. The replies were not encouraging. Many gave blunt refusals, others answers so evasive that they were obviously hedging, and this "closetting" of members for the purpose of learning their opinions in private audience, bore as its only fruit, a series of dismissals from posts within the King's disposal.(f) Disappointed in this direction, the King issued on the 4th of April his Declaration of Indulgence, to give liberty of conscience to all. Dissenters as well as Catholics were to enjoy it; for so James hoped to gain nonconformist support for his schemes. In July he dissolved his first Parliament, and then turned to the source of Parliamentary elections, to the corporations in whose hands in many cases lay the election of members, ousting Anglicans and replacing them by Catholics and Dissenters. Lords Lieutenant in the counties were bidden to put three questions to every justice of the peace for the purpose of ascertaining views

(f) Reresby 370-1.
Burnet III 94, 100, 176.

on the removal of the Tests, and on the refusal of some of them to conduct such a questionnaire, their Lieutenancies were taken from them and bestowed on Catholics. Thus Shrewsbury was turned out of his Lord Lieutenancy in August, and lost his Recordership in January of the following year.(g)

Even before that, however, he had taken his first serious step towards the Opposition to the King by writing to the Prince of Orange. As husband of the Princess who was expected to succeed to the English throne, and as champion of the Protestant religion on the continent against the attacks of Louis XIV, William of Orange was the man in whom the Opposition placed their hope. Until the year 1687 they believed that if they kept in touch with him, time would set right the political and religious difficulties in England. At the beginning of that year there was an interchange of ambassadors between the States and England, for the ostensible purpose of "removing jealousies" that had arisen. Both the envoys, however, were given secret instructions. On James's part, he wished Albeville to discover whether William approved of

(g) Reresby 387-9.
Burnet III 193-4.
Luttrell I 413.
History of Shrewsbury.

the taking off of the Tests, while William desired Dyckvelt to familiarise himself with political opinion in England, and to assure the Opposition of his support.(h) In fulfilment of these instructions, Dyckvelt on his return was made the bearer of a number of letters to the Prince from many of the chief men in England. Among them, he brought one from Shrewsbury, dated 30th May, remarkable for a franker recognition of dissatisfaction with the King's policy than most of the letters show; for after assuring William of his service he added, "The great and only consolation we have left is, that you are so generous to countenance us in our misfortune, Sir, at the same time we know you approve we here are in the right."(a) During that summer a further opportunity for communication with the Prince was made by the visit of Count Zulestein to England to condole with James's Queen on the death of her mother, the Duchess of Modena. Zulestein was specially instructed to enquire of the leaders of the Anglican party the probabilities of a Parliament's being summoned, and to bring back letters on this subject from them. He arrived in the middle of August, and stayed for about three weeks.(b) Meanwhile,

(h) Dalrymple's Appendix Book V p.180.

Burnet III 172-179.

Cf. Original Memoirs 257.

(a) Shrewsbury to William May 30. Dalrymple's Appendix.

(b) Dalrymple's Appendix V. 200 et seq.

Shrewsbury, desirous of making a personal visit to the Prince's Court, had already applied for leave to go into Holland, and without waiting for the end of Zulestein's visit, left England on the 24th of the month.(c) He was charged by Halifax to explain to William the Marquess's views on the political situation, with his reasons for believing that a Parliament would not be summoned until "by some sudden accident" it would become "necessary and unavoidable." He carried with him a letter of recommendation from Halifax, which throws interesting light on how he was regarded in politics.

"It would be unnecessary," Halifax wrote, "to give your Highness a recommending character of my Lord of Shrewsbury, who hath already so good a one established and allowed in the world; I shall only say, in short, that he is without any competition, the most considerable man of quality that is growing up amongst us; that he hath right thoughts for the public, and a most particular veneration for your Highness; he is loose and untryed from any faction that might render him partial, or give a wrong bias to his opinion; and I do not doubt, but upon the first discourse which you shall have with him, you will be encouraged to treat him without any manner of reserve."(d)

(c) Downshire I 260.

Burnet III 275.

Original Memoirs. 288.

(d) Halifax to William Aug.25.1687. Dalrymple's Appendix.

Shrewsbury was still with the Prince when Zulestein returned, bearing letters from Nottingham, Danby, Halifax and Bishop Compton.(e) Assured that William made a distinction between penal laws never properly enforced, and the political significance of the Tests.(f) they were content to offer him their respects, and explain why they thought it impossible that a Parliament could be summoned which would consent to the removing of the Test Acts. Before that year was over, however, the Opposition had become more active and with some reason. By December the news was spread that Queen Mary was to have another child, and fears of the birth of a son, who would almost certainly be brought up in his father's religion to carry on his father's policy, sharpened the opposition to James. Hitherto, Mary of Modena had been unfortunate in her children. Four, one a boy, had died in infancy; none had survived childhood. Moreover, since the birth of the last child, almost four years previously, she had not been in good health.(g) So joyful were James's Catholic friends at the prospect of an heir, and so serious did the Opposition

(e) Ibid. V 209 et seq.

(f) Burnet III 215-16.

William to James June 17. 1687. Dalrymple's Appendix.

(g) "Mary of Modena" 170.

consider it to be, that the Protestants seem to have made up their minds from the first that some fraud was intended.(h) Far from stifling opposition, as some of the Catholics had hoped, it merely drew the Opposition closer to William, whose wife's succession to the throne it threatened.

In the spring, Howe carried over a further batch of letters to Holland - replies to letters sent by the Prince - and among them was one from Shrewsbury stating his intention to visit Holland in the summer.(a) The sudden desire on the part of some of the younger nobility to travel in Holland seemed suspicious even to the blindly obstinate King. When Danby's son asked leave to go, he curtly forbade it, and then, recollecting himself, added, "If you go only for curiosity, you might as well satisfy that elsewhere as in Holland."(b) By May, Shrewsbury was reluctantly brought to think that he himself would not be allowed to visit the Prince, and wrote William to tell him so.

"It seems a little too severe," he objected, "to be punished and restrained, because one has been already ill used. If I am a little warmer upon this subject than I ought, you would soon pardon me, if you knew how much I

(h) Clarendon Diary January 15.

Danby to William March 27. Dalrymple's Appendix.
Terriesi to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Jan.9/19. in Haile's "Mary of Modena." 174.

(a) Shrewsbury to William. March 14. 1688. Dalrymple's Appendix.

(b) Danby to William March 29. Ibid.

abominate all excuses; because commonly they are but shifts; and now to be forced to make one to your Highness, who of all men living I honour and esteem the most, is a hardship I cannot easily forgive;-----"(c)

By the irony of circumstances, Shrewsbury was to spend much time in the future in making excuses, of one sort or another, to William.

Meanwhile, things were nearing a crisis in England. The Opposition continued to hold secret meetings, most frequently at Shrewsbury's London house.(d) Even so early as the visit which Mordaunt paid to Holland in 1686, they had endeavoured to sound the Prince as to whether he would come over and offer armed resistance to the King. Shrewsbury had reopened the subject during his visit of 1687, but William had put the question aside.(e) In May

(c) Shrewsbury to William May.14. Dalrymple's Appendix.

(d) Shrewsbury to Somers July 5 N.S.1704. Coxe 642.

(e) The authors of "Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury," are inclined to think it very doubtful whether Shrewsbury thought of armed intervention before the birth of the Prince of Wales, but Burnet's accounts suggest that he had discussed the question with William. The History says "He had only in general laid the state of affairs before the prince, without pressing him too much," and the Original Memoirs gives it that "even with him the prince went not further than to give general assurances."

"Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury" 26.

Burnet III 276.

Original Memoirs 288.

of 1688, however, Edward Russell renewed their application to William, whose reply was that he must have a definite invitation from some of the chief men in the kingdom. With this, Russell had to be content. On his return, he communicated first with Shrewsbury, Lumley, and Sidney, and before long the conspiracy widened to include Danby, Nottingham, Compton and "many others." (f) Halifax, however, was discouraging. In general talk he gave it as his opinion that any design was impracticable and a waiting game more promising. (g) The King, for his part, continued his policy of provoking the Anglican Church. In April had come out a second Declaration of Indulgence, which the bishops were instructed to have their clergy read from the pulpits. There followed the famous petition of the seven bishops to the King, and their imprisonment in the Tower. Two days later, on the 10th of June, James's son was born. His reception was prejudged even before his birth; for all along, people had refused to believe it other than a pretence, while the fact of the absence of the Princess Anne and the early arrival of the child convinced

(f) Original Memoirs 290.

(g) Ibid 291. Burnet III 278.

Halifax to William July 25.1688. Dalrymple's Appendix.

the commonalty that fraud had been practised. That the nobility also gave credence to this is hard to be believed, and, where true, speaks much for the state of political passion at the time. Princess Anne's obstinate unbelief and unkind hostility to her step-mother probably helped to foster doubts in the minds of many people, as they did in that of her sister Mary.(h) As for Shrewsbury, it was said of him that 'he believed nothing of it at first, and liked nothing of it at last.'(a) The same was no doubt true of all the conspirators. Dislike of the facts outweighed everything else. Shrewsbury hastened to assure William that it made no difference to his service to him. "I am this eighteenth of June," he ended his letter, "as much as I was the ninth, Your Highness's most devoted, and obedient, humble servant."(b)

On the last day of that month, an invitation to the Prince was signed in cypher by the leaders of the Opposition, seven in number - the Earls of Danby, Devonshire and Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, Compton, Bishop of London, Edward Russell and Henry Sidney.(c) Nottingham had drawn back,

(h) See Anne's letters in Dalrymple's Appendix and "Lettres et Memoires de Marie Reine d'Angleterre."

(a) Memoirs of Publick Transactions 17.

(b) Shrewsbury to William June 18.1688 Dalrymple's Appendix.

(c) Dalrymple's Appendix.

restrained by his principles from joining with them, yet forced by his affections to wish them well.(d) Admiral Herbert volunteered to carry the invitation to Holland, and left London on the same day as the Bishops were acquitted

Thereafter, England was marking time until the Prince's arrival. Throughout the summer, Sunderland, who had obligingly become a Catholic the previous year, counselled the King to moderation, and the rift between him and Father Petre, which the Dutch Ambassador noticed as early as March, grew wider.(e) He was already, through his wife, in correspondence with William; but he probably hoped that the King might still avert any danger now that the birth of his son had removed the necessity for doing his work quickly. James, however, was firmly set on the road to his own ruin, and appeared more concerned for the conversion of all his Privy Council than for his own dangerous position.(f) Not until September could he be brought to believe in the Dutch preparations against him, refusing Louis's offers of assistance, and repudiating the statement

(d) Original Memoirs 291.

Burnet III 278 - 279 and Dartmouth's note.

(e) Van Citters' Despatches 30 March 1688. Add.MSS.34512 f.75.
9 April

Burnet III 262-3.

(f) Ibid 29 June f.f. 87-8.
9 July

of Skelton, the English Ambassador at Paris, that England was in alliance with France.(g) When at last he did become convinced of the real object of Holland's military and naval preparations, he attempted too late to follow the counsels that Sunderland had earlier proposed, and tried to undo his work in the Universities, in the corporations, in the counties, in the Church, and to give the nation satisfaction with regard to the suspicions surrounding the birth of the Prince of Wales.

Significantly, the Court began to be deserted by the Opposition nobles. Shrewsbury and Russell, having hired a boat privately, joined William in September.(h) Before leaving, the Earl had borrowed money on his estates to the

(g) Ibid 21 Sept. f.99.
1 Oct.

Burnet III 288-9.

Barillon's Despatches June 14, Aug.2, Aug.30, Sept.6.

Sept.13. Sept.18. Oct. 25 - Dalrymple's Appendix.

Louis to Barillon Sept.30 N.S.Ibid.

Clarendon's Diary Sept.24.

(h) Terriesi to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Aug. 1. 1687.
II

in Haile's "Mary of Modena" p.166.

Van Citters' Despatches Sept.25. 1688. Add.MSS.34512 f.103.
Oct.5.

Anonymous Life 5.

Burnet III 283.

extent of a few thousand pounds, (a) part of the money, it was said, being actually advanced by Father Petre, (b) and this sum he lodged in the Bank at Amsterdam for the Prince's use. (c) Danby had retired to Nottinghamshire, and when commanded into the King's presence, merely retreated to Yorkshire. (d) Even Nottingham refused to enter the Council. By October the North was drinking to the chance of a good easterly wind, for it was in the North that William's supporters imagined he would land. (e)

The Prince's fleet put to sea on the 19th of October. He himself, in company with a few of his intimates, Shrewsbury among them, boarded a quick-sailing yacht, intending to overtake the fleet later. But so violent a storm broke that the whole fleet had to return to port two days afterwards, having lost many of the horses.

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- (a) A mortgage for £3000. on the Shropshire estates, dated 30th July 1688, appears in the family schedule of deeds, and judging by the state of Shrewsbury's finances during his early years, it is improbable that the sum was much greater. Contemporaries however, estimated it at sums ranging from £12000 to £40000.
 Anonymous Life 5. - £12000.
 Memoirs of Publick Transactions 18 - £12000.
 Ailesbury Memoirs - 129-30. - £30000.
 Echard 879 - £40000.
 White Kennett III 488. - £40000.
- (b) Anonymous Life 5.
 Ailesbury Memoirs 129-30.
- (c) Memoirs of Publick Transactions 18.
- (d) Van Citters' Despatches 16. Oct. f.115.
 26.
- (e) Ibid 5. Oct.
 15

Contrary winds delayed them till the 1st of November, when they sailed with the evening tide.(f) By the 4th they had reached the Isle of Wight, and the Protestant wind, conveniently changing to suit them, carried them next day to Tor Bay, while it kept James's fleet under Dartmouth from following after. Soldiers and horses (g) were all landed in safety; but the first night on English soil was spent miserably enough - the Prince in a fisherman's hut, his army on the rain-soaked ground. The following day at noon the infantry marched to Paignton in the drenching rain, and the cavalry joined them next day at Newton Abbot.(h) On Wednesday the 7th, Shrewsbury, Wiltshire and Macclesfield, forming an advance party, arrived with their forces at Exeter.(a) Already the Bishop and the Dean had fled, and the town had made no other show of resistance than closing the gates, which were obligingly opened on the arrival of William's troops. Arrangements were made for the Prince

(f) Marion Grew - William III and Bentinck.130,133.
Burnet III 325.

(g) The horses were not disembarked until the following day -
Burnet III 329.

(h) Bentinck's "Verhael Van Onse Marche" ----
Correspondentie II 626.
Rapin II 777

(a) 12th Report Ap. 8 p.219.
14th Report Ap.4. p.207.
Cf. Macaulay (III.1132) who gives Mordaunt's arrival on the Thursday as the first.

to lodge in the vacant Deanery, and he himself came to Exeter on Friday the 9th. On the Sunday his Declaration was read in the Cathedral.(b)

Until the middle of the month, however, the invaders felt grave anxiety. William's supporters in England had expected him in the north-east, and not in the south, so that sympathetic as the populace was, there was no flocking to his standard of men of substance such as he had expected. Lord Lovelace, who had set out to join him, had been captured. Danby, although resolved to get in touch with Shrewsbury,(c) did not immediately communicate with William.(d) Moreover, the Prince was short of ready money, without which he could not advance farther.(e) He confessed to Shrewsbury his chagrin at the delay shown in joining him, but Shrewsbury's assurance that if once the ice were broken and one came, others would follow, proved correct.(f) Cornbury, Clarendon's son, the first to desert from James's army, was followed by Churchill, Grafton,(g) and the Prince of Denmark. This was the signal for Anne's departure from the Court. Under the protection of Bishop Compton, she

(b) Burnet III 330.
Oldmixon.
Rapin 777.

(c) Leeds MSS. 11th Report Ap.7. p.30.

(d) Danby from York to William Dec.1. 14th Report Ap. 9 p.499.

(e) William to Shrewsbury Dec.2. Bucc.II 35.

(f) Burnet III 331. Dartmouth's note.

(g) Grafton had been disappointed that Dartmouth was given command of the fleet. Van Citters Despatches 11 Sept.

and her bosom friend, Lady Churchill, went north to join the conspirators there. Meanwhile, Seymour's proposal of an association to be signed by those who joined the Prince was welcomed by Shrewsbury and the other leaders, and bound William's followers more closely together.(h)

The longer the Prince remained inactive the more dangerous was his position, and at the beginning of December he made a first move by despatching Shrewsbury with Sir John Guise, in command of two hundred dragoons and an infantry regiment, to seize Bristol, which was known to be favourable to him.(a) He had already written to the Mayor explaining the situation.

"I have directed my Lord Shrewsbury to march for Bristoll, but with soe small a party that yow and all your fellow citizens must needs take it as an effect of our good intentions towards you and a desyre of having your friendshipp and concurrence to carry on soe good a work as the maintaining and defending the Protestant religion and the privileges of the people. I have given

(h) Burnet III 337.

(a) Correspondentie II 630.

Luttrell I 482.

12th Report Ap. 8 p.225.

Ap. to 5th Report p.198.

Add.MSS. 34487 f.44.

Cf. Rose's Observations Ap. 9 p.LXXVII

him instructions to acquaint you with my thoughts and intentions upon severall points and desire you to give an entire credit to what he shall say to you on our behalf for I assure you I will exactly perform whatsoever he shall promise from us."(b)

One of these "thoughts and intentions" was hardly constitutional, as the Prince's reply to Shrewsbury's letter, announcing the submission of Bristol, reveals.(c)

"My Lord," he wrote, "I received just now yours of the 1st instant, and am glad you found so good a reception at Bristoll, and that the Magistrates were so ready to do their parts towards it. As for what you say relating to the ships loaden with Tobacco, I leave the conduct of it wholly to you, to abate them what you please, so as the residue may be ready money, which is a necessary commodity amongst us, and am willing to abate the last duty in consideration of it. As for Sir John Guyse, I have herewith sent you an order for his immediate marching to Gloucester, as also another for Col. Cuningh(am's) commanding in chief till further order. It seems the

(b) William to Mayor of Bristol Nov.28. Portland II 53.

(c) William to Shrewsbury Nov.(Dec.) 2. Bucc. II 35.

The postscript, in French, is written in William's hand.

northern Lords have rescued my Lord Lovelace, and will join me at Hungerford next Friday night; where or at Oxford I hope Mr. Trenchard will be able to bring me a considerable sum of money. You may tell Mr. Trenchard that Mr. Harberd hath adjusted the matter with Mr. York(?) who hath engaged to pay him at Mr. George Long's house in eight days two hundred and fifty pounds, which he must receive and bring to me amongst the rest you may give Col. Cunningham an order, it being late. I am your affectionate friend - 2 9ber 88.

Prince D'Orange.

Erased ("I am willing Sir John Guyse should have those two
(commissions, and will send them to him.

"Mr. Harbert is so tired that he cannot despatch the commission for Col. Cunningham to command temporarily at Bristol but it will be sent, so that you can appoint him notwithstanding. I am very impatient to see you again, and am entirely yours.

G."

News of James's return to London without attempting to strike a blow, after the desertion of Churchill and others of his officers, made the way easy for William's advance. He proceeded to Hungerford, and it was there that the King sent Halifax, Nottingham and Godolphin to

treat with him. Clarendon, who, forgetting his first pious horror at his son's action, had already quitted James, was given the doubtful reward, along with Shrewsbury and Oxford, of consulting with the King's commissioners.(d) On the 8th of December they gave William's answer. It was that a Parliament should be called, the Tests respected, the Tower of London given over to the City, the fleet and garrisons commanded by Protestants, money set aside for payment of the invading army, and that, while Parliament sat, neither army should approach within twenty miles of London, though William himself might enter the city with a reasonable number of guards.(e) The negotiations came to nothing, for when the commissioners returned to London, they discovered that not only had the King sent away his wife and son to France, but he himself was fled before having more than a report of the commission.

James's departure completed the bad work that his refusal to fight had begun. Obsessed with the idea that it was his life that his subjects wanted, and convinced

(d) Burnet says Shrewsbury was one of the Prince's commissioners; but Clarendon (Diary Dec.8.) gives Schomberg, and as one of the three, he ought to know. The choice of Schomberg, however, who could not speak fluent English, appears so improbable that one is tempted to suspect a misprint, possibly due to a contraction, in Clarendon's Diary. Shrewsbury, moreover, was given Burnet's manuscript to read, and would almost certainly have corrected any error in a point of this sort.

(e) Burnet III 341.

that he could not trust his army, (f) he had determined not to await the return of the three commissioners. In doing so, he also completely alienated Halifax, who had already asked Burnet the significant question, "What if he had a mind to go away?" (g) From William's point of view, the flight was most desirable. It rid him of the bulk of his problems, and made his advance upon London not only possible, but essential.

The capital was in a state of confusion, the more so as news had not been coming through as regularly as usual, because of the King's proclamation in October, forbidding it. (h) As last marks of his foolishness, James had written to Feversham in terms that his General understood to mean an order for disbanding the army; and to throw the kingdom into still further disorder, he had cast the Great Seal into the river. The 12th of December was a wild day in London. The mob, fired by the rumour of an approaching Irish army, broke out, made of the Spanish Ambassador's house "a ruined place," nearly pulled to pieces Jefferies, whom they found escaping in disguise, and generally terrified the more law-abiding. (a) No wonder

(f) The army seems to have been really in a state of unrest before the Revolution. Cf. Portledge Papers, July 14; Aug. 3; Aug. 19; Aug. 25; Sept. 15: 1688.

(g) Burnet III 341.

(h) A. Pye to Abigail Harley Oct. 28. Portland III 420.
Lapthorne to Coffin Dec. 11. Portledge 51.

(a) Portland III 420.
Burnet III 345 (Cf. 348)
Reresby 421-2.
Evelyn Dec. 9 ?

the Lords, who had assembled in the Guild Hall on the news of James's flight, anxiously awaited the coming of the Prince of Orange, which they had then requested. In the circumstances, the capture and return of James was something of an anticlimax, but a very dangerous anticlimax for William. When the Privy Council, hearing of his capture, moved that he might be sent for, some significantly opposed that he was King and it did not become them to send for him.(b) But the Prince, who had reached Windsor, was in no mood to be trifled with. His answer to James's order, conveyed by Feversham, to come and consult with him, was the arrest of Feversham for travelling without a pass. Approach James himself, he would not, and he was further resolved that the fortunate circumstance of the King's flight should not be spoiled by an unhappy accident. James, having first fled of his own accord, must now flee at the Prince's desire. He was too late to stop the King's return to London; for James had already arrived there on the 16th; but on the 17th December, the Prince summoned a meeting of Peers at Windsor. He himself retired to allow them to debate the situation, leaving the Marquess of Halifax,

(b) Burnet III 352.

(c) ~~Macculey III 1227.~~

who had joined him, to preside.(c) According to Halifax's note, twelve were present during the secret discussions(d)

(c) Macaulay III 1227.

(d) The note is in Halifax's hand, in the Savile MSS. It is undated.

" Present.
 D of Grafton
 Ld Maclesfield
 Ld Wiltshire
 Ld Delamere
 Ld of Stamford
 Ld North
 Ld Churchill
 Ld Mordaunt
 Ld Carbury
 Ld Clarendon
 Ld Halifax
 Ld Shrewsbury

"Ld Delamere moved the Tower
 Ld Macklesfield the Same
 Ld Stamford the same
 Ld Mordaunt 2ⁿ
 D of Grafton against it
 Ld Churchill the same
 Ld Shrewsbury - 2ⁿ

"Ld Clarendon said it would bear a debate whether the K: should be left at liberty.
 "The whole thing told him, (William?) of what had passed before hee came in.
 "Hee went and gave particular instructions about the Avenues at Whitehall to the Conte of Solmes.
 "All spoke against his going to any of his own houses.
 "Would not do anything that might look like treating him as a friend(?)

(Back of sheet)

"Ld Cla: went out &c.

"The debate of the Lds who were for the (word indecypherable) upon the desertion (sic) of the Govt by the K:s going away dissolution

"The Generell sense seemed for letting him go away upon which Ld Cl. and as above"

(Endorsed) "Concerning the message to the K."

Mordaunt and Shrewsbury appear to have seconded, one

A few of the lords suggested that the King should be imprisoned in the Tower, but Grafton, Churchill and Shrewsbury were against this, and, as William himself afterwards declared, he knew that Mary could never bear such treatment of her father. Clarendon gave it as his opinion that it was a matter for debate whether the King should be left at liberty or not, and Burnet charges him with the suggestion that James should be imprisoned at Breda.(e) But the general feeling of the meeting was against treating James so harshly, although the lords were unanimous in their decision that he should not be permitted to go to any of his own houses. The simple solution appeared to all of them to be that the King should be allowed to go away again. For the moment Ham was chosen as the most suitable place for him to lodge, and on the Prince's rejoining them, they informed him of their decision. There was some disposition to delay matters while the discussion took place as to what should

the proposal to put James in the Tower, the other the objection to it. Conceivably, however, Halifax may have meant Q and not 2, in which case Shrewsbury's attitude would remain unknown.

(e) Original Memoirs 303.
Burnet III 355 and note from Clarendon's Diary.

be the procedure of the officers in the event of James's escape; but here Shrewsbury came to the rescue with a proposal that decision on that point should be postponed, and a message was then arranged to be delivered to the King.(f) The question having arisen as to who should deliver it, William was determined that it should be done by members of the Lords themselves. He accordingly suggested Shrewsbury, Halifax and Delamere, and gave them their orders in writing.(g) The three lords so selected lost no time in writing to Middleton, begging to know where they might find him to introduce them to the King.(h) It was after midnight when they arrived at Whitehall.

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- (f) Clarendon's Diary. Dec.17.
 (g) William to Halifax, Shrewsbury and Delamere Dec.17.1688 - Savile MSS.
 Copy in Shrewsbury's hand - Buccleuch MSS. 12th Report. Ap.6. Lords MSS. 18.
 Ap. to 7th Report Denbigh MSS. 228.
 Clarke's Life of James. II 266.
- (h) Letter from three Lords to Middleton. - Savile MSS.

"My Ld,

There is a message to be delivered to his Ma^{ty} from the prince, which is of great importance that wee who are charged with it desire wee may bee immediately admitted and therefore desire to know where wee may find your L^{dp} that you may introduce

My Ld,

Your L^{dps} most humble servants,
 Halifax,
 Shrewsbury,
 Delamer."

Already Count Solmes, by the Prince's order, had forced Lord Craven to dismiss the guards and had substituted his own men.(a) The King had retired and was asleep when Middleton came to tell him of the arrival of the three lords; but on learning their business, he had them called in; and they delivered the Prince's message.

James suggested that Rochester would be more convenient than Ham, as the Prince had first desired him to remain at Rochester. The three agreed to sound William on the matter, and promised an answer by nine that morning, when, they said, he must be ready to go. There was little prospect of William's refusal, since Rochester presented easier chances of escape. At nine the Lords returned with the news of his consent, and the royal barge was got ready. Halifax, no doubt smarting under the humiliation he had received when he was one of the King's commissioners,

(a) According to Burnet, the Prince's order for the removal of the English guards was given to Solmes by the three lords, and Macpherson describes Shrewsbury and Delamere as being with Solmes "in the park," although they did not come up with him. But Halifax's note makes clear that the order to Solmes came from William himself, during the meeting of the peers.

Burnet III 357.

Macpherson I. 167.

Clarke II 264.

Charles Bertie to Danby . Lindsey MSS. 445.

Clarendon's Diary Dec.17.

was extremely brusque. He wished the King to keep out of view by going over the river at Lambeth Ferry; but Shrewsbury, with characteristic courtesy, supported James's wish that the horse guards should be sent over the bridge and meet him at Gravesend, while he embarked at Whitehall.(b) The King remembered it to his credit long afterwards.(c) A captain and a hundred of the Dutch foot guards accompanied the royal barge. William had stipulated that, but James also desired it.(d) That night he spent at Gravesend, and the following day, the 19th, arrived at Rochester. A little group of officers were with him, and Sir John Talbot was one of them.(e) At Rochester the guards were purposely ill-posted, so obviously indeed that the King suspected that William wished him to go. But his fear lest if he did not go of his own will, he might be sent by way of death, urged the unhappy monarch to complete his own ruin. His wife had written him from France begging that he should join her, and though the letter had been intercepted, the Prince took good care that it should be brought safely to Rochester.

(b) Clarke II 266-7.

Macpherson I. 167.

(c) Journal Nov.23 N.S.1700. Bucc.II 747.

"He (the Duke of Lauzun) began to tell me how kindly King James had always taken the distinguishing civility I had showed him when I was sent on the message."

(d) Stephen Fox to Mrs. Graham. Dec.18. Bagot's MSS.329.

(e) Clarke II 268.

Macpherson I.163.

On the 23rd James made his escape, and set out from his kingdom never to return. Christmas Day saw him arrived at Ambleteuse, the snow on the ground.(f) The Revolution was practically accomplished.

For Shrewsbury it had meant more than a revolt against a political danger. It had meant also the completion of that revolt against his early friends and education which had begun with his change of faith. It had meant his first serious step towards free action and self-determination. The friends and relations of his boyhood were, most of them, in the opposite camp. In making his decision, he had left behind even his politic guardian, the Marquess of Halifax; and at the early age of twenty-eight was entitled to be ranked as one of England's new leaders. When he came back to London that December, he was no longer the unambitious, suave young courtier of King Charles's day, but a statesman with a new future before him.

The situation had its own domestic complications; for he arrived in London to find two embarrassing visitors in his house. Terrified by the fury of the mob, Lady Shrewsbury and her sister, Lady Middleton, had taken refuge there, and there Lady Middleton's child had been born.

(f) Burnet III 363.

James II to J.G. Dec.25. O.S. Bagot's MSS. 329.
Clarke II 268.

It was obviously impossible to move her, and so perforce one of the seven saviours of the Protestant religion had to harbour the Catholic wife of a loyalist, who, however much he had disapproved of his master's foolish policy, still thought himself "fetterd by great obligations and a present Trust."(g)

(g) Middleton to Shrewsbury Dec.(date indecypherable - appears to be 17th.) endorsed "Ld Middletons Letter to me." - Buccleuch MSS. Miscellaneous State Papers.vol.I.

London Dec: ye 17th(?)

"My Lord,

You can best bear witness how little I have approvd of what has been acted in this unfortunate Reigne, but only have thought myself fetterd by great obligations and a present Trust; however if little things are vexatiously to be laid hold on, none, that have been employd, can be secure; therefor I begg y^e fav^r of y^r LdP, that by speaking to ye prince & others, you would be pleased, assoon as can be, to lett me know, if I may live safely and quietly in England, this is all that in justice I can pretend too, or can Reasonably expect. tho many children have been begotten in y^r house, yet ther is now one borne in it, he shall Remain in this state of paganisme, till you come to Regenerate him, y^r Mother & Aunt tooke refuge against the tumults, they had cause to apprehend, beleiving the destroying angell would passe by: they could not well foresee that you should be so soon in town, and therefor I hope you'lle forgive ye trouble that one of them must put you too, who cannott, for some tyme, be removd without endangering her life, however if you had rather be at my Lodgings, then in y^r own appartment, you know you may freely command them, and y^r most faithfull humble servant
Middleton."

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST SECRETARYSHIP

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William's intention in coming to England, as set forth in his Declaration, was to see that a free and legal Parliament was summoned. Not a word had been said as to the Crown, far less any suggestion that he should take possession of it, and had James retained sufficient sense to realise the significance of this, no revolution in the monarchy need have taken place: but from the moment of William's landing the King had insisted that no Parliament could be free while an invading army remained in the country, and had refused to reissue writs so long as the Prince's forces were in England. It is true that there can be little doubt as to William's real views with regard to the Crown, views shared in common with most of the English refugees. They peep at every turn from the pages of Burnet.(a) Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that the majority of Englishmen held these views.

(a) Burnet himself, however, at first considered a Regency.
Clarke and Foxcroft 260-1.

Just as many Anglican loyalists had found themselves forced by circumstances into opposition to the King, so many of these same loyalists were driven to adopt the view that the throne was made vacant by James's flight and could only be filled practicably by his son-in-law. Events at the beginning of 1689 were marching inexorably to put William on the throne; yet it is probably true that of the Prince's supporters in England few had realised immediately whither they were tending. When the promised Parliament, or, more correctly, Convention, was assembled, there was a substantial number of the opinion that William really did hold the altruistic views that his Declaration had expressed, and that he would gratefully receive the position of Regent at their hands. Others again, under Danby, (b) believed that James having left his kingdom, and the birth of the Prince of Wales being suspicious, the Crown had devolved on Mary, who was as yet in Holland, anxiously awaiting news of the expedition. Her views on the matter were not at first known. As for William, he kept silent, so that even those who wished only to satisfy him hardly knew how to proceed. Thus,

(b) Burnet III 393-4.

of however original Memoirs 308. "Danby, Shrewsbury, Sidney, and all the moderate church of England men were for putting both in the throne."

though the Commons voted that King James, having broken the original contract between king and people; had abdicated the Government, and the throne was thereby vacant, the Lords first considered whether there should be a regency or a monarchy, and the regency vote was defeated by only two voices. Further, on the following day they proceeded to discuss whether there was an original contract between king and people as the Commons had declared. Next day they substituted the word 'deserted' for 'abdicated,' and came to the really significant point - Was the throne thereby vacant? According to Danby's supporters it was not; according to the Regency party it was not. The two together were too strong for their opponents, so that the question was negatived. About forty lords, however, among them the Earl of Shrewsbury, entered their protests.(c) Nor would the Commons accept the Lords' amendments, so that matters might have been at a deadlock, but for the fact that William at last made clear his wishes. Through one of his Dutch friends(d), he let it be made known that he

(c) Rapin II 785-793.

Lords Journals. 1689.

Lords MSS. 12th Report Ap.6 p.p.16-18. Shrewsbury was teller for the minority on the question whether to agree with the Commons that the throne was thereby vacant. Contents 53. Not Contents 54. (Feb.4 p.17)

(d) Cf. Mary Sandars' "Mary II" 192 note.

had no wish to be "his wife's gentleman usher."
Meanwhile, Burnet was assiduously spreading the news of Mary's intention never to act save in concert with her husband, a statement which Mary's reply to Danby's enquiries fully bore out; for she showed the latter how much she resented any attempt to "set up a divided interest" between herself and the Prince.(e) And lest there should still remain doubt on the question, William at last sent for Halifax, Danby and Shrewsbury, and told them plainly that, if there was to be a Regent, he would not be that Regent, nor would he hold the throne by his wife's apron-strings. Unless he were given the government in his own person, and that for life, "he would go back to Holland, and meddle no more in their affairs." He concluded with the plain suggestion that left no room for doubts as to his wish for the Crown, that he thought the Princess Anne's issue should be preferred in the succession to any issue he might have by another wife than Mary.(f) This plain speaking undoubtedly was the reason for the voting in the Lords when the question of the vacancy of the throne came up for the third time. The Commons' original vote was approved, and from that it was a natural step to declaring William and Mary

(e) Burnet III 393. 397.

(f) Burnet III 395-6.

King and Queen. Halifax was a lone voice, crying for William without Mary; his proposal outraged too many feelings to have any chance of support.(g)

Throughout, Shrewsbury had voted with the idea of making William and Mary joint King and Queen.(h) His steady support had been a great help to William in the Convention debates, and he had helped to shelve the discussion of the Prince of Wales in relation to the Crown by pointing out that the Prince of Orange's Declaration had not said the infant was spurious, but suspicious, yet James's party had not taken pains to convince them to the contrary.(a) Marks of William's favour were not slow to come. Already, at the beginning of January, he and Oxford and Lumley had been restored to the regiments from which they had been dismissed.(b)

(g) Burnet III 390-2.

Halifax was not seconded (Rapin II 794), but Burnet says many of the Republican party approved.

(h) Original Memoirs 308.

(a) Memoirs of Publick Transactions 27-8.

(b) Lapthorne to Coffin Jan.1.1689. Portledge 56.

Cf. however Spencer House Journals in Foxcroft's Halifax II Ap.205-6.

"Mar.28 Said hee would raise Reg^{ts} but not give the command of them to Lds.

Note, hee hath taken those away which the Lds. had first raised."

His rise to the Secretaryship soon afterwards, however, he really owed to the good offices of the Marquess of Halifax; for William was extremely doubtful of the appointment, possibly because of the Earl's youth. Halifax noted in his Journal, under the date February 14, 1688, this conversation with the King.

"Said, I am a young King, and a young Secretary and that he required my help - M^{dm} hee made a good deal of objection to the making Ld Shrewsbury Secretary, when I mooved him to him."(c)

He was a very young King, indeed, so far as the duration of his office was concerned, for the offer of the Crown had been made to him only the day before. As for the Secretary, he was sworn in the Privy Council that very day, and his warrant was not issued until the 8th of March.(d)

In his choice of ministers, the new King endeavoured to satisfy both parties. Whigs and Tories had invited him over, therefore both Whigs and Tories must be represented in the Government. Danby as President of the Council was an obvious choice. He had both engineered

(c) Foxcroft II Ap. 204.

(d) Luttrell I 502.

Doyle.

12th Report Ap.6. p.179.

Cal.S.P.Dom.

the Revolution, and taken his share in the fulfilling of it.(e) Mordaunt, who had been the first to suggest invasion to William, was made First Lord of the Treasury, which was put in commission. Devonshire became Lord Steward; Delamere for a short time Chancellor of the Exchequer; Herbert appeared at the head of the Admiralty; Shrewsbury was one of the Secretaries. These were all rewards for services. But the Tory, Nottingham, who had drawn back, was the other Secretary; and Halifax, who had somehow fallen between the two parties, was made Lord Privy Seal, with sufficient influence to persuade the King to advance his protégé, Shrewsbury. Some lesser offices the King reserved for his own followers. Bentinck, created Earl of Portland in April, was officially Groom of the Stole, unofficially considerably more. Auverquerque was Master of the Horse. There was no attempt here at party government.

The appointment of the Earl of Shrewsbury was on the whole a popular one. The only real objection to it was on the score of his youth; for in every other respect he showed himself fitted to the task. That remarkable charm of character which made people refer to him as the King of Hearts stood him in good stead, whether in

(e) Burnet III 278, 284.

dealing with applicants for offices or irate captains of troops. It won him also the devoted support of all who worked under him. If one fact stands out more clearly than any other in his life, it is that he was a good master, both to his personal servants and to the clerks in his office. Burnet testifies that during his term of office, he never heard anyone complain of him except for his silent and reserved answers; nor, he further says, did the indiscretions of those who swarmed round him seeking places ever draw from him one passionate word.(f) In addition, he who had until James's reign appeared as an indolent man of pleasure, devoted himself assiduously to business. No one after a study of the letters he wrote and received could question that he was a hard worker. Ailesbury records in his Memoirs how Shrewsbury told him that he left his subordinates to do the work, and himself only signed the letters.(g) But this self-depreciatory remark from a man who drafted and rewrote much of his correspondence in his own hand, must not be taken too seriously. During the first Secretaryship

(f) Burnet III 276, IV 3.

Original Memoirs 288.

Macky's Secret Memoirs.

(g) Cf. Burnet - "he applied himself to business with great diligence;" and Original Memoirs 313 - "Shrewsbury was the best beloved of the whole ministry, and deserved to be so; there lay no prejudice against him but that of his youth, which was soon overcome by his great application and wonderful temper."

he attended in his office at Whitehall, in Parliament, at the Privy Council Committee meetings, at the Irish Committees, with unfailing regularity.(h) With attention to business, also, he combined great tact in pursuing it. Small wonder that the King, having once realised Shrewsbury's merits, felt that he could hardly do without him. Where William's blunt orders roused ill-feeling, the Secretary was able to smooth by a courteous and tactful letter. Orders were conveyed in such a way that those commanded might well have imagined that the King felt deeply in their debt.(a)

Other marks of honour were shown the Earl during the year 1689; for in March he was made Lord Lieutenant of County Hertford during the minority of the young Earl of Essex, and also Lord Lieutenant of his home county of Worcester, in April Lord Lieutenant of Hereford and of North Wales.(b) At the coronation that month of the new King and Queen, he held the curtana as he had done for James.(c) In May, the Governors of the Charterhouse, among whom were the distinguished names of Halifax and Rochester, wishing to elect a new governor in place of the exiled Sunderland, made Shrewsbury their choice.(d)

(h) Lords Journals 1689, 1690 passim.

Lords MSS. 12th Report Ap.6. p.p. 167, 168, 179.

(a) Cal.S.P.Dom. passim.

(b) Cal.S.P.Dom.1689. March 16. March 30.
Doyle.

Luttrell I 513. II 340.

(c) Coronation Volume 1083(c) p.27. Lambeth Palace Library.

(d) MSS. of Lord Edmund Talbot 313 (Fitzalan Papers).

A great variety of work passed through the Secretary's office. On the 12th of March, King James landed in Ireland, which was holding out under Tyrconnel, and the state of that country soon gave England much anxiety; for to the English the continental war, which was formally declared a month later, mattered as little beside the danger nearer home. In consequences of these disturbances, it was difficult to move freely about the country, and the Secretary's pass was required before a journey of any great length could be made. Troops were sent up to Chester and quartered there until they could be embarked at Neston for Ireland. Meanwhile, little boats plied between Wales, Wirral and Ireland, carrying unauthorised letters and persons, Much of the correspondence from the Secretary's office dealt with this and similar pin-pricks. Suspected persons had to be examined. Papists were to be carefully watched; but at the same time it was necessary to restrain the zeal of the military, who seized Papists' horses instead of buying them elsewhere. To seize the horses was perfectly legitimate, but not for the soldiers to do it.(e) The work occasionally had its humourous side, as when, a search having been made of a suspected

(e) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1689 passim.
Portland II 161.

person's documents, little was found but love letters. If the soldiers took advantage of the populace, the people none the less took advantage of the soldiers, as an indignant letter from the Earl of Drogheda to Shrewsbury shows.

"They sell drink here (at Chester) by what measure they please, contrary to law, so that they make our men pay two pence for a little more than a pint of ale, which common soldiers cannot afford ----- we pay ready money for all we eat and drink in this town, yet they cannot endure a soldier: they flatly refused quartering us upon our first marching in, and had not Ld. Delamere assisted us, we had not got quarters that night."(f)

Soldiers at this time were being freely quartered upon the people, just as horses belonging to quite innocent persons were sometimes seized; and here it is interesting to note how Shrewsbury in his position of Secretary was able to protect his own relations. Middleton, his uncle by marriage, and Bridges, his step-father, were both given a protection order from his office, while special care was taken of the old Earl of Cardigan, who, as a Catholic, was subjected even in his own county

(f) Drogheda to Shrewsbury June 25. 1689. Cal. S. P. Dom.165.

to indignities.(g)

If the work in the Secretary's office was varied during the months of settlement after William was made king, it was also arduous: but perquisites and privileges were many, for every promotion and every pass went through the office. Shrewsbury himself estimated the employment as "worth near ten thousand pound a year,"(h) and at the beginning of 1690 the King made him also a special grant of five hundred guineas from the secret service money as a "free gift."(a) But to say, as Ailesbury said, that Shrewsbury's whole thought was to reimburse himself for the money he had expended to bring about the Revolution is to ignore the facts.(b) He could have had much more both of wealth and honour throughout his life, than he ever chose to grasp. Far from showing a desire for further gain, he was more eager to withdraw from the responsibilities of office than to turn a comfortable into an opulent existence.

(g) Cal. S.P.Dom. 1689.

March 20. Exemption for Earl of Middleton and George Bridges.

March 22. Exemption for George Bridges.

April 2. Warrant excusing Earl and Countess of Cardigan from attending the Coronation.

April 6. Protection order to Earl of Cardigan, etc.

May 7. See Postscript. Shrewsbury to Bridges.

(h) Buccleuch MSS.

(a) Rawlinson A 306. Jephson's Secret Service Account Book.

(b) Ailesbury Memoirs 130.

He soon found that the work was not congenial to him. With apparent good-humour he listened to the throng of place-seekers that daily plied him for promises, secretly hating the task; and spent long hours in the Secretary's office while his heart rebelled at the enforced labour and longed for leisure to live his life according to his own planning, rather than in a routine of duties to the State. Some sense of shame must have overcome him in the early days of the new reign, when through his office passed a warrant for the arrest of his old friend and kinsman, Sir John Talbot, who did not immediately make his peace with the Government.(c) For one of Shrewsbury's family, indeed, the Secretaryship was the least enviable of offices. His position was not made easier by the fact that his health was poor. By the summer of 1689 he was complaining of having fits.(d) Gone was the boy who used to be "merry and well,"(e) and in his place there was gradually to appear the Shrewsbury of sickly body and unhappy mind, who was never afterwards quite to shake off his hypochondriacal complaints. He suffered also from a serious

(c) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1689 March 1.

(d) Shrewsbury to William Aug. 27. 1689 Coxe 6.

Cf. Shrewsbury to Macclesfield (infra).

and Shrewsbury to Nottingham July 12. Finch MSS. II 226.

(e) Bucc. II 19.

disability in the loss of his eye, which had become so diseased as to necessitate its removal almost ten years previously.(f) To a man of his sensitive nature, the deformity must have afflicted him to nearly the same degree as the inconvenience: but it was no light inconvenience to a Principal Secretary of State, and History has perhaps not fully appreciated this drawback under which Shrewsbury carried on private studies and public duties.(g)

His first period of office was made harder, because of the fact that he and Nottingham failed to look on business from the same point of view. Their differences of opinion especially complicated the making of Crown appointments, and Shrewsbury declared that Nottingham found means to overrule his own suggestions. So early as July he was openly resentful of his fellow-Secretary's attitude. "Having, according to my duty, presented a list of persons I conceived fit to serve His Majesty as judges and attornies in Wales," he complained to Lord Macclesfield, "the Lord Nottingham, taking advantage of

(f) Sidney Diary I 239 and II 62. Letters of Jan.6 and May¹⁸ 1680.
 (g) "Reading is bad, and writeing much worse on occasion," he afterwards described it to Stepney. - June 28. 1704 Warner 119.

your Lordship's and my own indisposition, has endeavoured that no person should serve in the place to which I recommended."(h)

The King was the more ready to take the older man's advice, since he was by nature autocratic, and Nottingham was a keen supporter of the prerogative. If he could not find a King to his liking, he had at least found a King for his theories, and these theories left no room for the more republican ideas of the younger Whigs.(a) At no period could Shrewsbury have been called a Whig militant, but he was at this period recognised as one of the Whig leaders, worked hand in hand with them, and was no supporter of unlimited royal prerogative. In common with others of his party, he received a rude shock when he discovered how decided William's views on kingship were. No Tory High Churchman had higher views than the King on the degree of confidence a King ought to have in his subjects, and the restrictions and limitations on royal authority, which for the Whigs were the logical outcome of the Revolution, seemed at times to William almost more than he could endure.

(h) Shrewsbury to Macclesfield July 23. 1689. Cal.S.P.Dom.195.

(a) Burnet IV 4-5. 25.

Original Memoirs 290, 314.

The King was soon to find, what in the common union of opposition to James had not been at first obvious, that party feeling in England meant more than a mere name, that a divided ministry meant divided counsels, and the natural result was that no work was done. Even by the end of May, he had begun to feel the strain of pulling both ways, for he confided to Halifax that he would not have two Secretaries in Scotland, "to have one advise him one thing and the other to another." (b) More and more he began to lean towards the Tories, while the disgust of the Whigs in consequence grew greater. At every turn they had found themselves thwarted. Very wisely, the King had not allowed the revengefulness of the more bitter among them to have its way. Thus the discussion of grievances of King Charles's time was shelved, and the attack on his Tory ministers was not allowed to go farther. (c) But Whigs of quite moderate principles also felt themselves slighted, and complained bitterly, like Shrewsbury, that Danby, now Marquess of Carmarthen, and Nottingham, the former of whom had already a somewhat unscrupulous record, the latter a tardy convert to the **Revolution**, were preferred before them. (d)

(b) Foxcroft II Ap.218.

(c) Shrewsbury was one of those who supported William in his decision not to discuss grievances of King Charles's time.

Burnet III 309.

(d) Original Memoirs 340.

To add to Shrewsbury's difficulties, Dr. Wynne, the under-secretary in his office, was discovered to be carrying on treasonable correspondence with James's supporters. James Vernon, at that time apparently a clerk, was also suspected, though with what reason it is hard to say.(e) Suspicion fell on the office, and Wynne was eventually turned out.(f) This combination of circumstances was too much for the Secretary's equanimity. At the end of August he wrote begging the King to accept the seals. He pleaded ill-health and his naturally "lazy temper" - the phrase must not be taken too seriously when applied to his own inclinations by a man of his industry - but he made clear also how disgusted he was at the delays in the King's business that brought everything to a stand. He reminded William that he had not sought the position of Secretary.(g) Probably the history of the appointment was a secret between the King and Halifax. Expressing amazement at this wish to resign, the King immediately despatched Portland to persuade the Earl to retain office.(h) But again his Secretary begged that he might retire. In his sensitive way, Shrewsbury had magnified the suspicions

(e) Foxcroft II Ap. 225. 226.

Shrewsbury to William Sept.1. 1689. Coxe 10.

(f) Portland III 440. A Harley to her father. Sept.14.1689.

(g) Shrewsbury to William Aug.27. Coxe 6-9.

(h) Shrewsbury to William Sept.1. supra.

against Wynne and Vernon, into a reflection on his own conduct, and even put this forward as a reason for his retiral. It was with the greatest difficulty that he was persuaded to remain in office.(a)

The complaint that he made in his letter of 27th August was exactly the complaint that William also had to make. No business was being done. Time was being wasted in factiousness, instead of in settling the succession and pursuing the wars. When Parliament met again in the autumn, a new grievance awaited the King on the question of a settlement for the Princess Anne. Without first consulting the King and Queen, Anne, urged by the Marlboroughs, endeavoured through the House of Commons to have an annuity of seventy thousand pounds settled upon her. The Committee rejected this large sum, and William, anxious to stifle further talk, sent Shrewsbury to Marlborough to propose that fifty thousand a year should be given to Anne of the royal bounty, and offering also to pay her debts. Lady Marlborough, however, would have none of this. Lady Fitzharding, one of the Villiers sisters, was then sent to the Countess to try the effects of her persuasions, but Sarah was adamant, and finally Shrewsbury

(a) Shrewsbury to William Sept.4.
William to Shrewsbury Sept.5. Coxe 13.

himself was sent to treat with her.(b) We have the account from the lady herself.(c)

"A day or two before it was put to the vote in the house of Commons, I was extremely surprised by a message from the Duke of Shrewsbury,(d) who, as he did not visit me, sent to desire to speak with me about business. When he came he told me That he was sent by the King, who promised to give the Princess 50,000 l. a year, if she would desist from solliciting the settlement by parliament, and that he was confident his majesty would keep his word: That if he did not, he was sure he would not serve him an hour after he broke it. I said, that such a resolution might be very right as to his grace, but that I did not see it would be of any use to the Princess, if his Majesty should not perform the promise."

Lady Marlborough then suggested that Shrewsbury should himself speak to Anne; but with the Princess he had no more success. Supported by her favourites, she merely replied that she would let the matter go on, and "see what her friends could do for her." Anne's friends - Rochester and the Speaker of the Commons were managing

(b) Doebner 17-18.

Conduct of the Duchess.

(c) Conduct of the Duchess 33.

(d) Shrewsbury was not, of course, Duke until 1694.

the matter - were not able to get for her quite what she and the Churchills wanted, but they succeeded in having an annuity of fifty thousand pounds settled upon her, while the King's revenues were voted only from year to year.(e)

It was the Tories who had set up Anne against the King: the Whigs were further to irritate him by delaying the Act of Indemnity that he was striving for; and by endeavouring to have the Corporation Bill passed, with its Sacheverell clause that meant the virtual exclusion of the Tories from the corporations. Meanwhile, Nottingham and the Church party (f) were advising a dissolution of Parliament, promising in return that if a Tory majority prevailed in the Commons, business would be more satisfactorily carried through. The intention was to prorogue Parliament for a long period, and then to dissolve it. In pursuance of this idea, the King sent Portland to ask Shrewsbury to compose the royal speech to be delivered when Parliament was prorogued,(g) but he received an indignant letter from his Secretary, dated December 22nd, in which, declining to put any such speech

(e) Doebner 26.

Conduct of the Duchess 34.

Burnet IV 162-4; 23-4.

(f) Original Memoirs 338.

(g) For the practice of composing the royal speeches. Cf Morgan's Political Parties 298, citing Hardwicke's note in Cowper's Diary. Somers composed Williams's later speeches.

in writing, Shrewsbury begged his sovereign not to prejudice his affairs by a lengthy prorogation.

"I think Your Majesty does not suspect me," he continued, "to be so violently biassed to either of these parties as not to see the faults of both, and the dangers that may likely ensue in joining with each of them. I wish you could have established your party upon the moderate and honest principled men of both factions; but as there be a necessity of declaring, I shall make no difficulty to own my sense, that your majesty and the government are much more safe depending upon the whigs, whose designs, if any against, are improbable and remoter than with the tories, who many of them, questionless would bring in king James, and the very best of them, I doubt, have a regency still in their heads; for though I agree them to be the properest instruments to carry the prerogative high yet I fear they have so unreasonable a veneration for monarchy, as not altogether to approve the foundation yours is built upon. I hope, Sir, you will excuse this plain dealing, from a man that means your service honestly and heartily, and rather chooses to expose himself to your censure for these lines, than to the

remorse of his own conscience, for having writ a speech to a purpose, absolutely disagreeing with his own opinion."(h)

William's hand was stayed for the moment, but not for long. In the bitterness of his dissatisfaction, he even considered abandoning his kingdom to the Queen, who, poor soul, knew nothing of the intention, and returning to Holland.(a) Burnet, who tells the story, had it from Shrewsbury, who with Carmarthen and some others, was summoned to hear the King's plans. The lords succeeded in dissuading him, but not before tears had been shed. England, where, he said, the Commons had used him like a dog,(b) had become intolerable to William. He was determined that at least he would get away from it to prosecute the war in Ireland, and from this the Whigs could not turn him. Proroguing Parliament on the 27th of January, he made his intention known to the country.(c) The prorogation was soon followed by a dissolution, and in the new Parliament which met in March, as Carmarthen

(h) Coxe 14.

Coxe, and the later biographers of Shrewsbury, have, I think, missed the point of this letter.

(a) Burnet IV 71.

(b) Foxcroft II Ap. 207.

(c) Doebner 22.

and Nottingham had predicted, a Tory majority was assured. A few changes took place also in the ministry. Halifax, tired of being baited by both sides, had resigned, and the Privy Seal was put in commission. Sir John Lowther replaced Mordaunt as First Lord of the Treasury. Tories were admitted into the commission for the Lieutenancy of London, although Shrewsbury opposed Nottingham in this matter.(d) The Whigs were further annoyed because the King desired them to drop the Abjuration Bill, which was indeed rejected on the second reading, Clarges arguing significantly that the providence of God ought not to be limited!(e)

Shrewsbury had been foremost in urging on the Abjuration, and its failure caused him to reiterate his request to resign.(f) Halifax out of office, he had lost the support of the man perhaps nearest to him in politics. In common with the other Whig leaders he was openly aggrieved, complained bitterly of the King's inattention to business, of the success of Carmarthen's counsels as against his own, and was with difficulty restrained from

(d) Burnet IV 73.

(e) E. Harley to his father. April 26. 1690. Portland III 447.

(f) Burnet IV 81.

bursting in upon the King in a passion to return the seals. Tillotson, sent by William to try the effect of his persuasions, could not alter Shrewsbury's determination: he wished to be out of office, and four or five times carried the seals to the royal closet, only to be forced to take them back again.(g) He would not even await the end of the Parliamentary session, but, accompanied by Wharton, who had first introduced the Abjuration Bill, and who was equally chagrined at its reception, he left London at the beginning of May. Before going to his country house, he and Wharton proceeded to Newmarket, for the two friends were keenly interested in racing.(h) Significantly he left the seals in his office.(a)

(g) Ibid 81-2.

Luttrell II 35.

Portledge 71.

(h) The recent biography, "Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury" (p.48) says - "he retired to his country house near Newmarket, accompanied by Lord Wharton." This I take to be a misreading of Luttrell - "the lord Shrewsbury went to his country house by Newmarket," that is, by way of Newmarket. Shrewsbury had not, that I can discover, any house at Newmarket. The fact that he usually stayed with either Godolphin or Russell supports this belief. His family seats were Grafton near Worcester and Pepperhill, at Albrighton; and his country residence at Eyford he apparently had on a lease. It was not, of course, Lord Wharton who accompanied Shrewsbury, but Thomas Wharton, his son.

(a) Luttrell says it was not known whether he would act again. Cf. Finch MSS.II 278, 279. May.9. May 12.

William was both angry and disappointed. To Halifax he expressed his annoyance, especially at the reason Shrewsbury had offered for his conduct, that he could not concur in the King's measures.(b) It seemed to William both foolish and ungrateful, and he, at any rate, blamed it on the fact that he had followed Carmarthen's advice and not Shrewsbury's in a dispute between the two. But he still believed that he would be able to persuade Shrewsbury to retain his office, and in his instructions to the Queen before setting out for Ireland recommended him as one who might be entirely trusted.(c) Much to the astonishment of Mary, who had not known of his intention to resign, the seals were delivered by Admiral Russell's hands the day before the King left London.(d) Shrewsbury, his vitality lowered by work and anxiety, had fallen dangerously ill, so ill that when Portland arrived to remonstrate with him, he found him too weak to turn himself in bed, and for very pity left him to struggle back to strength in peace.

(b) Foxcroft II Ap.250.

(c) Doebner 28.

(d) Clarendon's Diary June 3.

Doebner - 28.

This is not incompatible with a later visit from Portland, as Coxe seems to think - Note in Coxe 17.

A month had passed before he was even able to walk the length of his room.(e)

For some time, however, his mind was still tormented by the problems of his short term of office, and the retirement on which he had insisted, while he brooded on the fact that those who did not know him were misjudging him for leaving the King's service. The draft of a curious letter, which he must originally have meant to send to the King, remains among his papers. Perhaps it was never sent to anyone, but served only to relieve a mind tortured with sensitive misgivings. It is full of agitated erasures.

"It may seem strange to many who have remarqued ^{his}~~your~~ Majesty's(f) goodnesse in bestowing a place upon me of soe great honour and profitt, how I come to be soe wanting to my self and ^{him}~~you~~ to quitt what ^{he}~~you~~ gave with soe partiall kindnesse and I received as the greatest mark of it I doe not doubt but there are very many who either out of love to malice or hatred to me will construe this as if I were withdrawing my self from an approaching storm, and playing the part either of a scoundrill or doublehearted man, but I hope and thinck your maiestys affairs are not in soe

(e) Shrewsbury to Somers Sept.22. 1697. Coxe 496.
Cf. Downshire I 346.

(f) There are many other alterations in the original.

desperate a condition to invite even the most cautious to such a game, and for my unsincerity I defend that the actions of my life past and to come will vindicate me from soe foul an aspersion, it will then be asked what may be the ocasion of soe suddaine a retreat

"first that the constant attendance upon busynesse is what I have been soe little used to and am soe unfitt for that I imagine between disuse and incapacity such an employment is more burthensome to me, then it will be to many of quicker parts and greater application

"2^{dly} that noe private consideration ought to make a man loose the pleasure and satisfaction of his life is in my circumstances, ineasy at the trouble that attends of my temper a great expence, and has estate sufficient for what he has a pleasure to spend, the toile and torture of soe much busynesse is a good bargaine to none but those who are fond either of ambition experience(?) or money

"3^{dly} The sollicitations of poeple who deserve well and think they deserve better, who believe it is in the power of a man in great employment to gett any thing he will ask for them is an ineasynesse one cannott comprehend till one has experienced, if they obtaine what they pretend to all is well for a time and they think they have their due,

but if they are disappointed or soe much as delayed, then immediately they raile at those at ² first they¹ chose for their Patrons and accuse them of neglect unfriendliness and perhaps corruption, soe that by all your paines you gaine noe more frieinds then you can preferr poeple above what they esteim their own desert, but all those that are not preferred according to the same partiall calculation think themselves ill used by all they imagine have any credit with the King.

"There are a multitude more of particulars of the same nature that might be enumerated, but I am sensible to ² most ¹ people will seem very frivolous reasons for quitting an employment worth near ten thousand pound a year, but as they are not equall iudges of the value I sett upon my ease, soe I am as incompetent a iudge of the prise they sett upon money, all that a thing of this nature is reducible to is that since men must live for themselves they ought to be their own chusers in what manner they will doe it, and as I will never blame nor despise any body I think honest and morall, soe I would ask but doe not expect the same quarter from others till I am found defective in one of those great dutys."(g)

(g) Draft Letter - Bound up with Duke of Shrewsbury's Remarks on Various Books. vol. III - Buccleuch MSS.

"Men must live for themselves." It was the cry of an individualist who resents the burdens and responsibilities that the community puts upon a man. The phrase perhaps explains some of the apparent incongruities in the private and political life of one who rebelled against the dictates of a family, a party, and a creed.

CHAPTER IV

OUT OF OFFICE.

CHAPTER IV

OUT OF OFFICE.

Throughout the summer of 1690, while William was absent in Ireland, no new Secretary was appointed. Nottingham, promoted to Shrewsbury's office, did the work of both. (a) On his recovery from his illness, Shrewsbury went to recuperate at Epsom, and did not make his appearance at Court until the beginning of July. (b) Four days earlier the combined English and Dutch fleets had suffered defeat at Beachy Head: the news of William's victory at the Battle of the Boyne that in its results was to compensate for the naval losses had not yet reached England. If those be right who say that Shrewsbury had resigned from office at James's command, it was surely a strange time for him to seek out the Queen. Mary was indeed going through an anxious experience. It appeared to her that she could not know whom to trust. Torrington had failed miserably; but no one else (with the exception of Monmouth (c))

(a) II Luttrell 53.

(b) Queen Mary to King William July $\frac{3}{13}$ Dalrymple's Appendix.
Shrewsbury to Halifax June 23. Savile MSS.

(c) Queen Mary to King William July $\frac{6}{16}$ Dalrymple's Appendix.

seemed to wish for his position. Fortunately the French did not follow up their victory; but for a short time England was in real fear of an invasion. Even before William left, the King and Queen had proved beyond doubt that the Earl of Clarendon was in correspondence with James; and Mary suspected that the Queen Dowager also was not true to their interest. In addition, Montgomery's plot had come to light, and the Queen had to do her best in William's absence to investigate it. She understood upon conversation with Montgomery that some of her English ministers were involved, but, when pressed, Lord Rothes ~~Rothes~~ would say nothing, and Montgomery merely hinted at Marlborough, and (somewhat absurdly) at Nottingham. The Queen herself distrusted Monmouth, probably with good reason.

In the midst of these difficulties, Marlborough conveyed to her an offer from Shrewsbury, Montagu, Godolphin, Wharton and Jephson to raise twelve hundred men at their own charge for the protection of the kingdom, desiring to be reimbursed only when convenient, and stipulating that their names be not mentioned to the Council Committee. But the Queen felt reluctant

to take such a step. Of them all, Shrewsbury was the only one she really believed in. Lord Montagu she did not like, and hesitated to entrust with such military power. Having, therefore, provided a suitable excuse - that William would be home before the men could be raised - she refused the offer, and determined to speak of it no further except to Shrewsbury (d). Not content with this offer of his services, three days later Shrewsbury wrote to Carmarthen, from Southborough, (e) to suggest that if the worst came to the worst, he would be willing to take over the command of the fleet, provided that two responsible seamen acted under him. Possibly he had already discussed the matter with Russell, who was unwilling himself to take command; for Russell afterwards suggested Shrewsbury's name to the Queen. (f) The letter concludes in a style that shows that the writer, despite ill health and the cares of office, had not lost his youthful spirit. (g) "I cannot help being so ridiculous," he confessed, "as to be mightily

(d) Mary to William July $\frac{10}{20}$ Dalrymple's Appendix.

(e) Where he was taking the waters.

(f) Mary to William 22nd July Dalrymple's Appendix.
1 Aug.

(g) The letter is in Dalrymple's Appendix. and in Cal. S.P. Dom.1690 p.31.

piqued at the affront the nation has suffered, and think it so much concerns the interest as well as reputation of every man that calls himself an Englishman, not to suffer this domineering fleet to go home without a revenge and call themselves ever after sovereigns of the sea, that I am very solicitous to hear good men are named for this command, that it might be somebody's business, who is sufficiently concerned in the success, to see this fleet equipped with diligence and care. This long letter is writ contrary to all the orders of a regular water-drinker, and in great haste. If what I have offered be very wrong, I hope you will have the charity to conceal the follies of

Your lordships

Most faithful, humble servant."

The Queen herself thought the proposal a good one. She knew how distressed William had been to part with Shrewsbury, (h) and considered it an opportunity of enlisting his services once more; but she was discreetly anxious to avoid doing anything of which William might disapprove, or which might give cause to others for

(h) Mary to William 22 July 1690.
1 Aug.

Dalrymple's Appendix.

disapproval: for she imagined that people might remark on the fact that she had taken advantage of her husband's absence to employ once more a man who had left William's service just before his departure to Ireland. She desired, therefore, that the two seamen, Ashby and Haddock, should be named in the commission, and the third name left blank until William's orders arrived. To her surprise this action caused another storm in the troubled party waters. Haddock, who had been recommended by the King, proved unacceptable to the commissioners of the Admiralty, who based their resentment on the fact that he had first been recommended by Nottingham. They declared that they only had the right of naming those in command, that royal nominations were a breach of their privilege, and for some time they steadily refused to sign the commission. Carmarthen, as the chief of a party that upheld the prerogative, was extremely angry, but not angrier than the Queen, who, but for William's absence, would have liked to turn out all the commissioners and appoint new ones. Perhaps it was because of this opposition, which had originated from the Whigs, that no more is heard of Shrewsbury as a commander of the fleet.

At the end of August William, leaving Limerick still resisting, returned to England. France had missed the opportunity for an invasion, the Jacobites their opportunity for a restoration for that year at least; and as the year advanced the parties that for a few short days had stopped their bickering, renewed their hostility as before. Parliament met again in October. The Whigs still remained loud in opposition; and in December the King at last appointed another Secretary, Henry Sidney, his favourite, who was in no danger like his predecessor of ruining his health by overwork. Meanwhile, many men were finding that the Revolution had not been an unmixed blessing. England was committed to a war, which by her entry into the Grand Alliance in 1691, was to show no signs of coming to an end. Her people were heavily taxed, her king personally unpopular. Many of the great offices in the State, most of the highest commands in the army, were held by foreigners. The King himself held all the intricate threads of foreign policy, and gave his confidence to none but his Dutch favourites. To many of the High Churchmen it must have seemed that far from being a protection to the Anglican Church, the Revolution had merely split that Church into two; for the year 1691 saw the end of

the King's leniency towards the non-jurors. Jacobite intriguers naturally took advantage of all this discontent; and the King began to find what indeed Shrewsbury had pointed out to him long before, that though the Tories were high for monarchy, not all of them were satisfied with his title to it.(a) He had, however, driven the Whigs too far into opposition to make them satisfied with anything less than a thoroughly Whig government. Shrewsbury, it is reported, even went so far as to blame the King for inattention to business, declaring that he had repented a hundred times his own share in the Revolution.(b)

In 1691, after William's return from the Continent, the Earl of Sunderland was permitted to come back to Court, and, now professing himself as zealous a Protestant as he had once appeared a Catholic, took the oaths, and was allowed to sit in his place in the House of Lords, (c) when Parliament met on the 28th of April. Though the Whigs did not know it, it was to be

(a) Shrewsbury to William, Dec.22. 1689. Coxe at p.15.

(b) Foxcroft's Life of Halifax II. 129.

(c) Portledge 107. 2nd May.

Cf. Sunderland's and Lady Sunderland's letters in Dalrymple's Appendix.

an important event for them. But meantime they showed their disapproval throughout that year by steady opposition in Parliament and a reluctance to come to Court. Hitherto people had noted the favour in which Shrewsbury stood with Mary. Some had even made malicious gossip out of it, (d) although the Queen was only following her husband's commands (e); but this favour was not continued (f), and the Earl, probably because of his friendship for Godolphin and Marlborough, seems to have been introduced to the Princess Anne's social circle.(g) He shared with the Princess the craze for drinking the waters, that took Anne to Bath or Tunbridge.(h) He was still unmarried, and rumour at least was still thinking out suitable heiresses for him.

- (d) Sandars Mary II.250 quoting Add MSS. 14,195 ff.100,101.
"Court and Society" vol 2, 159.
Burnet V 453 Dartmouth's note.
- (e) Mary to William July $\frac{3}{13}$ 1690.
Dalrymple's Appendix.
- (f) Denbigh MSS. App. to 7th Report p.200.
Newsletter 10 Juillet 1691.
30 Juin
- (g) Denbigh MSS. as above p.208.
- (h) Anne was at Bath in September 1692.
Notes and Queries vol.159 no.25. Dec.1930.
"Queen Anne at Bath."
Denbigh MSS. p.20. App. to 7th Report.
Denbigh MSS. App. to 8th Report. 14 Juillet '91.

The favoured bride during that year was Mistress Hungerford, but Shrewsbury was not yet ready for marriage, so that the lady had to content herself with Lord Lexington. (a)

Next year his friendship for Marlborough was tested. Almost from the first, the royal household and the household of the Princess had disagreed. The Queen and her sister were both warmly affectionate by nature, but both had also a good share of the Stuart obstinacy. In Mary the latter was tempered by lively common sense and a love of the reasonable, as well as concealed by her willing submission to her husband. Anne, also, in those days, was submissive where she loved, but with no such love of reason as her sister. She regarded the Marlboroughs with the greatest affection. Their influence over her at this time was enormous, and to William's mind extremely dangerous. For the King, she had nothing but dislike. His manner to her was rude, to Prince George contemptuous. She had been ousted from her more immediate rights to the

(a) Denbigh MSS. App. to 7th Report $\frac{8}{18}$ Sept. and $\frac{15}{25}$
Sept. '91. 202.

throne, and might on that account have been treated with more consideration. But behind Anne, the King saw the hand of the Marlboroughs, urging her on to demand a Parliamentary allowance, setting her up against himself, an ever possible menace to his security on the throne.

Proofs of the complicity of many of his subjects in Jacobite intrigue had come to the knowledge of the King, and he had shown himself neither vindictive nor unduly distressed. But proofs of Marlborough's treason were more important. Marlborough's actions during the Revolution had turned the scales in William's favour. He was the one able English soldier in high command. His actions equally might decide for James. But more important still, he would and did bring over the Princess Anne, just as he and his wife had decided her course in 1688. In December of 1691 Anne had been induced to write to her father, professing her penitence and desire of forgiveness. (b) The letter did not reach James until after the Battle of La Hogue, more than six months later, - he answered it on 18th July N.S. (c)

(b) Clarke's Life of James II vol. II 477.
Macpherson I 241.

(c) Melfort Letter Book Add. MSS. 37661 f.135.

but it is quite probable that William knew of its being sent.(d) At all events, in January of 1692 Marlborough was turned out of his commands and places,(e), and William was reported to have said that, were he not a prince, he would have been forced to ask satisfaction with his sword.(f) When in May it appeared that the French plans for an invasion were serious, the King, then on campaign, despatched Portland with instructions for the Queen, who with the Council ordered the arrest of Marlborough, Huntingdon (g) and some others, among whom was Shrewsbury's uncle, Lord Brudenell. The supposed plot, however true in substance, had been hatched in the imagination of the infamous Robert Young, but, unlike his fellow prisoners, Marlborough was not released on bail until the last day of the term - June 15th. Shrewsbury and Halifax stood as two of his sureties. About a week later their names were struck

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- (d) Wolseley's Life of Marlborough II.244
Cf. Portland III.488 and 489. Edward Harley to Sir Edward Harley Jan.23 and Feb. 16. 1691/2.
- (e) Portledge 129. 23rd Jan.
Burnet IV.161.
- (f) Portland III. 488. Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley.
Jan.26. 1691/2.
- (g) Portledge 137. 7th May.
Cal. S. P. Dom. 23rd May.
Fitzherbert MSS.248.

out of the Council, as well as those of Marlborough and Torrington.(h) The reason given was that they had ceased to attend, but the real reason is not difficult to see. Years later, when Marlborough had won for himself a European reputation, Shrewsbury took pride in the fact that he owned his esteem for him "even when it was a crime" to do so.(a)

There can be no doubt that Marlborough was in correspondence with St. Germain's, having not only received letters from James, but sent them.(b) But in spite of the accusations afterwards made against Shrewsbury, there is considerable doubt whether Shrewsbury was. Historians persist in regarding him as worse than a double dealer; for in his justification of himself to the King he was emphatic as to his innocence. One or two awkward circumstances affected him. Many of his relations were undoubted Jacobites. One uncle, Beuno Talbot, having been Chancellor of the Exchequer for James in Ireland, stood his trial for high treason in 1691,(c) another, Lord Brudenell, was imprisoned in the Tower at the same time

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- (h) Portledge 141. 26th May and 152 19th November.
 Fitzherbert MSS. supra.
 II Luttrell 494.
 II Foxcroft 152-3.
- (a) Hill Correspondence 747. Shrewsbury to Hill 20th Sept. 1704.
 N.S.
- (b) Macpherson I. 236-7.
 Clarke's Life of James II. 449.
 Melfort Letter Book f.91. 20th Oct. N.S. 1692.
- (c) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1691. p. 384.
 Stuart Papers I 40, 45.
 Luttrell II 231. 20th May. - Luttrell calls him 'Bruno'
 He appears in the Buccleuch MSS. as 'Buno'.

as Marlborough. Lady Middleton was his mother's sister. The other sister, Lady Westmoreland, was known to be steeped in Jacobite intrigue.(d) As for his mother, not only was she the distributor of many of James's letters from St. Germain, but she was also a pensioner of France.(e) It is worth remembering that so far as Lady Shrewsbury was concerned, it was to her interest as well as her desire to convince the French Court that her son was really in the service of James.

No letter of this period has been found addressed to Shrewsbury save letters bearing cypher names, to be delivered to him in common with Russell and others, by Lady Shrewsbury. No letter at all from Shrewsbury has been discovered. A letter to England, endorsed 5th September 1692, printed by Macpherson^(f) from the Nairne Papers with the cypher names inserted from the cyphers in Middleton's letter book, is evidence that the Jacobite party was at that date still trying to gain Shrewsbury to their side. "As for these two bales you mention, No.251 (Lord Godolphin) and No.722 (Lord Shrewsbury),

(d) Gal. S. P. Dom. 1696 p.123.

(e) Dalrymple's Appendix Colbert to Louis 9th Nov.1671.p.82.

(f) Macpherson I. 420.

for all I can yet learn, there is not much more clearness here than you hav ther; and, therefore, I can say nothing of positiv concerning them as yet." In the Melfort Letter Book a letter of 20th October (N.S.) the same year, to "Mr. Sakfield" says further, "You say you are still to seek in the prices of the goods No.251 and No.722. Theye are goods much for our purpose if wee can have them at any tolerable price, for they would sett well in this winter season, and I am glad the Hamburg March^t. has so good an opinion of the latter."(g) This would seem to show that by the autumn of 1692 the Jacobites still did not know whether they had won over Shrewsbury and Godolphin, although they had obviously been trying to do so. Now, how does this agree with James's statement in his memorial to Louis XIV of November 1692 (g¹) that the Earl of Shrewsbury laid down his office of Secretary of State by James's orders? He had resigned from office in June 1690. Yet, in October 1692, Melfort, James's Secretary of State, did not know if the Jacobites could count him as a supporter. It must, however, be

(g) Melfort Letter Book f.88.

(g¹) Macpherson I, 435.

acknowledged that Melfort was absent on a mission to Rome during 1690. (h) In considering any of the memorials prepared by the Court of St. Germain for the perusal of the French King, it is well to remember Melfort's own confession, regarding the difficulties of persuading "Our Cosen" (Louis XIV) that the time was ripe for an invasion. "He wants demonstrations and all wee can show are probabilitys -" (a)

How far Shrewsbury was really connected with the Jacobites is a question that in all likelihood can never be fully answered. It is possible that before he had been very long in office, he began to fear the consequences of a counter-revolution, as well as to resent William's treatment of those who put him on the throne. His position as Secretary cannot have been an enviable one, especially when it became clear to him that if he remained at his post, it must be his duty to hunt down his own relations. In April 1690 he was returning £5,000 to Holland, possibly with a view to having some available money abroad should England

(h) Add. MSS. 37660.

(a) Melfort Letter Book - f.59. 26th Sept.

be plunged into the horrors of a civil war, and in the summer he was prepared to sell his Derbyshire lands to the Marquess of Halifax.(b) It is also possible that he did not repulse the Jacobite agents sent to him, just as it is practically certain that most of these communications were made through his mother. The Landen Memorial, which has been called "a tissue of absurdities" is only bearing out what two of Melfort's letters state when it mentions Shrewsbury as faithful to William up to 1693, though the writer believed or declared he believed him won over by the autumn of that year.(c) As contrary evidence up to that date, there is only the James Memorial, which may indeed have set forth the genuine belief of the exiled king, but is not on that account proof of Shrewsbury's guilt. It has been said that Macaulay saw the original of this document among the archives at Paris. He did not say so, but only that there was a copy there - all of which might very well be true, and still be no proof of Shrewsbury's guilt.(d)

There is little doubt, however, that Jacobite agents plied the Earl still more during 1693, when, dissociated

(b) State Papers. P.R.O. (not calendared) 1690.
Savile MSS.

Shrewsbury owned part of the estates at Wingfield, and Halifax the rest. - Fitzalan Papers.

(c) Macpherson I. 458-463.

Cf. English Hist. Rev. July 1920. vol. 35.

(d) Macpherson I. 435.

English Hist. Rev. supra.

Macaulay IV. 1843.

from the Council, he was keenly opposed to the Tory Government, and to the King's Dutch servants. He had been approached by both Middleton and Sir James Montgomery (e), and probably, considering his reputation for being a silent man when it suited him to be so, had neither repulsed nor encouraged. That he listened by William's orders, with a view to retailing such information as might be had, as Ailesbury suggests, cannot, however, be true.(f) In the first place, these Jacobite overtures were made at a time when he was in opposition to the King's government, and extremely dissatisfied with the King's management of affairs; and, again, had this been the case, he would not have been under the necessity of explaining to the King his conversation with Middleton, when Sir John Fenwick accused him in 1696. In James's Life itself occurs the history of how Shrewsbury in a conversation with King William explained his dealings with Montgomery. He owned that he had been acquainted with Sir James, and

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- (e) Shrewsbury to William Sept. $\frac{8}{18}$ 1696. Cox 147.
 Macpherson I. 480.
 Clarke's Life of James 520.
 Vernon II. 346.
- (f) Ailesbury 392.

received somewhat of a shock when the King was able to tell him sternly on what occasion he had last conversed with him. But Shrewsbury's answer was to the point. "By that you may see, Sir," said he, "I gave no encouragement to a man that would tempt me from my Loyalty." (g)

In his letter to William of 8th September 1696 (h), he gave the King an account of what there is no good reason to doubt was the true association between himself and Middleton, his uncle by marriage. He had, he owned, had a visit from Middleton during 1691, and had seen him again when he himself visited him in the Tower, where Middleton was imprisoned before "the La Hogue business." During his imprisonment, Shrewsbury went to see him as often as their near relationship appeared to demand, and one night at supper, Middleton, "pretty well in drink," spoke of his intention to go abroad, and offered to do any service for his nephew. Shrewsbury was not slow to see what he meant by service, but answered that he thought himself too great an offender to be forgiven. Nothing further was said,

(g) Clarke's *Life of James II.* 521.

(h) Coxe 147.

but when Middleton did leave for France - he was allowed out on bail in August - he left a message for Shrewsbury to the effect that he might depend on his services, and expected Shrewsbury's in England in return. Whereupon Shrewsbury had declared himself always willing to serve his aunt, or Middleton, or their children.

The story that the Earl accepted again of the seals in 1694 only after making sure that James was not going to arrive in England, and because he could not help himself, came, as most of the other messages concerning him did, from his mother. For the rest, Marlborough informed the Jacobite agents that Shrewsbury went back into office in order to be more serviceable to James. But the very man to whom he told it knew not whether to believe it.(a) What Macaulay has argued about Sunderland and his services during James's reign is applicable in the different circumstances to Shrewsbury. What had Shrewsbury to hope in William's reign from a Jacobite restoration? The most that he could expect was that he would escape proscription. The possibility

(a) Clarke's Life of James II. 519.

of James's return no doubt kept him alive to the inadvisability of antagonising James's agents, but here was surely much less even than the guilt of such of James's correspondents as Marlborough and Russell.

Although Shrewsbury went out of office in the summer of 1690, he did not, as in his later retirements, on that account withdraw from public business, but used his freedom as a leader of the Opposition. Carmarthen was his first target. Perhaps here public animosities were deepened by personal dislike. Danby had once been the henchman of Buckingham.(b) However that may be, in December 1690 Shrewsbury headed the party in the Lords that was bent on 'hunting the white elephant' by reviving Danby's impeachment, and might have succeeded in destroying him, but for the quarry's well-timed discovery of Preston's plot. (c)

Looked at from the point of view of Shrewsbury in opposition, his support of Marlborough no doubt sprang from a two-fold reason, being not alone due to friendship

(b) Burnet IV. 121.
Reresby.

(c) Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley Dec.30. Jan.1st.
Portland III.456.
Burnet IV.121-2.

for Marlborough, but arising also from a desire to pique the King. In Marlborough's objection to the King's Dutch friends he heartily concurred. It must have been extremely galling to those who had made the Revolution possible to see the business of the country entrusted to foreigners. When Parliament met, the question of Marlborough's imprisonment was taken up by his supporters in the House of Lords, and heated discussions followed. (d) Before long, Marlborough endeavoured to raise in the House the question of the Dutch commanders, and had no difficulty in inducing Shrewsbury to take a lead in the matter. Some years later Portland informed him that he had always noticed in Shrewsbury a coldness towards himself. (e) This retention of Dutch favourites must have been one of the ways in which he thought that William had broken the conditions on which he received the Crown. (f)

The Opposition's next move was to annoy the King by an attempt to wreck the land tax, but this policy never had any chance of success; for it irritated the Commons

(d) Portledge 152 Nov. 19th.
Burnet IV. 184.

(e) Burnet's Original Memoirs 368.
Burnet IV. 187-8.

Portland to Shrewsbury Sept. ⁸~~18~~ 1696. Coxe 141.

(f) Clarke's Life of James II. 520.

also, who objected to any interference with a money bill on the part of the Lords. The opposing party then showed their disapproval by a motion that both Houses should form a committee to consider the state of the nation. The motion was rejected, and Shrewsbury recorded his protest. (f') Their next attack took the form of a Place Bill, originating in the Commons, and but narrowly rejected by the Lords. This move also having failed, they tried the effect of a Triennial Bill - or, more correctly, a bill for the frequent meeting of Parliament - which had been mooted as early as 1690. (g) Shrewsbury introduced it in the Lords on January 12th. It provided, in its first form, for annual sessions of Parliament and annual General Elections. Rather surprisingly, it was supported by Carmarthen, who had also abstained from voting against the Place Bill. (h) The Bill passed both Houses, but was vetoed by the King. Parliament was prorogued at the beginning of May.

(g) Foxcroft's Life of Halifax II. App. 244.

(h) Keith Fieling - History of the Tory Party 289-90.

(f') *Protests of the Lords. Shrewsbury Papers I 105.*

Meanwhile, Shrewsbury had business of his own to attend to. Hitherto his friends had been considering suitable brides for him. Now he seemed on the point of choosing one for himself. His friendship with Thomas Wharton had been cemented by the assistance he was able to give him a year earlier in finding him a rich heiress for his second wife; for Wharton had married a relation of Shrewsbury's stepfather, Bridges. (a) The lady that Shrewsbury now thought of was Mistress Thomas, a grand-daughter of Lord Wharton. Her mother was remarried to Sir Charles Kemeys. From the financial point of view, the match was a most desirable one; for the lady had, it was said, a fortune of £4,000. a year in land and a considerable sum of money. (b) Luttrell has it that the marriage was settled at the end of February, when the Earl went into Glamorganshire. (c) But the marriage was never concluded; for the suitor found unexpected opposition from Lord Wharton, and indeed

- (a) Married July 1692 Lucy, daughter and heiress of Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburne.
 (b) Luttrell III p.44 25th Feb.
 Cf. Vernon's Chancery Cases vol. II p.p. 348-354.
 Thomas v. Kemeys.
 (c) Luttrell III. 44 and 45. 25th and 28th Feb.

sorrowfully complained that his friend, Thomas Wharton, was the only one of the family favourably inclined to him. (d) The letters written by Shrewsbury to Wharton on the subject are typical of the man - diffident, fearful of ill-success, yet with too much pride to risk a rebuff; and, as in everything he did, extremely anxious to avoid public talk. Whether in travelling, marrying, or in business, Shrewsbury shrank from having his every action discussed by those who had no concern in it. And here in 1693 he cannot make up his mind to the journey to see the lady, when there appears to him such small chance of success and every chance of much "discourse." "I begg you will believe," he writes, "it is not the inconveniency of the journey, or an unwillingnesse to leave the towne, that makes me writ this, but a ridiculous bashfulnesse to make so much noise about a busynesse that is not likely to happen."

Mistress Thomas's stepfather was, however, approached, and did not look upon the suit with disfavour. In a letter of June 10th to Wharton, Shrewsbury discusses the progress of the affair.-

(d) Shrewsbury to Wharton April 29. 1693. Carte 233 f.108.

"This enclosed letter I received from Coll Pope by which you will find (how) well disposed S^r Charles seemes to be, tho no answer can be given to any particular tell wee see what he writes to you which I compute you will receive Wensday at soonest, I have a little busynesse will call me to London, and will be at Winchindon upon Fryday in the evening; Quite contrary to S^r Tho — , I am for as many woemin as you please, but no supper except water gruel"— (e) A fortnight later he was writing still more hopefully, though his health had not improved even on a diet of water gruel.

"Thursday night.

"My coach horses are out of order, I am not well my self, and the busynesse I should have gone to London about, is put off for a little time; These are the reasons I doe not waite upon you to day as I designed, some time the next week I will not faile and if your occasions should call you to London before that time, I shall find you there, for in eight or ten days I must be in toune. If you

(e) Shrewsbury to Wharton June 10th 1693.
Carte 233 f.161.

have any news worth the sending I hope I shall receive it by this messenger, Coll Popes letters make me hope that S^r Charles is inclined to be freindly in the matter, and in case wee doe agree, I should be gladd to know what is expected for those other small requests that my Lady seemed to desire, for after reckonings are apt to breed disputes, which in those cases one cannot be too carefull to avoyd. Jho: tells me you expect company that would tempt any body to come over that had not lifted their thoughts a more serious way. I am told your old gelding beat that scratching nagg out of the countrey, wee have noe news more considerable here, nor I think theyve noe more in Flanders." (f)

Lord Wharton's steady opposition, however, sufficiently damped the Earl's desire for matrimony. In view of this disapproval from the head of the family, his daughter and her husband would go no further than to leave the

(f) Shrewsbury to Wharton (June 22nd) Carte 233 f.175.

lady free to make her own choice, and with Shrewsbury's modesty, he could not believe that that would be in his favour. Difficulties throughout life, instead of bracing his character to meet them, generally seemed to have a depressing effect upon him, and so perhaps he was not sorry to drop the matter rather than create considerable disturbance in achieving his aim. An innate dislike of 'making a fuss' about things was obviously one of his characteristics. He was convinced that Lord Wharton had some real objection to him as a husband for his granddaughter, as, considering that Lord's Puritanical outlook, perhaps he had. It might well be that a friend of his dissolute son appeared to him no suitable match for a young lady of his family, although he had been much pleased at the marriage that Shrewsbury had been instrumental in managing for Thomas Wharton. A rival had also appeared in the field, and the suitor wished to retire in good order rather than be worsted in the conflict. "The truth is," he confessed, "I am a very raw bashfull Lover, and would not take a great deale of paines, to be battled in my first attempt, by my neighbour Iron monger.(g) If such fellows are to

(g) Could this possibly be one of the Foleys?

be preferred, I will vow virginity. In short S^r I think since nothing material can be advanced in this affaire, till the young Lady come to towne, and is to look about for herself; twill be needlesse for me to give you or S^r Charles Kemeys the trouble of a journey, onely to consult what is to be done in case she likes me better than all the world besides, a supposition so improbable to my apprehension, that I shall entertaine no hopes, but that if I may not be so happy to be your nephew, you will not refuse me to be your humble servant -"

In August Wharton procured a letter of invitation for him to go and see Mistress Thomas, but Shrewsbury by then had given up the idea, and only regretted that he had caused any difference between Mr. Wharton and his father. He was determined to trouble his friend no more in the matter, vowing that it was the last time, and probably the last time he would ever think of matrimony. (h) Public affairs were already again claiming his attention.

(h) Shrewsbury to Wharton (July 15th)

Carte 233 f.204.

The lady did not marry, and died a few years later in her twentieth year. Cf. Thomas v. Kemeys in Vernon's Chancery Cases II p.348.

In the middle of June Robert Harley, retailing news to his father in the country, had written, "Earl Sunderland is returned to town, and setting up to be premier at winter; in order to it driving barthers with several."(a) Sunderland was in fact busy with a scheme of his own, which should at once do the King's business, and bring himself into favour, perhaps into office. The Whigs in opposition had proved a thorn in William's flesh; the Whigs and Tories struggling together he had already found unworkable; and now Sunderland wished him to make a trial of an absolutely Whig government. In March Sir John Trenchard had been made Secretary, and Somers, at that time Attorney General, was made Lord Keeper. It was the first step in the direction of a Whig government, and a step attributed to the advice of Sunderland.(c) Throughout the summer the Whigs busied themselves. Shrewsbury wrote to Wharton from London in July urging him to come to town as his presence was absolutely necessary.(d) Russell, as well as Marlborough,

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- (a) R. H. to Sir Ed. Harley 17th June 1693.
 Portland III p. 528.
 See also Sunderland to Portland 20 June 1693.
 Correspondentie II 38-40. This letter is a revelation
 as to the nature of the 'barthers.'
- (c) Keith Feiling "A History of the Tory Party" 295.
- (d) July 8th 1693. Shrewsbury to Wharton Carte 233 f.194.

who though not a Whig was at least in opposition, kept in touch with both Shrewsbury and Wharton as well for social as for political reasons, and this in spite of the fact that Shrewsbury's health was still poor, and much of his time taken up with drinking "Spaw wateres." (e) In August a meeting took place at Sunderland's house at Althorpe, where Lords Devonshire, Shrewsbury and Montagu, Admiral Russell and Thomas Wharton discussed the situation with such men of no party as Marlborough, Sunderland and Godolphin. (f) Shrewsbury apparently entertained some misgivings, for he wrote to Wharton from Eyford - "I think you have considered very discreetly, and there are more ways enough of disobliging great men without goeing so farr for it; I should not have been sorry for the journey if it had not been for the consequences, but they are not In my opinion so slight as at first they appeare, but if I should obey yours and Mr. Russells hummors and attend you (as I am much inclined) I shall want an excuse to my Id Mon: (g) for not comeing

(e) Shrewsbury to Wharton July 25th Carte 233 f.218

" " " July 13th Carte 233.f.203.

(f) Luttrell III 167. *Letter to Halifax Aug. 29. Held. at Althorp.*
 Portland III 542. H. Boyle to (Robert Harley) Sept. 6.

(g) Montagu whose seat was at Boughton, at no great distance from Althorpe.

to Boughton for the feare of disoblidging his neighbour, will be rude (? almost indecypherable) to him, therefore, statesman like I will trimm, and venture my soul and reputation and waite upon you Sunday in the evening."(h)

The result of Sunderland's scheming took practical shape in November when Nottingham was dismissed. The King had at last been convinced that if the Whigs were to come back Nottingham must go: but it was much against the Secretary's wishes. When Trenchard came to him for the seals, and politely remarked that he understood he was willing and desirous of delivering them, Nottingham burst out, "Not I, before God (I) am not willing." (a) The general belief was that Shrewsbury would now accept the post of Secretary, though some talked of another Tory, some of another Whig.(b) When urged, however, Shrewsbury refused except on condition, the condition being that the Triennial Bill would be allowed to pass

(h) Shrewsbury to Wharton 23rd Aug. 1693.

Carte 233 f.256.

If, as this letter would seem to show, the meeting had not taken place by this date - Aug.23rd - Luttrell must be wrong in believing, under date Aug.24th, that the Whigs set out for the meeting "some days since." The "great neighbour" of Lord Montague is, I take it, Sunderland.

(a) Hatton Correspondence II 198.

(b) Hatton Correspondence as above.

Newsletter Denbigh MSS. App 7th Rep. 213.

when it again arose in Parliament. The King considered the price too high, and for the moment the matter was dropped.(c) Meanwhile Admiral Russell was put in command of the fleet, in the hope that things would be better managed than through the summer, when the Smyrna fleet had suffered great loss.(d) There were now three Whig leaders in employment, Russell (soon to be put at the head of the Admiralty), Somers and Trenchard, and these were said to be the "governing men." Only Shrewsbury's adherence was needed to make a workable Whig ministry, and the King therefore set about in earnest to persuade him to come in.

Elizabeth Villiers, William's mistress, had a friend, a Mistress Lundee, who was intimate with Shrewsbury.(e) She may have been his mistress, though there is no hint of that in her letters. The King now urged the ladies to try to prevail on the Earl to take office. Unfortunately, the negotiation is obscured by

- (c) Portland III 547. 9th Nov.
 Hatton vol.II 198.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton December 2nd 1693. Coxe 25.
 I take "something that passed then" to mean the discussion on the Triennial Bill.
- (d) Portland III 547.
 Portland III 536.
- (e) Coxe says she was the daughter of the governor of Londonderry.
 Cf. Portland V.64.

the fact that the principals in it desired secrecy (f), and though many letters passed among them, few are adequately dated. Mistress Villiers appears to have approached her friend on the matter about the middle of November, and tried to arrange an interview with the Earl;(g) Shrewsbury, in his anxiety to avoid being persuaded, left London for his country house at Eyford, without waiting for a second meeting with the lady, who, after consultation with the King, sent Mistress Lundee after him with a letter. Mistress Lundee made the journey into Gloucestershire and saw Shrewsbury, probably not at Eyford, but perhaps at Stow in the Wold, about three miles distant.(h) She was not, however, able to prevail on him to agree with the King, parted from him with displeasure on both sides, and set out on her "terrible journey" back to London, bearing Shrewsbury's letter of refusal (dated 24th November) to Mistress Villiers (a). On the 28th

(f) Mistress Villiers asked that her letters should be burnt.
 (g) II Buce.56 and 58. The letters appear to be in wrong order.

(h) Buce.56. Letter of Friday morning.

(a) Come p.21 wrongly dated. The date is corrected and another portion of the letter given in Buce.p.58. Mistress Lundee's journey is merely inferred from the contents of her letter dated "Friday morning," with a consideration of the dates and the days of the week. Mistress Villiers wrote on Monday night, probably 20th Nov. Mistress Lundee probably set out next morning. The journey took about two days or even longer. Letters went in two days, but Shrewsbury usually took three, or, if he broke his journey, four. On Thursday she must have seen Shrewsbury. She could

another letter came, by the post this time, from
 Mistress Lundee, and in it she hinted at the prospects
 of a Dukedom. Perhaps the thought of this honour

summon him by messenger to Stow. On Friday she had
 received a message from him - no doubt with the letter
 for Mistress Villiers enclosed - and then returned to
 London, arriving there on Sunday evening. The letters
 are obviously misplaced in the ^{Bussell's} Raleigh Papers Report;
 for a week earlier on Sat. 18th, Shrewsbury was in the
 House of Lords.

Mrs. Lundee to Shrewsbury. Friday morning.
 (24th Nov.? 1693)

"I considered last night at least as long, my Lord,
 as you did, and I must confess grew every moment more
 and more of your opinion; therefore I earnestly ask your
 pardon for all I said to persuade you to the contrary,
 for I was so apprehensive of the agony your denial will
 give her that I did not give myself leave to reflect
 enough upon the great uneasiness it's very possible it
 would involve you in. But my Lord, if I had continued
 in the same mind you left me, yet sure you could not
 judge so wrong of me as to think I would not use all
 my endeavours to appease her, though I was too angry
 then to tell you so; but I would not have you believe
 that all my thoughts were upon this subject, for I had
 a thousand fears after you were gone that you might
 not get safe home; but I am so glad to hear you are
 well that it gives me new strength to undertake this
 terrible journey, for I know I am sincerely your
 Lordship's humble servant." On the dorse: "This letter
 must be burnt for several reasons. I'll write to you
 when I get to London, though I know not very well what
 direction will bring it safe to your hands."

placated the Earl, for he wrote in rather less decided terms than before.(b) Meanwhile the King was enlisting the help of the other Whig leaders, and commanded Wharton, whom he had just made Comptroller of the Household, to add his persuasions to the others.(c) "He told me" - wrote Wharton, "and commanded me to write you word, that whatever might pass in discourse between his majesty and yourself,(d) he is very far from disliking your principles, or having any sort of unkindness or prejudice to your person. That he is more convinced every day, that it is for his interest, and that of the public, to pursue such measures in the management of his affairs, as he knows will be agreeable to you; and that if you will be prevailed upon in it, he is most confident that you shall not disagree in any thing material, and doth promise to order it so, that you shall have no reason to repent your entering into his service."

Shrewsbury, however, was not to be moved, though russell also joined in the persuasions. Perhaps he was really afraid at this time that William's government

(b) Coxe 21. Buce.II.58-59.

(c) Wharton To Shrewsbury Dec.1. Coxe 24.

(d) For the interview between Shrewsbury and the King See Hatton Correspondence II 198.

had not long to run: Mistress Lundee herself had written to him, "I believe they are very near their destruction." (e) He hinted to Wharton that he doubted now whether he could even agree with his own Whig party in their latest principles, and reminded him of an intention he had once expressed of asking the King's permission to travel in Spain. (f) By the 12th of December he was back in his place in the House of Lords, but no nearer to accepting office. His return to London occasioned an attempt to get him to see the King once more, although during his first week there he had carefully avoided going to Kensington (g), and was determined to avoid a private audience with either William or his mistress. He began to wish that he had stayed in snow-bound Eyford, instead of venturing up to town. His cherished scheme of a bill for the frequent meeting of Parliament, introduced in a rather different form into the Commons (h) along with a Place Bill on November 14, about a week before he left London, had been defeated on its third reading, and although immediately revived by Monmouth in the Lords was again rejected in the Lower House, and was made an

(e) Mrs. Lundee to Shrewsbury undated letter II Buzs. 57. Macpherson I. 480.

(f) Shrewsbury to Wharton Dec. 2. Coxe 25.

(g) Shrewsbury to Mrs. Lundee Dec. 18. Coxe 27.

(h) Portland III 547.

excuse for ill feeling between the Lords and Commons. Although actually commanded to wait on the King, Shrewsbury managed to excuse himself on the ground that he was certain to offend.(a) For some time he still held out, though during the month of January he was assiduous in his attendance in the House. By the middle of February people began again to discuss the probability of his taking the seals (b); and some understanding with the King must have been reached - perhaps, as has been suggested, during the interview in which William brought up the subject of Montgomery (c) - for at the beginning of March he came into office once more. (d) The day that his warrant was issued he was a fellow guest with William at dinner at the Earl of Bedford's, and the following day, with Dorset, Sunderland and Portsmouth, accompanied the King to Lady Russell's house at Winchester.(e) Next month he was given a

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- (a) Mrs. Lundee to Shrewsbury (Dec.26 ?) Coxe 28.
Shrewsbury to Mrs. Villiers Dec.25. Coxe 29.
- (b) Luttrell III 269.
- (c) Clarke's Life of James II 521. Dalrymple 499.
Dalrymple had a story from Balcarres that Shrewsbury was given his choice of accepting the seals, or going to the Tower.
- (d) Luttrell III 278.2nd March.
Portledge Papers 171. 5th March.
Warrant to be sworn of the Privy Council 4th March.
Cal.S.P.Dom.p.51.
Warrant to be Secretary March 8 Cal.S.P.Dom.p.56.
- (e) Luttrell III 580-1.

dukedom.(f) It was soon to be followed by the order of the garter (g) and the Lord Lieutenancy of North Wales and Herefordshire.(h) Whether of his own inclination or not, he was a courtier and a statesman again.

- (f) April 13th. L. J. XV 431.
April 25th. Cal. S. P. Dom. p.116.
Luttrell III 302.
- (g) Beltz-Memorials of the Order of the Garter.
p.CXCVI June 5th.
Also Luttrell III 323.
- (h) Luttrell III 304.
Cal. S. P. Dom. p.119. April 28th.

CHAPTER V

THE SECOND SECRETARYSHIP:

SECRETARY FOR THE NORTH.

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THE SECOND SECRETARYSHIP - SECRETARY
FOR THE NORTH

William had committed himself to a Whig government. Although the Parliament, which was not dissolved until 1695, was still the same, the substance of the ministry was entirely altered. Trenchard and Shrewsbury as the two Secretaries, Russell at the Admiralty, Charles Montague as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Somers as Lord Keeper, made the Cabinet overwhelmingly Whig. Carmarthen, placated by a Dukedom (Leeds), still retained his place as President of the Council; but, divested of his supporters, he had little power, and that little was soon to be extinguished by the attacks against him on the score of corruption. The years of Shrewsbury's Second Secretaryship were the years of the Whig experiment that Sunderland had advocated. They were the years of the successful prosecution of a great war, and the real test of the strength of the Williamite government at home. The Whigs

got their chance and took it. Notwithstanding mistaken zeal at home, and naval blunders abroad, they proved their power, and in a real sense owed their downfall to their own arrogance. For Shrewsbury, those years marked at once the height of his power and the depth of his disillusionment. They made him the centre of many threads of administration, and at the same time divorced him from party and from office.

With the removal of Nottingham, Secretary Trenchard had become Secretary for the South, and dealt with home affairs, with Ireland and with the southern states of Europe. Shrewsbury became Secretary for the North, and at William's request dealt also with the Fleet.(a) Because of his friendship with Capel, much of the Irish business also went through his hands, and communications with the King, either direct to William himself or made through Blathwayt, the King's secretary, were managed by him both before and after Trenchard's death. A man of Shrewsbury's standing was not in quite the same position as a Trumbull or a Vernon, who, far from raising the office

(a) William to Shrewsbury Loo May $\frac{14}{24}$ 1694.

to one of chief importance in the ministry, tended to fulfil the duties of higher grade clerks.(b)

Parliament was prorogued on the 25th of April, and on the 6th of May the King left England for the Continent. Many important schemes had been planned for the summer. On land, William intended concentrating upon an offensive campaign. For the fleet he had two main projects, the first a great combined naval and military attack upon Brest, which should destroy at once the harbour and the shipping; and the second the command of the Mediterranean by the English fleet for the assistance of Spain in the defence of Barcelona, the intimidation of the Italian states, and in order to lay up the French Mediterranean squadron. For all the schemes money was needed, yet already the people were complaining of taxes (c), and the ambassadors at foreign courts of their difficulty to subsist. The foundation in April of the Bank of England, to which Shrewsbury with the other Whigs had largely subscribed, eased the financial situation somewhat, but it was going to be a hard task to carry the war to a successful conclusion on available resources.

(b) No disrespect to Trumbull, of course. It was not his fault that the King treated him as a civil servant rather than as a statesman.

(c) Hatton Correspondence II 198.
Shrewsbury to Blathwayt June 8 II Bucc.78.

The King's schemes, also, did not meet with the approval of all his ministers. They were content to leave the conduct of military warfare in his hands; but there was considerable difference of opinion with regard to the value of his naval plans. William had not been a week away before he learned of the departure of the French squadron from Brest to the Mediterranean, and at once wrote urging Shrewsbury to use his influence with Russell to hasten his departure to the Mediterranean, and to leave orders for the execution of the design against Brest.(d) From the first Shrewsbury had seen the value of the presence of an English fleet in the Mediterranean, but the Brest scheme had never appealed to him,(e) and the fact that the French squadron had got out of Brest appeared to him to take away the value of any attack even if it should be successful.(f) Russell, also, had no great opinion of the scheme. In his opinion the delays, which he attributed to the inattention of Sidney, who was General of the ordinance,

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- (d) William to Shrewsbury Loo May ¹⁴~~24~~ 1694.
Coxe 32.
- (e) Shrewsbury to William Whitehall May 22.1694.
Coxe 33.
Shrewsbury to Russell May 5.1694. Coxe 193.
Privy Council Minutes II Bucc.66.
- (f) Privy Council Minutes 9th May II Bucc.65.

and the insufficiency of funds, were now insurmountable and the season far too advanced to take the French by surprise.(g) As for going to the Mediterranean, he hoped that the presence of the fleet there would be of service, but expressed himself far from being delighted to make such a journey.(h) It required considerable tact, and the exercise of patience to get the fleet ready to sail at all. Between the Admiralty's mismanagement, and the Admiral's excuses, the Secretary had an anxious time. Russell was not even ready to sail from St. Helen's before the end of May.(a) The expedition against Brest resulted in total failure. Few people were surprised. Treachery there had been, no doubt, but the plea that has been made for Marlborough that he divulged to Louis only what was common knowledge, while it does not clear Marlborough, is none the less true.(b) Louis may have heard of the Brest expedition also through the Jacobites from Godolphin, but he could have learned of the preparations by other and simpler means. Tollemache, who led the military part of the expedition, had not been

(g) Russell to Shrewsbury May 3rd. Coxe 192.
 May 24th. Coxe 194.
 Cal. S. P. Dom. p.147.

Shrewsbury to William 22nd May. Coxe 33.

(h) Russell to Shrewsbury, May 24. Coxe at p.196.

(a) Russell to Shrewsbury May 29. II Bucc. p.73.

(b) Wolseley's Life of Marlborough 304.

given, or had not understood, the discretionary orders that Russell suggested.(c) Probably a man of his rash bravery would not have used discretion in any case.(d) He found the French fully prepared for his coming, and, though he fought bravely, never had any chance of success. He died of his wounds a few days later, murmuring of treachery. The whole affair had been mismanaged. Requiring absolute secrecy, it had been freely talked of; requiring promptitude, it had been delayed;(e) and the whole-hearted support of Admiralty and ministry, which alone could have achieved these things, was absent from the beginning. Shrewsbury was anxious that something at least should be done to retrieve the nation's honour; but apparently no alternative plans had been made, and the expensive preparations for a descent on the French coast that had been the main hope of this year, resulted in nothing further than a long delayed bombardment of Dieppe and Havre.

Indeed, nothing the navy did at this time appeared to succeed. Their constant blundering drew from William the bitter complaint, "It seems as if some curse

- (c) Russell to Shrewsbury May 30. 9 Orders to Berkeley. May 29 II Bucc.75.
Russell to Trenchard. May 26 II Bucc.70.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt (June) 13 II Bucc.81.
Burnet IV.234. Russell to Shrewsbury Aug 3 Coxe 198.
- (e) The King himself wrote Shrewsbury that the French had long known of the attempt. William to Shrewsbury June 18 1694. Coxe 44-5.
28.
Shrewsbury to William June 22. Coxe 46.

attended all the orders of the admiralty!"(f) Scarce was the discussion of the Brest disaster died down than a misunderstanding occurred between the Dutch and English squadrons, cruising on the 'Broad Fourteens' with intent to intercept the French corn ships that were bound for Dunkirk. The English Captain, in pique, brought his squadron back to the Gunfleet, and although he was ordered to return immediately, was too late to prevent the destruction of some of the Dutch vessels by a squadron under the famous privateer, Du Bart, and the consequent safe passage of the corn ships into Dunkirk harbour.(g) In such a state, too, were many of the English ships that Lord Lexington, setting off on his embassy to the Emperor, had difficulty in obtaining a convoy.(h) So slow was the Admiralty in seeing to the performance of any orders that Shrewsbury confessed to Blathwayt in the middle of September, "I have so often told you that the ships were sailing or sailed upon the attempt against Dunkirk, that I am almost ashamed to repeat it."

- (f) William to Shrewsbury 5th July N.S. Coxe 48.
(g) II Bucc. 86-90. and 101-2.
(h) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1694 p.166.

The project had been in consideration since the end of July.(a) In fact, the navy seemed more concerned at demanding homage and exacting rights of search from neutrals, than in doing anything serious against the enemy. The refusal of a Danish man-of-war to salute the English fleet in the Downs caused quite as much discussion as the failure at Brest. "If this affront be passed over without a just resentment," Shrewsbury wrote to Blathwayt, "it is not to be imagined what clamour it will create, and how the people, who are proud and fond of their Empire in the Sea, will cry out that the honour of Eng(land) is sacrificed."(b)

Meanwhile, Admiral Russell had at last reached the Spanish coast towards the end of June (O.S.), and was already lamenting his fate to be there at all. "It is a very pretty thing to be an admiral," he wrote to Shrewsbury, Little more than a month later he was complaining, "I long to be rid of this troublesome affair."(c) But at the time of writing he cannot have known that a harder fate lay before him; for the King

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- (a) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Sept.11th. II Bucc.132.
Shrewsbury to Blathwayt, July 31st. II Bucc.107 and elsewhere.
- (b) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt. Aug.17th,1694.II Bucc.at p.119.
- (c) Russell to Shrewsbury July 1st N.S. Coxe 198.
Russell to Shrewsbury Aug.13 N.S.

was anxious to keep the fleet in the Mediterranean throughout the winter, and communicated his desire by Blathwayt to Secretary Trenchard at the end of July. The project presented so many valuable features that it was worth an effort to achieve; yet the drawbacks were many. In Shrewsbury's opinion, as in the King's, the advantages far outweighed the drawbacks;(d) but the effects of wind and weather on the ships themselves, together with the catastrophe to be contemplated if the fleet should by any mischance be destroyed by the enemy had to be taken into account; so much so that the Council were of opinion that with Russell himself should lie the decision. As William succinctly put it, "It appears, that the committee are of opinion that admiral Russell should winter at Cadiz, but dare not declare that opinion, through fear of being responsible for the event." He therefore resolved on positive orders to the Admiral to winter at Cadiz.(e) The committee of the Council evidently feared a cold King less than the irate Admiral, for Russell's instructions were somewhat softened by the Queen, too much so, William

(d) Shrewsbury to William July 31. Coxe 62.
 Shrewsbury to William Aug. $\frac{3}{13}$ Coxe 67.

Shrewsbury to William Aug. 10. Coxe. 69.

(e) William to Shrewsbury Aug. $\frac{6}{16}$ Coxe. 68.

thought, and trusted that Shrewsbury had made it clear in a private letter that Russell was not at liberty to follow his own inclinations.(f) The King need have had no fear. He could trust his Secretary to say just the right thing. Shrewsbury had already written an inspiring letter to the Admiral, with the correct admixture of flattery to sugar the pill.

"Sir," it ran, "The letters which will come to you with this packet, are of the greatest moment to yourself and to England, of any that perhaps ever came to your hand. The state of the whole nation is so exactly laid down, I do not question, in Mr. Secretary's letter, I will not trouble you with repetition, but only desire, that in your determination, you will take care to lay aside all the partiality that is natural to a man returning home, after being so long absent, and so full of spleen, as yours of the first of July shows you to be. The first and chief consideration,^{is} to take care of England, and that fleet that is to protect it against the great misfortune. If you think it can be done, and remain at

(f) Shrewsbury to William Aug.14th and 28th. Coxe 69 and 72.
 William to Shrewsbury Aug.30 N.S. Coxe 70. and Sept.
 9 N.S. Coxe 74.
 Shrewsbury to William Sept.7. Coxe 75.
 Shrewsbury to Russell Aug.4th and 14th. Coxe 200 -
 and elsewhere.

Cadiz, it will, no doubt, be very glorious to interrupt all the King of France's designs this autumn, in the Mediterranean, and ride the next summer, master of both seas, as you have done this----"(g)

This letter was followed throughout the autumn by others of a soothing nature; and Russell, though much against his will and with many complaints, remained.

Meanwhile, the Secretary had had the task also of smoothing differences at home. The tendency apparent in Charles II's reign of dispensing with the unwieldy Privy Council as a governing body, and having recourse instead to the advice of a few of the Councillors, developed in William's time into a practice of conducting business through Committees of the Council. By this date indeed they had become known as Cabinet Committees or Cabinet Councils, often meeting regularly twice a week, almost invariably on Sundays, with special meetings of the special committees to discuss naval, Irish, or trade affairs. Before his departure in 1694, the King had appointed Mulgrave, now Marquis of Normanby, as a privy councillor with a substantial pension, but he had never intended the appointment

to be more than a mark of his favour, or that Normanby should share the government with those of the great ministers who had been left to advise the Queen. Normanby, however, thought otherwise. He had William's promise that he should attend Cabinet Councils, and resented being left out of the discussions of the naval plans for the year, although neither the Chamberlain nor the Steward had been present.(h) The King's decision had to be requested, and William gave his opinion against the pretensions of the Marquis to be summoned to secret meetings of the chief ministers. The decision is interesting, for it shows the first **distinction** between the Cabinet Council and a committee of that council, whose business was secret and whose members were there not of right but of summons. Normanby's feelings were, however, saved by Shrewsbury. On his suggestion, the Marquis was summoned to all meetings save those of great consequence, and in fact attended regularly.(a)

(h) Shrewsbury to William May.11. Coxe 33.

Privy Council Minutes II Bucc. 65.

(a) Shrewsbury to William June 1. Coxe p.40.

See Minutes of Privy Council Meetings in II. Bucc.

One difference, however, Shrewsbury found beyond his persuasiveness. Marlborough was still in disgrace. After the Brest disaster, and the death of Tollemache, he came to Shrewsbury with the offer of his services to the King. In the light of the knowledge we now have as to his correspondence with James immediately before the expedition, it seems a most inopportune occasion. But though Shrewsbury wrote on his behalf, urging the best possible argument in favour of his reinstatement, (b) namely that it was obviously his interest to be faithful, the King was not to be moved, and would say no more than that he did not think it for the good of his service to entrust Marlborough with the command of his troops. (c) It was not the first time that Shrewsbury had pleaded for Marlborough without success, for in the Spring the King had owned that Marlborough would be useful, were it not for the drawbacks against him. These drawbacks, which for Shrewsbury were "points too tender - to pretend to advise upon" had no doubt at their root the extraordinary influence exercised by the Churchills on Princess Anne. (d) The prejudice came from the Crown

(b) Shrewsbury to William June 22. Coxe 46.

(c) William to Shrewsbury July 15th N.S. Coxe 52.

(d) Shrewsbury to William supra.

and not from the Ministry; for people were already talking of the possibility of Marlborough's return to favour; and he was one of the few English military leaders of repute. Though not a Whig, he was friendly with the Whigs, and friendly with Sunderland. In the following August, indeed, Sunderland had some sort of scheme for Marlborough in mind: for he and Godolphin were asked to meet Wharton and Felton at Althorpe.(e)

Godolphin proved another source of trouble while the King was abroad. With the exception of Leeds, he was the one Tory of any importance in office, and, unlike Leeds, through his knowledge of the Treasury, he was practically indispensable. Along with Shrewsbury, Trenchard and Somers, he had been appointed to take into consideration the Commissions of Customs and Excise. Some reformation in the board of commissioners was certainly needed. One commissioner was a brewer, a second a Jacobite, two more were known to be corrupt, yet another was so conservative that it was sufficient to say a thing was 'an antient custom to engage him blindly to espouse it.'(f) The four ministers met on

(e) Portland III 552 Aug. 11th.

Portland III 558 Robt. Harley to Sir Ed. Harley Oct. 9.

(f) Shrewsbury to William 15 June. Coxe 41.

Shrewsbury to William July 31 Coxe at p. 63.
Aug. 10

the 14th of June, and after the discussion Somers, Shrewsbury and Godolphin felt impelled to write separate letters to the King.(g) Godolphin had made no serious objections at the meeting; but he had gone home and complained to the King that the appointment of new commissioners ought not to be considered except by the Treasury. Shrewsbury was most indignant when he discovered this underhand dealing: but perhaps Godolphin also had something to complain of, for the three Whigs had purposely kept from him their objections to a Whig member of the Commission. The King settled the dispute by making out his own list of commissioners, and desiring it to be obeyed.(h)

Among the many problems that presented themselves during the King's absence was the discovery of Jacobite plotting in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the conveyance of information chiefly through two agents, Lunt and Thrilfall, between Ireland and England four years earlier. Lunt, together with a renegade priest called Taafe, and a third informer, probably one John Wilson, lodged information

(g) Shrewsbury to William 15 June. Coxe 41
25

Cal. S. P. Dom. p.179.

(h) William to Shrewsbury July 23. Coxe 61.
Aug. 2.

against certain gentlemen, to whom, he said, he had brought commissions from James.(a) The two Secretaries zealously arranged for the arrest of most of those he mentioned - not all, however, for two were from Northamptonshire, one of them being Shrewsbury's uncle, Lord Brudenell. It is perhaps not surprising that Brudenell's name does not appear among those examined and committed to the Tower.(b) The interrogation of the prisoners was all done by Shrewsbury in his office, for, as it happened, Trenchard's brother was dying, and he himself in poor health, so that he was unable to remain in town.(c) When the trials came on, the whole affair appeared ludicrous, for the accusers were of bad repute, and Taafe both amused and exasperated the court by giving his evidence in favour of the prisoners instead of against them. In the circumstances the prisoners were acquitted, with a show of popular feeling that they had been taken into custody at all.(d) There is little

(a) Burnet IV 254-5.

II Bucc. 90-92.

Shrewsbury to William July 10. Coxe 49.

Cal. S. P. Dom. 217.

(b) II Bucc. 92, 95.

(c) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Sept.4 & 14 II Bucc. 127 & 135.

Luttrell III 369.

Secretary Johnstone to Earl of Annandale Jan.19.1695.

Hope Johnstone MSS.71.

(d) Kenyon MSS.371-2.

George Follet to (Robert Harley) Oct.30. Portland III 559.

Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley Nov.13 Portland III.559

doubt that the Secretaries had been actuated as much by a desire to please the King by the forfeitures of the estates of the gentlemen concerned as by abhorrence of Jacobitism.(e)

On the 8th of November the King arrived at Margate.(f) The year's campaigning had come to an end at the beginning of October. But Russell was left in the Mediterranean to keep Tourville's fleet shut up in Toulon harbour, and on the personal side to complain bitterly of poor health and unremunerated services, with many mutterings against the Dutch.(g) Parliament met on the 12th, when Shrewsbury was introduced for the first time as a Duke, by Richmond and Schomberg in robes.(h) The House of Commons at once began to make reflections on the discovery of the Lancashire Plot, and proceeded to the examination of those concerned.(a) Once more Shrewsbury had to face the criticisms of the Tories. True, Trenchard, as Principal Secretary, was chiefly blamed, and the really ardent prosecutor of the plot had been Aaron Smith: but Shrewsbury had examined the Lancashire and Cheshire gentlemen, and had, in Trenchard's absence, signed the warrants for their commitment, and he

(e) Coxe 51; II Bucc. 73.77.81. Cal. S. P. Dom. 342.

(f) Blathwayt to Shrewsbury Nov.9. II Bucc.57.

(g) Russell to Shrewsbury Sept.21. Coxe 204.

31.

Russell to Shrewsbury Nov.2. Coxe 210.

12

(h) Lords Journals XV.431.

(a) Portland III 559-60

felt the position keenly. Already, when Trenchard should return he had intended going for three weeks into the country,(b) but Trenchard's continued illness, and the pressure of work, had prevented that, and the attacks made against him by the Tory party in Parliament had the effect that opposition almost always had, of impairing his health. **Stepney** complained in November that

business had not been done because the Duke of Shrewsbury had been indisposed for a few days.(c) By December he was crippled with gout,(d) so that he was not even able to be present in the House when the Triennial Bill, revived once more, passed the Lords, nor when, to the interest of the whole nation, the King came down to the House to make it law. Scarcely had he recovered than trouble set up in his eye, and he feared for his sight.(e) Ordered to rest, so miserably ill did he feel that he left London in the middle of January, and

(b) III Luttrell 374.

(c) Stepney to Lexington - Lexington Papers 16.
Luttrell III 401.

(d) Shrewsbury to William Dec.15. Coxe 77.

Shrewsbury to Lexington Jan.8. Lexington Papers 40.

(e) Vernon to Lexington Jan.1st. Lexington Papers at p.37.
Shrewsbury to Russell Jan.15. Coxe 219.

spent about a week at Windsor. He was back by the 22nd (f) and three days later the House of Lords ordered that on the next Monday they should consider the proceedings relating to the late trials in Lancashire.(g) The week before, Ferguson had published a book in which Trenchard was blamed for the whole matter; and the Whigs had decided that a full investigation would be the best way of silencing the grumblers. Both the Secretaries were in a sad state, Trenchard, in the grip of consumption, so ill in the country that it was believed he could not recover, and Shrewsbury fretting and in pain. While the House was discussing the Lancashire business, he forced himself to appear in public, and to attend his office, because he thought it necessary for appearance' sake. The attacks of the factious Tories on the Whig ministers for their share in dealing with the Lancashire Plot revealed nothing more than that perhaps after all the Plot had had some basis of truth, and Nottingham himself did Shrewsbury the justice to say that "he had done no more than the duty of his place required:" but

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- (f) Shrewsbury to Russell from Windsor 15th Jan. Coxe 219. Luttrell III 428. and 431.
 Shrewsbury to Dr. Wallis from Whitehall 22nd Jan. Cal. S. P. Dom. p.382.
- (g) II Bucc.172.

the position was mortifying, and Shrewsbury retired to Eyford to recover.(h) He did not return for about a month, and people had already been talking of new Secretaries.(a)

At the end of December 1694, while Shrewsbury was still confined to his house with gout, the Queen had developed smallpox, and, after a week's short illness, died. Her death might have made a great difference to William's position as King, but in fact made very little, and made the way possible to a reconciliation with Anne, which was now more necessary than before. At first, William was so prostrated as to be incapable of attending business, and every ones' thoughts were taken up with the melancholy loss, and the sad preparations for the funeral, which did not take place until the 5th of March. Shrewsbury, curiously enough, did not come up to London for the funeral.

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- (h) Vernon to Lexington 29th Jan.1695. Lexington Papers 53.
Luttrell III 435-436.
M.Smith's Memoirs of Secret Service - Shrewsbury to Smith 2nd Feb.
- (a) Luttrell III 436.
II Bucc.173.
Lords Journals 11th March.
Lexington Papers 50, 61.
Hatton II.212 - "It is sayed the Duke of Shrewsbury is to be Master of the Horse"----

The Queen's death had raised the constitutional question as to whether Parliament, which according to the new Triennial Bill could remain in being until 1696, had not, by her demise, come to an end. Although it was decided that Parliament was not thereby dissolved, the Whigs would not have been sorry to see the end of this particular House of Commons, which had been elected at a time when the Whig attack on the Tory corporations had made a Tory majority sure. The session just passed had shown the Whigs more than ever the irritations they had to expect from a Tory House of Commons. Shrewsbury had as early as the first week of October been feeling his way to an understanding with the Harley-Foley group of the Country party, who were drawing nearer to the Tory malcontents, like Seymour and Musgrave; but so far without success.(b) The attacks on the ministers with regard to the Lancashire Plot revealed how easily the Whig balance could be upset by a Tory House of Commons. Some of the Lords had protested that the Triennial Bill gave this Parliament a possible life until 1696, and urged that it be limited to 1695. But

(b) Shrewsbury to Harley Oct.4th, Nov.6th, Nov.20th.
 Bath MSS I. 51-52.
 Robt. Harley to Sir Ed. Harley. Nov.20th. Portland III.560

the Whigs' chance was soon to come. On the 8th of March Vernon was able to write to Lexington, "There is something working in the House of Commons that don't yet appear; not but that it is sufficiently talked of without doors, particularly against the Speaker, for having taken money to promote private bills. "A week later - so quickly had events moved - he wrote, "The Commons have spent these three days in making the old Speaker sick of his place and choosing a new one."(c) The 'something working in the House of Commons' had been whispers of the acceptance of bribes on the part of Trevor and Seymour, chiefly from the City and from the East India Company, and it was believed that Leeds also was implicated. Already Henry Guy had been sent to the Tower for receiving money. Guy, the friend alike of Sunderland and Harley, had no settled political principles, but if the three Tories could be proved guilty of corruption it would be of considerable use to the Whigs. Accordingly, the accounts of the City and of the East India

(c) Vernon to Lexington - March 8 and March 15.
Lexington Papers 67 and 70.

Company were demanded to be laid before a committee of the House, and unquestionably it appeared how venal Trevor had been. The Commons then proceeded to the election of a new Speaker. In this, however, the Whigs received an unexpected rebuff, which Vernon in part attributed to the suggestion of the King, made through Comptroller Wharton, that he desired Lyttleton, the Whig candidate, to be chosen.(d) Whether on account of his longer Parliamentary experience, or as a mark of the House's independence, Paul Foley was elected, and more than ever the moderate Country party became a factor to be considered in the Commons. The Tories, however, with whom the Foley-Harley group had not yet thrown in its lot, were discredited by the charges of corruption. Seymour, whose guilty transactions had been more skilfully managed than those of Trevor, was correspondingly more lucky, and Leeds endeavoured to turn his guilt into a merit, but he could not escape an attempt at his impeachment; and though by the prorogation of Parliament on the 3rd of May, the proceedings against him were laid aside, he never regained his old position.

(d) Vernon to Lexington March 15. Lexington Papers 69.

Shrewsbury was one of the twelve lords chosen for the Committee to examine Sir Thomas Cook, Governor of the East India Company, against whom the Commons had at first wished to proceed by bill.(e) No doubt it gave him no displeasure to see his old rival Leeds, humbled. There were even those who believed that Portland must have been equally corrupt because he had been offered £50,000. perhaps hoping that they might clear out the Dutch favourite, as well as the Tory members. "It is annoying to be exposed to such an accusation here, where corruption is too general," was Portland's ^{dry} comment.(f) From the Whig point of view, however, the charges against the Tories came opportunely. They formed an excellent reason for persuading the King to dissolve the existing Parliament, and to this Shrewsbury, Somers and Sunderland tried to bring William before he left for the seat of war on May 12th. As Shrewsbury confided to Russell, "These inquiries have thrown so much dirt, that I conclude this same Parliament can never sit again." (g)

(e) Luttrell III 464. *Minutes of the Committee meetings are in Russell's mss.*
 Vernon to Lexington April 23rd. Lexington Papers 81.

(f) Portland to Lexington April 23rd Lexington Papers 81.

May 3.

(g) Shrewsbury to Russell April 9. Coxe 226.

Meanwhile, on April 27th, Secretary Trenchard, whose life had been despaired of for some weeks before (h) died, and Shrewsbury became once more Secretary for the South. The year had brought him more losses than that of his colleague; for a short time before Mary's illness and death died Archbishop Tillotson, whom he had loved and respected; and in April also he had lost his guardian and early mentor in politics, the Marquis of Halifax.

(h) Luttrell III 457.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND SECRETARYSHIP - PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

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Sir William Trumbull, one of the Treasury commissioners, was appointed to the vacancy in the Secretaryship: and Shrewsbury, who had for many months been doing the work of both offices, became Principal Secretary, as he had been during his first ministry. Even before Trenchard's illness he had to a large extent undertaken much of the confidential work, in particular with reference to Russell's stay in the Mediterranean and to Irish business. There was then really little change in the nature of his work after Trenchard's death. He was the main medium of communication between the King and the affairs of Ireland, of the fleet, and in domestic concerns. "It is certain," the King wrote in 1696, "that the whole weight of the government, in a great measure, rests on you, in my absence." (a) Officially, Scotland also was in his province, and the southern states of Europe: but

(a) William to Shrewsbury June 4 N.S. Coxe 118.

the more intimate side of Scottish affairs was still the work of Portland, and with foreign affairs the King had never fully entrusted any English minister. Some months after he became Principal Secretary, Shrewsbury wrote to Secretary Johnstoun in Scotland, in words that leave no doubt as to the extent of his business there.

"Having had this summer several occasions of writing to the King, I have often made use of them to express such thoughts of the affairs of Scotland as I conceived were agreeable to your opinion by the papers your brother has constantly showed me, but he never once has returned any answer to that part of my letters; a sure sign I take it that he has no mind I should meddle in Scotch matters."(b)

As for foreign policy, he wrote to Lexington, "I am so great a stranger to all proceedings, that perhaps you will wonder at it-----Had you expected any information or to have been helped with an excuse from me, I must have assured your Lordship it is what I am now as much unacquainted with as any gentleman that lives in the country, having never heard otherwise of it than as they may do in news letters."(c) Many years later, when

(b) Shrewsbury to Johnstoun Aug.1st 1695. II Bucc.at p.210
Cf.II Bucc.86.

(c) Shrewsbury to Lexington. Lexington 40. Jan.8.1695
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Shrewsbury confessed to ignorance of the essentials of a treaty of commerce with France, Bolingbroke, then Secretary, commented, "Odd confession for a Secretary of State who was in office at the treaty of Ryswick."(d) In spite of this, however, during his second secretaryship Shrewsbury gained a useful, if not a profound knowledge of foreign affairs, as his shrewd comments written from time to time to the envoys at foreign courts show.(e)

When Parliament was prorogued on the 3rd of May, lords were appointed as usual to administer the kingdom during the King's absence on campaign. Carmarthen, who had escaped impeachment only by the concluding of the parliamentary session, was left out of the number, which comprised Archbishop Tenison, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Pembroke, Dorset, Somers and Godolphin. This was the first year in which they were left in full charge, for hitherto they had been advisers to the Queen rather than administrators themselves. Accordingly, at the meeting of Council on the following day, Shrewsbury proposed that they be

(d) I Bath.229.

(e) Shrewsbury suspected the defection of Savoy before either the King or Galway would give credit to it.

given the title of Lords Justices, (f) being on much the same footing as the Lords Justices of Ireland. The Lords Justices of Ireland, however, were discontinued, and Capel was appointed as the sole governor with the title of Lord Deputy. Necessary orders were then sent to Russell; Sunderland and Shrewsbury advised the King not to meet again with the Parliament just prorogued, and at length the King was ready to depart on May 12th.

Once more, the question that needed instant attention was the situation of the fleet under Admiral Russell. In obedience to the King's orders, Russell had wintered at Cadiz, and the results had fully justified William's hopes. The French fleet had been rendered impotent. Tourville, shut up with the main fleet in Toulon harbour, dared not venture out, and outside the Mediterranean France depended largely on privateers cruising the coasts. The Spanish campaign under Noailles had been an absolute failure. The result was the demoralisation of the army, and the abandonment of the design. (g) Tourville was doing the

(f) II Bucc. 182-3

III Luttrell 467.

(g) Corbett - England in the Mediterranean II 175.

only wise thing he could do, but it was leading Louis nowhere, lowering his prestige, and depriving him of the use of his fleet. No longer were the French able to cause a diversion elsewhere apart from the main seat of war, and the result, made apparent by William's capture of Huy, was emphasised by his capture of Namur in 1695. Meanwhile, fainthearted as the Spaniards were, the Catalonians at least had recovered their spirit. The Italian States had been brought to recognise William as King of England, and Savoy, treacherous by tradition, still dared not openly disregard her alliances.

The comparative inactivity of his charge, however, was irksome to Admiral Russell, while his personal inclinations were all in the direction of coming home to England. Just as it had been difficult to get him to remain during the winter, so it was difficult to get him to see the advisability of the King's orders as to the time of his return. Nevertheless he was far from insensible to the situation in the Mediterranean and to the varied and difficult solutions of it. As early as the beginning of 1695, he had foreseen what William's future attitude would be, and could hardly dispute the

wisdom of remaining in the Mediterranean until he could be relieved.(h) Yet, as well as personal longing to be home to his 'house and garden' he had also a seamanlike appreciation of the dangers to which the ships would be exposed if they should be, as he foresaw they would be, ordered to remain in the Mediterranean until the autumn, or even over the following winter. His own solution of the matter had been that a relieving fleet with secret orders might be sent during the summer.(a) He spent the winter doing his best with such facilities as were at Cadiz to repair the ships and make them seaworthy for the spring, and the work was done by the end of March.(b) In December he had asked that bomb vessels and marines should be sent as well as the victualling ships.(c) The latter arrived in February,(d) but the convoy with landsmen and bomb-vessels was not ready to

(h) Russell to Shrewsbury Dec.31. Coxe 216.
Jan.10.

(a) Russell to Shrewsbury supra.

(b) Russell to Shrewsbury. March 25. II Bucc.178.
April 4.

(c) Russell to Shrewsbury Dec.6. II Bucc.162
16

Russell to Shrewsbury Jan.13. II Bucc.171.
23.

Lords of the Admiralty to Shrewsbury Dec.21. II Bucc.166.

(d) Russell to Shrewsbury Feb.11.1695. II Bucc.174.
21

leave England until the 20th of March, (e) when the next supply of victualling ships sailed, Russell's object in asking for men and bomb-vessels was in the hope of attempting something against either Marseilles or Toulon, and so forcing Tourville to take action and bring the Mediterranean naval policy to a definite conclusion of one kind or another. In March the King expressed his desire that either Russell should remain another winter, or be relieved by Rooke. The first Russell was determined not to do. (f) So late as April William had not yet determined or had not yet declared his intentions with regard to the ships of Russell's fleet, and Shrewsbury was forced to tell the Admiral so. Russell had moved for a commission as captain-general, in deference, as he suggested, to Spanish prejudice, and this had been sent. (g) "Sir," Shrewsbury wrote, "I am glad the commission was as you desired it. The King himself mentioned something to me of your being vice-admiral, but with his usual inclination to delays, thought it better to be done when you returned.....The paper you sent of the condition of the ships (h) comes very opportunely, as you will perceive by letters I have writ. His majesty

(e) Shrewsbury to Russell March 20th II Bucc.177.

(f) Shrewsbury to Russell March 12. Coxe 224.
 Russell to Shrewsbury April 16. Coxe 226.

(g) Coxe 209.222 and 225.

(h) The paper is mentioned in II Bucc.175.

has now the state of both fleets before him, and says he will very soon take a resolution how they shall act next winter, and in what manner the weak ships with them shall be relieved; but the time of the year presses his going over; and the French having drawn together, to enlarge their lines, makes him now more impatient for a conclusion of the session; so that I doubt determinations will be made in a hurry not proper for a matter of this weight and difficulty."(a)

It was the Admiral's own opinion, as well as the opinion of Sir George Rooke, and the other seamen whom Shrewsbury consulted, that the ships that were to come home from the Mediterranean must come early in the year, or run great hazard; but when William's orders did come, they were peremptory that the fleet must remain until the autumn; and though Rooke gave it as his view that the ships would be better to remain all winter rather than come home in the stormy month of September,(b) by June the King had made up his mind that Russell ought to wait even until the first week of October, and then return with some of the ships after Rooke had arrived with a sufficient

(a) Shrewsbury to Russell. April 9 Coxe 225.

(b) Shrewsbury to William 31st May. Coxe 84.

number to take their place,(c) a decision that gave Shrewsbury considerable anxiety; for he knew Russell's temper, and feared that he might either disobey, or else carry out his orders so literally that the season would be too late and the ships in too bad a condition to return at all.(d)

The King's anxiety for the continuance of his maritime supremacy in the Mediterranean is the more understandable when one considers the military events of 1695. By the first week in June, just at the time when he was making his orders to Russell more positive, he had determined on a vigorous offensive against the French, which should culminate in the siege, and, he hoped, the capture of Namur. Meanwhile on the Italian front, the allied forces had resolved on the siege of Casale, and on the 20th the town actually offered to surrender, although no breach had been made. In view of the fact that the Duke of Savoy was believed to be wavering, and had as his whole object the desire to be

(c) William to Shrewsbury June 8 Coxe 86.

(d) Shrewsbury to William June 21. Coxe 88-90
July 1

possessed of Pignerole and Casale, the surrender of the French after so little resistance was a suspicious fact, which pointed to some understanding between Savoy and France; and on this Shrewsbury fastened at once, (e) fearing that the treaty might only 'forerun another accommodation, of worse consequence to the common cause.' So long, however, as the British fleet remained in the Mediterranean, Savoy would hesitate to offend the Allies. On the other hand, as later events proved, were the Mediterranean fleet once recalled Savoy would have no check in coming to separate terms with France. Farther, as Lord Galway's letter to Shrewsbury of the 16th August shows - Galway was then Envoy-Extraordinary 26th to Savoy - at the time of the surrender of Casale, the Duke of Savoy was still unaware that the English fleet was to spend another winter in the Mediterranean. (f)

Meanwhile Russell, who had received the bomb vessels he desired on the 12 April (g), was still hoping for an attempt on either Toulon or Marseilles with the aid of the Duke of Savoy's forces, but no help was forthcoming from Savoy, nor was the weather favourable to an attack. (h)

- (e) Shrewsbury to Galway July 23. Coxe 266.
 Shrewsbury to William (July 16) Coxe 93.
 (f) Galway to Shrewsbury Coxe 270.
 (g) Russell to Shrewsbury April 12. O.S. II Bucc. 180.
 (h) Russell to Shrewsbury June $\frac{14}{24}$ Box 231

In the middle of July he received the King's positive order, first conveyed as has been seen in a letter to Shrewsbury of May 23rd, to remain in the Mediterranean until the autumn, and in a fit of rage wrote to the Duke his grievances, in no light terms. To aggravate the offence, he sent the letter through France. This letter drew a remonstrance from Shrewsbury, who suspected, what proved to be the case, that a duplicate had reached the King. (a) "You may imagine the pain I am in," he wrote, "to know how the king will resent some expressions in that letter, a little too free for his perusal. You must give me leave to think you even in the wrong, to send any letter through France, that gave so exact an account of the condition of your fleet, and how it was to be disposed of the rest of the summer"----- (b) Shrewsbury's fears were justified, for William was highly displeased at a letter which on its best construction he considered 'inconceivably imprudent,' and which he believed might have been sent through treachery or malice; so that the Secretary had once more the task of excusing the Admiral and pacifying the King. (c)

(a) William to Shrewsbury Sept. 6. N.S. Coxe 103.

(b) Shrewsbury to Russell Aug. 27. Coxe 236-7.

(c) Shrewsbury to William 6th Sept. Coxe 105

Russell did not, after all, await the arrival of Rooke, but, leaving Rear-Admiral Mitchell in charge of the ships that were to remain, came back with the Dutch admiral, who had been ordered to return before the Dutch ports should be ice-bound.(d) Rooke had been delayed in leaving England. He had been publicly declared Admiral for the Straits in July,(e) and during August and September his preparations went on; but there was shortage both of good men and good ships, in addition to the usual trouble of finding money to pay the men.(f) The Admiral was anxious to get away by the middle of September, but a French squadron, under Nesmond, which was known to be on the look-out for British merchant vessels, caused the division of part of his squadron as convoys. As the season advanced, his anxiety increased. But still he was not allowed to sail, Blathwayt informing the ministry that the King wished to see how the French would dispose of the Toulon fleet. It seems an extraordinary explanation in view of the importance

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- (d) Corbett II 182 - The Dutch squadron had not been expected to return before another arrived to take its place. Shrewsbury to Rooke Oct.8.
II Bucc.at p.238.
- (e) R. Harley to Sir Ed. Harley July 23rd. Portland III 563.
- (f) See Rooke's letters to Shrewsbury during August and September in II Bucc.

William had all along attached to the presence of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, and, as Shrewsbury shrewdly observed, "I doubt we shall stay till they have disposed of it as they design, and then it will be too late to send."(g) At length in the first week of October, Rooke received positive orders to sail, and was ready to leave St. Helens by the 11th, though with many misgivings.(h) The four marine regiments with Russell had been recalled, the force that Rooke himself took out was raw and undisciplined, the seamen he characterised as "raff and scum, many having not clothes enough to appear with decency."

Nevertheless, in spite of the melancholy outlook of both the Admirals concerned, the year had been the most successful for the allies since the war began; and much of that success was due to the presence of the fleet in the Mediterranean. When Russell sighed that he had rather command his whole fleet than a part of it in a distant place, and when Rooke observed that he considered it more honourable to stay with eight ships in the Channel

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- (g) Shrewsbury to Rooke Sept.18. II Bucc.228.
 (h) Shrewsbury to Rooke Oct.5.II Bucc.232.
 Rooke to Shrewsbury Oct.7. II Bucc.236.
 Rooke to Shrewsbury Oct.11. II Bucc.239.

than take a fleet to Spain, (a) they were blind to the real value of the work they were doing. In spite of gloomy prophecies, Tourville still remained shut up in Toulon harbour, and meanwhile the allies could look back to the capture of Namur and its citadel, to a successful bombardment of St. Malo by Benbow, (b) and to a year of comparative safety for British commerce. True, the much talked of attempt on Dunkirk had melted away into an undignified squabble between the English Admiral Berkeley and the Dutch Captain Meisters; and there was still to be feared a secret understanding between Savoy and France; but so long as William could threaten Savoy with a naval force, the understanding might have to remain secret.

The King returned to England on the 10th October, to be greeted with more enthusiasm than was usually shown him, for the successful campaign seemed to promise

(a) Russell to Shrewsbury Dec.31. Coxe 218
Jan.10.

Rooke to Shrewsbury Sept.15.1695. II Bucc.227.

(b) Add.MSS.21494.f.33.Captain Benbow to Shrewsbury from before St.Malo.6th July.
Shrewsbury to Benbow 12th July C.S.P.Dom.p.15.

a speedier conclusion to the war. He entered London amid the light of illuminations and bonfires and the sound of welcoming guns.(c) That same day, the 11th, Parliament was dissolved, and a few days later the writs were issued for a new Parliament. It was what the Whigs had been urging for some time past, but the King had not committed himself to a definite promise until in response to a request from both Shrewsbury and Sunderland in August, he had declared that they might make public his resolution to call a new Parliament.(d) As the Whigs had expected, the Parliament elected had lost its Tory majority.

William that autumn made another concession to popular desire. He determined on a royal visit to Newmarket and a royal progress through the eastern counties and the Midlands, staying with the local nobility, and spending his days chiefly in hunting. It was an earnest of the new state of feeling between the two courts that before setting out he went to Camden House to take leave of Anne and her household.(e) Quite a number of the nobility and gentry accompanied the King.

(c) Ellis to Lexington Oct.11.1695. Lexington Papers 135.

(d) Shrewsbury to William Aug.16. Coxe 101.
Sunderland to Shrewsbury Aug.24. Coxe 397.
William to Shrewsbury Aug.27. Coxe 103.

Sept.6.

(e) Luttrell III.538.

Shrewsbury was one of the party, and Vernon, still his under-secretary, was taken along for business purposes. After the visit to Newmarket had been paid, Althorpe in Northamptonshire was the first residence to be visited by the King, and there he was entertained for a week by the Earl of Sunderland. It was hardly a popular beginning. But for William possibly it was the pleasantest part of the progress. The hunting was good, and the weather fine. One day the party went over to the Earl of Northampton's place at Castle Ashby for dinner there, and hunted a hind, but so many of the country people seized the opportunity to view their King that the sport was spoiled.(f) On another occasion, accompanied by their host - a fact worth noting in view of old bitteresses - they went to dine with Lord Montagu at Boughton. From Northamptonshire the royal train proceeded to Lincoln, and spent two days there, then on to Welbeck, escorted by the gentry of the county, who were all entertained to supper by the Duke of Newcastle. Next day at the hunt there were about

(f) Vernon to Lexington Oct.25th. Lexington Papers 138.

four hundred horses, all eager to follow the King's own beagles, and no doubt as eager for the sumptuous dinner provided for them afterwards. On the following day they went stag hunting in Sherwood Forest, where after killing his stag William grew enthusiastic on the subject of Nottinghamshire. Vernon was not quite so enthusiastic. The nearest post house was at Tuxford, six miles off, and he feared the worst from the postmaster. "I have scarce seen any of them yet but they were drunk, and one has had some trouble with them to get our packets despatched," he complained.(g) Altogether the King waited from a Wednesday to a Sunday, on which day he heard a sermon preached by the Archbishop of York, and afterwards paid a visit to the Earl of Stamford's at Broadgate, where poor Vernon was banished to lodgings in Leicester because there was no room for him. On the Monday the King went on to Lord Brook's at Warwick. Indoors there was a great throng of people, and outside 'old Guy of Warwick's kettle' was filled with punch for all who cared to drink. Next day, after attending at

(g) Vernon to - Oct.30th. C.S.P.Dom.p.91.
 Letters from Vernon, Yard and Cartwright, Lexington 138-144.
 Guy to (Harley) Oct.31st. Portland III 573.

public prayers, the King proceeded southwards and dined at Shrewsbury's 'little house' at Eyford. To Shrewsbury, tired of the 'hateful, unnatural, sedentary life' of the Secretary's office, the progress with its seven or eight hours each day on horseback, hunting in plenty and good cheer in the evenings, must have been a welcome change of duties.(h) Nevertheless, the Whigs were anxious to get the King back to Kensington in time to arrange business before Parliament met, and urged him to curtail his absence. The elections were taking place, the Duke of Leeds fighting Montague with roast beef; and the Whigs were missing Shrewsbury, and desirous of having his advice.(a) A visit to Lord Abercorn at Burford, again for the hunting, ended the pleasureable part of the journey. There remained still a duty to perform. In the first year of his reign the King had visited Cambridge University, and while he was at Newmarket, the principal members of the University had waited on him.(b) Secretary Trumbull, newly chosen as one of the members of Parliament for Oxford University, had intimated how much it would please the University if the King were to visit it in his progress. With as much good grace as he could muster the King agreed, but stipulated

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- (h) Vernon to Lexington Oct. 25. Lexington 138.
 Shrewsbury to Russell 18 Dec. 1694. Coxe 214.
 (a) Somers to Shrewsbury Oct. 26th II Bucc. 245.
 (b) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1695. Oct. 19-22. 85.

through Shrewsbury, that, as he did not go out of curiosity, he would not pay any separate visit to the colleges, which he had already seen, and that he did not desire any dinner or special entertainment, but would go to the theatre out of courtesy. Trumbull could not even get him to alter his decision in favour of his own college, Christ Church - for William had been given a degree there many years before - or All Souls', which was Trumbull's, and not even his promise that the speeches should be short could move the King.(c) William was no doubt anxious to be done with the strain of being agreeable, and wished to reach Windsor as soon as possible.

- (c) Trumbull to Shrewsbury 22nd Oct. II Bucc. 242 and Cal. S. P. Dom. 86.
 Shrewsbury to Trumbull 25th Oct. II Bucc. 245.
 Trumbull to Shrewsbury 26th Oct. Portland II 108; Cal. S. P. Dom. 89.
 Trumbull to Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University Oct. 26. Downshire I 569. Oct. 31. Cal. S. P. Dom. 92.
 Shrewsbury to Trumbull Oct. 27. Downshire I. 571.
 Trumbull to Shrewsbury Nov. 1. Bucc. II 252 and Cal. S. P. Dom. 94.
 Trumbull to Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University Nov. 2. Cal. S. P. Dom. 94. and Nov. 5 -96.
 Trumbull to Shrewsbury Nov. 5. Downshire I. 580; Bucc. II 253.
 Shrewsbury to Trumbull Nov. 7. Downshire I. 580-1; Bucc. II 255.

Much to the disappointment of the University he would not stay for the fine meal that they had prepared for him, as indeed he had made it clear from the beginning that he did not desire such entertainment. Oxford was not the only place to be disappointed with the royal progress. All over the country, people had been deprived of a little unwonted excitement, because the King was anxious to avoid publicity and would not follow the usual routes.(d) He was back at Windsor on the 9th of November. The following afternoon, Sunday, the Lords who had been appointed to consider the state of the coin were all at Windsor to discuss the business with him,^(e) and two days later Shrewsbury was once more into the swing of business at Whitehall, discussing trade and money and the Irish impositions.(f)

Parliament met on the 22nd of November. In the Commons the Tory majority was gone, though it would be untrue to say that this was a strikingly Whig Parliament. This same Parliament before its close was to show itself obstinately opposed to the continuation of the war, and determined on reducing the forces to a minimum. There

(d) E. H. to Sir Edward Harley. Nov.12. Portland III 573.

(e) Shrewsbury to Trumbull. Downshire I.580-1;
Bucc. II. 255.

(f) Privy Council Minutes Nov.12. Bucc.II 255.

was a substantial body of 'country' members, who were in many cases difficult to classify at all, and whose aims were the prestige of the landed class, the reduction of taxes, and a sure peace. The fact that they succeeded in obtaining the re-election of Foley as Speaker shows that they had a substantial backing in both parties.(g)

The Whig ministry had been busy before the opening of the session, and it was apparent that the main business of the year would be the subject of trade, in many of its branches. The state of the coinage could no longer be ignored. Somers had pressed for its reformation early in 1695, for the passing of each year magnified the evil. Clipped money was fast driving out the milled, and much of it was only about two thirds of its nominal value. Moreover, trade had been hampered by the attacks of enemy privateers, and the merchants were complaining of not receiving proper protection from the English fleet. The East India Company, who had lost too many of their homeward bound ships, many of them off the Irish coast,(h) approached the Council before the opening

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- (g) See, however, Vernon to Lexington Nov.22. Lexington Papers 148. where it would seem that the King desired the continuance of Foley in the chair.
- (h) Lords Manuscripts 1695-7 Introd.VII and VIII. The Mediterranean trade was, of course, safe.

of Parliament to obtain permission to make the subject public by a petition. The matter was put in Shrewsbury's hands, to find out what the Company wanted, and to remonstrate with them on their giving the Admiralty too scanty information as to where and when their ships were expected.(a) Indeed the question of the Admiralty was needing overhauling, both for the nation's sake and the seamen's.(b) Although the navy was larger than it had ever been, there never seemed enough vessels to do the work required of them. Although the country was more heavily taxed than ever before, the victualling for the fleet was in a sad state, and while the sailors had not sufficient clothes, Russell managed to have secretaries and interpreters at high salaries, and his brief illness on shore cost the country £300.(c) Small wonder that the press was always busy and still there was a scarcity of men. Accordingly, the Commons proceeded on the 29th of November to take into consideration 'the state of the nation,' and this was followed by a similar debate in the Lords on December 3rd. Parliament

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- (a) II Bucc. 256 and 258 Privy Council Minutes Nov.14 and Nov.19,1695.
(b) After Mary's death Greenwich Hospital for seamen was founded as a memorial to her. Shrewsbury was made one of the commissioners.
(c) II Bucc. 284.

then got to work on a bill to reform the coinage, while a Commission of Trade was appointed to look after the questions of trade and the plantations. This last had been spoken of at a Privy Council meeting in November, before Parliament met. The King was not present, though Portland was; and it appears in the minutes taken down by Shrewsbury as "To have a Council of Trade established by Parliament, who would have leisure to mind that one business."(d) The idea did not find favour with the King, who saw in it yet another attempt to limit his prerogative; but the ministers had their way, and the Commission was named and approved by the Council so soon as December.(e)

(d) II Bucc.255.

(e) December 9th. II Bucc.275.

Mr. Feiling (History of the Tory Party p.318) shows that William appealed to the Whigs to oppose in the Commons the bill for setting up the Commission of Trade. Nevertheless, from Shrewsbury's minutes it is obvious that the idea of the Commission had first emanated from the Whig ministry.

See also Trumbull to Shrewsbury Nov.16. C.S.P.Dom.p.103.

The Recoinage bill, the second to be introduced, became law on the 21st of January 1696, and on the same day the act for regulating trials of treason, which insisted upon two witnesses, also received the King's assent. It passed at a fortunate time, for a few months later Parliament might well have been carried away by passion on such a subject. For some time, the spies abroad had been bringing accounts of French preparations both at Toulon and at Brest; and there appeared every likelihood that Tourville was at last going to move.(f) Meanwhile, the preparations at Brest were said to be for an invasion on England(g), so that by the middle of January the worst was suspected, and the Council discussed whether Rooke should be sent for.(h) By the 26th of that month, fear had given

(f) Matthew Smith to Shrewsbury Dec.16. Memoirs of Secret Service.

Trumbull to Rooke. Dec.30. Downshire 603.

Letter from Paris Jan. II Bucc. 281.

Letter from Genoa. Jan.6.N.S. II Bucc.282.

Galway to Shrewsbury Jan.4. Turin. II Bucc. 285.

14.

Shrewsbury to Rooke Jan.6. II Bucc. 287.

Shrewsbury to Rooke Jan.7. II Bucc. 287.

(g) Letter from Paris - above.

Matthew Smith to Shrewsbury Dec.23. Memoirs of Secret Service.

Galway to Shrewsbury Jan.14. Turin. II Bucc. 291.

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(h) Privy Council Minutes Jan.19. II Bucc. 297.

place almost to certainty. Rooke was recalled, but was urged to colour his departure with some pretext in order to keep it as secret as possible.(a) Already the Admiral had feared some such intention from the movements of the French at Toulon, and wrote Shrewsbury, "It's a very unhappy change, my Lord, in our affairs in these seas, that from seeking for and blocking up the enemy in their ports, we shall be exposed to the disgrace of suffering the blockade ourselves, or skulking from the enemy at sea."(b) It was a very unhappy change. But the danger was real. Matthew Smith, the informer, who had been pestering the Secretary's office since 1694, professing to give certain Jacobite news, and really performing little - so little that Shrewsbury had frankly told him he would not disburse the King's money without some proofs of receiving something for it - had informed Shrewsbury in the middle of December of the French naval preparations. Throughout January he had annoyed the Duke, who had been ill with a severe cold,(c) by insisting on paying him visits. On the 10th

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- (a) Jan.26th. Privy Council Minutes II Bucc.298.
 (b) Sir G. Rooke to Shrewsbury Jan.27th. II Bucc.299.
 (c) Smith's Memoirs - Jan.16.
 Shrewsbury to Capel - Jan.2. Bucc.II 285.
 Downshire I.604.
 Shrewsbury to William Jan.22 Coxe 78.

of February he came forward with the story of a design against the King. Shrewsbury, who had tried without effect to get rid of the fellow a year earlier, hinted through Vernon that he did not think it wise that Smith should be seen coming to his house, whereupon on the 14th Smith put the details of his information in writing, divulging a project by the Jacobites to seize William and convey him abroad - surely an extraordinary feat - and bring back James with French help. This he followed up by another letter on the 19th, stating that if the attempt at seizing the King failed, the plotters meant to 'gripe' him. Shrewsbury gave no credit to the story, and went out of town as far as Henley, only to be called back on the Sunday night to a Cabinet Council, where the King laid before his ministers the account of the Assassination Plot.(d)

The story of how the King had become acquainted with the details of the plot is well known. Three of the conspirators separately revealed the plot to the Government, just about the time that Smith, who was the nephew of Perkins one of the plotters, was throwing out hints at

(d) Matthew Smith's Memoirs of Secret Service.
Vernon I.170.

Shrewsbury had probably gone to visit his relations at Stonor Park.

discoveries to Shrewsbury and Vernon.(e) There remained only to seize the conspirators, and to make the country secure against the equally formidable threat of a French invasion, which had been timed to take place when William should be safely out of the way. Another meeting of the Council was held on the Monday following the disclosure of the plot.(f) Russell, who on the suspicion of invasion, had been called to take command of the fleet, was given instructions to watch the French fleet and prevent them from attacking either England or Holland, and the country was in hourly expectation of either a sea-battle or a landing.(g) By the 25th, news had come that three hundred transport ships had certainly sailed from Dunkirk to Calais, and by the 28th it was known that James had arrived at the French coast.(h)

(e) It is worth noting that Smith did not give definite information as to the intention to kill the King until the week after the 15th, the first day fixed for the design.

(f) Add. MSS.36913. ~~2~~215.

(g) Shrewsbury to Russell 24 Feb. Coxe 247.

(h) Shrewsbury to Russell 25th Feb. Coxe 247.
Shrewsbury to Galway 28th February. Coxe 282.

It was believed that the landing would be in Scotland, and orders were given to sieze Lord Arran, who had long been in correspondence with St. Germain's.(a) Even in this time of danger, however, the English fleet under Russell was not ready to sail before that date. Rooke, of course, was still making preparations to come home, having received the King's instructions only on the 24th.(b) The navy's efforts, though not as prompt as they might have been, were prompt enough to save the situation, and the danger passed, not, however, without some criticisms levelled at Russell that he had inflicted no damage on the French; and Monmouth as usual did not hesitate to declare what things he would have done in Russell's place.(c) The discovery of the Assassination Plot rallied the people round the King, and, since they could no longer be taken by surprise, the scheme of invasion, which, it was believed, had been France's main design for the year,(d) was doomed to futility.

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- (a) Shrewsbury to Russell 29th Feb. Bucc.II 306.
 Shrewsbury to Trumbull 29th Feb. Downshire I.631.
 For Arran's correspondence with St. Germain's see Melfort Letter Book.
- (b) Russell to Shrewsbury 26th Feb. Coxe 248.
 Russell to Shrewsbury 28th Feb. Coxe 249.
 Rooke to Shrewsbury 24th Feb.(O.S.) Bucc II.305.
- (c) Bonet Despatches Add.MSS.30000 A. 6 Mars and 3 Mars
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- (d) Galway to Shrewsbury Feb.29/March 10. Coxe 285.

From William's point of view the plot was a stimulus to the loyalty of his people. From James's point of view, it was the finish. No more during William's lifetime would the French king expend men and money and time on projected invasions. But for the French, the failure of the invasion, while it had its humiliating side, did not mean any substantial loss, while the assembly^{ing} of men and ships on the western coast achieved at least part of what it was intended to do. For two summers and two winters the best of Louis's fleet had been rotting in inaction in Toulon harbour. He had had to abandon the war in Spain. He had the mortification of seeing the Italian states send envoys to acknowledge his enemy, and offers of financial backing.(e) He had obtained a pledge from Savoy which he was powerless to enforce. But no sooner had Rooke begun his preparations for departure than the Duke of Savoy went on a mysterious pilgrimage to Loretto; and Tourville came out to join the Brest squadron. In spite of efforts to intercept him, he got safely into Brest harbour by May,(f) and before the summer was over,

(e) II Bucc.275. 378. 313.

(f) Shrewsbury to the King, May 15th and May 22nd. Coxe 116 and 117.

Savoy had left the alliance. Once more, le Grand Monarque had achieved his object by a demonstration.

Though Galway pressed for the return of the fleet to the Mediterranean, (g) the opportunity did not again present itself; for the financial position was serious. During 1696 England touched the depths so far as supplies were concerned. Every public service was wanting in funds. The seamen were in some cases put on short rations. (h) The army was in arrears with pay. Foreign states had to be subsidised for their supplies of forces: but the envoys at foreign courts could barely subsist, and either cheerfully piled up debts, like Matthew Prior, or expended their private means, like Lord Lexington. Galway thought that a supply of money might still bind Savoy to the alliance, but money was not to be had. (a) So critical had money matters become, intensified by the upheaval of the coinage, that credit could not be found. The statutory reduction of guineas to 22/-, which had been Montague's idea, had aggravated

(g) Galway to Shrewsbury $\frac{7}{17}$ March. $\frac{4}{14}$ April.

June $\frac{9}{19}$, Coxe 285.286.295.

(h) Berkeley to Shrewsbury June 15. 1696. Bucc II.351.

(a) Galway to Shrewsbury June $\frac{9}{19}$, July $\frac{7}{17}$

Coxe 295. and 299.

the situation.(b) "In the name of God," wrote William despairingly to Shrewsbury, "determine quickly to find some credit for the troops here, or we are ruined."(c)

Meanwhile, the Tories with their new Land Bank hoped to establish their position and oust their rivals; but they could not possibly offer to advance the large sums required by the King. At home, during that summer, Shrewsbury and Somers and the rest of the Whigs were endeavouring to threaten or cajole the merchants and goldsmiths to advance money. The King's picture of no alternative but to perish or find credit described the seriousness of the crisis.(d) All that remained for the exhausted allies was to make peace; but that they could not do with advantage until supported by financial credit. A 'good peace' was what Shrewsbury desired above all, and had desired since 1694, and he assured the King 'many are so weary as to be content with a bad one.'(e) It was all very well, as he pointed out,

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- (b) Bonet Transcripts Add.MSS.30000 A. f.81. 31 Mars
10 Avril.
- (c) William to Shrewsbury June 4.N.S. Coxe 118.
- (d) Shrewsbury to William May 29. Coxe 119.
William to Shrewsbury June 15. Coxe 124. and June 8
Coxe 121. 25
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- (e) Shrewsbury to William June 5. Coxe 122.
Shrewsbury to William June 23. Coxe 125.
William to Portland Aug.6.N.S. Correspondentie I.179

to pass acts, but quite another thing to get the money. To the Duke, the capture of an extra town mattered little beside a satisfactory peace, that would reduce the French power to what it was forty years before. Perhaps he did not realise quite as William did how Louis XIV had made French history in forty years.

By the middle of July, William was desperate, "If you cannot devise expedients," he wrote Shrewsbury, "to send contributions or procure credit, all is lost and I must go to the Indies."(f) As a last effort, he despatched Portland back to London, with permission to the Lords Justices to assemble Parliament if need were, and to see what personal persuasion could effect. His arrival, on the morning of Sunday, 26th July, caused almost as much surprise as if the King himself had come back. All the Lords Justices were out of town except Somers; and London society was still at Windsor for the installation of the little Duke of Gloucester as a Knight of the Garter.(g) Portland, however, lost no time in sending off an express to summon Shrewsbury,

(f) William to Shrewsbury 20. July 1696. Coxe 129.
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(g) William to Shrewsbury July 21. Coxe 130.
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Bonet's Despatches A. f.192.

Correspondentie I.180. Portland to William 28 July 1696
also Cal. S. P. Dom.

and one to Sunderland, who was at Althorpe. Shrewsbury returned immediately on the Sunday night, and Sunderland replied promising to be in town as soon as possible. Early the next morning - the 17th century business day began early - Portland discussed the situation with Shrewsbury and Somers, and at nine the Lords Justices assembled. They gave it as their view that to summon Parliament was much too dangerous a course, but promised to do all that they could to help the King. On their advice, Portland then turned to Harley and Foley, who had already approached him on the subject of the Land Bank: but though they also were sympathetic, they could promise little help, and were obviously smarting under a sense of ill-treatment. Shrewsbury and Godolphin then got together six of the principal merchants of London, all Jews, to talk the matter over with Portland, and suggested a meeting with Sir Josiah Child. But still the money was not forthcoming. To the bitter disappointment of Harley and Foley the Land Bank was unable to raise sufficient funds. The merchants had no better success. Three things only appeared to the Lords to be possible, to ask a loan from the city, to

raise a subscription from all those in the Government, or to take silver bullion from the Exchequer, a course hazardous in the extreme.

Some of the Tory supporters of the Land Bank wished to lay the blame of **their failure** on their arch-enemy, Montague. Staunch Francis Gwyn, in a letter to the Marquess of Halifax, explained his reading of the situation.(g¹)

"By the present conduct of affairs," he wrote, "one would not think there was that scarcity of money, That there really is: For in the First place Charles Montague and all his Freinds resolved not to take the Land Bank though the Army starved in Flanders For want of it; This brought over Ld Portland; For the Army was sayd to be all most in that Condition; The Time being Lapsd For the Land Bank, The Cheife of those men (being willing to shew their Zeal to the Governmt (a Folly the Torrys are very apt to Fall into in all times) proffered to supply 200000 l. by way of subscription, to shew their Ability as well as their good will; after w^{ch} they were to have the Kings Patent For a Corporation; These Gentlemen would not Treat wth the Treasury For they sayd they had been used ill by them; but had a meeting wth Ld Portland, Ld Shrewsbury and Ld Godolphin; and sayd they would depend upon their words to make good their Bargains to them Our Speaker was in great exaltation of spirⁱt upon this and thought he should get the better of His Enemy Charles and the Bank of England: The subscriptions

(g¹) Francis Gwyn to Halifax Aug.3. 1696. Savile MSS.

began on Friday last and seemed then very prosperous, But Charles Montague and his Emissary have very cunningly divided the party, proffered greater advantages under hand (Frighted Harry Guy and Duncombe, who were zealous promoters of this against Montague;) and in short wth all this Turned my Ld Portland's head; soe that tonight I begin to doubt whether it will succeed, though on Saturday All the Jockeys in Lumbard Street betted the odds against the old Bank of England, My Lord Sunderland who came to Towne by particular sumons; whether he thinks the discouraging these subscriptions will sett up one party of men to high and too much pull downe Montague etc; or whether My Ld Keeper hath prevayled wth him; I cannot tell but he seems rather against those new subscribers then For them; soe that upon the whole matter not wth standing the Fair prospect they had on Saturday and the Sanguinesse of Mr Speaker; I doubt The Subscriptions will Fall to the ground; But the Mistery of all this is That how the 250000 l will be raysed, I am sure the wisest of them or all of their heads together cannot propose a reasonable probability; in the mean time My Ld Portland is to goe away satisfied that Mr. Montague &c. have acted very wisely in Refusing the Land Banck; since they are not able now to Furnish 200000 l, and therefore

though the Folys & Harly were at the head of it, all that Land Bank is called a cheat that could not performe what they pretended too; All these Turnes have been within these two days; but I must begg Y^r Ld^{ps} pardon if I doe not give you soe perfect a scheme of it by the post hereafter as I have don by this Messenger; The Animosity of Land Bank and Old Bank seems to run almost as high as Jacobite and Williamite, and I doe not know but these may improve it into a plott next winter; especially if they have a new Parliam^t: wch the running downe of our Frennd Paul; makes me think of more than any thing else I have mett wth ----"

In August, after it was made clear that no hope lay with the Land Bank, the Lords Justices and the Treasury arranged a meeting between Portland and the Governor and Directors of the 'Royal Bank' and pled with them that £200,000 should be advanced. The Bank was hardly cordial, and not all the Lords Justices were enthusiastic. Godolphin, after his first suggestions, had seemed strangely indifferent, and had gone off to Windsor to the Prince and Princess of Denmark. Shrewsbury and Somers seemed the only two who were really exerting themselves to help. At last, however, Portland was able to return to the army with the welcome news of the Bank's agreement to furnish the £200,000 and hopes of a public subscription.(h) The situation was saved, and saved,

(h) Portland to William 28th July, 31st July, 4th Aug; 7th Aug; 11th Aug; 15th Aug; Correspondentie I. 180.183.187.189.192.195.

Shrewsbury to William 28th July, 31st July, 4th Aug; 7th Aug; Coxe 139. 133. 134.

Portland thought, very much owing to the activity and tactfulness of Shrewsbury, although the Bank created more difficulties before the transaction was safely at an end. (a) But one thing Shrewsbury made clear - that he considered it was certainly time to make peace. (b) Portland, therefore, was authorised before his departure to consult with him and with Sunderland as to suitable people to act as plenipotentiaries. (c) One other thing, of purely private interest, resulted from Portland's visit. It helped to dissipate the coldness between him and Shrewsbury, which the former had all along noticed. (d) There is little doubt that Shrewsbury shared Marlborough's resentment at the extraordinary favour shown by William to his Dutchmen. But hereafter was a better understanding between the two. They parted on good terms, Portland grateful for the way in which Shrewsbury had smoothed a difficult task, and acknowledging, as a final courtesy, the loan of Shrewsbury's coach. Along with Montague, they had received the previous night a minor accident from an overturned coach, perhaps best described in the words of a contemporary, Christopher Stockdale, who detailed the

(a) Shrewsbury to William Sept. 1. Coxe 139.
Portland to Shrewsbury Sept. 8. Coxe 141.

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(b) Shrewsbury to William Aug. 7. Coxe 134.
William to Portland Aug. 6. N.S. Correspondentie I. 179.

(c) William to Portland. Aug. 3. Correspondentie I. 185.

13.

(d) Portland to Shrewsbury Sept. 8. Coxe 141.

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incident to a friend. "By the way, I will tell you a pleasant story: last Monday my Lord Portland, Shrewsbury, C. Montague, Jack Smith and some others dined with my Lord Mayor, and returned home at night, but what happened in that interim I leave you to guess, for the three first came away together and the coach overturned, whereby the Duke's thumb was put out of joint and Charles' forehead flayed; but his lordship got no hurt, nor friend John, who came by himself."(e) This explains Portland's neglect to make his adieux to the Lords Justices, for which omission he merrily blamed Shrewsbury. Perhaps in the common weakness of their humanity, the wine washed away old resentments. Three years later, when Portland, having lost the King's favour, became a neglected man, Shrewsbury wrote a considerate note, quite typical of one who owed part of his popularity to the fact that he was never known to abuse the fallen.

"You must allow me to be sorry," were his words, "that His Majesty has lost the service of one who was so faithfull and usefull to him as Your Lordship has long been. But

(e) Wood MSS.- Various MSS.VIII.82.
 Portland to Shrewsbury Aug.18. Bucc.II 385.
 Shrewsbury to Portland Aug.21. Bucc.II 386.

as my esteem and friendship has never been tyd to favour and greatness onely, so, I assure you, my Lord Portland, a country gentleman, shall receive the same respects from me, as when he had the gold key, or the most eminent signs of his master's favour"----(f)

Once more, then, the Whigs had saved William from financial stress. So long as the finances of the country permitted, no matter how hardly, the continuance of a war policy, they had supported the war; and from that point of view the experiment suggested by Sunderland had been an unqualified success. Nevertheless Whig support had been gained only at a price. The Assassination Plot, bound up as it was with Berwick's Plot, had for party reasons appeared a political gift to them. Some of their opponents were implicated, and most of them were more or less suspect. The Whigs lost no time in making capital out of the resulting Tory discomfiture; and eagerly pounced upon the suggestion of Sir Rowland Gwynne in the Commons that an Association for the Safety of the King's Person should be formed. Whig members were enthusiastic, and sported in their hats knots of flame

(f) Shrewsbury to Portland 1st July 1699. Correspondentie II 114.

coloured ribbon with gold lettering which read 'The National Association for King William.'(g) This Association was extended by statute in April into an Act for the Security of the King's person, which ordered that all those in office must sign. The result was as discomposing as the Whigs had intended. In spite of the efforts of Sir Christopher Musgrave with the High Tories, and of Harley with the moderate, numbers of Tory members and Tory officeholders refused to sign.(h) In the circumstances the royal veto on the Tory franchise bill passed with little comment. The Commission of Accounts, which had been investigating with ruthless exactitude admiralty and ministerial expenditure, was depleted.(a) Many of the country members were agitatedly hastening back to their counties.

The plot provided also a suitable reason for arresting Jacobites like Ailesbury and Brudenell, as well as the lesser persons, whose trials and executions made the country tired of bloodshed. To Shrewsbury, the whole

(g) Bonet's Despatches A 24 Mars. f.70. 10 Avril f.104.
 3 Avril 20 Avril

(h) (Robert Harley) to William Bromley April 28.
 Portland III 575.

(a) Francis Gwyn to Harley May 4. May 11. May 27.
 Portland III 575-6.

business of enquiry and imprisonment was extremely distasteful.(b) Of those lords arrested at this time, Ailesbury was his friend, Brudenell was his uncle, and Arran was the son-in-law of Sunderland.(c) His aunt, Lady Westmoreland, was, as he must have well known, entirely Jacobite in sympathy, and was approached by prisoners in the Tower to procure concessions from the Secretaries.(d) Under the strain of the unpleasant work his health was suffering once more.(e) "I never yet was a month in business," he had once written to Johnstoun, "without wishing thirty times to be out of it. Even when things go the best, it has its disgusts."(f) But when things did not go well, when the duties of office involved lifting one's hand against friends and relations, when business hours were long, and the country passing through a period of anxiety, when one's whole being was torn between different loyalties and conflicting desires, it needed both a stronger and a less sensitive nature than Shrewsbury's to go unharmed. It is consoling to

(b) Shrewsbury to Galway April 3. Bucc.II 322.

(c) Bonet's Despatches 28 Feb. A.f.18.
9 March.

(d) Cal. S. P. Dom. p.123 - to Mr. Beecher at Lord Ailesbury's.

(e) Shrewsbury to Trumbull April 23. Downshire I.656.

(f) Shrewsbury to Secy. Johnstoun Aug.1st 1695.II Bucc.210

think that in the midst of the turmoil of examining prisoners, he still thought it worth while to advise a suspect jockey to write to Trumbull for permission to be released for eight or ten days to go to Newmarket, to fulfil 'a promise to ride this meeting for the Duke of Somerset.' (g) In spite of his personal distaste, the rounding up of conspirators continued, and much of the work was done by the time Shrewsbury and Romney went down with the King to Margate in May to see him on board his yacht. (h) Sir John Fenwick, however, was still at large. He was known to have been implicated in Berwick's plot, and probably cognisant of the attempt to assassinate the King. He had already been in the Tower, and the Government had been anxious a month before the discovery of the plots to find some excuse for detaining him, so much so that they had consulted Trevor on the matter. (a) Shortly after the King's departure for Holland, with the knowledge that two

(g) Downshire I 647.

(h) Bonet's Despatches. A f.126.
Downshire I.659

(a) Sir Thomas Trevor to Trumbull Jan.17.
Downshire I.613.

witnesses were required against him, Fenwick attempted to dispose by bribery of one of two who were to be feared. Through an agent, he approached the infamous Porter, and held out the additional satisfaction of a letter to King James, which should reinstate Porter in Jacobite favour. Porter, fortunately for himself, betrayed him to the Government - fortunately - for the explanatory letter had been replaced by a blank sheet.(b) A week afterwards Fenwick was said to be with Montgomery at Somerset House, but, warned in time, he got away.(c) Some time later, in Kent, one of the King's messengers, returning from the coast in charge of two prisoners, had a dramatic encounter with Fenwick, who was at last traced to Romney Marsh, and there seized.(d) He was examined by the Lords Justices in Shrewsbury's office, and sent to the Tower.(e) In July, Shrewsbury wrote the King to inform him that Fenwick had made disclosures to the

(b) Bonet's Despatches 12 May 1696. f.135.

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(c) Minutes of the Lords Justices Cal. S. P. Dom. p.181.

(d) The owner of the house where he slept betrayed him.

Cal. S. P. Dom. p.223

Cal. S. P. Dom. p.228.

Bonet's Despatches 12 June 1696. f.159

22

(e) Kenyon MSS 409. 19th June.

Duke of Devonshire; and expressed the hope that if the prisoner were skilfully handled further and useful information might be obtained from him, that would check once and for all the power of the King's enemies to do him harm.(f)

(f) Shrewsbury to William 28th July. Coxe 130.

CHAPTER VII

THE SECOND SECRETARYSHIP - THE FENWICK CRISIS.

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From the first it was evident that Sir John Fenwick desired to escape the fate that the knowledge of his treachery appeared to indicate. He had been examined before the Council on the 19th of June.(a) On the last day of that month the Lords Justices read a petition from his wife Lady Mary Fenwick that the trial should be put off until a message could be sent to the King. Two days later, the lady herself proposed to go to Flanders to wait on the King, and the Lords ordered the trial to be delayed; but, having so far obtained her object, Lady Mary refused to go. On the following day the trial was fixed for the 13th of July, and Sir John was fast becoming anxious. Through his kinsman, Carlisle, he then applied to the Lord Steward, offering to make a confession of all he knew if only his trial were put off.(b) This move produced a new delay, which was exactly what the prisoner had intended.

(a) Cal. S. P. Dom. 1696. 233-4.

(b) Cal. S. P. Dom. 251. 255. 257.

Devonshire to William July 7.p.257 and p.314.

The arrival of Portland at the end of the month roused Lady Mary Fenwick to further solicitations, but Portland was not encouraging.(c) In the meantime Fenwick had been asked to make good his promises to the Lord Steward, and Devonshire had forwarded to the King his paper of 'confession.'

The paper was sufficiently startling. Fenwick had professed to tell all he knew, but the information was of a totally unexpected nature, for, instead of furnishing evidence against his fellow conspirators, he boldly levelled accusations against some of the King's ministers, among them Shrewsbury himself.(d) He referred to the correspondence carried on between England and St. Germain's, to the visit of Lord Middleton, who had approached Shrewsbury and Godolphin, to Marlborough's and Russell's assurances conveyed by Captain Floyd. He stated, what it is true King James believed, that Shrewsbury had laid down his office when he first began to treat with Middleton, the inference being that he did so as an earnest of good will to the exiled King, and that upon Shrewsbury's resumption of office in 1694, James had assured his followers that he became Secretary again with his consent and to make

(c) Portland to William 4 Aug. Correspondentie I. at p.189.
(d) Bucc.II.393.

himself useful to him. From this paper of information, Fenwick carefully omitted any mention of his own friends or his own party.(e)

William received the news at a time when he owed his rescue from an embarrassing financial impasse, in part to the good offices of his Secretary of State. Its effect on him was simply to produce astonishment at Fenwick's effrontery. He took the precaution of not allowing any correspondence on the subject to pass through Blathwayt's hands, decided that he would not permit Fenwick's trial to be deferred, and sent back the information to Shrewsbury with an assurance of his full confidence and the request that Shrewsbury would communicate the affair to the other Lords Justices.(f) The devastating effect of such a charge upon the Duke's supersensitive nature had not apparently occurred to him. Portland, who wrote Shrewsbury at the same time, had a better understanding of the danger behind the accusation.(g) He had himself once been suspected of venality, and had then remarked that it was hard to be beaten with the spit when one had not eaten the roast, so he knew how

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- (e) Fenwick does not actually state that Shrewsbury laid down his office at James's command, but James does - Cf. Macpherson I.435.
 (f) William to Shrewsbury Sept.10 N.S. Coxe 145-6; Bucc.II 396.
 (g) Portland to Shrewsbury Sept.10.N.S. Coxe 146.

enemies could take advantage of absurd suspicions.(h) Shrewsbury was not slow to realise his own unfortunate position. He at once replied to the King, volunteering an explanation of his connection and conversation with Middleton, and acknowledging William's generous confidence; but he foresaw what other people would say about the matter.(a) No one knew better than he how deeply his relations were steeped in Jacobite intrigue, that his mother and her two sisters, that his uncles on both sides of the family, had been adherants of James. He informed the King how Middleton had approached him, not at the time when he laid down his office, but more than a year afterwards. Just before the attempted French invasion of 1692, which was prevented by the victory of La Hogue, Middleton had again come up to town, and had been put in the Tower, and Shrewsbury, to use his own words, had visited him as often as he thought decent. It was never part of Shrewsbury's character to neglect people because they were in ill favour. He had stood by Marlborough, as he was to stand by Portland. The conversation

(h) Portland to Lexington April 23.1695. Lexington Papers at p.81.

(a) Shrewsbury to William Sept.8. Coxe 147.

that took place one night at supper when Middleton "pretty well in drink" began to talk of going abroad, and offered to do his nephew any service, Shrewsbury now repeated to the King, and William professed himself satisfied with the explanation.(b) It was a natural explanation. Even had actual protestations of support taken place on one side and the other, it would still have been understandable. A Stuart had been restored in 1660 after ten years of exile. Who knew but what another exile might one day return. Curious as it may seem to be in the son of Anna Maria, the sense of family ties remained strong in the Duke of Shrewsbury, wiping out questions of politics and religion. To the last, though he was childless, he kept the family estates intact. But whether others would believe the explanation that the King believed - when it should be known or half known - and gossiped from one mouth to another, was a different question. For the moment, Shrewsbury apparently decided to go on as if nothing had happened. So far, no one knew but the King and Portland, and the Justices. Fenwick was

(b) See supra Chapter IV

arraigned on the 17th of September.(c) Next day his wife approached Devonshire on the plea that the prisoner was willing to make out his full story for the King. On the 23rd he was examined by Vernon, and gave further information, this time relating to known Jacobites, Brudenell and Ailesbury among them, but did not repeat his charges against the ministers. Shrewsbury appears to have gone out of town on the 22nd or 23rd. He had intended going about a week earlier, with the idea of being back before the King's return, and had no doubt been delayed by the proceedings against Fenwick.(d) Perhaps he hoped, as Portland did, that the trial would be over before the King's return; but in that both were disappointed. Fenwick had already conveyed a hint to the Duke of Norfolk that he could substantiate the statements he had made,(e) and while the Whigs were confident that no harm could come to themselves from the accusation, they would have been glad of an excuse

(c) Shrewsbury to Portland Sept.18th; Coxe 152.
Bonet's Despatches A, f.214. 11th Sept.

(d) Bucc.II 410-413; Vernon I.1.
Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Sept.15. Bucc.II 402.

(e)Portland to Shrewsbury Sept.17. Coxe 151
Shrewsbury to Portland Sept.²⁷15. Coxe 149.

to strike at Godolphin.(f) Moreover, Monmouth, who had heard that his name was implicated, was behaving strangely. At this moment, Matthew Smith, who was even then suspected of being backed up by Monmouth,(g) came forward with an accusation of his own against Shrewsbury, whom he charged with neglecting to inform the King of the Assassination Plot.(h) In the circumstances, the Lords Justices were afraid to proceed with the trial, and agreed to await the King's return. As they might have foreseen, this had the serious disadvantage of giving rise to many vague rumours. Fenwick's information leaked out somehow or other, and while the Council remained silent on the matter, the Town was talking of charges against Shrewsbury, Marlborough and Godolphin.(a) Among the Whigs themselves the rumours grew that some of the ministry had been accused, and that the facts were to be stifled, while hot-headed Tories began to insist that the examination must be brought before Parliament.

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- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.24; Oct.29: Vernon I.25;32.
Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.27. Coxe 414.
Wharton to Shrewsbury Oct.27. Coxe 415.
Shrewsbury to Wharton Oct.30. Carte 233. f.27.
- (g) Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.24. Vernon I.1.
- (h) Smith's Memoirs of Secret Service.
Lords MSS.II.289-300.
- (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury 1st Oct. Vernon I.11; 29th Sept.
Vernon I 5; 2nd Oct. Bonet A f.220.

At this unfortunate moment, Shrewsbury, still in the country, received an accident which was to render him incapable of travelling back to town, and so make doubly perplexing the task of those who were to repel Fenwick's attack. A rest in the country for Shrewsbury meant hunting. The good hunting country round Eyford was a joy to him.(b) In the company of his horses and his beagles he was as near to happiness as he would ever get. The exercise and the open air, country society and country ale,(c) all were a stimulus after the long office hours and the Court manners of London, the importunities of informers, the intricacies of peace negotiations. It was while hunting that he was thrown and struck by the horse's head.(d) The blow was on his chest. It made breathing painful, and the lungs were believed to be affected. At first, his friends in London did not realise how bad the accident was, but a letter, conveyed by Rowley, his clerk, made clear that it was of a serious nature; and "remedies and advices" from the Court physician, Millington, were hurried down to Eyford. The doctor's orders were that he must not be moved. The roads were flooded, and a journey even by litter he found

- (b) Winchester to Shrewsbury Oct.23. and Dec.28. 1697.
 II Bucc. 568 and 590.
 Shrewsbury to Hill 22 Oct. 1698.- "this place where there is nothing inviting, but the finess of the country for Sports" - MS. English Letters d3. p. 25.
- (c) Mrs. Lundee to Shrewsbury Nov.28. 1693. Bucc.II 58.
- (d) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.8. Vernon I. 14.
 Luttrell IV 123.
 Vernon to Prior Oct.13. Bath III. 91.
 R. Harley to (Sir Edward Harley) Oct.10. Portland III 580 and elsewhere.

out of the question, so there at Eyford he had to remain, while his good name and reputation hung in the balance in London. (d¹) A prey to bodily torment, and mental anxiety, he stayed on in the country, resenting the talk that reflected upon him, yet glad to bury himself away from the sound of it. The real conduct of the business thus fell on the other Whig leaders, on Somers and Wharton and Russell, while Vernon played his more humble but not less useful part in the Commons, for to Parliament the examination of the affair had at last to be brought.

William had returned from Holland only to find his chief minister unable to take any stand against the accusations of Fenwick. A council had been summoned to discuss how best to proceed, but it was deferred in the hope that Shrewsbury might soon be well enough to appear, (e) and urgent letters were sent him to make an effort to come to London. He was well enough to reply,

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- "Sunday night"*
- (d¹) Vernon to Shrewsbury ~~Oct. 20~~ ^{Oct. 21}. Vernon I. 21. (date corrected from Buxleuch MSS.)
 Luttrell IV 126. *Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct. 12. Buxleuch MSS.*
P. Southwell to Halifax Oct. 10. Savile MSS.
- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury 8th Oct. I Vernon 14.
 IV Luttrell 122.

but even writing was difficult, (f) and travelling impossible. Between pain and chagrin his only wish was to be allowed to deliver up the seals, and remain in solitude at Eyford. Again he wrote William of his inability to stand the journey, pointing out how much better it would be not to employ a man under such suspicion as himself. (g) The King's annoyance was extreme. Shrewsbury ill at such a time was serious enough, but his resignation in face of Fenwick's accusations would cut the very ground from the Whig government. Somers and Sunderland both begged him not to think of resigning. (h) William himself had foreseen what his attitude would be, but hoped to avert it. Vernon, who had been in anxious consultation with Sir Thomas Millington, the physician, had been assured that the Duke must not venture up to town, and was himself.

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- (f) Shrewsbury to Hill Oct.24. II Bucc. 418.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton Oct.31. Carte 233. f.36.
 Shrewsbury to Portland Oct.11. Coxe 156.
- (g) Shrewsbury to William Oct.18. Coxe 156-7 and Cal. S. P. Dom. 418.
- (h) Somers to Shrewsbury 19th Oct. Coxe 411.
 Sunderland to Shrewsbury 19th Oct. Coxe 413.
 William to Portland. Correspondentie I. 178-9
 (wrongly dated)

going down to Eyford to see him. The King, after consultation with Portland and Sunderland, pointed out that he must not resign, and hoped that Vernon would be able to persuade by word of mouth where persuasions by letter might have no effect.(a) Somers, for his part, sent off for Wharton, who had not yet returned to town. The Whig leaders were as he knew in a dangerous position. If the party was to be saved, they must stand together.(b)

With the arrival of Wharton the chiefs of the party were organised to meet the coming opposition. They met at the Lord Keeper's to discuss what was to be done. It was resolved that the matter must be brought before Parliament, Sunderland suggested by Russell, but Russell's view was that the first notice should come from the King to his Council.(c) In Shrewsbury's opinion the method mattered little, so long as the thing itself were made public. "I confess I am not so concerned," he wrote Wharton, "whether this be brought into the house by the King's direction, or by Mr. Russell's own motion, as I am, that it may some or other appear to them it make no

- (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury ~~Oct. 20~~. Vernon I.21.
Bonet A. f.231.
William to Shrewsbury Oct.20. Coxe 157.
Portland to Shrewsbury Oct.20. Coxe 157.
- (b) Somers to Wharton 20th Oct. Carte 233.f.34.
Vernon to Shrewsbury 24th Oct. I. Vernon 25.
- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury 27th Oct. I. Vernon 30-32.
Somers to Shrewsbury 27th Oct. Coxe 414.
Vernon to Shrewsbury 29th Oct. I Vernon 32.
Wharton to Shrewsbury 29th Oct. Coxe 417.
Russell to Shrewsbury 29th Oct. Coxe 416.

Impression upon the King, and that this be not delayed till the Parl^{mt} is in worse humour, and till it be brought on peevishly and with an appearance as if the People concerned endeavoured the stifling it.

" I think the only difficulty is what your Ld^p has stated, that many people are fond it should not be thought a false accusation upon all, and how so to distinguish it; This I have ever thought a misfortune would very hardly be got over; and most people are so much more eager against their ennemys, than for their friends, that rather than spare some they will load all; the best way I think to get over this, is that whoever is in this circumstance and that people are inclined to believe this off, the King should order it so, that they would retire, which perhaps may satisfy, if this be my case I am sure I am most ready, but this last expedient is between us onely as not proper to be proposed by me." In the midst of his perplexities he could, however, add, "I have sent a couple of large handsome hounds to my Ld. Carlisle's house in the Square, I could spare no more but what are so ugly and lame it would be a shame to see them."(d)

(d) Shrewsbury to Wharton 30th Oct. '96. Carte 233 f.27.

There were, however, difficulties in the way of broaching the matter in the Commons, which Shrewsbury fully appreciated.(e) There was a danger that Parliament, if it were factiously inclined, would make Fenwick's examination an excuse for prolonged fault-finding. Meanwhile, Wharton's pleading that his friend should endeavour to come up to town as soon as he possibly could had no result, for Shrewsbury had suffered some other accident, and although he promised that he would try to bear the motion of his coach on 'the Downs' in order to see if he were strong enough to travel, he could hold out little hope of a speedy recovery; and had prepared himself 'for suffering a good deal of mortification' from the discussions in Parliament.(f)

The idea of first bringing up the matter in Parliament was next abandoned in favour of an interview between the King and Fenwick at which should be present the heads of the Government with two Chief Justices and the Attorney and the Solicitor.(g) This had been early proposed by

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- (e) Wharton to Shrewsbury 29th Oct. Coxe 417.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury 29th Oct. I Vernon 35.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton 31st Oct. Carte 233 f.36.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Wharton 31st Oct. Carte 233 f.36.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury 31st Oct. Vernon I.36.
 (g) Wharton to Shrewsbury Oct.31. Coxe 417 and II Bucc.420.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.31. Coxe 419.

Shrewsbury to Portland, (h) but had been rejected; and was in Shrewsbury's eyes the best method of procedure. From Eyford he signified to Wharton his satisfaction. "My Lord Keeper," he wrote, "knows it was my first desire, and I mentioned it also to my Ld Portland, but was told the King did not think fitt to speak with S^r John, I was very shy of pressing any thing in this matter, knowing that in the end I am very sure nothing can be proved or probably urged against me, but that however something will remaine, which will make it pretty uneasy serving."

"The doctor is this afternoon come," he continued, "and I find after 10000 impertinent questions, judges me in no condition to stirr, you may imagine how vexatious this is, and yet if I were in towne, as I am here not able to go about, or to talk loud enough for any publick assembly, or enough for any private argument, I cannot see that I should much advantage myself.

"I think my Ld Go: is much in the right. I wish I were in his condition, for in short England is not a Place any man can serve in it is good to live free in, and why I ever did otherwise God knows and God forgive

(h) Shrewsbury to Portland Oct.11. Coxe 156.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton Nov.1. Carte 233. f.38.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Nov.3. Coxe 420.

me a sin against my understanding but this is onely between us."

Godolphin had resigned on the last day of October, tricked into it, Somers thought.(a) It is possible that Shrewsbury's original suggestion for separating desirables from undesirables, which he had begged Wharton not to make public, had also occurred to Sunderland.(b) The King was the less averse to parting with Godolphin since he had found him unhelpful and even backward during the money crisis. His resignation enabled the Whigs more unitedly to turn their faces to their opponents, but it also freed the hands of the Tory opposition to deal with their enemies.

As agreed, the King did interview Fenwick on the 2nd of November, but by that time the prisoner felt secure in the knowledge that Goodman, the second witness against him, had got safely away, and would say nothing more than to refer his examiners to his papers.(c) The Government was in an awkward position. The treason act, passed only a year before, required two witnesses against Fenwick.

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- (a) Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.31. Coxe 419.
 - (b) Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.27. Coxe 414.
 - (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.3. Vernon I.39.
Somers to Shrewsbury Nov.3. Coxe 420.

It was useless then to hope to find him guilty if the trial were allowed to proceed. Yet he had said enough against the Government to create an ugly situation, and to raise the necessity for a public examination into his charges. Proceeding on the original suggestion, therefore, the King broached the matter to his Council, and the following day Russell brought up the question in the House of Commons.(d) Vernon had already been sounding various members, and urging them to do what they could to vindicate Shrewsbury. He tackled Harley and Boyle, considering that if he could win them, he

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- (d) Russell to Shrewsbury Nov.5. Coxe 422.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.6. Coxe 424 and Vernon I 45.
 Mr. Nicholson and Professor Turberville ("Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury" p.123) are mistaken in supposing that Russell 'had only just learned the contents of the paper at the Council meeting.'
 The King appears to have informed Russell on October 16th.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury ~~Oct.20~~. Vernon I 21.
 Somers to Wharton Oct.20 Carte 233 f.34.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.29. Vernon I 32.
 Wharton to Shrewsbury Oct.29. Coxe 417.
 Russell to Shrewsbury Oct.29. Coxe 416.

would have the Speaker and the bulk of the country party at least not hostilely disposed, while Shrewsbury's step-father, Bridges, was also an assistance in the Lower House. In the matter of showing friendliness to Shrewsbury, the House was well inclined, but when the real Whig motive appeared - the desire to proceed against Fenwick by Bill of Attainder, and so secure his punishment in spite of legal barriers, the House was not so unanimous. Harley spoke against a Bill of Attainder, Boyle voted against it. Guy, though he wrote Shrewsbury that he had done all that had been requested of him, was not, in Vernon's opinion, very prompt in doing it.(e) Harley did, however, succeed in making it clear that while he objected to the method of attainder, he gave no respect to the charges brought by Fenwick, and the Speaker also was clearly on Shrewsbury's side.(f) In spite of the signs of opposition, however, it was resolved to proceed by attainder. Wharton and Somers were particularly enthusiastic for the Bill; but on two of those concerned the matter lay very heavily. Godolphin was resolved to

(e) Guy to Shrewsbury II Bucc.421. Nov.7th.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.6. Vernon I.45-51.

(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury. Nov.10th I Vernon at p.53.

oppose it. Whether one regards his attitude as the outcome of party feeling, or more generously as the refusal to take away Fenwick's life by such unjust means, depends on ones reading of the man's character. But countenance it he would not. Shrewsbury, also, whose party had proposed it, and whose friends were pushing it, was filled with uneasiness at the prospect. "I am not surprised," he wrote, "that some people are scrupulous upon a bill of attainder, I confess it is a very nice point, tho I am one of the men in England, that, at this time, ought least to say so."(g) There was still the doubtful consolation that he was convinced the Bill would never pass in the House of Lords.(a) All this while, he was himself extremely ill, and most depressed. When he tried to 'take the air' on the downs, he was 'so extream sick' in his stomach as to give up the thought of travelling up to town. His friends were urging him to make the effort if only to deal with Monmouth, who was threatening that he could no longer keep the informer, Matthew Smith, from applying to the House of Commons, but the prospect of seeing Monmouth

(g) Shrewsbury to Wharton. Nov.14. Carte 233 f.39.

(a) Shrewsbury to Wharton Nov.15? Carte 233 f.41.

was not sufficient inducement to suffer the pain of a journey "for when I neither see him nor hear him I understand him as well as when I do both," was the Duke's comment.(b) The discussion in the Lords he did not really fear, since he was sure that no one would make reflections upon him on such doubtful evidence - 'a pretty improbable account upon a hearsay,' as he called Fenwick's disclosures. His health, however, was troubling him. "I have a reason to apprehend this matter is falling upon my Lungs," he confided to Wharton, "and my Lord Ranelagh may say I am one of Foxes Martyrs; but what I writ of my condition is onely between you and I, and I have mentioned it to nobody but my Lord Keeper, were it more known I should have a crowd here of people it were not proper to have at this conjunction,(c) for tho I have not very much, as you know, yet it is almost

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- (b) Shrewsbury to Wharton Nov.14 Carte 233 f.39.
 Vernon to Prior Nov.13. Bath III 94.
 Wharton to Shrewsbury Nov.10 and 12. Coxe 428 and 430.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.14. Vernon I 61.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Nov.19. Coxe 431.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.21. Vernon I.66.
 Russell to Shrewsbury Nov.24. Coxe 433.
- (c) Catholic and Jacobite relations.

all in my own disposall; I would not have what I write, alarm you too much, there is no present danger, and when I have taken the Bath waters, I will lett you know more of my condition; I am grown very understanding in it, feele when I mend and when I decay,"(d)

To Hill, the English envoy at Brussels, he remarked that he could not help observing the weather, for "when it is dry," he said, "I am almost well, when it is moist, very much the contrary, how such a weather glass of a body will hold out the remainder of this Winter, God knows -" (e)

His was not the honest courage of Portland, who dropped him a hint to venture up to town even if his life were in danger, lest he lost what was more valuable than life itself.(f) To Shrewsbury, harsh criticism and the gossip of the vulgar were alike intolerable. He needed the approbation of his fellows, if only to counteract his innate self-distrust. Pride and diffidence with him, went hand in hand.

(d) Shrewsbury to Wharton Nov.14. Carte 233 f.39.

(e) Shrewsbury to Hill 26th Dec.

MS. English Letters d3.f.12. (Bodleian)

Draft in II Bucc.432.

(f) Portland to Shrewsbury Nov.18. II Bucc.424.

For his vindication, he could trust to his friends, some of whom had been accused along with him. With Wharton he had long been on intimate terms. A love of horses and dogs, of racing and hunting was a link between them. His 'dear Mr. Russell,' too, would not only speak up for him, but had also to repel the charge against himself, a charge which in Russell's case had a certain foundation in truth. Somers, like himself a Worcestershire man, would see him righted. Montague would reason for him in the Commons. His "dog" Vernon asked only to be allowed to **work in his interest**, buttonholing this man and squaring the next. Besides these noted Whigs, there was Marlborough, also one of the accused, who owed his own rise from disgrace in part to Shrewsbury's pleading, and Sunderland, tied to no party, and bound to no friendships, who yet had a long association with Shrewsbury, and a scheme to play with the Whigs.

The Bill of Attainder passed the Commons with a little more difficulty than its supporters had anticipated. Some who were expected to vote in its favour, pointedly kept away. One member absented himself, because as he said he would not condemn a man he had been

drunk with.(g) For many, personal acquaintance with Fenwick must have counted, while for many more, the inherant injustice of the practice of attainder fixed their vote against it. Generally speaking, however, it was made a party move, the Whigs being in favour of attainder, while the Tories were not. Vernon noticed that the opponents of supplies were also opponents of the Bill. More strenuous opposition was expected and received in the House of Lords. Thither the Bill was carried on the 26th of November. On the 1st of December Fenwick was examined by the House, but would say nothing further save by his counsel. Shrewsbury's friends were still anxious that he should make an appearance in the House. His presence had been excused, although all the lords had been ordered to be there; but the Whigs hoped that he might still be in time. Wharton, with his usual genius for management, wanted even to manage the Duke's cure for him, recommended De Busière, the surgeon, and reminded him of Collback's famous remedies for stopping blood: but all to no purpose. Shrewsbury was still under treatment by Millington, who had treated his mother

(g) Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.26th I Vernon at p.82.

'in the case of lungs,' and had therefore been recommended by Bridges, and though the patient dutifully suggested 'Collback's drops,' the doctor considered them 'very improper,' all of which brought him no nearer to town.(h) A week later Fenwick's counsel was heard in the House, but obtained another week's delay in order to bring up witnesses. So high did feeling rise that Devonshire had to apologise after being taken in custody for not being in the House on the first day of examining witnesses. Two days later, the absent Lords were given until one o'clock only to make their appearance. On the 18th the question was put whether the Bill should be read a second time, and it was carried by seventy three to fifty five in the affirmative; but forty nine lords protested, after a debate that lasted till twelve at night, Rochester, Leeds, Nottingham and Ferrers leading the opposition.(a) On Fenwick's petition, the examination was renewed on the 22nd, but still he would make no confession, repeatedly urging that he had no security and would never be an

(h) Wharton to Shrewsbury Dec.1st. Coxe 437.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton Dec.3rd. Carte 233 f.42.
 Bridges to Shrewsbury Dec.8th II Bucc.429.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.5th I. Vernon 102.

(a) Lords MSS II 277-9. 1695-1697.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury 19th Dec. I Vernon 133.

evidence against those he had accused. His kinsman, Carlisle, who was aware that Monmouth had approached him through the Duchess of Norfolk with suggestions for bringing up his charges against Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Godolphin and Russell, tried to assist him by asking if he had received any paper as to how to conduct himself in either House; but although the prisoner mentioned Monmouth, he denied having received any such paper while he was at the bar of the Lords, and the question for the moment leading nowhere, the Bill was ordered to be read next day for the third time. On the 23rd the Lords sat until nine, and the Bill was passed between seven and eight o'clock by a majority of only seven. In the minority were such sober voices as Godolphin, Dorset, Devonshire and Pembroke, as well as the violently Tory group. Scrupling not to take away a fellow man's life, Archbishop Tenison was one of its warmest adherents.(b)

Only when the Bill was read was the matter of Monmouth's paper of advice taken up. It consisted of questions

(b) Vernon to Shrewsbury 24th Dec. I Vernon at p.140.

framed for the purpose of bearing out Fenwick's original confession by appealing to the King himself to say what charges were brought against Marlborough that he had been put in the Tower, what treasonable letters had been intercepted, why Shrewsbury and Russell had laid down their offices, what correspondence had been held between Shrewsbury and Matthew Smith.(c) From the moment that the Fenwick examination came before the Commons, Shrewsbury's friends had been trying to keep the importunate Smith in the background; and at last he was out! But the Houses adjourned for the Christmas recess before the matter was settled. Wharton went down to his seat at Woburn in Buckinghamshire, and from there kept in touch with Shrewsbury, who begged him to round up his friends to support him before Parliament reassembled for the consideration of Monmouth's papers.(d)

During the Christmas recess Lady Mary Fenwick did her utmost to save her husband from the fate that awaited him. She endeavoured to get in touch with Ailesbury, with the idea of persuading him to make out the truth of

(c) Bucc. II 426-7
L.J.XVI 52-3.

(d) Shrewsbury to Wharton Jan.3. 1697,

Fenwick's paper, and appears to have approached Lady Westmoreland for assistance.(e) Bridges found himself in high disfavour with the Brudenell sisters. He warned Shrewsbury that letters sent to the Countess of Shrewsbury were being tampered with. He himself was sent for to Cardigan House, and there Lady Middleton tackled him with a new proposal. Russell and Shrewsbury were to be asked to intercede with the King not to pass the Bill of Attainder. She insisted that it would simply appear an act of generosity on Shrewsbury's part.(f) The relations were torturing themselves on Fenwick's account, probably realising that the belief in Shrewsbury's adherence to James had arisen through them.

All these undercurrents, however, were attributed both by Bridges and by Vernon to the ill offices of Monmouth.(g) When Parliament reassembled, the House of Lords entered into an examination of the papers said to have been conveyed by Monmouth to Lady Mary Fenwick, through his cousin the Duchess of Norfolk. The question of Matthew Smith was then brought up. Smith was ordered

(e) Vernon to Shrewsbury 2nd Jan.1696⁷, I Vernon 153.

(f) Bridges to Shrewsbury Dec.29th and Jan.5th II Bucc.434-5.

(g) Bridges to Shrewsbury supra.
Vernon to Shrewsbury. Vernon I p.155 "I look upon it that these are arrows from the same quiver"-----

to appear before the House, and Vernon had also to appear to tell the Lords what he knew of Smith's discoveries, and his dealings with Shrewsbury.(h) Both Smith's account and Vernon's account made clear that the informer's main idea had been remuneration, until the Duke had bluntly exclaimed, "I do not love to be drained."(a) Smith himself, among the letters he afterwards produced, had one which contained Shrewsbury's refusal to disburse the King's money before he saw some service performed.(b) His contention was that he had performed services, in revealing hidden arms and in giving information of the Assassination Plot, yet he had not been sufficiently recompensed, nor had his information been conveyed to the King. Vernon assured the House that the Duke, although he did not credit Smith's informations, had at first given the King an account of them, but in such a way as to raise no alarm, a statement that was confirmed by Wharton, with the King's leave, while Tenison, Godolphin and Pembroke declared that they remembered the King had said something

(h) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.12th I Vernon 167-171
Lords Manuscripts II 291-2.

(a) Lords Manuscripts II 291.

(b) Memoirs of Secret Service - Shrewsbury to Smith.
Dec.15. 1694.

of the kind at the Cabinet Council where the discovery of the plot was made known. Nevertheless, the House took more than a week to examine the matter, and directed Vernon to enquire of Shrewsbury whether he had still any original letters from Smith which could be produced. Shrewsbury's reply, in a letter to the Lord Keeper to be laid before the House, was adroitly kept back until the Lords were considering Monmouth's actions, and then presented in the middle of Monmouth's speech.(c) That day Monmouth was committed to the Tower for his share and part in the contrivance of the papers of advice to Fenwick. The Bill of Attainder had received the royal assent some days earlier; and Sunderland at least believed that the 'business' was over. On Monday the 18th Shrewsbury's explanatory letter was read. He regretted that nothing material of Smith's correspondence had been preserved by him, and gave an account, so far as he could remember it, of his dealings with the informer.(d) Two days later the affair came to

- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury 15th Jan. (probably misdated for 16th, since Vernon says "yesterday.") I Vernon 171. Lords Manuscripts II 294.
- (d) The letter is to be found in Coxe 460, Lords MSS.II 299. and Memoirs of Secret Service (Smith)

an end, the House resolving that Smith did not deserve any further reward. It remained only for Shrewsbury's friends to congratulate him, and to urge him to leave what Vernon called 'that bleak hole.'(e) "It is impossible to be alone and seek (!) in the country without spleen:" Sunderland told him: "therefore, for God's sake, come to us as soon as you are able."(f) And Burnet, who assured the Duke that he had been praying for him during eight years, "more or less," pleaded - "We are all a-longing to see your Grace here; it will give a reviving to everything."(g) For Shrewsbury's part he did 'heartily long to see London and his friends.'(h) But the affair rankled. The public discussion of his conduct, the impudence of Smith, the request by the Lords that his letters should if possible be laid before the House, the hint of suspicion that lay on his good name, all left their mark on the Duke. "Let a man be never so innocent and able to justify his conduct," he wrote some years later,

(e) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.26th I.Vernon 144.

(f) Sunderland to Shrewsbury Jan.21st II Bucc.441.

(g) Burnet to Shrewsbury Feb.6. and Feb.13. II Bucc.446.

(h) Shrewsbury to Wharton Jan.23. Carte 233 f.45.

"if others be like me, they will always find an enquiry an uneasy thing. In some points one is too tender to endure to be suspected upon; for who would not be ashamed in a public company to be suspected and searched for picking his neighbour's pocket, though he had not done it, and were sure the stolen goods would not be found upon him?"(a)

Fenwick was executed on the 28th in spite of his wife's efforts to the last to save his life. The Whigs could feel that they had won against the attack that had been levelled against their leaders. The rebel from their own ranks had been imprisoned and struck off the Council. They had got rid of Godolphin in the course of the struggle, and had seen Shrewsbury amply justified even by many of the Tory lords. And all this had been by sheer weight of management in Lords and Commons. It seemed a complete Whig triumph, with Sunderland the one regrettable feature in its midst. Unfortunately, it was for the Whigs a triumph dearly bought.

(a) Shrewsbury to Hill - Hill Correspondence 750. 29th Nov.1704.N.S.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SECOND SECRETARYSHIP - IRISH AFFAIRS.

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The settlement made for the native Irish Catholics by the Articles of Limerick by no means meant an end to the difficulties between the two races and the two religions in Ireland. When the King ratified the articles, and expressly included the clause in the second article which the Justices had omitted, (a) he was urged by three laudable motives, namely the desire for peace in Ireland so that he might devote the energies of English arms elsewhere, natural inclination towards toleration, and the necessity of placating his Catholic allies abroad by a tolerant attitude at home. But for

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- (a) "The inhabitants of Limerick, and of every other garrison town in possession of the Irish, the officers and soldiers in arms, under any commission from King James, in the counties of Limerick, Cork, Kerry, Clare, Sligo, and Mayo, and - so the words stood in the original draft - all such as are under their protection in the said counties, should retain such estates, interests and privileges as belonged to them in the time of Charles the Second, or at any time during which the laws of Charles the Second were in force. They should retain their personal property untouched also, and be at liberty to pursue their several trades and professions as freely as before, subject only, they and all other Catholics in the Kingdom who made their submission, to take the simple Oath of Allegiance, as modified by the English Parliament."
Froude - "The English in Ireland" I. 226-7.

William, the Irish situation was never of first importance. He had been slow to deal with it, and remained slow to settle it. The forfeited lands provided estates for his mistress and his favourites; Ireland's finances must be used to pay for the expense of governing it; and there the King's real interest ceased. Far from providing a settlement, however, the Articles of Limerick, which the Justices had pledged themselves to endeavour to have ratified in Parliament, proved a further source of contention among the various parties in Ireland. When, the Lords Justices having been superseded by Sidney as Lord Lieutenant in September of 1692, a Parliament was called with the idea of providing money, and of making the settlement law, it proceeded to show its disapproval of the leniency to Catholics which the Articles stood for, and of the two Justices, Porter and Coningsby, who had favoured them, and to deny the right of the English Privy Council to initiate money bills at all. Instead of the acquiescent body that Sidney had expected, he found a Parliament of bristling Anglicanism, and paradoxically willing to turn against the English home government in order to avoid the toleration which it was extending to

Catholics. In disgust at this attitude over the money bills, Sidney dissolved the Parliament; but found that he himself was between two fires. His leniency to the Catholics was speedily tightened up, as he grew more afraid of its consequences, and so ineffectual did his rule prove that he was recalled in the Spring, and replaced by three Lords Justices, Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche and William Duncombe. Capel was a neighbour and acquaintance of Shrewsbury, and throughout the second Secretaryship, while Capel lived, the two corresponded. Much of the initiative in Irish business came from Shrewsbury, for Capel set a high value on his influence and views. For over two years, the Government did not risk a second attempt at summoning an Irish Parliament, though the question of its desirability came up in 1694. In April of that year, Shrewsbury expressed to Capel his opinion that a Parliament would be a great assistance in arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the kingdom.(b) A week later he brought up the matter at a Privy Council meeting at Kensington, when Trenchard, then Secretary for the South, was directed to write the Lords Justices for

(b) Shrewsbury to Capel April 17th. II Bucc.63.

their opinion as to the advisability of calling a Parliament.(c) Capel instructed Chief Justice Pine, on a visit to England, to communicate his views to Shrewsbury,(d) but no formal reply to the question reached the Council from the three Justices until the year was too far advanced for a Parliament to meet, without, as Shrewsbury believed, interfering with the business of the English Parliament. In fact, it was in his opinion possible that, always allowing for the fact that Capel had been ill, the two other Justices had deliberately delayed sending their opinion in the hope that no Parliament could be called that year at all.(e) If this was, indeed, their intention, it was successful, for the Council agreed with Shrewsbury in 'the old established maxim' that the Parliaments in England and in Ireland should not sit at the same time. Meanwhile, Capel spared no pains to ascertain the general Protestant opinion on the subject. In so deplorable a state was the country, that most were desirous of a parliamentary settlement, and thought it safe to

(c) II Bucc.63 - April 22nd.

(d) Capel to Shrewsbury April 29th. II Bucc.63.

(e) Shrewsbury to William - July 24th. Coxe 59-60.
 Shrewsbury to Capel - July 24 Bucc.II 106.
 (Capel to Trenchard?) July 14 Bucc. II 99.

promise that if the King initiated a money bill, in order to assert his prerogative, protest would not a second time be made.(f) As Capel pointed out, men were neither cultivating nor buying because of unstable conditions. Corn, one of the few products that they had for export, was not allowed to be exported without waiting for a convoy, and as Shrewsbury noted, convoys were so hard to obtain that that really amounted to prohibition.(g)

Portland once remarked that it was not enough to be an honest man and zealous for the King's service in order to succeed in Ireland: prudence and good luck were also necessary.(h) Capel's task was not an easy one, and it was not rendered easier on account of his own prejudices, and the actions of his opponents. His letters give the impression of a conscientious, somewhat narrow-minded man, firm to the English interest, although not, like some of his party, intolerant to the Nonconformist element. Extremely anxious to do his best

(f) (Capel to Trenchard?) supra.

Capel to Shrewsbury July 17. Bucc. II 103.

Col. George Philips to Capel July 19. Bucc. II 104.

Brodrick, Senior, to Capel Aug. 5. Bucc. II 110.

(g) Capel to Shrewsbury Aug. 8 Bucc. II 114.

Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Bucc. II 137. Sept. 18th.

(h) Correspondentie II 45. Portland to Capel 7 Dec. 1694.

for what he considered a wretched country, he was yet determined to yield not an inch to the native Irish. The greatest fault to be found in Sir Charles Porter, the Chancellor, was in Capel's eyes, that he was prepared to make terms with the Irish. How he managed to reconcile this attitude with the desire for a Parliamentary settlement, which, he must have known, was bound to recognise the Articles of Limerick, is difficult to see. But to him remains the doubtful credit of instituting in earnest the policy of penal statutes against the Irish, which was to prove such a stumbling block in the path of later peace in Ireland.

To add to his personal difficulties while he remained one of three Lords Justices, he felt convinced that the other two were working against him. Froude estimates the Anglican Church party in Ireland at this time as about an eleventh of the entire population:(a) as leader of that party and recognising it as a body divided against itself, Capel was dependent to a large extent on the home government, even if Poyning's Law had not made him legally dependent. But from the home government

(a) Froude I 267.

also, he feared that he did not receive loyal support. Much of his business with the English Council, he transacted through Shrewsbury, even before Shrewsbury officially took over the business of the southern province; but he doubted if even Shrewsbury were not trying to undermine him. A visit from Brodrick, the Solicitor-General, had convinced Shrewsbury that the mere assembling of a Parliament might not result in a peaceful settlement, without some steps being taken before that. (b) The inference was that some change in the Government (c) was also necessary, and, rightly or wrongly, Capel seems to have feared his own displacement. Certainly he complained to Lord Montagu and to Portland and Somers about it. The chief blame he laid on Congingsby, who had been one of the Lords Justices from 1690 to 1692. Shrewsbury's assurance both to Montagu and to Capel that he had never failed to speak highly of Capel to the King was probably the truth. It has all the marks of sincerity. (d) But at the same time

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- (b) Shrewsbury to Capel Oct.25. Bucc.II 151.
 - (c) Shrewsbury to Portland July 27. Coxe at p.62.
 - (d) Shrewsbury to Montagu Oct.26th. Bucc.II 152.
 - Shrewsbury to Capel Oct.27th. Bucc.II 153.
 - Portland to Capel. Nov.20th. Correspondentie II.44.

there is little doubt that some discussion of one ruler for Ireland, and that ruler not Capel, must have taken place, if only because of the state of Capel's health, and the dissatisfaction with Wyche and Duncombe. As early as August Portland had believed that Capel could not live long.(e) On his own showing, Shrewsbury, to whom Coningsby was indebted, kept the King informed of Irish affairs through him. Coningsby had volunteered to say about Ireland the words that Shrewsbury would put in his mouth, and had suggested that his patron should actually go as Lord Lieutenant.(f) The King's reply had been that he could not spare him. Coningsby had then suggested Wharton (g) - it looks very much like an arranged affair - whereupon William had enquired, no doubt with a sneer, "To be Lord Lieutenant?" "Lord Deputy," corrected Coningsby. The answer to this is worth recording. It sums up the King's dislike of

(e) Portland to Shrewsbury Aug. $\frac{6}{16}$ Coxe 64.

(f) Shrewsbury to Capel Oct. 27. Bucc. II 153.
It is worth noticing that Shrewsbury struck out the word Lord Lieutenant - p.154.
Coningsby to Shrewsbury Oct. 7. Bucc. II 145.

(g) The Editor of the Buccleugh Papers understands "our friend" to mean Winchester; (Introduction XXXVI) but the circumstances point rather to its being Wharton. Cf. Shrewsbury to William May 12. 1696. Coxe 113. and Shrewsbury to Somers April 14. 1697. Hardwicke II 430. "Then I perceived he looked upon me, and expected I should name my Lord Wharton."

Wharton, and his contempt of Wharton's political ambitions. "Will his old father never die?" And the interview came to an end. Nevertheless, Coningsby believed that the King would not be altogether averse to making Wharton one of the Lords Justices along with Capel. So long as Capel lived, it is clear that Portland at any rate would not allow him to be actually superseded.(h) As for the suggestion that Shrewsbury himself should go, a suggestion which to Capel he made light of, there is every indication that he had really seriously considered the matter.(a) In some particular, he was evidently dissatisfied with his position as Secretary, at least in 1694 when Trenchard was his superior; for Coningsby reported to him that he had told the King he ought to find a way to make Shrewsbury's station more proper for him.(b)

The solution for the moment to the problem of ruling Ireland was not after all found in replacing Capel, but in doing away with the three Justices and continuing him as Lord Deputy.(c) Early in March Portland was able to give him the news, which the King had told to no other person but Sunderland. Formal intimation came from Shrewsbury

(h) See Portland's letters to Capel. Correspondentie II. Portland's daughter had married Essex, Capel's nephew.

(a) See Shrewsbury's letters to William at the time of Capel's death - Coxe.

(b) Coningsby to Shrewsbury supra.

(c) Portland to Capel 7th March 1695. Correspondentie II. 46.

in a letter of 7th May, which stated also that the King had definitely decided to call a Parliament, though, curiously enough, the two retiring Justices were not informed until some days later.(d) In a confidential letter from Portland, Capel was shown what the King expected of him.(e) If the Irish Parliament was to meet, there was to be no questioning of the King's sole right to initiate money bills, and no attacking of those who had formerly supported that right. Particularly, he feared the renewal of an attack upon Coningsby, possibly because he realised that Capel was not over friendly to that lord, and the Lord Deputy had therefore orders to endeavour to prevent such a contingency.

Capel asked for nothing better than to be allowed to call the long delayed Parliament. By the middle of June, he had the drafts of several bills ready for the approval of the English Privy Council, and sent them over to England, with Mr. Stone, his Secretary. Among them was one for disarming Papists, which gave rise to

(d) Cal. S. P. Dom. 461.

(e) Portland to Capel May 12th. Correspondentie II.49.

dispute even at the Council meeting, as being hard to reconcile with the Articles of Limerick.(f) Further bills for approval were despatched to England on the 10th of July. Thanks to Shrewsbury, so speedily was the Council's work done, that on the 13th the bills were returned to Mr. Stone, along with the King's commission for holding a Parliament, which was duly proclaimed on the 17th to assemble on the 27th of August.(g) A bill to confirm the Articles of Limerick was not among those sent over, and it was obvious that Capel had no wish that it ever should be.(h)

On the day appointed, Parliament met, and at once shewed its loyalty by electing the Attorney-General as Speaker. Rumoured opposition, said to be backed up by

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- (f) Capel to Shrewsbury June 18. Bucc.II 193.
 Capel to Vernon. June 18. Cal. S. P. Dom. 500.
 Shrewsbury to Capel July 2. Bucc. II 197-8 and Cal. S. P. Dom. 2.
- (g) Capel to Shrewsbury July 10. Cal. S. P. Dom. 12.
 Shrewsbury to Capel July 13. Cal. S. P. Dom. 17.
 Shrewsbury to Capel July 16. Cal. S. P. Dom. 19.
 Proclamation for holding Parliament Cal. S. P. Dom. 19.
 Capel to Shrewsbury Aug.28. Bucc. II 219.
 Shrewsbury to Capel Sept. 5. Bucc.II 222.
- (h) Capel to Shrewsbury Aug.15. Bucc.II 215.

Rochester, did not materialise, and within a fortnight of meeting the House had without a negative and raising no question of the 'sole right,' voted the sum requested by Capel, £63,000.(a) At this early stage, there appeared only two opponents of any importance, both of them, curiously enough, men recommended by Shrewsbury. One was his relation, Phil Savage, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other, also with a future in Irish Parliamentary history, Mr. Molesworth. They attempted, but without success, to deprive the Crown of the prerogative of naming judges for civil bills, and vest the right in the freeholders of the country.(b) Business went on smoothly, and the home government was congratulating itself on the absence of any violence, when the Parliament went into committee to consider the State of the Nation. Immediately the divisions of parties made themselves felt. Sidney - now Earl of Romney - and Coningsby came in for their share of

(a) Capel to Shrewsbury Aug.28. Bucc.II 219.
Capel to Shrewsbury Sept.10. Bucc.II 224.

(b) Shrewsbury to Capel Sept.5. Bucc.II 222.
Capel to Shrewsbury Sept.6. Bucc.II 223.
Capel to Shrewsbury Sept.10. Bucc.II 224.
Shrewsbury to Capel July 10.1694 Bucc.II 97.
Shrewsbury to Capel June 26.1694. Cal. S.P.Dom.201.
Vernon I.256.
Shrewsbury's grandmother was a Savage.

abuse, and Sir Charles Porter's enemies seized the opportunity for attacking him and drew up a list of articles against him. Unfortunately, while Capel was willing enough to obey instructions by doing his utmost to turn aside reflections on the first two, notwithstanding the fact that Coningsby was not personally liked by him, he was obviously not averse to an attack upon the Chancellor. Both he and Thomas Brodrick, brother of the Solicitor-General, were more than content to see their enemy baited, and professed to regard the matter as necessary to a future settlement.(c) Porter's party in the House, many of them 'lawyers of a meaner sort' Brodrick estimated at about a fourth. The pro-English party complained that he favoured the Irish. Though Capel, by reason of his position, could not actually press matters against the Chancellor, he was not short of excuses for allowing to proceed what, in spite of a negative vote, was really an impeachment, and a move that the opposite party asserted he could

(c) Capel to Shrewsbury Nov.15. 1694. Bucc.II. 159.
 Capel to Shrewsbury Sept.28. 1695. Bucc. II.229
 Brodrick to Shrewsbury Oct.5. Bucc.II.233.
 Capel to Shrewsbury Oct.6. Bucc.II 235.
 Porter to Trumbull Oct.31. Downshire I 574.

have stopped an he would.(d)

By the 24th of October, a number of bills was ready, and they were despatched to England again under the care of Stone. The proceedings in the Irish Parliament had not so far given much satisfaction there. Capel was blamed that he had not taken more care to avoid the dissensions that had taken place. The expressions used against Romney were particularly resented, while Romney did not fail to notice that those who had attacked him were men over whom Capel as a rule had sufficient influence.(e) Shrewsbury was especially disappointed, because he had given the King his assurance that if a Parliament were called in Ireland, business would go on without disturbance.(f) On the other hand, the Irish party felt equally aggrieved. The Articles of Limerick, despite Porter's protest,(g) had not been ratified. Already the Emperor

- (d) Bucc.II 229-31.
Shrewsbury to Brodrick Nov.14. Bucc.II 256.
Capel to Shrewsbury Nov.17. Bucc.II 257.
- (e) Brodrick to Shrewsbury Nov.21. Bucc.II.259.
Portland to Capel Oct.14. Correspondentie II 52.
Capel to Shrewsbury Oct.24. Bucc II. 244.
- (f) Shrewsbury to Portland July 27; Aug.10,1694.
Coxe 61,65.
- (g) Capel to Shrewsbury Aug.15.1695. Bucc. II.215.
Shrewsbury to Capel Aug.29. Bucc.II 220.
Shrewsbury to Porter Aug.29. Cal. S. P. Dom. 54.

had made complaint that William had not kept his promise to his Irish Roman Catholic subjects, and the King had so far to own himself beaten as to reply that as much tenderness and indulgence was shown them as was consistent with the safety of his government.(h)

Meantime in Ireland Anglican ecclesiastics were against Capel, because he was known to be in favour of toleration to Nonconformists, and to be possessed of strict views with regard to the duties of bishops to their dioceses; so that Porter, who was on the one side accused of favouring Irish Papists, was on the other supported by the Anglican bishops.(a)

In the circumstances, William, having made sure of supplies, was anxious to stop further discussion. The Irish bills were ordered to be taken into consideration by the Council during his absence on his Progress. The King himself was present at their reading on the 14th of November, and directed Shrewsbury to write Capel to adjourn the Parliament until the spring as soon as the Money Bills were made Acts.(b)

- (h) Trumbull to Shrewsbury Oct.26th Bucc.II 246.
Shrewsbury to Trumbull Oct.31st. Bucc.II 251 and
Downshire I.573.
- (a) Brodrick to Shrewsbury Oct.28. Bucc II at p.250
Capel to Shrewsbury May 28. Cal. S. P. Dom. 480.
- (b) Shrewsbury to Trumbull Oct.30th and Oct. 31st.
Bucc.II 251; Downshire 573.
Privy Council Minutes Bucc.II 256.

William was becoming disgusted with the constant disharmony in the Irish Parliament, and when it was rumoured that the charges against Porter, having failed there, were to be brought into the English Parliament, (c) he thought it time for Shrewsbury to hint to Capel that any such course would be most displeasing to him. The Lord Deputy was therefore urged to try to compose the differences between Porter and his enemies, (d), a task which he did not at all relish, for Porter had been disputing his authority in the matter of judicial appointments, (e) while he for his part did not scruple to suggest that the Chancellor was not entirely loyal to the Government. (f)

Parliament, which had been adjourned till March, was after the discovery of the Assassination Plot further adjourned until the end of June. The plot in England was accompanied by no similar unrest in Ireland, where the Justices were busy putting into effect the

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- (c) Shrewsbury to Capel Nov. 23rd. Bucc II. 265-6.
 Capel to Shrewsbury Dec. 4th. Bucc. II 271-2.
 (d) Shrewsbury to Capel Dec. 24th. Bucc. II 281.
 (e) Capel to Shrewsbury Dec. 17th and 23rd. Cal. S. P. Dom.
 p. p. 128 and 133.
 Shrewsbury to Capel Jan. 2nd. Bucc. II. 285.
 Capel to Shrewsbury. Jan. 11th and 16th. Bucc. II. 288 and 291.
 (f) Capel to Shrewsbury Jan. 11th above.
 Capel to William March 7th. Bucc. II. 311-2.

disarming of Papists. Capel thought he detected an increase of Catholic priests returned from abroad, without being able to trace their coming.(g) But everything remained quiet. During the spring the Lord Deputy had a return of his illness of the year before; but both he and his doctors thought that he would pull through. He was sufficiently recovered even by April to attend to a little business, and a visit to Chapelized completed, as he thought, the cure. But others were not so convinced.(h) On the same date, therefore, as he was congratulating Capel on his recovery of health, Shrewsbury was writing the King on the subject of aspirants to the Lord Deputy's place.(a) Norfolk had freely offered himself, while the friends of Thomas, now Lord Wharton (whose old father really had died in February) were renewing their efforts on his behalf. Lonsdale also had been suggested, and once more

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- (g) Capel to Shrewsbury Jan.31st. Bucc.II at p.300.
 (h) Aldworth to Vernon 4th April Cal. S. P. Dom. 119.
 Capel to Shrewsbury 3rd.May Bucc. II.328.
 Swift to Miss Jane Waring April 29th - Swift's
 Correspondence I. at p.18.
 (a) Shrewsbury to Capel May 12th. Bucc.II 332.
 Shrewsbury to William May 12th. Coxe 113.

Shrewsbury had been named as a possible Lord Lieutenant. "(It) is a great honour," was Shrewsbury's comment, "but what I shall neither ambition, nor decline, but am willing to serve your majesty where you think I may be most useful. If I were to follow my own inclination, it would never lead me to business; but whilst I continue in it, I will submit myself to be disposed of as your majesty shall think most for your service." Now, the last may have been true enough, that he had no inclination to business, just as a naturally hard-working man may declare that his real ambition is to have nothing to do; but a study of Shrewsbury's correspondence on the subject with the King, shows his barely concealed desire for the post.

Already he possessed an Irish title, and as representative of a long line of Earls of Wexford and Waterford had the right to the hereditary dignity of Lord High Steward of Ireland.(b) For two years past he had taken much more than the formal interest in Ireland demanded of him by his position as Secretary. He had himself attended to the business submitted to him by Capel; he had himself suggested a Parliament

(b) Doyle.

as the solution of Irish difficulties, and used his persuasions with the King to obtain one. He had kept up a correspondence with both Capel and one of the Brodricks, and at the same time had kept in touch with Porter to a greater extent probably than Capel conceived. He had, as has already been shown, thought it worth while to use Coningsby as a means of conveying private information about Ireland to the King. He had sat on the Irish Committee, and expedited the work of the Irish bills. He had conversed with men from Ireland on leave in England. At the same time, he had not hesitated to recommend to Capel protegés of his own; and had used his influence to assist Kingston and Bellew, the latter afterwards married to one of his relations, to try to have their outlawries reversed and their lands restored. If all this shows anything, it shows that Shrewsbury's interest in Ireland was exceedingly active, so that the possibility that he had envisaged himself as viceroy there, free to administer at his own discretion, is not one at war with facts.

His recommendation of Coningsby at this time to be custos rotulorum of Hereford where he himself was lieutenant, was no doubt a quid pro quo.(c) Coningsby in turn would recommend him for Ireland. Shrewsbury, however, was too valuable to the King in his position as Secretary of State to be moved to Ireland, and William openly and generously told him so.(d) Even then, however, the Duke did not quite give up the idea. In his next letter on the subject to the King, he hinted that some prudent man should be sent, a single person rather than several, who might put themselves at the head of the various parties. He put forward the names of Darnley, Clifford and Sir Joseph Williamson, but without any enthusiasm.(e) Early in June, before news had come of Capel's death, Shrewsbury returned again to the subject. "My name having been mentioned for Ireland, I am the more unwilling to speak upon that subject; but I cannot forbear saying this much, that in case my lord deputy die, the proper time to ^{write} ~~write~~ that

(c) Shrewsbury to William May 15. Coxe at p.117.

(d) William to Shrewsbury June 4.N.S.1696. Coxe 118.

Cf. Coningsby to Shrewsbury Oct.7. 1694. Bucc.II.145.

(e) Shrewsbury to William May 29. Coxe 119.

people will be immediately upon the change." (f)
 When news did arrive that Capel was dead, and that,
 in accordance with ~~the~~ statutory right, the Irish
 Council had surprisingly named Sir Charles Porter
 as temporary Justice, (g) the matter of the new
 government of Ireland had to be taken into serious
 consideration; and in Shrewsbury's account of the
 debates on the subject by the Lords Justices in
 England, his words are almost a reproach upon the
 light way in which the King had regarded the ruler-
 ship of Ireland.

"It was very difficult for us to bring ourselves
 to propose any persons to your majesty, for so great
 a trust as the government of Ireland; nor do I
 believe any one of us is pleased entirely with the
 persons we have offered; but I think men are very
 scarce, that one can satisfy one's self in recommending
 to any places of trust, and application, but more so
 upon this occasion, when one could not mention it to
 any, with a prospect of remaining long there." (h)

(f) Shrewsbury to William June.5. Coxe 122.

(g) Capel had appointed Lord Blessington and Colonel
 Wolseley Lords Justices during his illness in the
 spring, but had no power himself to appoint a successor.
 Shrewsbury to Capel May 12. Bucc.II 332.
 Porter to Shrewsbury June 3. Bucc.II 344

(h) Shrewsbury to William June 23. Coxe 125.

To Blathwayt he confided that with the other Justices he had sat till past four o'clock trying to compile a list of suitable persons.(a) Porter was already making his position secure, and successfully checkmated a move to dispute his right to be Lord Justice, by obtaining a vote of congratulation from both Houses of Parliament. His object was to impress the home government with his general fitness to govern, not only by reason of administrative zeal, but by his ability to calm the disputes that had been such a drawback to Capel. All animosities were laid aside, he assured Shrewsbury. There was no such thing in Ireland as the party distinction between Whig and Tory. Until lately - and by lately he meant until Capel's period of office - Irish Protestants had always *lived* well with one another. He was sure they would continue to do so.(b) The plausible phrases, however, made little impression upon Shrewsbury. He had already seen letters of complaint from the Earl of Meath and Brigadier General Wolseley, and commented that the animosities in Ireland still continued.(c)

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- (a) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt. June 23. Bucc.II 354.
 (b) Porter to Shrewsbury June 27. Bucc.II 358.
 (c) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt June 9. Bucc.II 348.
 Meath to Shrewsbury June 23. Bucc.II 243.
 Wolseley to Vernon 16th June and 27th June, Cal.S.P.Dom.
 246.
 Shrewsbury to Blathwayt July 3. Bucc.II.363.

Porter was, however, retained in his position as Lord Justice, two others, the Earl of Montrath and the Earl of Drogheda being joined with him. Montrath was a nephew of Capel's, while Drogheda was a friend and supporter of the Chancellor, and Shrewsbury at least had misgivings on the advisability of his appointment.(d) But there does not seem any good reason to suggest that this shifting of influence from Capel's party to Porter's was personally distasteful to the King. William had pledged himself to the ratification of the Articles of Limerick. Porter believed that he could obtain their ratification, and claimed to be able to conduct a parliamentary session without unwanted disputes. The first alone Shrewsbury believed would be sufficient to induce the King to hold a session of Parliament.(e)

Arrangements having been thus so far made for the government of Ireland, Shrewsbury's interest was for the moment diverted. At the end of September he wrote Porter on the subject of a Parliament. Less

(d) Shrewsbury to William June 23. Coxe 125.

(e) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Sept.27.

Shrewsbury to Porter Sept.27. Bucc.II 413.

Blathwayt to Shrewsbury June 28. Add.MSS 37992 f.125.

than a fortnight later, his accident made attention to business out of the question. In any case, the anxiety attending Fenwick's accusation, and his subsequent examination and attainder in Parliament, rendered the Duke disinclined for all public business, far less for the remoter interests of Ireland. Accordingly, when Meath and Brodrick, anxious to renew the attack on Porter, tried to enlist Shrewsbury's sympathies, they found him unusually indifferent. Colonel Deane, who was the bearer of their letters, paid the Duke a visit at Eyford in December, but one gathers that his reception cannot have been very cordial; for he had set out on his return journey before Shrewsbury was aware that he had gone. In replying to Brodrick, Shrewsbury declared that it was impossible for him to give advice when he had been out of town so long and had not even seen the King since William's return from Flanders.(f) There was to be no more attacking of Porter, however, for the Chancellor died that same month.(g)

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- (f) Meath to Shrewsbury Nov.24. Bucc.II 425.
 Brodrick to Shrewsbury Dec.1. Bucc.II 427.
 Shrewsbury to Brodrick Dec.12. Bucc. II. 429.
 Cf. Palmer to Vernon March 23, 1697. Cal. S. P. Dom. 70.
- (g) Vernon to Shrewsbury - letter wrongly dated.
 Vernon I 100.
 Shrewsbury to Somers. Dec.24. Coxe 451.

Probably Porter's period of office was the King's last chance of having the Articles of Limerick ratified in their entirety. Thereafter, William gradually yielded to the importunities of the English party in Ireland. When new Lords Justices were appointed, therefore, Irishmen were not trusted with the position. Galway, necessarily returning from Savoy after the Duke's defection, was joined with the two remaining Justices; and in the spring a complete change over from the old Government was made. When Shrewsbury returned to business in April, he and Sunderland were consulted as to possible deputies for Ireland, and Sunderland's suggestion of Lord Villiers, at first promptly negatived, was afterwards approved. Galway was to continue, and, as a third, Shrewsbury's nominee, the Marquess of Winchester, was accepted. Shrewsbury had made a further effort to speak on behalf of Lord Wharton; but the King would not hear of it. "My Lord Wharton has very good parts," he said, "but I think no more of his liking to be one of three in Ireland, than I should to have two joined to me here." John Methuen, envoy to Portugal, was made Lord Chancellor. Methuen was a friend of under-secretary

Vernon, and owed his change of state to Shrewsbury's as well as to Sunderland's good offices.(h) As Villiers during the peace negotiations was absent as plenipotentiary at Ryswick, and had no interest in Ireland other than to demand a third of the remuneration from appointments there, he need hardly be taken into account.(a) The new Justices did not set out for Ireland until the end of May, 1697, and paid Shrewsbury a visit at Grafton on their way. It is worth noting how conversant with Irish affairs his contemporaries believed the Duke to be. Winchester had refused to go to Ireland without first visiting Shrewsbury, and was prepared to go as far out of his way as to Eyford for the purpose.(b) Whether Shrewsbury had removed to his seat at Grafton, which he did on the 18th of May, for the purpose of seeing the Lords Justices more conveniently is impossible to say; but it was there that he talked with them. They were unfortunate in arriving on a day when all the

- (h) Tucker to Prior April 13 Bath III.110.
 Prior to Montagu May 10 N.S. Bath III. 114.
 Vernon to Prior May 4. Bath III 116.
 Shrewsbury to Somers April 14. Hardwicke State Papers at p.430.
 Shrewsbury to Villiers April 23. Bucc. II 460.
 Vernon I. 99. 146-7.160.179.
 Bridges to Shrewsbury Jan.25. Bucc.II 442.
 Shrewsbury to Somers. Dec. 24. 1696. Coxe 451.
- (a) Winchester to Shrewsbury March 25. 1698.
 Galway to Shrewsbury March 26. Bucc. II 610-11
- (b) Prior to Tucker Sept.10. 1698. Bath III 262.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 10. May 13. May 15. May 20; [really 16]
 Vernon I.240.245.250.256.
 Vernon to Prior May 18th. Bath III 120.

country gentlemen were visiting, but in spite of that he contrived to get as much time alone with them as possible, and with his usual courtesy sent his servant back with them as far as Newport, where they rejoined the main London to Chester road. Methuen, who was one of the party, paid tribute to Shrewsbury's understanding of affairs in a letter to Vernon in which he wrote, "He did a great service to Ireland by letting our Lords Justices know his thoughts which will be of great moment to keep them right and together."(c)

They arrived in Dublin on the last day of May, where they found both Montrath and Drogheda, whom they were replacing, evidently anxious to please them.(d) Parliament met on the 15th of June, and appearing in good temper was adjourned until the end of July,(e) while the Council set about preparing bills, among them one for confirming Irish outlawries, which relinquished the Crown's right of reversal. The pro-Irish party had lost in the late

(c) Bucc.II 469.

Vernon to Prior May 21. Bath III 121.

Methuen to Vernon May 28. Cal. S. P. Dom. 173.

Shrewsbury to Lords Justices of Ireland June 9. Bucc.II 477

(d) Galway to Shrewsbury June 1st. Bucc. II 474.

(e) Methuen to Shrewsbury June 22. Bucc.II 482.

Winchester to Prior June 15. Bath III 128.

Vernon I. 275-6.

Chancellor their main support. Nevertheless, the administration of Galway and Winchester suffered in much the same way as that of previous Justices. Before long both were complaining of the dissention in the Irish Parliament, much of it engineered from a source quite unexpected, namely from Phil Savage, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had as they thought during their common meeting with Shrewsbury, pledged himself to try to secure harmony. Savage's animosity was largely directed against the two Brodricks, one of whom he managed to unseat from the chair of the Committee of Elections, but without, as he had hoped, putting himself in. It needed a certain amount of pressure from Winchester, and a half promise of a Commissionership of the Revenue, before Savage's blood cooled.(f) These early rancours over, the Irish Parliament settled down to its real business, the consideration of supply; while the Council in England were dealing with the heads of bills sent over for their approval. Shrewsbury had returned to London at the beginning of July,(g) and so

(f) Methuen to Shrewsbury Aug.3. Bucc. II 518.

Winchester to Shrewsbury Aug.5. Bucc.II 521.

Aug. 10. Bucc. II 528.

(g) Vernon to Williamson 6th July. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1697. 231.

took an active share in the revising and amending of the Irish bills before Parliament met. These had in view at last the settlement of the country. Thus the Articles of Limerick were to be ratified; the outlawries were to be confirmed; and the Catholic population was to be penalised by Act of Parliament, so that it could not again become a formidable menace. The impossibility of really reconciling the first and the last does not appear to have given anyone serious distress. In transmitting these penal bills, the Chancellor offered the comforting assurance that they were the last of their kind, and the Papists need fear no worse.(h) They were, however, sufficiently oppressive. In addition to that for confirming outlawries, which now involved the loss of estates of those who had died in rebellion, there was one to prevent the intermarriage of Protestants with Papists, and one to banish all Regulars of the Popish clergy, besides suppressing monasteries and convents. With regard to the last, had Galway had his way, a fixed number of priests would have been tolerated by the Government who would then have known exactly where they stood.(a)

(h) Methuen to Shrewsbury July 12. Bucc. II 490.
(a) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt July 13. Bucc. II 492.
Galway to Shrewsbury July 20. Bucc. II 502.

The English Council duly approved or amended the required bills, and were on the point of returning that ratifying the Articles of Limerick, when it was discovered that the disputed clause, which the King had before reinserted, had been omitted. The matter seemed too serious for decision without the King's consent, and the Irish Lords Justices were asked to explain their reasons for this omission. Methuen had been the real culprit: but his decision had been founded on the fact that as feeling ran among the Protestants in Ireland, the Articles had little chance of becoming law, so long as the 'additional' clause was retained. (b) For the King ^{there} ~~this~~ was one serious consideration. Many of the lands confiscated by him, some even granted away by him, were affected. (c) "It is not hard to guess how the Protestant and English interest there wish his Majesty should decide the matter," wrote Shrewsbury to Blathwayt. (d) Galway, however, was most anxious that the bill should be brought

- (b) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt July 27. Bucc. II 508.
 Shrewsbury to the Lords Justices of Ireland July 27.
 Shrewsbury to Methuen July 27. Bucc. II 509.
 Blathwayt to Shrewsbury Aug. 12. N.S. Bucc. II 515.
 Methuen to Shrewsbury Aug. 3. Bucc. II 518.
- (c) Galway to Shrewsbury Aug. 3. Bucc. II at p. 517.
- (d) Aug. 13. Bucc. II 531.

before the Irish Parliament, with or without the disputed clause, to be decided one way or another. "Above all, send it to us," he pleaded, "and let this Bill not be lost."(e)

Affairs were at this standstill when once more Shrewsbury had a relapse in health, and was forced to leave London, so missing Lord Folliot, who carried a recommendation from Galway, and laid such stress on Shrewsbury's influence that he was with difficulty dissuaded from following him to Woburn, where the Duke was breaking his journey.(f) Galway and Winchester were in fact finding the session, which had opened with every appearance of promise, almost beyond their management. Galway declared that he no longer trusted his own judgment. Even Winchester's sanguine temperament was not proof against continuous and irritating disturbances. "I will answer for nobody in this country," he wrote. The Commons, who had first welcomed the bill for confirming outlawries

(e) Galway to Shrewsbury Aug.5. Bucc. II 522-3

(f) Galway to Shrewsbury Aug.3. Bucc. II 517.
 Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Aug.13. Bucc.II 531.
 Shrewsbury to Winchester; Shrewsbury to Galway:
 Shrewsbury to Methuen - Aug.14. Bucc.II 531-3.
 Shrewsbury to Galway. Aug.21. Bucc.II 537.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.14. Vernon I 306.

as the first piece of real settlement effected, passed the bill only after much debate, while the Lords, led by Drogheda, and fortified by the bishops, fiercely opposed it, alleging that it was much disliked by the Princess, and only a means of confirming Lady Orkney's grants without the danger of a separate investigation.(g) One wonders if Rochester was in any way behind this. Eventually, in an amended form, the bill did pass, but not before it had raised many passions on both sides. The Articles of Limerick were also at length confirmed by Act of Parliament. In the middle of August the King gave his consent to the omission of the disputed clause, only to find that in yielding to one party he had offended another, so that Methuen informed Shrewsbury that after having received a hundred individual promises from members of the Commons, which required a hundred individual persuasions, to pass the bill if the clause were omitted, he had to turn round and appease the Lords because the clause was omitted, and so had become the enemy of both Houses.(h)

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- (g) Galway to Shrewsbury Aug.17 and 19. Bucc.II 535-6.
 Winchester to Shrewsbury Aug.15. Bucc.II 534.
 Lords Justices of Ireland to Shrewsbury Add.MSS.35933 f.5.
 Shrewsbury to Galway; Shrewsbury to Winchester,
 Aug.30. Bucc.II 543-4.
- (h) Blathwayt to Shrewsbury Aug.17. Bucc. II 535.
 Methuen to Shrewsbury Oct.8. Bucc.II 561.
 Winchester to Shrewsbury Sept.23. Bucc.II 557.
 Galway to Shrewsbury Sept.24. Bucc. II 558.
 Lords Justices of Ireland to Shrewsbury. Sept.23.
 Add.MSS.35933 f.7.

To add to the general confusion, Galway and Winchester, who had begun their work together on the best of terms, were beginning to differ. Winchester's partiality for Savage, a partiality, which could not be explained by Savage's compliance, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his opposition to the Brodricks, let slip no opportunity of causing trouble, appeared foolish to Galway. Winchester was supporting Savage for a place in the Commission of Revenue, while Galway wished Sir Francis Brewster to have the place, and Brewster accordingly paid a visit to Shrewsbury at Eyford on October 15, during which he gave a melancholy account of the state of Ireland, and advanced his opinion that nothing was so much needed for the country as a change of government and a strong Lord Lieutenant.(a)

By November Shrewsbury had returned to London, or at least to Kensington; but as usual the cares of business and the town atmosphere soon lowered his health.(b) It was felt that some change was necessary in the administration of Ireland; but Shrewsbury was too ill at the moment even to tender advice. "I am sorry that

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- (a) Galway to Shrewsbury Sept.9; 24; Oct.9; Nov.18; Bucc.II 551.558.563.575.
 Shrewsbury to Galway Oct.20. Bucc. II 565.
 Shrewsbury to Methuen Oct.20. Bucc.II 566.
- (b) Vernon to Williamson Nov.2. Cal. S. P. Dom.455; Nov.9. p.464; Nov.12.p.470; Nov.19. p.478.
 Shrewsbury to William Nov.18. Coxe 180 and Cal. S. P. Dom.476.

the circumstances of my health are so very bad," he wrote Winchester, "that I cannot propose to myself being in the least useful in promoting what your Lordships shall represent. I am going into the country in two or three days, with so melancholy a prospect of my own condition, that the best I can hope is to linger on, a useless, uneasy life, which would not be worth preserving if one knew how to part with it without pain or reproach."

And to Galway, "I can be esteemed nothing but a corpse, half buried already, and expecting the consummation of that entire ceremony." Galway confessed that he had never received a letter which had moved him so deeply. "Il semble que ce soit un adyeu."(c)

On the 2nd of December the Irish Parliament was prorogued. Already there had been rumours that the government would be changed, that the bills sent over were approved by Shrewsbury and the Chancellor, but not by the King, and that now that peace was concluded, these two would be turned out of office, and people of other principles put in.(d) An attempt at an act for

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- (c) Shrewsbury to Winchester; Shrewsbury to Galway;
Shrewsbury to Methuen; Nov.25.
Bucc.II 579-580.
Galway to Shrewsbury Dec.4. Bucc. II 586-7.
- (d) Winchester to Shrewsbury Dec.2. Bucc.II 585.

an association, on the lines of the English Association, had failed in the Lords, in spite of its warm reception in the Lower House. Methuen came over to England in December, and, like others from Ireland, gravitated to Shrewsbury's house at Eyford. There he found the Duke so far recovered as to be receiving company, and able to go fox-hunting.(e) Methuen remained in England until shortly before Parliament met again at the end of September, the Great Seal being put in commission during his absence.(f) The Justices were then entering upon another troubled session. In July of the previous year, the royal speech had recommended to the Irish Houses the encouragement of the linen trade. A month later Shrewsbury had warned Galway that if the Irish did not do something to promote the linen at the expense of the wool trade,^{of} which the English were extremely jealous, then they would before long suffer some severe mortification on the subject of the woollen exports.(g)

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- (e) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt July 20. Bucc.II 501.
 Shrewsbury to Lords Justices of Ireland July 20.
 Bucc.II 502.
 Winchester to Shrewsbury Nov.27. Bucc.II 583.
 Galway to Shrewsbury Nov.27. Bucc. II 581.
 Galway to Shrewsbury Dec.13. Bucc.II 588.
 Galway to Shrewsbury Jan.4. 1698. Bucc.II.595.
- (f) Burke - History of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland p.100.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Galway Aug.30.1697. Bucc.II 543.

He was right. An address from both Houses of the English Parliament urged the King to do something to prevent the export of Irish wool, and accordingly William advised the Lords Justices in Ireland to prepare heads for suitable bills to encourage linen and discourage wool. No wonder Methuen, whose business it was to manage the Irish Houses for the Government, found himself in a difficult position. The actual restrictions themselves were disturbing enough, and when they became bound up with the old dispute of the right of the Irish Parliament to originate money bills - for the bill to lay duties on wool was undoubtedly a money bill - there is little wonder that Methuen hardly knew whether to play for safety with the home government or with the Irish Parliamentarians.(h) In the royal speech in the session of 1698 once more the linen bill was mentioned, but the Justices lacked the courage to refer to duties on wool. In this quandary the Lords Justices as usual turned to Shrewsbury for advice. Stone, who was sent over with the heads of the two bills, was directed to call at Eyford on his way. He carried two letters also to the Lord Chancellor, Somers; and of

(h) Privy Council to Lords Justices of Ireland. Oct.13. Bucc.II 616; Oct.18. Bucc.II 617. Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.13. Vernon II.194.

these Shrewsbury was asked to choose which should be presented to him.(a) This he did, and sent Stone away also with a personal letter to Somers, for which good offices Galway and Winchester were suitably grateful.(b) In spite, however, of Somers' speedy realisation of the situation and his efforts to relieve it, he was sufficiently annoyed at the difficulty for which he blamed Methuen. The hardship of the woollen bill, the effect of which would be to prohibit Irish exports of wool or woollen goods, he apparently did not see, but read into the Irish objections to it nothing but an obstinacy to fight the question of the 'sole right.' The one hope for Irish affairs, as he saw it, was for them to be at last entrusted to Shrewsbury.(c)

Another, more nearly concerned with the state of Ireland, would have found pleasure in echoing Somers' words. Galway was by this time as disgusted with his task as it was possible to be. Responsibility for the King's decision to divert a portion of his disbanded army

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- (a) Winchester and Galway to Shrewsbury.
Oct.10. Bucc.II 615.
 - (b) Shrewsbury to Somers. Oct.15. Hardwicke II.432.
Winchester to Shrewsbury Oct.27; Galway to
Shrewsbury Oct.28. Bucc.II 617.
 - (c) For the bill, see Froude I.297.
Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.25. Coxe 557.
Privy Council to the Lords Justices of Ireland.
Bucc.II 617.
Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.25. Vernon II 205.

to Ireland was, somewhat unfairly, attributed to him.(d)
 The rift with Winchester, which had begun over the
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, had widened, until it
 seemed as though the Marquis had openly joined Galway's
 opponents. In March he succeeded to the dukedom of
 Bolton. Parliament had been prorogued in January, and
 Galway believed that as the new duke, he might on his
 visit to England request the King to make him Lord
 Lieutenant of Ireland, instead of returning as Galway's
 fellow Justice. For Galway it would be a suitable
 excuse to retire. He was tired of "being always in
 the storm." "It is very wearisome to have passed
 one's life a Protestant in France and a foreigner in
 England," was his whimsical complaint to Shrewsbury.(e)
 Bolton, however, was for the time being disappointed.
 Galway was shortly to find in a rebuff from William on
 the occasion of a dispute with Matthew Prior, an
 opportunity to crave his own withdrawal from office;
 but the King was determined not to lose so loyal a
 servant.(f)

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- (d) Galway to Shrewsbury Feb.2.1699 Bucc.II.620.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.1698. Vernon II 179.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Aug.16. 1698. Coxe at p.554.
- (e) Methuen to Shrewsbury Feb.3.1699 (not 1698)
 Bucc.II at p.601.
 Galway to Shrewsbury March 14. Bucc.II 622.
- (f) Galway to Shrewsbury Nov.11.1699 Bucc.II.628
 Cf. Bath III Prior's Correspondence with May and Tucker.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury III 59.

So far as the reign of William was concerned, Shrewsbury's active interest in Ireland came to an end with his change of duties, when, having at length agreed to accept the office of Chamberlain, if he were allowed to lay down that of Secretary, his official connection with Ireland also ceased.

The belief in his proficiency in Irish business, however, was still as strong in the minds of those who knew him, and in the spring of 1700, as a last hope of bringing him again into the ministry, the King offered him the Lord Lieutenancy. It is a tribute to the man that of those who believed the appointment had taken effect, no two were more glad than Galway and Methuen.(g)

Not so Bolton; but then Bolton wanted the position himself, and, in spite of Shrewsbury's assurances that he had no intention of accepting, Bolton believed from words he let fall that he still had thoughts of the Lieutenancy.(h) A person of lesser importance also rejoiced in the rumoured honour. Sir John Stanley, an

(g) Methuen to Shrewsbury May 10. Bucc.II 647.

Galway to Shrewsbury May 18. Bucc. II. 649.

The Lieutenancy for Shrewsbury had been suggested, according to Vernon, so far back as April 1699 -

Vernon II 272. *G. Nottingham to Halifax May 14; R. Southwell & J. Southwell to Halifax May 11.*

(h) Bolton to Shrewsbury May 30.1700. Bucc.II 651.

Bolton to Somers. Sept.1700. Hardwicke II.437.

Vernon to Shrewsbury May 30.1699. Vernon II 295.

Galway to Shrewsbury. March 14. 1699. Bucc.II 622.

Irishman, his secretary in the Chamberlainship, evidently well satisfied with the Duke's service, begged that he might accompany him to Ireland. "I am desirous of being always in your service," he wrote. (a) It was not to be, however, and Stanley had to wait thirteen years before his wish was realised. Shrewsbury, weak in health and tired of public life, longed only for retirement.

(a) Stanley to Shrewsbury May 11.1700. and May 15.
Bucc.II 647/8.

CHAPTER IX

THE SPLIT IN THE MINISTRY.

CHAPTER IXTHE SPLIT IN THE MINISTRY.

With the departure of the cold weather, in the early spring of 1697 Shrewsbury's health gradually improved, so that at the beginning of February he was talking of returning to London once more.(a) Before the month was out, he was entertaining the Duke of Richmond, and was even able to follow the hunt, though he "durst ride no faster than a foot pace." He came up to London, which he reached on the 4th of March, by easy stages, spending four days on the journey, and stopping at Wharton's house at Winchendon on the way.(b)

Villiers, then abroad as one of the plenipotentiaries for the peace, must have had rather a surprise when he received a letter addressed from his own house; for to

- (a) Guy to Shrewsbury in answer to letter of Feb.1.
Bucc.II 446.
Shrewsbury to Burnet Feb.10.
- (b) Shrewsbury to Wharton. Feb.27. - Carte 233 f.46.
Luttrell IV 191.
Shrewsbury to Hill Feb.27. Bucc.II 450.

the Lodge in Hyde Park Shrewsbury had gone for the sake of the open air, trusting that in his friendship with the owner, he could dispense with obtaining first his formal consent.(c) He was plunged almost at once into the usual round of business. The peace negotiations were giving considerable anxiety. They appeared no nearer conclusion. The spring was advancing, and soon a new campaign would be started, which, according to its success or failure, might entirely alter the footing on which the plenipotentiaries met. Although the Emperor was in no good position to continue the war, and had already been a heavy expense to England, the Imperial party came no nearer to concluding a reasonable peace. Shrewsbury compared them to "one restive coach horse in a set."(d) What attitude to take to Savoy was also puzzling the Allies. Savoy's representative, "the little cunning body," was desirous of being included in the general peace for the purpose of having the existing treaty with France publicly ratified.(e) Meanwhile, the

(c) Shrewsbury to Villiers March 16. Bucc.II 452.
 Villiers to Shrewsbury March 23. Bucc.II 453.

April 2.

(d) Shrewsbury to Hill Jan.30. Bucc.II 443.

(e) Hill to Shrewsbury 15 March. Bucc.II 451.

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Shrewsbury to Hill March 23. MS. English Letters
 D3.f.14. and Bucc.II 453.

Hill to Shrewsbury May 2 N.S. Bucc.II 459.

army was seven months in arrears with pay.(f). The King was anxious for peace, but also anxious to avoid the stigma of abandoning his Allies. England was heartily tired of the war, even although in Shrewsbury's opinion the country was better able to stand a war in 1697 than it had been the previous year.(g)

The Whigs were not nearly in such a strong position as the Fenwick votes had appeared to indicate. They had originally derived power from their ability to provide funds for carrying on the war. "I don't think any Parliament hereafter will have it in their power to give so much," was Vernon's opinion.(h) But the country's anxiety for peace was likely to be the Whigs' undoing. If Fenwick's accusations had done nothing else, they had at least shown how the party could be wounded. Strike at Shrewsbury, their enemies believed, and instead of opposing he would retire to brood in the country. They had shown, also, however, that the party was not as united as it had claimed. Monmouth's "warm head"

(f) Hill to Shrewsbury April 1 Bucc.II 456.

II

(g) Shrewsbury to Hill MS. English Letters. D3.f.20 & f.23. 5th June and 16th July. The drafts are in Bucc.II. 476 and 497.

(h) Bath III 110.

was a potential source of danger. His wild extravagant schemes, and his jealousy of Shrewsbury laid the party open to attack by its opponents. His disgrace sat lightly upon him. Before long, he was petitioning to be released, and came out of the Tower again on the 1st of April. He was full of misguided energy. No wonder Mary had once written that Lord Monmouth was mad.(a)

While Monmouth was in the Tower, an adventurer, Ulick or Ulysses Brown, approached Sir John Talbot with a tale about one of Monmouth's strange schemes.(b) Brown and some others, highwaymen, had once set upon Monmouth, and robbed him of a miserably inadequate purse. With a gallantry surprising in anyone else, Monmouth had sympathised with them, and offered them ten guineas, if they were brave enough to come for them. The acquaintance thus begun, was, said Brown, to be used to the Earl's advantage. Two of them were to depose to having waylaid Monmouth with the idea of carrying him into France. The precise motive is not

- (a) Wharton to Shrewsbury Jan.20. Bucc.II at p.441.
 Vernon to Prior March 26 & 30, April 2. Bath III
 105 and 107-8.
 Doeber 29.
- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.23.1696/7. Vernon I.180-2
 Somers to Shrewsbury Feb.20. Coxe 475.

clear: the idea probably was that he should appear to be surrounded by political enemies. Brown's story sounds sufficiently ridiculous and would not have stood a chance of being believed in reference to any other person than Monmouth, but it succeeded in imposing upon the Whigs to their future dissatisfaction. True, the discreet Vernon refused to be the one to interview the highwayman. He saw that opponents might easily turn the story into an attempt on Shrewsbury's part to villify Monmouth; but Somers, in company with Secretary Trumbull and one of the Chief Justices, consented to examine the man. At the first interview Brown did not turn up.(c) Shortly afterwards he was seized apparently for some other reason, by a warrant from Trumbull, who indeed had had information about him for a year past.(d) The subsequent dealings of the Whig leaders with the highwayman informer are almost impossible to follow; but he caused both Shrewsbury and his under-secretary a degree of anxiety out of all proportion to the importance of the affair. It looks very much as if Brown's acquaintance with the Talbots and Brudenells

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.26. Vernon I.183.

(d) Downshire I 636.

and their activities was too intimate to bear close examination. He had first approached ^{a nephew of} Gilbert Talbot, Sir John's ^{husband} ~~nephew~~, and in the end Lady Westmoreland bailed him out of prison.(e) Portland's help had to be obtained before Brown was finally disposed of. He was at length provided with funds and induced to go to Ireland.(f) His appearance in public with a story of his imagined wrongs would certainly have been most undesirable even if it had done no more than show the Tories how their rivals had been hoodwinked by a high-wayman, If in addition to that, Brown really knew too much about Shrewsbury's relations, the attempt to suppress anything he could say so soon after the Fenwick case is even more understandable. Brown certainly knew of Lady Westmoreland's priest, and succeeded in frightening him badly.(g)

It was not Monmouth alone, however, that was the sole trial within the Whig party. The Whigs had accepted Sunderland's unofficial presence within their ranks when it meant their chance of being

(e) Vernon I.197 and 230. *Buccleuch MSS. 2 63*
Bucc.II 463.

(f) Vernon I.443.

Could the Colonel Ulick Brown, who petitioned to be allowed to return to Ireland in 1714 (when Shrewsbury was Lord Lieutenant) after serving abroad, be the same? - Irish Letter Book II 14 and 15.

(g) References to Brown run through Vernon's Correspondence all through 1697 and even up to the year 1700.
Cf. Stobbing's Life of Peterborough 39-40.

once more in power at the end of 1693; but now that they felt themselves secure, and now that Sunderland was raising his head and increasing his influence, (h) they no longer concealed their dislike of him. In the summer of 1696 Monmouth had tried to use Sunderland in a curious way - to turn him against Shrewsbury, and rightly or wrongly some of the Whigs suspected that Sunderland's real object was to replace Shrewsbury in the Secretaryship. (a) At the beginning of February Portland had asked Vernon the curious question whether Shrewsbury intended to act again. (b) Vernon had already suspected that something was in the air, for Sunderland had "come so low" as to hint to him that Shrewsbury might be President of the Council. "I am sure I would not wish you chained to anything you think uneasiness," the under-secretary wrote to Shrewsbury: "but where one is at liberty to keep or leave, one would do it with a regard to one's own conveniency, and not another's gratification" --- (c) There may indeed have been some

(h) Portledge 255.

(a) Guy to Shrewsbury Feb.6. Bucc.II 446.

Portland to William July 31. Correspondentie I.183.
and Cal. S. P. Dom.311.

(b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.4. Vernon I.195.

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.26. Vernon I at p.187.

understanding between Sunderland and Monmouth, in spite of Henry Guy's assurances for his friend; for Sunderland almost took Vernon's breath away by suggesting afterwards that Monmouth might with advantage be given a pension of £2000 a year.(d) Shrewsbury, however, while making discreet enquiries of Russell, remained friendly enough with Sunderland, and promised to assist him with the King.(e) During April Sunderland was made Lord Chamberlain in place of Dorset, and was appointed one of the Lords Justices for the period of the King's absence.(f) The more prejudiced Whigs distrusted him intensely. Russell, grumbling away that one had to be careful, had promised early in the year that he would not show the least ill-will or dislike; but he had to be given an earldom to make sure of that. Somers became Lord Chancellor, and was raised to the peerage with a grant of lands to the value of about £2000 a year to support a dignity which he had before refused.(g)

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- (d) Another of the 'barthers' no doubt.
Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.1.1697/8. Vernon I at p.457.
- (e) Russell to Shrewsbury Feb.11. Coxe 474.
Shrewsbury to Sunderland Feb.16. Cal.S.P.Dom.1697 p.36.
- (f) Tucker to Prior April 13; Vernon to Prior April 20.
Bath III. 110 and 112.
- (g) Vernon to Prior April 20. Bath III.112.
Shrewsbury to Somers May 8. 1695. Coxe 396.
For Somers' dispute with Portland over this grant
see Vernon I 223; Correspondentie II 70, 71.

Montague succeeded to Godolphin's place in the Treasury. But Wharton, although given a lucrative position, was not rewarded as he wished.(h) He was the real manager of the party, and had had a mind to the Secretaryship as early as 1693.(a) Sunderland's great power lay in the influence that he had with the King in the matter of appointments, so that he was able to put in his own men here and there, who were bound to him. Thus it is noticeable how Vernon's judgments of him were modified after he had assisted in making Vernon Secretary of State, even although the under-secretary may have been quite sincere in not desiring the honour done him. Against this great influence, the Whigs proper had only Shrewsbury to stand up for them: for it was only Shrewsbury, among them all, who possessed a like influence with William, and, even then, too often, if opinions clashed, Sunderland's nominee was preferred.(b) For this reason, Shrewsbury's uncertain health and growing disinclination for public duties was a menace

(h) Keith Feiling 325.
Lodge 403.

(a) Denbigh MSS. App. to 7th Report 211.

(b) Shrewsbury to Somers April 14. Hardwicke II 429.
and Coxe 477.

Prior to Montagu May 10. Bath III 114-5.

to the party. Already, during his illness, Vernon had remarked that the King had not waited for him in making necessary appointments.(c) In May, the deficits in Palmes's office - Palmes was one of the tellers of the Exchequer, and presumably a Whig protégé - sent Sunderland into 'transports', much to the **annoyance** of Somers.(d) Shrewsbury was by that time back in the country. During April his illness had been increasing, with all the symptoms of consumptive tendencies. Millington's rival, Dr. Ratcliff, had long made disparaging remarks on the treatment he was receiving, so that the Duke decided to try Ratcliff, only to find himself worse. Two days of Ratcliff's opiate pills were sufficient to send him back to Millington and the prescription of country air.(e) One wonders also if the mortification of the King's coldness when he proposed Wharton for Ireland proved an additional reason for retreat and an aggravation of his malady. It was certainly just about a week later that he once more asked to be allowed to resign the seals.(f)

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.26. 1697 at p.187.

(d) Somers to Shrewsbury May 29. Bucc.II 472.

(e) Vernon to Prior April 16th and 20th; Bath III 110 & 112.

(f) Shrewsbury to Somers April 14. supra.

Shrewsbury to William April 19. Coxe 165.

He was persuaded to retain his position, but during May and June he stayed on in the country, first at Eyford, and then, from the middle of May at the family seat at Grafton.(g) Save for the usual correspondence, much of which was dealt with by Vernon in his absence, and for a visit from the Irish Lords Justices on their way to Dublin, he remained undisturbed by business.(h) A visit to Woburn from Eyford was his greatest activity.(a) Montague sent him Dryden's translation of Virgil to entertain him.(b) Vernon, his mind ever on business, sent him Matthew Smith's book; for Smith was renewing his complaints in print.(c) From Madeira came a present of plants and trees for the grounds at Grafton.(d) For the rest, he was intent

(g) Vernon to Prior May 18. Bath III 120.

(h) Ante Chapter VIII p.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 1. Vernon I.225.

Vernon to Shrewsbury May 6. Vernon I. 231.

(b) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 10. Vernon I 239.

Cf. Dryden's Works vol. 15 p.192.

"I have been informed that the Duke of Shrewsbury has procured a printed copy of the Pastorals, Georgics, and first six Aeneids, from my bookseller, and has read them in the country"---

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury June 10.

Vernon I.259.

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 8 and May 13.

Vernon I.235 and 245.

on 'plumping up,' took life easily and went on a diet of asses' milk.(e) He was much better by the beginning of June, and spoke hopefully of returning to London in a month's time. He was missing very little there. Russell, now Earl of Orford, wrote that he had never seen the town so empty. Somers was seriously ill. Harley was ill. The Speaker had not even waited for the last meeting of Parliament.(f)

Shrewsbury was well enough to return to town in the first week of July, and lodged in Arlington Street before moving into his house in St. James's Square.(g) During that month the Council was occupied with preparing business for the Irish Parliament. Abroad, the peace negotiations dragged their slow progress, a cover to **the significant** meetings between Portland and Boufflers.

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- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 15. Vernon I 249.
 Vernon to Williamson June 1. Cal. S. P. Dom. 178.
- (f) Yard to Williamson June 1. Cal. S. P. Dom. 179.
 Shrewsbury to Hill May 29. MS. English Letters D3.f.19.
 and Bucc. II 473.
 Vernon to Williamson June 1. supra.
 Orford to Shrewsbury June 20. Bucc. II 478.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury June 10. Vernon I. 259.
 Daniel Williams to Robert Harley Sept.3. Portland III.586.
- (g) Vernon to Williamson July 2 and July 6. Cal. S. P. Dom.
 226 and 231.
 Luttrell IV 248.
 Dasent 227.

On the 19th Portland wrote to Shrewsbury that Louis had
29th
 at last consented to have it inserted in the treaty
 that he would give no assistance to James.(h) Only
 a day later Shrewsbury was writing to the King his
 hopes that such a clause would be part of the peace
 treaty.(a) With this important obstacle broken down,
 the peace might well be considered 'infallible,' but
 the Imperialists were still to be convinced, and the
 protracted negotiations went on in fact until September.(b)
 Shrewsbury was anxious that the treaty should stipulate
 the removal of James from France, and should be made
 more positively binding upon the successors of both
 Kings; but England was in no condition to dictate her
 terms, so that Portland had reason to refer to the
 difficulty which he had in negotiating anything,
 when there was such risk in speaking positively.(c)

- (h) Portland to Shrewsbury Coxe 353 and Grimblot I.72.
 Prior to Winchester July 21. Bath III 142.
 (a) Shrewsbury to William Coxe 169 and Grimblot I.72.
 (b) Shrewsbury to Hill July 30. Bucc.II 512.
 (c) Shrewsbury to William July 27. Coxe 170 and
 Grimblot I 84.
 Shrewsbury to Portland July 27. Coxe 354 and
 Grimblot I. 85.
 Portland to Shrewsbury Aug. 2. Coxe at p.360.

Less than a month of the town air and the pressure of business reduced Shrewsbury to his former poor state of health. The attack must have come on suddenly, for he was able precisely to date it. On Tuesday the 27th of July, he had **sat** up late working to send off the despatches for Ireland and Flanders. Some of the Irish bills were due to be returned; over the bill for ratifying the Articles of Limerick a difficulty had arisen because of the omitted clause, and a fresh letter had to be written to Blathwayt to discover the King's wishes on the matter. Letters about the peace had to be despatched to the King and to Portland. He was writing his letter to Lord Chancellor Methuen while the messenger waited to carry it. Certainly Vernon, who had seen him **working**, attributed the return of the blood-spitting to nothing but the rush of business on that day.(d) He was to have accompanied Sunderland and Romney to wait on Anne at Tunbridge, but was unable to go, and although in a week's time he was feeling rather better,(e) by the second week of August he

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Methuen July 27. Bucc.II at p.510.
 Shrewsbury to Blathwayt July 27. Bucc.II 508.
 Shrewsbury to the Lords Justices of Ireland July 27.
 Bucc.II 509.
 Shrewsbury to Villiers July 30. Coxe 355.
 Vernon to Williamson July 30. Cal. S. P. Dom. 276.
 Shrewsbury to Hill. July 30. Bucc.II 512.
- (e) Yard to Williamson July 30. Cal. S. P. Dom. 276.
 Vernon to Williamson Aug.3. Cal. S. P. Dom. 280.
 Cf. King to Southwell July 19. from Bath. - K.L.B.

found even writing a strain, and made up his mind to return to the country. He accordingly left London on the 14th, and took coach for Eyford, calling first on Wharton at his seat at Woburn.(f)

He had not been long out of town before another petty annoyance occurred. Sir Henry Colt, who had been using two coiners, Price and Challoner, as informers, was approached by these two with a story that the Duke had tried to secure Fenwick's escape.(g) Colt, true to his character, contrived to fuss around the information, would not divulge it to the Justices without Shrewsbury's consent, and succeeded in attaching a mysterious importance to the whole affair. He received small thanks for his air of secrecy.

(f) Vernon to Williamson Aug.10. Cal. S. P. Dom. 294.
 Yard to Williamson Aug.10. Cal. S. P. Dom. 295.
 Shrewsbury to Manchester Aug. 12. Bucc. II 529.
 Shrewsbury to Blathwayt Aug.13. Bucc.II 531.
 Shrewsbury to Methuen Aug.14. Bucc.II 533.
 Shrewsbury to Winchester Aug.14. Bucc.II 532.
 Shrewsbury to Galway. Aug.14. Bucc.II.532.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.14. Vernon I ~~306~~ 310 .
 Vernon to Williamson Aug.13. Cal. S. P. Dom. 307.
 Vernon says "Worcestershire" but Shrewsbury went to Eyford.

(g) The information is in Bucc.II 539-40. where, however, Sunderland and Lady Sunderland are inserted no doubt instead of Shrewsbury and Lady Shrewsbury.

Shrewsbury, assuring him of his perfect innocence, insisted that the matter should immediately be laid before the Justices; but, although the information proved as worthless as its authors, it meant, as Vernon foresaw, that the Duke was "engaged in a new wrangle," which disgusted him anew with his office.(h) Already on the 25th of the month he had written to the King begging leave to retire on the grounds that he did not wish "to make a sinecure of a secretary's office."(a) Next day he moved to Grafton, from where he wrote to Somers that he was thinking of leaving England for some warmer climate: Millington had already warned him that he must not spend the next winter in the town. He resolved to seize the excuse for retiring, since, as he told Somers, he saw that he was "the mark to be aimed at."(b)

- (a) Shrewsbury to William Aug.25. Coxe 174.
 Vernon's letter and Colt's letter had been written on the 24th, but cannot have reached Shrewsbury at the time of his writing.
- (b) Vernon to Williamson Aug.27. Cal. S. P. Dom. 332.
 Orford to Shrewsbury Sept.7. Coxe 487. alluding to letter Shrewsbury to Somers Aug.28.
 Shrewsbury to Somers. Sept.8. Coxe 489.
 Vernon to Williamson Sept.10. Cal. S. P. Dom. 361.
 Shrewsbury to Hill Sept.8. MS. English Letters. D3. p.26. and Bucc.II 550.

The ministry was in a dilemma. To two of the political leaders Shrewsbury's retirement from the Secretaryship would have been not unwelcome. Wharton, although he regarded Shrewsbury as his friend, had long coveted the position; while Sunderland would have desired the Secretaryship for himself did the party but tolerate it. But the entire severance of Shrewsbury from the ministry was unthinkable. It was only he who could soothe the Whig attitude to Sunderland sufficiently to make business possible.(c) He enjoyed the respect of all parties, and he enjoyed the goodwill of the King. The first was a thing unattainable by the Chamberlain, the second as far beyond the reach of Wharton.

Although he was dissuaded for the moment from delivering up the seals, Shrewsbury's very absence from the political world soon made itself felt. The accumulated bitterness of the real Whig leaders could no longer be restrained. Peace came in September to take away the obvious necessity for clinging to Sunderland, and they proceeded to show him that his presence was not wanted. He had, however, still some hopes of arriving

(c) Orford to Shrewsbury Sept.16. Coxe at p.493.

"I am sure you conclude our white staff will readily run in to give me a mortification."

Orford to Shrewsbury Sept.24. Coxe 499.

at some sort of accommodation, if Shrewsbury could be persuaded to remain in business, and to accept of some employment less troublesome than the Secretaryship. The idea of himself as Secretary he had been forced to give up, but he hoped by raising the good civil servant, Vernon, to the office, at least to keep control of the place.(d) Shrewsbury had promised that he would not deliver up the seals without first seeing the King; but he reiterated his intention to resign in a letter of October 6th.(e) Wharton had just been down to Grafton to visit him, when the possibility of Wharton's succeeding him must have been discussed.(f) On the 12th Wharton called for him, and took him back to Eyford.(g) The King's return was expected in November, and it was thought advisable that Shrewsbury

- (d) Orford to Shrewsbury Sept.24. Coxe 499.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.23. Vernon I.396.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.7. Vernon I.418.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.23. Vernon I. 431.
- (e) Shrewsbury to Orford Sept.22. Coxe 498.
 Shrewsbury to Somers Sept.22. Coxe 496.
 Shrewsbury to Sunderland Sept.22. Coxe 495.
 Shrewsbury to William Oct.6. Coxe 177.
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.7. Vernon I 418.
- (g) Portland III 590.

should try to come up to London before that.(h)
 Vernon warned him that he was "coming into a strange intricacy." Sunderland was suiting his conversation to his company - spoke of Wharton as Secretary - "and," said Vernon, "knows there is no such thing intended. My Lord Wharton shows a willingness to accept of it, and at the bottom has no mind to it; or, as your Grace foresees, will soon be weary of it. Your Grace will be vehemently pressed to stay in, and you resolve against it. One you know (himself) is secretly designed for secretary, and he is utterly incapable of it."(a)

As Vernon had declared, Shrewsbury was vehemently pressed to stay in, so vehemently that he was forced to comply. He arrived in town on the 2nd of November. The King, however, did not come to London until the 16th, and even in that short time Shrewsbury had had to take a house at Kensington because he could not endure the city air.(b) From there, he wrote a despairing letter to the King, to try to convince him that retirement was the only course of life which

(h) Sunderland to Shrewsbury Oct.19. Coxe 501.

Orford to Shrewsbury Oct.21. Coxe 502.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.23. Vernon I.431 and Coxe 501.

(b) Vernon to Williamson, 2nd Nov. 9th Nov;12th Nov; 16th Nov; Cal. S. P. Dom. 455; 464; 470; 474.

Winchester to Shrewsbury Nov.13. Bucc.II 573.

Winchester to Shrewsbury Nov.20. Bucc.II 578.

his bad constitution and worse humour would suffer him to lead.(c) It was as bad-tempered a letter as the courteous Shrewsbury ever allowed himself to write, but it did not produce its desired effect; and when, on the last day of the month he retired again to his house at Eyford, he was still in possession of the seals.(d) The King, indeed, could not afford to part with him at that moment. The very day after his departure, Trumbull returned the seals of the second Secretaryship. He had been treated, he said, "more like a footman than a secretary, and had been sent to for blank warrants." A certain amount of mystery surrounds the resignation. Trumbull's friends met with rumours that it was no resignation, but a dismissal long determined on, and Trumbull's own version of the affair is somewhat cryptic; for he endorsed portland's order for his interview with the King on December 1st with these words - "Upon which I carried the 'Seals,' with an account of what passed. 'Olim haec meminisse juvabit.'"(e) The

(c) Shrewsbury to William Nov.18. Coxe 179 and Cal. S. P. Dom. 476.

(d) Ellis to Williamson Nov.26. and Nov.30. Cal.S.P.Dom. 492 and 494.

Vernon to Williamson Nov.30. Cal.S.P.Dom.492.

Luttrell IV 313.

(e) Downshire I 770;773;774.

Cf.Sunderland to Shrewsbury Jan.15. 1698. Coxe 526.

reluctant Vernon was pushed into the vacant place. Neither Somers nor Orford had been consulted, and Vernon, feeling "destitute of advice friends and resolution," begged that Shrewsbury would not remove his patronage and protection.(f)

Sunderland's smartness, however, precipitated the very crisis which he wished to avoid. He had successfully forestalled Wharton by the substitution of Vernon for Trumbull, but in doing so he had banded the Whigs against himself. A meeting of the ministers was arranged at Somers's house, where the Chancellor was ill and confined to his room, and there it was decided that if Shrewsbury should resign, Wharton would be supported for the Secretaryship. Sunderland, however, let fall a hint of Lord Tankerville's suitability, and the Whigs were not deceived by what Somers called the Chamberlain's "grimace" in Wharton's favour.(g) Shrewsbury's reply to all this was simply to redouble his requests to resign, while the Whig party began a studied attack upon Sunderland in Parliament. Vernon wrote that the Chamberlain escaped

(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.2. Vernon I.434.

(g) Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.9. Coxe 505.

hardly any day in the Commons. In the Lords December 23rd was the day rumoured for the attack, and the King called on Wharton to stand by his minister.

Naturally, Wharton was not enthusiastic, and the King begged Shrewsbury to make him see reason on his next visit to Eyford.(h) Sunderland's one champion was Monmouth, now Earl of Peterborough, whom he might have been better without. To Vernon he complained that he had been ground between Peterborough and Wharton, and had led the life of a dog. He was furious that the party he had striven for in the last four years should show so little concern when he was badgered. On the 27th the political world was startled by the news of his resignation. The night before, he had thrust his key into Vernon's hands, cutting it off from his side.(a) It transpired that for the last three weeks he had vainly begged William for leave to retire. But had Shrewsbury been in town, he declared, the thing could never have happened.(b)

- (h) Shrewsbury to Sunderland Dec.11. Coxe 507.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.14. Vernon I. 438.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.21. Vernon I. 443.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.23. Vernon I. 446.
 (a) Vernon To Shrewsbury Dec.27. Vernon I. 448.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.1. Vernon I. 454.
 Sunderland to Shrewsbury Feb.24. Coxe 534.
 (b) Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.29. Coxe 521.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.29. Vernon I. 451.

It was a loss irreparable from the King's point of view. He found himself, as Vernon said, in great want of somebody he might be free with. In Somers's opinion he was left extremely destitute, while Harley wrote his father, "Lord Sunderland's retiring will leave the managers very naked." (c) The difficulty for the Whigs was more than that with Sunderland gone and Shrewsbury ill they had lost the private ear of the King, they had lost the support also of Sunderland's henchmen in the Commons. (d) For the second of these evils there was no remedy short of persuading Sunderland to return: but if Shrewsbury could be induced to accept of the vacant Chamberlainship, and so be secured in office, the absence of Sunderland as mediator between them and the King need not, the Whigs believed, be so much to be deplored. Sunderland himself was anxious to have Shrewsbury actively engaged in the Government by an acceptance of the place which he had just vacated, perhaps as the beginning of a new scheme that he was considering during the next two years - a

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- (c) Vernon To Shrewsbury Dec.27. Coxe 510.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.29. Coxe 521.
 Portland III 594 - Letter of Jan.1.
- (d) Sunderland to Shrewsbury Jan.15. Coxe 526.
 Montague to Shrewsbury Feb.1. Coxe 531.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.15. Vernon I. 465.

possible union of the moderate members of both parties.(e) Shrewsbury was not fully convinced of Sunderland's goodwill. The latter's friendship with Peterborough seemed suspicious.(f) He was anxious, however, that no one should imagine that he had contributed in any way to the attacks on Sunderland, and gave that as one of his reasons for not accepting the Chamberlainship. Before he would ever be Chamberlain, two things must be made clear, the first, that he had nothing to do with the events that led up to Sunderland's retirement, and the second, that he must not himself be subjected to attacks in Parliament. Portland's robust common sense urged him to take the world as he found it. "We live in an age where the spirit of contention reigns," he observed, "but we have to live in this age."(g) But to Shrewsbury the thought of the Prices and Challoners of the world, of Matthew Smith who had been trying to bring his case before the Commons, of Brown, who was still pestering the Whigs for money, was quite enough to give a distaste for all business.(h) As far back as October, also, the

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- (e) Sunderland to Shrewsbury Dec.28. Coxe 509.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.28. Coxe 519.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.29. Coxe 521.
 (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.1. 1698. Vernon I 454.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Jan.6. Coxe at p.524.
 (g) Portland to Shrewsbury Jan.3. Bucc.II 594.
 (h) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.16. Vernon I. 442.

House of Commons had brought up the subject of pirates, and Shrewsbury, at least, among the Whigs, had a guilty conscience where pirates were concerned. Together with Somers, Orford and Romney he had, at the instigation of Lord Bellamont, Governor of New York, financed Captain Kidd's expedition for the purpose of capturing pirate vessels; and for some time now the Whigs had known that Kidd himself had turned pirate and was preying on the East India merchantmen. The scheme, innocent enough in its intentions, had been an undertaking to enrich its promoters on something the same lines as their financing of one Richard Long's gold and silver mining venture; but the ethics of the affair would hardly bear a Parliamentary scrutiny.(a) At any moment, Shrewsbury felt, his opponents in the Commons might get hold of information to use against him, though Portland assured him that his enemies were impotent, and Somers that no Parliamentary attack was intended.(b)

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- (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.7.1697 Vernon I.418
 Shrewsbury to William Aug.15.1696. Coxe 136.
 Portland III 582.
 Treasury Papers 1697. June 22 and July 6.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 13.1697. Vernon I.245.
 Cf.Vernon I.401.
 Romney to Shrewsbury Dec.3.1696. Bucc.II 428.
 Col. Livingston to Shrewsbury Sept.20. 1696. Bucc.II 405.
- (b) Portland to Shrewsbury Jan. 3. Bucc.II 594.
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- Somers to Shrewsbury Jan.6. Coxe 522.

Meanwhile, Sunderland was hinting through his place-men, that a return to office on his own part, by means of a reconciliation with the Whigs, would be not unacceptable. The King was extremely desirous of some such accommodation; but how far the Whigs would approve of it was a different matter.(c) Secretary Vernon informed Shrewsbury that the Whigs believed they were doing better in Parliament now that Sunderland was dropped.(d) As far as the Whig ministers, Montague and Somers, were concerned, they were willing to tolerate his return to business provided that Shrewsbury accepted the Chamberlainship and Wharton was given the seals.(e) This last, in Shrewsbury's opinion, was an indispensable condition of any treaty with Sunderland, who, eager to promise anything that would bring him back to the political life that was his very existence, promised to "labour like a horse" to obtain the Secretaryship for Wharton.(f) The rank and file of the Whig party, however, were bitter against Sunderland. The attacks by Duncombe, Methuen, Trumbull

- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.15. Vernon I 465
 William to Portland Feb.26. Correspondentie I 248-9
 March 8.
- (d) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.26. Vernon I 472.
- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb. 1698 Vernon I 486. (Buckley mss.)
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.18. Vernon I 468.

and Guy, which were a result of the removal of their master's restraining hand, were soon repaid by Whig charges of corruption against the first.(g)

Montague was intent on "carrying the war into the enemy's country;" though Shrewsbury warned him to be careful to do nothing that might confirm the King in an opinion that the Whigs had a natural sourness that made them not to be lived with.(h) Wharton had a new scheme of his own, which he believed would dispense altogether with the usefulness of Sunderland. It was that the Whigs should bring into the ministry Albemarle, then replacing Portland in William's favour, and so assure themselves of a hearing with the King. Shrewsbury owned that Albemarle had "favour enough to make him extream usefull," but showed no enthusiasm for the plan. The young lord's qualifications for business were doubtful. "Having a mind to it is one very necessary qualification," wrote Shrewsbury, reverting

(g) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.20. Vernon I 472.
 Jan.25. Vernon I 477.
 Feb. 8. Vernon II 1.

(h) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.22 Vernon I 475.
 Shrewsbury to Montague Jan.22 Add.MSS.15895 f.17.
 Draft in Coxe 529.
 Montague to Shrewsbury Jan.18. Coxe 528.

to his usual complaint, "and I am confident who ever has not some ambition of that kind will never be able long to endure the mortifications he will receive in this country"----(a) The King, he knew, intended to make use of him in order to reconcile the Whigs to Sunderland. For his own part, he owed it to Wharton to obtain the seals for him. The Chamberlainship he did not want for himself; and as for bringing Sunderland once more into power, he confessed himself quite indifferent, being able either to live well with him or without him.(b)

Towards the middle of February 1698 Shrewsbury at last made up his mind to come nearer London for the purpose of seeing the King. William was glad to hear of it; for he had expected that Wharton would have pressed his friend not to go.(c) It was accordingly arranged that the meeting should take place at Windsor in March, after which Shrewsbury was expected to return to London. Shrewsbury arrived at Windsor on

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- (a) Montague to Shrewsbury Feb.1. Coxe 531.
Shrewsbury to Montague Feb.9. Add. MSS.15895 f.19.
- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.29. Vernon I 480.
Sunderland to Shrewsbury Feb.5. Coxe 534.
Shrewsbury to Montague Feb.1. supra.
- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.14. Vernon II 10. [Feb.15. *Burbach*
ms.]

the 7th.(d) The interview cannot have been successful and the journey proved disastrous.(e) On his arrival it was remarked that he was looking well, and on three occasions during his stay he went out hunting with the King. During the night between Friday and Saturday, 11th and 12th March, however, he was taken suddenly ill, and as a result declared himself unable to accompany the King to London. William was intensely annoyed. He returned to town himself, leaving the Duke at Windsor; and on the Monday poured out his woes to Portland, then on a special embassy to Paris, with the secret object of discussing with Louis a partition treaty concerning the Spanish dominions.

"I came back here on Saturday evening from Windsor," he wrote, "where I left the Duke of Shrewsbury who had spat so much blood again that night that he was unable to come here as he had intended, and to-day I learn that he is worse than ever, and he has written a letter

- (d) Yard to Williamson March 1. and March 4. P.R.O.
 Hill to Williamson March 4. P.R.O.
 Letter to Williamson March 8. P.R.O.
 Hopkins to Williamson March 8 and March 11 P.R.O.
 Vernon to Williamson Feb.21; March 8 P.R.O.
 Cf. Luttrell IV 353.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury March 10. Vernon II 20.
- (e) Ellis to Williamson March 11 P.R.O.
 Vernon to Williamson March 18. P.R.O.
 Luttrell IV 355.
 Yard to Manchester March 15. Report 8 App.2. p.68.

to Vernon like a man who is on the point of dying, and who is meanwhile wholly determined to think no more of any business; so that I believe that one must count him dead to this world, which vexes me not a little, and will embarrass me no less; there will be nobody here who will believe that he is dangerously ill, but that it is a pretext, since the four days that he was with me at Windsor he appeared to be well enough, and he has been hunting with me three times, and fell ill only during the night between Friday and Saturday, when he had resolved to come to London with me. I know not what to believe, but he seemed to me very determined during these four days to wish to come into business, always making me compliments that it was only to please and to serve me, since if he followed his own inclination, he would retire altogether from the world. This will make a great 'fracas' among the whole party, who will more than ever fear Lord Sunderland's return."(f)

(f) William to Portland March 14 Correspondentie I 265 -
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also in Grimblot.

No sooner had the King departed than Shrewsbury removed to Wharton's house at Woburn, seven miles away, where he remained during the worst of his illness. The King did not, however, give up hope of some settlement, and made arrangements to come to Windsor on Friday the 18th, when, if he failed to meet the Duke, he would himself proceed to Woburn.(g) Already people were talking of Wharton as Secretary, with Felton to succeed him as Comptroller, but William had no intention of giving way.(h) Shrewsbury, for his part, did not yet intend accepting the Chamberlainship. He pleaded ill-health, which did indeed confine him to Woburn, even although Wharton was in London with his sick brother; and William's visit to Woburn was no more successful than the meetings at Windsor had been.(a) The return of Sunderland appeared an impossibility, at least so long as the existing Parliament sat; but another attempt

- (g) Vernon to Williamson March 18. S.P.Dom. Bundle 15.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury March 14. 1697 $\frac{1}{8}$ Vernon I.220.
 (misplaced in Vernon Correspondence) and March 15.
 Vernon II 22.
 Cf. Portland III 597.
- (h) Vernon I at p.221.
 Verney Letters I 29.
- (a) Luttrell IV 359. March 22.
 William to Portland 22 March. Correspondentie I 273-4
I April
 Bonet B f.77.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury March 29. Vernon II 28.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury "April 11" Vernon II 44.
 [but wrongly dated, should be April 4th.]

at an accommodation was to be made when Shrewsbury should be well enough to travel.(b) Vernon, who went down to Woburn to see him, brought back word to London that Shrewsbury would try to journey to Newmarket while the King was there.(c) On the 6th of April, Shrewsbury was able to set out on his journey, arriving at Newmarket on the 7th, where he spent the next ten days, staying with Godolphin in his Newmarket house, and with Orford at Chippenham about three miles away.(d) But again the visit proved fruitless. Shrewsbury refused to serve and the King refused to give Wharton the seals. William remained at Newmarket until the 16th, and then came away disgusted.(e) The long deliberations had resulted in nothing but a promise on Shrewsbury's part to keep the seals till the end of the Parliamentary session, and the interviews had moreover caused a relapse in

- (b) William to Portland supra.
(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 3. Vernon II 31.
Ellis to Williamson April 1. P.R.O.
(d) Yard to Williamson April 8. P.R.O.
Ellis to Williamson April 5. 8 and 12. P.R.O.
Vernon to Shrewsbury April 6, April 7, April 8.
Vernon II 32, 33, 37.
Godolphin to Lonsdale April 17. Report XIII Ap.7 p.109.
Cf. Stanley to Shrewsbury March 7th, 1700. Bucc.II 643.
Luttrell IV 365.
(e) William to Portland April 14. Correspondentie I 291.
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Vernon to Shrewsbury April 17. Vernon II 61.

his already feeble health.(f) A new suggestion had been made by the Whigs, which commended itself no better to the King. It was that Wharton should be Chamberlain. William wrote to Portland, "At present they are pressing me to make Lord Wharton Lord Chamberlain, for which I have as little wish as to make him Secretary of State ---- the Whigs pretend that they will not be satisfied nor will my affairs be accomplished to my satisfaction in Parliament if I do not grant it; judge to what point they are pushing things; of Lord Sunderland they speak no more than if he were dead."(g)

Shrewsbury longed to get back to the peace of his own home. Ill and **anxious**, with a new worry in the shape of fresh information laid against him by one Fisher, (h) he left Newmarket soon after the King had gone. He had arranged to proceed to Woburn, and there await the King's arrival at Windsor; but he

- (f) Ellis to Williamson April 15. P.R.O.
 Yard to Williamson April 15. P.R.O.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury April 14. Vernon II 55.
- (g) William to Portland April 22 Correspondentie I 297.
May 2.
- (h) Vernon to Shrewsbury May.3. Vernon II 69.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 7. Vernon II 73.
 Cf. Shrewsbury to Portland July 16 and 27 and Aug.
 18. 1697.
 Bucc.II 496. 508. 536.

determined to hasten back to Eyford as soon as he could bear the journey.(a) Vernon's tactful suggestion that it be given out that the Duke was returning to the country for the sake of his health by the King's express direction, was thankfully adopted as a means of stopping the gossip, but in spite of that people were hinting that Shrewsbury's retreat had more to do with the refusal to Wharton than with his increasingly bad health.(b) William said to Vernon that he was sorry the Duke was ill, but he could not see how bearing the name of Chamberlain would have made him worse.(c)

Further interviews between the King and Somers, Orford and Montague were no more productive of results. Ben Overton had gone the length of saying that he could not understand why the Whigs had not sent for Sunderland within a fortnight of his resigning, and that the King obviously meant them to see that they must solicit for his return; but it was hard to tell whether he spoke with the Earl's approval.(d)

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- (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 17. Vernon II 61.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury April 18. Vernon II 63.
 (b) William to Portland April 22 supra.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 3. Vernon II 69.
 (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 18. Vernon II 63.
 (d) Somers to Shrewsbury May 3. Coxe 535.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 3. Vernon II 69.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 10. Vernon II 74.

As usual, Shrewsbury almost immediately grew better in the country air, (e) freed from the worries of political intrigue, and spent most of the summer at Grafton, with occasional visits to Eyford, interested in horses and racing, investing £4000 in Montague's scheme for a new East India Company, concerning himself with thoughts of a new house, undecided what or where to build, enjoying the white Burgundy, "so extream good," which Hill had sent him. (f) His friendship with Wharton continued, whether in providing Wharton's horse 'Wanton Willy' (formerly his own) with a 'mistress; or in consulting with Wharton himself as to his building in Oxfordshire. (g) In spite of indifferent health, he was well enough to be looking forward to the autumn's hunting, and taking an interest in the horses to run for Wharton's 'plate.' "The chestnut mare and I,"

- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 5. Vernon II 71.
 Godolphin to Lonsdale Report XIII Ap.7 p.106 and p.110
 May 5th and 17th.
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 24. Vernon II 84;
 May 26 Vernon II 87; May 28. Vernon II 90.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton June 1. Carte 233 f.49.
 Shrewsbury to Hill Oct.22. English MS. Letters D3.p.25.
 Hill to Shrewsbury July 6 N.S. Bucc.II at p.613.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Wharton Aug.16.1693. Carte 233 f.250.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton May 24,1698. Carte 233 f.48.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton June 1. Carte 233 f.49.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton June 20. Carte 233 f.51.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton Aug.1. Carte 233 f.68.

he wrote his friend, "tho wee are lame (?) and gorged, and severall ways out of order, do not absolutely despair of waiting upon your beagles at the grouse in Autumn." He was, in fact, in his own words, "pretty well and (God be thanked) very idle." (h) Sir John Talbot, believing himself to be obliging the Duke, approached Somers at this time to get the grant of New York with royal powers bestowed on Shrewsbury, but Shrewsbury wanted none of it. (a) The idleness and solitude of his retirement suited admirably with his disgust of public life. He intended building on an estate at Heythrop in Oxfordshire, which he had purchased in January of 1697. (b) Goodiere, the former owner, possibly a connection of the Goodieres in the Duke's service, had been forced to mortgage the land, and Shrewsbury purchased from the mortgagee. The estate boasted an old house, but it was in bad condition. The original Talbot residence in Oxfordshire, Bampton Castle, had long fallen into ruin. (c) The house

(h) Shrewsbury to Wharton May 24 supra.

(a) Somers to Shrewsbury May 26, June 9, June 23.
Coxe 537, 538, 540.

(b) Fitzalan Papers.

(c) Shrewsbury to Rochester Feb. 3 and March 1. 1699/1700
Add. MSS. 15895 ff. 21 and 27.
and Clarendon and Rochester Correspondence.
Oxfordshire Post-Reformation Catholic Missions p. 142

which he rented at Eyford was small. Grafton was in ill repair, and the "worst place for keeping" horses he ever saw; and he had in mind an entirely new residence, with gardens and grounds laid out according to his taste.

Dunthrop, adjoining the Heythrop land, he believed would make a suitable addition, but he did not wish to involve himself too deeply in expense, and did not in fact make this purchase until several years later.(d) Already his careful mind had been considering ways and means. After his purchase of Heythrop, he had approached the second Marquess of Halifax with a view to offering him his share in the Derbyshire manors which he had previously offered to his father.

"My Lord" - he wrote -

"Having some particular reasons, that I believe will induce me, to part with my estate in Derbyshire, I would offer it to no person, or make any step in it, till I knew whether your LdP were inclined to be the Purchaser; your Father once had a mind to buy those lands, and certainly in any one hand, those Lordships would be more valuable, but to own the truth to you, at that time, I did not dare trust my self with the money. I know not whether you are in a buying condition, if you are not, I wish you were, and

(d) Shrewsbury to Wharton June 1, 1698. Carte 233 f.49.
 July 9, f.59; Sept.11. f.81.
 Will of 1712.
 Fitzalan Papers.

hope you will excuse this trouble, which I thought my self obliged to give you ---"

Halifax, however, considered the price too high, and, as the Duke would not lower it, no bargain was made.

"You and your servants," Shrewsbury commented, "know the Lands as well as I do, and since you think them not worth the money, I suppose I am at liberty to dispose of them to others, who I am very confident, will readily give the value I ask."^(d¹)

For the moment, he contented himself with plans for the building of his house. Wharton knew a man who could inform him all about the making of bricks. One of Shrewsbury's neighbours could advise as to soil, and Wharton himself and Orford were welcomed to give general friendly advice. They were well warned that a visit to Eyford meant living on mutton, if they were not lucky enough to catch an "accidentall trout," for Eyford was but scarcely provided to treat two great lords, especially as the Duke's entire household was staying there.^(e)

^(d¹) Shrewsbury to Halifax April 22; Oct.13; Oct.25. 1697. Savile MSS.

^(e) Shrewsbury to Wharton June 1 and June 20. Carte 233. f.f. 49 and 51.

July brought a rather bad attack of gout, which kept him to his room for some time, and reduced him to such a state of pain as to ask "what one dos in a world where there is so much paine, and so little pleasure."(f) The building at Heythrop had to be postponed till another summer; for he had not recovered until August; but he was still as full of the idea, always going back to look at Heythrop.(g) He had already enquired of Rochester, whether Clarendon intended selling Cornbury, which, though in a neglected state, had attracted his fancy. Rochester had himself advanced his brother money on the estate, so that, although he had been unwilling for the sake of the memory of his father to whom Charles II had granted it, to put it in the market for some wealthy parvenu,(h), he welcomed the thought of Shrewsbury's having it, and gracefully pointed out how much better it would become a person of such ancient dignity and name. The difficulty was to persuade Clarendon to part with it. He had not the means to keep it in proper order, yet pride prevented him from being willing to sell.(a)

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- (f) Shrewsbury to Wharton July 16. Carte 233 f.63 July 9, f.59. Vernon to Shrewsbury July 9, July 16. Vernon II. 122, 127. Montague to Shrewsbury July 16. Coxe 543.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Wharton, August 1; Sept. 11. Carte 233 ff.68 and 81.
- (h) Portland? - Vernon II 309-10.
- (a) Rochester to Shrewsbury Aug. 1, Aug. 11. Sept. 20. Bucc. II 613-4.

The summer's rest was soon to be broken by farther political manoeuvres. Parliament, in accordance with the Triennial Bill, had been dissolved in July, so that while Shrewsbury had interested himself largely in private business, his Whig friends had been busy preparing for elections. Sunderland, too, had returned to London from Althorpe at the beginning of July as if to reconnoitre the Whig position. He found himself generally ignored by the Whigs. Montague visited him; Orford called when he was not at home. Montague meanwhile was congratulating himself that the party had "got clear of that fire-ship for ever." (b) For Shrewsbury, the dissolution of Parliament should have meant according to previous agreement his being relieved of the seals, but William, no doubt still hoping for a reconciliation between the Whigs and Sunderland, desired

- (b) Somers to Wharton July 12. Carte 233 f.70.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton July 16, 23, 25. Carte 233.
 ff.63, 66, 60.
 Somers to Shrewsbury July 5. Coxe 541.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury July 7th (dated June 7) *endorsed July 7.*
 July 9. Vernon II 99, 122.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury July 2nd and July 5th. Vernon II
 119-20.
 Montague to Shrewsbury July 16. Coxe 543.
 Orford to Shrewsbury July 16. Coxe 544.
 Tallard to Louis July 22 N.S. - Baschet f.139.
 Bonet B. 8 July f.164.

him to retain office until his return from Holland, where, in spite of the peace, the King intended to go. Notwithstanding a natural annoyance, Shrewsbury had to submit, and things were left so during the summer, Sunderland being allowed to retire again to Althorpe, asseverating his satisfaction, and at the same time failing to hide his chagrin.(c)

One hesitates to suggest that not getting his own way invariably upset Shrewsbury. But it is a fact that on nearly every occasion when he was thwarted, he suffered a relapse in health. It would be still more hazardous to try to find any connection between the King's refusal and the severe gout that had overtaken his Secretary even before William's reply to the request to be rid of the seals had been received! But Shrewsbury was certainly, as Orford remarked, "not without a good deal of the spleen" over the King's decision.(d) His position, neither in business nor out of it, was mortifying. His inability to bring his Whig friends to tolerate Sunderland, who was even then writing him in friendly terms, was no less a matter for regret.

- (c) Orford to Shrewsbury Aug.16. Coxe 552.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Aug.16. Coxe 553.
 Sir. J. D. Colt to Trumbull July 12. Downshire. 1781.
 Sunderland to Shrewsbury July 21. Coxe 549.
- (d) Coxe at p.545.

Towards the middle of July, the King thought of a new manner of employing Shrewsbury. As a complement to the treaty making with France, it was thought advisable to send an ambassador extraordinary into Spain, where Charles II was not expected to live much longer. William, remembering that Shrewsbury had once had thoughts of going to a warmer climate, proposed that he should fill the position, but the offer was refused. Shrewsbury declared himself neither disposed nor well enough to go. Thereupon, Somers was requested to enquire of Wharton whether he would go. He did it with some trepidation, fully expecting an outburst, for it was an obvious subterfuge to be rid of Wharton, but the latter kept his temper, and merely declined on the grounds of his wife's state of health.(e) It may have been that the King was tired also of what he must have looked on as Shrewsbury's sulking in the country, and felt that things might be better for both if he were to accept such a position which would carry him temporarily from England. On a later occasion, indeed, William hinted through Vernon that he would prefer Shrewsbury to go abroad rather than to retire in Oxfordshire.(f)

(e) Vernon to Shrewsbury July 13,16,19; Aug.13.

Vernon II 123;127;131;150.

Somers to Shrewsbury July 26; Aug.16.

Coxe 549;553.

Grimblot II 121.

(f) Vernon II 365.

Whatever the King's real thoughts on the Spanish Embassy, his interest was certainly at that moment focussed on the problem of the Spanish Succession. Portland's mission to France, ostensibly to settle the matter of the disputed dowry to be paid to Mary of Modena, had really been for the purpose of sounding Louis on the details of a treaty for partition of the Spanish dominions upon Charles II's death. Tallard's presence in England covered a similar anxiety on the part of Louis. Tallard had opened to William the subject of a partition as early as April, and the discussions had been going on since.(g) Just when Orford, in his usual grumbling fashion, was complaining that the King had made no provision in the event of the King of Spain's death, and forboding the fatal consequences to England of such neglect, the King was considering divulging the negociations for a treaty to a few of his most trusted ministers.(h) He first communicated the matter to the Chancellor, who used his discretion to inform Orford and Montague. Towards

(g) Tallard's Despatches.- Baschet Transcripts P.R.O.
11 Avril 1698 f.54 et seq.

(h) Orford to Shrewsbury Aug.16. Coxe 552.
Portland to Vernon Aug.14. Correspondentie II 88

the end of August Shrewsbury and Montague were to be at Winchendon for the occasion of Wharton's 'Plate,' and there Montague was instructed to impart the information to Shrewsbury.(a) Further consultations were held between Orford, Montague, Vernon and Somers at Tunbridge, where the Chancellor, still in poor health, was taking the waters.(b) William was anxiously awaiting an opinion from England. As Tallard explained to Louis, although matters were really concluded by the end of August, the signing of the treaty was being held back until the English councillors were consulted, so that complaint could not be made from England that their opinion had not been considered.(c) But both Portland and the King could ill conceal their impatience. The King of Spain

- (a) Somers to Vernon. Aug.20. Correspondentie II 91.
 Montague to Shrewsbury Aug.11. Coxe 551.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.20. Vernon II 154 and
 Grimblot II 132.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.23. Vernon II 155.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton Aug.1. Carte 233 f.68.
 Vernon to Portland Aug.19. Correspondentie II 89.
- (b) Somers to Shrewsbury Aug.16. Coxe 553.
 Somers to Vernon supra.
 Vernon to William Aug.26. Correspondentie II 92.
- (c) Tallard's Despatches 30 Aug; f.162.
 9 Sept.
 29 Aug. f.160.
 8 Sept.

appeared so near death that they feared the approaching autumn might see the end of him. Nevertheless, the negotiations continued very secret. Sir Joseph Williamson was sent for to the King at Arnheim, and by that sign Vernon thought the grand affair was near a conclusion. Williamson's return to the Hague was, he believed, evidence that the business was done.(d) He was right. By the 16th 26th September the treaty was signed. Thereafter there was still the Emperor to be approached, and his approval to be sought, a more impossible thing than even the treaty makers realised.(e)

Although Shrewsbury had been made cognisant of the treaty, in common with the other Whig leaders, he had not been really consulted, for "the matter would admit of no alteration." Vernon believed that while he

(d) Portland to Vernon Sept.5 N.S. Correspondentie II 94
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.1. Vernon II at p.163.
 Somers to William Aug.28. 8th Report Ap.2.p.69.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.20; Sept.27. Vernon II
 at p.p.177 and 184.
 Vernon to Portland Sept.13. Correspondentie II 99.

(e) Tallard's Despatches - Baschet 26 Sept.f.170.

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Portland and Williamson to Vernon Sept.27 N.S.
 Correspondentie II 101.

Portland to Vernon 25 Oct. Correspondentie II 108.
4 Nov.

wished the thing done, he was "afraid of the tricks that might be played in doing it."(f) He still had no more inclination for business than before. He had been at Winchendon for Wharton's 'Plate' when the subject was first broached, and about the middle of September he went to visit the Duke of Richmond at Goodwood. Meanwhile, he was endeavouring through Jersey to obtain the King's permission to lay down his office, though Jersey warned him that the King intended him to have the white staff.(g) At the beginning of October he intended returning to Eyford, there once more to spend the winter, away from the party storms that any clear-sighted politician could not fail to observe inevitably drawing near.

(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury October 1. Vernon II 186.
 Vernon to William Aug.26. Correspondentie II at p.94.

(g) Shrewsbury to Wharton Sept.11. Carte 233 f.81.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.15. Vernon II 174.
 Bucc.II 614.
 Jersey to Shrewsbury Oct.6. Bucc.II 627.

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Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.11. Vernon II 193.

CHAPTER X

THE BREAK UP OF THE WHIG MINISTRY.

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To the Whig ministry the King owed much. Nevertheless, their captious and uncompromising attitude to Sunderland was a thing hard to forgive and the depriving him of a man of Sunderland's qualities at such a crisis in his affairs, hard to remedy. The loss of Sunderland was to William irreparable. Sunderland had first shown him how easy it was to win men, how some required titles, and some money, some places, some flattery.(a) Sunderland's influence in the Commons, too, though it had failed himself in the end, through very overzeal, had served excellently for the King's purposes. It was at its worst an influence of the lowest kind, exerted through the pockets of the members, but it produced a Court party, ingenious, unscrupulous, and, so long as the Sunderland-Whig alliance continued, indistinguishable from the best-principled Whigs.

(a) Sunderland to Portland June 20, 1693.
Correspondentie II 38.

The departure of the leader, at once adviser and place-giver, quickly produced a disintegrating effect within the so-called Whig party. Sunderland's supporters had no longer any obvious reason for voting Whig. At the elections for the new Parliament, Vernon kept hearing the words Court party against Country party used as often as Whig against Tory.(b) The election results were disappointing from the Whig point of view. Wharton, usually so successful in his electioneering campaigns, failed to get in his men.(c) Vernon and Montague were returned as before for Westminster, but only after a hard fight.(d) To Shrewsbury, Vernon retailed with relish the details of the struggle, even to the rather amusing piece of information that Patch, his Grace's footman, voted for their opponent, Sir Harry Colt, "and stated himself gentleman."(e)

- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.2. Vernon II at p.143.
 (c) Somers to Shrewsbury Aug.16. Coxe at p.554.
 Montague to Shrewsbury Aug.11. Coxe 551.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury July 30, Aug.9. Vernon II 141,148.
 (d) Keith Feiling 329.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury July 23, 26, 28. Vernon II 135-141.
 Bonet B f.205.
 (e) Vernon II 137.

When the new Parliament met in December, the Whigs suspected that William was closely watching to see which party would prevail.(f) The people as a whole were known to be bitterly opposed to high taxes, while the disbandment of the army was anxiously anticipated. The Whig ministry felt far from secure in the midst of this growing discontent. "There is not at present a face of government," Somers confided to Shrewsbury. All sorts of differences of opinion had crept into the party. Given a united Tory party, Somers thought, the King would have no hesitation in throwing over the Whigs. Could Sunderland have welded together even a party of his own making, ready to fall in with the King's wishes, the Whigs would have had to go. As it was, the individual ministers were planning for themselves futures outside the political world. Somers had for long suffered from bad health and hoped for "an entire retirement to follow," Orford was "quite weary of serving." Montague, preparing for the storm, took the extraordinary course of putting his brother into the auditorship of the ~~Exchequer~~, vacant by Howard's death, without first asking the King's leave,

(f) Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.25. Coxe at p.560.
Cf. draft letter in Hardwicke II 433-6.

and ignoring the rumours that Godolphin had an eye on the place; he obviously intended it for a final port of refuge for himself.(g)

The Whigs were at least successful in the election of a Speaker. Sir Thomas Littleton at last succeeded in being chosen for the Speaker's chair, largely because of the split in the Tory votes, Seymour and John Granville having pretensions on this occasion as well as Foley.(h) Perhaps the suspicion that Foley was prepared to fall in with the royal wishes in return for William's support to the Tory schemes had something to do with his not being re-elected. But the Whigs' success on this point really signified little. They were themselves too much divided. Shrewsbury had struggled up to town for a short time in November, in order to consult another doctor and to return the seals to the King in person, only to find himself once more forced by ill health back to Eyford, without having even awaited the King's return.(a) His relapse, followed by his

- (g) Somers to Shrewsbury July 26. Coxe at p.551,
Orford to Shrewsbury Aug.16. Coxe 552.
Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.6. Sept.8. Vernon II 164.169.
Shrewsbury to Wharton Sept.11. Carte 233 f.81.
Somers to Shrewsbury Oct.25. Coxe 557.
- (h) Keith Feiling 330.
- (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.29. Vernon II 216.
Sunderland to Shrewsbury Nov.25. Coxe 562.
Luttrell IV. 453.
Montague to Shrewsbury Coxe 562.
Molesworth to his wife Dec.6. Clements MSS.219.
Bonet B f.262.

official retirement on December 12th, was but the beginning of the crumbling away of the ministry.(b) Somers and Montague and Orford were suspicious of Vernon, whom they considered to be on too intimate terms with Harley and Foley. Littleton had remarked on the "more than ordinary familiarity between these three." Poor Vernon recalled that Harley used to tease him by sitting beside him 'to blast his reputation' as he said. Somers, it is true, for the sake of the party's unity, tried to patch up the difference, the more so as Shrewsbury wrote him on Vernon's behalf.(c) Meanwhile, even with regard to its policy, the party was divided. The ministry was prepared to keep the forces at as high a figure as could be wrung from Parliament; but many of the Whig members were as eager for disbandment as the Tories. Truly the ministry was in no enviable position. There was not even a scapegoat Sunderland to take their deficiencies on his own head. On the question of disbandment, they might well founder; for the nation was behind the wish to get

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- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.8; Dec.13. Vernon II 228, 231.
Shrewsbury to William Dec.10. Coxe 181.
- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.29; Dec.1; Dec.6.
Vernon II 216, 220, 223.

rid of the army: the enquiry into the mismanagement in the admiralty had only been postponed, and had it not been for the interruption of the Fenwick affair and the continuance of the war, would most likely have been tackled nearly three years earlier. Hatred of the King's foreign friends was at a height, their wealth and their titles appeared horrid in the eyes of a tax-ridden people. Montague's new East India Company had arrayed against him all the forces of the Old Company, and the personal humiliating subject of Captain Kidd was not far off from the Whig leaders. Rumours were about that it would be made the subject of an excuse for impeachment, though Vernon thought not. (d) Orford, he believed, was the real mark aimed at, and it seemed reasonable to suppose that he would be attacked for the treasures he had got in the Mediterranean, rather than for the insubstantial hopes he had had from the East Indies.

The Commons got to work at once on the matter of the forces. Seven thousand in England and twelve thousand in Ireland was the number agreed upon, and no foreigners in either kingdom. On the 23rd of

(d) Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.15. Coxe 569.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.15. Vernon II 233.

December the bill for disbanding the forces was read a second time, and, notwithstanding a spirited attack from Montague, passed without a division.(e) The Whigs had to suffer the opprobrium of supporting what they did not heartily approve, while yet being upbraided by the King for their lukewarm defences. But not even William's threat to retire from England, and leave the country in the hands of administrators, could whip the party into united effort.(f) Shrewsbury from the country merely looked on, while the leaders of his party endeavoured to maintain an army of which neither he nor they fully approved.(g) Subsequent attempts on the part of the Court party to raise the number of men to ten thousand, and to keep for William his Dutch guards were unsuccessful. Vernon believed that had the party not pressed the former, they might have obtained

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- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.17 and Dec.24 Vernon II 235 & 239
Robert Harley to his father Dec.24. Portland III 600
Bonet B f.281.
- (f) Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.29. Coxe 572.
William's speech Coxe 574. ..
Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.29. Vernon II 241 [*copy dated, Dec.27.*]
- (g) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.24. Vernon II 239.
"I believe the generality of the nation, and the Parliament agree in what your Grace mentions concerning the army. I wish it were as well understood and liked at Kensington"---

the latter, though that is not the view of history. Jealousy of the King's Dutch and Huguenot supporters still remained strong, and Galway's comment as to being "a foreigner in England" came from the experience of ten years. Burnet's attempt in the House of Lords to defend the Dutch roused Normanby to cite his own History of the Reformation against him, and drew from Peterborough the stinging remark that he had confessed to the whole House that he was a bad historian.(h) Even the King's pleading could not retain the Dutch guards. In the Lords, William might have had more support, but those who would perhaps have otherwise opposed the bill, were loath to raise such a storm between the Houses as the rejection of a money bill would ensure. The bill was near completion when the news of the death of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria arrived, but the significance of that fact probably passed unnoticed except among those who had been informed of the Partition Treaty, and of the part the Electoral Prince had there been designed to play.(a)

(h) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec. 24. Dec. ~~29~~³⁰. Dec.31. Jan.3. Jan.5. Jan.21; Vernon II 239,241,243,244,246 and at p.255. Cf. Vernon to Shrewsbury Vernon II 262. Bonet. Feb.14. C. f.46.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.24. Vernon II 255. Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley Jn.21. Portland III 601. Bonet C.f.24.

The Admiralty enquiry was begun in the Commons while the Disbanding Bill was still depending, and there the attack seemed to be levelled mainly against Orford. One might judge, said Vernon, what temper the House of Commons was in towards men in employments. The Board of the Admiralty was censured, though no names were at first mentioned.(b) There was no doubt, however, that it was Orford's favourites who were singled out for examination, and at the final report on March 27th, Orford escaped a formal censure only by two votes, as a result of what Harley called "an unfortunate behaviour" on the part of the Tories.(c) Foley, curiously enough, had voted for the Admiralty. Yet it was no triumph for the Whigs. "I think some of them should have little pleasure to stay in when they find so many against them, that are like to be uneasy to them at another time," was Vernon's opinion.(d) It was also Orford's.

(b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.31. Vernon II 256.
Bonet C.f9. $\frac{10}{20}$ Janvier; $\frac{13}{23}$ Jan.

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury "Feb.9." Vernon II 262 [*should be Feb.7.*]
Vernon to Shrewsbury March 28. Vernon II 270.
R. Harley to Sir Edward Harley March 28. Portland III 603.
Cf. Keith Feiling 332- Nevertheless Vernon says
"Mr. Harley withdrew before the question."
(at II 271)

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury supra.

Orford was giving considerable trouble to his Whig colleagues. He and Peterborough had already given occasion to the Lords to make them an express command not to quarrel.(e) After the Commons' attack on the Admiralty, Somers and the other Whig ministers tried to point out to Orford that he ought, while retaining his position as First Lord of the Admiralty, to resign his Treasurership of the Navy.(f) Orford, however, was too piqued to see reason. The presence of Rooke in the Commission he resented. By the end of April he was talking of laying down his office, or as Vernon pertinently read it, he would lay down if the places were not disposed of as he wished them.(g) The "grand affair," the Secretary believed, would be to keep Orford in temper, a far from easy task at the best of times, and more difficult than ever now that the Whigs were "a dispersed routed party" their opposers bearing hard upon them.(h) Orford was not long kept in temper. On May the 14th he resigned his employment. Since the

(e) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb. ⁷~~8~~. supra.
Bonet C.f.42. Feb.10

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(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 8. Vernon II 272.
Somers to Shrewsbury March 30. Coxe 581.
Shrewsbury to Somers April 3. Coxe 583.

(g) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 29. Vernon II 277.

(h) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 4. Vernon II 279.
Feb.5. Vernon II 260.

King was so well served with the new Commission, and himself no longer useful, he bitterly remarked, he might now retire.(a)

Meanwhile, a new Secretary had at last been appointed in Shrewsbury's place. Godolphin had been spoken of for Secretary early in the year, but that was only a rumour.(b) In March the Earl of Jersey, was given the seals(c). Jersey was a high Tory, but such a good courtier that no special significance can be attached to his appointment. He was besides on friendly terms with both Shrewsbury and Sunderland. Nevertheless, the Whigs were all too conscious of their weakness. Somers and Montague, Vernon said bitingly, were still called ministers, "though there are none that I see who take upon them any management." In despair the ministry was turning towards Harley, hoping to enlist his services by an offer of a place in the Government, for Harley's ability to manage the Commons had been the telling feature against them during the winter; but Harley's ambitions did not lie in serving under his opponents.(d)

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 15. Vernon II 280.
Bonet C.f.106. May 16
26.

Sunderland to Shrewsbury May 29. Coxe 588.

(b) E. Harley to his father Jan.3. Portland III 600
Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.3. Vernon II 244.

(c) Luttrell IV 493.
Portland III 604.

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury March 5. Vernon II 266.

Shrewsbury had watched all these events from a distance. Vernon as usual kept him informed of all that happened; but the Duke showed by no sign his concern at the turn of events. In January he had shown another mark of his friendship for Wharton by standing godfather to Wharton's son.(e) Attempts to draw him in to help the party politically, however, met with no success. Somers wrote him in March, a melancholy letter, pointing out how much his assistance was needed, but the reply he received was not encouraging.(f) Shrewsbury was as anxious that he should not be employed, as he was that those who had served under him should not find themselves thrown aside upon Jersey's acceptance of the seals. The same care that he had shown for Vernon, at a time when he imagined Vernon might be reduced to poverty, he now showed for Rowley and Yard in his office, writing to Vernon, to Somers, to Jersey himself on their behalf. It is little wonder that the men who served under Shrewsbury had nothing but good to say of him; for he was always thoughtful where his inferiors were

(e) Luttrell IV 469.

(f) Somers to Shrewsbury March 30. Coxe 58.
Shrewsbury to Somers April 3. Coxe 583.

concerned, generous in pushing on young Rowley or young Vernon, while taking care that no senior clerk should be displaced by his favour to a junior.(g)

In spite of his detachment from business, however, Shrewsbury had made up his mind towards the end of March that he would wait on the King either when William was at Newmarket or at Windsor. Shrewsbury rather inclined to Newmarket, the more so as the King was indifferent as to place, but Vernon recommended Windsor as being easier for him.(h) The decision was probably due to a wish to assist the Whigs in the matter of new appointments, for Shrewsbury told Somers that he would be glad to receive instructions as to what to say.(a) The political outlook was not promising, so many vacancies remained to be filled. Montague was retiring to the post he had secured for himself: Whigs of lesser

(g) Vernon I 398.411.412;288,289,290;437,438,439.

Coxe 178-9; 583.585.

Vernon II 233,283.

Bucc.II 483.488.500.508.

Bath III 84,89,111;350.

Cf. Vernon to Shrewsbury May 28,1703.Vernon III 230.

Shrewsbury to Godolphin July 7.1703. Vernon III 232,

Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.13, 1703. Vernon III 234.

Sept.24, Oct.15, Dec.24th. Jan 15. Vernon III 236-243.

Shrewsbury to Harley Dec.15. N.S. and June 28, 1704 N.S.

Bath I 56 and 58.

(h) Vernon to Shrewsbury March 28. Vernon II 270.

Shrewsbury to Somers April 3. Coxe 583.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 6. Vernon II 271; April 8.

Vernon II 272.

note were on the point of resigning. "This makes such vacancies," Shrewsbury wrote, "that it is above my comprehension, how they will be well supplied."

He kept to his first intention of going to Newmarket, whither the King went on the 11th of April, and the more moderate Whigs began to be hopeful that moderate counsels might prevail.(b) There in his usual tactful way, he was able to say a good word for Ormonde, who had incurred the King's displeasure by a dispute with Albemarle. Arrangements were made that the discussions on the disposal of places should be continued with Somers, when the King went to Windsor in May.(c) Vernon believed that the task of supplying the vacancies would not be an easy one. The Whig managers were simply leaving the business of the Commons to take its own course, while the King showed every sign of throwing them over and appealing to the Tories, in spite of the opposition these had given him. To make matters worse, Portland, who had been to some extent the ally of the Whigs, retired in May through pique at the favour shown to Albemarle.(d)

(b) Luttrell IV 504.

Vernon to Shrewsbury April 18. Vernon II 274.

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 18 supra.

Vernon to Shrewsbury April 27. Vernon II 276.

Vernon to Shrewsbury May 4. Vernon II 279.

Portland III 604.

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 6. Vernon II 278.

What Harley called "the great congress of our statesmen" took place at Windsor when the King went there about the 6th of May. William stayed until the 13th. Shrewsbury did not at once return to his country house, but waited to discuss the political situation with Somers and Montague, whether at Windsor or not is uncertain.(e) The Whigs were discouraged. Somers was neither well nor in good spirits, Montague weighed down by unpopularity. The retiral of Orford upon their return to town was a further anxiety, especially as his place was not easily filled by a Whig. Tankerville's name was suggested, but Tankerville was reported to have said that he would be drawn through a horse-pond first.(f) Shrewsbury retired once more to the country, there to await events, and to take an interest in the gossip about witches in Worcestershire.(g) The King also was depressed.

- (e) Harley to Sir Edward Harley. May 9 and May 13. Portland III 604.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 16 acknowledging letter of the same day - Vernon II 281.
 Bonet C f.102 and f.108.
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 15, May 16, May 27.
 Vernon II 280, 281, 287, 293,
 Bonet C f.f.97,104,106.
 Jersey to Prior May 22. Bath III 348.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury June 3. Bucc II 622.
- (g) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 23 acknowledging letter of 20th. Vernon II 290.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury June 6, June 8. Vernon II 300,302.

He, too, had been in poor health all winter; and the blow struck him by the disbandment of the army was a heavy one. A new humiliation had arisen in the appointment of a parliamentary commission to investigate into the grants of Irish lands. William longed to get out of England, and was indeed gone by the first week in June, in spite of Sunderland's earnest attempt to dissuade him.(h) In the circumstances, it is not surprising that the vacancies in the government were somewhat heterogeneously filled. The time had come for removing Leeds, if not with his own consent, then necessarily without it.(a) Pembroke was then raised to the Presidency of the Council, Sir John Lowther now Viscount Lonsdale, obtained the vacant Privy Seal. Sir Thomas Littleton was made Treasurer of the Navy, while Orford's other place of First Lord of the Admiralty was filled by Bridgewater. The Whig Smith was the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Treasury Commission, where Sir Stephen Fox still continued, was filled by Tankerville and Henry Boyle. Jersey, now officially

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- (h) Vernon to Shrewsbury June 3. Vernon II 299.
 Sunderland to Portland. April 5. Correspondentie II
 (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 17. Vernon II 285.
 Hope Johnston MSS 110. Letter to Annandale Aug.15.

Secretary of State, moved into his new offices in the Cockpit. The old Whitehall offices had been burned down just a year before.(b) Ferrers was brought into the Council. The Chamberlainship, in spite of supplications, still remained vacant. Sunderland continued to draw the profits, and had not altogether given up hope of a new ministry in which he might have a place.(c) Lonsdale, Jersey and Bridgewater were made Lords Justices in place of Dorset, Romney and Orford.(d) The ministry as the King left it, indeed, was distinguished by the fact that with the exception of Somers there was hardly a man of outstanding personality in it, that is, there were few who could not be replaced on a later occasion if the King thought fit. It embraced such different opinions as those of Somers, of Boyle and of Jersey.

Towards the end of May, Shrewsbury endeavoured once more to remedy the political situation by appealing to Sunderland, and for this purpose paid him a visit at

(b) Luttrell IV 328-9.

Marchmont MSS. 14th Report Ap.3 p.141.

S.P.Dom.1698. P.R.O.

(c) Bonet C f.214, f.217.

Sunderland to Shrewsbury May 29. Coxe 588.

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 23, May 27, May 30, May 31.

Vernon II, 290,293,295,297.

Bonet C. f.114. f.117.

Jersey to Prior May 25. Bath III 352.

Althorpe, most probably during the first week of June.(e) There he learned that William had already assured Sunderland of his intention to have the Earl wait on him on his return from Holland.(f) There is little doubt that what the King was looking for was a moderate ministry of no pronounced party opinions, who would be prepared to accept Sunderland. Sunderland for his part still inclined to the alliance with the Whigs, but with modifications. He refused to be reconciled to Orford unless Shrewsbury thought it essential. Marlborough also, now Governor of the Duke of Gloucester - a position which Shrewsbury had refused - and one of the Lords Justices for the past two summers, had protested to Shrewsbury on the subject of Orford, who, with his usual inability to keep his temper, had been offending both friends and enemies. He had already heaped abuse upon Vernon, which only the Secretary's good humour had waived aside. Marlborough he had insulted by accusing him of being merely subservient to Sunderland; and as the

(e) Sunderland's letter of May 29 (Coxe 588) is obviously in reply to one from Shrewsbury offering to wait on him at Althorpe.

Cf. Vernon to Shrewsbury June 10. Vernon II 305.

(f) Sunderland to Shrewsbury July 1. Coxe 588.

Marlboroughs and Sunderlands were soon to be allied by the marriage of Marlborough's daughter to Lord Spencer, a matter not entirely to Marlborough's liking, the remark stung.(g)

Shrewsbury's visit to Althorpe was but the beginning of a new attempt by Sunderland to form a Whig ministry in which he should have place. It gave rise, therefore, to considerable discussion among the Whig leaders. Though Sunderland had expressly stated that for his part he wished to have nothing to do with Orford, he had to yield to the Whigs' taking Orford so far into their confidence as to confer also with him. The degree of confidence shown was to be left to Shrewsbury's discretion.

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- (g) Sunderland to Shrewsbury July 15. Coxe 589.
 Coxe's interpretation of Sunderland's remark about Orford in the letter of July 1. does not agree with the remarks expressed in this letter of July 15. ("I do not desire to have any thing to do with him, but, however, even that you shall govern as you please.")
 Shrewsbury to Vernon Dec.19.Cal.S.P.Dom.1697 p.520
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.21.1697. Vernon I 443.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 20, 23, 25; 1699.
 Vernon II 288,290,292.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury June 3. Bucc.II 622.
 Sunderland to Shrewsbury Sept.26. Coxe 592.
 Coxe's Marlborough 53-55.

A meeting of the chief Whigs was, therefore, arranged to take place on August 11th at the Earl of Montagu's seat at Boughton. Shrewsbury was going first to spend a few days with his relations at Deene, not far off, where Lady Westmoreland, was then staying with her father.(h) Somers and Charles Montague went off to Chippenham to pay Orford a visit, and they were then all to proceed to Boughton to consult also with Wharton before the great scene opened at Lord Montagu's.

The arrangement was that they should go on to Sunderland's at Althorpe. When the business was over, Shrewsbury intended paying a visit to the Burleighs,(a) and proposed to complete his tour by calling on the Lord Steward at Chatsworth.(b) Henry Guy, who managed much of the Sunderland intrigue, was also present at Althorpe, with hopes of bringing over both Harley and Foley to support Sunderland's schemes.(c) The complicated negotiations among the Whig leaders on one side, between

- (h) Shrewsbury to Wharton July 29. Carte 233 f.87.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.1. Vernon II 329.
 Luttrell IV 544.
 Sunderland to Shrewsbury Aug.7. Coxe 590.
- (a) Buccleuch MSS.
- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.8. Vernon II 335.
- (c) Harley may also have been there.
 Guy to Harley Aug.19. Portland III 607.

the Whigs and Sunderland, and between Sunderland and the Country party were kept as secret as possible, and remain so. Obviously they did not achieve all that Sunderland hoped: so much depended on the attitude and the strength of purpose of Shrewsbury, who, for his part, was liable to be thrown into dejection by the first signs of opposition among his own Whig friends, or the first blast of ill health upon his sickly body. The summer, however, had been bright and dry, (d) a matter of importance to his weak lungs, and he was certainly hopeful after the Northamptonshire visits, towards the end of August returned to London, and entered into negotiations for a marriage with the Earl of Carberry's wealthy daughter. (e) Peterborough, too, probably under the influence of Sunderland, was showing signs of wishing to bury the hatchet. In an extraordinary interview with Vernon, in which he accused the Duke of everything from Jacobitism to

(d) Luttrell IV 544.

(e) Luttrell IV 553.

Bonet C f.195.

(The letter Portland to Shrewsbury Sept. 4. dated in

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Bucc. II 627 as 1699 is probably a letter of 1700.

Portland appears to have been at the Hague on Sept. $\frac{3}{13}$

1699. The contents of the letter show it to be misdated.

being his cousin's lover, he attempted to justify himself.(f) At the beginning of September together with Carberry, Montague and Boyle, Shrewsbury paid a visit to Somers at Tunbridge. Somers apparently cannot have been enthusiastic, for Shrewsbury returned in a state of disappointment and lowered vitality, determined to have nothing more to do with business. On the 10th he went back to the country. Sunderland was bitterly chagrined. "I am very sorry," he wrote the Duke, "your entertainment has given you any pain, for I hope you will not be so unjust as to accuse the air of London. I wish you had met with more encouragement, than I find you have done, but I hope the king will overcome all the objections you can make, and that you will be persuaded to yield to his desire and that of all honest men."(g)

(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.17. Vernon II 342 and Paper of Aug.16. Vernon II 345-349 and in Bucc.II 623-626.

(g) Luttrell IV 555,559.
Sunderland to Shrewsbury Sept.9. Coxe 591.
Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.19. Vernon II 351.

The King's desire was, of course, that Shrewsbury should accept the Chamberlainship. For the success either of Sunderland's schemes or of the Whig leaders' hopes, his presence was necessary. Sunderland, writing to inform him of the proposed marriage of Lord Spencer to Lady Ann Churchill, rather pathetically stated that he would not go to London for the marriage without the King's command, and quite patently desired to go.(h) Guy, who had busily appeared in town, begged Vernon to offer Shrewsbury his house at Earl's Court, in the hope of persuading the Duke back to London. Vernon bluntly declared he saw no objection "but what may be called a fantastical one, on account of the owner of it."(a) Jersey then stepped forward to offer the key of Hyde Park Lodge.(b) Still Shrewsbury hesitated. He complained of difficulty in breathing, and was sure his lungs were affected. He spoke of coming to town only it was believed to seek permission to leave England altogether.(c) There was, therefore, some surprise

(h) Sunderland to Shrewsbury Sept.26. Coxe 592.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.23 and Sept.26.
Vernon II 354 and 355.

(b) Jersey to Shrewsbury Oct. 6. Bucc.II 627.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.10. Vernon II.362.

(c) I take this to be the meaning of the letters above.

when it was known that he had come up to London on the 25th of October, quite recovered, and had accepted the white staff.(d) Perhaps he really believed that he would be able still to move the Whigs to moderation, or reconcile the King to the Whigs. In the new scheme of things there was to be meantime no place for Sunderland, for William took care to inform him through Marlborough, Guy and Shrewsbury, that his presence was not desired in town until after Christmas.(e) The ministry was, however, still hankering after Harley's support. But Harley was not to be drawn. Outwardly, he professed "great respect" for the Duke of Shrewsbury, but his real views were somewhat different.(f) The political situation would soon be ripe to fall into his own hand: he had no intention of becoming a labourer for the Whigs. All that the Whig government had done was hateful to him.

(d) Portland III 609.

White Kennet III 769.

Sunderland to Shrewsbury Oct.28. Coxe 593.

Luttrell IV 577.

(e) Sunderland to Shrewsbury Nov.4. Coxe 593.

(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury wrongly dated Oct.15 or 16.

Vernon II 364. (~~The date might conceivably be Nov.15~~)

The original is dated only "Saturday 10 o' clock", and can

hardly have been written earlier than 4th. November.

November 11th seems a more probable date. Cf. Luttrell IV 580;

Coxe 594; Portland III 611.

"We ignorant Country Gentlemen think the Ministry very strong, because they set up against all the world both at home and abroad;" he wrote ironically. "Don Quixote and Drawcansir of famous memory never were engaged in so many adventures at once as our renowned Amadises; and according to the rules of Story the Knights must always foil the Giants: besides there must be dwarfs to blow the horn for the Victory. Not only the country miscreants at home are to be conquered, but foreign parts must feel their weight before they have done with them:-----Now all these matters are to be cured by the new disposition of the enchanted White Wand? Is he a volunteer, or pressed into the service? Is he to scaffold up the old building or to be a master workman in erecting new?" (g)

This of the man whom Vernon had once in all seriousness called the master workman, the rest "a company of useless tools."(h)

(g) Harley to Trumbull Oct.31. Downshire I 794.

(h) Court and Society II 49.

The new Chamberlain did not long attend in person to the duties of his office. He had not been in London a fortnight before his health was again so poor that he revived his project of going abroad.(a) An unusually dense fog in the middle of November was an additional trial to a man with weak lungs, and on the 21st he left London again for Eyford.(b) Perhaps he fled also from two further mortifications. Matthew Smith, not content with the mischief he had already made, and his failure to have his case taken up by the Commons, was publishing another book. A more dangerous weapon, however, lay to the hand of the Whigs' opponents in the disclosure of the Kidd transactions. It gave them just the opportunity they wanted of attacking the Chancellor, who had not hitherto been open to their shafts; so that while the Matthew Smith affair passed off easily - 'a bomb that went off like a popgun' - the investigations into the agreement with Kidd were sufficiently embarrassing for all those concerned. Smith had laid himself open to

(a) Luttrell IV 580.

Sunderland to Shrewsbury Nov.11. Coxe 594.

Sunderland to Shrewsbury Nov.15. Coxe 595.

(b) Luttrell Nov.11. Luttrell IV 581.

Evelyn Nov.15.

Luttrell IV 585.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.23. Vernon II 366.

attack by printing Shrewsbury's letter to the House of Lords explaining his dealings with the Captain, and was accordingly brought to the Bar of that House and committed to prison for breach of privilege. The only person who suffered besides the unfortunate Smith was Peterborough, who insisted on having the book read, spent his time during the reading of it in talking to the Chancellor, and thereafter wished to try the patience of the House by having it read again. He was not gratified, and the book was ordered to be burnt. With mistaken zeal ~~and~~ the impecunious Dr. Kingston published a railing reply, which, as Vernon justly remarked, was "a piece of scurrillity only fit for the parties concerned." There, after two further "rejoinders" the matter rested. Shrewsbury had at one time thoughts of taking it to the law courts. "If the law allow me to take my remedy for Deffamation I suppose that will be free for me afterwards," he told Wharton, but charity or good sense prevailed with him to let the thing drop, and Smith, the informer, lived to have the final satisfaction of becoming Judge Advocate of Jamaica, as a striking testimony to the fact that

persistance, rather than virtue, brings its own reward.(c)

Those concerned in the negotiations with Captain Kidd had known for the past two years of his having turned pirate, and were certainly prepared for the outburst that broke out in the Commons when the news became public. The matter was aggravated by the fact that Kidd's piracies had been conducted against the merchantmen of the old East India Company, and Kidd himself had been financed by the same Whig leaders who had financed Montague's new East India Company, with the intention of making it impossible for the original company to have its charter again renewed. Accordingly, when news reached England that Kidd had been captured, and had been lodged in chains by Bellamont, the Governor of New York, the real promoter of the scheme for financing

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- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.30: Dec.7.~~11~~.12;
 Jan.3.4.13.20.25; Feb.16; March 2.
 Vernon II 370,376,~~382~~,384,400,401,405,413,419,432,452.
 Lords MSS.IV 9. Dec.7.
 Lords Journals XVI 486-7.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.16. Coxe 597.
 Shrewsbury to Wharton Dec.16. Carte 244 f.186.
 Luttrell IV 594.
 App.9, 15th Report p.144.
 Smith's Memoirs of Secret Service.
 Kingston's Reply.
 Smith's Rejoinder and Kingston's Reply to a Rejoinder.
 Luttrell V 328. Aug.14.1703.
 Bonet C ff.279-282.
 Bonet D f.3.

the vessel to capture pirates, the heads of the East India Company came in a body to the Lords Justices, demanding satisfaction out of the plunder that had been retrieved.(d) After that, a Parliamentary discussion of the subject was unavoidable. On the 1st of December the House of Commons went into committee for the purpose of discussing trade. Moore began the debate, and soon turned it to the increasing danger from piracy. From this it was an easy stage to Kidd's depredations, which certainly sounded disgraceful when put in such terms as "plundering with a commission under the Broad Seal in his pocket," "encouraged to it by those who were in partnership with him, and had obtained a grant of all he should steal." Howe, the irrepressible, continued with scathing references to those who "sent out their thieves to rifle whatever was to be met with." By this time the House was thoroughly interested, and gave orders for the production before them of the necessary papers and information.(e) On

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury Sept.21.1699. Vernon II 353-4.

(e) Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley Dec.2.
 Portland III 612.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.2. Vernon II 371.
 Bonet C f.256.

the day appointed for discussion, Vernon took the opportunity of a chance remark from Seymour as to Shrewsbury's health, to sound him as to his attitude; but it was not Shrewsbury that the Opposition was aiming at. "No," said Seymour, "the Duke of Shrewsbury has been kind to me, and he shall find me his friend." It was as well; for Shrewsbury's warrant for affixing the seal to Kidd's commission was brought into the House, and Harley summed up the views of the Opposition in trenchant terms that the grant was illegal and prejudicial to the trade of the kingdom. When the debate was resumed, the question was lost on a division, and for the moment the Kidd investigations were allowed to lapse.(f) But the Whig ministry had not come well out of the discussion, in spite of their success in the matter of numbers. The fact that they had not even themselves appeared by name in the commission to Kidd, but had used their servants as trustees for them - Shrewsbury being represented by his clerk, William Rowley - did not put a more favourable light on the transaction.(g)

(f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.5 and Dec.7. Vernon II 374 & 376,
Bonet C f.f.264-266.

(g) Portland III 582.

Rowley was a pensioner of Shrewsbury's - Buccleuch MSS I

The debate, too, revealed one thing of real importance. The Foley-Harley party had lost its nominal leader in the death of Paul Foley from blood-poisoning before the opening of the session,(h) and Harley, now left to decide the policy of the party for himself, showed that he had definitely gone into opposition to the Whigs. As late as 1700 there remained a doubt as to whether he could be classed with the Tories, and until February of that year the ministry was still hoping to placate him by a Secretaryship of State;(a) but from the winter of 1699-1700, his actions and his votes were directed more and more to break up the already crumbling Whig ministry, or such ruins of it as still remained.

Once the Tories had tasted the joys of attacking, they did not let their new sport rest. The debt to the Prince of Denmark led to the discussion of his household expenses, and laid open a chance for the

(h) Verney Letters I 51.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.20 and 27, 1700.
Vernon II 435 and 444.

A suggestion came from Jersey that Harley should be Secretary so late as June.

Vernon III 85.

Cf. Vernon to Shrewsbury May 30, 1700. Vernon III at p.67.

Tories to attack Bishop Burnet, whom they asked to be removed from his place of Preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester. Once more the Whigs were saved by their superiority in numbers. They believed that had the Tory vote succeeded, it would have been followed by Marlborough's removal in favour of Rochester as the Duke's Governor, but this is hard to credit considering Marlborough's influence with the Princess, and his own Tory politics.(b) The next successful move on the part of the Opposition was the vote in January for the reduction of the naval forces, which the Whigs were too disheartened to prevent, perhaps, as Burnet suggests, for the reason that since the resignation of Orford they had no longer any party interest in the matter.(c) Here again, Harley's was the leading voice, as it was also in the debates on the revocation of the Irish grants which followed, and which occupied Parliament in stormy

(b) Portland III 613 .
 Bonet C f.271.
 Burnet IV 435.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.12 and Dec.14.
 Vernon II 384 and 387.

(c) Burnet IV 435-6.

discussion until April.(d) Through it all ran a fierce series of attacks upon Somers.(e) Were the Chancellor to be removed, the Whigs would be ruined indeed.

Meanwhile, Shrewsbury's health was no better. He held the office of Chamberlain, but his secretary, Sir John Stanley, attended to most of the duties. In December of 1699, his friends began to urge him to return to town, if only to still the malicious talk that followed the publication of Smith's book, and the Kidd affair. Shrewsbury promised to make the effort by Christmas.(f) Stanley assured him that his rooms at Kensington would be ready by Christmas week, all but the eating-room, which could be finished the week after, if the workmen could be induced to go on with the work in the holidays.(g) The King, however, was going to Hampton Court after Christmas, and it was there that Shrewsbury intended to see him.(h) The visit was

- (d) Portland III 614, 615, 617.
Vernon II 405, 407, 411, 433, 434, 436, 440, 454-5, III 1-8, 13-16.19.
Bonet D f.f.34, 51, 60, 68, 116, 123, 131.
Burnet IV 436-442.
- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.6. Vernon II 425; Feb.8. Vernon II 427; Feb.13 Vernon II 430; Feb.27 Vernon II 444; April 9 Vernon III 9; April 11 Vernon III 17 - 1700.
Bonet C f.268.
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury "Dec.18." 1699. Vernon II 390. [erroneously dated Dec.19. Vernon II 391. aka + be 16th.]
- Shrewsbury to Wharton Dec.16. Carte 244 f.186.
- (g) Stanley to Shrewsbury Dec.19. Bucc. II 631.
- (h) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.23. Vernon II 397.

followed by the usual melancholy relapse in health, so that he did not return with the King to Kensington, and some days afterwards, when William went back to Hampton Court, for the purpose of discussing how he could obtain Shrewsbury's advice without burdening him with business, he found the Duke gone back to the country. William, at least, believed this to be only a move for avoiding arriving at a political understanding, for word had been sent to Hampton Court to have the King's dogs and horses in readiness, and Shrewsbury must therefore have been aware that he intended to come.(a) From the King's very suspicion, one can judge that the Christmas meeting at Hampton had been unsatisfactory to both. The position indeed was growing impossible. Even Shrewsbury's friends were beginning to accept the idea that he would be better out of England.(b) When they had exhausted their ingenuity in sending balsam, and "sympathetic powders," and searched their memory

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- (a) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.3, Jan.4. Jan.9.
 Vernon II 400-402.
 Luttrell IV 602.
 Stanley to Shrewsbury Jan.5. Bucc.II 633.
- (b) Stanley to Shrewsbury Jan.16. Bucc.II 634.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.20. Vernon II 413.
 Stanley to Shrewsbury Jan.25. Bucc.II 636.

for instances of people they had known with similar ill-health, who now were cured, there remained nothing else to suggest.(c) Shrewsbury stayed on in his melancholy house at Heythrop, which he had not yet attempted to rebuild, brooding over the publicity given to Smith's book by Kingston's ill-advised reply, morbidly afraid that he was subject to hereditary disease.(d) At the beginning of February he announced his wish to resign office, only to be informed that the time was most improper for such a step. From this state of depression he roused himself to enquire of Rochester if Cornbury, which he had before tried to purchase, would be to let. He dreaded building, he said, and yet Heythrop as it was then was in wretched condition, and his home at Grafton had lately been partly burned down.(e) Six months earlier he had

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- (c) Stanley to Shrewsbury May 14, 15, 17. Bucc.II 648-9.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.16. Vernon II 407.
 Sir L. Blackwell to Shrewsbury Dec.15. Bucc.II 631.

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- Stanley to Shrewsbury June 1. Bucc.II 651.
 (d) Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.30. Vernon II 423.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.23. Vernon II 416.
 (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.6. Vernon II 425.
 Shrewsbury to Rochester Feb.3. Add. MSS. 15895
 f.21. printed in Clarendon Correspondence.

been enquiring about Bolton's seat at Aberston, but nothing had come of that. Bolton, in fact, on account of Irish affairs, had lately been growing rather cold towards him.(f) Nor did the renting of Cornbury materialise. Much of the Park had been ploughed up, and Rochester, who had now become full owner of the estate, did not see eye to eye with the Duke as to the value of the remainder. When Rochester, anxious for a tenant, at length agreed to let Shrewsbury fix his own price, Shrewsbury for his part had drawn back, and refused to rent where there were no future hopes of buying.(g)

During March, he spent some time with the Cardigans at Deene, when he had recovered sufficiently to be able to hunt, and had thoughts of returning to town, for he was enquiring about rooms in Whitehall. Stanley had the

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- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury June 15 and June 20, 1699.
Vernon II 308 and 312.
- (g) Rochester to Shrewsbury Feb. 9. Bucc. II 639.
Shrewsbury to Rochester Feb. 12. Add. MSS. 15895. f. 25.
and Clarendon Correspondence.
Rochester to Shrewsbury Feb. 17. Bucc. II 640.
Shrewsbury to Rochester March 1. Add. MSS. 15895 f. 27.
and Clarendon Correspondence.
Rochester to Shrewsbury March 7. Bucc. II 642.
Shrewsbury to Rochester March 16. Add. MSS 15895 f. 29.
and Clarendon Correspondence.

idea of getting Sir Christopher Wren to run up a slight building out of the partially destroyed offices on the spot,(h). He had hopes of being well enough to attend the King at the usual April meeting at Newmarket, where the Chamberlain had a house, as he was warned, "an old lath and plaster building, and very cold."(a)

Sunderland, who had returned to town, was anxious to see him either at Newmarket or elsewhere.(b) The old scheme of a moderate Whig ministry still appealed to Sunderland, although Marlborough warned him that the time for that was past, and the three non-party politicians, Sunderland, Marlborough and Godolphin were in nearly as much disfavour with Tories as were the Whigs.(c) The Tories were in fact out for a full Tory ministry, and nothing short of it would content them. The secret of their enmity to Somers lay in the fact that he was now the real backbone of

- (h) Shrewsbury to Rochester March 16 supra.
Stanley to Shrewsbury March 14. Bucc.II 643-4.
(a) Stanley to Shrewsbury March 7. Bucc.II 643.
Vernon to Shrewsbury April 4. Vernon III 4.
(b) Sunderland to Shrewsbury March 21. Coxe 614.
(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.13. Feb.16. Vernon II 430, 432.

the Whig party, and, as the price of his removal, they were believed even to be willing to drop the bill for revoking the Irish grants. Certainly the Countess of Orkney was said to have approached them on this point. Nothing came, however, of this bargain. William failed to yield in time before the Bill was passed, while Harley shrewdly realised that there was a way of satisfying Lady Orkney without giving up the Bill, and that thereafter it was only a matter of time to get rid of the Chancellor.(d)

By the end of the Parliamentary session, the King, though silent, had really given in. He did not go to Newmarket as expected, while the Irish bill was still depending, but awaited the crisis that was feared when the Lords attempted to amend it, for the Commons, fearing opposition, had 'tacked' it on to a money bill. "I trust God will dissipate this black cloud," wrote Harley, while the Lords were discussing it. Jersey went so far as to persuade the King to speak to the Archbishop and some of the Lords to drop the amendment, but it looked as if a deadlock of tremendous constitutional

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 2. April 6, April 11.
 Vernon III 1, 6, 17.
 Guy to Harley Sept. 21. Portland III 608.

importance had arrived. Intense excitement prevailed in the Commons while they waited for the Lords' final decision. Harley proposed that the army be no longer kept up; Howe adjured his fellow members to remember they were all Englishmen, and in a common calamity. When word at last came that the Lords had passed the Bill, the reaction was equally great. From solemnity the Commons passed to recrimination, bitterly attacked Somers, and, "having a mind to have a fling at the foreigners," proposed an address for removing them from His Majesty's councils both in England and Ireland.(e)

On the 11th the King passed all the bills, and the session came to an end with no parting royal speech. A week later William went to Hampton Court, while Harley thanked God for his mercy to the public at the end of the session.(f)

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- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury. April 4. Vernon III 4.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury April 9. Vernon III 9.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury April 11. Vernon III 19.
 Harley to his father April 6. Portland III 617.
 Bonet D f.f. 123 and 133. "
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury April ~~11~~? Vernon III/9.
 Luttrell IV 636.
 Harley to his father April 13. Portland III 618.

About the 20th of April Shrewsbury came up to Hampton Court. (g) A few days later Somers, who had been in bad health and worse favour for some time past, also appeared there. Next day Jersey was sent to Somers for the Great Seal, but the Chancellor, who had so far refused to resign before the storm of opposition, desired to have the King's positive command, and yielded the Seal only when the King's warrant was presented. On the door of his office, some wag put up a notice, "House to let. For information apply to the Earl of Sunderland." (h) The jest to the Whigs appeared to have more than a modicum of truth; for they suspected that Sunderland had something to do with the sacrificing of Somers, while there was no questioning that his opinion would be taken as to the appointing of a new Chancellor. Nevertheless, to find a new man for a position where he might be badgered as Somers had been

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- (g) Luttrell IV 636. April 18.
 Portland III 618. April 20.
 Either the 20th or 22nd. (Saturday or Monday)
- (h) Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley April 25 and 30.
 Portland III 618.
 Bonet D f.f.159, 161, 164.

badgered, was no easy task. Holt, on Sunderland's advice, was approached through Trumbull, but without success: Trevor, the Attorney-General, steadily refused, though earnestly pressed both by Shrewsbury and Harley; and efforts to persuade Treby had no better result. (a) In despair of finding someone to fill the vacancy, and still hoping for a Whig alliance, Sunderland came forward with a new proposition, that the Seal should be put in commission, and Somers, with virtually his old power, be placed at the head. Even after the pompous Sir Nathan Wright had joyfully accepted the position of Lord Keeper, Sunderland trusted that he might yet secure Whig support by bringing back Somers as a First Commissioner. But the Whig distrust of any scheme that Sunderland could propound was an insuperable obstacle. From the first Shrewsbury doubted the possibility of the scheme's success; and its reception by Montague and Somers was absolutely

- (a) Holt to Trumbull (undated) Downshire I 796.
 Sunderland to Trumbull May 12. -"-
 Trumbull to Sunderland May 13. -"-
 Bonet D 176.
 Portland III 618-19. Harley to his father April 30,
 May 9, May 11, May 14.
 Vernon, to Shrewsbury May 9 [and 10] Vernon III 42.
 to Shrewsbury May 9 [and 10] Vernon III 42.

hostile.(b) The ill success of any accommodation with the Whigs confirmed Shrewsbury in his determination to get out of business. Already he had desired to be removed from the Chamberlainship, where as he wrote there - was "no busyness beyond makeing a legg or setting a chair," and possibly he was aware that gossip was dealing unkindly with his inattention even to that business.(c) During his stay at Hampton Court in May, a new proposal was made to him that he should go as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland and at the same time be made Groom of the Stole.

- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 8. Vernon III 38.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 11 Vernon III 43.
 Sir Christopher Musgrave to Harley May 30. Portland III 620.
 William Dobyys to Trumbull May 22. Downshire I 796.
 Montague to Somers May 12. Coxe 619 and
 Hardwicke II 436 (under date May 2).
 Shrewsbury to Vernon May 12. Coxe 618.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 14. Vernon III 47.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 16. Vernon III 49.
 Montague to Shrewsbury May 18. Coxe 620.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury May 21. Vernon III 54.
 Sunderland to Shrewsbury May 23. Coxe 621.
 Montague to Shrewsbury May 25. Coxe 623.
 Somers to Shrewsbury June 4. Bucc.II 652 (in Coxe under date July 9.
 Bolton to Somers. Sept. Hardwicke II at p.439.
- (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury April 16. Vernon III 29.
 Shrewsbury to Lord Herbert Warner 177.
 Bonet D f.172 - "they say although he does not care for business, yet he keeps the profits."

He did not immediately refuse, but left Hampton to return to the country on the plea of ill-health, and incidentally to pay a visit to Wharton at Woburn.(d) It was generally believed that he had decided to accept; but the disapproval of his Whig friends,(e) and a fresh return of his complaint, perhaps occasioned by the worries of the situation, perhaps aggravated by a "searching east wind," determined him on refusal.(f) Lord Galway and Chancellor Methuen, who was then ready to return to Ireland after his leave in England, received the news with disappointment. So also did Stanley, who had hoped to go with the Duke, with the assurance that 'no consideration of profit moved him to it, but only the pleasure he proposed in serving him.'(g)

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- (d) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 5^{May 9} Vernon III 37, 39.
 Luttrell IV 643.
 Bonet D f.169.
 Luttrell IV 644-5.
 Molesworth to his wife. May 11 Clements MSS.
 Various VIII 221.
 R.Harley to Sir Edward Harley May 14. Portland III 619.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury May 11. Bucc.II 647.
 Stanley to Shrewsbury May 11. Bucc.II 647.
 Methuen to Shrewsbury May 10. Bucc.II 647.
 Galway to Shrewsbury May 18. Bucc.II 649.
 Downshire I 79.
- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 18. Vernon III 51.
- (f) Portland III 620.
- (g) Methuen to Shrewsbury June 6. Bucc.II 652.
 Stanley to Shrewsbury May 15. Bucc.II 648.

Bolton, smarting under his unsatisfied wish to go himself as Lord Lieutenant, and railing at the King for the usage he had received after having been twelve years in his service, suspected that Shrewsbury really had thoughts of going to Ireland, in spite of his declarations to the contrary. Forgetting somewhat ungratefully - perhaps not knowing that it was Shrewsbury who had suggested his being Lord Justice, he scoffed to Somers, "I think his great business was to load me with strong assurances of his friendship (which I am persuaded of, if it does not interfere with his designs)" - (h)

Meanwhile, Shrewsbury had proceeded from Woburn to Heythrop, (a) where he remained, trying without any good result his old remedy of vitriol. He refused to come to Hampton Court to talk over public business with the King, who rightly judged that the Duke had no wish to make himself a millstone between the two parties (b).

(h) Bolton to Shrewsbury May 20. Bucc. II 651.

Bolton to Somers Sept. Hardwicke II at p. 438.

(a) Coxe (p. 618) gives a letter of 12th May from Eyford, but ~~I am inclined to believe this~~ "an error" ~~this~~ ^{is the only mention of Eyford during 1500, and it} ^{is probable that his lease of ~~it~~ ^{it} for it was not his property - had expired.} ^{or Heythrop.}

(Cf. Luttrell IV 649.

Vernon to Shrewsbury May 11. Vernon III at p. 46.

(b) Stanley to Shrewsbury May 21. Bucc. II 650.

Vernon to Shrewsbury May 30. Vernon III 66.

Sunderland also had retired to Althorpe, unable to persuade the Whigs to have anything to do with his latest scheme, and not even the King's request could bring him back to town. In the first week of June, Shrewsbury saw both Montague and Wharton at Winchendon, where he made still another effort to reconcile them with Sunderland. "If they do not care to have any thing to do with my Lord Sunderland, I hope they will find out a better way for carrying on their business," was Vernon's comment.(c) But the first was what the Whigs would not, and the second what they could not do. All that Shrewsbury received for his pains was the suspicion that he as well as Sunderland had desired the Chancellor's removal.(d) He was determined to keep the Chamberlain's key no longer, and therefore sent it up to Vernon by Smith, to be delivered to the King, who received it back on the 23rd of June. The following day it was given to Jersey, who in the short

(c)Vernon to Shrewsbury May 21. Vernon III 54;
 May 28 Vernon III 63; June 13 Vernon III 79;
 June 18 Vernon III 82; June 8 Vernon III 72;
 Yard to Manchester June 24. Cole 155 and Ap. to 8th
 Report II 74.

(d)Vernon to Shrewsbury May 28 Vernon III 63.

time he had been in the office, had grown to be heartily weary of the Secretaryship.(e) Vernon felt despairing, foreseeing that he might be given a colleague with whom he would find difficulty in working on good terms.

"I'll keep to your Grace's rule of acting uprightly, according to the best of my understanding," he wrote. Surely no master ever had a finer tribute from one who had worked under him.

Generally speaking, however, the Whigs were pleased that Shrewsbury had laid down his office. Wharton 'made a triumph that they had prevailed with him to quit everything'; for, if they could not be united in office it was something to a good Whig manager that they were all together out of office.(f) When William had expressed to Orford the hope that the Whigs were not apprehensive of being displaced, Orford's blunt retort was that he did not know the King had any Whigs remaining in his service.(g) At the end of July the political situation became more acute by the death of the little

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- (e) Vernon to Shrewsbury June 6, June 13, June 18, June 22. Vernon III 71, 79, 82, 86. (and Coxe) Luttrell IV 659. Yard to Manchester June 24. Ap. to 8th Report II 74, and Cole 155.
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury June 25. Vernon III 93.
- (g) Vernon to Shrewsbury May 25. Vernon III 61.

Duke of Gloucester. The succession was still not settled beyond the life of Anne. The King, who at one time was said to be thinking of marrying the Princess of Cleves, "a tall miss at a boarding school, with a scraggy, lean neck," (according to Prior)(h) was now in extremely poor health. In spite of his own brave spirit, which prompted him to parry Vernon's advice to seek ease at Loo, with the quip that then 'he should grow like the Duke of Shrewsbury, and never be at quiet for thinking of what might be troublesome and vexatious hereafter,' his state of health was becoming a matter for anxiety.(a) Anne was not, in the eyes of her contemporaries, a young woman, nor any longer a robust one. Were the parties to be caught wrangling and disunited, with no future settlement made for the Crown, and no stable ministry to carry on the government when death should overtake the King, the position might be a serious one indeed. Yet, in spite of the possible approach of such a crisis, the

(h) Prior to Shrewsbury Sept. 8. 1696 Bucc.II 401.

(a) Vernon to Shrewsbury July 2. Vernon III 104;
July 4. Vernon III 105; July 30. Vernon III 118.

Whig meeting at Lord Montagu's at Boughton in August was no more productive of success than others of its kind. Orford refused to be present.(b) Somers considered it with the greatest of reluctance.(c) The project that Sunderland still entertained of putting Somers at the head of a commission of the Great Seal, they looked on as merely a ruse. As Bolton informed Somers, he did not believe that Sunderland was really sorry to see Somers out of the Chancellorship, but only sorry that it had not been done by his methods.(d) Possibly the meeting at Boughton decided Shrewsbury in his wish to be done with politics, although in September he returned to town apparently in good health.(e) The proposed marriage with the Earl of Carberry's daughter was regarded as practically settled. He had spent part of June and again part of August in Wales, presumably visiting the lady, a mere child in 1700. But in spite of the popular opinion, nothing further came of the marriage treaty, perhaps, as it was suggested, because

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- (b) Orford to Shrewsbury July 30. Coxe 627. (Coxe gives this letter as July 20.)
 - (c) Somers to Shrewsbury July 18 and July 27. Coxe 627-9.
 - (d) Bolton to Somers Sept. Hardwicke II 437.
 - (e) Luttrell IV 685.
J. Ellis to Harley Sept.10. Portland III 627.

Garberry would not give his daughter a sufficient dowry.(f)

During September and October Sunderland's scheming went on: but there is no doubt that the Whigs having pushed aside his efforts to help, the Earl was drawing nearer to the Tories. Rochester, who had been sent for by the King as early as June, was one of the foremost in a new grouping of political intriguers that comprised Harley, Marlborough and Godolphin, with Henry Guy doing much of the planning.(g) The pressing necessity in Sunderland's eyes was to make some settlement of the succession to the throne, and much of the scheming, therefore, centred round the schemers' acceptance of a Hanoverian dynasty.(h) But by this time, Shrewsbury appears to have determined on leaving England. In September he went into Hampshire, probably to visit the Bridges at Avington before his departure. The beginning of October saw him at Althorpe, where the plan of a Hanoverian succession was certainly discussed.(a)

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- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury June 25. Vernon III 93.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.10. Vernon III 128.
 Portland III 627.
 Downshire I 843.
 Wentworth 51.
- (g) Bonet June 28 D.f.217.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury July 20. Vernon III 114.
 Portland III 625. et seq.
- (h) Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.13. Vernon III 129;
 Aug.15, p.129; Aug.27. p.133; Oct.10 p.141.
- (a) Hardwicke II 439. Cf. Sept.10 Portland III 627.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.5. Vernon III 138.

(f) The proposals for the marriage settlement are in the Buccleuch MSS. the last letter on the subject being one from Garberry of Oct. 12. 1700, expressing regret for Shrewsbury's relapse and hope for the conclusion of the matter.

If the Sunderland group thought they were going to cut Shrewsbury adrift at that time from the Whigs, however, they were to be disappointed. He returned from Althorpe not to London, but to Grafton, where he once more fell seriously ill, just before the King's return from the Continent.(b) On the 28th he came up to Hampton Court to have a long interview with the King before setting out for a warmer climate.(c) The prospects for one of the Whig leaders were not good. The Parliamentary session was drawing near. Before the previous session of Parliament had been laid the information respecting the arrival of Captain Kidd, while correspondence between Bellamont and the other shareholders in the Adventure - not all as innocuous as the letter to Shrewsbury announcing the gift of a white beaver skin - had been stupidly placed by Vernon before the Admiralty Commission to await Parliamentary examination.(d) The Partition treaties had also leaked out to a disapproving country, ready to be seized on as a weapon

(b) Guy to Harley Oct.17. Portland III 633.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.5. supra.

Vernon to Manchester Oct.14. Cole 229.

(c) Vernon to Manchester Oct.28. Cole 238.

Bonet 31 October D f.309. *Shrewsbury's pass not going abroad is in the Beckett mss, dated 30th Oct.*
11 November.

(d) The existing Parliament was, however, dissolved without meeting again - Burnet IV 466.

Vernon to Shrewsbury April 6, April 9 and ~~13~~, April 11, April 13. April 16. Vernon III 6,9,17,26,29.

Bellamont to Shrewsbury March 5. Portland VIII 70.

Stanley to Shrewsbury May 28. Bucc.II 650.

against those Whigs whom the King had consulted. It was no scene for a sick man to contemplate with equanimity. On the 30th of October Shrewsbury settled his property, and two days later left London for the South of France.(e) Scarcely had he gone than a courier arrived from the Earl of Manchester with news of the King of Spain's death.(f)

(e) Recitals in VI George I cap 29 (Loc. & Pers.)
Journal Bucc. II 746.
Luttrell IV 702 (Luttrell gives the date as Oct.31)

(f) Bonet D f.311.

CHAPTER XI

ABROAD.

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During Shrewsbury's five years' absence from England, he kept a journal, in which he entered the places he visited, the people he saw, the things he did, and to a lesser extent his thoughts upon the happenings of each day.(a) It is, therefore, possible to tell with considerable exactitude just how he occupied these years, and in what surroundings. Yet the journal could hardly be called an intimate diary. It is not in cypher, save where on one or two occasions he records something of more than usually personal interest, and it was evidently preserved with his state correspondence. In fact, perusal of the journal somehow leads one to the conclusion that it was kept with a distinct purpose. Shrewsbury's travels took him through France, brought him in contact with exiled Englishmen, carried him to Rome and into the

(a) The Journal is in the Buccleuch Papers II 746-799. Individual references to the Journal are not given in this chapter, unless where it seems desirable to draw attention to dates.

society of Cardinals and Catholic bishops. He had every good reason in the world for wishing to store up proofs of his own faithfulness to the Government at home as well as his sincerity to his adopted Protestant faith; and such a journal, methodically kept, would furnish such proofs if ever they were needed. That the journal was also an interesting record of the years abroad was, of course, an additional reason for writing it. But such a record has obviously not the psychological value of, say, Pepys' Diary, which was never intended for public perusal; and in such a record tirades against the Roman Church, or gestures such as demanding from a Catholic in his service a promise not to convey letters to the Court of St. Germain's on his way through France, while, no doubt, sincere enough, are almost certainly self-conscious. This does not mean that Shrewsbury ever visualised that his diary would be made public, but merely that it could be produced if circumstances ever appeared to require it. Throughout, there are constant references to the failings of Catholicism and the ignorance of Italians. Protestantism is repeatedly held up as a more enlightened doctrine, free from errors and superstitions. But it is always well to remember that the man who wrote

these things kept his Catholic servant Leary, in his service, conversed every evening in their salons with the ignorant and superstitious people he deplored, and remembered in his will the Catholic 'Governor' who had accompanied him to France in boyhood. This emphasis is laid not because of any doubt as to the sincerity of Shrewsbury's Protestantism, but from a belief that his tolerance was a much kindlier thing than the journal would suggest.

When he left London his objective was Montpellier whither he had been speaking of going for some considerable time past.(b) France, especially after the King of Spain's death, was not perhaps the most suitable country from the political point of view, but his destination was sufficiently removed from Paris as to be outside suspicion, and his health so poor that the advisability of his seeking a warm dry climate within surmountable travelling distance was hardly questionable. The first night of his journey was spent at Sittingbourne in Kent, and next day he reached Dover, where he went to the house of the government agent, Macky. On the day he embarked, he went to Church in Dover, and visited

(b) Luttrell IV 580. Nov.7. 1699.

It is perhaps unnecessary to point out that the letter attributed to Shrewsbury under date Dec.2. 1700. in Rebecca Warner's Epistolary Curiosities 2nd Series, p.5 is certainly not his.

the Castle. A day later he had landed in Calais, and there sought out a lodging recommended by Vernon. From Calais, by way of Abbeville and Amiens he proceeded to Paris, which he reached on the 9th. Manchester, the 19 English Ambassador there, who had been in fairly regular correspondence with him for some years past, was expecting him, and accompanied him both visiting and sightseeing during his short stay. Together they went to Versailles.(c) Much had passed since the day that Shrewsbury had gone to see the fountains play there. Then the Court had been absent and himself a lad not yet fifteen. Now all was bustle over the proclamation of Philip of Anjou as King of Spain, for Louis had just renounced the Partition Treaties in favour of Charles II's will. The Duc de Lauzun, who had resided in England during James's reign, managed, however, to take Shrewsbury aside, and informed him how James had taken Shrewsbury's courteous behaviour very kindly on the night that he had been sent to Whitehall with William's message to the King to remove to Ham.(d)

(c) Manchester to Vernon Nov.24 N.S. - Court and Society II 158 and Cole 247.

(d) Chapter II ante.

Shrewsbury cut him short, and begged him to change the subject, though he confessed to pity for the exiled King's condition. Indeed Shrewsbury was no Prior to scoff at the pitiful poverty of St. Germain's.(e) But he would not linger on the subject of the Jacobite Court, and when Lauzun suggested that he might see the Prince of Wales, his reply was that he had no curiosity to do so, but if he must see him, he would rather it were in France than in England. Curiously enough, there was a rumour current in Paris that upon Shrewsbury's arrival, the guards of the Prince of Wales had been doubled.(f)

The day following the Versailles visit he left Paris, and set out on his long journey to the south by way of the Loire and the Rhone valleys.(g) He reached Montpellier on the 8th of December N.S. to find the town surprisingly full, for there was an assembly of the Estates sitting. A small house outside the town had, however, been prepared for him, and there he received on arrival his first visitors, among them one of the Talbots, probably a cousin, who

(e) Bath III 257. 259.

(f) Cowper MSS. II 44.

(g) Manchester to Vernon Nov.24 N.S. supra.

was touring France with his governor. The end of the tiring journey left him with a bad headache, and his customary attack of gout in the knee, but, after having been 'let blood,' within a few days he had recovered, and was well enough to pay visits, and go to the opera, which to his critical ear seemed "indifferent, and worse executed." He remained in Montpellier for just over three months, and during that time lived a life, if not of idleness, then of leisure. Conversation there was in plenty, the typical conversation of a leisured and intelligent society, indifferent speculations as to the state of European politics, discussions on books, interchange of ordinary civilities. The Duke discovered an old schoolfellow in the Bishop of Lodève, who had been at Navarre College with him, though neither could remember the other. When the French Princes came to the neighbourhood, Shrewsbury was presented to them, and had the honour of remaining while they watched "the shooting at the Peroquet" in their closet; but he did not think much of the sport, though obviously a little pleased at the honour done him.

Another curious experience he had at Montpellier, similar to one which Lord Lexington was afterwards to experience in Madrid.(h) Colonel Clent, one of his Protestant English acquaintance, died, and there was some difficulty in securing for his body the decencies of burial. Shrewsbury, with the other English concerned, had to consent to the body's being buried in a house to save it from the violence of the mob. Already the people had been talking of his acquaintances as an assembly of Huguenots, and accusing him of having brought over a Protestant minister.

By the end of February Shrewsbury began to think of leaving Montpellier. European events were every day moving, and the possibility of a renewal of war between France and the Allies certainly to be contemplated. Neither England nor Holland had recognised the new King of Spain. The Commons' address to the King after the assembling of the new Parliament in February, had been itself an implication that war was in their thoughts.(a) That very month, Louis seized the barrier towns of the

(h) Lexington Papers - Memoir 7.

(a) Burnet IV 475.

Netherlands, but far from rousing resistance, the move brought the recognition by the Dutch of Philip.

Shrewsbury was on the point of leaving Montpellier when the news arrived, and he delayed his journey. But less than a week later the treaty between Holland and England was renewed, and thereupon memorials protesting against the breaking of the Partition Treaty were given in by the States in conjunction with Stanhope, the English envoy at the Hague. Nevertheless Britain recognised Philip the following month.(b) Shrewsbury had left France by that time, however, for the situation was far from promising. He set out from Montpellier on the 6th of March, crossed 17 the Rhone at Pont d'Esprit, and so proceeded northwards as far as Lyons on the other side of the river. From there, he journeyed into Switzerland, and made Geneva his home for the next five months. His half-brother, the "chopping boy" (c) born to Lady Shrewsbury after her marriage to Bridges, was staying at Geneva during that time, and obviously needing an elder brother's supervision, for he had to borrow money from Shrewsbury

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- (b) Burnet IV 494.
Lords MSS.Iv.
(c) Bath II 167.

to defray his debts. One gathers that his behaviour was not altogether approved by his parents, for on the 18th of June N.S. the Duke enters these words in his journal, "Went to my brother's house in P. Palais to acquaint him with his father's orders."

Unfortunately, the removal into Switzerland proved rather unsatisfactory from the health point of view; for the weather was unfavourable. He had a relapse into his former blood-spitting while he was at Geneva, which made him decide to move on into Italy before the summer should be over. News from England, too, was disturbing; for the Commons were proceeding with the impeachment of Somers, Orford and Halifax, (d) for among other things their share in the Partition Treaties; and the transactions with Kidd had once more been before the Commons. (e) Despite Shrewsbury's protest to the last that he had never had one unquiet thought of an attack on himself for his part in the treaty making, he must have seen that those who were accused were no more culpable than himself, (f) Though Vernon wrote him that his name had been mentioned

(d) Burnet IV 487 et seq.

Vernon to Shrewsbury April 21.1701.

Vernon III 142; June 23, Vernon III 148.

(e) Burnet IV 488-9.

Luttrell V 32.

(f) Shrewsbury to Halifax Sept.24 N.S. Add MSS.7121 f.65.

in the discussions with every possible respect, there is no doubt that but for his absence from England he would at the very least have had to listen to reflections of a damaging sort upon the conduct of himself and of his Whig friends. The course of events was such as to make him glad to be abroad, and in no way anxious to return. "I cannot but think those are happy who have the least to do in our countrey," he wrote to Halifax, "which if it had a little more sun were very good to live in, but very badd to govern in." And to Somers he protested vehemently, "I cannot help referring to my old opinion, which is now supported with more weight than I ever expected; and wonder that a man can be found in England, who has bread, that will be concerned in public business. Had I a son, I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman." He offered to do all he could to help his friends, either by letter or by returning himself, but the last was obviously no other than a courtesy, not intended to be understood seriously. (g)

(g) Shrewsbury to Somers. June 6 . Coxe 632. (not from Rome.)
17.

The next stage of his journey began on the 30th of August.N.S., when he left Geneva to go to Italy by way of Savoy. He described in his letter to Halifax from Lucca how he had crossed the Alps.

"The Alps are not so horrid as some have represented them," he wrote: "and yet they are a prospect that afford variety to consider the ascent from Savoy is not difficult, the plaine upon Mont Cenis, being now at this season free from snow, is a fertile good feeding country for Cattle and a noble pond or Lake at the top of the hills, the descent towards Piedmont is much more dreadfull. I was carryed both up and down in a Chair by men who for the nearer way will sometimes take a narrow path where they step hastily from stone to stone with a precipice on one side of a prodigious heighth, this I confess was uneasy to me, and especially it happening to raine at that time the soil and the stones were slippery and at the very first one of my mens heeles flew from under him which abated in my opinion of that infallibility which they pretend to of stepping sure,-----"

He made a short stay in Turin, and again in Genoa, and from there proceeded to Tuscany, staying at Lucca, at Pisa, (where he remarked on the "tower awry"), at Leghorn,

and so to Florence on the 29th of September N.S. Sir Lambert Blackwell, the British envoy there, was expecting him, and it was he indeed who had recommended Shrewsbury in the first place to come to Florence or Naples to be cured.(h) At Florence, too, he met and conversed with Addison.(a) After more than a month in the city, during which he took his usual interest in pictures, in music, in books and in manuscripts, Shrewsbury went on to Rome, which he reached by the 20th of November N.S. Two days after his arrival he first met the Italian Countess, widow of the Count Rossini and daughter of the Marquis Paleotti, who was later to become his wife.(b)

During the next three and a half years Shrewsbury resided in Rome or its neighbourhood, leading the life of a dilettante, and serving as a strange conundrum alike to his Roman neighbours, and his more distant English acquaintance at home. He confessed to no love

(h) Blackwell to Shrewsbury Dec. 15. 1699
Bucc.II 631. 25

(a) Journal Nov.6. Nov.7. Nov.9. Nov.10.
Cf. Addison's Correspondence.

(b) The Countess's first married name appears to have been hitherto overlooked. The Editor of the Report on the Downshire Papers assumed it to have been Bracciano, because of the lines in Heape -

"And Brachiano's cheap Mistresse proves
Talbot's dear wife."

Search among the Fitzalan Papers, however, revealed the Countess's marriage lines. *Another copy of the marriage lines is among the Buccleuch MSS.*

for the city, which he stigmatised as dull.(c) He professed considerable contempt for its inhabitants, whom he called credulous, superstitious and untruthful.(d) He did not enjoy the unbroken good health that he might have expected from his long sojourn abroad. Yet he remained. The projected visit to Naples was never made.(e) Whether the fascination of Rome's artistic and intellectual life held him, or whether he was bound by his growing friendship with the Countess, or whether he really believed that the air suited his lungs better than any he had experienced elsewhere, are questions to which one can at best only hazard an answer. Certainly in spite of all his complaints against the "Holy lying city,"(f) he made his home within its walls until the beginning of 1703, and thereafter, when, according to himself, he grew tired of "the melancholy sight of processions and scourgings," or, as one may suspect, when the frequency of earthquakes in a crowded city became alarming, he retired to a villa at St. Paul's, then about a mile distant.(g)

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- (c) Shrewsbury to Hill Dec.13.1704.Hill Correspondence at p.
 (d) Journal passim.. Shrewsbury to Marlborough July 26.1704.⁽⁷⁵²⁾
 Coxe 636.
 Shrewsbury to Hill Feb.16. May 10. June,7. Sept.13.1704.
 Hill Correspondence 734.738.740.746.
 Shrewsbury to Stepney May 31.Dec,13.1704.Warner 117.131.
 (e) Bucc.II 631. and Anonymous Life 13.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Hill.Nov.1.1704. Hill Correspondence 748.
 (g) Shrewsbury to Godolphin Feb.9. N.S.
 Marl.MSS.44.

His occupations were of the usual order for an eighteenth century visitor to Rome. He took an interest in music, went to the opera, and private musical parties; he took an interest in sculpture and paintings, visited the artists and bought pictures and prints; he hunted out rare books, went sight-seeing in the Vatican library, and shopping in the bookshops of the city. He sat to three different artists for his portrait, and had still enough zest in life to try to learn Spanish. For his friends in England he offered to make any purchases they might desire, bought prints for Godolphin and books for Somers, and interested himself in marble chimney pieces designed for the Cardigan residence at Deene. Somers asked him to choose a picture for him. Halifax returned his favours with a gift of china. Harley at his request, sent him the copy of a manuscript to be shown to the Keeper of the Vatican Library. (h) He interviewed a man who was making two porphyry pots for the Queen, and obtained

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- (h) Somers to Shrewsbury June 25.1703. Bucc.II 662.
 Somers to Shrewsbury July 21.1704. Coxe 643.
 Somers to Shrewsbury. Oct.5.1704. Coxe 644.
 Somers to Shrewsbury Dec.1704. Coxe 646.
 Shrewsbury to Somers. July 5. 1704. N.S. Bucc.II 695.
 Halifax to Shrewsbury Nov.10.1704. Bucc.II 703.
 Shrewsbury to Harley. Aug.11. N.S.1703. Bath I.54.
 Halifax to Shrewsbury July 24. 1705. Coxe 652.
 Journal.

from an architect plans for the rebuilding of Whitehall. In October of 1703. he wrote Godolphin about these.

"I wish Her Majesty may find the design for the pallace at Whitehall worth her considerations. I know it is lyable to many exceptions, particularly in what here relates to conveniencys, which these people here do not enough consider. My acquaintance is studying upon it every day in order to the ornaments on the outside, and some other amendments he says he has made: if this thought be so near pleasing Her Majesty as it be worth correction, and further instruction, he is much disposed to spare no pains if he have the least hopes of doing something in the end that may satisfy, but for all the convenient part of the house, I am sure it must be contrived in England, for here it will be done very awkwardly."(a)

Shrewsbury was, in fact, learning to be 'a virtuoso' - 'a quality he did once a little despise.'(b) At the Countess Adelaide Rossini's he was a frequent visitor. There, he met both Romans and foreigners of interest.

(a) Shrewsbury to Godolphin. Oct. 6. 1703. *Pf. adv. June 2 and 16 NS.*
Morrison Catalogue VI 128. *Odd. MS. 28056 ff. 19 & 21.*

(b) Halifax to Shrewsbury Nov. 10. 1704. Bucc. II 703.

Somers to Shrewsbury June 25, 1703. Ibid 662.

Not unnaturally, some of the company were ecclesiastics. Politics were certainly discussed, but usually in a light vein. One individual understood Shrewsbury so little that he approached him with the suggestion that he should enter into correspondence towards making a peace, but Shrewsbury had no intention of involving himself seriously in business, nor was he desirous of any peace save one which would secure safety from France.

Besides the company at the Countess Adelaide's, where abbots, bishops and politicians appeared rather than ladies of quality - for the Princess Carpegna is the only lady mentioned as visiting there - the society in which the Duke mingled consisted for the most part of youths from England, many of them doing the tour with their tutors. Dryden's son was also staying in Rome, and, indeed, died there during Shrewsbury's stay. While he lived, he was an almost daily companion of the Duke. Others took up their residence there for a short time, before going off to visit other parts of Italy. Young Lord Brudenell and his brother, Shrewsbury's cousins, arrived with their governor, Mr. Cuffauld, and remained for a time to lead a wild and presumably enjoyable

life away from home restraints. Certainly, poor Mr. Cuffauld had no enviable lot. While the Brudenells were in Rome, Shrewsbury had news of the death of his grandfather, the old Earl of Cardigan. Lord Brudenell succeeded to his grandfather's title, but somewhat to the displeasure of his friends in England did not on that account make any immediate step to return home. That was only one of a series of deaths that affected the Duke during his stay abroad. To judge from the journal, it was the loss that moved him most deeply. Rather more than a year earlier, he had received word of his mother's death, and a month before that news had come that King William had died. He lost two more distant relations also during his stay abroad, one the wife of his half-sister Mary's son, and the other, one of Mary's married daughters.^(b) In 1705 Rowley, once in the Secretary's office, to whom he had been so uniformly kind, also died, while with the death of Robert Yard he lost a faithful and regular correspondent.^(c)

^(b) Mrs. Stonor and Mrs. Plowden.

^(c) Journal Aug.29.1703; May 31, 1702; April 4.5.12.1702; Aug.13.1702; July 17,1704; March 12,1705; May 27.1705.

Writing to Marlborough in the autumn of 1704, Shrewsbury protested his inability to judge of foreign politics, because he had lived at Rome a more solitary life than he could have done at Grafton; but this must be taken as due to a reluctance to be employed on serious political business rather than as implying any great ignorance of the state of foreign affairs.(d) He had declined an audience with the Pope, but was kept in touch with matters of State through the Cardinals and Bishops of his acquaintance, who met him on social ground. Count Lamberg, the Emperor's ambassador, did not cease to make use of him.(e) A weekly letter from Yard kept him in touch with English news.(f) Stepney, from Vienna, Hill from Turin, Blackwell from Florence, all corresponded with him, and Shrewsbury's replies evince a lively and penetrating interest in the foreign situation, and in the course of the war.

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Marlborough Oct.25. N.S. 1704. Bucc.II 697.
- (e) Letters to Hill; Letters to Stepney; Journal passim. Shrewsbury to Stepney Add. MSS. 7058.
- (f) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.17. 1701 and Jan.15.1704. Vernon III 157 and 245.
 Shrewsbury to Halifax Sept.24.1701. Add.MSS.7121 f.65.
 Shrewsbury to Stepney Dec.2. 1703. Warner 106.
 Shrewsbury to Somers. June 17. 1701. Coxe 633.

He still wrote Marlborough on occasion, not omitting to congratulate him after the news of Blenheim, (g) and maintained a friendly correspondence ^{also} with the Treasurer. When Godolphin was given the Garter, Shrewsbury joined in the compliments made him. (g¹) "My Lord," he wrote on that occasion, "I flatter my self that your Lo^p does me the Justice to beleive that I have so real a service and freindship for you that I very truly reioyce at any mark of distinction and faveur her ma^{ty} is pleased to shew you, and consequently for this last in makeing you a knight of the Garter: I should not therefore trouble your Lo^p with a letter upon this account but that I am fond of takeing all ocasions of putting you in mind of an humble servant, who thinking it long since he has had the honour to see you, hopes in a few months to have that happiness and if before my leaving this place I should receive any of your cōmands would endeavour to execute them to the best of my skill.

"The Duke of Marlborough has begunn the campagne on the Danube so gloriously as reioyces all well-wishers to the Cōmon Cause, and more especially me who besides my concern for the publick have a very sincere and tender one for his person and honour; Pray God send his success may

(g) Marlborough to Shrewsbury Sept.30 acknowledging letter of Aug.30. Coxe 638. Cf. Hill Correspondence 744.

(g¹) Shrewsbury to Godolphin, Rome, Aug.16 N.S.1704.
Unpublished letter at Ingestre Hall

continue according to the expectation he has given by his first action: the state of affaires in the other parts of Europe seem to require some notable advantage in Germany to keep up the hearts of the Allys and their freinds, especially in these parts, where the Emp^{rs} affaires and those of the d: of Savoy, are in a most declineing condition."-----

Somers, Halifax, Harley and Vernon also received letters from him while he was abroad. Thus, while he refused the offer to be Master of the Horse, which Anne made to him through Godolphin at the beginning of her reign, and professed disinclination for all public business, he was alive to the details of foreign policy, wisely estimating the value of an English fleet in the Mediterranean, discussing the possibilities, remote as he considered them, of a Venetian alliance, and on a lesser, more practical scale, willing to give money to a number of Dutch sailors to enable them to return to their own country.(h) The naval fiasco of 1703, when the English fleet sailed to the Mediterranean only to return almost immediately without having done anything, was a sore mortification to him. "I am out of countenance to go into company," he wrote Stepney, "being always asked

(h) Godolphin to Shrewsbury April 5. 1702. Coxe 634.
 Shrewsbury to Godolphin July 1. N.S. Coxe 635.
 Journal May 18.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury Sept.30 N.S.1704. Coxe 638 and Murray I 490.
 Shrewsbury to Marlborough Oct.25. N.S. 1704. supra.
 Shrewsbury to Hill Nov.22 N.S. 1704. Hill Correspondence 749.
 Shrewsbury to Stepney Nov.17. N.S. 1703. Warner 104.

one question too knotty for me to answer; why they were at the expence and trouble of coming so far only to water at Leghorn?" "Our mountaine," he remarked, "has brought forth something less than a mouse."(a)

Although not actually engaged he was by no means isolated from public affairs, and, in fact, in view of the interest he showed, it is hardly surprising that some people concluded that he remained in Italy for a definite political reason. The suggestion that had been made to him with regard to negotiating a peace was sufficient to stir up ugly rumours in England as to his real business abroad. It was said that a hermit had been sent to him by Cardinal Jansen for this purpose. "You see," he commented bitterly, "how maliciously things are altered when they concern me; but a report so absolutely without foundation is capable of giving me little disturbance"

(b)

(a) Shrewsbury to Stepney Oct.20 and 27.N.S. #1003 Warner 97 & 99.

Shrewsbury to Godolphin Oct.6. Morrison Collection VI.

(b) Somers to Shrewsbury July 21; Oct.5.1704.

Coxe 643-645.

Journal Sept.7. 1704 N.S. Bucc.II 783.

Feb.28. 1702 N.S. Bucc.II 760.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.13.1704. Vernon III 268.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.8. Vernon III 278.

Stepney to Shrewsbury Nov.15. N.S. Bucc.II 699.

Shrewsbury to Stepney. Nov.29 N.S. Warner 127.

Mr. Nicholson and Professor Turberville, I believe, misunderstood the story of the youth who came to visit Shrewsbury, bearing information of an intrigue towards peace. The young man professed to upset, not to promote, the French plans - Nicholson and Turberville 151.7.

Cf. Bucc.II 778.

Questions thrown out by Marlborough as to the possibility of Shrewsbury's sounding the Venetians about entering the war, gave rise to the supposition both in England and at foreign courts, that he was officially engaged on some such diplomatic mission.(c) In Rome itself he was informed that his presence was regarded with such suspicion that spies were sent to the Countess Adelaide's to report what he said there. This roused the Duke to indignant scorn. "I have nothing to do here," he wrote in his journal, "nor will have nothing to do here or elsewhere, and should be glad such good spies were put about me as might discover that I have no business; for if I would engage in business, I might have a post that would become me better than than (sic) being a little agent or spy here at this wretched Court, which may be esteemed by those who take him (the Pope) to (be) God's vicegerent, but by us is not esteemed more than a D(uke) of Parma."

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- (c) Marlborough to Shrewsbury Sept.30 N.S.1704. Coxe 638.
 Shrewsbury to Marlborough. Oct.25 N.S. Bucc.II 697.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury. Sept.24.1703. Vernon III 236.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.18. 1704. Vernon III 264.
 Shrewsbury to Stepney Nov.17 N.S. 1703. Warner 104.

As people began gradually to realise that Shrewsbury's presence in Italy was entirely a personal matter, they then commenced to question his reasons for being there at all. So difficult did they find it to credit that a man of his ability and high position should voluntarily exile himself from the Court for any good reason, that they were not slow to find bad ones, and saw in the Duke's long residence in the Papal dominions, an intention to reassume his original faith. Shrewsbury at Geneva in the house of a Protestant minister, and Shrewsbury at Rome in the company of Roman bishops and abbots, were two different matters. It is hardly surprising that Englishmen put this construction on his long stay in Rome, when Roman ecclesiastics believed that they might still persuade him to renounce Protestantism.(d) Probably, during most of his life, Shrewsbury's innate courtesy misled his opponents as to his real views; for he seldom repulsed anyone, and conversed with an Irish Jacobite (taking care, however, that it should be before the

(d) Sept. 9, 1702; March 15, 1703; April 16, 1703. Journal.

servants) with the same good breeding as he listened at Rome to the discourse of the ecclesiastics and partisans of the court of St. Germain's, merely making private notes on the stupidity and credulity of those who so misunderstood him. The news that his friends in England did credit his return to the Roman faith, however, obviously distressed him, although he protested that as it was without foundation it gave him little disturbance.(e) He assured Somers and Vernon privately that there was no possibility of his doing such a thing. To Somers he waxed indignant that he who had ventured so much for the Protestant religion should now be suspected of falsehood to it. But it was the clear-sighted Vernon who suggested a more effectual method of allaying the suspicions that had arisen. He advocated the writing of a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury or to Shrewsbury's Anglican relation, Dr. William Talbot, now Bishop of Oxford, with the understanding that it should be made public. This advice Shrewsbury followed. He wrote to his relation in definite terms, protesting his steadiness to the Protestant faith, and his scrupulous

(e) Shrewsbury to Stepney Nov.29. 1704 N.S.
Warner at p.128.

endeavours to avoid anything that might look like temporising with Romanism. He pointed out that he had resisted the solicitations made him to be present at an audience with the Pope; and, freely owning the artistic beauty of the Roman ritual, nevertheless condemned its religion as bigoted and superstitious. The letter produced exactly the effect that Vernon had anticipated. Everywhere it was spoken of with great approbation, and some were even afraid that it might be dangerous for the Duke to remain at Rome should his letter be made public there.(f)

No less did Shrewsbury resent the insinuation that it was his duty to return to England and take his part of the burden of administration there. "If people are angry with me, that I will not serve," he complained to Somers, "they might consider my want of health, and impossibility to bear the air of London;

(f) Shrewsbury to Somers. June 24.1704. Coxe 640.

July 5.

Somers to Shrewsbury, Dec.1704. Coxe 646.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Aug.18.1704. Vernon III 264;
Oct.13,1704. Vernon III 268; Oct.20,1704.

Vernon III 271; Dec.1, 1704. Vernon III 273.

Shrewsbury to Dr. William Talbot,Downshire I 838-9.

my natural aversion to, as well as incapacity for, business; but, above all, that I look upon ours, as a country that will not be served, satisfied neither with those in affairs, nor with those who decline them" -(g)

Shortly before, when writing to congratulate Harley on the news of his appointment to the Secretaryship, he significantly remarked that the public had more reason to rejoice than the Secretary; and to Hill that same year he confided that he thought England "an excellent country for all to live in, except a few, whose fate or ambition hurries them into public employments."(h)

His resentment of these criticisms on his long absence was perhaps aggravated by the fact that Lord Cardigan also remained in Italy, although his friends were urging his return and possibly suspecting that Shrewsbury was encouraging him to waste his time abroad. Actually, Shrewsbury's advice was in the other direction. His desire was to persuade his cousins to be "good Englishmen," There is reason to believe that by good

(g) Shrewsbury to Somers July 5 Coxe 642.

(h) Shrewsbury to Harley June 28 N.S.1704. Bath I 57.
 Shrewsbury to Hill Dec. 9. Hill Correspondence 752.

Englishmen he meant also good Protestants, and though he did not immediately succeed in this aim, the Earl of Cardigan did join the Anglican Church a few years later.(a)

The plea of ill health which Shrewsbury advanced as one of the reasons for avoiding employment was in the main quite true. Even in a favourable climate, and with the greatest of care, he was subject to violent relapses, and when he left Italy he suffered from a cough which he believed would never leave him.(b) There is little doubt that the lungs were affected.

Upon his first arrival in Rome, his health had certainly improved. Ease of mind probably contributed to this as much as anything, for his first relapse was in April 1702 after hearing of the death of King William. On the day after the news had arrived he noted in the journal that he kept his bed "with affliction and a great cold." About two weeks later, the blood-spitting

- (a) Journal Aug.14.1704; June 5 and 6. 1705. N.S.
 Bucc.II 783 and 790.
 Shrewsbury to Hill. June 14 N.S.1704.
 Hill Correspondence 761.
 Anonymous Life.14.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Jan.13.1708. Vernon III at p.304.
- (b) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot. Oct.8 N.S.1705.
 Bucc.II 711.

returned, and he made up his mind for a more prolonged stay in Rome than he had at first intended. At the beginning of August (N.S.) the same year, he had another relapse. But, thereafter, he seems to have kept fairly well until the end of 1703, save for a temporary indisposition when news came to him of his grandfather's death. Indeed, he began to hope that he would be able to return to England by the spring of 1704.(c) But the spring of that year brought a return of his hemorrhage more severe than he had yet experienced in Italy. Hitherto the bleeding had stopped without the use of the astringent remedies to which he had recourse in England, but on this occasion it continued for some time, aggravated by an unusual spell of "moist thick English weather." "Upon the return of the sun, if it do not stop," he wrote to Hill, "I shall apply to my old friend, Vitriol, that I carry always with me."(d) All through that summer

(c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Dec.24. 1703. Vernon III 241.
Shrewsbury to Harley 17 June 1704. Bath I.57.

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Somers to Shrewsbury June 1704. Coxe 640.

(d) Shrewsbury to Hill April 12. N.S. Hill Corr.736;
April 19, Hill Corr.737; May 10, Hill Corr.738;
Shrewsbury to Stepney April 26, N.S. Warner 113
Vernon to Shrewsbury June 2. Vernon III 262.

he continued in poor health, finding relief for a day or two, only to be further depressed when the trouble started anew, experimenting with different methods of drinking the waters, feeling even the writing of his weekly letters a strain.(e) As the autumn approached, however, his health improved, and he once more entertained hopes of returning to England the following spring, the more anxiously in view of the unpleasant rumours about his renunciation of Protestantism that had spread in England during 1704. His friends in England were anxious that he should at least make an effort to move out of Italy.(f) The letter of remonstrance which he sent to the Bishop of Oxford, full as it was of injudiciously blunt speaking as to his views on Roman Catholicism, rendered any further long stay in Rome inadvisable. He who had been regarded with such disfavour on his first refusing the courtesy of a Papal audience that it was considered a crime to visit him, and who was courted only when it appeared

(e) Shrewsbury to Hill June 14.N.S. Hill Corr.741;
 Aug.16, Hill Corr.742; Aug.30, Hill Corr.744;
 Sept.6, Hill Corr.745,
 Shrewsbury to Stepney Aug.9.N.S. Warner 126.
 Shrewsbury to Somers July 5 N.S. Coxe 642.

(f) Vernon III 266.

that the Duke of Marlborough's "redcoats" might eventually march on Italy, was hardly likely to be popular when the letter became public.(g)

He did not mean, however, to risk travelling in the bad weather, but planned to set out on his journey in the spring; and when 1705 did arrive it brought with it cold, wet weather, which started his hemorrhage once more.(h)

Actually he did not leave Rome until the middle of March. Before going he had apparently approached the Countess Adelaïde with a proposal of marriage, having already ascertained her willingness to renounce Catholicism after she had read a Bible which he had lent her.(h¹) Probably some arrangement was then made about her joining him later in Augsburg. In the meantime he went north, in the direction of Venice, which he reached by the beginning of May. On the boat between Volana and Venice, he quite typically offered a passage to a German and a Neapolitan friar, out of charity,

(g) Bucc.II 782.

(h) Shrewsbury to Stepney Jan.17 N.S.1705. Add.MSS.37407.f.59.

Shrewsbury to Stepney Jan.24 N.S.1705. Warner 133.

Shrewsbury to Hill March 14 N.S. Hill Corr. 753.

(h¹) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot Oct.8 N.S.1705. Bucc.II 711.

Shrewsbury to Dr. William Talbot Sept.21.1705.

Add.MSS.35057. ff.9.11.

consoling himself that they were good "Austrians." Cardigan and his brother had taken up their stay at Venice some months earlier, so that, although they were out of town when he arrived, he spent the night at their house. Venice he described as "the only great city I ever was in where I declare I could not live, for there is no place to walk and take the air" (a favourite occupation this with him). Its bad effects were soon felt in another more serious relapse in his health, with such severe gout as to prevent him from pushing on with his journey into Germany. "If my legs were at liberty, I think I should be inclined to use them," he humourously remarked to Stepney. (a) The weather was cold and wet, and while ^{he was} still well enough to go about during the day, his health necessitated an early bedtime, and considerable care. (b) He was more than a month in the neighbourhood of Venice, dividing his time between Venice itself and Padua or the surrounding country where the air was less damp. At Padua he did not fail to visit the tomb of an aunt,

(a) Shrewsbury to Stepney Nov. 29 N.S. 1704, Warner at p. 129.
 Shrewsbury to Stepney May 9 N.S. 1705. Warner 134.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury June 30 N.S. Coxe 650.

(b) Shrewsbury to Stepney June 13 N.S. Warner 186.

Catherine Whetenhall.(c) "She has a very honourable and ample epitaph on her gravestone," he records. The words ring pitifully in view of his own unremembered tomb.

Before leaving Venice, he once more tackled Cardigan on the subject of his return to England, and at length got the Earl to promise him that he would go. With the Brudenell's governor he left his will, almost on the eve of his departure, with instructions that Sir John Talbot or the family steward, Arden, should be informed of it in the event of his death. On the 4th of July (N.S.) he set out on a long slow journey towards Augsburg.

Augsburg marks a stepping-stone in Shrewsbury's life; for it was the place of his marriage. On the 28th of August (N.S.) he sent for the Countess, and thereafter communicated to the Lutheran minister his intention of marrying her. On the 18th of September the Countess arrived, and two days later, after she had declared before the minister her change of religion, they

(c) Lady Catherine Talbot, daughter of John, the tenth Earl of Shrewsbury and wife of Thomas Whetenhall of Peckham Place. She died in 1650, the first year of her marriage.-
Catholic Record Society vol.VIII.

were married quietly. A few acquaintances were present. and - a real Shrewsbury touch - "all her servants and mine." Next day the Duke sat down to the far from pleasant task of writing to inform his friends, through a letter to Delafaye of the Secretary's office - since Yard had recently died - that he was married to a widow lady - "without fortune and a foreigner," as he described her to Sir John Talbot.(d) Undoubtedly he anticipated some criticism, for his letter to Delafaye expressed the rather querulous wish that "people would be contented not to judge till they might do it upon grounds that were reasonable," and to Sir John he wrote, "I shall add that since the change in my condition I am entirely content and tho I have taken one I am sensible that in some particular will not be approved by my friends yet I am fully perswaded she is of a temper to make my life easy and quiet, and in the circumstances

(d) Shrewsbury to Sir John Talbot Sept.21 N.S.; Oct.8.N.S.

Bucc.II 710 and Bucc. MSS.I.

of my health it is more proper for me to take one has obligations to me, then one to whome I have obligations."

There was no question as to the disapproval of his friends. Halifax dubbed the letter to Delafaye as "the greatest curiosity in the world," and others were even less kind. Those who had heard only a rambling version of the story believed that it was he and not his bride, who had changed his religion.(e) Some ridiculed the whole affair; others had more stinging gossip. "Sure," - gibed Henry St. John - "it is a matter of great merit to make an ancient Roman beauty a convert at the expense of making her a wife."(f) The common report

(e) Shrewsbury to Delafaye Sept.21 N.S. Add. MSS. 32686 f.6.

Halifax to Somers Sept.21 O.S. Add. MSS. 35057 f.13.

Hearne I 48.

(f) St. John to Lord Cutts. Oct.9. Chequers MSS. 186.

was that she had been his mistress before being his wife, while embroiderers of that story asserted that the Duke had been forced by her relations to marry her.(g)

This much appears true, that the Countess Adelaide was not a woman of any great reputation, though it is possible that high spirits, and idiosyncracies, were too easily mistaken for lack of virtue. As for Shrewsbury, while the evidence does not absolutely exclude the possibility that rumour for once spoke truth,(h) the dates of his leaving Rome and his marriage at Augsburg, and the fact that he anticipated annoyance on the part of the lady's relations at her marriage by a Protestant minister, almost dispose of the unfortunate story that he was coerced into the marriage.(a)

Nevertheless it is little wonder that all who knew him were astonished. After his arrival at Augsburg,

(g) Lady Cowper's Diary p.8. 26th and 27th Oct.1714.
Downshire I 843.

Wentworth 134.

Onslow's note in Burnet V 452.

Cf. Hearne I. 140.

(h) The Editor of the Buccleuch Papers believed that the evidence does exclude that possibility. Even if one regards the journal as an entirely private diary, however, the entries make no positive statement as to Shrewsbury's friendship with the Countess, and much has been omitted from the printed report.

(a) It has been argued that as the Countess's notorious brother did not meet Shrewsbury until after the marriage, there can have been no coercion. At the same time, it is only just to note that the Countess had more than one brother, as her Will shows.

he had been writing his friends of his health in as melancholy a strain as they had ever experienced from him. He told them that he did not believe he could live long, and was so weary of his "crazy carcass" that death would come as a relief. He was tormented with a persistent cough, and could get no sleep without the aid of drugs. "The state of my health is such, that I am wholly unresolved what to do, or whither to go," he wrote to Halifax only a month before his wedding. "I am only determined not to return to Italy. But, if I go forwards, shall probably grow worse in my journey, and be obliged to stop in the bogs of Holland, which would soon make an end of me. To pass the winter here, I believe it is very cold, and the solitude great, though the town is pleasant, and the houses good. I have, sometimes, thoughts of going to Vevey, the warmest protestant spot I know in Europe, but it is far out of the way to England, where I hope at last to lay my bones."(b)

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- (b) Shrewsbury to Stepney July 20. N.S. Warner 140.
Shrewsbury to Hill July 17 N.S. Hill Corr.755.
Shrewsbury to Halifax Aug.24 N.S. Coxe 653.

About three weeks after their marriage, Shrewsbury and his wife left Augsburg, to make their next stay at Frankfort, which they reached by the middle of October (N.S) With true travellers' curiosity, having crossed the Danube at Donauwert, they went to see the battle-field of Blenheim. Marlborough himself arrived at Frankfort at the end of that month. Shrewsbury, who had been in correspondence with him, had originally intended visiting the General in his camp, but his ill-health and the consequent delays of the journey had prevented that.(c) Marlborough was, however, anxious to see him. At home, the political situation was becoming difficult, for himself and the Treasurer, and he hoped to enlist Shrewsbury's services on their side. Over tea, therefore, they discussed politics, and the possibilities of peace. But Shrewsbury was not to be persuaded. Yet he made no definite refusal, merely pleading ill-health, so that Marlborough was extremely hopeful of gaining him.(d) He was already offended at the suggestion that his intention to wait on Marlborough

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- (c) Shrewsbury to Stepney Aug.3 N.S.1705. Warner 143.
 Halifax to Shrewsbury July 24. Coxe 652.
 Shrewsbury to Halifax Aug.24 N.S. Coxe 653.
 Halifax to Shrewsbury (undated) Coxe 655.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury Aug.27 N.S. Murray II 237.
- (d) Marlborough to Godolphin. Nov.1. N.S. Coxe 659

showed a desire to return to office while the weather was fair,(e) and had no inclination to prove the prophets correct. In conversation with Marlborough, also, the prospects of peace seemed somewhat remote, Marlborough giving it as his opinion that the Queen was averse to peace. While Shrewsbury had no desire to see England conclude a peace which by leaving France too powerful, particularly in the commercial sense, would make a renewal of war inevitable, his correspondence from 1704 had emphasised his great desire for a satisfactory peace.(f) He was already reconciled to the necessity of a partition of the Spanish dominions, and, while he agreed with Marlborough that it would be a bad thing for England if Philip were allowed to rule in Spain, his main interest was in securing British trade in the Mediterranean and in the West Indies.(g)

Having given Shrewsbury the necessary passes, then, which he had obtained for him,(h) Marlborough left

(e) Shrewsbury to Halifax Aug.24 N.S. supra.

(f) Shrewsbury to Stepney July 20 N.S. Warner 139.

(g) Journal Dec.17th and 19th N.S. 1705. Bucc.II 796.
Shrewsbury to Delafaye Oct.5. 1706. infra.

(h) Marlborough to Villeroi July 7 N.S. Murray II 150.
Marlborough to Elector of Bavaria Oct.24 N.S.
Murray II 313.

Frankfort, and about a week later Shrewsbury and his wife sailed down the Main to Mayence, and so by way of Coblentz and Bonn to Cologne. They noticed the usual features of Cologne, the ill-paved streets and great Cathedral; but more personal matters darkened their visit. The inn was a very bad one, and the Duchess's improvident brother joined them. He at least knew a good source of income when he was introduced to one, and he had no intention of letting his newly discovered relative out of his sight. Much of Shrewsbury's later life was embarrassed in the effort to find potential places of profit in answer to the solicitations of his worthless brother-in-law.(a)

His return to England was delayed until the beginning of the year 1706, the last months of his stay abroad being spent in the Netherlands, where once more he saw Marlborough, with whose convoy he returned in January (N.S). On the 7th of that month he and his wife boarded the Henrietta yacht, and after a calm passage reached Deptford on the evening of Sunday the 30 December. Cardigan House
10 January.

(a) A Particular Account of the Life and Actions of the Marquis Pallotti.
Shrewsbury to Strafford - Add. MSS.22211. f.116.
- to Comte Durrell Add. MSS. 22223.

had been made ready for them.(b) They landed with considerable display, for Marlborough, the young Earl of Sunderland (c) the Earl of Rochfort and the Dutch envoy were all there, and a fine show of colours and standards captured from the French.(d)

(b) Portland IV 263.

(c) Robert, Earl of Sunderland, had died in September 1702 (Portland IV 48), and his son, Charles, had succeeded to the title.

(d) Luttrell VI 1.

CHAPTER XII

NEW BEGINNINGS .

1706-1710.

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1706-1710.

Shrewsbury had left England in 1700 thoroughly disgusted with the wranglings of party.(a) For more than two years before, he had, as nominal leader of the Whigs, tried to reconcile his party to work with Sunderland and the King. In their exorbitant demands he had loyally supported the Whig leaders, so that even the King had marvelled.(b) And yet in principle he was essentially a non-party man. In that age of party bitterness, he shared with such men of outstanding political ability as Harley, Marlborough and Godolphin the peculiarity of remaining outside party influence, and attempting to use the parties rather than to join them.(c)

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- (a) Reflections against party politics in his correspondence from 1700 to 1705 are too many for quotation. "The passion and partiality of parties generally put both in the wrong," was his opinion. (Hill Corr.752).
- (b) Vernon to Shrewsbury. July 2. 1700. Vernon III 104. "His Majesty said he would hardly believe you were so attached to a party; but, he believes, if you two had kept together, you should have been better able to have managed both parties."
- (c) Mr. Keith Feiling calls Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Godolphin and Robert, Earl of Sunderland "middlemen" in politics. I believe that Harley may safely be added to that list. - Keith Feiling 282.

That it was an age of party strife becomes increasingly forced on the attention by the fact that all four were the victims of their own moderation; and to all of them the parties drove home the lesson that they could not serve two masters.

Abroad, party politics had troubled Shrewsbury little. He had been away from his country for over five years. He had mixed with people of different ideas, and a different nationality. The English with whom he had conversed during his absence were for the most part of a younger generation. He had married an Italian wife. And he had certainly become detached from the old ties, and even from the old friends. The impeachment of his former colleagues had stirred him much less than from the moral point it should have done. They had been so entirely unreasonable themselves, that it was perhaps difficult to sympathise sufficiently when the tables were turned against them. Even before he went abroad Shrewsbury had been in touch with Harley, at that time scarcely definitely committed to the Tories; and perhaps the outcome of old Sunderland's intrigues might have been a ministry of moderates had Harley shown any

inclination to play the others' game, or Shrewsbury been less loyal to his aggravating Whig friends. Such loyalty in any case received no credit, and did not weigh against his later desertion of them. Whether rightly or wrongly, they believed that King William's last changes in the direction of the Tories were made by Shrewsbury's advice, perhaps offered in the long interview which he had with the King before his departure for France.(d) They noted with disgust that his influence in the elections of 1702 had been used, whether with his knowledge or not, on the side of their opponents,(e) and they regarded with misgiving the length of his stay at Rome. Letters still passed between them, though Orford, always the most blunt of the Whigs, seems to have removed any semblance of friendship, and the others, while courteous, could not hide their disapproval. So early as the summer of 1700, Shrewsbury had sensed Orford's "hard opinion." "Friends who have lived as we have done," he chided, "should not fall into coldness or distrust, without giving an opportunity of explaining what may have been

(d) Chapter X ante.

Cf. Burnet V 453.

(e) Somers to Shrewsbury Feb.23.1705. Coxe 647.

Cf. Cowper MSS. III 11.

misconstrued, or rectifying what may have been misrepresented." Halifax, who, with maturity, tended to moderation, was more friendly. Both he and Somers had urged Shrewsbury to join the Whig fortunes on his return, and Shrewsbury's refusal had called forth from Halifax the regret that there was too much fine silver in his temperament. "Had you been made of coarser alloy, you had been better fitted for public use."(f) Marlborough's persuasions for him to come into business had been turned aside by the plea of ill-health; but Marlborough declared himself still hopeful. There the matter stood when Shrewsbury arrived in England. Nevertheless the general expectation was that he would come into business on one side or the other.(g) At the beginning of 1706 the political situation was curious enough.

Upon her accession, Anne had been disposed to favour the Tory High Churchmen - a natural inclination in view of her own High Church beliefs, and the support that the Tories had always shown her. Matters were

(f) Shrewsbury to Orford Aug.5. 1700. Coxe 629.
Halifax to Shrewsbury. Coxe 655.

(g) Luttrell VI 2.

complicated, however, in view of her strong attachment to the Marlboroughs, and their hold over her in the early days of her reign. The High Church Tories had one glaring failing to the Marlboroughs in that they were not the war party. The more extreme among them wished to limit England's share in the war to a subsidiary alliance. They further irritated the Queen by their attitude over the Occasional Conformity Bill, when they hurt her vanity by declaring the Church to be in danger. The Church in danger under a Queen who would not permit even her statue to turn its back on the Church!(h) It was outrageous. When to that, they added, through Rochester, an attempt to dictate to Anne, their fall was assured. Anne had been an obstinate child,(a) and remained an obstinate woman. The dictation, for a time, of a Sarah Churchill for whom she had experienced lavish affection, and against whom her indolent nature would require to make a tremendous effort, was one thing, and the demands of her uncle, on whom she need only turn

(h) Nathaniel Shaw to Dawson B.D.C.I 292.

(a) Cf. anecdote in Life of Mary II - Sandars.17.

her war ministers, another. Godolphin, whom she had made her Treasurer, and Marlborough, allied both by marriage and common interests, were only too anxious to see the annihilation of a party unfavourable to the war; but, Tories themselves, they had to find another party when they were stripped of the Tory support. This they hoped to do by establishing a moderate group, which should keep the Queen's government above party; and as Harley then had views similar to theirs, and had no sympathy with the High Fliers among the Tories, the Government resolved itself into a non-party body under the leadership of this "triumverate" of nominally moderate Tories, Godolphin, Marlborough and Harley.(b) The last was given the Secretaryship of State, and proved himself invaluable as a manager, both in the Commons, and through his secret service agents.

Nevertheless, the real war supporters were the Whigs, and, as the war continued, Marlborough and the Treasurer were thrown more and more into the hands of

(b) Morgan 270.

the party who controlled the finances that were as necessary to winning the war as Marlborough's victories. The Whigs gave their support; and then demanded their reward, a place for their leaders in the ministry. They were secure in the knowledge of the Duchess of Marlborough's Whig sympathies; but Godolphin and Marlborough gave in only haltingly; for they had the Queen to reckon with. Anne hated the Whigs. Marlborough, in his absences from England, escaped the full troubles of the domestic situation, but Godolphin found himself being gradually ground between the Whigs' demands and the Queen's opposition to them, while by 1706 a new trouble had arisen in the repeated warnings given by Harley as to the danger of giving way to the Whig leaders.(c) Up to the beginning of that year, the Whigs had gained actual ground only to the extent of obtaining the Great Seal for Cowper. But they were determined to find places sooner or later for Sunderland and Somers.

- (c) Harley to Godolphin Oct.15.1706. Bath I 109.
Harley to Godolphin Nov.16. Coxe's Marlborough II 19.
Harley to Marlborough Sept.6. Coxe's Marlborough II 20-21.

Although Shrewsbury had declared his aversion to re-enter political office, he attended Parliament with regularity during the first month or two of his return, and there was some speculation as to whether he would be induced to accept of the Chamberlainship. (d) But he had private business to see through Parliament. On the 14th of January he petitioned to bring in a bill for the naturalisation of the Duchess, who in due course attended the House and took the required oaths. On the 16th of February the Bill received the royal assent. (e) Thereafter his attendances were more infrequent, and Parliament was prorogued on the 19th of March. He had taken a house in St. James's Street, and there most of the Court came to see his new Duchess. (f) They found her, to say the least of it, unusual. Witty, uncommonly frank, the reverse of prudish, she soon

(d) Lords Journals.

Luttrell VI 2.

(e) L. J. XVIII 64, 68, 74, 107.

Lords MSS.1704-6. p.354.

4 Anne cap.12 in Long Calendar.

(f) Luttrell VI 2.

had the town talking, not only of her bons mots, but of her conduct. To the sober town of Derby, even, the tales were spread, where Lady Pye, who enjoyed a piece of gossip as much as anyone, professed herself "very sick of her Grace." (g) She was undoubtedly amusing, and while many of her own sex condemned her for want of restraint, the men found her vastly entertaining. (h) Her religion - and her conversion - did not cause her much heartsearching. She dutifully took the sacrament according to the Church of England, and no doubt dutifully submitted to the instruction that her husband had begged for her from Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Oxford. (a) But she continued to say disconcerting things at which her listeners scarcely knew whether to smile or be shocked. What were the feelings of Shrewsbury, who had always hated to be the subject of talk, can only be guessed. It was commonly

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- (g) O. Lady Pye to Abigail Harley May 4. Portland IV 300.
 (h) Wentworth Papers, Lady Cowper's Diary passim.
 Swift to King. March 29, 1712. Correspondence I 323.
 Swift to Stella Letter 44. March 24. 1712.
 King to Stanley July 27. 1714. King Letter Book 320.
 (a) Lords MSS. 1704-6 p.354.
 Hearne 50. Sept. 29. 1705.
 Shrewsbury to Dr. William Talbot Sept. 21 N.S. 1705.
 Copy in Add. MSS. 35057 f.f. 9-11

believed that he was a saddened man who realised that he had made a mistake, and that he treated her with unvarying courtesy only because he wished to hide what everyone already knew. He certainly showed her every respect, and, if he regretted the match, dropped no hint of such a thing.(b)

By the summer of that year he had once more left London. His anonymous biographer says he spent part of the time at Grafton and again in Shropshire, where he had an old family house, Pepperhill, and a hunting-box at Albrighton.(c) Perhaps he wished to get far away from the town gossip, and the possibilities of political duties. A very minor ghost from the past had also appeared in the shape of Richard Long, whom he and his Whig friends had once countenanced to go on an expedition to find gold and silver mines, and who now came forward to

(b) Onslow's note in Burnet V 452.

Duchess of Marlborough's Remarks (infra) Mss. at Althorp.
 (c) Anonymous Life 18.

Mr. Nicholson and Professor Turberville (p.165) suggest that he went back to Eyford in 1706, but I can find no ~~satisfactory~~ trace of his being at Eyford after 1699. Cf. Chapter X ante.

consult him about petitioning the Queen for the balance of what he said was due to him.(d) His stay in town had resulted in no farther agreement regarding his future attitude to politics. In some way, exactly how is uncertain, he had been dissatisfied. It has been suggested that the Whigs would have nothing to do with him on his return, and that Marlborough and Godolphin laboured in vain to overcome the objections made by the Junto. This is puzzling in view both of Shrewsbury's declared disinclination for office, and the persuasions which Somers and Halifax had used to engage him again as their leader, unless it be that the new fire-brand, Sunderland, raised difficulties. It is more probable that Shrewsbury himself was uneasy at the trend of political affairs. The peace negotiations at the Hague had come to nothing, and a few months' stay in England convinced him that peace was much wanted.(e)

(d) Portland VIII 241 and 343.

(e) Duchess's Correspondence I 174-5.
Cf. Burnet V 452-3.
Shrewsbury to Delafaye. Oct.5. infra.

The Duchess of Marlborough afterwards declared that he was annoyed because Marlborough and the Treasurer were not able to procure him a pension which his wife had solicited for him; but it is difficult to trust to the Duchess's recollection of past events, where rancour had made her partisan.(f) Shrewsbury was careful with money, but hardly grasping. Among all the favours that he begged from the Sovereign, it would be hard to point to one that he asked for his own benefit.(g) Certainly something offended him in the first year after his return, for Godolphin remarked that he could see he was out of favour with the Duke,^(h) and Marlborough wrote his wife the following year that he was glad the Duke of Shrewsbury was easier than he had been the year before. "I do not think he can ever be of much use:" was his opinion, "but it is better to have mankind pleased than angry; for a great many that can do no good have it always in their power to vex and do hurt."(a)

(f) Duchess's Correspondence II 125-6.

(g) With the exception of a request for the profits from fairs on his Cheshire lands (Cal.S.P.Dom. Dec.6. 1695) I can think of only one, and the circumstances are too indefinite to say whether he was asking for a favour, or being paid what was his due.-
Blathwayt Letter Book 8 May 1696

(h) Duchess's Correspondence I 84-85.

(a) Marlborough to the Duchess of Marlborough June 27 N.S. 1707 - Duchess's Correspondence I. 100.

In the meantime a retired life was what the Duke apparently desired, and while the Duchess promised herself the winter in London, her husband asserted positively that they would not be in town that winter.(b) In September he accompanied his wife to Bath, which was then crowded with fashionable society. He did not himself, however, remain there (c). He was resolved at last to begin the work of building, which he had been postponing ever since 1698. There was already an old house on his Oxfordshire estate, but it was in extremely bad condition.(d) Nevertheless he had stayed there in 1699 and 1700, and took up his residence there again while the new house was being built. During his absence abroad, the old house had been rented to Sir John Webb.(e) In Rome he had

- (b) Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville-Egerton 1695 f.18.
 Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville - Heathrop
 4 octobre *ibid* f.20.
 Cf. Marlborough to Shrewsbury Aug.16 N.S.1707.
 Coxe 662 and Somerville 620.
- (c) Portland IV 329.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Rochester. *Add. MSS.*15895 f.27.
 March 1.1699-1700. and Clarendon and Rochester
 Correspondence.
 Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville Oct.27.1706.
 Egerton 1695 f.23.
- (e) Diary of Nicholas Blundell: "The Liverpolitian"
 April 30.1926.

obtained plans both for a new Government building at Whitehall, and for his own house, from the Italian architect, Falconieri. Probably he gave these to the English architect whom he employed, Thomas Archer, a son of the Member of Parliament for Warwick.(f) Archer did his work well. Later, in recommending him to the Queen for Vanburgh's post, Shrewsbury - who, by the way, referred to Blenheim House as "a great quarry of stones above ground," - described Archer as "the most able and has the best genius for building of anybody we have," and added the justifiable boast that for his own part it was a matter in which he could "say with Sir Positive, if I do not understand it, I understand nothing."(g) Within two years' time the house, a stone one, was half up, and it seems to have been completed sometime between 1711

- (f) Journal - Bucc.II 766.776.777.
 Sir J. Talbot to Shrewsbury. Jan.9. 1706
 Buccleuch MSS. 7
 Oxfordshire Post - Reformation Missions p.p.142-152.
- (g) Pope to Martha Blount. Pope's Works III 180.n.
 Cf. Verney Letters I 237.
 Shrewsbury to Orford April 6 N.S. 1713. Bath I 231.

and 1713. The abandonment of Grafton, spoiled as it was by fire, was a matter for regret to at least one member of the Talbot family. Sir John Talbot, who had family estates at Salwarp, near Droitwich, looked on the change with disapproval. "I am sure I am sensible of my loss," he wrote, reprovingly, "and would be content to part wth my land in that Countie alsoe, seeing Y^r Grace removes y^r Residence frō that seat of your Ancestors."(g¹)

A later description speaks of Heythrop as a "regular edifice, consisting of four fronts, built in the most elegant style of architecture, and joined

(g¹) Sir J. Talbot to Shrewsbury. Isleworth, Nov.8. 1707.
Buccleuch MSS.

to the offices by open arcades; the entrance a flight of steps under a grand portico, supported by four lofty Corinthian columns.' The grounds were then and later much admired. To the south-west, lofty trees afford a most refreshing shade, interspersed with openings edged with flowers. Eastward a small stream is improved into a winding river, broken by cascades, and the whole banks are adorned with seats and a curious fancy building called the Moss House. This edifice is covered with reeds and constructed of rustic oak, the inside is lined with moss of various colours, the floor is paved in Mosaic work with horses' teeth polished."(h) The avenue, a mile and a half long, lined with square clumps of trees, was especially praised. A visitor in 1778 described the place as "well worth seeing." "You enter a hall, which appears infinitely larger by three arches fronting you. The middle one only is an arch, the other two are windows of plate-glass which reflect the great avenue of Clumps (the first of the kind in England) by which you

(h) Vanburgh to Manchester July 27. 170.

Court and Society II 377.

Verney Letters Sept.8, 1711. I 237.

Wentworth Papers 345. July 21, 1713.

From "The New Oxford Guide." (date after 1783)

approach the house. The deception is strikingly pretty."(a) Later Earls must have added to the lavish beauty of the rooms, but the Venetian windows and marble chimney-pieces were no doubt the fruits of Shrewsbury's Italian visit. At one time a portrait of the Duke hung above the carved chimney-piece in the "dining parlour." He intended to make of Heythrop the family seat, his especial contribution to the fine things that were the inheritance of the Talbot family. In later years, in the lifetime of Charles, the fifteenth Earl, Heythrop was let to the Duke of Beaufort, and during his tenancy of it, the house was almost completely burned down.(b) Curiously enough, the site is now occupied by a College maintained by the Society of Jesus - curiously, because when Shrewsbury left money in his Will for charitable purposes, he recommended that it should not be used for any college or school,

(a) Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys - cited in Oxfordshire Post - Reformation Catholic Missions.

(b) Oxfordshire Post - Reformation Catholic Missions supra.

"it being my Opinion there are too many Scholars in the Nation already."(e) Surely a strange trick for history to play on this convert champion of the Protestant succession.

An old enemy - the gout - returned to annoy the Duke in the autumn of 1706. His Duchess, too, had been ill, and possibly dull in the house that made her ashamed to think of it.(e¹) Word of a seat that was to be had near the Cardigans took them up to Deene to view it, but it proved unsuitable, and they returned to the old house at Heythrop. In January of 1707 Shrewsbury was endeavouring to satisfy Lady Longueville, Sir John Talbot's daughter, with a governor to go with her son on the grand tour, and in March the Longuevilles came to stay with them. In May they paid a visit to Shrewsbury's kinsman, Mr. Stonor, in Oxfordshire, and in June went back again to the Cardigans at Deene.(f) The life no doubt suited

(e) Shrewsbury's Will 1712.

(e¹) Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville Oct.27. Egerton 1695.f.23.

The house was still standing in the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was pulled down.

(f) Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville Thursday night 1706. *ibid* f.22; Jan.18 1707. f.27. Letters of "Tuesday" and "Saturday," f.f. 28 and 29.

Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville March 12 *ibid* f.31.

Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville May 5. *ibid* f.34.

Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville. June 10. *ibid* f.37.

Shrewsbury, who was back to his old pursuits and his old country pleasures, with the added interest of building; but for the lively Duchess, drinking "sage tea with great faith but small hope," perfecting her English under "a master who sometimes chides and sometimes is lazy," and listening to nothing but fox-hunting, especially when the Cardigans came to visit, it must have seemed remote enough.(g)

Shrewsbury, the virtuoso, was of recent creation. He was back again to the field sports he admired when he went from England;(h) life for the Duchess had meant conversation, play, and gallantry; but there seemed no immediate prospect of a return to Court. "My Lord remembers, when he was a courtier," she wrote in explanation to Lady Longueville, "that country gentlefolks made so ill a figure in a Drawing Room that he resolved to act that personage as little as is consistent with his duty to her Majesty."(a)

- (g) Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville April 2. ibid f.32 and f.43 date indecipherable.
 (h) Halifax to Shrewsbury Nov.10,1704. Bucc II 703.
 (a) Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville. Aug.2. Egerton 1695 f.41.

Nevertheless, Shrewsbury had been in correspondence with Marlborough. During the winter he had entrusted Marlborough with his proxy in the Lords, with the gracious words that he could not recollect their having ever differed.(b) Some time in the year 1707, if one can trust Harley's disjointed communication to Cowper, Marlborough paid him a visit at Heythrop - Woodstock was not far distant - and, complaining of the tyranny of the Whig Junto, asked for Shrewsbury's help.(c) It was no doubt at this time that Shrewsbury began to have a serious desire to come back to office. The war, on his own showing, tended to depreciate the value of land,(d) and on the other hand his expenses

- (b) Shrewsbury to Marlborough. Coxe 660.
Marlborough to Shrewsbury. Dec.26. 1706.
- (c) Cowper Diary 43.
- "that the D of Marl: being at D Shrews: House in Oxfordshire, soon after his coming into Engl: had complained to D Shrews: of his own and the Q: uneasiness at the Tyranny of the Junto - desired the D of Shrews: assistance, which he promised; that D Shrews: self: Harct. and St. John etc thereon went into proper measures. D of Mar never renew'd any Conversat of Business with D Shr. This taken ill" -
Cf. Marlborough to Shrewsbury Aug.16 N.S.1707. Coxe 662.
As the meeting took place at Heythrop, it can hardly have been before 1707.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Delafaye Oct.6. 1706 infra.

had vastly increased. The building of Heythrop, and the filling it with costly furnishings and decorations, would mean expenditure on a much different scale from the modest bachelor home at Eyford in William's reign. Marlborough, however, said no more of the matter. The Whig Junto's attitude to Shrewsbury had greatly changed even since 1705. They were having a hard enough task to force their own staunch office-seekers into employment; and were not prepared to welcome a leader who had already refused his assistance, and who had preferred to spend his time abroad rather than share in their sufferings. The Duchess of Marlborough probably judged rightly when she gave the Whig opposition as a reason for Marlborough and Godolphin's inability to find a place for Shrewsbury.(e) It may have been, of course, that the new post proposed for Shrewsbury, that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was the one which Wharton had marked for himself. Wharton's long faithfulness and electioneering management deserved a reward from the party. Meanwhile, new men also were

(e) Duchess's Correspondence I 329; II 125.
The Duchess, however, I believe, antedates both Shrewsbury's desire for office, and the Whig opposition to it.

expecting office, and, in particular, the Secretaryship was in anticipation apportioned to Sunderland.

Nevertheless, the extent of the Whig resentment to Shrewsbury, and Shrewsbury's indignation with the Whigs is hard to understand, and unfortunately the evidence as to Shrewsbury's attitude comes from the one side only, and so remains unsatisfactory. The seeds of his separation from his old friends were undoubtedly sown in the last few years of William's reign, when Shrewsbury's counsels to moderation went unheeded. But what produced the full fruit of a bitterness that made Shrewsbury later decline to further the claims of Orford - once his dear Mr. Russell - to the Garter, and that caused Wharton to swear roundly when he received a courteous letter from his old companion, is the problem.(f)

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- (f) Coxe's Marlborough III 59 (citing Cunningham).
Cf. Shrewsbury to Orford Aug.5. 1700. Coxe 629.
Godolphin to Marlborough May 12. 1710.
Duchess's Correspondence II at 412.
Swift - Memoirs Relating to that Change in the
Queen's Ministry...etc., edition Sir Walter Scott 1883.
III 178.
Coxe's Marlborough III 71.

Had the Whig objection to Shrewsbury arisen after he had thrown in his lot with the Tories, there would be no mystery about it; but all the evidence goes to show that whereas at the end of 1705 two at least of the Junto were anxious for the Duke to be their leader once more, by 1707 they were so much opposed to him as to refuse to have him in office on the recommendation of Marlborough, while so early as the autumn of 1706 Shrewsbury was showing coldness towards the ministry, or at least the ministry believed so. Personal as well as political reasons may have had something to do with it. Some of the Whigs found the Duke's marriage the stumbling block to friendship, while on Shrewsbury's side, he resented the coldness shown to his wife.(g)

"My Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin loved the (Duke of Shrewsbury) mightily, "was the Duchess of Marlborough's later comment on the situation, "and had a vast desire to have him have some proper employment to draw with them when King William died, which they could not prevail with him to take. However they kept the Master of the Horses¹ Place in Commission as long as they could hoping they might change his mind. And he

(g) Burnet V 452.

did change it after his wife was forced upon him.

When he came into England with her, I saw my Ld Halifax was mighty jealous of the Ministers giving some great place to the Duke of Shrewsbury who had a mind to come into a great Post again, and chose to make people think that marriage was his own choice with a common woman that he had lived with himself a great while, and therefore affected all things to perswade People that he was mightily in Love with her. My Lord Halifax was very uneasie at this, thinking it very hard that a Man who had left the Party for so many years should go away with a considerable employment, when the Whigs as he said had born all the Heat of the Day. And my Ld Marlborough and my Ld Godolphin were so cut to Pieces between the Whigs and the Tories that they could not bring the Duke of Shrewsbury in after the Part he had acted, thō they loved him better and thought him more agreeable to live with than anybody. And he thought it was necessary to come into some Considerable Post after he was married to so strange a woman. This made

him impatient at having any Delay in that matter and he listed himself under my Ld Oxford and all that Party acted with them when he thought their Game was sure but not without professing some Decencies to his old Friends."(g¹)

Marlborough did not renew the subject of a place in the Government for Shrewsbury, and the next approach made to the Duke came from Buckinghamshire,(h) who tested his opinions in a letter so mysterious as to be quite unintelligible to its recipient.(a) Shrewsbury

(g¹) Comments on Lediard's History - "Instructions to the Historians."

Marlborough MSS. at Althorp.

(h) Mulgrave.

(a) Buckinghamshire to Shrewsbury. Nov.29. 1707.

Bucc. II 718 . and in Somerville (under date Dec.1.)

had apparently in conversation with Buckinghamshire offered his services to mediate between the parties if such a course should ever appear desirable, and to Buckinghamshire it appeared that the time for such mediation had arrived. The alliance between the ministry and the Whigs, which had for a time seemed to be tottering, was resettled - already the Whigs had obtained the Secretaryship for Sunderland and were hoping for places for Somers and Wharton - and Buckinghamshire hinted that a union of moderate men against this dangerous combination would be desirable. If the two most moderate men of both parties could be brought together, and he certainly meant Shrewsbury as the one, it would be for the public good. Whom Buckinghamshire meant by his second moderate man, however, is uncertain. Where Shrewsbury failed to understand the jargon, there is small hope that posterity will guess correctly. One is tempted to suggest Harley, but possibly Buckinghamshire simply meant himself, for he concludes one of his letters by declaring his own 'earnestness of being instrumental at all of any advantage to his country,' and his settled resolution not to take any public employment, which two virtues, he believed, he shared with Shrewsbury and with few besides. If he

hoped for any definite understanding with Shrewsbury, he was disappointed, for, far from giving any encouragement, Shrewsbury declined to take any part in political intrigue. He had no intention, he wrote, of changing the whole course of his life with which he was at that moment perfectly contented, and while he agreed that moderate men were best to be employed for the public good, he gave a broad hint that he did not mean at that date to work against Marlborough. There were already, he insisted, some moderate men in places of the greatest importance, and a further reference to his great neighbour in the country who talked freely to him when he saw him in the winter must have dashed Buckinghamshire's hopes if he had any notion of rousing Shrewsbury to move against the Marlboroughs.(b) It looks as though Shrewsbury may still have been under the impression that Marlborough himself meant to form a ministry of moderates to act against the Junto. In fact, this letter to Buckinghamshire bears out Harley's remarks as recorded in the Cowper Diary.

(b) Buckinghamshire to Shrewsbury Dec. Bucc.II 719 (Nov. 13 in Somerville)
Shrewsbury to Buckinghamshire (Dec.8) Bucc.II 719.

Shrewsbury's interest in the political situation had been aroused, however, if one may judge from the fact that his correspondence with Vernon was resumed just after the communication from Buckinghamshire. From December of 1707 until the Duke came up to town the following March, Vernon wrote him two or three times a week, giving him all the political news as he heard it.(c) Events were moving quickly, and it behoved anyone with thoughts of entering politics to step warily. Marlborough and Godolphin were by this time pledged to the Whig Junto, who had given their support to the Union with Scotland, and expected their reward. Meanwhile, between Godolphin and Harley matters were both difficult and strained. Ever since 1706 Harley had been venting his disapproval of his colleagues' policy as regards the Whigs. By the beginning of September 1707 he was hinting that if the ministry would rather act without him, he would be willing to resign,(d) while a week later Godolphin was complaining that if those who served the Queen -

(c) Vernon III.

(d) Harley to Godolphin Sept.2. Bath I 179.

"the best Queen in the world" - could not agree upon the proper measures for her service at home, success abroad would count for little.(e) Harley's response was the reiteration of his willingness to retire, and an expression of horror of the Junto's violence. "I dread the thoughts of running from the extreme of one faction to another which is the natural consequence of party tyranny," he declared, "and renders the government like a door which turns both ways upon its hinges, to let in each party as it grows triumphant."(f) The fact that Godolphin believed that Anne's appointment of High Tories to the Bishoprics of Chester and Exeter was by Harley's advice, although Harley strenuously denied it, increased the coolness between the Secretary and the Treasurer.(g) Marlborough's worried letters, pleading for good feeling between them, while they drew

(e) Godolphin to Harley Sept.9. Bath I 180.

(f) Harley to Godolphin Sept.10. Bath I at p.181.

(g) Harley to Godolphin Sept.17 Bath I 182.

Anne to Marlborough. Coxe's Marlborough II 158.

"But as to what you say, that I must put ~~my~~ my business into Mr. Harley's hands, or follow the lord treasurer's measures, I should be glad you would explain yourself a little more on that --- for I cannot think my having nominated Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackhall to be bishops is any breach, they being worthy men;----"

They were installed as bishops on Feb.8, 1707/8. and January 23 1707/8 respectively.

from Harley an assurance of his service (and a still more interesting protest which he wrote but did not send) failed entirely to heal the breach.(h) The question of bishoprics was a sore one with the Whigs, who complained that "importunity and teasing" were always needed to carry their point. In congratulating Tenison on the appointment of the Bishop of Norwich to the see of Ely, in June of 1707, Somers complained that the bishoprics were, as a rule, "wrong disposed of," and urged Tenison to use his influence more than he usually did.

"The ^{jugling} jangling and trifling and falsenes I have of late observed," he lamented, "have made so great an impression on my mind and have so deeply afflicted me, that I may speak imprudently, but since it is very honestly, I hope I shall be forgiven. I have bin not a little vex'd when I remonstrated pretty strongly upon occasion of the talk of supplying late vacancies to have bin told that the Archbishop is principally at fault, who does not speak plainly and fully to the Queen, wh(en) the Archbishop of York never suffers her to rest."(a)

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- (h) Marlborough to Harley Sept.29 N.S. Bath I 183;
 Oct.7. N.S. Bath I . 184.
 Harley to Marlborough Oct.16. Bath I 185. and
 letter not sent on p.186.
- (a) Somers to Tenison June 3. 1707.
 Lambeth Palace Miscellaneous MSS. vol. 1133.

In view, then, of the Whigs' indignation on the subject of Church vacancies, the supposed interference of Harley aggravated the Treasurer, who had to bear the brunt of the complaints, beyond measure. The discovery at the end of that year of the treasonable correspondence of Greg, a clerk in the Secretary's office, gave the ministry a weapon to use against Harley. They failed to implicate him in his clerk's offence, but they succeeded in making his position uncomfortable enough. Nevertheless, up to the end of January 1708, Harley was protesting, quite unsuccessfully, his innocence of any disloyalty to Marlborough and Godolphin. They remained, however, convinced that he was working against them, (b) and matters came to such a pass that they threatened to resign if he were not removed from office. The Queen at first held out; but when they absented themselves from the Council, the remaining councillors, with Somerset as their spokesman, moved that business could not proceed without the General,

(b) The gossip ran that Harley was endeavouring to alter the ministry.

Swift to King Feb.12.1708-Correspondence I 74-6.

Dr.Hare to the Duchess of Marlborough July 13,1710.

Duchess's Correspondence I at p.360.

Godolphin to Harley. Jan.30.1708. Bath I 190.

Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.10. Vernon III 343.

and Harley knew himself momentarily beaten.(c) On the
 11 15th of February he delivered up the seals. His friends
 Mansell, the Comptroller, Harcourt, the Attorney, and
 St.John, Secretary at War, resigned with him. The
 "little gentleman" had "gone off the stage,"(d) but
 only for a season. He had everything to gain by a
 dignified retreat, for already his friendship with
 the Queen was assured - her new favourite, Mrs. Masham,
 his kinswoman and staunch ally, still remained at the
 Queen's side, and given enough rope, the Duchess of
 Marlborough would assuredly hang herself, after the
 elaborate preparations she had been making in the past
 year for that purpose.

In her old age, when she went over her letters and
 the numbers of papers that had accumulated at Blenheim,
 the Duchess came upon a letter written by Shrewsbury at
 this time, in which he expressed his astonishment at
 the ingratitude of Abigail, who had owed her place at
 Court in the first instance to her kinswoman's kindly

(c) Marlborough to Anne. Coxe's Marlborough II 191.
 Burnet V 353-5.

(d) Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb.17. Vernon III 349, and
 "Feb.14." Vernon III 346. *but really Feb.12th: (Burdock 288)*

charity. Bitterly she endorsed it, "This letter is in the Duke of Shrewsbury's own hand, and proves that at the time he writt it, he thought the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin would get the better of Abigail, though when he found they did not, he assisted her in turning all those out that he had professed so much friendship to, as well as regard for their faithful services----" A more interesting thing than the Duke's expressions on Mrs. Masham's ingratitude, however, appears in this letter. "I will now speak nothing of my own business," he wrote, "being upon the late troubles out of humour and conceit with the very name." It therefore seems clear that by the spring of 1708 Shrewsbury had found so much opposition to the suggestion that he should take office, as to make him feel piqued, and determined to discuss the matter no farther with those who had raised the difficulties.(e) He had, however, made up his mind to return to London in March; for he was pledged to do a kindly service to his Worcestershire neighbours. Since 1706, the proprietors of the salt springs at Droitwich had been anxious to further a private Act of Parliament. Sir John Talbot was interested in the matter, and had urged Shrewsbury, who had been made

(e) Shrewsbury to — Feb.21. Duchess's Correspondence I 114-15. The letter is headed as to the Duchess of Marlborough, but it was obviously not written to the Duchess.

Recorder of Droitwich about ten years previously, to use his influence in their favour.(e¹) Early in 1707 the Duke had written both Somers and Wharton for their assistance, and by the middle of February in that year, a bill had been drafted and submitted to Somers, Wharton and Coningsby for approval. Nothing further was done, however, until the next session of Parliament, when Sir John Talbot tried to persuade Shrewsbury that his presence was needed for the safe passing of the Bill. At the end of January, 1708, Sir John renewed his pleading. The opponents of the Bill were already sneering that Shrewsbury would never appear in Parliament again, and Sir John's friends were goaded into giving a quite unauthorised assurance that the Duke would be there for the passing of the Bill. Then, thoroughly frightened at their rashness, they appealed to him to approach the Duke, and explain to him their difficulty. It was thus probably to please Sir John that Shrewsbury allowed himself to be persuaded to come to London before the Bill should reach the House of Lords.(e²)

(e¹) Fitzalan Papers. 5th Oct. 1697.

(e²) The correspondence on the subject, including draft letters from Shrewsbury to Wharton and Somers, is in Buccleuch MSS.
Cf. Vernon III.

Until then, he remained at Heythrop. In the middle of February Burnet sent him what presumably was part of his History to criticise. Dr. Goodwin, Shrewsbury's domestic chaplain, who had been given the rectory at Heythrop, brought the volumes down with him, and Burnet's instructions were that Goodwin should read the work through to him, for, he remarked, with his usual tact, "I should be extreme sorry to put your Grace's eye to the least stretch on any performance of mine.----As you go through," he added, "if you have patience and leisure for that any time between (now) and next winter, I make it my humble suit to you to desire D.Goodwin to take memorandums of such things as you judge are wrong told, or were better suppressed; and if I might be so bold as to beg you to supply anything that is wanting, D. Goodwin will write whatsoever your Grace will be pleased to dictate to him.--A work of this nature is of such importance that it ought either to be quite suppressed, or reviewed with all possible care and caution."(f)

(f) Burnet to Shrewsbury Feb.18. Bucc.II 720.

There can have been little time for perusing the volumes just then; for by the second week in March Shrewsbury had come up to London. On the 4th Vernon had informed him of the expected invasion by the "Prince of Wales," who had arrived at Dunkirk with about fifteen battalions ready to embark. Shrewsbury must have set out for town soon after the receipt of the news, for on the 12th he was in his place in the House of Lords when the House offered an address to the Queen against the Pretender.(g) Until Parliament was prorogued in April he attended so regularly as to give rise to the rumour that he was about to take office once more.(h)

From this time Shrewsbury had frequent interviews with the Queen, although he did not at once go publicly,(a) He remained on friendly terms with Marlborough and Godolphin, and according to the Duchess of Marlborough waited upon her

(g) Vernon to Shrewsbury March 4. Vernon III 364.
Lords Journals.
(h) President of the Council - Addison to Manchester.
App. to 8th Report II 97.
contradicted a few days later.
(a) Cowper Diary 43.
Cf. Shrewsbury to Harley. May 6. Bath I 191.
Coxe's Marlborough III 60.

twice a week.(b) But he could not fail to see either the increasing influence of the Whigs over the General and the Treasurer, or the disfavour with which Anne was coming to regard her one-time bosom friend. The vacancies occasioned by the retiral of Harley and his friends were filled by Whigs, Boyle, a moderate, it is true, in the Secretaryship, John Smith taking Boyle's place as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and young Walpole succeeding St. John as Secretary at War. More significant was the pressure brought to bear on the Queen to provide a place in the ministry for Somers and Wharton. The more Anne held out, the more unmanageable did Godolphin find the Whigs, under Sunderland, to be. Meanwhile, by April, Lady Marlborough had retired to Windsor, to harass the Queen no further than by letter, while her successful rival was left for the moment in possession of the field.(c)

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- (b) Duchess's Correspondence. II 127.
 (c) Onslow's note in Burnet V 355.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Feb. 14/2 Vernon III 346.
 Duchess's Correspondence I 128-9.
 Reid - Duke and Duchess of Marlborough 275,
 Anne to Marlborough. March 1708.

Shrewsbury's sympathies were on the side of the moderates, but whether it was he who first approached Harley, or Harley who approached him is impossible to say - probably the latter. By May, at least, they had reached an understanding, and Shrewsbury expressed his willingness to meet the Tory Sir Simon Harcourt.(d) The bringing together of these three on the eve of an election, for Parliament had been dissolved in April, is proof enough how Shrewsbury's interest was to be used at the polls, though the results were disappointing to both Tories and moderates, since the Parliament returned had a substantial Whig majority - St. John was unable to get in, and Harcourt got in only to be unseated on petition.(e) The summer saw Shrewsbury back again at Heythrop, busy with his house, which was steadily progressing, and waxing indignant over the seizure of his mills at Alveton, by one Robert Gilliver, the Queen's messenger, for non-payment of rent which the Duke declared was not owing. He was still sufficiently

(d) Shrewsbury to Harley May 6. Bath I 191.

(e) Keith Feiling 403.

friendly with the Treasurer to have that matter put quickly right.(f) At Heythrop he saw Harley again at the beginning of August. Harley had been up to town for a fortnight at the end of July, and with his usual love of the mysterious, suggested that he should see Shrewsbury on his journey back to Herefordshire, either at Stow or at Heythrop, or at "any third place." Shrewsbury, for all his reticence, was no lover of mysteriousness for the mystery's sake. His reply affords an amusing contrast to Harley's impenetrable style. The picture of the Duke of Shrewsbury, cloaked and muffled, stealing to some third place for half-an-hour's conversation with Robert Harley was ridiculous enough. "It would look too like a mystery if we should meet at any third place," was his decision, and he promptly invited Harley to dine or spend the night at Heythrop House.(g)

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- (f) Calendar of Treasury Papers 1708-14. p.54 No.22. Shrewsbury to (Lord Treasurer) 21 July 1708. The letter is minuted "Mr. Gilliver to come up immediately to answer to these complaints and some others against him and to put his Graces tenants into possession before he comes up."
- (g) Harley to Shrewsbury July 27.1708. Bucc.II 720. Shrewsbury to Harley July 29. Bath I 191.

Harley was throwing out feelers in various directions. A moderate policy was what he had always aimed at: the dread of falling from one faction to another had always been present with him, as it had long been present with Shrewsbury also. But the moderates were after all but a small group, and help must be found somewhere. His junction with Marlborough and Godolphin had appeared like desertion to his Tory friends, and they welcomed the signs of his return. But the situation, for that very reason, would require careful handling. Already his friend St. John had made the bold assertion that there was no hope but in the Church of England party, and threw to him the challenge, "You broke the party, unite it again." (h) He had by the middle of September approached the good Tory Bromley, who hesitated not to blame him for the fate of the Tory party, and St. John urged him to follow up this first approach. (a) For a time it looked as if both Harley and the Queen would support Bromley for the Speaker's chair, but when Parliament met in November the anticipated

(h) St. John to Harley Oct. 11. Bath I 191.

(a) Bromley to Harley Sept. 18. Portland IV 504.
St. John to Harley supra and Nov. 6. Bath I 193.

struggle between Whigs and Tories for the choice of a Speaker did not occur; for the Whigs put forward the moderate, Sir Richard Onslow, who was accepted.(b) At the end of October, when it appeared that Sir Peter King might also be set up, Vernon had written to Shrewsbury suggesting that he should encourage Onslow, and in due course passed on to the proposed Speaker the Duke's expressions of esteem.(c) In spite of their concession in putting forward the more moderate man for Speaker, however, the Whigs were looking forward to a triumph. On the 28th of October Prince George had died, and the Queen, worn out with grief and watching, had not for the moment the spirit further to resist their demands. By the first week of November they were talking confidently of bringing in Somers and Wharton.(d) Even before the Prince's death, Halifax's brother, Sir James Montague, had been made Attorney-General.(e) At the

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- (b) See, however, Dartmouth's note in Burnet V 395.
 (c) Vernon to Shrewsbury Oct.30; Nov.4. Vernon III 366-7.
 Erasmus Lewis to Harley Oct.2; Oct.5. Portland IV 506.
 Burnet V 395.
 Harley to Harcourt Oct.16. Bath I 192.
 Swift to King. Nov.9. - Correspondence I at p.117.
 (d) Lewis to Harley Oct.28. Portland IV 510.
 Vernon to Shrewsbury Nov.6. Vernon III 369.
 (e) October 21.

end of November Somers was made President of the Council, and Wharton was promised the Irish Lord Lieutenancy, Pembroke, who had filled both places, being removed to the Admiralty. Well might St. John write Harley, "Going out of employment at the time and in the manner we did was equally honest and prudent." (f)

Shrewsbury came up to town for the new Parliament which met on the 16th of November, and before that year came to an end, his intimacy with Harley was beginning to be noticed. (g) The new Whig appointments must have shown him clearly that power was passing from the Treasurer to the Whigs, and that for his part he had nothing to hope from his friendship with Marlborough and Godolphin. Marlborough shrewdly observed that he believed the recent alterations would not meet with Shrewsbury's approval. (h) Harley had succeeded also in reconciling Shrewsbury with Peterborough, who, since his being superseded in Spain, was also changing his

(f) St. John to Harley Nov.6. Bath I 193.

(g) Poulett to Trumbull Dec.10. Downshire I 866.

(h) Marlborough to the Duchess. Dec.10. N.S. Duchess's Correspondence. I 174.

political complexion.(a) It would not be a hard task; for Shrewsbury had never borne much rancour for the Earl's past enmity, and had hinted to Vernon even so far back as 1700, that he would be glad to be reconciled.(b)

During 1709 Harley and Shrewsbury were drawing closer together,(c) urged by the common wish to act against the Junto, and a common conviction that the country needed peace. Erasmus Lewis had hinted just after the Prince's death, that the Queen would need a confidant to replace Prince George in her affections, and whoever that should prove to be would be in a powerful position indeed.(d) Well Harley knew it. His ally, Abigail Masham, was the Queen's consolation in her sorrow, While her power has almost certainly been overrated,(e) yet she was invaluable for introducing Harley into the royal presence, and Harley in his turn brought Shrewsbury to the Queen's notice.(f)

(a) Swift to King Feb.5.1708 - Correspondence I 72-73.

"It is a perfect jest to see my Lord Peterborough, reputed as great a Whig as any in England, abhorred by his own party, and caressed by the Tories."
Poulett to Trumbull supra.

(b) Vernon to Shrewsbury. Feb.24 and Feb.29. 1700.
Vernon II 440 and 450.

(c) Shrewsbury to Harley March 2; Sept.3; Sept.18; Nov.3;
Dec.1; Bath I, 195-197.

Godolphin to Marlborough July 29. Coxe's Marlborough III 60.

(d) Lewis to Harley Oct.28.1708. Portland V 510.

(e) Abigail Masham to Harley March 10.1710.
Portland V 536.

Cf. a curious letter in Bath I 225. Anne to Harley
Jan.3.1713.

(f) Godolphin to Marlborough supra.

These backstairs visits helped to infuse Anne with courage.(g) The two statesmen preached moderation, and at the same time showed the Queen how entirely she had fallen into the hands of extremists. Mrs. Masham had too, unlike her great rival for the Queen's favour, common sense to know how far to press Anne. It was a year of patience and waiting, Harley slowly building up an opposition to the ministry, Mrs. Masham always on the spot, and always in communication with Harley, Shrewsbury giving "right impressions" to the Queen. It was at the end of that year that the Duchess of Marlborough declared she could discern the coldness of Shrewsbury and his wife to herself. At the beginning of the winter of 1709, she asserted, he had waited on her for the sole purpose of finding out whether there were any chance of her being reconciled to the Queen. When she assured him that the wound was too deep to be healed, he had gone away and thereafter ceased to visit at all; while his Duchess treated her with rudeness, and paid court to

(g) Shrewsbury to Harley April 25. 1711. Bath I 201.
 Cowper Diary 43.
 Abigail Masham to Harley Aug.9. 1709. Portland IV 524.

Mrs. Masham.(h) Perhaps there was some reason for the rudeness, since it is hard to believe that Sarah, the frank, would conceal from his wife that she thought of her as "a very old woman---an Italian Papist, who had upon---marriage professed herself a Protestant."(a) Had the Duchess of Marlborough but known it, she was the real stumbling block to any possibility of union with Marlborough and Godolphin on the part of the new moderates. So long as she remained the Whig champion (in 1709 it seemed for a moment as if she might not(b)) the Harley group were bound to act against her, and so long as she and the Queen remained irreconcilable, as both of them appeared to be, her exclusion from politics was absolutely necessary.

In September of 1709 Shrewsbury had been enquiring of Harley when Parliament would meet, and had been sounding members of the Commons with regard to the nation's desire for peace.(c) The country was

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- (h) Godolphin to Marlborough July 29. Coxe III 60.
 Duchess's Correspondence II 126-7.
 Portland IV 1709 passim.
 (a) Duchess's Correspondence II 123.
 (b) Coxe's Marlborough II 381-3.
 (c) Bath I 197.

becoming tired of the war. In the last twenty years they had enjoyed only about three of peace. The landed gentry were weighed down by taxes, and it might well seem to the Tories that England was being bled, not for her own good, but for the good of her allies. So early as the autumn of 1706 Shrewsbury, in a letter to Delafaye, had given it as his opinion that a Peace was "much wanted and desired in the countrey, for tho we have plenty of all things," he explained, "money is so scarce, that nobodys rents are payd which makes the land tax felt heavily, I speak not for myself, who am less sensible of it then others, mine being an old estate, yet much under value and the tenants pay all taxes, but I speak the general voice, tho at the same time if the Peace be not good any warr is better than Peace that do~~s~~ not settle King Charles in Spain."(d)

As the war continued, and the possibility of 'settling King Charles in Spain' appeared more and more remote, the desire for peace outweighed even that consideration. Marlborough's various attempts at negotiations had broken down through the impossibility

(d) Shrewsbury to Delafaye Oct.5.1706 PRO. S.P.Dom.34.
Bd.8. no.70.

of the terms which the Allies sought to impose upon France, and now, after numerous towns taken, and four great victories, and that with a huge expenditure in lives and money, the ministry was urging still further efforts to humble France, still more money and more men. Slowly it was being brought home to the country that Marlborough's policy meant war perpetuated. Marlborough's biographers have pointed to his wish for a quiet retired life, expressed in affectionate letters to his wife; but these are but small considerations to the fact that his chief interest was in the war, and his power lay in the continuance of it.^(d¹) His request, when he began to fear the loss of the Queen's favour, that he should be made Captain-General for life was quite sufficient to rouse alarm as to his intentions. In concert with the Whigs, his policy admitted of no peace while Philip of Anjou remained King of Spain: but, apart from the fact that the Spaniards themselves desired Philip as their King, the allied forces had

(d¹) In writing of the desire of the Dutch for peace in 1708, Marlborough used a curious phrase, "I take this to be a politique of Harley for the inducing of those people to a peace, which God knows they are but too much inclined."
Marlborough to the Duchess. May 6. N.S.
Duchess's Correspondence I 131.

latterly been ~~so~~^{as} unsuccessful in the Peninsula as they had been successful elsewhere. Almanza was a stain that the glories of the war in Flanders could not dim. Developments in the northern war during 1709 made the peace lovers even more unhappy, for it looked as though Britain might yet be involved there also, in fulfilment of treaty obligations to Sweden. Should that eventuality occur, her position would be most serious, hampered as she was by the continental war. During the years between 1708 and 1710, feeling in the country was steadily if gradually moving round to a desire for peace and lower taxation, which involved alienation from the Whig Government. In November of 1709 the growing Tory spirit got an opportunity to show itself in a popular outburst.

Nevertheless, the Sacheverel sermon was the excuse and not the cause for action on the part of the moderates. In November Dr. Sacheverel preached before the Mayor and Aldermen of the City in St. Paul's a sermon embodying the ideas of the divine right of the sovereign, which in Anne's reign had been curiously

reviving in Tory circles.(e) The sermon was foolish, but not so foolish as its effect. The Whigs were furious when the Doctor had it published, and the hot-headed Sunderland suggested impeachment as the only fitting method to deal with him. Godolphin, usually so timid, could not swallow the allusion in the sermon to himself under his old nickname of Volpone, and backed up the impetuous suggestion with such force as to overcome the objections of the saner Somers. Into Parliament the matter should be brought, where a Whig majority, as they believed, would ensure the punishment of the Doctor.(f)

Shrewsbury did not appear in London for the beginning of the Parliamentary session in the middle of November, but arrived in town on the 3rd of December, and was appointed on the 15th, on the committee for the consideration of Sacheverel's impeachment.(g) All London was

(e) Cf. however Anne's views in Bath I 199. Shrewsbury to Harley Oct.20.1710. "Lord President, having left with me the City address, I read it to the Queen last night. She immediately took exception to the expression that 'her right was Divine,' and this morning told me that, having thought often of it, she could by no means like it, and thought it so unfit to be given to anybody that she wished it might be left out;-----"

(f) Burnet V. 435. 438.
 (g) Shrewsbury to Harley Dec.1. Bath I 197. Lords Journals XVI.

in a state of high excitement. Mobbing and violence in the streets were as noticeable as the more harmless and equally rancorous words in the Houses of Parliament.(h) The Queen preserved a frightened silence, declaring she would not meddle one way or another,(a) but the huzzaing Tory crowds revealed the people's estimate of her sympathies. March saw the beginning of the trial, and Sacheverel moved the House with an able defence, from the hand of Atterbury. Leeds and Rochester and Nottingham were stirred to tears. "I question," was Abigail Harley's caustic comment, "whether ever the Doctor did such a feat in his pulpit."(b) Harley and the Tories were in fact determined to make a party victory of the trial. Harcourt, who acted as one of Sacheverel's Counsel, was returned to the Commons at a bye-election at Cardigan. Already the Opposition was so sure of success that Harley and Shrewsbury and St. John were discussing their future places in the ministry.(c)

- (h) Abigail Harley to Edward Harley March 2. 1710. Portland IV 532. and March 4 ibid 533.
- (a) Abigail Masham to Harley (Feb.1710) Ibid 532.
- (b) Abigail Harley to Edward Harley March 7. Ibid 534.
- (c) Portland IV 533. 534. 535.
St. John to Harley March 8. Ibid 535-6.

Harley was indefatigable in endeavouring to sound likely voters, and where, as in the case of Argyll, a promise of a vote for acquittal was not forthcoming, the next best was a vote in opposition to any real punishment.(d) It needed no great penetration to see that 'this business would in all probability break the Whigs.'(e) The Doctor was not in fact acquitted, but the punishment amounted to an acquittal; and the Whigs could not conceivably look upon the result with anything but dissatisfaction. In the debates, Shrewsbury had stood up to speak in Sacheverel's defence with such well known Tories as Nottingham and Atterbury, declaring that though he "had as great a share as any man in the late Revolution and would ever go as far as any to vindicate the memory of our late glorious deliverer, he did not think the Doctor **guilty,**" and on the 16th he recorded his protest against the sentence.(f) The ministry had laid themselves open to abuse, and even

(d) St. John to Harley March 9. Ibid 536.

Orrery to Harley March Ibid. 537 and 538.

(e) Abigail Harley to Edward Harley March 11. Ibid 537.

(f) Rogers I 194-5.
Cobbett VI 883.

to ridicule. Marlborough, smarting from the recent altercation with the Queen over the Hill promotion, and the appointment of Rivers, Shrewsbury's kinsman, to be Governor of the Tower, and noting with understanding the stand taken not only by Shrewsbury but by Rivers, Somerset and Argyll, realised that the Sacheverel trial had stirred up more forces against the Government than would easily be allayed.(g) The value of the demonstration, from the Opposition's point of view, was that it gave Anne courage at last to strike the blow for which they had been waiting. Before a month was past, the Queen had informed Godolphin, then absent at Newmarket, of an important change in her ministry. Kent was to give up his Chamberlain's staff in favour of Shrewsbury, and the following day, April 14th, the change was made.(h) Shrewsbury was in office once more.

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- (g) Godolphin to Marlborough March 5, 17, 20.
 Coxe's Marlborough III 25.
 Marlborough to the Duchess March 24, 25, April 4 N.S.
 Ibid 26-7.
- (h) Anne to Godolphin April 13. Coxe's Marlborough III, 61.
 and Swift - Memoirs Relating to that Change, etc.,
 edition Sir Walter Scott III 177.
 Luttrell VI 570.
 Somers to Marlborough April 25. N.S? Coxe's
 Marlborough III 65 .

CHAPTER XIII

THE SECOND CHAMBERLAINSHIP.

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To Godolphin the news of Shrewsbury's appointment came as a blow. That the Queen had chosen a time when he, her first minister, was absent, to make such an important change, without his knowledge, and in direct opposition to what she must have known to be the wishes of his Whig colleagues, struck him as significant, and the hand behind the blow he took to be Harley's.(a) At once he sent her a letter of protest, warning her that a change in the ministry would lead to a change in Parliament, and spoil all chances of a good peace, while it would render inevitable a bad one. This he did not say, he assured her, out of any ill will to the Duke of Shrewsbury, whose capacity he much admired. Nevertheless, Godolphin was obviously offended at the step that Shrewsbury had taken, for, in reminding Anne how

(a) Godolphin to Marlborough April 17. Coxe's Marlborough III 66.

the Duke had already refused to be Master of the Horse at the beginning of the reign, he did not scruple to draw attention to the malicious rumours that were then advanced for his declining the post. He concluded by a threat of his own resignation, but found the Queen impervious both to prayers and threats.(b) Anne had her own mind made up.(c) That very month the Duchess of Marlborough in a last interview had insulted her beyond mending.(d) She saw deliverance at hand, and neither Whig nor Tory was going to prevent her reaching out towards it. Sunderland, whom she detested, might be turned out with the aid of her new friends, and no longer need she fear the domineering Whig faction. So far had Harley and his ally, Mrs. Masham, brought her, and so greatly had the Sacheverel demonstrations given her courage.

At first, however, the extent of the change involved by the appointment of Shrewsbury was apparent neither to the ministry, nor to the moderate Tories themselves. Kent, nicknamed the Bug, who had been

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- (b) Godolphin to Anne. April 15 - Conduct of the Duchess.
 (c) In 1713 Anne wrote in a letter to Oxford. "I desire you would not have soe ill an opinion of me as to think when I have determined anything in my mind I will alter it." - Bath I 237.
 Cf. Anne to Oxford Nov.27. 1712. Bath I 223.
 (d) Reid - Duke and Duchess of Marlborough 322-327.
 Coxe's Marlborough III 54-56.

displaced, was compensated by a Dukedom. When Richmond reminded Shrewsbury that he had once expressed the resolve that he would never turn anyone out of a place, Shrewsbury, it was said, replied that he did not think he had broken that resolution because he thought the Bug was nobody.(e) After Godolphin's initial outburst, and Marlborough's answering misgivings,(f) the new minister settled into place with the old, and no farther alterations were immediately made. The real irreconcilable was Lady Marlborough, rather than the Whig leaders themselves.(g) After conversation with Shrewsbury, Godolphin felt more reassured; for the Duke greeted him cordially and professed his intention to live well both with the Treasurer and the Marlboroughs and with those to whom they might desire him to be friendly. He suggested that his appointment had perhaps been accomplished in the most satisfactory

- (e) Duchess's Correspondence I 336.
 (f) Marlborough to Orford May 5.N.S. Murray V 17.
 Marlborough to Godolphin May 5.N.S. Coxe's Marlborough III 67.
 Marlborough to the Duchess. Coxe's Marlborough III 68.
 (g) Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough April 21;
 May(?) 1710. Duchess's Correspondence I 311.337.
 Duchess of Marlborough to Maynwaring May 20.
 Ibid 327.

way from Godolphin's point of view, "considering the jealous humour of the Whigs." Two ominous notes sounded in the conversation, but these apparently Godolphin did not hear. The reference to the Whigs hardly promised easy concurrence with their policy, while a hint as to the difficulty to be expected through the difference between Lady Marlborough and the Queen might have warned Godolphin that the way was, after all, not so plain.(h) When these dangers were made evident to the Treasurer, he even then realised only one side of the question. The Whigs were a tremendous obstacle to smooth working; for on their willingness to join with Shrewsbury success for the ministry seemed to depend.(a) Lady Marlborough's refusal to effect a reconciliation with Anne was equally serious; but most serious of all was the Queen's attitude to Lady Marlborough and to the Whigs; for plan as the ministry liked as regards living well with Shrewsbury and avoiding the taking of offence, the Queen

(h) Godolphin to Marlborough April 20. Coxe's Marlborough III 67.

(a) Godolphin to Marlborough May 12 and May 16. Coxe's Marlborough III 69.
Duchess of Marlborough to Maynwaring May 20 supra.

was determined to make further changes, and was already under engagements to some of the Tories.(b) When she had been coerced into making room in the ministry for Sunderland, she had done so even then on the condition that she should have power to remove him when he did what was displeasing to her. Apart from this determination on Anne's part, some changes there were bound to be; for there was yet no place for Harley, the prime mover of the alteration, while St. John also had had promise of employment held out to him.(c) It does not, however, follow that Shrewsbury's attitude to Marlborough and Godolphin was insincere. His avowed enemies were now his early friends, the Whigs. Even of Sunderland, the most violent of the new members of the party, he said that he could live more easily with him than with some others;(d) so that his acceptance of office did not imply so far as he was concerned, a complete reversal of the existing ministry. Anne,

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- (b) Godolphin to Marlborough May 29. Coxe's Marlborough III 78.
 (c) St. John to Harley. March 8. Portland IV at p.535.
 (d) Coxe's Marlborough III 70.

however, was determined to be rid of Sunderland.

Towards the end of May, she became extremely impatient, and Godolphin's opinion then was that only Shrewsbury's consideration for Marlborough stayed her hand.

Shrewsbury can hardly have hoped to avert the blow, but he does appear to have been anxious that the Queen should not strike before Marlborough's return. Nevertheless, he was certainly working with Harley. Walpole, in expressing his belief that these two did not differ at all in their policy, owned that Shrewsbury almost confessed as much.(e) A minor difficulty from Harley's point of view, was the suitable filling of the post of Secretary. Harley himself could hardly be brought in to the place from which he had been forced to resign. Poulett, though twice offered it, refused. Newcastle also refused, nor could the different groups agree as to what type of man should have it. Poulett strongly

(e) Godolphin to Marlborough. May 29. Coxe's Marlborough III 78-79.

Godolphin to the Duchess of Marlborough. June.

Duchess's Correspondence I 349-351.

Walpole to Marlborough. June 2. Walpole's Memoirs II 24.

depreciated the idea of giving it to Newcastle, on the ground that Harley would be much better to find a Tory for the post, and accordingly suggested Anglesey, while Harley was not anxious to throw over his policy of moderation, in order to play into the hands of the High Tories.(f) But though this delayed, it could not prevent the impending change. The choice at last fell on Dartmouth, a moderate Tory, and Sunderland's fate could be no longer stayed in spite of the pleading of Marlborough with Shrewsbury, and of Somers with the Queen.(g) A third person in the shape of Somerset was working also with Harley and Shrewsbury. Marlborough's prophecies on Somerset, at the time of Sacheverel's trial, had been well founded, for Somerset was now bitter against Sunderland.(h) On the 14th, Sunderland was deprived of the Seals, and the next day

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- (f) Godolphin to the Duchess of Marlborough June supra.
Poulett to Harley June 7. Portland IV 542.
- (g) Marlborough to Shrewsbury June 19. N.S. Coxe's
Marlborough III 81.
Ibid 88.
Anne to Godolphin June 13 Ibid 89.
- (h) Marlborough to the Duchess April 4 N.S. Coxe's
Marlborough III 27.
Marlborough to Walpole May 22. Walpole's Memoirs II 18.
Walpole to Marlborough May 23.
Ibid 20.
Somerset to Harley May 24. Portland IV 542.
Shrewsbury to Dartmouth June 10. Dartmouth I 295.
Godolphin to Marlborough June 1 (?) and June 17.
Coxe's Marlborough III 79 and 83.

Dartmouth became Secretary.(a) It remained to be seen how much farther the changes would go.

The new powers in the Government had an obscure path to tread, the more so as they wished to keep a middle way. Danger lay not only from the indignant Whigs, but from the enthusiastic rank and file of the Tory party, who believed not that Harley was using them, but that they were using Harley.(b) Shrewsbury's course was even more complicated by his friendship for Marlborough and Godolphin. He was committed to Harley's policy, and yet wished to retain their goodwill. Godolphin described him as "pretty mysterious," adding that he seemed in every conversation as if he wished for help, and wanted help from them, but would not explain against whom the help was wanted. He distrusted Somerset, who was busy with his own plans for advancing himself with the Queen. (c) Harley's

(a) Dartmouth's note in Burnet VI 9.

Anne to Godolphin Coxe's Marlborough III 90.

(b) Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough May
Duchess's Correspondence I 337.

Harcourt to Harley June 21. Portland IV 545.

Monckton to Harley Aug.23. Ibid 573.

(-"as soon as the building had got its foundation
they would throw away that part of the scaffolding"---)

(c) Godolphin to Marlborough June 17. Coxe's Marlborough
III 83.

approaches to the Whig Newcastle, also, had been curiously received; for it was Newcastle and Devonshire who introduced the Bank petitioners to the Queen to draw her attention to the fallen bank stocks on the changes in her Ministry.(d) Meanwhile the real Tories were growing impatient for place, and Harcourt was urging Harley to close with the Church of England men.(e) It is little to be wondered if Shrewsbury hoped for a strengthening of a moderate policy through Godolphin and Marlborough. Even Somers and Halifax were prepared to consider the advances of Harley's associates.(f) Lady Marlborough, however, was the insuperable drawback; nor did her complaints of Shrewsbury's treatment of her - complaints so much at variance with his general character that one can only suppose them prejudiced - exert any soothing influence over her husband and the Treasurer.(g)

- (d) Harley to Moore June 19. Portland IV 545.
Walpole to Townshend June 16. Walpole's Memoirs II 28.
The deputation had endeavoured to see the Queen before Sunderland's dismissal, but were not introduced till after the Secretary was out.
- (e) Harcourt to Harley June 21. Portland IV 545.
- (f) Godolphin to Marlborough May 29. Coxe's Marlborough III 78.
Marlborough to the Duchess July 3 N.S. Ibid 92.
Shrewsbury to Harley (undated) Bath I 198.
Halifax to Harley Aug.10. Portland IV 560.
Coxe's Marlborough III 109-110.
- (g) Duchess's Correspondence II 127-8.
Marlborough to Godolphin July 5 N.S. Coxe's Marlborough III 94.
Marlborough to the Duchess July 5 N.S. Ibid 95.
Godolphin to Marlborough July 2. Ibid 96.

By July, in consequence, Godolphin's nerves were on edge. He and Marlborough feared a dissolution of Parliament more than any other thing, and they hoped that they might still influence Shrewsbury to prevent it.(h)

When approached, Shrewsbury frankly acknowledged the dangers of another Parliament, but remained otherwise non-committal, so that Marlborough could not help fearing that a new Parliament was what the Queen was already resolved on.(a) As the month wore on, the General became more annoyed at what he considered the "airs and deciding power" of the Duke of Shrewsbury, while Godolphin found himself shut out of all real power, and complained bitterly that the Queen had no longer any regard for him, but was wholly in the hands of Harley, Somerset and Shrewsbury.(b) Just when the Tories came to the decision that Godolphin

- (h) Duchess of Marlborough to Maynwaring May 20. Coxe's Marlborough III 71.
 Marlborough to Shrewsbury June 19 N.S. Ibid 81.
 Godolphin to Marlborough June 17. Ibid 83.
 Marlborough to the Duchess July 3.N.S. Ibid 92 and July 5 N.S. p.95.
 Marlborough to Sunderland July 5 N.S. Ibid 94.
 Marlborough to Walpole July 5 N.S. Walpole's Memoirs II 31.
- (a) Godolphin to Marlborough July 2. Coxe's Marlborough III 96.
 (b) Godolphin to Marlborough July 31. Coxe's Marlborough III 120.
 Marlborough to the Duchess. Aug.2.N.S.
 Ibid 118. and Aug.11. N.S.

must go, is hard to say. The common assumption is that that was part of the game from the beginning, but probably the situation was not so simple as that. On Harley's own confession, his religion of politics was one of opportunism.(c) The High Tories, of course, visualised a complete reversal of all places and preferments, from the Treasurer's post to the smallest clerkship in the Stamp Office. But that was not the view of either Shrewsbury or Harley. They had no such intention as effecting a revolution in the ministry. "People here really think you slow," Harley's son-in-law wrote from Scotland,(d) while Argyll, consumed by jealousy of Marlborough, complained that the delay in making further changes was paining Harley's friends.(e) The new influences were working rather to 'acquaint some people they were not all to be devoured and eaten up,' than to bring 'the old mad party in.'(f) Yet by the 22nd of July Shrewsbury and Harley had been discussing the choice of a new Treasurer -

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- (c) Swift to King March 29.1712. Correspondence I 323.
 (d) Dupplin to Harley July 26. Portland IV 552.
 (e) Argyll to Harley July 17 N.S. Ibid 548.
 (f) Defoe to Harley July 28. Ibid 552.

Shrewsbury protesting his own unfitness and unwillingness for the post, and urging that there should be a commission with Harley at its head.(g) The position was really impossible. Godolphin, nominal head of the ministry, had no longer any influence with the Queen. That had passed to Harley, Shrewsbury and Somerset; and yet Godolphin could not hide his hostility to these three. After his dismissal the Queen explained to Marlborough that he had been showing uneasiness in her service, and had not behaved to her in the same way as formerly, words which suggest the extreme difficulty of working with him at all in his new state of resentment.(h) As so often in Anne's reign, however, the final blow against him was struck when, by insulting the Queen, he roused her mind against him. At a Council meeting he had rudely upbraided Shrewsbury in the Queen's presence, referring to his inclusion in the ministry as done by French counsels.(a) - if such expressions were common there is little wonder that the new party

(g) Shrewsbury to Harley July 22. Bath I 198.

(h) Anne to Marlborough Aug.8. Coxe's Marlborough III 124.

(a) Coxe's Marlborough III 122-3.

resolved to be rid of him. When the Queen intervened he had not the wit to keep silent, but continued the rebuke. Anne, ever a mistress of concealing her wrath, showed her displeasure no further than by extreme coldness, both then and in two later audiences on the 7th of August; but she had not forgiven the rudeness. On the same evening, she wrote to him, requesting him to break his Treasurer's staff. In her letter she made reference to the unkind returns she had received from him, "especially what you said to me personally before the lords," which showed that the insult to herself had weighed with the Stuart Queen more than any arguments of policy.(b)

Indeed, however far from the truth it may have been, the Whig moderates who hoped for alliance with the Tory moderates, appeared to consider that the removal of Godolphin was Anne's doing rather than Harley's. Newcastle's supporter, Monckton, wrote to Harley just after the news was known that Godolphin was out and Harley made Chancellor of the Exchequer, "I perceive our mistress is resolved to be master

(b) Anne to Godolphin Aug.7. Coxe's Marlborough III 124.

notwithstanding all the kind advice to the contrary. But," he added, "what you will believe startles me most is that the Tories tell us positively we are all to be out of her service and that all will not be enough neither."(c) Viewed in this light it is not surprising that Godolphin's dismissal was not immediately followed by any further drastic change. Rather, the inclusion of Onslow in the Privy Council, and the conferring of a Lord Lieutenancy on Lord Chancellor Cowper, bewildered the old Tory party.(d) Furthermore as the Whigs grew restive, Harley approached Cowper to persuade him to retain the Chancellorship, insisting that 'a Whig game was intended at bottom,' though he 'shuffled' in declining to give information as to what other removes were intended.(e) The new ministers were certainly anxious to give no alarm as to their entrance into the Government. Shrewsbury and Harley both lost no time in making their compliments by letter to the Elector of Hanover.(f) Upon the death of Cressett, the British

(c) Monckton to Harley Aug.16. Portland IV 563.

(d) Ralph Freeman to Harley. Aug.13.

Bromley to Harley Aug.12. Portland IV 563.

(e) Cowper Diary 43.

Monckton to Harley Aug.21. Portland IV 570.

Newcastle to Harley Sept.30 Ibid 604.

(f) Shrewsbury to the Elector Aug.18; Oct.20;

Harley to the Elector, Nov.1.

Macpherson II 185, 196, 197 and Stow 223.

envoy to Hanover, Shrewsbury and Somerset both volunteered to go if no one else could be found, and Rivers was later despatched on a special embassy there.(g) Strange rumours spread that the real object of the mission to Hanover was to replace Marlborough as Commander of the armies by the Elector,(h) but the ministry well knew that they could not safely dispense with Marlborough's services until peace was almost accomplished, so that however Argyll might chafe, and lesser lights rejoice that "the Treasurer being dismissed the rest of the gang will follow," they were anxious to avoid driving Marlborough to extremities.(a) In this they were faced by the difficulty of Anne's relations with the Duchess; for the Queen was awaiting an opportunity to dismiss Lady Marlborough, who for her part, instead of being quiet, as the General advised her, threatened to make public her mistress's once affectionate letters.(b) Shrewsbury had already by the end of August approached Craggs to ascertain what Marlborough's intentions were,

(g) Somerset to Harley July 26. Portland IV 570.

(h) Coxe's Marlborough III 114-15.

Macpherson II 190-1.

Stanhope 439.

(a) Portland IV 561.

(b) Coxe's Marlborough III 169-170.

Marlborough to the Duchess Aug.2. Ibid 118.

and to urge him not to think of resigning. Craggs' reply was that one thing might force the Duke to resign - namely, if the Duchess were given any affront or ill usage; but this, Shrewsbury believed, was a provocation that would not be given. Something further passed between them, which was ~~was~~ not reported to the Duchess, but Godolphin, hearing of this interview, declared that he could not be so sure of Shrewsbury's absolute insincerity as others of his acquaintance seemed to be.(c) Although the General's services were still a necessity, however, Godolphin's dismissal was after all the prelude to other changes. Maynwaring was right when he surmised that it was impossible for Harley to find places for half the Tories who were expecting them, and if he took in any Whigs all the disappointed Tories would be against him.(d) An accommodation had been made as regards Halifax's brother, who withdrew from the Attorney's place in return for a pension.(e) Somers was dismissed on the 19th of

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- (c) Craggs to the Duchess of Marlborough Aug.29.
Godolphin to Marlborough. Aug.31.
Coxe's Marlborough III 165-7.
 - (d) Maynwaring to the Duchess of Marlborough
Sept. Duchess's Correspondence I 376.
 - (e) Halifax to Harley Sept.16.
Sir James Montague to Harley Sept.17. Portland IV 595.

September, also with promise of a pension and assurances of the Queen's personal good will, while Boyle had to make way for St. John, and Devonshire for Buckinghamshire, Wharton and Orford did not wait to be dismissed, but resigned after Somers' removal. Rumour had it that Shrewsbury might go in Wharton's place to Ireland, but Ormonde was given the vacant post.(f) The Tories were pressing hard. But Shrewsbury was still midway between the parties. At the end of September, Kinnoul transacted some Court business through Shrewsbury, "being unwilling to give any ground to think we were of this or the other party".(g) By the beginning of October Lady Cowper declared she did not at all wonder that the new ministry were weary of the Duke of Shrewsbury.(h).

Meanwhile, the ministry had determined on a new Parliament. But beyond that changes for the moment stopped, much to the surprise of most people.(a)

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- (f) Burnet VI 12-13 and Dartmouth's note.
 Swift to Stearne Sept.26. Correspondence I 198.
 (g) Kinnoul to Harley Sept.26. Portland IV 601.
 (h) Lady Cowper to the Duchess of Marlborough Oct.2.
 Duchess's Correspondence I 395.
 (a) Swift to King Oct.10. Correspondence ~~III~~ at p.207.

Cowper agreed to retain his Chancellorship until the writs for the new Parliament were issued. He was succeeded by Harcourt, only after Trevor had once again been urged, in vain, to fill the post.(b)

In the lesser places "moderate Church Whigs" considered that they had a fair chance.(c) Molesworth, congratulating Harley on rescuing the nation from tyranny, stated his conviction that such men as Harley, Shrewsbury and Poulett could never subject it to another tyranny of priests, and had his reward in the continuance of his post.(d) The new Parliament, with a big Tory majority in the Commons, met on the 25th of November, and the 'young people' were anxious for inquiries into past mismanagements, and blaming the slackness of the ministry,(e) but the moderates still held rein. Marlborough returned to England at the end of the year, and by his attempt to effect

(b) Trevor to Harley Oct.8. Portland IV 610.

(c) Portland IV 612.

(d) Molesworth to Harley Oct.11. Ibid 612.

Drummond to Harley December 9.N.S. Ibid 637.

(e) Swift to King. Dec.30. Correspondence I 225.

a reconciliation between his wife and the Queen precipitated the very crisis he wished to avoid. Anne demanded the Duchess's key, which was returned on the 19th of January.(f) The General himself, however, contrary to his previous assertions, did not resign, and Drummond from Amsterdam wrote pleading with Harley, as he had done before, not to drive Marlborough to extremities. "Treat him as he deserves," was his advice. "If he let such a wife and such a son-in-law manage him may he fall in the pit they have digged for him."(g) The difficulty was that however Harley and Shrewsbury were prepared to treat him, others were not so accommodating. Shrewsbury and he were still on friendly terms;(h) but Marlborough himself 'detested' Harley, while St. John was ready to take advantage of the General's new humility.(a) In the Lords, there was great anxiety

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- (f) Swift to King supra.
Boyer I 140.
Coxe's Marlborough III 175-8.
- (g) Drummond to Harley Nov.11. N.S; Dec.9 N.S; Dec.15.N.S;
Jan.27 N.S. Portland IV 619. 634. 638. 655.
Harley to Drummond Nov.7. Ibid 623.
- (h) Letters in Murray.
Rivers to Harley Feb.11. Portland IV 658.
Mar and Kellie MSS. 487.
- (a) Marlborough to the Duchess Oct.4. 1710. Coxe's
Marlborough III 142.
Coxe's Marlborough III 174.
This is not the opinion of Stanhope - p.466.

on the part of the High Tories to make the most of the enquiry into Spanish affairs, with the object of humiliating Marlborough. Peterborough was thanked, in spite of Whig dissent.(b) A committee, to which Shrewsbury was appointed, met to consider the state of the forces at the time of the Battle of Almanza,(c) and Peterborough himself, who had all along been convinced that Marlborough was jealous of any other man's military prowess, joined with the hotheads in a desire to push the enquiries as far as they would go.(d) Both Rivers and Argyll had also their own axes to grind against the General, and were making Shrewsbury's position difficult by trying to engage him to further their interests.(e) The divisions in the new Tory party were beginning already to be felt.(f) So matters stood when at the Council

(b) Lords Journals XIX 193.

Boxer I 58.

(c) Lords Journals XIX 199.

(d) Swift to King. Jan.4.1711. Correspondence I 231.

Peterborough to Stanhope Aug.30. 1706.

"I had been undone if we had more success and my Lord Marlborough less." - Letters from the Earl of Peterborough to General Stanhope in Spain - privately printed 1834.

(e) Rivers to Harley Feb.14. and Feb.22. Portland IV 660 & 662.

Argyll to Harley Feb.17. Ibid 660.

(f) Drummond to Harley March 10 N.S. Ibid 663.

Peterborough to Swift. March 18 Correspondence I 244.

meeting held to examine the French refugee Guiscard, against whom information had been lodged, Harley was stabbed by the prisoner, and was temporarily laid aside from his active share in the Government.(g)

It was a most unfortunate time for his absence. So far, the ministry had held together, refusing to yield before the more extreme element, largely owing to the similar views of moderation held by Shrewsbury and Harley, and to the personal friendship of Harley, Harcourt and St. John. Harcourt and St. John, however, particularly the latter, had always been more High Church in politics than the other two, and St. John with the increase in power of his party, had leanings towards an offensive rather than a defensive attitude. Harley's absence gave St. John his opportunity, and widened the breach. Moreover the first circuitous endeavours towards a peace had already begun. On the 23rd of December a despatch had been sent to Torcy by means of the Abbé Gaultier, who had at one time been Tallard's chaplain, and who was intimate

(g) Shrewsbury was not present, as he was entertaining the foreign ministers on that day.- Portland IV 669.

with the Jerseys. It informed Torcy that the English ministry were desirous of peace, and were ready to consider a peace without Spain, in return for concessions to British trade.(h) Gaultier himself then proceeded to France, where he repeated in an interview with Torcy the fact that Shrewsbury and Harley, "who then ruled England," had approached Jersey with the assertion that they were determined to put an end to the war.(a) Jersey, said Gaultier, had added to him for his part his intention to work for the insertion of an article in the treaty which would secure the Crown to "the legitimate King after the death of his sister, the Princess."(b) Shrewsbury and Harley were prepared, he said, to enter into negotiations in Holland, and on Torcy's natural exclamation of surprise that the matter could not be done in England through Tallard, then at Nottingham, he explained that secrecy was essential for their safety. A complimentary letter from Torcy to Jersey

(h) Legg - Matthew Prior 145.

(a) Torcy's Journal 348.

(b) Torcy's Journal 352.

assured the English ministers that Louis was at least willing to treat, and Gaultier was sent again to France with initial proposals as a basis for negotiations. The first steps towards peace, however, should not appear to have come from England, so that the French King was asked to send his proposals, based on those that had been sent him, as if they were entirely his own suggestions. This Louis did, although in a more imperious tone than had been expected. Gaultier carried these proposals to England about the middle of April, to be discussed in secret by the heads of the ministry. The next step was to approach the Dutch, and this St. John and Harley decided to do through their agent, Van Huls, who was to be sent on a secret mission to the Pensioner. Shrewsbury demurred. Such a proceeding he believed would give needless offence to Lord Raby, the English resident at the Hague, as well as to the other members of the English Cabinet. In any case it could hardly be long kept secret, so that the more sensible way in his opinion was that the Queen should lay the proposals before the Cabinet merely "as a paper come to her hands without saying how, and in the Cabinet let them debate in what manner it should be sent to the

Pensioner, either by Lord Raby or otherwise."(c) This would have the advantage of offending nobody who mattered, and actually revealing nothing of the secret, while it would not hinder the despatching of Van Huls at the same time as a secret agent to Holland. This course, in consequence, was followed. On April 27th St. John sent the preliminary proposals to Lord Raby to communicate to Heinsius, while Van Huls was given private orders by Shrewsbury to explain verbally to the Pensioner the various points in the paper.(d) This done, there was a pause in the progress of negotiations. The Dutch, thoroughly alarmed in case Britain should get from France advantages which they would not share, themselves conveyed secret information to Torcy, through their agent, Petcum, that they would also be willing to treat if the proposals to England were allowed to fall. Louis, however, believed he was safer in hearkening to the English advances, and Petcum was not encouraged.

(c) Shrewsbury to Harley April 25; April 26.
Bath I 201.

(d) Shrewsbury to Harley "Thursday night,"; Friday.
Bath I 202.

In the interval between the first approach to Louis and the return to England of the French paper of proposals, an event of some importance had occurred.(e) The Emperor Joseph had died, and Austria was pushing the claims of his son, the Archduke Charles. It was incredible that the maritime countries which had spent so much in blood and money to prevent the balance of power being wrecked by French influence, should submit to have an Austrian Emperor also on the throne of Spain. When Britain, therefore, expressed her approval of Charles as a claimant for the imperial dignity, only the blindest of Whig supporters could fail to see how much altered the Spanish question had become.

The determination for peace was holding the Tory party together; for otherwise there were divisions in plenty. Swift, who had in his first endeavours to cultivate the party, noted with satisfaction the united action of Harley, Harcourt and St. John, was forced to own regretfully that he was "not now so secure."(f)

(e) Shrewsbury called it "an affair of the last importance." - Shrewsbury to Harley April 17. Bath I at p.201.

(f) Swift to Peterborough. May 4. Correspondence I 253.

The Tories he classified as those who had agreed to turn out the late ministry, but among them he could discern three groups. There were warm heads who took their inspiration from the October Club, fair weather friends, and those who were for pursuing the true interests of the nation; and when he set the ministry in the last group, the divisions were multiplied even further, for the ministers themselves were no longer entirely in accord.(g) By the middle of May, Van Huls' secret mission appeared to have leaked out to Raby, than whom no man had more vanity, and Shrewsbury was being blamed for passing on the information, a thing he absolutely denied.(h) Meanwhile, the disappointed were still clamouring for places. Even Shrewsbury

(g) Swift to Peterborough May 10. Correspondence I 262.

(h) Shrewsbury to Harley May 22. Bath I 203.

"I observed in Vanhulst's letter that the Pensioner imagined I had a more than ordinary intimacy with Lord Raby. I cannot conceive what ground he has for that.....I never had any correspondence in my life with him till he writ to me upon my coming last year into her Majesty's service; and can assure you I have never named Vanhulst, the errand he went upon or your correspondence with the Pensioner, to him. The last I did recommend to Lord Albemarle----"

was writing to Harley that it was surely time the Queen began to make such removes as she was resolved upon - possibly because he had in his mind's eye a place suitable for Lord Cardigan.(a) On the 26th of May, Harley, raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford, was made Lord Treasurer. The cowardly attack made upon his life had cast round him a glamour quite unlike the sensible reality of the man. The Queen had developed a deep sense of friendship for him;(b) and in the rewards that were given him, and in the congratulations of his friends and associates, he touched the most satisfying height of his power. Nevertheless, St. John had tasted power, and St. John was prepared to lead the party in paths that Harley did not wish to tread.

Since his return to office in the spring of 1710, Shrewsbury had attended more assiduously to the routine of a Court life than for many years past. He had the ear of the Queen, and accompanied her to Hampton Court or to Windsor, even at times when Harley thought it possible to be absent. He was cognisant of political business both open and secret, and while Sir John Stanley, still in his

(a) Shrewsbury to Harley May 22, 1711. June 1712.
Ibid 203 and 219.

(b) Bath I passim.

place of Chamberlain's secretary, was able to deal with the ordinary business of the office, the Duke was fully occupied with duties of state and with necessary social functions. It was he who was deputed to entertain the foreign envoys; while he also found time to attend his wife's "assemblies," and to take an interest in the Saturday Club, and become a member of the Thursday Club.(c) He seemed to have achieved new zest and energy in middle age, far different from the ailing invalid who had been forced abroad ten years before. Attacks of gout still returned at intervals, but all during the first year of his return to office, he made no other complaint regarding his health. In June of 1711, however, he had a recurrence of serious illness. Swift described it as a fever. "We were all in a fright about him," he wrote; but by the end of the month he was almost recovered.(d) Swift's distress is a little amusing. He had known Shrewsbury for only two months,(e) and was later to regard him with antipathy. But at that time the Duke had not disappointed him of the historiographer-ship.

(c) Swift to Stella June 21. May 19. Sept.13. II 280, 259,346. Portland IV 669.

(d) Swift to Stella June 25. June 30. II 280. 289.
Marlborough to Shrewsbury July 26 N.S. Murray V.420.

(e) Swift to Stella April 13. Letter 20: II 226.

In July the peace negotiations were carried a stage farther. Matthew Prior, who had previously acted as envoy in Paris at the time of the Peace of Ryswick, was sent back with Gaultier to discover more in detail what the French terms would be. Prior was given no actual power to treat, but was merely expected to state the British demands and to carry back Louis's reply. In general terms he was to lay down that Britain would make no peace but what was to the satisfaction of all her Allies.(f) Therefore, barriers must be procured for the Dutch, the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy. Savoy must further be satisfied with the restoration of those places taken from her in the war. Most important of all, France must guarantee that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united, and so far as Britain was concerned, both Crowns must offer to her substantial commercial advantages. These comprised special privileges for trade with the Spanish colonies, the Asiento agreement, the cession of Newfoundland, and the demolition of Dunkirk. In

(f) Legg's Matthew Prior 149.

an attempt to modify these demands, Louis sent his agent, Mesnager, back to England with Prior, and after a secret journey, and detention at Deal, from which they were only released by the Secretary's warrant, they arrived in London on the 7th of August. Shrewsbury was at the moment out of town. But he was at once summoned, and promised to be at Windsor by the 10th, and so to proceed to London that same night.(g) The greatest secrecy was cultivated to hide from the public the presence of Mesnager and Gaultier, and the significance of their visit. Meetings between Mesnager and the Ministers took place at night, frequently in Prior's house; but in spite of that the news did leak out that something of the kind was afoot.(h) Prior had been recognised by Macky, the Government agent at Dover, with whom Shrewsbury had been on friendly terms, and it was said that Macky had passed the information on to the Whigs. At least, it cost him his place, although Shrewsbury surreptitiously supplied him with money to relieve his wants.(a)

(g) Shrewsbury to Oxford Aug.8. Bath I 207.

(h) Swift to King Oct.1. Correspondence I 288.

(a) Macky to Oxford. Aug.25. 1712. July 1. 1713.

Portland V 215. 303.

Anonymous Life 23.

Then began the actual bargaining. Shrewsbury, ~~the~~ the Treasurer, the two Secretaries and the Earl of Jersey were entrusted with the business, with Prior accompanying them. Mesnager's hope being to break down their resolution, and obtain better terms for France, his real chance lay in their ardent wish for peace. On the commercial advantages they were particularly insistent, while on the side of the Allies they were significantly silent, and would promise nothing to bind these. The wish for peace and the stress laid on trading privileges were two of the few bonds among the ministry. For the rest they were neither altogether decided, nor altogether united. Dartmouth seemed to wish to have as little to do with the whole matter as possible.(b) Shrewsbury was alone in believing that they must secure decent terms for the Allies. "I apprehend," he wrote to St. John on the 25th of August, "our friends beyond sea will be impatiently jealous of these **delays** and apt to make too much clamour unless means have been used to give them some satisfaction:" and two days later he sounded a serious warning. "Looking over

(b) Wyon 311.

the papers again, I am more of opinion there is something ^{in them looks} so like bargaining for yourselves apart, and leaving your friends to shift at a general treaty that I am confirmed the exposing such a paper (as it will be in the power of France to do) may create great jealousy and complaint from the Allies."(c) This protest served to stiffen the ministry to resist farther concessions to Mesnager, and but for the Frenchman's astuteness in pointing out that here was only a question of preliminaries, a deadlock might have resulted.(d) As it was, Shrewsbury remained unsatisfied, and when the 'preliminaries' were ready to be signed, refused to put his name to them. The preliminary treaty was, therefore, signed by the two Secretaries only, Dartmouth and St. John, by a warrant dated September 25th, and not by the whole Cabinet Council, as had been at first intended.(e) Some years later when the triumphant Whigs were enquiring into the whole

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- (c) Shrewsbury to St. John. Aug.25, Aug.27.
 Bolingbroke Corr. I 333. 335.
 (d) Legg 164.
 (e) Anne to Oxford Sept.19. Bath I 210.

proceedings of the peace negotiations, they drew from Shrewsbury a letter of explanation of his conduct over this part of the transaction. It is addressed to Mr. Secretary Stanhope, and dated from Hampton Court, 20th April 1715.

"In obedience to the King's Command signified in your letter to me, That I should inform his Ma^{ty} whether the transaction with Mr. Mesnager had my approbation, I think myself obliged to acquaint you That some doubt did remain with me in relation to the Articles agreed here with Mr. Mesnager in so much that when full powers were ordered to pass the great seal to empower all the Cabinet Council to sign these Articles I did acquaint some of Her Majesty's ministers and the Queen her self that I must desire to be excused putting my hand to that agreement and thought it therefore more advysable that my name should be omitted Whether that was the cause of the alteration afterwards made in the Warrant I cannot tell----"(f)

(f) Contemporary copy in S. P. Dom. George I Bd. 3. No.32. Historians of the reign of Anne appear to have overlooked this letter.

At the time the Queen herself noticed how uncertain Shrewsbury felt about the peace terms. He was constantly discussing them with her, but, in Anne's opinion, seemed "a little fearful." (g) He anticipated a good deal of opposition in the House of Lords. (h) The Tories had lost a number of their supporters there by death. Rochester had died in May, Newcastle, Harley's ally, as the result of an accident in July, Jersey while the conversations with Mesnager were still going on. Even up to the day when Mesnager signed the preliminary treaties, one general, one for Britain, and a secret article for Savoy, Shrewsbury was still urging the importance of the Protestant succession and the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk, and pointing out that no negotiation should be entered upon until the Queen's title and the Protestant succession were acknowledged. "It is indeed added that France shall promise to remove the Pretender," he acceded, "of which I hope **effectual** care will be

(g) Anne to Oxford Sept. 19. Bath I 210.

(h) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Aug. 27. Nov. 23.
Ibid 207. 217.

taken in time, though it has been judged improper to insist on it just now; but having already been too troublesome on these heads, I shall submit them"---(a) The Abbé Gaultier, who was enthusiastic for the Stuart cause, had written to Torcy that the Queen and her ministers were all in favour of the Pretender's restoration, and mentioned Shrewsbury, Buckingham, Jersey and Oxford as instances;(b) but Shrewsbury was definitely calling attention to the need for making such a restoration impossible. His insistence on the destruction of Dunkirk, his reiteration of the acknowledgment of the Protestant succession, in a letter intended only for Harley's perusal, can mean nothing else. He was obviously anxious at the turn that events were taking, and suspicious that the Queen was not taking him into her confidence.(c) Anne was finding that her new ministers were also easily roused to resent her confiding in anyone other than themselves. There had already been a

(a) Shrewsbury to Oxford Sept.27. Bath I 212.

(b) Stanhope 470.

(c) Anne to Oxford. Nov.15. Bath I 216.

dispute between the ministry and Somerset, against whom St. John was intensely bitter, while the Queen's affection for the Duchess of Somerset, Lady Marlborough's successor as Groom of the Stole, almost led to a more serious breach.(d) The arrival in October of Buys, the envoy from Holland, found Shrewsbury making another attempt to preach the value of reasonable barriers. At the Council he also drew attention to the advisability of having the King of Prussia acknowledged, and the ninth electorate of the "King" of Hanover; but the others were not with him, and Oxford, who thought the same, was absent through ill-health.(e)

The fears that Shrewsbury had expressed as to the force of opposition to the peace terms in the House of Lords had every appearance of being justified. In spite of personal interviews between the Queen and individual members, there was a substantial body of peers in favour of continuing the war, so that although Parliament should have met on the 13th of November, it was twice prorogued, and did not meet until the 7th of December. The Tories had lost an

(d) Swift to King Aug.26. Correspondence I 278

(e) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Oct.28. Bath I 214.

old supporter in Nottingham, who was determined, perhaps through anxiety for the Hanoverian succession, to vote with the Whigs. Cowper and Somers were both consulted, but they, too, proved unbending. Marlborough, who on his return had a private audience with the Queen on the 20th of November,(f) was steadily opposed to any peace that would leave Philip of Anjou in Spain. The ministry for their part were anxious to get all their supporters up to London in time for the opening of Parliament.(g) By the end of November the choice of plenipotentiaries for the general treaty at Utrecht had been discussed. Raby, raised to the dignity of Earl of Strafford, Bishop Robinson, the Lord Privy Seal, and St. John were suggested.(h) Oxford wished to give Prior his chance, and the Queen, although she "thought it very wrong to send people abroad of meane extraction," was willing to waive her objection,(a) but Strafford refused

(f) Wentworth Papers 208.

(g) Shrewsbury to Oxford Nov.23. Bath I 217.
 Sir Robert Davers to Oxford No.20. Portland V 113.
 Dupplin to Oxford Nov.25. Ibid 115.
 Bishop of Exeter to Oxford Nov.28. Ibid 117.
 Bishop of Durham to Oxford Dec.4. Ibid 121.
 Kinnoull to Dupplin Dec.3. Ibid.

(h) Wentworth 212 Nov.25. 1711.

Shrewsbury to Oxford Aug.27. Bath I 207.

(a) Anne to Oxford Nov.19. Bath I 217.

to serve with such a commoner, and in the end Strafford and Robinson went alone. A suggestion had been made that Shrewsbury should be one of the plenipotentiaries, but in view of his disapproval of the preliminaries in so far as they affected the Allies, it is hardly surprising that he would not consent.(b)

When Parliament met, the Queen's speech, the joint work of Harley and the Secretaries, with amendments made by Shrewsbury,(c) boldly stated that the conferences for a general peace had been arranged; and while it reminded the Houses of the need for supplies to carry on the war, stress was laid on the determination for peace. Outside, the nation had been prepared for the forthcoming conference by the publication of Swift's "Conduct of the Allies," which by its irrefutable logic, and damning evidence against the allied powers, had an incalculable effect in altering general public opinion in favour of the ministry. The Commons had a large Tory

(b) Oldmixon 476.

Wentworth 275.

(c) The speech was sent to Buckinghamshire also for his opinion on it.

Anne to Oxford Nov.9. Bath I 215.

Shrewsbury to Oxford Nov.23 Ibid 217.

Buckinghamshire to Oxford Dec.1. Portland V 120.

majority, and little was to be feared there. It was in the Lords, as Shrewsbury had predicted, that the Government had to face opposition. By the time of the Christmas recess, it was clear that not only had the Tories no majority there, but that the Opposition was both vigorous and successful.

Nottingham's amendment to the address of thanks for the royal speech, which insisted that no peace was safe while Spain and the West Indies remained to the House of Bourbon, was carried by a majority of six. The reward which he had demanded of the Whigs for his support, their agreement to the passing of the Occasional Conformity Bill, followed. The claim of the Duke of Hamilton, created a peer of Great Britain shortly before as Duke of Brandon, to sit in the House of Lords was turned down simply because of the Whig majority. Thus any hope of supplementing their own party there by the bestowing of English titles on Scottish peers, was lost to the Tories. At the end of the year, their position appeared precarious indeed, while to add to their nervousness the Queen was proving troublesome. Anne had conceived a friendship for the Duchess of Somerset, which had already in 1711 led to remonstrances and retorts on the part of the Tories and the Queen; for Somerset, "the

Sovereign," after his first advances to the Tories, had drawn back and was playing his own game. When it came to the division on the question of peace, Somerset voted with the Whigs, and far from showing any disapproval of his action, the Queen continued to single him out for favour. At the end of the debate on Nottingham's motion, when the Queen was leaving the House after hearing the debate, Shrewsbury had come forward to ask if he or Lindsey would lead her out; and to everyone's surprise Anne was extremely ungracious. "Neither of you," she remarked, and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerset.(d) The incident, magnified by party feeling, did not serve to reassure the Tories. Yet it was probably merely a gesture of personal friendship to Somerset, as well as a way of rebuking Shrewsbury for what she possibly considered his unhelpful conduct ever since the autumn; for to add to the offence likely to be given her by his insistence on the question of the succession, his refusal to sign the preliminaries or to act as a plenipotentiary, and his professed inability to keep Hamilton from the House of Lords,(e) she was

(d) Swift to Stella Dec.8. Letter 36. II 424.

(e) Anne to Oxford Nov.9. Bath I 215.

also no doubt secretly annoyed at the complaints he had made to Harley of being left out of her confidence. In any case, the Tories had little to fear from Somerset, for the Queen was too determined upon having peace to brook his opposition to it, and he was in fact dismissed a few days afterwards.

During the recess, the Tories took active steps to remedy their weak position in the House of Lords. Twelve new peers were created at once at the end of the year, and in the same Gazette which announced these honours, the news of Marlborough's dismissal from all his employments was made public. It was a sign that the peace negotiations were sufficiently advanced to dispense with his services; but it was at the same time the natural, if unfortunate, consequence of Marlborough's refusal to dissociate himself from his allies of the Junto. The charges of peculation brought against him in Parliament were the excuse, but certainly not the reason for his dismissal. His place was filled by Ormonde, and rumour immediately had it that Shrewsbury would gratify an old ambition by going as Lord Lieutenant

to Ireland in Ormonde's stead.(f) He was certainly offered the post, and may for a time have considered it, but at the end of March he gave Oxford a definite reply that he would prefer not to go.(g) It may have been that the circumstances of the peace negotiations, and the increasing uncertainty of the Queen's health were perplexing him; for he was growing dissatisfied with the general state of affairs. The parties had not worked out quite as Oxford and he had anticipated. Oxford's attempts to come to an understanding with Halifax and Somers had come to nothing over their diverging view on the peace terms,(h) and Oxford had the unfortunate habit of appearing to drift and do nothing, a characteristic sufficiently provoking to a man of Shrewsbury's temper, who, beneath avowed confessions of indolence, had an extraordinary knack of getting things done both well and quickly. Some time in the spring, he wrote to Peterborough his

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- (f) Swift to Dean Stearne Dec.29. Correspondence I 309.
Luttrell VI 709.
Wentworth 233. 235. 243. 281.
Swift to King. Jan.8. Correspondence I 312.
Swift to Stella Jan.26. March 20. Letter 40; 43 II 477;
III 13.
Southwell to King March 15 - T. C. D.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Oxford. March 29. 1712. Bath I 218.
- (h) Halifax to Oxford. Dec.26.1712. Portland V 254.
Same to same Nov.25; Dec.2; Dec.6; Dec.26; Dec.31.1711.
Ibid 115; 120; 125; 131; 133-4.

dissatisfaction at the management of affairs.(a) When Prince Eugene visited England at the beginning of 1712, he attributed this dissatisfaction on the part of both Shrewsbury and Buckinghamshire to opposition to Oxford's schemes of moderation.(b) Such a reading of the Duke's political mind is quite at variance with his professions and his actions.(c) A less serious observer had his own views on the dissatisfaction of the two Dukes. Lord Berkeley declared they were both fretting because their ladies had been refused places in the bedchamber.(d) It was hardly likely that Anne would have any desire to compliment the lively Duchess of Shrewsbury, even although she found her amusing.(e) The Duchess, too, did not hide her animosity to the Queen's new favourite, the Duchess of Somerset, who, as Lady Ogle, the town said, had once attracted Shrewsbury.(f) The eccentric Italian had not ceased alternately to amuse and horrify

(a) Bellasyse to Oxford March 23.1712. Ibid 154.
 (b) Eugene's Characters - Ibid 157.
 (c) Cf. Swift to King May 20. 1712. Correspondence I 325. Kinnoul to Harley Sept.26. 1710. Portland IV 601.
 (d) Wentworth 275 Berkeley to Strafford March 5. Cf. Macpherson II 642.
 (e) Sutherland MSS. 190.
 (f) Wentworth 279. Lady Cowper's Diary p.8. Cf. ante Chapter II

society, and in the background her villainous brother strutted, liable at any moment to prove a source of embarrassment.(g) She was fond of social life, so that the return to Court must have been to her at least a cause of great satisfaction. The Duchess of Shrewsbury's "assemblies" soon became celebrated, so celebrated that even the Duchess of Marlborough envied.(h) Her coquetries were a constant surprise, for, probably because they were innocent enough, she made no attempt to hide them, and since she was neither very young nor very beautiful, they tended to make her look ridiculous in English eyes. St. Simon described her as she was a year later, as "une grande créature et grosse, hommasse, sur le retour et plus, qui avoit été belle et qui prétendoit l'être encore."(a) With equal freedom, she 'pulled Lord Stairs about so in the Queen's lodgings,' or 'chucked her husband under the chin in a room full of 'company.'(b) Her conversation on occasions was even startling. She

(g) For one of Paleotti's villanies see Wogan to Southwell Oct.22.1709. Add. MSS.37673 f.89.

(h) Wentworth 207.

(a) Ibid 283.
St. Simon X 315.

(b) Wentworth 213.
Lady Cowper to the Duchess of Marlborough
Oct.23.1710. Duchess's Correspondence I 398.

had, she said "things growing upon her toes like thumbs that made her so lame she could not stirr," (c) and she loved to tell the latest stories of the remarks attributed to her. "More rediculouse in her talk than ever," Lady Strafford once complained of her. But Swift delighted to hear her call him "Dr. Presto," and attended her gladly at her assemblies, at her toilet, or in excursions into the country. Perhaps her best story was her supposed reply to a remark of the Countess of Oxford, Robert Harley's staid second wife. "Madam," the Duchess was said to have remarked, "I and my Lord are so weary of talking Politicks, what are you and your Lord?" Lady Oxford sighed that she knew no Lord but the Lord Jehovah. "Oh dear! Madam, who is that?" was the lively answer. "I believe 'tis one of the new Titles for I never heard of him before." (d) Coming on top of the twelve new peerages, the story was vastly enjoyed. She was fond of play, and fond of music. When Nicolini, the

(c) Wentworth 213.

(d) Ibid 213, 262.

Swift to Stella Aug. 2. 1711. Letter 27 II 312; Oct. 4. 1711. Letter 31. II 364; March 24. 1712. Letter 44. III 18.

Italian operatic singer, came to London, the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury had him at their home to entertain Prince Eugene, who was then in London and had been invited to sup with them. Eugene was with them on more than one occasion, and the Duchess's drawing room was thronged with those lucky enough to meet the hero.(e)

Eugene's real object in coming to London had been to see if he could influence the ministry towards continuing the war; but in this he was absolutely disappointed . Throughout the summer of 1712 the peace negotiations continued. In May had occurred the famous "restraining orders" to Ormonde, which involved the virtual withdrawal of Britain from the war. Bolingbroke, accompanied by Matthew Prior, went over to Paris at the beginning of August for about fourteen days, during which he arranged with Torcy the most difficult points at issue. He left Prior behind him as Britain's agent in Paris, to find compensation there for Strafford's refusal to have him at Utrecht. An amnesty was concluded, and a few remaining

(e) Wentworth 246.
Luttrell VI 723.

misunderstandings were left to be discussed publicly and slowly at Utrecht, confidentially and more speedily in Paris. Soon after Bolingbroke's return, Lexington departed for Madrid, where in his presence Philip solemnly renounced all right to the French Crown for himself and his descendants. There remained to be fulfilled the renunciations of the French Princes to the Spanish throne, and for the purpose of witnessing these the Queen intended to send the Duke of Hamilton on a special mission. It was a strange choice, for Hamilton, the Arran of earlier days, was one of the Stuarts' most ardent sympathisers.(f) If it could be read as a symbol of the Queen's mind, the Pretender's Court might well rejoice. The Pretender, it was true, had been forced to retire to Lorraine, but how far the Queen and the ministry were sincere in insisting on this move, and how far it was a blind, may remain matter for speculation. Anne was believed to be leaning towards a Stuart successor, just as she quite evidently detested the idea of a Hanoverian in England. A Jacobite ambassador, and an envoy in the pay of France, might have

(f) Ante Chapter VII

produced unusual complications.(g) What Hamilton's attitude would have been is, however, of little import; for on the 15th of November he was killed in a duel with the notorious Mohun. Shrewsbury was asked to go in his place, and with some hesitation agreed. Was he chosen because there was no one else to go, equal to Hamilton in charm of manner and grace of person, or because he was expected to favour the Pretender?(h)

(g) Drummond to Oxford Portland V 250.

(h) The Jacobites said he was sent to be out of Oxford's way. Mrs. White to Sir William Ellis Jan.1713.

Macpherson II 371.

Robethon to Galke March 21. 1713. Ibid 479.480.

Cf. Oxford's remarks in Portland V 467.

"He (Bolingbroke) was against the Duke of Shrewsbury going, and yet would not go himself." - After "going" the Editor has inserted "to Ireland?" but this is an obvious error.

CHAPTER XIV

AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE.

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The ministry was anxious that Shrewsbury should begin his journey as soon as possible. Already they had intended urging Hamilton to hasten his departure, and his death had caused a further week's delay before the new Ambassador was chosen.(a) After the minimum of necessary preparations, therefore, he took leave of the Queen at Windsor at the end of November. He was, however, delayed in London, and did not embark with his wife at Gravesend until the 14th of December, about a month after the embassy to France had been intended to commence.(b) Unfavourable winds delayed him still further. He was compelled to land at Margate, and sailed from Dover in the yacht William and Mary only

(a) Anne to Oxford Nov.13. 1712. Bath I 223.

(b) Bolingbroke to Torcy Nov.26. Bol. Corr.III 195
- "he will depart from here without awaiting his equipages."

Shrewsbury to Delafaye. March 24 N.S. S. P. France 157.f.81

Swift to Stella Dec.13. Letter 56.

Bolingbroke to Torcy Dec.13. Bol. Corr. III 226.

Swift to Dartmouth Dec.13. Correspondence I 355.

on the 26th, (c) By noon the following day he had arrived in Calais. (d)

His feelings at the beginning of this journey abroad must have been mixed. Twelve years before he had made the same journey, weak in health, tormented in mind, with no guns to welcome him at Dover. But then he had been without responsibility. He was bound for France now to fill a position of honour, and accompanied by a numerous retinue, and the splendour and dignities due to Her Majesty's **Ambassador**, but he was full of forebodings as to the success of his mission, and his own ability to master it. Uppermost in his mind was the prosaic question of expenses. Britain was notoriously hard on her envoys at foreign Courts. Too often they were left to struggle with multiplying debts; and a sufficiency of honour was not recompense enough for a dwindling fortune. They were expected to keep up the dignity of their country by the magnificence of their style of living, without being always certain that their expenses

Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Dec.26 - Paris Letter Book f.1.

- (c) Shrewsbury to the Plenipotentiaries Jan.16. N.S.
 Rawlinson A286 f.324; Paris Letter Book f.6.
 Wentworth 312. -
 Boyer 372.

- (d) Ibid.
 Prior to the Plenipotentiaries Jan.10 N.S. Prior
 Letter Book f.72. and Rawlinson A 286. ff.305-6.

would be refunded. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that Lord Berkeley had found Shrewsbury gloomy before his departure, grumbling about the outlay of money and the possible long absence from home, dubious even as to whether the peace would be safely concluded at all.(e) His fine house at Heythrop was by this time completed, and the expense of it must have been great. Courteously but firmly he had pointed out to the Treasurer that it could not be expected that he should be a loser by the costs of his embassy. He had carefully studied the Earl of Jersey's accounts for the Paris embassy of 1697, and the results had not been heartening.(f) The state of his own resources was then well known to him; for during the summer he had made a new will, which, while it retained the settlement made on the eve of his previous journey abroad, provided for new legacies and the disposal of certain lands which he had since purchased, and his town house in Warwick Street.

(e) Berkeley to Strafford. Dec.2. Wentworth 305.

(f) Shrewsbury to Oxford (Nov.) Bath I 224.

From Calais the Duke and Duchess proceeded to Boulogne, where they were greeted by the Duc d'Aumont, who was going on a similar mission to England. A fashionable throng of two hundred gentlemen and more than forty ladies, all in Court dress, had assembled to pay their respects, and in the Duc d'Aumont's lodging they were entertained to music and supper.(g) The journey as far as Amiens was made slowly, for parties of Dutch were raiding in Picardy, and this necessitated an escort of horse soldiers from place to place. But from Amiens they proceeded by post to Paris, where they arrived about noon on the $\frac{2nd}{13th}$ January.(h) Prior had already arranged a place for him to stay, in the Duc de Soisson's Mansion - "a rambling apartment," but nevertheless the best to be found in all Paris.(a) The Court was absent at Marly when he arrived, but Torcy lost no time in making him a visit, and on the following day they both began the discussion of business.(b)

- (g) Madame de Maintenon's Secret Correspondence I 44. Boyer 372.
- (h) Shrewsbury to the Plenipotentiaries Jan.16 N.S. supra. Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Jan.14 N.S. S.P.France 157 (38) Paris Letter Book f.3. Shrewsbury to Oxford Jan.19. N.S. Bath I 228.
- (a) Prior to Bolingbroke. Dec.29. N.S. Bol. Corr. III at p.256
- (b) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Jan.14. N.S. supra. Shrewsbury to Lexington Jan.15 N.S. Paris Letter Book f.4.

Shrewsbury had been sent to Paris, as Lexington had been sent to Madrid, to witness the renunciations on which the peace treaty would insist, but other matters also lay before him.(c) The attitude of France towards the cession of Newfoundland was not clearly defined. England had originally demanded, and expected, a complete cession of the island; but the French were proving stubborn on the question of **their** fishing rights there. Several more remote points also remained to be discussed, as, for instance, the position of the Catalans, who would be at the mercy of Philip if abandoned by the Allies; the presence of Protestant sufferers in the French galleys; the claims of the Elector of Bavaria and of the Duke of Savoy respectively. In the commercial treaty between France and Britain, too, difficulties had arisen, and it looked as though Bolingbroke's cherished scheme might prove a sorry bargain after all. With the removal of Britain from the field of war, and the fruits of a successful campaign in their

(c) British Diplomatic Instructions Camden, vol.35 pp.34-40. Bolingbroke Correspondence passim. As regards the Catalans, Shrewsbury had however, no official instructions.
 - "whatever I could say in relation to that matter, was as a private man, having no orders upon it" - Rawlinson A 286. f.328.

hands, the French were resuming their old imperious tone. The English Ministers had been prepared to offer the treaty of commerce to the nation as an advantage that far outweighed any prospects of military glory, as the true prize obtained for them by the peace terms; but France showed a tendency to pare down that advantage until it was almost non-existent. During the original negotiations the tariff of 1664 had been taken as a suitable settlement, but with the return of the French King's arrogance, he had refused to reduce duties to this basis until English duties on French articles of commerce had been removed. Bolingbroke promised that this should eventually be done, but still Louis exempted from his tariff settlement those English imports most commonly bought by France, so long as duties remained on French goods.

Shrewsbury found the French attitude on these subjects rather unsatisfactory. His own original instructions tied him fairly strictly in the matter of Newfoundland, but Matthew Prior had been offering better terms, and it was not likely that the French would entertain those more severe. The Ministry's

indecision on this point displeased him, not alone because it left him doubtful as to what course to follow, but also because it revealed to the French that they were not resolved on their conduct. He therefore wrote requesting definite instructions without delay.(d) The Oxford-Bolingbroke management did not know the meaning of expedition, and he had many complaints to make on the score of their dilatoriness before the embassy was at an end. Bolingbroke, whose heart was in the treaty of commerce, sent him instructions of a provisional sort on the 19th of January. The fishing privileges for the French in Newfoundland he determined to use as a lever to raise the discussions on the tariff treaty from where they had fallen. The Duke was therefore instructed to adopt a high tone with the French and tell them that if they offered satisfaction in the matter of the tariff, then and only then would their claims in Newfoundland be approved.(e)

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.23 N.S. Bol.Corr.III 331.
 Paris Letter Book f.11.
 Shrewsbury to Oxford Jan.19. N.S. Bath I 228.
 Prior to Oxford. Jan.23. N.S. Prior Letter Book f.77.
- (e) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.19; Jan.25.
 Bol. Corr. III 306; 335.
 Bolingbroke to Prior Jan.19. Bol. Corr.III 301.

Shrewsbury had, however, little opportunity of making the French Government proceed with the business during the first few weeks of his stay in Paris; for the King and the Ministers remained at Marly, a fact that conveyed an understood hint of a royal retirement. Torcy came to Paris occasionally to discuss business, but after the first week, by no means frequently.(f) The Duke had, of course, gone to Marly to wait on the King, who accorded him a private audience, a mark of great favour.(g) Louis had expressed his satisfaction at the choice of so noble an ambassador even before Shrewsbury's arrival in Paris, and he was graciousness itself. Prior, who with the two Secretaries accompanied him, remarked that he had never seen the monarch "so blyth." The audience over, Shrewsbury had the pleasure of seeing Louis dine - for le Roi Soleil was used to dine alone - and afterwards returned to Torcy's house for the more substantial satisfaction of his own meal.(h)

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- (f) Shrewsbury to the Plenipotentiaries Jan.23 N.S. Rawlinson A286. f.317. Paris Letter Book f.9.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.23 N.S. Bol.Corr III 331.
- (g) Prior to Oxford Jan.19 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.73.
- (h) Prior to Bolingbroke Dec.28 N.S. Bol.Corr.III 231.
Swinford to Delafaye Jan. 9 P.R.O. France 157 No.11.

But after these first marks of respect, he had been treated in a singularly aloof fashion. With the exception of Torcy, the ministers did not pay any state calls upon him, although the principal noblemen made him private visits.(a)

A cumulation of worries, a fit of gout perhaps not the least of them, threw Shrewsbury into a state of gloom by the end of January.(b) On the matter of Newfoundland Torcy appeared absolutely unyielding. Concerning the commercial treaty Shrewsbury himself felt thoroughly confused.(c) The courier with news from England did not arrive as he should have done; so that he and Prior had to turn to the "Post Boy" to find their news;(d) his baggage had been held up owing to floods on the Seine;(e)

- (a) Swinford to Lewis Jan.25 N.S. S.P.France 157. (& Paris)
Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Feb.22. Ibid and in Prior/Letter Book.
- (b) Shrewsbury to Strafford. Jan.30 N.S. Add.MSS.22211.f.116.
Prior to Bolingbroke Feb.2. N.S. Bol.Corr.III 353.
Prior to Oxford. Feb.2 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.79.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.4 N.S. Bol. Corr. III 367.
- (c) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Jan.19 N.S. Bath I at p.229.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.7 N.S. Bol.Corr.III 372.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.13 N.S. Bol.Corr.III 404.
Cf. Shrewsbury to Delafaye July 18 N.S. S.P.France.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.4 N.S. supra.
Shrewsbury to the Plenipotentiaries Jan.30 N.S.
Rawlinson A 286. f.328. Paris Letter Book f.15.
Prior to Bolingbroke Feb.15 N.S. Bol. Corr.III 358.
- (e) Swinford to Delafaye. Feb.16 N.S. S.P.France 157.
Prior to Bolingbroke Feb.16 N.S. Bol.Corr.III 393.

and as the last straw the Duchess's importunate brother was asking for assistance.(f) Prior believed that it was the general worry that had made the Duke ill. He had accepted of the duty with reluctance, and already he was longing to be done with it. "The necessity of bringing this treaty to a speedy decision one way or other is as evident as the delay in giving orders upon it is wonderful," he complained to Bolingbroke, "God send it a happy conclusion, and me well at Heathrop."(g) The Duchess meanwhile was having her own mortifications, for in spite of her repeated requests to be allowed to wait on Madame de Maintenon, that lady persisted in refusing her.(h)

One class of persons, however, was particularly anxious to pay respects to the Duke, namely the English who had been at the Court of St. Germain. But the Duke was discretion itself. He desired to be excused, and even took the precaution of avoiding seeing Lady Middleton, so that more distant acquaintances should

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- (f) Add.MSS. 22223. - To Comte Durrell.
Shrewsbury to Strafford Jan.30 N.S.; Feb.27 N.S.
Add.MSS.22211 ff.116;118.
Cf. Add.MSS.37209 f.46.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.4 N.S. Bol. Corr.III 367.
- (h) Madame de Maintenon to the Princess des Ursins: Feb. 13 N.S. Secret Correspondence I 417.

have no excuse for pressing the point. As regards the Duke of Berwick, he found it more difficult to decide what his attitude should be. Berwick, just returned from a successful campaign in Spain, enquired through Torcy if he might call on Shrewsbury in Paris. On the grounds that he would be unable to return such a courtesy, Shrewsbury declined, with the polite assurance that he would pay all due respect to Berwick should they meet elsewhere. Torcy arranged the first meeting in the King's bedchamber, and later the two dined at the Duke de Noailles's, after which Shrewsbury took good care to report the whole matter to the Queen, whose non-committal reply was that she thought he had 'done neither too much nor too little.'(a)

An affair requiring some delicate handling also arose at the end of January, when the Duc d'Aumont's house in London was burned down. The French and D'Aumont himself believed that it had been maliciously fired, and

(a) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.7 N.S. (private letter) Bol.Corr.III 372.
 Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Feb.4. Bol.Corr.III 374.
 Newcastle to Middleton Jan.24. Macpherson II 373.

Bolingbroke was at first inclined to a like view.(b)
 Pending any definite discoveries, however, Shrewsbury decided to represent it to the French Government as a pure accident. He made haste to write D'Aumont to offer him his own house, but the French Ambassador had already been mollified by the offer of the Queen's own apartments in Somerset House.(c)

By the 4th of February N.S. Shrewsbury believed that the treaty of commerce had at last been settled to the satisfaction of England and accordingly yielded to the French demands in the matter of Newfoundland.(d)

But still the question lingered on at Utrecht, Prior and Bolingbroke both fuming at the unfair advantage the French were taking. Nor did things go better with the peace treaty. Shrewsbury found his proposals for the Duke of Savoy received with coldness, and the fishing dispute, having been settled for Newfoundland, arose anew

- (b) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.27. Bol. Corr.III 349.
 Prior to Bolingbroke Feb.13. Bol. Corr. III 383.
- (c) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.13 N.S. Bol. Corr.III at p.402.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.13. N.S. (a second letter) Paris Letter Book f.37.
 Ibid 403.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.16 N.S. Ibid 404; Paris Letter Book f.39.
- (d) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.4 and Feb.7 N.S.
 Bol. Corr. III 367 and 369.

over the fishing off the Nova Scotia Coast. The French were also determined on getting satisfaction for the immovable estates in the lands lost to them. The English ministry had wished to face Parliament with the peace an accomplished fact, but still the negotiations kept dragging on, and repeated prorogations prevented the Parliament from assembling. To Shrewsbury, the worst feature of the case was that the French were beginning to realise that the long delays were all to their advantage. "Spring the season of action, comes on apace," he reminded Bolingbroke, "and we have not yet secured our peace, nor made preparations for war. I think it is time to speak clearly, and tell this Court what you expect for your Allies, and what for yourselves, with assurance, that what you ask being granted, you are ready to sign, and invite others to do the same."(e) Even as the Duke was writing these words the Ministry must also have reached the same determination; for Bolingbroke's despatch of the 17th February O.S. contained precise instructions as to how

(e) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.22 N.S. Bol.Corr.III
414-5.

Shrewsbury was to proceed. Britain was resolved to waste no more time waiting for the Allies, and Shrewsbury was instructed to inform the French that the Queen was ready to conclude a peace between Britain and France, provided she received satisfaction in her demands. If the Allies chose to come in, she would feel bound to give them her protection, if not, she would make peace without them. If, however, the French proved unreasonable as to the demands she made, she would on the opening of Parliament, which had been again prorogued till the 3rd of March, demand war supplies, and lay before the Parliament the uncertainty of the negotiations. The demands made of France were summed up in two memorials, one dealing with Britain's concerns, the other with those of the Allies. In the matter of fishing off the Coast of Nova Scotia, Shrewsbury had to remain firm, as also on the question of the selling of immovable property. But, as was not surprising, the French King's refusal to recognise the Electress Sophia as Electress until after the peace was to be waived. The difficulties in the treaty of commerce were to be settled also after the peace - so low had the Ministry's rare bargains fallen. In the memorial of differences yet remaining between the

French and the Allies, Portugal and the Dutch barrier were considered, while the Queen set out what she was prepared to do for the Elector of Bavaria. Savoy's demands were to be for the moment shelved. Misunderstandings had arisen over these at Utrecht, and in the meantime Anne had suffered what she believed a slight from the Duke of Savoy, who had failed to answer a proposition made by her.(f)

This decided attitude had the desired effect. On the 7th March N.S. Shrewsbury was able to inform the plenipotentiaries that the French King had agreed 'to every particular,' and to give them power to sign the treaty of peace and the treaty of commerce. Holland, Portugal and Savoy had all agreed to sign at the same time, and the plenipotentiaries were further to invite the remaining Allies to conclude either immediately or before the 1st of June, after which date the Queen's concern with their affairs would cease. "I think I may congratulate Your Lordship that the peace is made,"

(f) Bolingbroke Correspondence III 417-439 and 441-446.

Shrewsbury wrote to Oxford on the 8th.(g) The actual date for the signing of the peace articles was fixed for 11th April, and in the meantime Shrewsbury's attention was occupied with the consideration of the Renunciations of the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, which, perhaps more than anything else, were the cause of his embassy. These were formally made in the Parlement of Paris on March 15/4, and would have been concluded even earlier but for the illness of the Duke of Berry. Shrewsbury and Prior insisted on being present, in spite of the French Procureur General's opinion that they should not be, and both attached such importance to the proceedings that they suggested that English representatives should be present also at the renunciations of the Princes' proxies in the other Parlements of France.(a) The French King himself would not consent to take any part in the ceremony, declaring that it was contrary to all forms of the

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- (g) Shrewsbury to the Plenipotentiaries March 7 N.S. Rawlinson A 286 f.f.354-5; Paris Letter Book f.68
Shrewsbury to Oxford March 8 N.S. Bath I 230.
 - (h) Shrewsbury to the Plenipotentiaries March 15 N.S. Rawlinson A 286 ff.363-6.
 - (a) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Feb.7; Feb.22; March 8 N.S. S.P.France 157.f.f.48.52.72.Paris Letter Book ff.26,52,80
Prior to Bolingbroke March 7 N.S. Bol.Corr.III 461.

Constitution.(b) His letters patent, however, were produced to annul the Instrument made in 1700, whereby the right of Philip of Spain to the French Crown had been reserved. Philip's renunciation was read, and the Dukes of Berry and Orleans in the presence of the assembled Parlement and of the Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Conti, the Duke of Maine and the Comte of Toulouse, solemnly renounced for themselves and their children their rights to the Spanish throne. No oaths, however, were taken, and this, Lexington, at least, was inclined to consider an ill sign.(c)

With the conclusion of this ceremony, Shrewsbury's real business in Paris ceased. There remained only for him to proceed with the formal and ceremonious part of his embassy. News of the actual signing of the peace treaty on April 11th N.S. came to him on Easter Eve, and after the Easter Sunday devotions were ended, he made haste to seek a private audience with

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- (b) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Feb.22 N.S. S.P.France 157. f.52. and in Prior Letter Book, and Paris Letter Book.
- (c) Shrewsbury to Lexington March 19 N.S. S.P.France 157. f.78. Paris Letter Book f.94.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke March 23 N.S. Bol. Corr. III 501.

Louis, for the purpose of offering his congratulations.(d) In the interval between the conclusion of peace and Shrewsbury's public entry as Ambassador, a few minor points were yet successfully settled. Shrewsbury had before given it as his opinion that Britain was not in the right in denying the French facilities for selling their immovable property in the confiscated territories, and had pointed out to Oxford how injurious such a precedent would be if Englishmen should ever be in a like position.(e) Upon the French showing an inclination to satisfy Britain on the subject of the Protestant galley slaves, however, the right to dispose of the "bona immobilia" was granted.(f)

The public entry took place on the 11th of June, N.S., when Shrewsbury, and in his lesser degree, Prior also, did justice to their country with all the magnificence at their disposal. The matter of equipage had been troubling Prior for some time past, and he had been writing urgently both to Bolingbroke and to the Treasurer

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth April 18 N.S. S.P.France 157.f.94.
Paris Letter Book f.132.
Swinford to Tilson April 18 N.S. Ibid f.91.
- (e) Shrewsbury to Oxford. March 8 N.S. Bath I 230.
Oxford, as usual, did not reply. Cf. Bol. Corr.IV 55. -
April 24 N.S.
Cf. also Lexington to Oxford Portland V 293.
- (f) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury April 19. Bol. Corr. IV 67.

for instructions and for supplies.(g) When the day came he was at least enabled to make a brave show. About noon on the appointed day, those English nobles and gentlemen who were in Paris, about fifty in number, assembled, and accompanied the Duke a little way outside the Port St. Antoine to the mansion of "La Raquette," where he was complimented by the Prince and Princess of the Blood and the Foreign Resident Ministers. From there he was conducted in state to the Hotel des Ambassadeurs by the Mareschal d'Estrees and the Chevalier Sainctot, the Introduceur. All Paris turned out to see the spectacle. After it was all over, Swinford, the Secretary, took great pleasure in describing the procession for the Government at home. The "Introducer's" coach and that of the Mareschal d'Estrees were preceded by the Mareschal's two footmen and four pages on horseback, one of the Queen's messengers on horseback, twenty-four of Shrewsbury's own footmen, his first gentleman of

(g) Prior to Oxford Jan.23 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.77.
 Prior to Bolingbroke Feb.4. Feb.28 N.S. and March 7 N.S.
 Bol. Corr. III 354; 459; 461.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke March 8 N.S. Ibid 474.
 Shrewsbury to Oxford. March 8 supra.

the horse and six pages on horseback. They followed the King's Coach, where Shrewsbury sat with the Mareschal d'Estrees, the "Introducer" and the Earl of Selkirk, and behind that the coaches of the Duke and Duchess of Berry, of "Madame," of the Duke and Duchess of Orleans, and of the highest French nobility. Shrewsbury's own coach, drawn by eight horses and preceded by his second gentleman of the horse and his "Swiss" on horseback, came at some distance behind, empty, with a footman bareheaded at each door. His second coach followed, also drawn by eight horses, and after these his third and fourth coaches each with six horses. At the end of this fine pageant came the coaches of various English noblemen, and gentlemen, including that of Mr. Prior, with its six horses, who, if he were of "meane extraction," could relish a handsome display as much as anyone.

The whole ceremony lasted three days. On the third day, the Duke was conducted to Versailles for his public audience. In the outer court the French and the famous Swiss guards were drawn up under arms, and Shrewsbury passed to the noise of beating drums. The Guardes de la Porte were ranged in the inner court. At the Salle des Ambassadeurs the Duke alighted, and preceded by the English noblemen, was conducted by Prince Charles of Lorraine and the Chevalier Saintot to the foot of the

great stairs, where the two Masters of Ceremonies were awaiting him. On either side a hundred Swiss guards formed a mounting line; and so, past the Colonel of the Guards, by the door of the Guard Chamber to the King's own Bedchamber, where the King of France, with every reason for satisfaction, received him. Afterwards a reception was provided for all, and when dinner was over the Duke returned in the King's Coach to the Hotel des Ambassadeurs. On the following day, he went back to his own house, glad that the fatigue and ceremony were ended.(h) A great many visits remained to be paid and received; but the main ceremony was over. Shrewsbury's wish was to get home, and two days after his public audience he wrote to Dartmouth for leave to return.(a)

In England things were fast coming to a crisis. Parliament had assembled on the 9th of April, to be ²⁰ informed in the Queen's speech that peace had been signed. An attempt by the Whigs to amend the address of thanks

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- (h) Swinford (to Lewis) June 15. S.P.France 157.
 Swinford to Delafaye June 16. Ibid. Letter Book
 Shrewsbury to Dartmouth June 15. Ibid f.103.(also Paris/
 (a) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth June 15. (private letter)
 Ibid f.104.

with a proposal that the Queen should be asked to submit to the House the treaties of peace and commerce was successfully defeated; and in due course on May 5th the Peace was publicly proclaimed. After that, however, things did not go on so smoothly. The commercial treaty required legislation to make it effective, and had, therefore, to be considered by Parliament, when at once it became evident that a considerable amount of unexpected opposition would be directed against it. The paring down of Britain's advantages by the French had lost for the treaty the moderate Whig support that Bolingbroke had anticipated, while the alarm occasioned by the novelty of the idea had affected the Tories. A notable desertion from the ministry's side was Sir Thomas Hanmer, whose return from France Bolingbroke had urged in order to secure his vote. (b) Hanmer, convinced that the treaty meant ruin to English commerce, spoke out against the passing of the bill which should make it law, and, carrying his Tory supporters with him, secured its defeat.

(b) Bolingbroke Correspondence III 339-40.
Cf. Ibid 276; 388 and Hanmer's Corr. 140.

Meanwhile, the divisions in the ministry were growing wider. Bolingbroke, since his mission to France, tended to regard himself as chief minister, and fretted at the checks imposed upon him by the more stolid Oxford. The Treasurer's delays might well have maddened even a less impetuous man. The conviction that hurry would spoil everything exaggerated Oxford's natural love of procrastination.(c) Dartmouth and Bolingbroke had become sworn enemies.(d) Anglesey was veering towards the Whigs.(e) The Scots lords, angered at the decision against Hamilton's taking his seat in the House of Lords, and sharing their country's resentment at the imposition of the Malt Tax, were willing to join with the more violent Whigs to effect a dissolution of the Union. "God keep you and I in our wits," Bolingbroke wrote to Prior at the beginning of July, and to Shrewsbury, "I wish heartily you was here, because it will very soon be time for those, who must in honour and good sense unite in the same measure, to come to some peremptory resolution;

(c) Portland V 467.

Marginal note. Ibid 466.

(d) Keith Feiling 448.

Cf. Portland V 465.

The volume of Bolingbroke's correspondence with France reveals how he "encroached on Lord Dartmouth."

(e) Hermitage to Robethon June 18. 1713 Macpherson II 495.
Southwell to Dawson April 6. 1714. B.D.C.II 1
Bolingbroke to Strafford June 20. 1713. Bol. Corr.
IV 163.

and that resolution cannot, ought not to be taken, till your Grace is amongst us."(f) What was this resolution that troubled the Secretary? Was it only the reconstruction of the party on a more purely Tory basis,(g) or was it perhaps something deeper, the settlement of the succession itself? It was at least sufficient to rouse in Shrewsbury the gravest anxiety. "Allow me for the present only to recommend temper and moderation," he replied, "and to begg you to do nothing hastily that may be deferred: for what is not done at one time, may at another, but what is once done can never be undone." And there, if Bolingbroke's mind had indeed been on the more serious issues, he might have read the Duke's final answer to the riddle of this succession, which seven Englishmen had helped to alter in 1688. "What is once done can never be undone."(h)

In spite of Shrewsbury's anxiety to hasten to England, the marriage of the Prince de Conti necessitated the Ambassador's and the Court's stay at Versailles for a

- (f) Bolingbroke to Prior July 4. Bol. Corr. IV 183.
 Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury July 4. Ibid 180.
 (g) Keith Feiling 451.
 (h) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke July 25 N.S. Bol.Corr.IV 205.
 Shrewsbury, significantly enough, had also delivered a message to Bolingbroke by Gaultier (Bol.Corr.Aug.20. p.244), that drew from Bolingbroke the assurance "Nothing can make me take any measures separate from you"-----

short period, and so his other visits were slightly delayed. (a) In the round of these ceremonious calls, an amusing difference arose. The Introduceur's Secretary, probably taking his duties too seriously and too literally, insisted on entering the Duke's coach, and, occupying the place of honour, accompanied him wherever he went. Shrewsbury's annoyance was extreme. He lost no time in conveying his sentiments on the matter to Torcy.

"I take the liberty to address this word to you to inform you of an incident that it will be as well to avoid in the visits that I shall have to make to the Princes; it is that M. Merlyn, Secretary to the Introduceurs, claims not only to be seated in my Coach but positively to occupy the second place before any person whatsoever even of the first rank who may do me the honour to accompany me although I find this pretension very extraordinary I desire to avoid any argument on the matter. But always supposing

(a) Prior to Dartmouth July 7 N.S. S.P.France 157.
Shrewsbury to Oxford. July 9 N.S. Bath I 234.

that I am within my rights to put whom I wish in my own Coach, I cannot imagine that it can be in any way displeasing to the King that I avail myself of that freedom. And that I prefer to dispense with the presence of M. Merlyn, whose absence cannot do harm to anyone, since the Introduceur himself will always be present to perform the necessary duties."....(b)

After this frank expression of opinion, it is hardly to be supposed that M. Merlyn would care to put in another unwanted appearance in the Duke's coach.

The visits of ceremony over, Shrewsbury desired to take his leave of the King.(c) He was in no serene frame of mind. The state of parties in England was disquieting; his wife had not been well; and his expenses had exceeded even his calculations.(d) Prior, sensing the irritation which the Duke experienced, informed Bolingbroke that Shrewsbury was returning "a good

(b) Shrewsbury to Torcy June 27 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.239 in French. Paris Letter Book f.204.

(c) Paris Letter Book f.10.

Shrewsbury to Dartmouth July 10. S.P.France 157 f.106.

(d) Shrewsbury to Oxford May 22 N.S. Bath I 233.

deal out of humour, however his good-breeding strives to conceal it."(e) To Dartmouth and to the Treasurer he confided that his 'extraordinaries' were in excess of the amount settled, but begged them to break no rule for him, only hasten the payment of the sum due him as Ambassador.(f) His letter of recall had come in the second week of July.(g) On the 6th of August he announced that there was only his audience of leave to make, and asked that a yacht be sent to Calais for him by the 15th of the month - for choice the Peregrine, 26 commanded by Captain Sanderson, the same Captain Sanderson probably about whom he had once entertained suspicions.(h) With Prior he made a tour to Fontainbleau before his departure to see the 'great houses' of France, and compare them doubtless with his own building in Oxfordshire.(a)

- (e) Prior to Bolingbroke 13 July. Bol.Cor.IV at p.200
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- (f) Shrewsbury to Delafaye July 18. N.S. S.P.France 157.
Shrewsbury to Dartmouth July 18 N.S. Ibid f.108.
Shrewsbury to Oxford July 9; July 18 N.S. Bath I 234-5.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth July 10 N.S. S.P.France 157
f.107 (private letter).
- (h) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Aug.6 N.S. S.P.France 157
f.114. Paris Letter Book f.219.
Cf. Coxe 76.
- (a) Prior to Oxford. Aug.11 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.175.

The audience of leave was fixed for the 23rd of August, when Louis did him the honour to see him in private at Marly.(b) "He took leave of this court," wrote Prior, "in the handsomest manner imaginable." The King, for his part, as a last gracious gesture, presented him with his picture set in diamonds, a truly regal gift, for Prior estimated its value at twenty five hundred pounds.(d)

On the first day of September (N.S.) the Duke and Duchess set out from Paris, the Duchess much dreading the sea crossing still before her.(e) She had not had a week's good health during her stay abroad, and must therefore have been as glad as her husband to leave France. She had, however, been well liked by the Parisians, in spite of the liberties which English ballad writers took with her name,(f) and her magnificent entertainments had become the fashion. She had also the notable good fortune to alter and to set a fashion in

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- Shrewsbury to Dartmouth Aug.19. Paris Letter Book f.221.
 (b) Shrewsbury to Dartmouth (official letter) July 10 N.S. S.P.France 157 f.106. Paris Letter Book f.205.
 Prior to Dartmouth Aug.19 N.S. Prior Letter Book at f.183.
 (d) Prior to Dartmouth Aug.23 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.184.
 (e) Prior to Oxford Aug.31 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.185.
 Prior to the Plenipotentiaries Sept.4 N.S. Ibid f.186.
 Prior to Shrewsbury Sept.5. N.S. Ibid f.189.
 (f) Shrewsbury to Oxford May 13 N.S; July 18, N.S. Bath I 232; 235.
 Wentworth 321.
 "The British Ambassadors' Speech to the French King."
 Rawlinson D 383 f.67 and f.112.

hairdressing; for she had been mightily amused at the ponderous erections without which no Parisian dame considered herself properly coiffured. The Duchess herself wore her hair low, and drawn behind her ears, and had the satisfaction of seeing all feminine Paris following her example. Saint Simon marvelled that where the King's disapprobation had availed nothing, the ridicule of a silly foreigner had been sufficient to mark the end of the extravagant head-dresses of Versailles.(g)

One new friend the Duke left behind him. Matthew Prior had been entirely captivated by Shrewsbury's charm of manner, and was full of regret when his "beloved Duke of Shrewsbury" took his leave.(h) Shrewsbury had indeed been good to him. Newcastle's absurd story that the Duke treated his inferior with such hauteur that he would not even permit him to sit unbidden in his presence (a) needs no other disclaimer than Prior's own warm tributes. In Prior's illness, Shrewsbury had shown consideration and concern to an extent that touched the struggling poet.(b) He had added his plea to Prior's

(g) Saint-Simon X 316.

(h) Prior to Arbuthnot Aug. 20. Prior Letter Book f.185.

(a) Nicholson and Turberville 194-5.

(b) Prior to Bolingbroke. April 10. N.S. Bol. Corr.IV.104.

that a proper equipage and means to sustain the envoy's position should be provided for him.(c) The result of this intervention was at first disappointing, and he had done his best to make up for the neglect shown Prior by presenting him with a horse, 'the glory' of the poet's equipage.(d) He did not cease his attempts to relieve his subordinate, but spoke on his behalf when he was once more on English soil, and some years later, when Prior, saddled with debts, ruined by his political opponents, and shunned by his former friends, knew not where to turn, he found at Heythrop a temporary haven.(e)

He repaid Shrewsbury with affection sincere of its kind. Matthew Prior, like many another, possibly remembered his debts of gratitude more vividly in times of necessity. But Shrewsbury had certainly made an impression upon him. "Love the Duke of Shrewsbury," he wrote to Stanley, when he heard that Stanley was to have the good fortune at last of going with the Duke to

(c) Shrewsbury to Oxford Aug.11 N.S. Bath I 236.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke June 23 N.S. Bol.Corr.IV 175.

(d) Prior to Shrewsbury Sept. 1. Prior Letter Book f.191.

(e) Portland VII 224.
 Prior to Bolingbroke Sept.30.N.S. Bol. Corr.IV 303.
 Prior to Shrewsbury Sept.12.N.S. supra.

Ireland.(f) "For my part," he told Bolingbroke, "if my fortune were fixed, I would follow the Duke of Shrewsbury per freta per scopulos;" and so amused was Bolingbroke that he teased Matt about the "Irish favourite."(g) For Shrewsbury's clear comprehension of business Prior had the greatest admiration.(h) He unweariedly lauded his public spirit, while the ease with which the Duke managed both his correspondence and his conversation moved him even to verse. He enclosed the effort in a letter to Bolingbroke for his approbation.(a)

"To His Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury."
 (With Montaigne's Essays; inclosed in the above letter)
 (a¹)

Dictate, O mighty Judge, what thou hast seen
 Of cities and of courts, of books and men,
 And deign to let thy servant hold the pen.

Through ages thus I might presume to live,
 And from the transcript of thy prose receive
 What my own short-liv'd verse can never give.

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- (f) Prior to Stanley. Oct.17 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.208.
 (g) Bolingbroke Correspondence IV at p.266.
 Bolingbroke to Prior Sept.25. Ibid 306.
 (h) Prior to Bolingbroke May 13 N.S. Ibid at p.p.306-7.
 (a) "I would have him pleased, for he always is most so with that which is best for the public."...Prior to Bolingbroke. Sept.12 N.S .
 Ibid 267. Cf. Prior to Shrewsbury Sept.5 N.S. Prior Letter Book f.189.
 Prior to Bolingbroke April 8 N.S. Ibid 73-74.
 (a¹) Shrewsbury's notes on Montaigne's Essays are in Buccleuch Manuscripts, "Duke of Shrewsbury's Remarks on Various Books" vol. III 38, 39 and 40.

Thus should fair Britain, with a gracious smile,
 Receive the work: the venerable isle,
 For more than treaties made, should bless my toil.

Nor longer hence the Gallic style preferr'd,
 Wisdom in English idiom should be heard,
 While Shrewsbury told the world where Montaigne err'd."

The Duke for his part had no hesitation in giving due credit for the great share of business which Prior took on his own shoulders. "Mr. Prior has been to the last degree useful to me," he explained. (b) Prior was in the habit of assisting him in the writing of all despatches, (c) and with his previous experience of diplomatic work, must have been a source of strength to a man like Shrewsbury, who was too apt to distrust his own opinions and belittle his own capacity.

Even the impassive Louis had appreciated Shrewsbury's kindly charm, and did not fail to enquire for him after his departure, and express satisfaction that he had had a good journey. Such a mark of favour almost overwhelmed Matthew Prior. "This from an ordinary Person I should not have writ to you," he observed proudly, when retailing the news, "but

(b) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke March 8 N.S. Bol. Corr. III 474.
 Cf. Shrewsbury to Oxford March 8 N.S. Bath I 230.

(c) Prior to Bolingbroke Feb. 16 N.S. Bol. Corr. III 393.
 Prior to Dartmouth July 31 N.S. S. P. France 157 f. 112.

from the King (my Lord) le Roy m' a gracieuse beaucoup is, as you know the top and sum of human felicity." As the Duke was then engaging Prior to speak to Louis on behalf of one of his Oxfordshire nephews, the Abbé Stonor, he must have heard the news with some pleasure.(d) Other friends in Paris begged to be remembered to him and to the Duchess, and much regretted his departure, a fact not at all strange in Matt's eyes, since he believed that Shrewsbury could not fail to be regretted from every place he left. For himself, he felt like crying when he passed the Hotel de Soissons.(e)

- (d) Prior to Shrewsbury Sept.29.N.S. Prior Letter Book f.199.
 Prior to Shrewsbury Nov.11 N.S. Ibid f.225.
 Shrewsbury to Prior Dec.14. Portland V 372.
 (Strange that this letter should be among the Harley letters. Unlike those of July 1 (p.468) and Oct.4 (p.496) it is of purely private concern.)
- (e) Prior to the Plenipotentiaries Sept. 4 N.S.
 Prior Letter Book f.186.
 Prior to Shrewsbury Nov.11 N.S. supra.

CHAPTER XV

I R E L A N D

CHAPTER XVI R E L A N D

Since the time of his second Secretaryship Shrewsbury had continued to feel an interest in Ireland. When Irish business had to be done in London, it was to Shrewsbury that the Irish had usually turned, for his good sense and quick despatch of business placed him high in the estimation of the English party in Dublin. During his second Secretaryship, he gave every sign of welcoming the idea of being Lord Lieutenant there, and had the King felt inclined at that time to spare him from his post in England, he might so early as 1696 have sampled the responsibilities of Governorship. In 1700 the opportunity for going to Ireland had actually presented itself; (a) but by that time circumstances for Shrewsbury were more complicated. His health was poor, and his temper disinclined for the cares of office. Even then, however, he gave the question his

(a) There was a suggestion that he should be Lord Lieutenant even so early as 1699.

Vernon to Shrewsbury April 6. 1699. Vernon II 271.

Cf. Jan. 18. 1698. S. P. Dom. and March 18.

and Nottingham to Halifax May 14. 1699.

R. Southwell to Halifax May 11.

E. Southwell to Halifax May 11 - Savile MSS.

serious consideration, and but for the attitude of Bolton might have reached a more favourable decision in the end. Upon his return from the Continent almost six years later the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was again the post that appeared most likely to appeal to him, and it was suggested that the failure of the Whigs to approve him for this post was one of the causes of his misunderstanding with them.

When, therefore, upon Marlborough's dismissal, Ormonde was removed to Flanders in command of the forces, it was natural that rumour should find him a successor for the Irish Lord Lieutenancy in the Duke of Shrewsbury, (b) the more so as Ormonde's second period of office as Viceroy in Ireland had been singularly unfortunate. Even in the time of Lord Chancellor Porter, the Government in Dublin had been trying to assure the Government in England that there was no such thing as a party in Ireland. Protestants were united against Papists; Papists kept well in their place. There could, therefore, be no party heats. Neither Whig nor Tory was known to this happy land. But in spite of these protestations, every Parliament divided

(b) Luttrell VI 709.

Swift to King Jan. 8. 1712. Correspondence I 312.

Wentworth 243; 281.

Swift to Stella. Jan. 26 and March 20. Letters 40 and 43
II 477; III 13;

Southwell to King, March 15.

itself into parties with as much regularity as its English neighbour. Bad as it was that a small minority should consider itself the whole of Ireland and of the Irish people, it was worse still that one section of that minority should set up to dictate to the rest, but this was what the Anglican Church party was trying to do, and when even this party divided into Whigs and Tories, Low Church and High Church, confusion was worse confounded.

The dissensions in the Irish Parliaments of William's reign were proof enough, if proof were needed, that party strife was as bitter there as in the English House of Commons. Nevertheless, it appears true that the state of party rancour had much increased during the reign of Anne, (c) while the ability of the Government to keep it in check, even when it had the will to do so, was hampered by the fact that since the time of Rochester's rule, the Lord Lieutenant had remained in Ireland only during the Parliamentary session. The vigorous Wharton had, moreover, given heart to the Whig Low Church element, which, because ~~of~~ its toleration to Protestants was broader than the Tory views, always tended to receive more support. Thus a Tory

(c) King to the Archbishop of Canterbury Sept. 8. 1713.
King Letter Book.

restoration in England in 1710, did not necessarily involve Tory power in Ireland, even although it meant a Tory Lord Lieutenant. The truth of this Ormonde was not slow to discover. His predecessor had left a legacy of party strife that made the second Lieutenancy more difficult than the first, and as early as May of the year 1711, the City of Dublin was involved in a dispute about the choice of a mayor, which had its origin in purely party difference. The quarrel actually went back to the time of Wharton's Lieutenancy, when the Tory Alderman Constantine, seeking election as mayor, was defeated by the rival Whig candidate, Forrest, a man much his junior. Constantine petitioned the Privy Council, the majority of whose members were Tory, and in whose power lay the confirming of the election. But his claim was not allowed by Wharton, and Forrest duly became mayor for the year 1710. A similar situation arose that same year over the election of the next mayor. Eccles, another junior alderman was chosen, and so, too, in 1711 Alderman Barlow was elected for the ensuing year, to the further discomfiture of Constantine. There was, however, this much difference. Whereas in 1709 Wharton had refused to hear the grievances of a Tory alderman, there was in 1711

a fair chance of Constantine's claims receiving attention. He accordingly petitioned again, while the City, maintaining their right to elect what mayor they pleased, steadily opposed him. Constantine referred the Council to a by-law of Elizabeth's reign, which obliged the aldermen, according to seniority, to fill the position of mayor.(d) The Council on this occasion refused to recognise Barlow as mayor, but that did not exhaust the City's Whig choice. By the beginning of September four mayors and eight sheriffs had been rejected by the Council, and as King, the Archbishop of Dublin remarked, they were beginning to be sick of it.(e) The dispute was, no doubt, as ridiculous as historians have suggested it to be, but it was really no dispute on technical grounds at all. Its whole reason and excuse was a party one. The majority of the Corporation was Whig. The majority of the Council was Tory. So long as the Corporation was free to choose its own mayor, it would not choose a Tory, but if the law of seniority held good, a Tory must be elected. Failing that, the Council still had power to disapprove of the mayor chosen. On the mayor in turn depended the nomination of the sheriffs, who returned

(d) King to Swift. May 15.1711. Swift's Correspondence I 259-63.

(e) King to Swift Sept.1.1711.
Ibid.

the members to Parliament, so that any neglect of either party to uphold its own point of view in this quarrel might have far-reaching results.

By the autumn of 1711, Ormonde believed that the City had begun to see reason, and that the dispute might safely be said to be at an end.(f) Sir Ralph Gore, a moderate Whig was elected, and was followed by the Tory Sir Samuel Cooke, whom the Whigs believed to be a mild and tractable man.(g) Secure in the possession of his office, however, Cooke allowed his Tory principles to blossom forth, and lost no opportunity of disagreeing with the Whig Recorder. Far from being at an end, the dispute was only slumbering, and a substantial body of opinion felt aggrieved with the Lord Lieutenant because he had sided with the Council against the City.(h) Hence there were those who saw in Ormonde's appointment as Commander of the Army, a desire to remove him from further trouble in Ireland, and expected a new governor to be sent over at the beginning of 1712.(a)

(f) Ormonde to Oxford Oct.17.1711. Portland V 102.

(g) Portland V 239-40.

(h) Molesworth (to Oxford) Ibid 82.
King to Swift May 15 supra.

(a) King to Southwell April 27. 1712. King Letter Book.
King to Annesley June 3. 1712. Ibid.

For the moment, however, Ormonde retained his post, though rumour fully believed that Shrewsbury would be made Lord Lieutenant before the spring was past. In actual fact, the office was offered him at that time. But after considering the matter he informed the Treasurer that he would rather not go to Ireland. That he had considered it seriously is shown by the fact that the Duchess would make no comment when she was congratulated on the subject.(b)

The choice of a successor to Sir Samuel Cooke soon opened up the Dublin City dispute in a more violent form. The Council claimed that the retiring mayor had power to nominate three aldermen, from whom the election must be made; but, naturally enough, none of Cooke's nominees found favour with the majority of the Whig aldermen, while the Council for their part refused to consider any alderman whom they had previously disapproved as mayor, or any of seventeen others whom they had had occasion to censure.

- (b) Shrewsbury to Oxford March 29.1712. Bath I 218.
 Swift to King March 29. Correspondence I 323.
 Swift to Stella March 24. Letter 44 III 18.
 Rumour suggested that Shrewsbury refused to go without "the security of keeping his place" as Chamberlain - King to Southwell April 27. 1712.
 King Letter Book.

Matters thus reached a deadlock. No new mayor was chosen, and, backed up by legal opinion, which, thanks to the Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, (c) was largely Tory, the Council decided that Cooke could hold over in the office of Mayor until some decision was reached. The Whigs objected, and, since the Recorder and many of the City officers were Whigs, their objection was sufficient to bring the City business to a standstill. (d) It was obvious to the Government in England that some settlement between the Whigs and Tories in Ireland must be made, if only because revenue was needed and a Parliament must be called. Nothing could be done by an absent Governor. Accordingly, the ministry set themselves once more the task of persuading Shrewsbury to accept the Lord Lieutenancy.

Even before Shrewsbury's embassy to Paris, Swift believed that his destination as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was a settled thing; (e) but though it was not so settled as Swift supposed, it was not for want of persuasion. As the embassy

(c) Phipps had been counsel for Sacheverell.

(d) Bishop of Dromore to King July 25. 1713.

King to Parnel Aug. 5. 1713. King Letter Book.

King to Molyneux May 25. 1714. King Letter Book 290.

(e) Swift to Stella. Sept. 15. 1712. Letter 52; III 48.

came near an end, the ministry became more hopeful that he would accept of the office, and word had reached Ireland also, for Alan Brodrick's visit to England in the summer of 1713 was believed to be for the purpose of putting the Whig case before the Duke.(f) By the 25th of July Bolingbroke considered his acceptance so certain that he thought it worth while to ask Prior to recommend his secretary, Hare, to be Secretary for Ireland, but the Duke himself was non-committal, and replied only that he did not know if he were going to Ireland.(g) His decision was, however, reached not long afterwards, for during August minor officials were already trying to ascertain if they might consider themselves safe in their posts, while Prior renewed his unsuccessful solicitations for Hare.(h) The Duke returned to England on the 24th of August, and on the 13th of September he was nominated Lord Lieutenant

- (f) Butler to Dawson July 18. 1713 B.D.C. I 296.
Cf. Cox to Southwell. June 30. Add. MSS. 38157 f.7.
- (g) Bolingbroke to Prior July 25. Bol. Corr.IV. 201.
Prior to Bolingbroke Aug.11 N.S. Ibid 229 and Prior Letter Book f.174.
Cf. Butler to Dawson Aug.4. B.D.C. I 298.
- (h) Shaw to Dawson. Aug.11 and Aug. 27. B.D.C. I. 298 and 300.
Prior to Bolingbroke Sept.5 N.S. Bol. Corr. IV at p.266.

of Ireland.(a) There were not wanting those who believed that the Government was anxious to be rid of him, for the purpose of carrying on their own designs.(b) But, in spite of that, his appointment was welcomed in Ireland. As King had said, "Most are prepossessed with the opinion of his probity and understanding and particularly that he is no Enemy to this Kingdom. I do not reckon," he added sadly, "any Governour can do us much good, all that we expect is that they may do us as little mischief as they can." (c)

King William had once rallied Vernon on Shrewsbury's propensity for looking on the blackest side of things; but on this occasion surely the Duke cannot have anticipated one half of the difficulties that awaited him in his new office. He was aware that the City dispute remained unsettled, and that he with his cool judgment and placable disposition was expected to compose the differences that had arisen; but he had no conception of the extent to which party

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- (a) Molesworth to his wife. Aug.17. Clements MSS. 263.
 Butler to Dawson Sept.8. B.D.C. I 301.
 Bolingbroke to Prior Sept.8. Bol. Corr. IV 272.
 Wentworth 352.
 Wogan to Dawson Sept.12. B.D.C. I 302.
 Portland V 334.
 Patent dated Sept.22. Cf. Irish Letter Book I.
- (b) King to Annesley Nov.14. 1713. King Letter Book.
 King to Southwell April 27. 1712. Ibid.
 King to Annesley June 3. 1712. Ibid.
 Anonymous Life 25.
- (c) King to Southwell March 26, 1712. King Letter Book.
 Cf. also King to Swift March 27. 1712. Swift's
 Correspondence I 320.

feeling had gone, nor of the sentiments of either party towards himself. Shrewsbury had not been in intimate touch with Ireland during Anne's reign, and so the actual people with whom he must work were unknown or unfamiliar to him. It was the penalty of his change of party, that the few he knew really well were Whigs and not Tories. In spite of the interest that he had earlier taken in Irish affairs, he had not before been in Ireland, and had to rely on what he already knew from past correspondence, or on what was now told him by comparative strangers, without realising that the former information might be out of date, and the later prejudiced. Hence he anticipated no real party struggle, and on the eve of his departure was repeating to his intimates what had so often been declared to himself, that there was no difference in Ireland but that between Protestant and Papist.(d)

High as was the general opinion of Shrewsbury's capacity, those who had actually witnessed the state of parties in Ireland foresaw that his task would be no easy one. He would arrive in the midst of the elections for a new Parliament when faction was roused to its utmost.

(d) Berkeley to Strafford. Sept.29. Wentworth 356.

Phipps, according to Molesworth, was running about like a roaring lion, while at least half the Protestant section of the people were dreading that the Government's real intentions might be to bring in the Pretender. The Archbishop of Dublin clearly believed that if the Duke were able to quiet disorders such as Ireland was experiencing, he would have done "a great thing." "Certainly very few chief Governors have Come into Ireland under more difficult circumstances," was his opinion. "...The Kingdom in a high ferment, higher than I ever saw it except when in Actuell Warr. The Councill and the City embroyled, the two houses of parlmt not yet cooled of the heet contracted at parting. His Grace the Ld. Lieutenant an absolute Stranger to psons and things not knowing whom to trust or on whom to depend. A parli^{mt} called in his absence and his Grace coming here in the Midst of Elections..... Judge with yourself how it could be expected that he should be able to manage Such exasperated minds and bring them immediately to a temper. Add to this that he is to begin the session with a mony Bill Such as was never before offered at the opening of a parlem^t." (e)

(e) King to Annesley Nov.14.1713 King Letter Book 222.
 Molesworth to his wife Sept.23 Clements MSS. 263.
 Southwell to Dawson Oct.17. B.D.C. I 306.

Even before his departure Shrewsbury had a brush with the ~~minority~~ ^{ministry} on the subject of his Secretary. His encouragement of Sir John Stanley even so far back as 1700, he perhaps regarded in the nature of a promise, and although Stanley's political views were Whiggish, the Duke refused to take anyone else. (f) Stanley knew his Ireland, and might be trusted to assist the Lord Lieutenant to the best of his ability, but in the eyes of the more extreme Tory Members of the ministry, it must have seemed an ominous sign that Shrewsbury should publicly declare his intentions of making Stanley his Secretary, when Stanley and all Stanley's Irish relations were indubitably Whig. Bolingbroke was obviously extremely annoyed, as much perhaps from the rejection of Hare as from the hopes that the appointment raised among the Whig party in Ireland. His admonishment to the new Secretary amounted almost to a threat. "I know very well," he assured the Lord Chancellor Phipps, "Sir John Stanley's relations, acquaintance, and habits to be entirely Whiggish, which, I have taken the liberty to tell him, are matter of much prejudice to him, and which will oblige him to more than ordinary circumspection in his behaviour. He has

(f) Anonymous Life 26.

professed to me, all that can be asked of a reasonable man, and I hope, he will make these professions good."(g)

There were many things to be prepared before the Duke set out on his journey, and as usual Shrewsbury was determined to have the essentials done as speedily as possible. A delay in issuing the commission for calling the Irish Parliament caused him to proceed to Windsor at the beginning of October to expedite the matter. The bills prepared for the English Council's consideration had arrived in London before he left, and this with other business he despatched with more than usual speed.(h) To the Treasurer he applied for necessary information about the Irish military establishment and the list of Irish pensions, and received from Oxford, quite typically, lists that were five years out of date. Oxford was becoming more and more exasperating to his more vigorous colleagues, and Shrewsbury courteously but frankly intimated to him what he believed to be the cause of his declining health. "I cannot forbear being impertinent out of my way,"

(g) Bolingbroke to Phipps Oct. 3. Bol. Corr. IV 316-7

(h) Stanley to Dawson Oct.1. B.D.C. I 305.

Shrewsbury to the Lords Justices. Oct.2. Irish Letter Book I 3.

Shrewsbury to Phipps Oct. 3. Ibid.

Stanley to Dawson Oct.3. Ibid I 4.

Shrewsbury to the Lords Justices. Oct.6. Ibid.

Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Oct.26. Ibid I 5.

Stanley to Thomas Harley Oct.26. Ibid.

Shrewsbury to Oxford. Oct.8. Bath I 240.

he wrote, when he urged Oxford to supply him with corrected lists, "and telling you I heartily wish you would bring yourself into a method of keeping better hours. I know by experience that nothing is more prejudicial to a strong constitution, and more destructive to a weak one, than late hours of eating and sleeping." (a)

The yacht for the journey had been ordered to Holyhead for the 20th of October.(b) The Duke and Duchess did not, however, arrive there until the 23rd, having set out from Windsor on the 12th and visited Heythrop on their way.(c) On the 27th Shrewsbury was sworn as Lord Lieutenant in Dublin,(d) supped with the Council and the Chancellor, and spent the first night of his stay in Ireland thoroughly wearied with the journey and the ceremonial.(e) Even in the first few days, Dublin was favourably impressed with the new Lord Lieutenant, while Swift's prophecy about the Duchess pleasing the Irish with her frank manners seemed likely to prove true.(f) The hopes of the Whigs had been greatly raised by Stanley's appointment as Secretary.

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- (a) Shrewsbury to Oxford Oct.9. 1713. Bath I 240.
 (b) Stanley to Dawson Sept.26. Irish Letter Book I 2 and Oct. 3rd p.4.
 (c) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Oct.26. Irish Letter Book I 5. Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville. Oct.11. Egerton 1695 f.51. Abel Boyer VI 243.
 (d) For details of the reception in Dublin see Abel Boyer VI 244.
 (e) Cox to Southwell Oct.31. Add. MSS. 38157. Stanley to Hare Oct.28. Irish Letter Book I 6.
 (f) Swift to King Jan.8. 1712. Correspondence I 312. Cox to Southwell *supra*. Swift to Stella Sept.18. 1712. Letter 52 III 48.

To his nephew, Monck, the new Secretary had given the duty of seeing that the Castle was made fit for the Lord Lieutenant to live in, and the actual preparations had been made by Manley, a staunch Whig.(g) As for the Tories, with the Chancellor at their head, they were determined to yield in not the slightest degree over the City or any other dispute, hopeful in the knowledge that whatever view the Lord Lieutenant might take of the matter, they would find good support from Bolingbroke in anything they cared to do against the Whigs.

From the outset, Shrewsbury appears to have endeavoured to treat the opposing factions with impartiality, but the consequences of his want of knowledge of the state of bitterness between them were soon apparent. The obstinacy of Phipps succeeded in irritating him, while, although Sir John Stanley professed to do nothing against the Tories or for the Whigs, it was inevitable that many of the leading Whigs should through him be introduced to the Lord Lieutenant and flock to the Castle to pay their court.(h) It was

(g) Stanley to Dawson. Sept.24. Irish Letter Book I 1 and B.D.C. I 304.

A Long History, etc.,

(h) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Nov.3. Bath I 241.

Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.3. Stanley Letter Book pp.2-10.

A Long History, etc.,

hardly possible that Shrewsbury could rebuff his old protégé, Molesworth,(a) for no reason other than a party one, or refuse to treat with courtesy Alan Brodrick, whose brother had once been one of his chief correspondents in Ireland. Thus it was not long before the Tories were complaining that they were neglected at the assemblies at the Castle, while the Whigs went round proclaiming that Shrewsbury really favoured Brodrick for the Speaker's chair in the coming Parliament.(b) This impression was no doubt deepened by the Lord Lieutenant's behaviour on the anniversary of King William's birthday, which fell on the 4th of November. Still convinced of his notion that there was no difference but that between Protestant and Papist in Ireland, he celebrated the day with suitable rejoicing, drank to the glorious memory of King William, and sent music specially to the Tholsel to entertain the City magistrates there. The Whigs were delighted. They took this as a mark of special favour to themselves, while

(a) Cf. ante ch. VIII.

(b) A Long History, etc.,
 Nutley to Swift Nov.5. Swift's Correspondence II 83.
 Bolingbroke to Phipps Nov.17. Bol. Corr. IV at p.347.
 Nutley to Swift Nov.21. Swift's Correspondence II 90.

the Tories, correspondingly offended, agreed with the Bishop of Cork when he preached that drinking to the dead was as bad as praying for the dead.(c) Even by the date of the celebrations, however, Shrewsbury had discovered that the work of composing the City dispute was going to be more difficult than he had imagined. He had lost no time upon his arrival in requesting the Chancellor and the Council to explain to him the details of the matter, but he found them strangely obstinate. They still hoped that the forthcoming Parliament might provide the Tories with a majority in the Commons such as they had in the Lords, which would support their decisions should they be brought before Parliament;(d) and their only proposal meantime was

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- (c) A Long History, etc.,
Halliday Tracts - "Of drinking to the memory of the Dead."
"A second Part of Drinking in Remembrance of the Dead."
- (d) Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.3. Stanley Letter Book 2-10.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Nov.3. Irish Letter Book I 7.
Shrewsbury to Oxford Nov.3. Bath I 241.
Phipps to Swift Nov.9. in Froude I 392.
Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Nov.17. Bol. Corr. IV 345.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.29. Stanley Letter Book 24.
King to Swift Dec. 15. Swift's Correspondence II 99.
King to Annesley Dec.15. King Letter Book 233-4.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Dec.22. Stanley Letter Book.
Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.5. Bol. Corr. IV 417.

that Sir Samuel Cooke should hold over as Mayor. Shrewsbury pointed out that the opinion of the Attorney-General and of the Chancellor in England was that the Mayor could not legally hold over after Michaelmas, but the remonstrance had no effect. An expedient was then suggested. Seventeen aldermen who had elected a Mayor of their own had been censured by the Council, and would have no chance of being approved. Cooke's nominees had already been refused by the aldermen; but there remained one man, Alderman Pearson, who had not been rejected or censured by either side. With some difficulty Shrewsbury prevailed on the Council to let him be nominated, and with equal difficulty persuaded the City to agree to this. Just when the whole thing seemed settled, he was dismayed to receive word from the Chancellor that a meeting of the Council had rejected the proposal as "derogatory to their dignity." As the Council meeting had been held at a private house, at a place and time unknown to the Lord Lieutenant, Shrewsbury's annoyance with the Chancellor can be understood.(e) Phipps, he saw, was

(e) Stanley Letter Book 5 & 6.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.3 and Bolingbroke to Stanley Nov.10. (Private letter not printed).

the real drawback to a peaceful settlement, and he hinted to the ministry in England that he wished the Chancellor's friends there would write to him frankly, because he seemed determined to use the City dispute as a means of making himself popular with the Lords of Council, who were all "puffed up with the same conceit."(f)

In face of such faction there seemed to Shrewsbury no one in Ireland to whom he could turn for advice. Everyone appeared engaged on one side or another, and it can have been little satisfaction to him to hear in the course of an adulatory address, delivered to him at the Castle, "None will be able to advise you better than Your Self."(g) While informing the Treasurer of the state of the dispute as he found it, he begged that none but the Queen should know the contents of his letter, for already he suspected that the parties in Ireland were simply planning to make his government as difficult as possible.(h) As usual, too, the difficulties were having a bad effect on his health.

(f) Shrewsbury to Oxford Nov. 3. supra.

Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Nov. 12. Bol. Corr. IV 342.

(g) Halliday Tracts - A speech made, etc., --- By Matthew French.

(h) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Nov. 3. supra.

King to Southwell Nov. 14. King Letter Book 224-5.

He had come over to Ireland with a violent cold, and had been feeling ill ever since.(a) Meanwhile, party animosity was finding an outlet in the election of Members for Parliament.(b) By the first week of November about half the county elections were over, and on the 6th the election for the city of Dublin began. The sheriffs had appointed the election to take place at the Tholsel, instead of at the 'Blue Coat' Hospital, as it had been in previous years. This, they declared, was so that they might the better prevent disturbances, but the Tories, arriving with laurels in their caps, gave out that this was a ruse to prevent their having an opportunity to vote at all. The electors, with their customary supporting mob, were soon roused to angry discussion in the small space provided for them. Words gave way to blows, soldiers were summoned, and in the general scuffle one man was killed and others wounded.(c) In the circumstances the sheriffs professed themselves afraid

(a) Stanley Letter Book 8.
 Bath I 242.
 Bol. Corr. IV 342.
 Portland V 372.

(b) King to Mrs. King Oct.31. King Letter Book 9.

(c) Stanley to Hare Nov.7. Irish Letter Book I.9.
 Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.17. Stanley Letter Book 12.
 A Long History, etc.,

to continue with the poll, until the Lord Lieutenant suggested as an expedient that voters for the Whig candidates, the Recorder and Alderman Burton, should poll at the Tholsel, while Fownes and Tucker, the Tory candidates, should carry their voters to the Hospital.(d) Further rioting was thus avoided. The Whigs were duly elected; the Tories sure that the result was unfair;(e) and Parliament, which should have met on the 20th, was prorogued until the 25th. (f)

The first great struggle in Parliament, as both Whigs and Tories knew, would be over the choice of a Speaker. Sir Richard Levinge, a moderate Tory, was the Government's choice, but the Tories believed that Shrewsbury had been much too slow in allowing this to be known. In any case, Levinge, as a moderate, had not roused their own party to enthusiasm.(g) Brodrick, the Whig candidate, had on the other hand the whole-hearted support of his Whig followers.

(d) Cox to Southwell Nov.10. Add. MSS. 38157.

(e) Cox to Southwell Nov.17. Add. MSS. 38157.

(f) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Nov.19. Bath I 243.

Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Nov.19. Irish Letter Book I.14.

(g) A Long History, etc.,

King to Annesley Dec.15. King Letter Book 233.

He was besides indefatigable in his efforts to gain votes. The Tories, in fact, said of him that he paid his compliments to the country members, before they had time to get their boots off. He made his court at the Castle, approached members to solicit their votes, it was said, even in the Lord Lieutenant's presence, and somehow managed to give the impression that Shrewsbury was not unfavourably disposed to his pretensions. From the moment that he found the Council so obstinate, Shrewsbury feared that the Government's position would be weak in the Commons. "I want words to describe the uneasiness of my condition, exposed to the censure of everybody if the business in Parliament miscarry," he confided to Oxford.(h) His forebodings were all too just. Parliament met on the 25th, when the Lord Lieutenant addressed the Houses in a typical speech.(a) He opened with a reference to the

(h) Nutley to Swift. Nov.21. Swift's Correspondence II 90.
 Shrewsbury to Oxford Nov.19. Bath.I 243.
 Cf. Bolingbroke to Anne. Nov.25. Bol. Corr. IV 350.
 "My Lord Lieutenant seems doubtful, whether he shall be able to carry the Speaker ---- On the other hand, I find the rest of your servants ---- out of all fear ----"
 Cf. however Hill to Hanmer Oct.20. Hanmer Corr. 153.

(a) Irish Letter Book I 11.
 and Commons Journals Ireland II 744.

safe and honourable peace which had been procured, touched on the necessity for securing the Church and the advancement of trade in the kingdom, and did not fail to mention the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. To the Commons he addressed a special word on the proposals and need for raising revenue, and concluded with an exhortation to lay aside their divisions.

"I am very sensible," he said, "of the Great Honour Her Maty has done me in placing me in so eminent a station and of my own inability sufficiently to discharge so great a trust. But I will begg leave to assure you, that no one ever endeavoured it, with more Zeal for Her Majesty's service and for your Interest (which I take to be inseparable) than I am firmly resolved to do.

"I must therefore earnestly recommend it to you that as the Protestants of this Kingdom, are united in one common interest, you may all agree in the same means of promoting it, and shew by a Dutifull Comportment towards Her Maty, and by laying aside all Warmth and Resentment, that every one of you is equally concerned for Her Majesty's service and the Good of this Kingdom."

Alas for the good advice - when the Commons divided on the question of a Speaker, Levinge lost the chair by four votes, and Brodrick was chosen. The Tories were still hopeful that Shrewsbury would refuse to recognise him as Speaker;(b) but this he believed would do more harm than good,(c) and Brodrick had the satisfaction of returning the House his thanks in a condescending speech which later made the Queen laugh.(d) The failure of the Government to procure their candidate's election was the more aggravating since it was believed that the Whig opposition was mainly due to the refusal of the Council to compromise in the City dispute.(e)

The Whigs in the Commons lost no time in making the most of their majority. Disputed elections were decided in their favour. But in spite of this, Shrewsbury believed at first that business would go on smoothly. A motion to prevent the Council from altering heads of bills to be

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- (b) A Long History etc.,
 - (c) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Dec.3. Bol. Corr. IV 379.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Dec.22. Stanley Letter Book 62.
Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Dec.22. Bol. Corr. IV at p.403.
 - (d) Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.25. Stanley Letter Book 30.
Bolingbroke to Stanley Dec.3. supra.
 - (e) Stanley to Bolingbroke Dec.22. supra.
King to Southwell Jan.5. 1714. King Letter Book 239.

submitted to the English Council was shelved when it became known that it was objectionable to the Government, and on the 5th of December the first supply was voted unanimously.(f) But as King said, "No mortall man can foresee or answer for the conduct of an house of Cōmons."(g) Here the unanimity ceased, probably with the knowledge that the Council and the Chancellor refused to unbend on the subject of the mayoral election. On the 4th of December the Committee of the Council, which had been ordered to consider the matter, submitted its Report to the full Council, and there followed a debate "carryd on with unusual heat and passion and personal reflections," which resulted in little more than the obstinate determination to have Sir Samuel Cooke hold over as Mayor, until one of his nominees should be elected, in spite of what anybody might say to the contrary.(h) The inability to arrive at a satisfactory settlement was not long in producing results in the Commons. Lord Chancellor Phipps the Commons believed to be the source of the trouble, and rightly or wrongly they had made up their minds that Phipps stood for Jacobitism.(a)

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- (f) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Dec.5. Irish Letter Book I 23.
 (g) King to Southwell Dec.15. King Letter Book 236-7.
 (h) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Dec.5. supra.
 (a) King to Southwell Jan.5. 1714. King Letter Book 239-40.

A day was appointed for the consideration of the City election petition at the Bar of the House, and the supposition was that the occasion was to be used to examine into the dispute about the Mayor and censure the proceedings of the Council. On the 9th of December, two days before the expected contest, they began to take serious steps. Strangers in the galleries were ordered to be taken into custody. The reading of the bill for duties on beer and tobacco was postponed. The following day a committee was appointed to prepare Heads of a Bill to attain the Pretender, with a clause offering a reward for apprehending him either dead or alive.(b) As the Government had anticipated, the Commons were not long in arriving at a motion against Phipps. The first charge against him was sufficiently ridiculous. A trumpeter, who had enjoyed his patronage, had since professed himself a Catholic, and the Whigs would have made it a grave offence in the Chancellor that he had encouraged the man. Unfortunately from the party point of view, others also had given the trumpeter their countenance, among them Her Grace the Duchess of Shrewsbury herself. In the circumstances, the Whigs would have found it difficult

(b) Commons Journals Ireland II 758 .
Bolingbroke to Anne Dec.17. Bol. Corr. IV at p.394.
Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Dec.8. Irish Letter Book I 38.

to prove the unfortunate musician "one of the Pretender's
Heralds," and the motion which they had at first made
against Phipps, as an encourager of Popery and a friend
to the Pretender, had to be withdrawn.(c) The matter
did not stop here, however. The examination of Fownes'
and Tucker's election petition gave another excuse to
attack the Chancellor. The petition was dismissed as
'frivolous, vexatious and scandalous;' the papers relating
to the mayoral election were then ordered to be laid before
the House; and the 18th of December was set aside for
enquiring into the charges against Phipps.(d) These
were now two in number, one that he had obtained a noli prosequi
in favour of one Lloyd, who had been ordered to be
prosecuted for getting subscriptions for printing a
treasonable book "The Memoirs of the Chevalier^{de} St. George,"
and the other that he had prejudged the cause by a speech
to the Mayor and aldermen before the trial of Dudley Moore,
the actor, who had been prosecuted for speaking a Prologue
at the Play House on King William's birthday, which, the

(c) A Long History etc.,
Bolingbroke Correspondence IV 394.

(d) Stanley to Bolingbroke Dec.17. Stanley Letter Book 38-42.
Commons Journals. Ireland 762-766

Chancellor held, had been directly responsible for rioting. The House sat until two in the morning, and the outcome was a resolve to address the Queen to remove the Lord Chancellor. Meanwhile the Lords had not been idle. The following day the Commons' address was made ready, but the Lords had also prepared an address, where, to crown their adulation of Phipps, they inserted the adroit compliment to the Queen that the Chancellor had ever been "a zealous asserter of the prerogative in opposition to a Factious Spirit which hath too much prevailed in this nation."(e)

Shrewsbury's feelings at this turn of affairs can be imagined. Already the party troubles in Ireland had so badly affected his health that his doctor had urged him to spend as much time as possible at Chapelizod.(f) Perpetual colds, shortness of breath, and the old lung trouble were making him miserable. But the truth was, as he explained to Prior, that his mind was not easy.(g)

- (e) Commons Journals Ireland II 768-770
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Dec.19. Irish Letter Book I 43.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Dec.22. Ibid 45.
 Stanley to Bolingbroke Dec.19. Stanley Letter Book 44.
- (f) Stanley to Bolingbroke. Dec.10 at p.36.
- (g) Shrewsbury to Prior. Dec.14. Portland V 372.

Dr. Shadwell to the Duchess Jan. 2. Sloane 4034 f. 44.

In the midst of the heat and violence of parties, he was striving to maintain an impartial attitude, though the Tories called him a Whig, and the Whigs were convinced that he had never acted for them.(h) "My temper is so unfit to join with either of these parties," he complained to Oxford, "that I hope her Majesty will recall me, and name some other Governor more fitly qualified for this tempestuous station, and who will reside here so as to make himself obeyed better than I have been able to do, even when I signified her Majesty's commands; for it being known I was only to stay here a few months I have made the figure rather of a Viceroy in a Play than of one who had the honour of her Majesty's patent."(a) Such an end to a long ambition must have grieved him immeasurably. The Whigs grew more factious every day, the Tories more obstinate. The Chancellor's friends were convinced, and with good reason, that he had the support of the ministry in England, and that he could afford to hold out against his enemies, and ignore the accommodation which the Lord

- (h) King to Annesley. March 2. 1714. King Letter Book 254.
Cox to Southwell Dec.15. 1713. Add. MSS. 38157 f.33.
(a) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Dec.22. Bath I 243.

Lieutenant was endeavouring to settle. Indeed, much of Shrewsbury's difficulty is explained in Bolingbroke's attitude to Ireland. Oxford's star was declining: the Secretary more and more was filling the position of chief minister, and the tone of the despatches from England ~~were~~^{were} surely altering. (b) To Phipps, Bolingbroke had invariably written in words of subtle flattery. His sympathies were entirely with the Chancellor, and his impatience at the obstacle of a Whig majority increased from week to week as the Irish problem still remained unsolved. To Stanley he insisted that it would be a strange absurdity to have a Whig administration in Ireland and a Tory administration in Britain, and when a letter from Phipps informed him of the Irish Parliament's attack upon the Chancellor, he submitted to the Queen whether it were not 'time for the weight to be thrown into the honest and loyal scale.' (c) He hinted to Phipps that had the ministry in England but understood the true state of affairs in Ireland, and by that he meant the fact of the Whig majority there, their decision on the mayoral dispute might have been very different.

(b) Bolingbroke to Anglesey Jan.25. Bol. Corr. IV 440.

(c) Bolingbroke to Stanley Dec.15. Bol.Corr. IV 388.

Bolingbroke to Anne Dec.17. Ibid at p.395.

Backed up by instances advanced by the Irish Council, the Attorney-General's opinion would have been in favour of Sir Samuel Cooke's holding over as Mayor, instead of as it had been, against that view. As it was, he was able to give a significant piece of advice that must have confirmed the Chancellor in his obstinacy. "Do your part," he wrote, "and you may be assured that, on this side of the water, there are a number of men, who never did nor never will bow the knee to Baal, and who will support the Church interest at the expence of every thing that is dear to men."(f)

The address against the Chancellor, which, although prepared, had thanks to Shrewsbury's tact not been presented at the same time as the Lords' address in the Chancellor's favour, was brought to the Lord Lieutenant on the 21st of December. Both Houses of Convocation had also resolved to present addresses, in which they took care to express their esteem for the exalted virtue of the Queen's excellent minister, Sir Constantine Phipps. When they arrived at the Castle for the presentation, they

(f) Bolingbroke to Phipps. Dec.22. Ibid 399.

had the misfortune to collide with the Commons' members, and great was the indignation when Molesworth pointedly raised his voice and said, "They that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." (g) On the same day the money bills continuing the impositions for three months as requested in the Viceroy's speech, were passed; but Shrewsbury had little hope amid the general dissatisfaction of procuring any more revenue, and strongly advised the Government to think of means to reduce the Establishment. The only possible way of bringing the Parliament and Council to see reason was, he believed, to make them realise that the Government could go on without them. (h) When, however, he imagined that the English ministry intended to tax Ireland by the English Parliament, he was alarmed, and was glad to learn from Oxford that this had never been seriously considered. (a) Even in the event of a new

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- (g) Stanley to Bolingbroke Jan.22. Stanley Letter Book 56-68.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.22. Irish Letter Book I 45-6
 A Long History etc.,
 Bolingbroke to Stanley Jan.5. Bol. Corr. IV 421.
- (h) Shrewsbury to Oxford Dec.22. Bath I 243.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.29. Irish Letter Book I 77.
- (a) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Dec.22. Bol. Corr. IV 404.
 "There are ways of supplying this deficiency and among others I dare affirm that the Commons of Britain would be thankful to her Majesty if she rendered it necessary for them to do it." - These were probably the words that misled the Duke.
 Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.19. Ibid 428.
 Shrewsbury to Oxford Feb.2. Bath I 244.

Parliament's being called, Shrewsbury could not see that the situation would be improved. He had done everything in his power to arrive at a compromise over the City dispute, and to keep down the party disturbances in Parliament, but it was not in his nature, as his Secretary reminded Bolingbroke (possibly a trifle ironically in view of the admonitions that had been given himself) to threaten people for voting in Parliament.(b) He had at first believed that the Commons would sink their differences. Stanley averred that the Commons would have done so, but for the fact that they had word that the Lords meant to send representatives into England to justify the Chancellor before the Queen.(c) It must have been with considerable relief that the Lord Lieutenant saw the Houses adjourn on the 24th for the Christmas recess. On the day before, the Commons had presented to him a resolution, asking that it might be laid before the Queen, giving their conviction that for some time past there had been a **design** formed and carried on to subvert the constitution and **alter** the Government of the City of Dublin. More hopefully, they had appointed a committee to examine into the accounts

(b) Stanley to Bolingbroke. Jan.2. Stanley Letter Book 70.

(c) Ibid.

during the recess, with a view to lose no more time in settling further supplies, and agreed to meet again in three weeks.(d) But the general opinion was that a threat lay behind their actions, and that the promise of supplies was dependent upon the Chancellor's being removed before they reassembled. To Shrewsbury's annoyance, the Lords resolved to adjourn for a fortnight only.(e)

Swift had been writing to his friends in Ireland that he had never seen such determination at the English Court to treat the Irish situation with a firm hand. He believed that the ministry would not tolerate government there on a different political basis from that in England.(f) At the end of December the ministry gave signal proof as to which side they were prepared to support. Shortly after Shrewsbury's arrival in Dublin, the Archbishop of Armagh had died, and Shrewsbury had made it a special request in letters to both Oxford and Bolingbroke, that a new Primate should not be appointed before the end of the Parliamentary session.(g)

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- (d) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Dec.24. Irish Letter Book I 54. Commons Journals Ireland II 772-3.
 (e) Bishop Lindsay to Swift. Dec.26. Swift's Correspondence II 108.
 (f) Swift to King Oct.20. cited Froude I 391-2. Swift to Bishop of Dromore Dec.19. Correspondence II 105. Swift to King Dec.31. Ibid 110. Cf. Lewis to Dawson. Jan.2. B.D.C:I.309.
 (g) Shrewsbury to Oxford Nov.3. Bath I 242. Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Nov.3. Irish Letter Book I 7.

He had, however, recommended that the archbishopric should be given to an English bishop, no doubt to keep it distinct from Irish party disputes, and had suggested either the Bishops of Hereford or Chester, or Dr. Smallbridge, Dean of Christchurch, Oxford.(h) In spite of this, however, on the 21st of December Bolingbroke despatched an express to inform him that the Queen had decided to bestow the vacant archbishopric on Lindsay, Bishop of Raphoe, a friend and supporter of the Chancellor.(a) The appointment was a slight to the Lord Lieutenant, but the manner of informing him was worse; for several posts before the news arrived, the Lord Chancellor's friends were confidently asserting that Lindsay was to be the new Primate.(b) That was not the only occasion on which Shrewsbury had to complain that communication between the ministry and himself was not as it should be. Two letters from Oxford were said to have miscarried, and it was small wonder that he should question how such a thing could happen

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- (h) Shrewsbury to Oxford Feb.2. Bath I at p.245.
It has been said that the Lord Lieutenant recommended his relation, the Bishop of Oxford, but Shrewsbury himself says nothing of this.
Cf. "Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury" p.204.
- (a) Bolingbroke to Phipps. Dec.22. Bol. Corr. IV 399.
Bolingbroke seems to have spoken to the Queen in favour of Lindsay. - Cf. Bolingbroke to the Lord Primate of Ireland - Ibid at p.570.
- (b) Shrewsbury to Oxford supra.

accidentally "twice together." Letters from the Lord Treasurer of Great Britain to the Chief Governor of Ireland should not have been lost, when every private man's letter was safely delivered.(c) An address from the sheriffs and justices of the peace of Cork, which Shrewsbury through Stanley sent to England on the 16th of February, was printed in the English newspapers that arrived in **Dublin** on the 18th.(d) That may have meant nothing more than a leakage of information through a clerk, but on the other hand it may have meant that the English ministry were in a position to receive information about Ireland sooner than the Lord Lieutenant himself, just as the certainty with which the Chancellor's supporters could predict the Primate's appointment suggests that Bolingbroke may have written more frankly to other **Irish** correspondents than to Shrewsbury. The accidental opening of a letter not intended for him brought the Lord Lieutenant a profuse assurance from Bolingbroke in reply to his apologies, that the Secretary's whole correspondence had been pointed to remove difficulties. Not a syllable, he declared, had fallen from his pen which he should be sorry that Shrewsbury might see.(e)

(c) Ibid.

(d) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.20. Irish Letter Book I 154.

(e) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury. Feb.4. **Bol.** Corr. IV. 454.

But after reading Bolingbroke's letters to Phipps, one wonders. Shrewsbury apparently did feel that he was being cut off from an account of the real state of affairs in England. The Treasurer's letters were as usual few, even when nothing untoward happened in their delivery: Bolingbroke was too prejudiced to be a good correspondent. The Queen's health, meantime, was precarious, and her sentiments towards the Hanoverians as cool as ever. Through Dr. Shadwell, however, one of the Queen's doctors and the Shrewsburys' private physician, (f) the Lord Lieutenant was kept informed of the stages of Anne's illness during the anxious winter of 1713 to 1714. (g)

Further proof of the English ministry's sympathies with the Chancellor was apparent when there arrived from England a revised opinion of the English Council to declare that they had agreed, with only one dissentient voice, that Sir Samuel Cooke could after all legally hold over as Mayor. With the same post came a gracious reply from the Queen to the address which the Lords had made in Phipps's favour, and an order that Parliament should be prorogued until the 18th

(f) Duchess's will.

(g) Shadwell wrote under the name of Smith.
Sloane MSS. 4034 also Ailesbury p.222.
Printed also in Boyer VII 641 et. seq.

of January, no doubt to give Shrewsbury an opportunity to settle the dispute in the light of the new decisions before the two Houses should meet.(h) The Chancellor's party was elated. For his part, Shrewsbury obediently tried to bring the Whig managers of the Commons to promise to drop their attacks against Phipps, but without success.(a) When Cooke approached the Recorder, the sheriffs and the aldermen, to propose that they proceed to a new choice from among his nominees, they refused to recognise him as Mayor at all, addressed him as 'Sir Samuel Cooke', and warned him as a commoner not to defy the House of Commons.(b) To the latest decision of the English Council in favour of his holding over, they would advance no other answer than that it was not the opinion of their legal advisers, and that although they had petitioned the Council for a state of the case that was sent to England, no reply had been forthcoming. Shrewsbury had advised the Council to return a moderate answer to this petition, professing their inability to produce the papers until they had received the Queen's

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- (h) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.5. Irish Letter Book I 66.
 (a) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.5. and Jan.10.
 Irish Letter Book I 66;71.
 Southwell to Dawson Jan.16. B.D.C. I 310.
 (b) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.15. Irish Letter Book I 73.
 They did not, however, refuse to go to a new election.
 Cf. Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.20. Ibid. p.154.

orders on the matter, but the majority of the Council were of opinion that the petition should merely be rejected, and the Lord Lieutenant acquiesced. Undecided what further steps to take, Shrewsbury prorogued the Parliament until the 27th of January, and again until the 3rd of February. Contrary winds had delayed the posts from England, and he was in great uncertainty whether the ministry there desired the Parliament to meet again. It was by this time generally known that the Commons intended to refuse supplies until they received redress of 'what they called their grievances.' They had confided to Stanley that they thought it better to refuse the supply than to grant it and have Phipps fixed for another two years.(c) In the middle of January a new proof of the ministry's opposition had come in an order from England that Molesworth, whose slighting reference to the members of Convocation had been made the subject of a Parliamentary complaint, should be removed from the Council.(d) The policy of carrying through the Tory measures "with vigour and some degree of severity" (e) was all too plain, and it was perhaps not unnatural that the Whig party should consider

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- (c) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Jan.29. Ibid f.77.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Jan.15. Stanley Letter Book 78.
(d) Stanley to Bolingbroke Jan.22. Irish Letter Book I 76.
and Stanley Letter Book 82.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Dec.22. Stanley Letter Book at p.66.
(e) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.19. Bol. Corr. IV 428.

that they could hardly make matters worse for themselves than they were already. So hopeless did Shrewsbury believe any agreement to be, that he had already by the end of January given directions for stopping all payments that were not absolutely necessary for the service of the Government, and directed schemes of proposed economies to be drawn up. In accordance with instructions from England, he then consulted with the Chancellor and Lord Anglesey concerning a long prorogation of Parliament. They advised a prorogation until the 10th of August, and a proclamation was issued to that effect.(f)

The stricter measures, however, which Bolingbroke considered the only sensible policy, failed to settle the point at issue. Sir Samuel Cooke had the ministry's sanction for retaining his position as Mayor, but the sheriffs were Whigs, and they refused to believe that they could legally hold over. The justices refused to hold sessions, the Recorder and the Town Clerk neglected their duties.(g) The beginning of February thus found Dublin

(f) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.2; Feb.10. Irish Letter Book I 79; 151.

Shrewsbury to Oxford Feb.10. Ibid 107-9.

King to Southwell Jan.5. - King Letter Book 239.

(g) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.2. supra and Feb.20. Irish Letter Book I 154.

King to Annesley March 2. King Letter Book 254.

King to Clogher April 20. Ibid 266.

divided into two hostile camps, with Shrewsbury at the Castle endeavouring to keep a patch of neutral ground. The celebrations for the Queen's birthday must have been amusing; for at the Castle the Duchess entertained the ladies to a great dinner. At the Royal Hospital the Tories drank triumphant healths; while the Whigs assembled at the Tholsel for a feast of their own.(h)

From the moment that Shrewsbury saw that he was unable to settle the party quarrel in Ireland, he had begged to be allowed to resign. Leave to return was accorded him on the 7th of February, although not on the foot of quitting the employment of Lord Lieutenant,(a) but the unquiet state of the country so demanded his attention that he was delayed in Ireland far beyond his wishes. All through the Spring he laboured to find some way of settling the City dispute, examining and forwarding to England petitions from both sides, consulting with the judges, laying expedients before the different parties.(b) But it was

(h) Cox to Southwell. Feb.6. Add. MSS. 38157 f.65.

(a) Shrewsbury to Oxford Dec.22. Bath I 243.

Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.19. Bol. Corr. IV at p.430.

Stanley to Bolingbroke Feb.20. Stanley Letter Book 86.

Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.20. Irish Letter Book I 154.

(b) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.20 supra.

Stanley to Bolingbroke March 1. Irish Letter Book I 231
and Stanley Letter Book 96.

Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke March 19. Irish Letter Book I 233.

Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke March 27. Ibid 234.

Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke April 8. Ibid 235.

all to no effect. Meanwhile, the City was beginning to feel the want of proper magistrates. No business was done in the Courts, no prisoners tried, no debts recoverable. The markets were held without regulation. The streets remained unrepaired, and in some places so obstructed that one could hardly pass. Everything was in a miserable condition, and everyone suffered. Nevertheless, the City remained peaceable, a fact that the Archbishop of Dublin attributed as much to the Lord Lieutenant's good government as to the patience of the citizens. Shrewsbury kept himself "very close and quiet," carefully avoiding any appearance of siding with either party.(d) Some of the unrest found an outlet in the French service. Under the guise of 'listing men for the Pretender,' the French were sending agents to recruit their Irish regiments. Do as they would the Government could not put a stop to this. Men continued to "steal off in the night from creeks in the coast." It gave Shrewsbury

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- (d) King to the Bishop of Clogher April 20. King Letter Book 266.
 King to the Bishop of Carlisle May 4.
 Ibid 284.
 King to the Bishop of Clogher May 13.
 Ibid 288.
 King to Molyneux May 25. Ibid 290.

considerable anxiety , for in common with the Whigs he seems to have believed that these soldiers were destined for the Pretender's service, and as well as himself writing to Matthew Prior on the subject, he advised the English ministry that strong representations ought to be made through Prior to the French King. Efforts to arrest the volunteers roused the mob to such fury that they attacked the forces sent for the purpose.(e) Meanwhile, in accordance with the principle of reducing the Irish establishment, the work of disbanding regiments in Ireland went on apace. Considerable dissatisfaction was felt by the soldiers, and just as the Lord Lieutenant was considering his return to England, word came that two regiments refused to be disbanded until their demands were satisfied. One of these, Kerr's Regiment of Dragoons, proved obstinate, and Shrewsbury felt that it would not be proper for him to leave Ireland in the circumstances.(f)

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- (e) Stanley to Bolingbroke Jan.22. Irish Letter Book I 76; Stanley Letter Book 82.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke Feb.2. Irish Letter Book I 79.
 Cox to Southwell Feb.2. Add. MSS. 38157 f.63 and Feb.6. f.65.
 Bolingbroke to Stanley March 16. Stanley Letter Book 97.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke May 16. Irish Letter Book I 261. and May 25. Ibid 264.
 Shrewsbury to Prior July 1. Portland V 468.
- (f) Stanley to Bolingbroke April 15. Irish Letter Book I 245.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke April 18 (?) Ibid 246.
 Stanley to Bolingbroke April 23. Ibid 249.
 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke May 2. Ibid 256; May 16. Ibid 261

The Whigs in England, however, believed that the ministry was glad of his absence, lest he should make plain the true state of policy in Ireland.(g)

By the beginning of June, the Lord Lieutenant believed that he might safely return, and embarked at Ringsend on the 5th of the month. Stanley he took back with him. Cox, a member of the Privy Council and a former Chancellor of Ireland, blamed Stanley for much of the uneasiness that Shrewsbury had experienced in Dublin. The sympathies of the Secretary were undoubtedly Whig, but according to Stanley's own account he had consistently supported the Government, and there is little reason to doubt that he had tried to remain non-committal on party questions. Phipps, at least, had professed himself satisfied, and had used Stanley for his own business.(h)

Scarcely was the Duke on board, when several libellous pamphlets were published against him. "Why," asked one that unkindly called itself "Polyphemus' Farewell or A Long Adieu to Ireland's Eye"-

- (g) Molesworth to his wife. April 3.
Clements MSS. p.265.
- (h) Cox to Southwell June 5. Add. MSS. 38157. f.102.
Stanley to Bolingbroke June 7. Irish Letter Book II 1.
Stanley to Dawson June 7. Ibid.
Cox to Southwell Dec.22. Add. MSS. 38157 f.39.
Stanley to Bolingbroke Nov.29. and Dec.22. at p.p.32 and 64.

"Why shou'd I more than other Statesmen bear
 The odium of a Trimmer's Character?
 Since what I Did; my Interest urg'd me to;
 And all Mankind, do that Lov'd Game pursue:
 But then I'm told, I'm by all Parties Blam'd;
 By Neither trusted: And by Both disclaim'd;
 That my Affection to the Church is weak
 And Sense, no more than Politicks, I speak:
 As to the first, I yet am in Suspence
 Which fairly proves, that I'm a Man of Sense;
 For he who in these Times his Mind declares,
Must rise, or fall; as Stock of Party bears:
 Why then shou'd forward Tongues presume to Prate,
 And with such Freedom on my Acts Debate?
 Is't that because my Mind I don't declare?
 What need of that - Judge what my actions are." (a)

The Archbishop of Dublin explained why he bore the odium of a Trimmer's character. "His crime was," he wrote, "that he would not run into all the violent measures that some wou'd have had him."(b) But in spite of the fact that Shrewsbury had disappointed the extremists of both parties, the moderate Protestants of Ireland regarded him with esteem. His rule had at least succeeded in keeping the country quiet in a troublesome period, and his friends noted, perhaps with secret satisfaction, that on the night following

(a) Cf. Cox to Southwell June 8. Add. MSS. 38157 f.104.
 King to Molyneux - June 8. King Letter Book 296.
 King to Bishop of Clogher - June 8. Ibid 298.
 Dublin Newsletter June 10. Portland V 460.

(b) King to Molyneux supra.

his departure the City broke out into the first real violence that it had experienced for months.(c)

The Duke and Duchess landed at Parkgate on the 6th after a fair voyage, proceeded that night to Chester, and reached London by the following Saturday.(d) One member of the party had been left behind, Shrewsbury's cousin, Mistress Touchet, the ugly, awkward slut, whose presence Swift had rudely commented upon in the Shrewsbury household, had found a husband in Ireland, and had been married at the Castle in April to Lord Blaney.(e) She had a few months earlier fortunately escaped the ravages of small-pox, which in her case, as in Shrewsbury's, had not marked her face.(f) With usual generosity the Duke gave her a dowry of four thousand pounds.(g)

For Shrewsbury himself the Irish visit had been one of bitter mortification. He felt indeed that he had been

- (c) King to the Bishop of Clogher supra.
King to the Bishop of Clogher July 3. King Letter Book 312.
King to Stanley July 27. Ibid 320.
- (d) Stanley to Bolingbroke June 7. Irish Letter Book II 1.
Shrewsbury to Lords Justices of Ireland June 15. Ibid p.2.
- (e) Cox to Southwell. April 17. Add. MSS. 38157.
Shrewsbury to Prior July 1. Portland V 468.
Swift to Miss Esther Vanhomrigh. Aug.15. Correspondence I -
(339).
- (f) Shrewsbury to Prior Dec.14. Portland V.372.
- (g) Codicil to Shrewsbury's Will 10th July 1714.

treated like a "Viceroy in a Play," that no attention had been paid in England to his opinions or his desires, and that in Ireland those he should have governed were well aware of that fact, and consequently ignored him. "As none think I am able to serve them," he complained to the Treasurer, "none apply to me, and I am incapable of doing any service, under the opinion the two parties have conceived of my small credit at Court."(h) He had reason to be offended. His advice had been disregarded, and his recommendations of persons overruled. He had been sent over with one policy, and compelled on the Council's change of mind to reverse it. A moderate by inclination and profession, he had seen in Ireland that a Tory faction could be as unreasonable and obstinate as a Whig faction. If Bolingbroke's real wish had been to have Shrewsbury sent to Ireland to have him out of the way, it was to be productive of unfortunate results for the Secretary.

(h) Shrewsbury to Oxford. Feb.2. Bath I 245.

CHAPTER XVI

KINGMAKER AGAIN.

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"You are coming into a strange intricacy," Vernon had written to Shrewsbury in 1697. A no less strange intricacy awaited him upon his return from Ireland. The misunderstandings between the Treasurer and the Secretary, which Swift had noted with misgiving so early as 1711,(a) had increased to such a degree that the two now regarded each other with scarcely veiled hostility. Bolingbroke, vigorous, impatient of any authority save his own, aspired to lead the Tory party in real Tory principles, and found the Treasurer's procrastinating, opportunist ways hard to brook. With the years, Oxford had become more mysterious and more dilatory than ever. The hint that Shrewsbury had given him of the advisability of temperate hours and manners was sadly needed; for a love of late hours and a hospitable bottle was fast reducing him to the level of an invalid drunkard.

(a) Swift to Peterborough May 4. 1711. Correspondence I at p.253.

He retained, however, sufficient of his old plain sense to recognise the way that Bolingbroke was heading, and to resent both the Secretary's schemes for private enrichment, and his dictatorial attitude towards himself.(b) He had not, unfortunately, the old self-control that had once characterised him. His cautious, respectful manner towards the Queen was beginning to wear thin, and his colleagues were growing accustomed to endure a series of scoldings and reproaches.(c) Visualising, as he had done in 1710, a ministry of moderates, he had, owing to the weight of the more extreme Tories, lost all opportunity of effecting an agreement with the moderate Whigs, while the Whig party during the Spring of 1714 succeeded in detaching from the Tories. the leaders of the 'Hanover' group, Argyll, Nottingham and Anglesey.(d) Bolingbroke had been able to step in as the party leader, where Oxford's indefinite mind had kept him aside. At first, the Treasurer had owed much of his position to the favour

(b) The Earl of Oxford's Account of Public Affairs. Portland V. 464-468.

Bolingbroke to Oxford June 3. 1714. Ibid. 454.

(c) Harcourt to Oxford June 13. Portland V 458.

Lewis to Swift July 27. Swift's Correspondence.

(d) Southwell to Dawson April 6. 1714. B.D.C. II 1.

which he enjoyed both with the Queen and with Lady Masham, but his many breaches of courtesy were beginning to disgust the Queen; his request, it was said, of a dukedom for his son had irritated her, while his refusal to satisfy the greed of her bedchamber woman, had lost him the support of the favourite.(e) Bolingbroke was quick to take advantage. To the Queen his manner grew more than respectful. His every letter breathed reverence for the sovereign of a great State. Lady Masham, also, he managed adroitly. Appealing to her cupidity by a promise of spoils from the Asiento bargain with Spain, he was successful in turning to his own and against his rival's advantage, all the influence of this insidious woman with the Queen.

The future, however, remained as precarious for Bolingbroke as for the declining Harley. Both had been intriguing with the Jacobite Court, and had no doubt good reason to believe that Anne at least regarded her half-brother with more friendly feelings than she did the Hanover family. But both had emphasised the necessity of the Pretender's change of religion, and in this James Stuart was adamant. He could offer no more than a toleration to

(e) Portland V 466, 468.

Shrewsbury arrived in London in the middle of one of the Secretary's boldest strokes. By the introduction of the Schism Bill, which had for its ostensible object the education of dissenters' children by Anglican authorities, the High Church Tory party hoped to place the Treasurer in an embarrassing and invidious position. Oxford, the 'Presbyterian Spawn,' (f) had a substantial following among the Low Church party. He was the friend of dissenting ministers; his wife attended a Presbyterian Meeting-house. As the nominal head of the Tory party who had introduced the Bill, therefore, he was in an awkward corner. If he opposed the Bill, he would alienate the High Church supporters of the party; if he encouraged it, his Low Church followers would forsake him. Characteristically, he temporised, and in so doing pleased neither section of the Tories. His silence irritated both High and Low Tories; on the one side it was interpreted as lukewarm service, on the other as desertion. On Friday, the 11th of June, Anglesey proposed an amending clause to extend the Bill to Ireland, and the debates on this motion were postponed until the

(f) Wentworth 151 - "that spawn of a presbiterian Harley."

following Monday. Shrewsbury reached London in time for the Council meeting on the Saturday, and at the Council on the Sunday gave his vote against Bolingbroke.

Considerable interest was felt as to what his action on the following day would be.(g) On the 14th he joined in the debate, and argued against the extension of the Bill to Ireland. His reasoning, however, was cautious, and Harcourt had little difficulty in turning it to the advantage of the party. The Act of Uniformity, Shrewsbury pointed out, was in execution in Ireland, with no Toleration Act to obstruct it. So long as he had anything to do in Ireland it should be in execution. Therefore he saw no necessity for the Schism Bill, nor was it proper to take in a whole kingdom by a clause of an English bill.

The Chancellor fastened on the sole phrase that gave support to the Tory party. He was glad to hear, he said, from one so lately come from Ireland, that the execution of the Act of Uniformity would do no harm; and adroitly turned the Lord Lieutenant's remarks into a reply to the objections that had been raised by Wharton. The amendment

(g) Boyer VII 519.
Dr. Stratford to E. Harley June 14. Portland VII 189.
Wentworth 387.

was carried by six votes, in spite of Shrewsbury's opposition, and when the Bill was read for the third time on the 15th, Shrewsbury absented himself from the House.(h) His attitude was probably influenced by the desire not to vote against his own party. To Ireland, as Lord Lieutenant, he was under moral obligation to make public his own opinions, but the amendment having been passed, he did not choose to underline the difference between himself and the majority of his party by an appearance to register his vote against them. Before another week was over, however, Shrewsbury had shown where his sympathies lay. At the Council meeting on the 21st, he joined with Oxford in insisting that the time had come to publish a proclamation offering a reward for seizing the Pretender.(a) On the other hand, he was himself actuated by no personal rancour towards Bolingbroke. The attack made against the Secretary at the beginning of July for his share in the alterations in the Spanish commercial treaty - an attack eagerly encouraged by Oxford -

(h) Wentworth 390-1.

Pulteney to Dawson June 15. B.D.C. II 4.

Lords' Journals.

(a) King to Knox July 2. King Letter Book 316.

Galke to Robethon June 25. Macpherson II 630-631.

Keith Feiling 471.

The story in Marchmont Papers II 192, to the effect that "a short time before the Queen's death" Shrewsbury was deputed to plead with Oxford to decide to which Court the Party should go, and, failing to receive an answer, determined along with Bolingbroke to turn the Treasurer out, must, on consideration of the facts, be regarded only as a story. Sichel, in "Bolingbroke and his Times" accepts it as authentic, and, rather unfairly, does not disclose to the reader that his authority is an editorial note and is not from the text of the Marchmont Papers at all. The reference in Sichel (p.31) is erroneously given as Vol.III.

found Shrewsbury speaking on Bolingbroke's behalf, and when further action against the Secretary was suspended by the Queen's timely prorogation of Parliament on the 9th, it was rumoured that Shrewsbury had undertaken to effect a reconciliation between the two hostile leaders.(b)

Swift, smarting under an imaginary wrong because he had not had a favourable reply to his request to the Ministry for the post of historiographer, which was in the Chamberlain's gift, gibed that the attempts at reconcilment would no doubt succeed like the rest of Shrewsbury's late undertakings.(c)

The remark bore witness to his commonsense, if not to his good feeling; for Bolingbroke's now clear aim was to throw out the Treasurer, and instal himself as chief minister. If Shrewsbury had indeed entertained any hopes of proving a mediator, he was not long undeceived. So late as the 17th of July, Bolingbroke could say of him that he could not tell how he stood with him, but others were beginning to notice that Shrewsbury's private conversation was directed against the Secretary, and rumours were afoot that Bolingbroke

- (b) Ford to Swift July 6.
Newsletter. Wentworth 401.
- (c) Swift to Ormonde July 17. Correspondence II 187.
Ormonde to Swift July 22. Ibid.

had declared that Shrewsbury was trying to 'heave him' out of the Queen's favour.(d) During the month of July the political world appeared concentrated on this one quarrel between the Secretary and the Treasurer to the neglect of all other business. Irish representatives, arrived in London to have the City dispute brought before the English Council, once more, found that business was at a stand. "We can't expect to be dignified," they remarked astutely, "till they settle their own business first."

Significantly enough, this matter of the Irish dispute was managed by Bolingbroke and Anglesey, who had returned to the Tory High Church party over the Schism Bill; and the Lord Lieutenant was not even given a copy of the proceedings.(e)

On the 27th the threatening storm broke. Even before that date rumour had foreseen the Treasury in Commission and Oxford dismissed.(f) At the Council meeting on Tuesday the 27th, the Queen told the Lords her reasons for dismissing the Treasurer, not the least of which were

- (d) Arbuthnot to Swift July 17. Correspondence II 184.
Ford to Swift July 20. Ibid.
Newsletter - Wentworth Papers 401.
- (e) Letter to King from London July 15 - Trinity College, Dublin.
Lord Mountjoy to King July 27.
- (f) News Letter July 24.
De Foe to Oxford July 26. Portland V 475.

the 'bad manners, indecency and disrespect' which he had shown towards herself. Oxford defended himself in a long speech directed against his colleagues, and finally turning round upon them, railed at them in passionate invective, before leaving the Council Chamber for the last time.

The other Lords sat on; but no agreement could be reached as to a successor. It was, however, a generally understood thing that the Treasury should be put in Commission. No voice was raised to propose that the Secretary's ambitions in this direction should be satisfied; rumour suggested even that some members of the Council had threatened to resign if the Staff were so conferred, and Bolingbroke had perforce to be content with putting forward his nominees, with Wyndham heading the list.(g) The Queen was greatly shaken by the violence of the scene with Oxford, but although the Council meeting lasted until two in the morning, she waited until the end, when she retired exhausted. On the Wednesday and Thursday she was depressed and ill, but loath to follow the drastic remedies of her doctors. Her pulse on Wednesday had alarmed Dr. Shadwell,

(g) Lewis to Swift July 27.

E. Harley? to Abigail Harley July 31. Portland V 480.

King to Colonel Irvine Aug.14. King Letter Book 1714 p.21

who at once informed Shrewsbury; and Shrewsbury asked to have an audience with her, but without success.(h) She rose on the Friday, but from nine until eleven had two violent seizures from which she never recovered. On the news of her illness, the Lords of the Council, which had met at the Cockpit, removed to Kensington. There they were joined by Argyll and Somerset. Argyll had been turned out of his office for his opposition to the Government in the previous Spring, and Somerset, out of office since the beginning of 1712, had had a dispute about his rights to attend the Council so early as the summer of 1711. Their presence was probably prearranged with Shrewsbury, for he rose and welcomed them, thanking them for their assistance. In the confusion of this crisis, the Council turned to the one man who was respected and trusted by all. They advised that Shrewsbury should be made Treasurer. Some doubt exists as to who first made the suggestion. Some accounts have it that Bolingbroke himself was the one to seek this way out of the difficulty, some that Argyll proposed it and Bolingbroke, rather than appear discomfited, seconded the proposal. When the seizures were over, Anne regained consciousness and remained

(h) Peter Wentworth to Lord Strafford Aug.3.

in her senses until the end. The Duchess of Somerset, whom the Tories had failed to remove from the Queen's household, was asked to approach the Queen, with the request that some of the Lords desired to 'propose something of great moment to her,' and a few of the lords, Shrewsbury, Somerset, Argyll and the Chancellor among them, went in. So weak was the Queen that Harcourt had to direct her hand as she gave the Staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury, whose kindly spirit as he took it prompted him to say that he would keep it to resign it to her again when she was better.(a) But there was no hope of Anne's recovery. At 7 o'clock on the morning of Sunday the first of August, she died, and a breathless nation waited to see what the Government would do.(b)

Many years before, Shrewsbury had in conversation with an Italian princess, advanced the opinion that the man who sought to bring back the Prince of Wales to England would most surely lose his head.(c) If he ever had thoughts of

(a) Wentworth 408.

There is a story that the Queen asked Shrewsbury as she gave him the Staff to use it for the good of her people, but there is some doubt as to whether she could speak by that time - Boyer VII 630.

(b) Foley to Oxford Aug.2. Portland V 481.

For the account of Anne's death see Wentworth 407 et seq.

Daniel Malthus to Trumbull Downshire I 902.

Bromley to Oxford. Portland V 477.

Lansdowne to Oxford. Ibid.

E. Harley? to Abigail Harley supra.

Stanley to King Aug.5. Trinity College Dublin.

Ford to Swift July 31. Swift's Correspondence.

(c) Bucc. II 783.

revising that opinion, which is quite unlikely, the political crisis of 1714 seemed to him no time for experiment. The Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover was by law established, and the schemes of Bolingbroke which had required time for their ripening, were irretrievably lost. Shrewsbury at this juncture acted quietly, sensibly and decisively. On the same day as he had received the Treasurer's Staff, a meeting of the principal statesmen was held at the house of Bothmar, the Hanoverian envoy. Even before the Queen's death, the Council was reinforced by a number of Whig leaders, who were invited to join the ministers in this serious crisis. On the last day of July, Craggs was sent to the Court of Hanover to desire the Elector to proceed to England as soon as possible. His mother, Sophia, had not lived to have her dearest wish fulfilled. The fleet was meanwhile ordered to sea, forces were recalled from Flanders, Lords Lieutenant, were advised to take measures for quieting their counties; and the heralds were told to be in readiness to proclaim the new King. In Bothmar's house the black box with the names of the regents to govern until the arrival of Anne's successor, in accordance with the Regency Act, was prepared for its part.

When upon the Queen's death it was opened, Shrewsbury was found to be one of the regents named, the only one from among the ministers. Thanks to the prompt actions of the Council under Shrewsbury's leadership, the German Monarch was proclaimed in the three Kingdoms with^{as} great ease as if he had been the indisputable heir to the House of Stuart. In Ireland the Lords Justices obeyed the instructions to proclaim the King without a murmur. The Archbishop of Dublin noted it as a possible bad sign that no healths were drunk at the Castle, but save for that witness of their disappointment, the Justices conducted themselves with discretion. Among the people, there was, however, considerable excitement. The London crowd burnt the Pretender in effigy; in Dublin "the whole city and country seemed --- in a flame --- and a good quantity of wine and ale was spent."(d)

The next few months were for Shrewsbury perhaps the busiest in his life. He combined the three great offices

(d) Macpherson II 640-41.

King to Dr. Goodwin Aug.14. King Letter Book 1714 p.17.

J. MackGregory to Oxford Sept.11. Portland V 494.

Stanley to Dawson Aug.14. Irish Letter Book II.

King to Lord Mountjoy Aug.7. King Letter Book p.7.

- "the whole city and countrey seemed to us in a flame and I suppose a good quantity of wine and ale was spent on this occasion but not one drop at the Castle"----

of Treasurer, Chamberlain and Lord Lieutenant. The party with whom he had been joined had fallen from grace, and he stood alone to hold the balance between the old administration and the eager Whigs, who were gladly anticipating their triumph. His was the central figure in politics for the next few months, no "Vice-Roy in a play" now; the contrast in fact was such as to draw from Archbishop King a scriptural quotation more apt than in good taste.(e)

He was the one man to whom all petitioners turned; and in the interval between the Queen's death and the arrival of the new monarch, the pressure of business left him scarcely a moment to call his own. "You may easily imagine," wrote Stanley, "his Grace has hardly time to eat or sleep with the multitude of business in his severall employments at this juncture."(f) George I did not pay his new kingdom the compliment of being in any great hurry to reach it. It was the middle of September before he arrived with his train of foreign followers, servants, counsellors, mistresses, to occupy his new territory.

- (e) King to Bishop of Dromore Aug.10. King Letter Book p.15.
 "You know how he was used here but the stone the builders rejected is become the chief stone in the corner."
 Cf. King to Dr. Goodwin Aug.14. and King to the Bishop of Cloyne. Aug.14.
- (f) Stanley to King Aug.5. Trinity College Dublin.
 Cf. Wentworth 416 "the Duke of Shrewsbury has so many people flocking about him, that there's no speaking to him now."

The rush of business, and the constant supplications of job-seekers, proved almost too much for Shrewsbury's health. He knew that his manifold duties were only temporary, for so early as the 3rd of August, he had written George requesting that he might keep the Chamberlainship, and resign the offices of Treasurer and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.(g) He may have suspected, also, that the Hanoverian monarch intended to make a clean sweep of the old ministers.(h) But while the duties lasted, they were arduous. At no time during his career did he more clearly display his characteristic mixture of boldness and caution. Measures for the safety of the kingdom were taken with every boldness. Troops were ordered to their proper stations: regiments originally intended to be disbanded were bidden to be in readiness; a reassuring message and a promise of assistance were sent to the Bank; while on the other hand the greatest caution was exercised in the distribution of appointments and the paying out of money. There was one answer to all petitioners. He must wait until the King's pleasure was known: and even in the case of Ireland, where, as Lord Lieutenant, he might

(g) Macpherson II 639-40.

(h) Cf. Macpherson II 641; 653.

have been expected to dispose of employments that were waiting to be filled, he chose to submit every matter to the new King.(a) In Ireland, Dublin was still giving the Government considerable anxiety, but the Privy Council there did not quite realise that their case was on a different footing now that government consisted of a large majority of Whig regents. The regents had chosen Addison as their Secretary. Bolingbroke was fast fading out of the picture, and at the end of August he received his formal dismissal. "To be removed," he said, "was neither matter of surprise nor of concern to me. But the manner of my removal shocked me for at least two minutes." As he saw clearly, the Tory party was indeed gone.(b) When the Regents met, at the beginning of September, to take into consideration anew the Dublin City dispute, the preponderance of the Whig outlook was immediately evident. The dispute had dragged its weary length during all the time since Shrewsbury had left Ireland. The Lords Justices had remained obdurate, and added to their iniquities in the

(a) Shrewsbury to Dawson. Aug.26. Irish Letter Book II.
 Wogan to Dawson. Sept.18. B.D.C. II 17.
 King to Dean Mossom. Aug.18. King Letter Book.
 Shrewsbury to Prior Oct.4. Portland V 496.
 King to Dean Story. Oct.5th. King Letter Book.
 Boyer VII 633.

(b) Bolingbroke to Atterbury. Macpherson II 651.

Whig eyes by disregarding orders sent them by the Council of Regency. At the Council meeting on the 2nd of September Halifax opened the debate by reference to the "high indignity---offered to the Royal authority in their hands" by the Lords Justices of Ireland, who had thereby given the Regents "a usage that noe parte of the Kings Dominions had ventured to put on them." A rousing speech from Cowper succeeded in inflaming the assembly, and Devonshire proposed that the Lords Justices in Ireland should be superseded. Dartmouth and Nottingham supported him. Anglesey was the sole voice in the Lords Justices' favour. All this while Shrewsbury had sat silent, but at the end he rose to speak in favour of the Archbishop of Tuam, who was, he said, "noe way criminal," and in this the rest of the Lords agreed. The choice of new Justices was left to Shrewsbury; Phipps and the Primate were turned out of office; the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Kildare were appointed in their stead, and the Dublin City dispute seemed in a more hopeful prospect of settlement. Not the least matter for satisfaction in many eyes was that both the two new Justices were moderates, and that the

Archbishop of Tuam, a moderate Tory, had been allowed to continue.(c)

On the 18th of September the King reached England. Shrewsbury, with the other peers, was in waiting to receive him when the royal ship anchored in the fog; and the next few days were fully occupied in attendance on his new sovereign.(d) One wonders what impression the phlegmatic German monarch made on "the finest gentleman" of his dominions, or if any feeling of misgiving fell upon Shrewsbury as he watched the medley of another foreign 'invasion,' which was to bring a horde of greedy favourites, and two notorious German mistresses. Bothmar had hinted to George's secretary, Robethon, earlier in the month, that already Shrewsbury was unhappy. "The Duke of Shrewsbury feigns to be sick," was his belief, and for reasons which he intended to tell Robethon on his arrival.(e)

- (c) - to King Sept.2. Trinity College Dublin.
 Addison to Dawson Sept.2. B.D.C. II 15.
 Molesworth to King Sept.2. Trinity College Dublin.
 Stanley to King Sept.4. Trinity College Dublin.
 King to Shrewsbury Sept.10. King Letter Book p.49.
 King to Stanley Sept.10. Ibid p. 51.
 Shrewsbury to King Sept.4. Irish Letter Book II.
 Shrewsbury to Kildare Sept.4. Ibid.
- (d) Stanley to King 19? 27? Sept. King Letter Book.
 Wentworth 419.
- (e) Bothmar to Robethon Sept.7. Macpherson II 653.

After two months of anxiety and responsibility, the sickness might well be no feigning, but there were signs that the Duke felt disquietude at the violence of Whig resentment against the late ministry. They had already tried to force him to dismiss Phipps from the Chancellorship of Ireland, as well as from the position of Lord Justice, a step which he had not power to take except in his capacity of Regent, whereas he acted quite within his powers as Lord Lieutenant in turning out the Lords Justices. His counsel of patience was scarcely appreciated in Whig circles.(f) The seizure of Bolingbroke's papers, although it received his personal assistance,(g) must also have appeared to him a drastic measure; and altogether his dealings with his Whig colleagues were not so harmonious as might have been desired. The King had been only a few days in England when it was remarked that the Whigs were angry with Shrewsbury, because he complained that they were "driving on" too fast.(h) The Tories were not long in realising that their day was over; for the changes in the ministry were both quick and sudden.

(f) Wogan to Dawson. Sept.18. B.D.C. II 17.

(g) Wentworth 417 Aug.31.

Cf. Boyer VIII 186.

(h) Wentworth 419 Sept.21.

Shrewsbury had already requested to be relieved of the Treasurer's Staff, and of the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland, but, as with Bolingbroke, the manner of it possibly shocked him, for it was said that the first notice he had as regards the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was when the message was sent him that Sunderland had been appointed in his place.(a) Some believed that he would also be deprived of his Chamberlainship,(b) but whatever the Whig attitude on this subject, the King was practically bound to retain in the office that he had requested, the man who had made the Hanoverian succession easy and certain. A pension of two thousand pounds a year was also granted him, as a way of compounding for the two offices which he resigned. The Treasurer's staff he kept until the 13th of October, and the Treasury was then put in commission, with the ambitious Halifax, smarting that he had not gained the higher honour, as its First Commissioner.^(c) Rumour spoke, too, of the position of Groom of the Stole as being reserved for Shrewsbury, but nothing appears to have come of this.(d)

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- (a) Southwell to Dawson Oct.2. B.D.C.II.
Shrewsbury to Lords Justices of Ireland Sept.22. Irish Letter Book II.
Cf. Wentworth 421.
- (b) Wentworth supra.
Oxford to his son Nov.13. Portland V 501.
- (c) Wentworth 421-2.
Calendar of Treasury Papers 1714-19.
Drummond to Oxford March 1715 Portland V 508.
- (d) Wentworth Sept.24 p.421; Oct.8 p.428; Oct.29 p.433.
Cf. however G.E.C., and Turberville and Nicholson's "Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury" p.214.

The charm of manner, however, which had impressed the Courts of four different sovereigns, did not fail even where King George was concerned. Not all the peers - in fact surprisingly few of the peers - were able to converse fluently with the King, who, while he knew no English, spoke excellent French. Thus Shrewsbury, with his intimate knowledge of French, and his wife also, were fortunately placed; and much as the Whigs might feel chagrined, they could not prevent the Duke's gaining the royal ear, nor his Duchess from entertaining the King with her lively wit and her love of ombre. "I believe the Duchess of Shrewsbury will devour the King," wrote Lady Strafford enviously, "for (she) wont let any body speak to the King but herself, and," she added maliciously, "the town says she rivals Madam Killmansack." (e) The Duchess succeeded in having gratified her wish to be a lady of the bedchamber to the Princess, who accorded her the honour at the King's express desire. (f) There was, of course, no Queen to wait

(e) Wentworth Nov.7. Bathurst to Strafford.
 Ibid Nov.11. from Lady Strafford p.439.
 Ibid Oct.5. p.425.
 Lady Cowper's Diary Nov.1 p.12.
 Verney II 17.

(f) Wentworth 433.
 Lady Cowper's Diary Oct.26. p.8. Nov.8. p.13.

upon; the poor creature who might have filled that position still wasting her life out in the Castle of Ahlden.

The autumn of 1714 found the parties in a state of unrest. The elections of November gave the Whigs their expected majority in the House of Commons. Among the Tories, "a sullen passiveness" predominated.(g) A third group, the German Junto which surrounded the King, was a force to be considered, not much to the liking of the Whigs, who but for fear of the Tories, might have more openly showed their resentment. Still another division, more bitter and more unnatural than anything the political parties could produce, lay in the royal family itself, for the King and his son made no attempt to disguise their hatred of each other. During November, Shrewsbury returned to Heythrop, and it was believed that he might retire altogether, but he was prevailed upon to remain in town for the winter.(h) Already the movements of the Whigs in Ireland were ominous. Phipps was removed from the

(g) Oxford to Dr. Stratford? Nov.23. Portland V 501.

(h) Oxford to his son. Nov.13. Ibid.

Cf. Peter Wentworth to Strafford Nov.26.

"It has been said that the Duke of Shrewsbury was dissatisfied and that he was going out of town this week but I hear to day he's desired to stay and that what he desires shall be done."

Chancery, and succeeded by Brodrick: the City dispute was promptly settled as the Whigs desired. Even Dawson, clerk to the Secretary's office, who had served with every Government since William's reign, and whose constant fear was that of losing his employment, was superseded by Budgell, a nephew of Addison; and Shrewsbury's books in the Secretary's office were ordered to be delivered up to the new clerk.(a) "We have abundance of changes here every day," wrote King. "Some are pitied that lose their employments, but such as gave your Graces government disturbance here, have no share in the common condolence, their own party seem most angry with them as in truth they have most reason having been led by them into those wrong measures, which they now but too late find ruinous to them, and do not stick to say that if your Grace had returned to Ireland notwithstanding all the provocations you met with they had got better quarters. Nay it is a general opinion that for this very reason your Grace was not sent. One party dreaded that single humanity and compassion which they

(a) Sunderland to King Oct.1 and Oct.16. Trinity College Dublin
 Dawson to King Oct.20. Ibid.
 King to Colonel Purcell Nov.6. King Letter Book.
 King to Stanley Sept.29. Ibid.
 King to Dawson. Nov.6. Ibid.
 Burke--History of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland p.p.114-16.

observed in your Grace that they wou'd incline your Grace too much to mercy and the other hoped that they would prevent too much severity, and I assure your Grace by all that I can find both were very desirous to make the experiment and I must confess I believe your Grace would have found yourself under some difficulty in such a case. 'Tis much easier to execute justice amongst those that one never knew or saw than amongst acquaintances with whom he has familiar conversation, but I hope when the way is cleared we may yet see your Grace. In the meantime let me bespeak your Graces kind offices for this poor Kingdom 'Twill ly in your Graces way to do us many with his Majesty, with the Council if any Parliam^{nt} sit here and wth the Parliam^{nt} there. Your Grace according to your wonted goodness will take up a resolution to bear with our importunitys and interfere in our behalf for such favours as we cannot expect to obtain but by the mediation of such powerful hands as your Graces"----(b)

The year 1715 opened with severe measures on the part of the Whigs. On Strafford's return from the Hague, he was summoned before the Privy Council, and ordered to deliver

(b) King to Shrewsbury Nov.20. King Letter Book 1714 p.118.

his papers to the Secretaries to be sealed up for examination. Shrewsbury strenuously opposed. It was a thing, he said, never yet done to any Ambassador. The King interrupted that it had been done to Lord Townshend. Again Shrewsbury intervened, urging that there was no need to take possession of Strafford's papers, since duplicates might be seen in the Secretary's office, where he had himself observed, when the office was searched, that the papers were in good order. To this Wharton objected that many papers in the Secretary's office were missing; and in spite of the protests of Shrewsbury and the indignation of Strafford, the Secretaries were instructed to remove from the Earl's house such books and papers as he should deliver to them. These were carefully carted away, the parcels placed in a stable and the door duly sealed up.(c) The general talk began to be of impeachments against the late ministry, but whether they would take the form of impeachments for treason, the Tories hardly knew. Some believed that their enemies could not possibly find charges for more than misdemeanours.(d) Bolingbroke, on the other hand, became

(c) Portland V 503-5.

(d) Drummond to Oxford Ibid 508.

thoroughly scared. On March 22nd his amendment to the address proposed by Bolton, by which he sought to substitute 'maintain' for 'recover,' in the words that the King would 'recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts,' was defeated by a majority of thirty-three, although Shrewsbury spoke in favour of the amendment. "His concern," as one acquaintance commented, "seemed to exceed his good sense." He did not await further signs of his defeat, but at the end of March fled to France. On the last day of that month it was moved in the Commons that all the papers relating to the Peace should be laid before the House, and on the 9th of April that a 'committee of secrecy' should be appointed to inquire into the peace proceedings. (e) Three days later the Whigs lost their old leader, the Marquis of Wharton. In March Bishop Burnet had died, and in May another of the old leaders went with the death of Halifax. Halifax's death destroyed any hope of a moderate non-party ministry, which Shrewsbury had imagined might be established. (f) The Whigs who were to

(e) Drummond to Oxford supra.
E. Harley to Oxford March 3. Portland V 509.
Leddam 235.

(f) Duchess of Marlborough to Mr. Jennens. April 12.
Madresfield Court Letters p.117.
Anonymous Life p.31.
Hearne V. April 14.

carry out their revenge on the peace ministry were for the most part new men, under new leaders. Shrewsbury's own contemporaries, the men who had laboured under the Revolution settlement, were fast disappearing one by one.

On the 9th of June the report of the Secret Committee was presented to the Commons. The following day Walpole rose to impeach Bolingbroke of high treason. During the summer months that followed, the Whigs, remembering 1701, continued in their measures of revenge. Bolingbroke's impeachment was followed by those against Oxford, Strafford and Ormonde. Nor would the Whigs have stopped here. They would have impeached Shrewsbury also but for the interposition of the King, who, it was declared, was influenced by the Duchess, who said her King would not hurt her Duke. (g) More probably, George felt the incongruity of allowing the man to whom he owed his throne to be sacrificed to party violence. One concession to Whig feeling the King was forced to make, however. On the 8th of July, Shrewsbury was asked to resign the Chamberlain's Staff, which he did, according to the Duchess of Marlborough, 'very unwillingly'. (h)

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- (g) Verney Letters I 340.
 Swift to Knightley Chetwood Aug.2. Correspondence II 295 -
 "There is no news of any more people gone off, though
 Lord Shrewsbury was named."
 Madresfield Court Letters p.118.
- (h) Madresfield Court Letters p.119.
 George was personally reluctant to part with Shrewsbury .

His old rival, Bolton, was his successor in the office. The Whigs had not forgiven him his share in the changes of 1710. Then they had upbraided him with opening a door for the Tories to come in, and he had replied indignantly that he opened no door but what he could shut when he pleased.(a) Four years later he had closed the door; but he had left himself outside. From the time of his dismissal from the Chamberlainship until his death more than two years later, he remained out of office; and the part that he played in the House of Lords was generally one of opposition to Whig measures.

(a) Anonymous Life p.21.

(660)

CHAPTER XVII

THE END.

CHAPTER XVIIT H E E N D

Less than three weeks after the Staff was taken from Shrewsbury, Bolingbroke from Paris was informing the Chevalier de St. George that Shrewsbury, "Monsieur de St. Paul," was engaged for the Jacobite service.(a) From that date the Pretender's friends did not cease to hope and to trust that the man who had put George on the throne would assist to turn him off it, and to obtain for James III a kingdom from which he had helped to remove James's father. For the next two years the Jacobites tried to establish friendly relations with Shrewsbury, and before his death believed that they had succeeded.

For the historian the ground of Jacobite intrigue is treacherous and difficult. Letters that passed between England and Avignon are secret, vague, and almost meaningless. Uncertainty prevailed on both sides. The Chevalier himself was many times puzzled to know who was friend and

(a) Bolingbroke to James Aug.7 N.S. Stuart Papers I 387.

who was foe. Agents were not always to be trusted, and, even where honest, in their anxiety to please they were tempted to exaggerate hopeful signs among the people whom they plied. Members of one family were often of two opinions. Discontent was interpreted as disloyalty, caballing as conspiracy. In the mysterious communications between the Jacobites in England and their exiled 'King,' few people, if any, spoke out plainly, and few knew even who were their fellow conspirators. Amid the tangled mass of statements made by Jacobite agents, the truth of which remains uncertain, one can hope only to examine such as reflect in any way upon the Duke of Shrewsbury, to gauge their value, if value they have any, and try to find the truth concerning his relations with the Stuart supporters in the last three years of his life.

History has brought against Shrewsbury the charge of Jacobite conspiracy at two separate, but not dissimilar, periods of his career. In 1688 he had materially assisted to bring William of Orange into England, and to obtain for him the Crown. Less than two years later he had become so dissatisfied with his handiwork as to wish to retire altogether from office, and during the next few years he remained in opposition. Some of the Jacobites believed at

this time that they had gained him. He at least made no secret of his discontent with the Government, and seems to have anticipated that William might find it hard to keep his power.(b) In the years following the accession of George, his sentiments appear to have been somewhat similar. His political life had been one struggle for the succession in the Protestant line; his firmness and his sagacity had made the Hanoverian succession easy, yet within a year of the new King's first appearance in England, Shrewsbury did not attempt to conceal his dissatisfaction. His moderate policies were ignored by the new Government; his former colleagues in the ministry were, without exception, turned out of office. Those with whom he had been associated in the conclusion of peace were impeached; Bolingbroke and Ormonde had fled; Oxford had been lodged in the Tower. He himself had only just escaped impeachment, and had been deprived of the Chamberlainship. Save for the personal goodwill of the King, there was no bright outlook before him, and even where the King was concerned, it was painfully evident that George was wholly and devotedly German in outlook,

(b) Mrs. Lundee to Shrewsbury 1693 Bucc. II 56, 57.

temperament and affections. Within the course of yet another year, the King was to show how uninterested, even how callous he could be concerning his British subjects, and by his prolonged absence in Hanover was to give rise to as much popular dissatisfaction as ever William by his more legitimate and necessary absences on campaign.(c)

In such circumstances, and in face of Shrewsbury's obvious discontent, it is not perhaps surprising that the hopes of Jacobite agents should rise. Yet Shrewsbury had not, so far as is evident, given any encouragement to Jacobitism during the reign of Anne. Jersey's sanguine belief that the Queen and all her ministers were favourably inclined towards James, bears little worth beside the opinion of Gaultier in December of 1712, that Shrewsbury would not assist, or the conviction expressed by D'Iberville two years later that Shrewsbury had always been opposed to the Pretender.(d) The circumspection shown by the Duke while he was in Paris, his cold attitude to the party of Phipps in Ireland, who were generally credited with leanings

(c) It will be remembered that Sunderland had urged William not to leave England after the conclusion of the war - Sunderland to Portland April 5. 1699. - Correspondentie II 112.

"If the King goes into Holland, it will create a great deale of dislike"-----

(d) Stanhope 470.

Cooke's History of Party 602-3.

towards the Stuarts, give the impression that however much he may have known or suspected of Jacobite schemes, he was himself no supporter of them. More than a month before the Queen's death, the Emperor's envoy could state with certainty that Shrewsbury was for the Elector.(e) The first hint, then, that Shrewsbury repented his share in making the Elector King, appears in Bolingbroke's communication to James of August 7. N.S. 1715. A fortnight later he repeated the statement more positively, asserting that Shrewsbury was "frankly engaged."(f) The statement, however, amounts to little. Bolingbroke had been out of England for four months, and had not, therefore, much better opportunity than James himself of knowing whether Shrewsbury were engaged or not. Nothing in the relations between these two statesmen could lead one to assume any particular intimacy, or suggest one single reason why Bolingbroke should be in a better position than anyone else to tell Shrewsbury's private sentiments. Latterly, on the contrary, they had not been on the best of terms. Furthermore, the suspicion remains that Bolingbroke for

(e) Galke to Robethon June 25 Macpherson II 630
July 6

(f) Mahon I Ap. p.XLX
 Cf. Stuart Papers I 396.

his own purposes contrived such information as he chose for James's perusal. It is certainly unanswerable that when the Jacobites made their attempt at a restoration in the autumn of that same year, they received no sort of support from Shrewsbury. Yet they must after Bolingbroke's assurances have expected his aid; for their agent, Menzies, was instructed to communicate the Jacobite memorial to the Duke, a hazardous instruction, since it was extremely doubtful whether Menzies had any means even of approaching Shrewsbury.(g)

Shrewsbury, however, was drifting farther and farther away from sympathy with the Government in the months that followed. When, the rebellion having been crushed, retribution began, and the House of Lords considered the impeachments brought by the Commons against seven rebel lords, he was absent from his place. Save for a brief two day's appearance at the opening of the session, he was not in Parliament until the middle of February, when all the lords save Wintoun had been heard and **condemned**. He was present when Nottingham, who was anxiously advocating

(g) Stuart Papers I 414.

the prisoners' pardon, carried by a majority of five an address for mercy, but there is no record of how he voted then.(h) Shrewsbury's opposition to the Septennial Bill in the succeeding April was interpreted by the Jacobites as a demonstration in their favour.(a) The existing Whig Parliament professed to believe that the safety of the country and the continuance of the reigning dynasty required the extension of their life from three years to seven. To face another election within two years' time would be, they declared, to open the way for the Pretender to come in, while the country remained in the unsettled state in which the late rebellion had left it. Seeing their enemies fearful, the Jacobites naturally placed great hopes on the defeat of the Bill. The issue has gone down to history as a contest between Hanoverian and Stuart supporters rather than as a constitutional or even party quarrel; but before investing it with such dire importance, it would be well to consider the attitude of many of the Whig party towards the Bill. In the first

(h) Lords Journals.

(a) Menzies to Inese April 16. Stuart Papers II 123.
Hugh Thomas to Inese Ibid 124.
Cf. Walpole's Memoirs II 62.

place, its principles were the reverse of those that the old Whigs had originally entertained. Their aim in William's day had been frequent Parliaments: Shrewsbury had at first contemplated a fresh Parliament every year.^(a¹) The idea of any Parliament's extending its own life to the period of seven years was so foreign to their old principles that many among the Whigs "when it was first propos'd did not relish it at all."^(b) It was no doubt for this reason that the Bill was introduced by Devonshire in the Lords, and reached the Commons only after the party managers had had time to accustom the rank and file of their adherents to a measure that, judged by strictly Whig ideas, could only be called unconstitutional. The parties had altered considerably in the course of twenty years, since the Tories were standing where the Whigs had once stood, as champions of the electorate's rights. There is, then, nothing surprising in the opposition of Shrewsbury to such a bill, unless on the assumption that an election in a year and a half would necessarily imply a Stuart restoration,

(a¹) Ante chapter III

(b) Moyle to Walpole April 26. Walpole's Memoirs II 62.

and that the Bill was brought in solely to prevent that, and not, as the Tories suspected, for the purpose of retaining the Whig oligarchs in power. But in fact there was no excuse for such a Bill. The Whig ministry had indeed failed miserably, if after a year and a half of government, they were afraid to contemplate an appeal to the country for their continuance in power. The little support that the Jacobite rising had found was surely answer enough to any cry that the Protestant succession was in such danger as to dread a general election. For once, the Tories had a good argument, and made the most of it. Atterbury made sarcastic reference to "a standing parliament and a standing army." Shrewsbury replied to the foolish contention that the Bill would save money that was usually expended on frequent elections, by remarking pertinently that "he could not see that, for he believed everybody knew that an annuity of seven years costs dearer than an annuity of three."(d)

(d) Menzies to Inese April 16 supra.
Protests of the Lords. P.227.

Although the Bill was passed, the Jacobites were elated at the opposition, and particularly Shrewsbury's opposition, to it. A week after Shrewsbury had recorded his dissent, the Earl of Mar sent off a letter to him to be delivered by Menzies.(e) About the second week of June, Menzies declared, a letter from Shrewsbury had been sent to James, enclosed in a packet which was directed for Ormonde. At Avignon the letter was eagerly awaited, as the first definite indication of Shrewsbury's adhesion; but in spite of Menzies's assurances that it had been sent, no such letter ever arrived.(f) Not only so; but other evidence shows that Shrewsbury did not write a letter. Although Menzies lamented repeatedly the loss of Shrewsbury's letter, it was not Shrewsbury himself who had written, but Lady Westmoreland, his aunt, who mentioned in communicating to her sister Lady Middleton that the letter she had "copied over" for Shrewsbury had been lost.(g) What happened to the letter no one knew. It was not rewritten: both Menzies and Lady Westmoreland could give no more satisfaction than that the Duke wanted a little delay, that he would eventually write, but not at once.(h) A message purporting to come

(e) Mar to Menzies May 20 N.S. Stuart Papers II 171.

(f) Menzies to Inese. June 18. Ibid 242.

Mar to Menzies July 16 N.S. Ibid 285.

Mar to Menzies Sept.21 N.S. Ibid 458 Cf. 461

Menzies to Inese July 9. Ibid 297.

(g) Lady Westmoreland to Lady Middleton. Sept.27.
Stuart Papers III 46.

(h) Menzies to Inese Sept.25. Stuart Papers III 28.
Lady Westmoreland to Lady Middleton. Ibid 238.

from Shrewsbury was, however, delivered at Avignon by "Young Massey." It made an offer of service, desired to know if there were "any determinate scheme in hand for making another attempt within some tolerable compass of time," and advanced the opinion that nothing could be of effectual service but a regular and considerable force to be brought into England.(a) The Chevalier, impressed by the quality of his new correspondent, made haste to reply to the message. On August 26th N.S. he wrote a long answer, thanking Shrewsbury for his advice, and regretting the loss of the problematic letter, "Patience is a sad comfort for a sick person," he complained, but he assured "the Doctor" that he would submit to his ability and experience. Every means would be used to gain the French Regent. Steps had already been taken to enlist the aid of Sweden, which was smarting under the pro-Hanoverian policy of the British King. Menzies would inform Shrewsbury of all the details. Strangely enough, this letter also did not arrive, and a month later Mar sent copies of the letters in this missing packet, whereupon both Menzies and Lady Westmoreland acknowledged that Shrewsbury

(a) Stuart Papers II 301-2 and IV 55.

had received the duplicate.(b) If Menzies is to be believed, he was by this time a frequent caller upon Shrewsbury, obviously by introduction from Lady Westmoreland. Early in July Lady Westmoreland went up to the Cardigans in Northamptonshire, and at the end of August Shrewsbury set out to join her there, and bring her back with him. Curiously, Menzies makes no reference to the Duchess, although he speaks of going to see Shrewsbury and Lady Westmoreland in the country, presumably at Heythrop, after their return from **Deene**.(c)

But the Jacobite communications with Shrewsbury, if communications they actually were, were proving singularly fruitless. Shrewsbury was not in touch with other Jacobites in England, except in so far as blood relationship led him into the society of Lady Westmoreland, and as James's supporters abroad regarded him in common with all their supposed well-wishers at home, in relation to their usefulness,

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- (b) James III to Shrewsbury Aug.26.N.S. Stuart Papers II 374
 Mar to Menzies Aug.27. N.S. Ibid 382.
 Mar to Menzies Sept. 12. Postscript of letter of Sept. 10
 Ibid 461. 23 21
- Menzies to Inese Sept.13.Ibid 469.
 Mar to Inese Sept.28 N.S. Ibid III 63.
 Mar to Menzies Sept.28 N.S. Ibid II 486.
 Inese to Mar. Oct.24 N.S. Ibid III 131.
 Lady Westmoreland to Lady Middleton. Nov.19.
 Ibid 238.
- (c) Menzies to Inese July 9. Stuart Papers II 297.
 Menzies to Mar Aug.30. Ibid 416.
 Menzies to Inese Sept.13. Ibid 469; Sept.25.
 Ibid III 28.

an effort was made to effect an understanding between Shrewsbury and Atterbury, and Shrewsbury and Oxford. Menzies was instructed to act as intermediary between Shrewsbury and Oxford, and the further suggestion was made that if Shrewsbury were willing to be approached by Arran, he could communicate through Arran with the Bishop of Rochester. Some difficulty was anticipated, however, in inducing Shrewsbury to "own up," and Mar's doubts on this subject seem to show that the Jacobite agents were not at all sure of Shrewsbury, and that such advances as had been made were of the vaguest kind.(d)

It was not until after Shrewsbury's return from Bath in October, that Menzies was able to report his success in persuading Shrewsbury and Atterbury to deal with Oxford,(e) By the end of November, he declared that Shrewsbury had consulted with the Earl of Portmore, and the result of these deliberations appeared to be that neither could promise assistance unless the Jacobites

(d) Mar to Menzies Sept.21 N.S. Stuart Papers II 458.
Mar to Atterbury Oct.2 N.S. Ibid III 11

(e) Menzies to Inese Oct.18. Ibid 151.
Menzies to Mar. Oct.29. Ibid 196.
Mar to Inese Nov.22 N.S. Ibid 243.

could invent some project for the non-interference of Holland in the event of an invasion. When that was done, either by winning the Emperor and Prince Eugene, or by turning the Swedish alliance to practical use, then and then only would it be time for a new attempt.(f) Actually, the Jacobite intrigues with Sweden were known to the Whig Government, Count Gyllenborg's correspondence having been intercepted so early as October.(g)

By the winter of 1716-17 Shrewsbury had again returned to London. He had taken a house at Isleworth, where a number of the disaffected Tories lived.(h) The King was still in his native Hanover. Government had been carried on in his long absence by the Whig ministry, with the Prince as nominal ruler under the title of Guardian and Lieutenant of the Realm. The ill feeling between the King and his son had not been disregarded by his English subjects, and the political parties had been quick to range themselves on one side and the other. Consequently, during

(f) Menzies to Inese and Menzies to Mar.

Stuart Papers III 306, 328, 492.

Inese to Mar. Ibid 365.

(g) Townshend to Stanhope Oct.12. Walpole's Memoirs II 123.

(h) King to the Bishop of Kilmore. Dec.22 King Letter Book Anonymous Life 32; 36.

Possibly it was Sir John Talbot's house, either left to him or rented to him on Sir John's death.

the King's absence, the Whig ministers were before long complaining that the Prince treated them with bare courtesy, while extending his favour to the disaffected Tories.(a) Argyll, in particular, who before the King's departure had suffered for his adherence to the Prince by a dismissal from all his offices, now enjoyed the Prince's confidence, and introduced Shrewsbury also to his favour. The position of the Duchess, as lady of the bedchamber to the Princess, gave the Duke a reasonable excuse for being a constant visitor at the Prince's Court, where in common with other Tory lords he was cordially received. Walpole declared on a visit to Hampton Court that he found Shrewsbury "an inhabitant of the place."(b) The gravitation of the Tory lords towards the Prince was, the Whigs believed, really a Jacobite move, in order to divide the kingdom by setting up the son against the father;(c) and no doubt the Jacobites believed so too. But the Tory attitude admits of another and a simpler explanation. George I was not a young man: his son might succeed

(a) Walpole to Stanhope Aug.7. Walpole's Memoirs II 61.

(b) Walpole to Stanhope Aug.9. Ibid 64.

Stephen Poyntz to Stanhope Aug.9 and Aug.17. Ibid 66 and 72.

(c) Poyntz to Stanhope Aug.21. Ibid 75.

within the lifetime of many; and as the King had an anti-Tory bias, it might be possible to make the Prince anti-Whig. Already, divisions were showing in the Whig ranks;(d) and if the Tories could find strength and union in the little group round the heir to the throne, there is little wonder that they gathered together in the Prince's court, and preferred to listen to bad English rather than to converse in bad French. During the month of August they were cementing the ties among them by a "round of dinners" in their country houses. They had nearly all houses within a radius of fifteen miles, Shrewsbury, Argyll and Rochester among them, and the social entertainment was but a cover, Walpole believed, for political caballing.(e)

Nevertheless, Shrewsbury was in some circles still regarded as a moderate. He and Nottingham were credited with being at the head of a moderate group.(f) Nottingham had paid for his championship of the rebel lords by a dismissal from the Council;(g) but he was himself no Jacobite, and at the end of 1716, it was rumoured that

(d) Walpole to Stanhope July 30. Ibid 58.

(e) Walpole to Stanhope. Aug.30. Ibid 77.

(f) Dillon to Mar July 30. Stuart Papers II 320.

(g) Walpole to Horace Walpole. March 6: Walpole's Memoirs II 51.

the Government was anxious to secure once more his services and those of Shrewsbury. The Jacobites having, as they thought, newly gained the Duke's adherence, were desperately anxious lest he should be tempted back into office under the Hanoverian King; and Menzies, whose reputation as an agent depended somewhat on Shrewsbury's actions, was eager to convince his correspondents that there was no possibility of such a thing. Shrewsbury, the Jacobites abroad were assured, had "done notable service at this time in spoiling a bargain." (h) These assurances from Menzies were the more necessary as no letter had yet come from Shrewsbury. Again early in the summer of 1717 Menzies made reference to a letter which Shrewsbury had written, but on this occasion it had been burnt in "a general fire and conflagration," and no opportunity of rewriting it had occurred. (a) Possibly the "general fire" was the seizure of the Swedish ambassador's papers earlier in the year. The barrenness of the dealings with the Duke appears at

(h) Lady Westmoreland to Lady Middleton Nov. 19. Stuart Papers III 238.

Mar to Menzies Jan. 27 N.S. 1717. Ibid 478.

Mr. Panton to Major Simon Fraser. Feb. 6. N.S. Ibid 515.

(a) Menzies to Mar. June 4. Ibid IV 315.

last to have struck the Chevalier; for he wrote to Mar that he thought it odd how none of their correspondents, not even Shrewsbury and Portmore, seemed able to offer any monetary assistance. Menzies had previously asserted that Shrewsbury would eventually help the cause financially; but he had now, according to his own reports, been in touch with the Duke for more than a year and had not succeeded in producing one single written expression of support, far less the more substantial aid that the exiles were expecting.(b)

Nevertheless, the Jacobites still hoped for great things from him, received with satisfaction his reported opinion that King George was in bad health, with a danger even of "going," and accepted Menzies's explanation that Shrewsbury's presence at court in the summer was due to mere civility, and meant nothing serious.(c) When the end of September came, however, and no further word had been heard from Shrewsbury, Mar became restive. There was indeed little that summer to hearten the Jacobites where he was concerned. While Parliament sat, he had been

(b) James to Mar. June 20 N.S. Ibid 368.

Menzies to Mar Oct.18. 1716. Ibid III 196.

Mar to Menzies. Jan.27 N.S. 1717. Ibid 478.

(c) Menzies to C. Kinnaird Aug.16. Stuart Papers IV 538.

Mar to Ormonde. Sept. 4 Ibid V 44.

Menzies to Mar Aug.5. Ibid IV 524.

more regular than of late in attendance. In May he had been appointed one of a committee to consider the question of appeals from the Irish House of Lords: in June he was made one of the managers in relation to Oxford's impeachment.(d) It was not until the middle of October that Menzies was able to write Mar the glad news that he had once more been "sent for" to the country to the Duke of Shrewsbury. In retailing the news of his visit, Menzies, curiously enough, referred to Lady Westmoreland's nephew, so that it is more than likely that the lady also was there, and it may possibly have been she who sent for Menzies in the first place. Menzies certainly expressed himself satisfied with his meeting, the details of which he suppressed, in accordance, as he stated, with Shrewsbury's orders to write nothing by the common post.(e) Less than a month later, a rumour that the Duke had attended the Council gave the Jacobites a bad shock, but it was only a rumour, as Menzies hastened to assure his superiors.(f) That the King was anxious to bring Shrewsbury into the

(d) Lords Journals.

Mar to Menzies. Sept.28. Stuart Papers V 126.
Oct.9.

(e) Menzies to Inese Oct.20. Stuart Papers V 173.

Menzies to Mar. Oct.24 Ibid 177.

(f) Menzies to Inese Nov.14. Ibid 236.

Government once more, however, was practically a certainty; but the attendance of the Duke and Duchess on the Prince and Princess was a serious hindrance to an understanding with the King. In December George carried his animosity to his son so far as to forbid those lords who waited on the Prince to come into his presence; but if he hoped to sway Shrewsbury by such methods he had mistaken the man. Shrewsbury took the opportunity of paying his respects to the Prince, and the Duchess attended the Princess as usual.(g)

Menzies had informed his friends that Shrewsbury intended to write them during the Christmas holidays. Mar afterwards acknowledged a letter dated January 20th, but in such ambiguous terms that it is hard to say whether the letter was really one from Shrewsbury, or merely a joint Jacobite communication, or the conveyance of 'respects' through Menzies.(h) That Shrewsbury himself wrote the Jacobites on that date is rather improbable, for by January the Duke was seriously ill. For some time before, he had

(g) Mar to Menzies Dec.23 N.S. Ibid 310.
Portland V 550 and 552.

(h) Menzies to Inese Dec.16. Stuart Papers V 335.
Mar to Menzies March 6. N.S. Ibid VI 97.

been troubled with asthma, and in the Christmas holidays he fell ill with inflammation of the lungs.(a) Death, which had so often seemed to be advancing to meet him through years of unhappiness and ill-health, was coming at last. And yet he had outlived so many of his early friends, survived even his generation and its sympathies. High and low, they had passed through his life to leave him. He had known six sovereigns of Great Britain; he had begun his political life with Halifax and was ending it on the threshold of Walpole's greatness. Many faces and many names must have passed before him in the last few weeks, when he knew that he himself was going - the associates of a dissipated youth, the fellow statesmen of his matured years, the father whose curse had been laid on those who rebelled against their King,(b) the quiet priest who was to succeed him. For a few days it was thought that he might rally, but the hope was false.(c) On the Monday before he died, he called all his servants into his room, and asked them to witness that he died in the religion of the Church of England. Next day he received

(a) Anonymous Life 32.

Menzies to Inese Jan.6. 1718. Stuart Papers V 393.

(b) Family History Add. MSS.18446.

(c) Menzies to Inese Jan.9. Stuart Papers V.

Robethon to Polwarth Jan.10. Polwarth I 423.

Cf. Robethon to Polwarth Jan.31. Ibid 435. and

Dr. Stratford to E. Harley Feb.1. Portland VII 232.

the Sacrament from Dr. Talbot, who had been made Bishop of Salisbury on Burnet's death. He lay these last few days waiting for the end, thinking of the mysteries of human life and death, and the dim unreason of it all. His housekeeper, Mrs. Goodiere, coming into the room, his biographer tells us, he asked her seriously what it was to bring a child into the world. She answered, "A pain that surpasseth imagination." "And so it is also to get out," he said. "How vain is this world and yet what a struggle we have to part with it." Three days later the struggle was ended. Considerate as ever in little things, he had asked the Duchess and his doctor to go for dinner, and come back to talk with him when it was over. They returned to find him gone.(d)

The Duke died on the 1st of February, and on the 14th Paleotti, the Duchess's dreadful brother, was committed to Newgate for murdering his servant.(e) It was believed that the actions of this ruffian had hastened Shrewsbury's death. From the moment that he had joined his sister after her marriage, he had been a constant source of anxiety. He had early in life been forced to leave Italy, and the alliance of his sister with the Duke of Shrewsbury had

(d) Anonymous Life 33-34.
Portland V 554.

(e) Tilson to Polwarth. Feb.14. Polwarth I 444.
Life of the Marquis Paleotti.
Chronicles of Newgate 215.

seemed to him a stroke of good luck. He had embarrassed the Duke in Holland by getting into debt; he had followed him to England, borrowed money from him, harried him and disgraced him. The Duke had procured for him a regiment in Flanders in the Emperor's service, only to find that his rapacity, his extravagance, and his ill living were a curse that could not be removed. In danger of being ruined, he wandered back to England, and peremptorily demanded four thousand pounds to pay his debts, and, on his being refused, made a misery of the short space of life that was still left to Shrewsbury. The Duchess apparently regarded this extraordinary brother with some affection. She assisted him with such money as she could give; but the ruffian was insatiable; and when his servant was refused assistance he stabbed the man, and fled for refuge to the Bishop of Salisbury's house. That respectable ecclesiastic had no intention of harbouring a runaway murderer, and if any feelings of pity might have stirred in him, they could hardly have survived Paleotti's rudeness, for he wounded the Bishop's servant, and was taken from the house struggling to the last. On the 17th of March he was hanged at Tyburn.(f) Perhaps it was as well that

(f) Life of the Marquis Paleotti.

Chronicles of Newgate 215.

George Tilson to Lord Polwarth Feb.14. 1718. Polwarth I 444

Dr. Stratford to E. Harley. Feb.14. Portland VII 233.

Stuart Papers VI 228.

E. Harley (jun) to Abigail Harley. Portland V 558.

Shrewsbury had not lived to see this final disgrace. To Paleotti, and to his sister, it was the hanging rather than the murder that appeared the real shame. Both pleaded in vain that the sentence might be commuted to beheading. (g) The Duchess never forgot this indignity, and the disgrace that lay on her family. In her Will she expressed the wish that the remains of her property, after certain bequests had been made, should go to pay the debts of her late unfortunate brother.

On the 23rd of February, while Mar was writing futile compliments to the Duke of Shrewsbury, the family vault in Albrighton Parish Church received the earthly remains of Charles Talbot - buried with his ancestors in Shropshire. (h) To-day there is no word to mark the spot. At one side of the chancel Sir John Talbot of Grafton lies in effigy, with his round Elizabethan head, his calm wife by his side. At the other, a tomb of plain dark stone, with a single cross, is traditionally supposed to be the Duke's. (a) But his only memorial is the inclusion of his name among a list of benefactors to the church, which mentions two sums that he gave for the poor. Perhaps he would not have been sorry

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- (g) Life of the Marquis Paleotti .
George Tilson to Lord Polwarth. March 14. Polwarth I 462.
(h) Mar to Menzies March 6 N.S. Stuart Papers VI 97.
Albrighton Parish Registers. .
(a) Cranage's Architectural Account p.2.

to be remembered so.

Of Marlborough Shrewsbury had once written, "Every time I think how happy and how great he is, I reflect with passionate concern on the loss he had in so fine a son, and to have now no issue male left to inherit the greatness, riches, and glory he must one day leave behind him." (b) It must have been a grief to him that he himself had no son to carry on the titles that had been bestowed on him and the heirs male of his body, or to inherit the older titles that had been so long in the Talbot family. The heir to the earldom and the lands settled with it was his cousin Gilbert Talbot, son of his uncle Gilbert, an unworldly Jesuit priest, who, although recognised by Act of Parliament as Earl of Shrewsbury, never claimed the title, and was content to be known to the end of his days as Father Grey. (c) Shrewsbury seems to have been fearful that the estates which he regarded with pride as a family possession should be scattered, perhaps sold for the benefit of the Church which he had renounced. Such lands as were wholly in his own right, therefore, he had settled not on Gilbert, but on Gilbert's younger brother, George, who would in the

(b) Shrewsbury to Hill, Sept. 6. N.S. 1704. Hill Correspondence
745.

(c) VI George I. Cap. 29. loc. et. pers.
Doyle

nature of things marry and possibly have sons to carry on the name and the dignity of the family. Failing George's issue, John Talbot of Longford, son of his great-uncle Thomas, was to inherit, and, after his line, Sir John Talbot and his male issue. With the failure of these branches of the family, the property had to go to the right heirs of the Duke.

George Talbot was, however, disabled from enjoying the lands left him by the statutes passed against Catholics, and an attempt was therefore made to legalise his position by a private Act of Parliament. The suggestion came from the Catholic lawyer, Nathaniel Pigott, a renowned conveyancer of the day, who had been approached by Harcourt in the matter, that the Shrewsbury estates might be annexed to the title and settled on their Catholic possessors by statute. As Gilbert had no intention of making use of the possessions, the real enjoyment would remain with George. Sir John Talbot had died before the Duke, leaving no male issue, but the Bishop of Salisbury and his son Charles, as Protestant kinsmen in the line of the Earldom, were consulted. The Bishop, assisted by his lawyer son, drove for his family a good bargain. He consented to further a private Act of Parliament for the

recognition of the right of Gilbert and George to their respective shares in the Duke of Shrewsbury's estates, but only on condition of the lands being settled with the Earldom in such a way that they could not be alienated, and must eventually, on failure of the Catholic branch of the family, come to his descendants. Ordinarily, the lands left by the Duke to George could never have come to him. Both the Stonor and the Tuchett families, to name only two, stood in closer relationship to the Duke than did he, for, on failure of Sir John Talbot's male issue, these lands would pass to the female line. Attempts to get the Bishop to modify his scheme, however, proved unavailing. He had, he said, consulted the King about it, and would not join in the petition for an act were it superseded. Its substance, therefore, was embodied in a settlement made upon George's marriage in 1718, by which Gilbert vested his interest in the Shrewsbury lands in his brother, with remainders to George's son, to the Talbots of Longford, and to the Bishop of Salisbury's family. A private Act of Parliament two years later confirmed this settlement, and settled in the same way the lands left by Shrewsbury to George, Gilbert being given a life interest in these estates upon failure of issue by George and the

Talbots of Longford. The Catholic branches of the family were expressly forbidden to alienate any of the land, so long as they remained Catholic.(d) The Committee insisted upon the insertion of this last stipulation; for by the time that the Act was passed, George had an infant son, and it was desired to safeguard his right to alienate the land should he become a Protestant.(d¹)

Vernon had once remarked on how just Shrewsbury was. His Will, too, was just. The settlement of his lands he had made before going abroad in 1700, and this he retained in his Will of 1712. For the rest, he devised his personal property to the people who most needed it. The Duchess was left the house in Warwick Street with its furniture and household goods, with the exception of the plate. She was given all the jewels she was accustomed to wear, and two thousand ounces of plate such as she should choose. Five thousand pounds was also bequeathed to her, and her jointure of twelve hundred a year. The Tuchett cousins were remembered, and the daughter and grand-daughter of his half-sister Mary.(e) A sum of a thousand pounds was left for charity; nor were his

(d) Hence the numerous Shrewsbury Acts of Parliament. VI George I cap.29.

(d¹) Law Journal Reports (1860) 29 N.S. Common Pleas 34. English Reports vol. XI p.1.

(e) A codicil dated 10th July 1714, cancelled the bequest to Mary Tuchett, who, on her marriage to Lord Blaney had had £4000. settled upon her.

servants forgotten. The old names appear - Chancey, who used so often to carry his letters, the Venables brothers, sons of his old butler. Arden, his steward, and Morgan, who had once been his governor, both of whom had accompanied him to France when he was only a boy of fourteen.

Cardigan, Stanley, Arden, and Dr. William Talbot were made his executors.

Eight years later, in 1726, the Duchess also died, and was buried beside her husband in the Church at Albrighton on the 15th of July.(f) She had requested that the funeral ceremonies should not take place in London, and that they should be without any pomp. Her coffin lay in state in a room under the Toll House of Albrighton, before it was taken to its resting place in the Talbot vault.(g) Strangely, in view of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's supposed animosity to her, she had made Edward Wortley Montagu one of her executors, and he proved her Will. Her daughter, a Ursuline nun, was still living at Rome at the time of her death.(h)

Shrewsbury has suffered the fate of a man who left no family to revere and cherish his memory. With not half his talents, and with few of his virtues, others have lived on in the pages of history, while he has faded into a dim shadow

(f) Albrighton Parish Registers.

(g) History of Albrighton p.33.

(h) Duchess's Will dated 4th April 1725.

Cf. Journal Bucc. II 767.

of the man who put two Kings upon the throne of Britain, and lighted with his brilliance the courtly society of his age. His is too gracious a personality to fall so into the region of forgotten things.

Posterity, where it has remembered, has been singularly unkind to his memory. It has chosen to ignore the testimony of most of his contemporaries, and seize upon the complaints of his enemies. It has taken the grumblings of a disgruntled Swift, and the ravings of an ill-tempered Duchess of Marlborough, and forced them to outweigh serious opinions from men of different stations and different temperaments. It has disregarded the fact that he obtained and held the respect of all the sovereigns whom he served, from James to George. He had colleagues as widely differing as Wharton, Oxford, Halifax, yet he could meet them all on some common ground. The men who served under him had not one word to say against him: the charges of laziness, ingratitude, faithlessness, do not come from them. Prior, Stanley, Vernon, Rowley, Yard, Delafaye, he was on friendly terms with them all. No clerk of Shrewsbury's ever had to write and rewrite to have his salary paid;(a) nor is there one complaint of injustice from those who worked beneath

(a) As the unfortunate Greg had to do to Harley.
Cf. Portland IV 400-401.

him. He was a fair man. He had the dispensing of many places in the various offices which he held; but there is only one suggestion that he dealt unjustly, or even unwisely, in these things. The one complaint is Swift's. Swift had earnestly desired the historiographership, and had urged his claims with Bolingbroke. He did not approach Shrewsbury directly, although the place was in the Chamberlain's gift. Bolingbroke himself pressed the Dean's cause with Shrewsbury, but without success, and Swift afterwards took revenge, according to his fashion, with his pen.(b)

"It is gone to a worthless rogue that nobody knows," he raged.
(c)

It had in fact gone to Thomas Madox, "a poor sufferer in the cause of history," as he styled himself, who had just published his History of the Exchequer, and whose volumes of mediaeval research are now in the British Museum.(d)

- (b) Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury Jan.5. 1714. Bol.Corr.IV 420.
Arbuthnot to Swift July 17. Swift's Corr. II 184.
Ford to Swift. July 20. Ibid. 188.
Swift to Oxford. July 3. Portland V at p.470.
Swift had wanted to be historiographer since 1710.-
Cf. Swift to Addison Aug.22.
Correspondence I 187.
Swift's venomous notes in Burnet's History and in Macky's Memoirs are well known. Cf. also Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry, p.292. and Swift to Ormonde July 17. 1714.
Swift to Pope Jan.10. 1721.
- (c) Swift to Miss Esther Vanhomrigh. Aug.1. 1714.
Correspondence II 209.
- (d) Dictionary of National Biography.
Madox to Harley May 5. 1711; and March 21, 1712.
Portland IV 685. and V 153.
Cf. Vernon II 71.

It is surely no reflection on Shrewsbury that he chose to make a historian historiographer rather than a political pamphleteer even with the genius of Swift. Generally speaking, his recommendations were wise ones, made either upon personal knowledge or upon reliable information.

"I only wish your Grace may be consulted and your maxims followed," remarked Vernon when the subject of appointments was under discussion, "that everything may be disposed of to the most deserving." (e) He was full of embarrassment at a request that he should recommend an unknown Frenchman to the King of France. (f) For church vacancies, he recommended but seldom, since he did not consider himself a proper judge. (g) He cannot, of course, be absolved from the charge of obtaining good places for his Protestant relations; but there is no reason to suppose that they did not fill them satisfactorily. (g¹)

(e) Vernon II 274.

(f) Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke. April 11 N.S. 1713, and April 18. and Bolingbroke to Shrewsbury April 19. Bol. Corr. IV 47, 48, 57.

(g) Shrewsbury to Blathwayt June 9. 1697. Bucc. II 476.

"Though I have ever thought myself so improper that I have very rarely presumed to recommend any divines"-----

(g¹) In this connection cf. Bucc. II 201.

-----"I will never employ the little interest I may have with his Majesty to persuade him, in consideration of me, to do anything of this kind, more than the justice of the cause will oblige him to."

Part of his charm of manner consisted in small acts of consideration for others. The kindly courtesy that James II remembered with gratitude, a disinclination to strike anyone who was already low, was reflected in countless deeds and words throughout his life. The quality of his fellows did not affect his courtesy. The boy who had lost his way and wandered all night on the wolds when Wharton sent him with a letter, the messenger that the impulsive Bolingbroke despatched to **Heythrop** at a late hour, received the same proofs of his kindness as more exalted folk.(h) In spite of his pride of birth, he was easy to approach, and rarely offered a rebuff. It was said of Somerset that he was too proud to speak to his servants, but commanded them by signs. In a generation when that was possible, Shrewsbury records with interest when "Nina and Venables" were married, helps to settle quarrels between his servants, interests himself in a needy page boy.(a)

(h) Shrewsbury to Wharton. Jan.3. 1696. Carte 233 f. 43.
 Shrewsbury to St. John. Aug. 25.1711. Bol. Corr. I at p. 335.

(a) Shrewsbury to Harley Bath I 202.
 Shrewsbury's Will.
 Journal. Bucc. II 796; 772; 773.
 Coxe's Marlborough III 62 note.

With a love of learning, Shrewsbury combined fine judgment and good taste.(b) Burnet thought his opinion worth seeking when his history was practically completed:(c) Matthew Prior expressed admiration of his prose: Dryden drew the attention of the public to the fact that Shrewsbury had desired to read his translations of Vergil. His reading was both extensive and profound, and copious notes in his hand in three languages bear witness to hours of serious study. He ranged from the classical authors, read, however, chiefly in French or Italian translations, through the poets and playwrights of a more modern age, to contemporary writers of theological interest. He was familiar with Dante, as he was with Milton. History and political science, as it was known to his day, bulked largely in his reading, and all of it was illumined by critical observations from his own clear brain. "He makes a deal a doe," he wrote candidly of St. Augustine's Confessions, "of his robbing a Pear tree,

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- (b) Yet Shrewsbury himself, on this as on other subjects, disclaimed any special merit. Cf. Shrewsbury to Harley May 22. 1711. Bath I 203. ("According to my judgment, which, without affectation, is very mean, especially in Latin compositions.")
- (c) It is worth noting how Burnet's opinion of Shrewsbury's learning underwent a change between the writing of the Memoirs and the completion of the History. "He has a considerable tincture of learning," he wrote in the Memoirs. This in the History becomes, "He had no ordinary measure of learning." Much of Shrewsbury's reading was done in his periods of retirement from public business, in 1693, 1698 and in Italy. Burnet III 275; Original Memoirs 288.

when he was a boy with his companions." Much of the Old and New Testaments he had carefully annotated, and was not afraid to regard from an independent point of view. Some of this reading was done in Rome, when he was perhaps seriously weighing up his religious beliefs. His notes all point to a studious and even laborious life; and the Shrewsbury who has been described as indolent thought fit to write down from his Scriptural readings, "He also that is slothfull in his work is brother to him that is a great waster." (d) As might be expected, his own style of writing was as agreeable as his personality. As a letter writer, he was at his best. Something of the charm of the man breathes in his letters, an easy graciousness and a wide sympathy that must have made him many friends. He had a knowledge also of music, as well as of books; and the visit to Italy gave him interest in a fresh branch of art, in painting, sculpture and architecture. The commissions that he was asked to perform for his friends in England are proof of their faith in his ability to judge. Yet it would be to understand Shrewsbury only partially, if one dismissed him as a dilettante. To think of the drawing-room Shrewsbury - the "vacillating, one-eyed, sickly gallant," as one modern historian has called him (e) - is to miss the man that his

(d) Buccleuch MSS. - Remarks on Various Books.

(e) Morgan p.50.

friends knew. He had a love of the soil, a love of the open air, that years of court life and foreign salons could not crush. In essence, he was as truly English as Harley was English. He remained a feudal lord even in eighteenth century England, with interests that one can only class as the interests of a landowner, as opposed to the passing fancies of the Court.

The perfection of his manners is apt to overshadow the more important fact that his virtues, while not arresting, were solid. Those who saw much of him through unprejudiced eyes were not long in discovering him to be upright, a man of probity; and this in spite of the fact that he constantly belittled himself.(f) He was never done with referring to his slothfulness and incapacity for business, and Ailesbury believed him when he said that he did nothing in the Secretary's office, but left everything

(f) His integrity is noted by men of such different complexion as Archbishop King, Bishop Burnet, Lord Chancellor Cox, James Vernon, and J. Macky, while King William singled him out to Mary as one who might be trusted entirely. Burnet's faith, however, must have been a little shaken by the political events of 1710; for he watered down the glowing description of the Memoirs to "He seemed to be a man of great probity, and to have a high sense of honour" - and, "He had at that time just notions of government."

to the clerks and the undersecretary. Similarly, when he went to Ireland, he jokingly remarked that he had "business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not enough to hinder him from sleeping."(g) He professed to be entirely ignorant in affairs of commerce, and declared that he did not in the least understand the business of the Treasury.(h) But others were not so hard upon him as he was himself. Both his King and his party endeavoured to keep him in the Secretaryship when he wished to retire, because they believed that few people so fitting could be found to fill the employment. From each office that he left - and Macky said of him that he went out of the great offices with as much ease as he shifted his clothes - (a) he left behind regret that he had gone. His Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was marked by no success, yet the moderates regarded him with sympathy as one who being unable to 'stem the current, suffered with them.'(b) And in the short time that he held

(g) Trevor MSS. 128. The biography, "Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury," p.p.204-5, gives a slightly different version of this saying from the one in the Trevor MSS., unfortunately without indicating the source. Not enough business "to hinder him from sleeping" does not mean quite the same as "not so much as to keep him awake."
 (h) Shrewsbury to Harley. Saturday (July 22. 1710) Bath I 198. Shrewsbury to Oxford. Jan.19 N.S. 1713. Ibid. 228 Shrewsbury to Bolingbroke. Feb.4 and Feb.7 N.S. Bol. Corr. III 367; 372.
 (a) Macky's Memoirs.
 (b) King to Dr. Joseph Gibson. Dec.1. 1714. King Letter Book.

the Treasurer's staff, there was no complaint, as there had been in Harley's day, that the business of the Treasury was neglected. He took his duties more seriously than he owned. A mass of correspondence, often corrected from a draft copy, much of it in his own handwriting, is as good testimony as any other. Among his papers is to be found Robert Cecil's work "The State of a Secretary's place and the perils thereof;" and he had studied the older Cecil's advice to his son, as a letter to Hill shows.(c)

But although he filled so many offices in the course of his life, he had no real love of politics. It was the only money-making profession open to a man of his station, as it was the only one where his statesmanlike talents could be employed. Halifax was right when he thought of Shrewsbury as too soft a metal for the rough usage of the political world. Taunts and reproaches, scorn and backbiting, that failed to penetrate Harley's stolid equanimity, pierced Shrewsbury to the depths. It is perhaps for this reason that in his association with the Tories, when he disclaimed all thought of being chief minister and sheltered behind the broader backs of his fellow-ministers, he enjoyed more

(c) Bucc. II 745.

Shrewsbury to Hill. Dec.20 N.S. 1704. Hill Corr. 752.

apparent

^ tranquillity than when as the leader of the Whigs he was the mark aimed at.(d) His expressions of distaste for the life of a party statesman are many. "Had I a son I would sooner breed him a cobbler than a courtier, and a hangman than a statesman," is his most famous. There are many others, equally characteristic if less picturesque. Yet he took some pride in the fact that he had held many offices. When Godolphin's letter came to him in Rome, with the offer of the place of Master of the Horse in 1702, he recorded in his journal, "Now I have almost been offered all the great places of the kingdom; twice I quitted Secretary, once Chamberlain; King William once offered me to be Lord Treasurer, often to be President and Privy Seal, to be governor to the Duke of Gloucester, and last to be Lieutenant of Ireland and Groom of the Stole at the same time."(e) But he remained incurably distrustful of his own abilities. On one occasion he urged Stepney, who was suffering under a sense of ill-usage, to make the best of things for his

(d) Cf. Swift to King Sept.9. 1710.

"Mr. Harley is looked upon as first minister, and not my Lord Shrewsbury, and his grace helps on the opinion, whether out of policy or truth; upon all occasions, professing to stay until he speaks with Mr. Harley."

(e) Journal. May 18. 1702. Bucc.II 762.

country's sake. "I could advise patience and perseverance," he pleaded, "but that I am ashamed to preach what I never was able to practice; but I sincerely wish you would, because I think you can do great service to your countrey, which never was my case; for upon my faith and honor, I always knew myself unfitt, and of a humour impracticable for public business; and if nobody had had a better opinion of me than I had of myself, I assure you I had never engaged in those kind of employments; and this I do not say to draw a complement from you, but because it is really and unfeignedly my mind."(f)

Shrewsbury had, of course, serious failings. In manhood he was neither a drunkard nor a libertine; but there is some reason to believe that his youth had been as unrestrained as the companions he made in it, and that much of the ill-health of his later years was a legacy of fast living. Despite his interest in theology, he was not a man of deep religious conviction. Burnet, who knew him well, owned that he was sceptical. He left the Roman Church at a time when it suited him to do so: he had probably ceased to believe much of what it taught: but his firm adherence to the Church of England had its basis no

(f) Shrewsbury to Stepney Jan.3. 1705 N.S. Warner 131.

doubt in patriotic rather than religious reasons. "Tho I never was a bigot," he said, when the rumours of his change of faith reached him at Rome, "nor never will be a politician, I assure you I always will be an honest Englishman, and no papist."^(g) As a statesman his conduct is open to the charge of inconsistency. Judged by party standards, he was faithful to none. His detractors have pointed out that he forsook his party when it was in danger, and came in to office again on the rising tide of Tory favour. But on his own confession, he was no party man. He saw, as he said, "the faults of both." "The election of a new Parliament being very near," he wrote to Oxford in 1713, "I hope all care will be taken to promote the interest of such who sincerely wish the good of their country, preferable to party and faction."^(g¹) He was a moderate, an individualist, and a hater of tyranny in any form. In this light, his actions, however inconsistent with party politics, lose much of their irreconcilability. The most spectacular act of his life, his share in the Revolution, was a revolt against monarchical tyranny. It is worth remembering that it was a

(g) Shrewsbury to Stepney Nov.29. 1704. N.S. Warner 127.

(g¹) Shrewsbury to Oxford Aug.11 N.S. 1713. Bath I at p.237.

step taken while he was yet young. The only occasion, however, on which he is reported to have expressed regret for that act was when William in his turn tried to act the dictator.(h) Yet the man who resented a kingly tyrant was equally resentful of party dictation. The Whigs had come to expect that a man must submerge his individuality at the behest of his party; it is a modern party doctrine, but it was not Shrewsbury's. It would be fantastical to assume that Shrewsbury re-entered politics in 1710 in order to break a family tyranny that was pledging the nations to years of war. Although he believed the time ripe for peace, one need look no further than his financial needs to discover his renewed desire for office. At the same time he did succeed in freeing English politics from a crushing dictatorship of wealth and fame in the hands of the Marlboroughs and their kinsfolk, and his first great vote with the Tories was on behalf of individual liberty. The Tories in their turn forgot the benefits of moderation. Under the leadership of Bolingbroke they were reverting to the narrow doctrines of Restoration days. In Ireland Shrewsbury had an opportunity of seeing to what lengths of party tyranny they were prepared to go; and he returned

(h) Foxcroft. II 129.

from Ireland less a party man even than before. On the death of Anne, he showed once more than where his mind was fully convinced, he was as firm in resolution as ever in 1688. He prepared the way for the peaceful accession of the Hanoverians, and worked with the Whig leaders in a common crisis that called for action with a national, not a party spirit. Edward Southwell expressed the wishes of all moderate men upon the accession of the new king, when he thought it would be happy if they "could settle and look forward without people thinking it necessary to shew their power because they have it." (a) But the moderates were soon disappointed. The old Whigs were bitter, the young Whigs eager for place, and they greatly desired to "shew their power." The reaction against everything that had not been Whig swept its way unchecked. The peace which "to unbiassed men --- will always appear the most advantageous and necessary peace England ever concluded," had become, as Shrewsbury had foreseen, the excuse for party malice. "Mankind is so changeable a creature." (b) Moderation in party matters was a word not to be heard for many years; and Shrewsbury, the moderate, was driven into retirement and opposition.

(a) Edward Southwell to King. Oct. 12. 1714.

(b) Shrewsbury to Oxford July 9. N.S. 1713. Bath I 234.

He lived in an age when party contentions were bitter, and the conception of party loyalties beginning. Nevertheless, among the noted statesmen of that day, not all had been consistently loyal to one party, and yet he shares with Harley the indignation and contempt of party writers, where Marlborough, Godolphin, Nottingham, in great measure escape. Somers, Orford and Wharton remained staunch Whigs, but so much had the party altered that they had even on occasion to vote against things they had once voted for, without suffering the reproaches that have been cast upon Shrewsbury. Much of this disfavour with which party historians have regarded the King of Hearts undoubtedly comes from the Duchess of Marlborough's opinion of him. Sarah Churchill was an extremely forceful woman: she domineered her own generation, and has wellnigh succeeded in domineering others. Her convictions were expressed with such ill-natured vigour that they have left their imprint on the pages of history; and she has acquired a reputation as a prophet for anticipating disasters which only her own ill-advised actions brought to pass. She had once scored over the Duke in a triumph of repartee.(c) She could not forgive

(c) Cf. ante chap. III.

his own entry into the ministry in 1710, which Marlborough had not been able to obtain for him earlier. She pictured him as a double-dealer because he preserved his courtesy, and accused him of ingratitude to Marlborough and Godolphin. The Duchess had a great horror for the sin of ingratitude. Yet she had forgotten that Shrewsbury owed little to Marlborough, while Marlborough owed much to him; for Shrewsbury had lent his assistance to Marlborough at a time when it was not popular to do so.

It is surely strange to find the wife of Marlborough charging Shrewsbury with covetousness. There may have been some truth in her judgment in so far as the wish to make and save money was concerned. He inherited wide lands, but not great wealth; the estates were old, and brought in little in comparison with their extent. Some of the land was encumbered when his father died. He must have made large sums in the course of his duties in his various offices, and without the inducement of the profits it might have been hard to engage him again in political life. Some of his wealth he used in improving his estates, which he freed from debt and doubled in value. For the rest, he

was a careful man, and after his death, when all expenses had been settled, and all legacies paid, there was still "a very great overplus" for the benefit of the executors.(d) So far, however, as the Duchess meant by covetousness, miserliness or ungenerosity, she had totally misread Shrewsbury's character. "I have no relish for power or riches," he wrote on one occasion, "but am convinced none can be happy who set their hearts on either."(e) Over and over again, there are instances of his giving financial assistance to people, some of them even strangers. Though he "counted it not honourable to be imposed upon," to hear that any who sought his gratuities were in want was sufficient to move his generosity. After all the searchings for rich heiresses, he did not in the end marry for money; and his own relations felt the benefit of his generosity. He cannot have been grasping with regard to the profits from his employments, for the praise that followed him from clerks and undersecretaries hints at a generous division of the perquisites.

Shrewsbury's greatest fault, after the first enthusiasm of youth was gone, was an inability to stand up to the hard

(d) VI George I cap.29 loc. et pers.
£16,000. Portland V 571. Nov.14. 1718.
Anonymous Life 35.

(e) Shrewsbury to Sunderland. Dec.21. 1697.
Coxe at p.508.

strokes of life, which turned natural caution into shrinking. This weakness, aggravated by ill health and the consciousness of his physical blemish, rendered him much less effective than he might have been, laid him open to the charge of cowardice, and made him easily rebuffed. He was both timid and self-distrustful at many points where he should have been neither. Part of that self-distrust arose from a faculty of seeing many sides of a question, an excellent gift in itself, but one that does not make for decision unless allied to a strong character. Shrewsbury lacked robust strength, both of health and of temperament.

A stain still remains upon him for his equivocal attitude to the Jacobites. If the stories of his guilt were true, it would scarcely be palliation to note that Marlborough's crime was greater, that Oxford used Jacobitism for his own purposes, that many who sincerely upheld James's cause did not scruple to find their bread under William. But history has almost certainly seen the blot as deeper than it is. "Having all my life acted like an honest man," he wrote when the Fenwick accusation was known, "it will be a severe mortification to be suspected for the contrary."(f)

(f) Shrewsbury to William Oct.11. 1696 Coxe. at p.155.

That Shrewsbury was actually intriguing with the Jacobites either in William's reign or in George's, there is not one scrap of real evidence. That he permitted the Jacobite Court through his relations to rely upon his support appears fairly true. The suggestions in the Stuart Papers of Shrewsbury's dealings with the Jacobites in the reign of George I, depend almost entirely on Menzies's word. It is a strange fact that Shrewsbury was reported to be unwilling to give assurances through anyone else than Menzies, and the Jacobite agent, Dillon, also in England, was at first kept in ignorance of Shrewsbury's reputed support.(g) Furthermore, Mar himself appears to have suspected Menzies. The Bishop of Rochester had, apparently, given some warning as to dealing with Shrewsbury; and money which Menzies declared had been paid through Shrewsbury to Gyllenberg mysteriously disappeared. The question of the money was not raised until after Shrewsbury was too ill to be approached on the matter, and the thing still remains a mystery.(h) One thing, however, is clear. Shrewsbury's

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- (g) Mar to James III April 9 N.S. 1718. Stuart VI 278.
 Mar to Dillon Feb. 12. N.S. Ibid V.
 Dillon to Mar. July 30. 1716. Ibid II 319.
- (h) Inese to Mar. Jan. 17 N.S. 1718. Stuart V. 391.
 Menzies to Inese Jan. 6. Ibid 393.
 Mar to Menzies Feb. 15 N.S. Ibid 477.
 Dillon to Mar. March 8. Ibid VI 110.
 Inese to Mar March 14 N.S. Ibid 144.

aunt, Lady Westmoreland, was extremely anxious that the Jacobites should win over her nephew, and appears to have made ample promises for him. Possibly his guilt may have resolved itself into a connivance in these assurances, or even into vague messages of support and advice of a negative sort conveyed through her and Menzies. That Shrewsbury actually contemplated bringing in a Stuart king professing the religion which he himself had renounced, is wellnigh incredible. That he tried through his relations to secure his own safety if by the turn of fortune a revolution should actually happen is, while not laudable, at least comprehensibly human.

To his own generation Shrewsbury was a great lord, both in qualities and in the dignity of his name. Yet his person, like his tomb, has been largely forgotten, and he has failed to capture the imagination of posterity, as he did that of his own time. History is apt to caricature her great men, and Shrewsbury's virtues and vices alike were not of the sort that lend themselves to exaggeration. His virtues were of the quiet order that endear rather than immortalise. But in the tributes of his day there echoes still a warm appreciation of a man, who, while oppressed for years by indifferent health and a sensitive

shrinking from publicity, 'spitting up his lungs, not to say his life,' during the prime of his manhood,(a) yet knew when to cast caution aside for boldness,^(b) and preserved his sane judgment in the midst of party madness. "Love the Duke of Shrewsbury," wrote Matthew Prior from Paris. "He was," in the words of his biographer, "one of the finest Gentlemen of the Age he lived in - - - the kindest master to his servants, and the justest to his creditors that ever was known." Pope, who paid homage to his manners in "the courtly Talbot," recognised a character beneath that was "wise and great."(c)

(a) Shrewsbury to Stepney July 20 N.S. 1705. Warner 139.

(b) This is not the view of Mr. Keith Feiling. Of Shrewsbury in 1711, he writes, "Shrewsbury, true to character at a crisis was wobbling" - (p.442) But it was precisely at times of crisis that Shrewsbury acted with decision. Hesitations he reserved for quieter moments.

(c) Anonymous Life 34.

Pope's Works. - Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot, an Epilogue to Satires, Dialogue II at l.78.

(710)

CHAPTER XVIII

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

CHAPTER XVIII - BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Although he had carefully preserved most of his State correspondence, the Duke of Shrewsbury left no instructions in his Will as to what had to be done with his papers. Upon his death, however, or possibly upon the death of his Duchess eight years later, the papers which had been in his possession became divided into two groups. Muniments and purely family documents remained with the Earl of Shrewsbury, while the State papers, and such private correspondence of a political nature as survived, came into the possession of the Cardigan family. George, the fourth Earl of Cardigan, who married the heiress of the Montagus, was created Duke of Montagu, and as his daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, married Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, the papers eventually passed into the hands of the Buccleuch family, and are now with the Buccleuch Manuscripts. To this collection had been added in 1768 a volume of letters to Sir John Talbot written when Shrewsbury was a boy, which were given to the Duke of Montagu by John Talbot, a grandson of Sir John Talbot

of Lacock.(a) The volume as now bound is prefaced by the following letter -

"Lord Duke

I hope your Grace will be so good as to pardon my seeming rudeness in not paying my Duty to your Grace in Person. A fall that I had a month ago in the Strand and wch I yett feel and the Danger of Chairmen falling with one of my Age and size confines me this bad weather.

"I beg your Graces acceptance of Ld Shrewsburys letters to my Grandfather at so young an age as between thirteen and eighteen curious even if it was upon that account only. Your Grace as the nearest Relation is most entitled to them. The Regard he shows to his Grandfather and the Kindness to his Mother considering her unfortunate Behaviour and her Repentance are much above one of his years.

"I am with the Greatest Respect

Your Graces

most obedient humble servant

John Talbot."

The Shrewsbury Muniments remained in the possession of the Earls of Shrewsbury until the Catholic line of the family died out in 1856 with the seventeenth Earl, who had willed

(a) ^{John} ~~Sir~~ Ivory Talbot was the son of Anne, daughter of Sir John Talbot of Lacock. She married Sir J. Ivory. Sir John Talbot of Lacock died without leaving male issue.

the Shrewsbury documents to Lord Edmund Howard, younger son of the then Duke of Norfolk, with the request that he should take the name of Talbot. They became, therefore, the property of Lord Edmund Talbot, now Viscount Fitzalan, and are kept with the Duke of Norfolk's Manuscripts. A Schedule of Deeds is lodged with them.

Both groups of papers have been calendared, more or less adequately, for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Buccleuch collection in 1903 under the title of Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch at Montagu House, volume II; and the Muniments and family documents the same year as Manuscripts of Lord Edmund Talbot. Search among the actual manuscripts revealed interesting material from the biographical point of view, which had been either overlooked, or not printed, or inadequately printed, by the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report.

As by far the greatest number of Shrewsbury papers extant is embodied in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, and as not all of the volumes have been reported on in the printed Report, it will perhaps be not out of place to review here the main features of the collection. There are in all thirty-four volumes. Of these, the first twenty-one are numbered.

Volume XXI, which contains the Duke's Journal, is, however, unfortunately not able to be seen. The contents of these twenty-one volumes have been described in detail by the Editor of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report (p.p.2-7); but it should be noted that, in the actual Report, Volume I, perhaps the most valuable of all from the biographical point of view, is treated most inadequately. This is the volume of letters, most of them written in Paris, from Shrewsbury to his kinsman Sir John Talbot. Volumes II, III and IV, which contain Vernon's letters to Shrewsbury, are described by the Editor, but none of the letters is reproduced. The reader is referred to the edition of G. P. R. James in 1841, with the warning that many letters "are omitted by him, and large portions even of the letters which he printed are also omitted, mostly without any indication of the fact; and his text abounds with faulty readings." James's edition is, indeed, almost unbelievably incorrect. A volume of letters written from Paris during the Duke's Embassy there from 1712-13 was discovered too late for inclusion in the Report. It is a Letter Book of official correspondence, bound in vellum, and bearing the marks of seals on the covers. It is tied with tape, and the title is written in black ink. Two volumes of correspondence on naval matters, and a volume of letters from Sir Lambert Blackwell, are among

the unnumbered volumes, and have been dealt with in the Report. Four interesting volumes contain remarks and notes made by the Duke of Shrewsbury on books he had read. Macaulay had probably heard of the existence of these when he wrote, "His learning is proved by notes which are still extant in his handwriting in books in almost every department of literature." (b) The notes are, however, made on sheets of paper of varying size. In many cases, the pages of each set of remarks are numbered. There are three volumes of "Miscellaneous State Papers," of which Volume I appears to have been overlooked by the Historical Manuscripts Commission. It contains, among other things, the Duke's marriage certificate, the proposals for a marriage settlement upon marriage with the Earl of Carberry's daughter, and correspondence from Sir John Talbot on the subject of the Droitwich Bill and of the purchase of Dunthrop. A volume of Talbot Papers of earlier date is in the collection, and a manuscript catalogue made by Dr. Thomas Somerville in 1800.

Somerville printed one or two of the letters from the Buccleuch collection in the Appendix to his "History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne" (1798). Early

(b) Macaulay II 970.

in the nineteenth century, Archdeacon Coxe was given access to the papers for the purpose of publishing some of the correspondence, and in 1821 printed a selection from the manuscripts under the title of "Private and Original Correspondence of Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, with King William, the Leaders of the Whig Party, and other Distinguished Statesmen."

Naturally, the search for Shrewsbury correspondence does not end with the two main collections. Original letters have been scattered to various sources. Some of them have been printed, some remain in manuscript. Most of those preserved are of political rather than of private interest, but a few valuable private letters remain. Of these, the letters to Thomas Wharton, written in 1693 and from 1696 to 1699, are with the Carte Papers in the Bodleian Library, and are among the most valuable. A few interesting letters from the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury to Lady Longueville, daughter of Sir John Talbot, are among the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum. Four private letters to Godolphin from Rome, a letter to the Earl of Halifax from Lucca, an earlier letter to Lord Hatton, are in the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. (c) A letter

(c) There is also a business letter to Lord Hatton.

to Godolphin from Rome was purchased by the Earl of Shrewsbury at the end of last century, and is now at Ingestre Hall. Two letters to the first Marquess of Halifax, and four to the second Marquess, are among the Savile Manuscripts at Althorp. Letters to Stepney of a semi-private nature are in the Stepney papers in the British Museum.

Of the other private correspondence, copies of two letters to Dr. William Talbot are in the British Museum. Letters to Richard Hill, printed in an Appendix to the Hill Correspondence in 1845, and the letters to Stepney in Rebecca Warner's Epistolary Curiosities Second Series, printed at Bath in 1818, give a useful picture of the Duke's life abroad. A letter to Godolphin from Rome, of the same period, is printed in the Morrison Catalogue. A few letters to the Earl of Rochester are printed in the Clarendon and Rochester Correspondence, and the originals of these are in the British Museum. An interesting complimentary letter to Portland is printed in the "Correspondentie van Willem III en van Portland." (The Hague 1928).

Valuable State correspondence is, of course, to be found among the State Papers Domestic and Foreign in the Public Record Office. Scattered letters of interest are in the

British Museum in Additional, Stowe and Sloane Manuscripts, as, for example, the copies of letters to Strafford during the Paris Embassy. In the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian are the Duke's official letters to Bishop Robinson, the other Plenipotentiary at Utrecht. Letters to Richard Hill of the time of the Duke's second Secretaryship are in the Bodleian, the drafts of most of these being in the Buccleuch Papers. The official Letter Books for the Irish Lord Lieutenancy were purchased by Trinity College, Dublin, in 1922, and are to be seen there. These two volumes contain the office copies in Sir John Stanley's keeping, and bear inside the cover the name of John Monck. Stanley's nephew was a Monck. They are vellum covered books similar in appearance to the Paris Letter Book of the Buccleuch Manuscripts.

Of the printed State correspondence outside the Buccleuch collection, by far the greatest bulk is to be found in other Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. Letters to Nottingham, all, however, purely official, are in the Report on the Finch Manuscripts. Letters to Harley - very valuable these - are in the Report on the Bath Papers volume I. A few letters to Sir William Trumbull are in the Downshire Report, and a few to Matthew Prior in Bath volume III, while

the Portland Papers contain some to Harley and three to Prior. In the four volumes of Bolingbroke's Correspondence published in 1798, there is a large number of important Shrewsbury letters. Letters to Marlborough are printed in the volumes of Marlborough's Letters and Dispatches edited by Sir G. Murray in 1845. The Appendix to Dalrymple's Memoirs contains a few Shrewsbury letters, as do the Lexington Papers printed in 1851, Christian Cole's Memoirs (1735) and the Hardwicke State Papers. In Macpherson's Original Papers (1775) are printed complimentary letters to the Electoral Prince of Hanover.

Of collections which include correspondence to the Duke of Shrewsbury, or material about him, there may be mentioned the valuable unprinted correspondence of Archbishop King in Trinity College Library, Dublin. Matthew Prior's Letter Book in the Public Record Office, while it contains duplicates of some of the letters in the State Papers France volume 157, has much fresh material, which seems to have been curiously overlooked. It is endorsed in typical fashion - "This book beginning page 48 and ending page 240 contains the true copies of letters written by me and amongst them several letters written by His Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury, errors in transcribing, which I find to be many, excepted.

M. Prior."

The various newsletters written to Williamson, also in the Public Record Office, are useful. Many of the Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports are invaluable sources of information. William Blathwayt's Letter Books in the British Museum contain copies of letters that appear in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Buccleuch Papers, as well as of some that do not. Halifax's notes in the Savile Manuscripts (some of them printed in Foxcroft's Life) are of use for the earlier period of Shrewsbury's political career. Unpublished Comments of the Duchess of Marlborough, also at Althorp, can be read along with her Remarks as printed in the volumes of her correspondence published in 1838. Coxe's Life of Marlborough contains a few letters to Shrewsbury and many that discuss him. The originals of these, and possibly many more, must be in the Duke of Marlborough's collection at Blenheim, which is not meantime open to historians. For Irish affairs, there is a helpful Calendar of British Departmental Correspondence in the Irish Public Record Office, all the more useful because the actual documents have been destroyed. Copies of a few letters from the Irish Lords Justices in 1697-8 are in The British Museum. In Trinity College Library, Dublin, Sir John Stanley's Letter Book,

containing copies of his letters to Secretary Bolingbroke, and Bolingbroke's replies, ~~and~~^{to} even more interesting than the Shrewsbury Letter Books there.

The more ordinary sources, printed and unprinted, for the history of the period it is unnecessary to mention here. Enough has perhaps been said to give an idea of the main collections of material for a life of the Duke of Shrewsbury. In Lambeth Palace Library there are seventeen volumes of Shrewsbury material, but this is all of earlier date, and has no bearing on the history of the Duke.

There are regrettable losses in the material that might have been available. Vernon's letters to Shrewsbury are carefully preserved, but what happened to Shrewsbury's letters to Vernon? Shrewsbury kept no copy of them. They have not passed with the Vernon estates; and, if they lie in the Record Office, they lie uncatalogued and unknown. The correspondence with Dr. William Talbot would also have provided interesting reading, but, if it still exists, it has not been discovered. It is neither at Dynevor Castle nor at Ingestre Hall.(d) A fire at Ingestre in 1882, which destroyed many of the family papers, possibly accounts for

(d) Cf. Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors IV 687 note.

its complete disappearance. Shrewsbury's letters to his sister Mary, his letters to his grandfather, his later letters to Sir John Talbot, are all losses which we must deplore. Perhaps the recipients did not keep them. Certainly they are not in the hands of their descendants. Enough remains to make the regret for these losses all the deeper; for the gaps are greatest in the private and personal correspondence, and it is to be regretted most of all that for one of the most critical and most criticised periods of Shrewsbury's life, from 1706 until 1712, there are not many of his own letters extant. Similarly, from 1715 until his death, we are left groping. The Stuart Papers for these years point a monstrously accusing finger, and on Shrewsbury's side there is not one single intimate or revealing letter to describe his state of life or of mind.

Perhaps some fresh discoveries may yet come to light, which would illumine or revolutionise the knowledge that we have.

Pedigree

Handwritten text: John 2nd son

Handwritten text: John 3rd son

Handwritten text: John 4th son

Handwritten text: John 5th son

Handwritten text: John 6th son

Handwritten text: John 7th son

Handwritten text: John 8th son

Handwritten text: John 9th son

Handwritten text: John 10th son

Handwritten text: John 11th son

Handwritten text: John 12th son

so much of the pedigree has been given as appeared necessary for the understanding of the text.

1st wife = John Talbot 1st Earl of Shrewsbury

John 2nd Earl

John 3rd Earl.

George 4th Earl

Francis 5th Earl.

George 6th Earl.

Silbert 7th Earl

Edward 8th Earl

George 9th Earl

Ueltha = Tho. Howard
ancestress of the
Norfolks.

1st wife = John 10th Earl = 2
Beano

Charles Arundell = Mary = Meryn Lichett
4th Earl of Southham

James
5th Earl of G.

Elizabeth

John

Talbot Mary = Ed. Blaney

George

Anne Conyers = Francis 1st

John Stanot = Mary Conyers George

3 sons = Ann = Bodenham

Mary = Blunden.
Pawltre.

Sir Gilbert Pallot of Grafton

1st wife = Sir John of Albrighton = 2nd wife

John of Grafton

John of Salwarpe

John of Grafton

Sherington of Salwarpe & Looock

John of Longford

Sherington

Sir Gilbert

William

Thomas of Longford

Sir John
1st wife = of Looock = 2nd wife

Dr. William
Pallot

Francis = Anne Savage 2nd wife

2 sons

Francis
John
Catherine
Dorothy
Gilbert
George 3rd L.
of Cardigan
Gilbert
(Father Grey)
13th Feb

Gilbert
John of Longford
George = Mary Fitzwilliam
George 14th Feb
Charles

Sherington
Anne
Barbara
Gilberta
Charles Esq.
Sir J. Gray
W. Longville
John & Mary Pallot
Pallot

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