

**The 'Melancholy Pompous Sight':
Royal Deaths and the Politics of Ritual in the Late Stuart Monarchy,
c. 1685-1714**

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*This thesis is dedicated to my parents, my brother and to Stephen.
They lived through this with me but they will not get a degree for their efforts.*

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Thesis Summary

This thesis explores the deaths, funerals and other associated rituals given at the deaths of British monarchs and royals in the late Stuart period (1660-1714) with a focus on those occurring between the death of King Charles II in 1685 and the death of Queen Anne in 1714. This topic has lacked in-depth archival study and the existing historiography has often focused on larger cultural forces. This thesis presents a series of case studies structured around one or two deaths in particular, examining the ritual response as planned by the Royal Household and Privy Councillors within the wider and immediate political context which shaped their decisions. The first chapter reconstructs the process of a royal death at this time by drawing off a large amount of primary material and examples from across the period being studied. Subsequent chapters explore the political motivations and reasons behind the 'private' funeral for Charles II in 1685, the opposite decision for a larger heraldic or 'public' funeral for Mary II in 1695 and the decision to hold neither a funeral nor a ritual response beyond the familial obligation of mourning for James II in 1701. Another chapter explores the act of court mourning and how its relationship to gendered ideas about monarchy and grief underpinned the political responses to Queen Anne's two years of mourning after her husband's death in 1708. The final chapter explores two deaths and their relationship to the Glorious Revolution's pursuit for a secure and defined Protestant Succession which ultimately overshadowed the rituals performed at their deaths. Together these demonstrate how politics, ritual

and culture were interlinked and how immediate circumstances made rituals malleable and thus changes to them occurred, if somewhat inconsistently, over time.

Acknowledgements

*"Don't make fun of graduate students, they just made a terrible life choice."
-Marge Simpson*

As with many things in the modern world *The Simpsons* offers the best observation about graduate studies, but in making those terrible life choices and following them through we collect many debts and owe many more people than we can remember thanks for what they did to help us. These are mine.

Firstly, I must thank the Department of History at the University of Essex for admitting me back in 2011. They gave me a scholarship which covered my first three years without which I would never have been able to conduct this work. They then agreed to hire me for three successive academic years as a Graduate Teaching Assistant (2012-2015) which allowed me the flexibility to continue working on this thesis and cover some of the costs while also indulging my interest in U.S. history. I must thank all the department's staff for their assistance over time. There are a few individuals at Essex whom I must single out for thanks:

I owe an incredible debt to my supervisor Amanda Flather. Without her advice and guidance, and her incredible patience with me as the last year wore on, this thesis would simply not exist. When I outright abandoned this project as little more than a burden during the final two years of this project she remained its committed champion and believed in its value. Her editing and proof-reading, particularly what she did in the summer of 2015, makes this so much more readable than anything I could have done alone.

I also owe a large debt to my first supervisor Clodagh Tait who steered me through the initial stages of the degree and agreed to continue acting as my supervisor despite leaving Essex and the UK to return to Ireland. I am thankful that she continued to provide suggestions and help throughout all this.

In addition to my two supervisors, my supervisory board's other members have provided me with interesting critiques and suggestions on early ideas and chapter drafts. Together with my supervisors they contributed advice and ideas in board meetings about overcoming challenges, research ideas, potential sources, reading suggestions and more. For this I thank James Raven (2011-2013), Neil Younger (2013-2014) and David Rundle (2014-2015) for agreeing to serve on the board at different times.

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I wish to thank two other American academics for responding to my emails and offering guidance on the historiography: first was Charles Beem, who also gave me a copy of his journal article on Prince George of Denmark when I could not find it, and second was Scott Sowerby who offered advice on James II.

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This thesis really owes its existence to my work at Old Dominion University in 2009-2010. The difficulties, frustrations and complaints of many of my fellow ODU History MA students enrolled on an early modern European module during Spring 2010 forced me to confront the fact that I knew a lot more about early modern European history than I thought and planted the seed for switching my focus area from American history to this subject. The growth of this seed is down to my working relationship with Professor Douglas Greene, whose enthusiasm for European, but particularly for British history, really forced me to confront whether I should reconsider my choices. The meetings and discussions I had with him over 2009-2010 were important in shaping my decision to apply for this PhD in the first place. Michael Carhart also offered some informal advice on this project idea when I was applying for this degree. I want to also acknowledge the contribution of Professor Lorraine Lees who didn't help with the subject matter but my time studying with her really helped develop my academic writing style to the extent that I still use her writing 'laws' in my work and she kindly wrote one of the references that gained me admission to Essex.

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This project would not have been possible without the services and staff of a number of institutions, libraries, universities, and archives. Perhaps the most important of these was the National Archives of the United Kingdom and their wonderful staff. I must also acknowledge their fantastic online resources which made finding what I needed and accessing them incredibly easy and efficient. I would never have got so much done if it were not for them.

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There are several friends I wish to thank for their specific contributions over time. I shall attempt to name as many as I can but I know I am missing some. To my former fellow ODU TAs for helping me decide to apply for this program and their initial help discussing the decision and my ideas, to Michael Goodrum for his support and advice, Patrick Drackley for translating some sources from French into English for me, Valorie Tucker for driving me around, providing me access to a library and borrowing books for me when I was spending time in Virginia, Gavin Bowtell for explaining parts of Catholic worship to me, and to Amy Oberlin for her camaraderie and for suggesting some readings.

There are also too many people to list here who have kindly and patiently listened to my many, many, many complaints, moaning and whining about work and research along with my frustrations at academia and academic life, my teaching career and anything else included in the whole process. I could not have survived without them offering to listen, even when I got petty and repetitive. To all of them I say thank you.

In 2014 I suffered, partially as a result of this work, a series of mental health issues. I have to thank Havering IAPT services for their work helping me conquer those issues and particularly to my therapist who assisted me overcome what was a difficult and dark period of this process. I also want to thank my friend Guy Weissinger for providing some early advice on coping strategies which helped me deal with my problem in the early days.

Finally the people I should thank the most in all this are my family. They have had to live amongst my moaning and complaining more than anyone else. My parents have put up with everything without question, financing and supporting me through difficult and uncertain times. My brother Paul also put up with all this and provided support (including the advice that I really only needed to write seven words a day to write 80,000 words in four years). Then there is Stephen, my fiancé, who agreed all those years ago to support me through this folly and to put our lives on hold. Who has seen good and dark times and never faltered in his faith I would achieve it and who too gave me emotional and financial support through all this. For all this and more, this thesis is dedicated to these four people.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations appear in the references of this thesis:

TNA - The National Archives of the United Kingdom, Kew, London
LC - Lord Chamberlain Papers (National Archives)
PC - Privy Council Papers (National Archives)
SP - State Papers (National Archives)
CO - Colonial Papers (National Archives)

BL - British Library, St. Pancras, London
CA - College of Arms, London
HMC - Historical Manuscripts Commission

Notes

Where possible Old Style (O.S.) and New Style (N.S.) dates have been identified. Years were assumed to have begun on 1 January regardless.

Care has been taken to preserve original spelling and punctuation when quoting from original material from archival sources, but certain shorthand has been rendered into modern spelling, for example, 'ye' has been replaced with 'the'. Primary sources taken from edited collections have been presented as they were in the edited source.

For ease and consistency the regnal numbers of monarchs are their English ones, for example, James II of England/VII of Scotland is always referred to as 'James II'.

Introduction

In a moment of doubt amidst news of further desertions from his cause, William Shakespeare's *Richard II* prepares for his death. He argues that he and his band of followers have nothing 'Save our deposed bodies' to grant their survivors and calls upon his supporters to 'sit upon the ground/ And tell sad stories of the death of kings.'¹ He goes on to describe the stories they could tell:

How some have been deposed, some slain in war,
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed,
Some poisoned by their wives, some sleeping killed —
All murdered. For within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of the king
Keeps Death his court.

Death, Richard argues, resides within the crown itself, waiting for and mocking the kings who wear it by granting them the vanity and power which comes with kingship, 'Allowing him a breath, a little scene, To Monarchize, be feared and kill with looks.' Richard laments how the trappings of power trick the king into thinking he can escape the inevitability of human mortality, as if 'this flesh which walls about our life/ Were brass impregnable.' He goes on to describe how Death humours the king from within 'the hollow crown' but now 'Comes at last with a little pin/ Bores through the castle wall, and farewell,

¹ William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, ed. Charles R. Foster (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2002), pp.328-9.

King!’² Richard recognises death as a leveller, a moment of humanity for a king surrounded by symbols of regality which disguises it from even himself. To Shakespeare’s *Richard II*, in this moment of crisis, a royal death is inglorious.

The broad aim of this thesis is to tell Richard II’s ‘sad stories of the death of kings’ in later Stuart England.³ The circumstances surrounding the demise of most of the monarchs discussed in the study were not shameful in the way that Shakespeare’s *Richard II* had described them. But they were significant moments of discontinuity in which ritual was used to reflect, communicate and celebrate the institution of monarchy during a turbulent political period that witnessed relatively frequent accessions (five between 1685 and 1714), early deaths of minors, revolution and the exile of monarchs, complex Anglo-European relations, cultural shifts and religious upheavals.

Despite extensive historical research on the politics of the period and the historiographical recognition of the significance of funerary rites for the creation and construction of monarchical authority, the stories of the deaths of these kings and queens has been largely overlooked by scholars of both later Stuart politics and court ritual. These funerals have often been included as brief interludes within larger studies or in short articles on individual episodes that focus more on longer-term cultural shifts in elite attitudes to death and funerary ritual. This thesis is the first to examine the deaths of later Stuart monarchs in detail using extensive research into a variety of archival sources, with a careful reconstruction of the complex political context surrounding each

² Shakespeare, *Richard II*, pp. 329-331.

³ Shakespeare, *Richard II*, p. 329.

royal death. Therefore, it not only fills a gap in the historiography of royal funerary ritual during the period but also contributes to wider understanding of the monarchs themselves. The thesis will argue that throughout the late Stuart period royal deaths, and the ceremonies that were performed to mark their passing, can only be properly understood with reference to the political ideas, needs and developments which formed the context for the deaths themselves. Throughout, the study is interested in the politics embedded within these rituals.

Court, Ritual and the Monarchy

The study of royal courts as the focus of political, social and cultural authority within the early modern state has been a dynamic and exciting area of historical enquiry in the last few decades. It is widely recognised that court ritual had political functions that were designed to display and thereby also to preserve the power of monarchy. There was an understanding in early modern politics that the monarch remained the holder of core, arguably unlimited, power and this was recognised by numerous contemporary theorists and commentators.⁴ But power, as David Cannadine has pointed

⁴ Examples include: 'Sir Robert Filmer's justification of the prerogative, 1680' and 'Chief Justice Herbert in the case *Godden v Hales*, 1686' in Andrew Browning (ed.) *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII, 1660-1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), pp. 70-72, 86; Jacques-Benign Boussuet, *Politics Drawn from the Very Words of Holy Scripture*, trans. and ed. by Patrick Riley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Jean Bodin, *On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, trans. and ed. by Julian H. Franklin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ed. and introduction by C.B. MacPherson (Penguin, 1968).

out, 'is like the wind: we cannot see it, but feel its force.'⁵ In this situation rituals allowed for the manifestation of this power.

Barbara Stolberg-Rilinger has argued that in the Holy Roman Empire there was a link between the constitution and the rituals performed. This link meant that rituals joined with other legal forms such as laws, administrative decisions and theory to secure the communal order of the Empire over the long-term.⁶ Through performing the Empire's rituals, such as the coronation of Emperor, the symbols represented in the ceremony become 'a concrete reality' and participation in them re-affirmed their commitment to it. As such when periods of instability and criticism of the Empire occurred they were usually accompanied by the associated ritual's loss of 'its sacred aura.'⁷ We must therefore see ritual as not only communicating, but also re-enforcing the social order.

Ceremony and ritual are usually conceptualised in performative terms in most of this work and the court is recognised as the primary arena in which the rites and ceremony of monarchs were played out. Norbert Elias was a pioneer in the field. His sociological study of the court of the *ancien regime* in France was first published in the 1960s. He analysed in detail the way that during the seventeenth century in France the court of Louis XIV became a tightly knit social and political community acting as 'the most important and

⁵ David Cannadine, 'Introduction: divine rites of kings' in David Cannadine and Simon Price (eds) *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 1.

⁶ Barbara Stolberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes: Constitutional History and Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (New York: Berghahn, 2015), pp. 1, 9.

⁷ Stolberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes*, pp. 1-5.

influential centre of society at that time.⁸ Access both to the institution itself and then to the monarch's space and person was the primary aim in court politics and key to political power and patronage.⁹ Elias was able to show, for example, that the king's morning levee at Versailles was a carefully organised display of power and position in society, regulated through seemingly small privileges such as who could handle the royal robes and who could pass them to the king. The closer the intimacy with the royal body, the greater the political privilege of the individual and his access to patronage.¹⁰ Building on this work, and that of Clifford Geertz and his highly influential study of Bali, which he argued was a 'theatre state' in which power was constructed and maintained through ritual and pageantry, historians such as Peter Burke and Roy Strong have established the centrality of ritual and ceremony for the creation and maintenance of power structures in the period.¹¹ It is now widely recognised that early modern culture was highly ritualised.¹² A person's place in a procession, his or her place at table and gestures of greeting for example, were obsessively ordered to make sure an individual was accorded

⁸ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 78.

⁹ Elias, *The Court Society*, pp. 78-9; Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 204.

¹⁰ Elias, *The Court Society*, p. 85; Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 87-91.

¹¹ Clifford Geertz, *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980); Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*; Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973); Roy Strong, *Henry Prince of Wales: England's Lost Renaissance* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986); Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), p. 3.

¹² David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 1.

appropriate levels of respect in order to maintain hierarchy and order in intimate spaces as well as public arenas such as the court.¹³ Historians have recognised the importance of rituals in providing community cohesion, as well as communicating dissent. They are not simply a code of manners but an important theatrical performance designed to convey a public message to be disseminated and communicated.¹⁴

Historians have recognised that monarchies across Europe utilised a range of rituals to convey images of power and prestige and they were a core component of the practice of royal government. Frances Yates has argued that royal weddings acted as diplomatic events and 'a statement of policy' by monarchs. Yates showed how the 1613 wedding of Princess Elizabeth Stuart to Frederick V, Elector Palatine was interpreted by observers as a display of Stuart policy towards Protestant Europe.¹⁵ Annette Finley-Croswhite has shown how Henry IV of France successfully used his formal ritualised entries into cities during the 1590s in order to demonstrate his legitimacy and authority to the populace in the wake of the French civil wars.¹⁶ As Marc Bloch argues it cannot be enough to just look at the administrative and financial structures which supported the monarchy, 'the beliefs and fables that

¹³ See: Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds), *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Polity Press, 1991); John Walter, 'Gesturing at Authority: Deciphering the Gestural Code of Early Modern England' *Past and Present* 203, supplement 4 (2009), pp. 96-127.

¹⁴ Peter Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: Essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 225; Peter Burke, 'Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masianello' *Past and Present* 99 (1983), p. 19.

¹⁵ Frances Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 1-7.

¹⁶ S. Annette Finley-Croswhite, *Henry IV and the Towns: The Pursuit of Legitimacy in French Urban Society, 1589-1610* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 48-62.

grew up around the princely houses' were as important to understand their survival.¹⁷ Bloch demonstrates this argument through his comparative study of the beliefs and rituals surrounding the skin condition scrofula, or 'the King's Evil', in Britain and France. In both countries it was believed that an anointed monarch had the ability to heal sufferers of the disease and as a result the monarchs would perform ritualised touchings of scrofula victims in order to cure them of the condition. In the process the performance of the ceremony reinforced their legitimacy and the divine status of monarchy since only the rightful king or queen could successfully cure these people. The ceremony was crucial to the way that ideas about power and position were communicated to a larger public.¹⁸

Scholarship has shown the vital importance of ritual for the conduct of politics in the early modern English court. Its value as a subject was advocated by scholars such as David Starkey in the 1980s. This was building on the insights of Bloch and Elias and the pioneering work of art historian Roy Strong, who examined the symbolic significance of festivities and splendour at Court for the conduct of its politics.¹⁹ Starkey argued that the historiography of Tudor politics had been inhibited by the neglect of the court. He singled out the work of G.R. Elton as the archetypal example of an exclusionary approach which had favoured a focus on parliament and government instead. In so doing scholarship had shrunk the scope of analysis

¹⁷ Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 4.

¹⁸ Bloch, *The Royal Touch*.

¹⁹ Elias, *The Court Society*; Strong, *Splendour at Court*; Strong, *Henry, Prince of Wales*.

and understanding of the politics of the period.²⁰ Starkey and others have argued that court ritual and ceremony were not simply decorative adjuncts but at the heart of the conduct of politics. Ritual expedients of monarchy such as coronations, funerals and entrances to capital cities, as well as royal progresses were important mechanisms by which power was defined, displayed and maintained. Equally, the organisation and performance of gestures and rituals at court regulated and negotiated intimacy with the monarch which was a marker of privilege and regulated access to the patronage which was at the heart of the politics of court life.²¹

Court etiquette and ritual thus facilitated the court's function as a point of contact between monarch and courtier.²² British Courtiers were usually of noble or gentle birth and, like those of Versailles and other European courts, provided service to the king or queen through employment in the household or in the government. Within the early modern hierarchical society the king or queen sat at the apex of power and patronage. Despite a continual move towards the professionalisation of government administration, the shifts towards Parliamentary government and the introduction of legal limitations on the Crown throughout this period, the monarch remained at the centre of system. Even attempts to segregate the facets of royal service were malleable as monarchs whims and favourites changed, courtiers moved between types of service and formal rules provided more flexible than

²⁰ David Starkey, 'Introduction: court history in perspective?' in David Starkey (ed) *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 1-24.

²¹ David Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547,' in Starkey (ed) *The English Court*, pp. 71-118.

²² G.R. Elton, 'Presidential Address: Tudor Government: The Points of Contact III. The Court,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (1976), pp. 211-228.

thought.²³ As such, ensuring contact with, and access to, the king or queen remained paramount to courtiers, elites and politicians.

Access to the monarch was achieved through serving on councils or in their household which could yield influence, power and promotion. This was even recognised for those (mostly women) serving within the household of consorts, where the royal marriage provided a direct line of contact to the king.²⁴ Court rituals, such as the morning levée, provided opportunities for direct contact with the king and so could facilitate, deny or elevate the prestige of this access. In France, where ritual promoted an open style of court, the barring of access to certain rituals could send courtiers a message about their place and rank, and their favour or importance to the king.²⁵ As R. Malcolm Smuts has argued, the 'need to regulate interactions between kings and great nobles' was the root of the 'system of ranks, precedence and ceremony that characterised court society.' For monarchs, their court could be both insulating from the outside world and a useful way to connect 'to a larger social and political universe' through ritual.²⁶

²³ Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 6; Robert O. Buchholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 101-103.

²⁴ Cynthia Fry, 'Perceptions of Influence: The Catholic Diplomacy of Queen Anna and her Ladies, 1601-1604,' in Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (eds.), *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 267.

²⁵ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, pp. 309-310.

²⁶ R. Malcolm Smuts, 'The Structure of the Court and the Roles of the Artist and Poet under Charles I,' *The Court Historian* 9, no. 2 (December 2004), pp. 103-4.

The use of court ritual and the royal image has been extensively studied in the English context in relation to Elizabeth I.²⁷ But the rites and ceremonies associated with almost all courts in Tudor England have been the subject of detailed scholarly attention.²⁸ While much of this focuses on men, more recent studies have also examined the importance of this within female royal households and the influence that female courtiers might exert as a consequence. Pam Wright and Anna Whitelock, for example, have shown how propriety determined the move from an all-male to an all-female staff in the reign of Elizabeth I but it did not eliminate the political power and potency of intimacy.²⁹ Scholars have also recognised the political role, influence and importance of ladies-in-waiting during the early modern period more generally. Sara Wolfson, for example, has examined the influence of female courtiers in the household of Queen Henrietta Maria during the reign of Charles I.³⁰ There has also been considerable investigation of the machinations of the Duchess of Marlborough and her manipulation of her

²⁷ Amongst the most important of the studies on Elizabeth I and court culture include: Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Susan Doran and Norman Jones (eds), *The Elizabethan World* (Routledge, 2011); Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, Jayne Elisabeth Archer (eds), *John Nichols's The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth I: a new edition of the early modern sources, 5 vols.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart monarchy: pagentry, painting, iconography, 5 vols.* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995-7); Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony*, (Amhurst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

²⁸ For example: Jennifer Loach, 'The Function of Ceremonial in the Reign of Henry VIII,' *Past and Present* 142, no. 1 (1994), pp. 43-68.

²⁹ Pam Wright, 'A Change in Direction: the ramifications of a female household,' in Starkey (ed) *The English Court*, pp. 147-172; Anna Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows: An Intimate History of the Queen's Court* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

³⁰ Sara Wolfson, 'The Female Bedchamber of Queen Henrietta Maria: Politics, Familial Networks and Policy, 1626-1641' in Ackerman and Houben (eds.) *The Politics of Female Households*, pp. 311-341.

closeness to Queen Anne as a Lady of the Bedchamber to acquire significant power, prestige and infamy amongst the wider political circles of the reign.³¹

Such evidence reminds us of the importance of attention not only to the court itself but also to the courtiers who inhabited the space. Biographies of individual courtiers often shed further light onto the working of court politics and cultures. These works, while structured and focused around a single life, often explore how these people operated and responded to court life, giving a more nuanced view than a top-down or institution-centric approach. In terms of this thesis, for example, a good example are the letters, autobiographies and biographies of Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough (1660-1744).³² Churchill's career in public life was determined through her roles, offices and presence at the successive courts of the late Stuarts and early Hanoverians and so attention to the Duchess also allows access to details of the histories of the politics within those courts. Biographies of other contemporary courtiers offer us similar information.³³

³¹ For discussion of the Duchess of Marlborough see: Frances Harris, *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Rachel Weil, *Political passions: Gender, the family and political argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 187-230.

³² J.P. Hudson, 'The Blenheim Papers,' *The British Library Journal* 8, no. 1 (1982), pp. 1-6; Frances Harris, Harris, 'Accounts of the Conduct of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, 1704-1742' *The British Library Journal* 8, no. 1 (1982), pp. 7-35; Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough, *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough from her first coming to Court to the Year 1710* (London: J. Bettenham, 1742); Harris, *A Passion for Government*.

³³ For biographies of other courtiers see also William Calvin Dickinson, *Sidney Godolphin, Lord Treasurer, 1702-1710* (Lewiston NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990); Brian W. Hill, *Robert Harley: Speaker, Secretary of State and Premier Minister* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); T.C. Nicholson and A.S. Tuberville, *Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); Dorothy H. Somerville, *The King of Hearts: Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962).

The culture of the courts of the Stuart monarchs has been extensively analysed and the changes that developed in the period have been mapped in relation to the altering political context. R. Malcolm Smuts has argued that ‘a broader and more integrated view of the Stuart period’ can be seen in the ‘connectedness of culture to politics’ most clearly seen at court.³⁴ Kevin Sharpe has offered a magisterial study of the connection between cultural outputs, images and early modern rulers, although it often neglected ritual as a source in favour of paintings, pictures, medals and words.³⁵ In similar vein, Anna Keay has examined the political culture of the Restoration through what she terms a ‘ritual biography’ of the court of Charles II, analysing how royal rituals, their design and organisation were linked to larger political issues, developments and crises during his reign.³⁶ Robert Bucholz has offered a detailed analysis of the court of Queen Anne between 1702 and 1714. His work explores various aspects of the court’s operation including its structure, personnel, finances and culture. He argues that despite a degree of decline, the court remained central to political life. Anne choreographed her court ceremony and etiquette carefully to foster national unity and crafted for herself a role as a focus for loyalty especially amongst the highly politicised aristocracy in the context of highly divisive partisan politics. Unfortunately for

³⁴ R. Malcolm Smuts, ‘Introduction’ in R. Malcolm Smuts (ed), *The Stuart Court and Europe: Essays in politics and political culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 7.

³⁵ Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

³⁶ Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Continuum, 2008).

Anne's strategy her successive Tory and Whig ministries sought to appropriate court patronage and ceremony along with the Queen herself for their own political ends.³⁷

Such insights reinforce the importance of attention to questions of continuity and change in court culture that are recognised to both reflect and reinforce wider alterations in the politics of monarchy and monarchical government as well as the personality or indeed gender of the monarch. They also draw attention to the inherent instability and malleability of court ceremony. As Kevin Sharpe put it, while some aspects of court ritual were remarkably resilient to change, the tone and style of court culture was always shifting, sometimes between or even within a reign, and in the process reveal important political developments and consequences for those involved.³⁸ Equally, as Edward Muir has pointed out, change can cause confusion so that rituals might fail to generate the required and expected response, so that they become empty and devoid of meaning, a situation that can make royal rites 'inherently ambiguous' in any situation.³⁹

In the English context, for example, several scholars have argued that after the Civil War and interregnum, during the period which forms the focus of the study, court culture in Britain became less extravagant as cash-strapped monarchs, poor facilities, differing personalities and the rise of

³⁷ R.O. Bucholz, 'Nothing but Ceremony': Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual,' *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 3 (July 1991), pp. 288-323; R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 203-4, 225.

³⁸ Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 205-7.

³⁹ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 2, 5.

partisan politics combined to reduce court size and prestige. For example, a feature of seventeenth-century court culture was its more static character. Monarchs spent most of their time in London rather than on the progresses that characterised Tudor court politics, and so the court in London and the palaces within it became the most important ritual spaces for the conduct and performance of ceremony.⁴⁰ More broadly it is argued that in this environment of decline came an associated reduction in the use and efficacy of ritual.⁴¹ Some historians argue that rituals were replaced with other mediums of public communication during the early-eighteenth century, reflecting and reinforcing a changing meaning of monarchy and its relationship to the public.⁴² Such studies show how attention to the alterations made to royal ceremonies over time, as Richard Jackson argues, 'can teach us about the stages and means by which kingship made the transition from medieval to modern.'⁴³ Yet even in the early modern period royal rituals were constantly shifting, appropriated and adapted to meet political needs. In his work on the French coronation ceremony, Jackson has explained that while 'there is no evidence of a conscious, determined development' there is a clear 'response to contemporary needs and conceptions.' Jackson argues that as the historical custom of the coronation was constantly revived certain parts fell into disuse or innovations were made

⁴⁰ Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, p. 201.

⁴¹ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*.

⁴² Amy B. Oberlin, "Share with me in my Grief and Affliction": Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early-Eighteenth Century England,' *Pareregon* 31, no. 2 (2014), pp. 99-120.

⁴³ David A. Jackson, *Vive le Roi! A History of the French Coronation from Charles V to Charles X* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. 13.

depending on need, disguising innovation nonetheless by the continued presence and use of the religious liturgy.⁴⁴ Such insights remind us of the need for detailed study to identify these changes which are often hard to find on first reading. David Cannadine has pointed out that ritual forms can prove tricky to study but when scholars are successful they help understand how an unequal distribution of power is made acceptable.⁴⁵ Close analysis of the details and the nuances of the changes that were made, often small and inconsistent, are important and highly revealing of the changing political and cultural context in which the ceremonies were performed and the function of ritual within them. My interest in this study is also in the ways that seemingly static royal funerary rites evolved and adapted according to the political and cultural context. Following Jennifer Woodward (see below), the approach of this thesis is to study rituals as performances in their political context to explore how they were adapted to suit particular political circumstances and to what extent ceremony was conditioned by them.⁴⁶

Death and Royal Funerals

Funerals were part of this wider ritualised cycle of life and worship in the early modern period both at court and in the wider community. Historians have recognised that funerals are a useful interpretative device for studying

⁴⁴ Jackson, *Vive le Roi!*, pp. 52-3.

⁴⁵ Cannadine, 'Introduction: divine rites of kings' in Cannadine and Price (eds.) *Rituals of Royalty*, pp. 4, 19.

⁴⁶ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 5.

the history of human societies and the anthropologist V. Gordon Childe has argued that since early human history the style and size of funeral and burial rites corresponded with the stage of state development and maturity.⁴⁷ Since the 1970s historians have found death and funeral rites to be a particularly useful device for understanding the past. Paul Fritz has argued for example that 'the history of death...provides an excellent focus for describing mental attitudes and illuminating entirely new areas in social, economic and cultural history.'⁴⁸ Ralph Houlbrooke has attributed the usefulness of such an approach to the 'great range of purposes [funerals] have been designed to fulfil in different cultures.'⁴⁹ For the early modern period the funeral provided, as Vanessa Harding has described, a moment 'for the larger community...to witness a shared belief in a social and confessional order' and offered society a moment for 'self-definition.'⁵⁰ This is because, as Katherine Verdery has argued, 'the most important properties of [dead] bodies...is their ambiguity... Remains are concrete...they do not have a single meaning but are open to many different readings.'⁵¹ The living in turn take the physical remains of people and then apply certain readings and meanings onto them and react

⁴⁷ V. Gordon Childe, "Directional Changes in Funerary Practices During 50,000 Years," *Man* 45 (January-February 1945), p. 18

⁴⁸ Paul S. Fritz, 'The Trade in Death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 3 (Spring 1982), p. 291.

⁴⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, "Introduction," in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed) *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 1.

⁵⁰ Vanesa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 234.

⁵¹ Katherine Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), p. 28.

accordingly. These meanings then offer opportunities to study social change.⁵²

The history of death and funerals was pioneered by historians in the French Annales school of the mid-20th century. Their study focused around the idea of producing a 'total' history which prioritised the study of long-term historical structures and the *longue durée* over the short-term. Building on this tradition French historians proposed three main tenets to a study of the history of death: first that it was to be a form of social history, second that it was to focus on the mentalities of people, and finally that it was to be rooted in the early modern period. An early modern focus was preferred because, according to Allan Mitchell, the annalists believed that the history of early modern France was already sufficiently developed in other areas that this new area of enquiry would sit well alongside them.⁵³

The key figure in the development of the subject was Philippe Ariès whose approach was to take an entire millennium of history and chart the historical mentalities of people towards their own death and the death of others. He drew on what he called a 'large and heterogenous body of material' initially to survey French ideas of the recent past, but expanded outward in time and geography, something he argued was necessary for studying death.⁵⁴ His thesis was that attitudes towards death came in four main phases across the last millennium. The first was the 'tame death' which was the dominant idea for most of history where people had a more open

⁵² Verdery, *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*, p. 28.

⁵³ Allan Mitchell, "Philippe Ariès and the French Way of Death," *French Historical Studies* 10, no. 4 (Autumn 1978), pp. 684-5, 691-2.

⁵⁴ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage, 1981), p. xvii.

acceptance of the inevitability of their own death and the ease with which people engaged with the subject across society. The second, the 'death of the self', saw the focus beginning to shift towards death not simply as the end of life but as an impending event in one's own life increasing the individualised experience of the event. The third phase was the 'death of the other' which emerged in the 18th century when death was understood as a rupture in society and as something that signified societal loss and that provoked mourning and grief. The fourth and most recent development still found in the late-20th century when Ariès was writing was the 'forbidden death' which he argued was a particularly strong idea in the United States. Now death has been removed from view and had become increasingly taboo to talk about and thus was also often a lonely experience.⁵⁵

After publication in French in 1978 and then English in 1981 critiques of Ariès quickly emerged. Allan Mitchell argued that while Ariès was the historian who 'had done more than any other to define and dramatize the historical study of death' it was unlikely that he, or any other historian for that matter, could develop a definite history of French attitudes to death.⁵⁶ In 1981 Joachim Whaley argued that while Ariès remained 'the most prominent pioneer in the field,' the distinction between change and continuity in his work was unclear.⁵⁷ At the same time John McManners agreed that Ariès was the pioneer, however he charges that he was simply usurping the groundwork laid

⁵⁵ Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*; Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes Towards Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Rouen (London: Marion Boyars, 1976).

⁵⁶ Mitchell, "Philippe Ariès and the French Way of Death," pp. 684-6, 694-5.

⁵⁷ Joachim Whaley, 'Introduction' in Joachim Whaley (ed), *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, (London: Europa Publishing, 1981), pp. 3-5.

by more prominent Annales historians.⁵⁸ These kinds of criticism remained common. By the late 1990s when she summarised the state of the field after nearly two decades, Vanessa Harding repeated that historians remain uncomfortable with Ariès's 'lack of specificity as to time and space and his use of impressionistic generalization rather than quantification.'⁵⁹ Harding also argued that Ariès's work had not laid out an agenda for further study, and that general histories had fallen out of favour with historians in the field, who had then shifted their emphasis from the general to the specific choosing to focus on chosen geographical areas, time periods and sections of society.⁶⁰

As a result of this shift in focus, historians have noticed how the responses to death have been shaped by different cultural and political forces and how and when they shifted across time. For example, in early modern England, the Reformation of the sixteenth-century and the subsequent political upheavals of the early-Stuart era changed responses to death and funeral styles.⁶¹ The relative stability which emerged in English political society during the eighteenth-century shifted them again.⁶² Individual emotions associated with death have also been studied, and, as a result, gender has been identified as defining and complicating how humans have

⁵⁸ John McManners, 'Death and the French Historians', in Whaley (ed), *Mirrors of Mortality*, pp. 115-6, 121.

⁵⁹ Vanessa Harding, 'Research Priorities: a Historians Perspective,' in Margaret Cox (ed), *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England, 1700-1850* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), p. 205.

⁶⁰ Harding, 'Research Priorities: a Historians Perspective,' in Cox (ed), *Grave Concerns*, pp. 206-7.

⁶¹ Clare Gittings, 'Sacred and Secular, 1558-1660' in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (eds), *Death in England: An Illustrated Guide* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 147-173.

⁶² Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The age of decency, 1660-1760,' in Jupp and Gittings (eds), *Death in England*, pp. 174-201.

responded to death. For the early modern period ideas about the cause of gender differences rested on theories about the varying humoural make-up of men and women. This argued that a woman's cooler and wetter humoural balance, compared to a man's hotter and drier one, made women more prone to her emotions and, in particular, towards melancholy.⁶³ Patricia Philippy, for example, has shown how certain grieving behaviours were labelled as being more proper for women or men. This 'early modern gendering of grief' identified female grief as excessively emotional, while the proper male behaviour was identified as being stoic and moderated.⁶⁴ Other historians have identified that the emotional responses associated with grief, such as crying, also followed gendered codes for men.⁶⁵

The study of the royal funeral emerged alongside this more general historiography on death. However, its interest was less in the development of cultural understandings of death and funerals than as presenting an off-shoot of a study on the theoretical approaches to kingship originally published in the 1950s. Ernst Kantorowicz had published his book on the medieval political theory of 'the King's Two Bodies' in 1957 and explored the idea that monarchs possessed two bodies: one was their physical ageing body and another their

⁶³ Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early Modern England* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), pp. 6-8; Christine Peters, *Women in Early Modern Britain, 1450-1640* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 1; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 18-19; Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 35-8.

⁶⁴ Patricia Phillippy, 'I might again have been the sepulchre': Paternal and Maternal Mourning in Early Modern England,' in Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (ed) *Grief and Gender: 700-1700* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 197-214.

⁶⁵ Bernard Capp, 'Jesus Wept' but did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England,' *Past and Present* 224 (August 2014), pp. 75-108; Philip Carter, 'Tears and the Man,' in Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds) *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 156-173.

spiritual body which was passed between the individuals through the succession to the throne.⁶⁶ Ralph Giesey's subsequent study on the French royal funeral from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries built on Kantorowicz's work. Giesey argued that the funeral was a ritual performance of the concept of the king's spiritual and physical bodies, smoothing over the discontinuity in dynastic politics created by death and the transition between monarchs while elaborating the universal and immortal ideal of kingship. Giesey points out that the underlying meaning was best demonstrated by the final cry at the funeral of '*Le Roi est mort! Vive le Roi!*' ('The King is Dead! Long Live the King!')⁶⁷

Despite Giesey's work there was little further development in the field until after Ariès's book. Following the pattern Vanessa Harding laid out for general research, the historiography of the royal funeral first centred on the longer-term and more generalised narrative before focusing in on specifics.⁶⁸ Paul Fritz was the best example of this approach. Fritz's research is very interesting in relation to this thesis because he focused on royal funerals in a broad analysis that involved a survey of the entirety of the early modern period from the death of Henry VII (1509) to the death of George IV (1830). His central argument was that the period saw the transition of the royal funeral from a 'public' event also known as the heraldic style which was organised under the authority of the College of Arms to a 'private' ceremony

⁶⁶ See: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁶⁷ Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960).

⁶⁸ Harding, 'Research Priorities: a Historians Perspective,' in Cox (ed), *Grave Concerns*, p. 206.

which shunned heraldic elements. Much of Fritz's analysis focuses on the move away from the heraldic style and the use of the College of Arms, and importantly for this thesis he attributes the key turning point as the late Stuart period when the upheavals of the seventeenth century eroded royal power. A focus on such a long period of time meant that Fritz did not go into significant detail, based on archival research, into the circumstances surrounding decisions made about the organisation and presentation of each event and the complexities and nuances in patterns of continuity and change that would help explain how, when and why the development from 'public' to 'private' occurred. These questions are lost in a smooth and straightforward story of decline and will be re-addressed in this study.⁶⁹

The next most important contribution to the field after Fritz was that by Claire Gittings who included an examination of the royal funeral in her large-scale work on death, funerals and burials in early modern England. Gittings was interested in the role that individualism played in determining changes to funerary practices. In this sense she began the move towards specificity but still remained interested in a longer term chronology and narrative. Like Fritz, she also focused on the role played by the College of Arms in her study of elite funerals, arguing that nobles had once embraced the heraldic option as a display of their individual status and power. Gittings argues that the College's role as agents of the Crown had eroded this function and shifted control away from the nobles themselves who began to adopt the 'private' funeral style to express their individuality. Gittings's work on royal funerals, like Fritz's, remained less interested in detail. It mirrored Fritz's interpretation and

⁶⁹ Paul S. Fritz, 'From 'public' to 'private': the Royal Funerals in England, 1509-1830' in Whaley (ed) *Mirrors of Mortality*, pp. 61-79.

emphasised a relatively smooth transition from a 'public' to a 'private' style and argued the change was bound up with similar concerns about importance of expressions of individuality. She also linked it to the changing position of monarchy within the wider polity as a consequence of the period's major political upheavals – the Civil War and Glorious Revolution. She argues that as individual monarchs became less powerful and important in the late seventeenth century their funerals became less opulent and declined in style to correspond with their changed political position. Instead she argues that national heroes such as the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Nelson became the recipients of the heraldic or state funerals once reserved for monarchs to celebrate their individual achievements.⁷⁰

Other studies include that of Olivia Bland on royal deaths and funerals that also takes a longer view beyond the early modern period to include royal funerals up to that of Lord Mountbatten in 1979. However, Bland offers little scholarly analysis of the events and instead focuses on offering a description of the various royal funerals that include some factual errors, for example, claiming that James II and Mary of Modena were present at the funeral of Charles II in 1685 when primary documents examined for this thesis do not back up her version of events.⁷¹ Her argument about patterns of continuity and change also overlook alterations in style between the Tudor and Stuart period identified by Fritz and Gittings, arguing instead that royal obsequies

⁷⁰ Claire Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 166-200, 216-234.

⁷¹ Olivia Bland, *The Royal Way of Death* (London: Constable, 1986), p. 74; See chapter two for my analysis of Charles II's funeral.

grew in scale over time culminating in ‘today’s beautifully planned and executed ceremonial, the envy of the world.’⁷²

A more important contribution to the debate by Michael Schaich has produced the most recent of the longer narratives on royal funerals in England in his introduction and essay that form part of an edited collection that focuses on ceremony as a way in to examining the relationship between monarchy and religion. Schaich provides a brief survey of the early modern period, but is more interested in the later centuries. He supports the thesis of decline in the ‘public’ royal funeral and offers a variety of reasons for the change from ‘public’ to private’, which he dates more to the early-eighteenth century than to the late-seventeenth. His explanations include shortage of money, a response to the changes occurring in noble funerals and the eroding credibility of the idea of a ‘public’ funeral even if he takes a critical approach to arguments that link change to a supposed ‘desacralisation’ of monarchy in the late seventeenth century in the context of broader political shifts. He notes that the ‘private’ funeral became more socially inclusive and focused on a smaller, more intimate group than the large ‘public’ or heraldic funerals. As a result their religious component reflected individual piety and devotion.⁷³

Much of the existing literature on royal funerals draws parallels between royal funerals and those of the nobility. The literature on the funerals of the aristocracy has for the most part focused on the questions about their

⁷² Bland, *The Royal Way of Death*, p. 265.

⁷³ Michael Sciach, ‘The Funerals of the British Monarchy,’ in Michael Schaich (ed) *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 421-450.

use of 'public' or heraldic funerals and their abandonment for 'private' ones during the seventeenth century. Key shifts include the change of time from day to night; the gradual removal of heraldic symbolism and the reduction in numbers and social selection of participants. The literature acknowledges the importance which social distinction played in shaping noble attitudes to funerals. Mervyn James has looked at the purpose of heraldic funerals in the Tudor era.⁷⁴ He argued that while it is easy to dismiss funerals as part of a status-obsessed elite, to contemporaries the deaths of noble and great men represented a crisis in society which needed to be smoothed over and succession to property and titles secured. Heraldic funerals which included a display of the greatness of the man, family and his servants fulfilled this role.⁷⁵ Lawrence Stone included funerals as part of his analysis into the state of the English aristocracy prior to the civil wars. While recognising the continued importance of the funeral as the last sign of respect to a noble title, he concluded the transition away from heraldic funerals was down to financial worries noble families had since the cost to them was so high.⁷⁶ Julian Litten's history of English funerary rites solely through the heraldic funeral though emphasises the rise and fall of the College of Arms in his work.⁷⁷ Ralph Houlbrooke conducted a comparative study into two noble funerals in the late Stuart period and found that, regardless of size or cost, there was a concern

⁷⁴ Mervyn James, *Society, Politics, and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 176-187.

⁷⁵ James, *Society, Politics, and Culture*, pp. 176-77.

⁷⁶ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 572-581.

⁷⁷ Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 1991), pp. 173-194.

amongst the late Stuart gentry for decorum and events which seemed distinctly 'proper'.⁷⁸

Similar trends have been charted in early modern Europe, although for slightly different reasons in different cultural, political and religious contexts. For example, Craig Koslofsky has examined funeral rites in the aftermath of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany.⁷⁹ Koslofsky found that the aristocracy disliked the the equalising effect which Lutheran church rituals generated which meant that elites and the poor were buried according to a similar ceremony. Nocturnal funerals, which had been traditionally put on by Lutherans for dishonourable burials, offered a way to break what Koslofsky called 'the ritual hegemony of the established church' and were adopted by the elite to create a ritual of 'social distinction and exclusivity.' He also found that a baroque rediscovery of the night allowed for greater proliferation of these ceremonies.⁸⁰ These conclusions, which emphasised a noble's desire to break free of a controlling ritual authority, mirrors Gittings's conclusions about Britain during the same period.

Fritz and Gittings compare royal obsequies with noble rites and situate them within the same cultural context. Jennifer Woodward adopts a similar approach in several respects by viewing noble funerals and royal ceremonies as different more in matters of degree than of kind.⁸¹ Her study analyses royal funerals in England between 1587, beginning with the death by

⁷⁸ Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Public' and 'private' in the funerals of the later Stuart gentry: some Somerset examples,' *Mortality* 1, no. 2 (1996), pp. 163-176.

⁷⁹ Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000).

⁸⁰ Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, pp. 140-144.

⁸¹ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*.

execution of Mary Queen of Scots, and 1625 when James I died. Drawing on Giesey's approach to royal funerals in France she examines these rituals by approaching them as performances in which the funeral is seen as a ritual piece of theatre designed to persuade the audience looking on of the majesty of monarchy and the smooth transition of dynastic power. She emphasises the malleability of ceremony and offers a series of case-studies of renaissance English royal funerals and their 'performance conditions', that situate details of the organisation of royal rites within the wider political context which, she argues, shaped the planning, management and staging of these events.⁸²

This wider context also allows us consider how funerals could be used as part of wider efforts to shape a monarch's image. Monarchs, as Kevin Sharpe has argued, controlled their images while alive through the cultural outputs of the court.⁸³ Death ended this process and the nature of their posthumous image was often left at the mercy of their successors or the family they left behind. Funerals, and other rituals performed soon after a royal death, offered the first chance to fashion these legacies but were often done to the benefit of those left behind. James I was particularly adept at this, as Jennifer Woodward as argued, by using the funeral and burial of Elizabeth I and then the re-burial of his mother Mary, Queen of Scots to promote his own royal image. He later used the funeral of his son Henry, Prince of Wales, to re-imagine the father-son relationship to suit his own

⁸² Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, pp. 5-8.

⁸³ Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*; Sharpe, *Image Wars*; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*.

preferred interpretation.⁸⁴ William III used the funeral of Mary II in 1695, as part of a propaganda campaign against charges of illegitimacy.⁸⁵ These examples stressed their good qualities and virtues, but other monarchs fared less-well. The last two Catholic monarchs, Mary II and James II, for example, had their unsympathetic and negative posthumous reputations written by their surviving (Protestant) enemies.⁸⁶ In these cases it successfully overcame efforts by the monarchs to counter negative views of themselves, for, as Sharpe argues, James II's 'concern with self-presentation and place in history' while he was alive 'may have outstripped that of most of his predecessors.'⁸⁷

The funerals of the later Stuart monarchs have not yet been subjected to such detailed investigation. Some attention though has been paid to elements of their obsequies. For example, the 'public' funeral of Mary II and the long period of mourning ordered after her death has attracted historical attention from a variety of angles.⁸⁸ Amy Oberlin has taken royal grief as a starting point for an examination of the changing place of ritual in the period. She has examined the death of Mary II in relation to the changing content of addresses published in official newspapers after the demise of later Stuart monarchs and argued that royal grief expressed publicly in print gradually

⁸⁴ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, pp. 129-140, 162.

⁸⁵ Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 7-10, 77-9; For further exploration of this process see Chapter 3.

⁸⁶ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 225-226.

⁸⁷ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 226.

⁸⁸ Alex Garganigo, 'William without Mary: Mourning Sensibly in the Public Sphere,' *The Seventeenth Century* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2008), pp. 105-141; Ralph Hyde, 'Romeyn de Hooghe and the Funeral of the People's Queen,' *Print Quarterly*, 15 no.2 (1998), pp. 150-172; N.M. Lawson, 'The Death Throes of the Licensing Act and the 'Funeral Pomp' of Queen Mary II, 1695,' *The Journal of Legal History* 26, no. 2 (August 2005), pp. 119-142; Melinda S. Zook, 'The Shocking Death of Mary II: Gender and Political Crisis in Late Stuart England,' *British Scholar* 1, no. 1 (September 2008), pp. 21-36.

replaced ritual as the medium by which monarchs connected with their subjects, speaking more about personal grief in a newly-intimate style. This had coincided with the rise of the less elaborate private funeral and the decline of the lavish heraldic ceremony that was designed to convey dynastic continuity, monarchical magnificence and political authority.⁸⁹

Late Stuart Politics

Despite work by Oberlin and others, most of the historical work on later Stuart deaths and funerals consists of rather generalised analysis incorporated within longer and broader studies interested in wider cultural shifts. A comparative investigation based on detailed archival work of later Stuart funerals that considers departures from older traditions within their complex political context has yet to be written. This is surprising given the acknowledged importance of funerary rites for the preservation and presentation of monarchical power and the light that their organisation can shed on political relationships. These relationships are important to understand for a period defined by political crises. The Stuart period, as Lawrence Stone argues, consisted of ‘dramatic surface eruptions babbling up out of a century-long pool of turbulence and instability.’⁹⁰ Only forty years separate the two revolutions of the seventeenth century which culminated in

⁸⁹ Oberlin, “Share with me in my Grief and Affliction”, pp. 99-120.

⁹⁰ Lawrence Stone, ‘The Results of the English Revolutions of the Seventeenth Century,’ in J.G.A. Pocock (ed) *Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 23.

the execution of one king (Charles I) and the expulsion of another (James II). These events generated intense debate about the meaning of monarchy and its place and power within the wider polity in the context of widening participation in a developing public sphere and the growing power of parliament.⁹¹

A study of later Stuart funerary rites is also timely given the extensive work on the politics of the period in recent years and the revisions in historians' understanding of the role and meaning of these two revolutions and the place of monarchy within them. For three centuries a dominant Whig-inspired historiography of the 1688-9 revolution in particular praised it as consensual and bloodless, distinctly English, elite led, Protestant, anti-absolutist and a constitutional intervention designed to preserve the English polity from the dangerous corruption of a Catholic King James II and his authoritarian, absolutist ambitions. Such ideas were solidified by the writings of Edmund Burke, Lord Thomas Macaulay and George M. Trevelyan.⁹² From this comes its epitaph of the 'Glorious Revolution'. This intellectual hegemony

⁹¹ There are lots of works on political culture and changes in the late Stuart period. For examples (amongst many others) see: Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Melinda S. Zook, *Protestantism, Politics and Women in Britain, 1660-1714* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013); Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); J.R. Jones, *Charles II: Royal Politician* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and the Kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London: Allen Lane, 2005); Thomas Munck, *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict and Social Order in Europe, 1598-1700*, 2nd ed. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Julian Hoppit, *A Land of Liberty? England, 1689-1727* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁹² Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. L.G. Mitchell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Lord [Thomas] Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James II*, 6 vols., ed. Charles Harding Firth (London: Macmillan and Co., 1913-1915); G.M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, 3 vols. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930-1934).

meant that the Revolution of 1688-9 was derided by Geoffrey Holmes in the mid-20th century as 'surely the most conservative revolution that Europe has witnessed in the last four centuries.'⁹³ The tercentenary in 1989 produced a new wave of historiographical revision to the existing narrative and broke the domination of the Burke-Macaulay-Trevelyan legacy.

New histories of the Revolution sought to re-interpret it as a contested, complex and multi-dimensional event involving more than just English elites. For example, Tim Harris has established that popular but political and disciplined riots formed an important element of public resistance to James II.⁹⁴ Lois Schwoerer's edited collection of essays on the Revolution offered a host of new interpretations of various facets including Rachel Weil's gender history of the 'warming pan' scandal, W.A. Speck's analysis on the role and position of Mary II in the event, and John Rule's examination of the impact the Revolution had on France and Europe's balance of power.⁹⁵ Subsequent edited collections have attempted to understand the Revolution in a wider scope to encompass events beyond England in the British Isles, on the continent and the Americas.⁹⁶ Edward Vallance offered a narrative focused

⁹³ Geoffrey Holmes, 'Introduction: Post-Revolution Britain and the Historian' in Geoffrey Holmes (ed) *Britain after the Glorious Revolution* (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 7.

⁹⁴ Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 301.

⁹⁵ Rachel J. Weil, 'The politics of legitimacy: women and the warming-pan scandal', W.A. Speck, 'William—and Mary?', John C. Rule, 'France caught between two balances: the dilemma of 1688' in Lois G. Schwoerer (ed) *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 65-82, 131-146, 35-51.

⁹⁶ Johnathan I. Israel (ed), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its world impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Tim Harris and Stephen Taylor (eds) *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013).

on the idea of revolution as a pursuit for different forms of 'liberty'.⁹⁷ Tim Harris has argued that the Revolution was a result of unresolved issues lingering from earlier crises which attempts by James II at reform propelled into the open creating a new monarchy that has endured to this day.⁹⁸ Steve Pincus has further asserted that the event constituted a battle over conflicting ideas of modernity and constituted the first modern revolution which radically transformed Britain.⁹⁹ Others have offered less ambitious reinterpretations of contributing events. For example, Scott Sowerby has argued that the policies of James II, which have long assumed to be a plan for Catholic absolutism under the Whig view, should be understood as a wider campaign for religious toleration far ahead of its time.¹⁰⁰

Beyond the Revolution political society at this time was deeply divided. Proto-political parties had first emerged in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis in 1679-81 when some members of Parliament had tried to orchestrate the exclusion of James, duke of York, the Catholic brother of Charles II, from the throne. The proponents of exclusion became known as 'Whigs' while the opponents to it became known as 'Tories'. These groups solidified into parties after the Revolution when the Triennial Act was passed and two large European wars had forced William III and then Anne to call more regular parliamentary sessions and thus regular general elections were held. These

⁹⁷ Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution, 1688: Britain's Fight for Liberty* (London: Little, Brown, 2006).

⁹⁸ Harris, *Revolution*.

⁹⁹ Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

¹⁰⁰ Scott Sowerby, 'Of Differing Complexions: Religious Diversity and National Identity in James II's toleration Campaign,' *English Historical Review* 12, no. 506 (February 2009), pp. 29-52; Sowerby, *Making Toleration*.

developments encouraged two organised groups to form with their own leadership (the Whigs in particular), a set of core goals and a desire to monopolise power. This was the first two-party system and divided the political elite throughout the 1690s up until 1715 when the Whigs secured the backing of the Hanoverian monarchy and captured a majority in the House of Commons. A Septennial Act (1716) ended the cycle of frequent elections that caused the partisan system.

The strength of political rancour in this period has attracted a wealth of interested historians who, alongside re-interpretations of the Glorious Revolution, have also challenged many pre-conceived ideas about politics in this period. Aside from a recognition of the growing influence of the public in parliamentary politics and the variety of forms, both in print and through protest, that influence might take, has been the role and power of the individual monarchs. As an example, one long-standing prejudice has been that Queen Anne was a poorly-educated, feeble woman who rarely comprehended the politics around her and easily fell under the influence of her favourites, including the Duchesses of Marlborough and Somerset and her lower-ranked servant Abigail Masham.¹⁰¹ Beginning with Edward Gregg's 1980 biography others have challenged these ideas and re-evaluated Anne's personal involvement in politics and her convictions as well as critically re-

¹⁰¹ For prejudices against Anne see: Robert O. Bucholz, 'Queen Anne: victim of her virtues?' in Clarissa Campbell-Orr (ed) *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1831* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 94-129.

examining her relationship with those courtiers long thought to have been controlling her.¹⁰²

Movements of political opposition have also been revisited. The Jacobites, the group who opposed the post-revolution Protestant settlement had until recently been marginalised in the historiography due to their unsuccessful attempts to restore the exiled Stuarts. However, they have been rescued recently from obscurity by historians who have argued that the movement was far more prominent and dynamic than has previously been recognised, and comprised a strong and influential presence across the British Isles and the American colonies, which made it a serious threat to the establishment.¹⁰³

Thesis Approach and Structure

What this thesis is interested in doing is exploring the link between the rituals of death, played out in places such as the court, and this complex wider political situation. While historians of other periods and places have argued for and shown that, however apparently tradition-bound, royal funerals

¹⁰² Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion, A Biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012); James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁰³ Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Movement' in H.T. Dickinson (ed) *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 81-96; Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Éamonn Ó Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766: A fatal attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002); Allan I. MacInnes, 'Jacobitism in Scotland: Episodic Causes or National Movement,' *The Scottish Historical Review* 86, no. 222 (October 2007), pp. 225-252; David Parrish, "Now the mask is taken off": Jacobitism and colonial New England, 1702–27,' *Historical Research* 88, no. 240 (May 2015), pp. 249-271.

were almost always re-choreographed according to the political circumstances of the times when a royal death occurred, there has been a surprising lack of detailed historical study that places the ceremonies of later Stuart royal funerals in their political context. The existing literature more often emphasises cultural shifts and links changes in the royal funeral to those of the aristocracy. Yet recent work has emphasised that care has to be taken over interpretations that focus on changes in wider attitudes to monarchy after the civil wars. People continued to recognise that the power and position of the monarch was of a different order from that of the nobility. The political world of the early-eighteenth century, as it had at the beginning of the seventeenth century, revolved round the monarch, who remained the most important political figure in the polity.¹⁰⁴ The politics of ritual need to be understood and explored in the light of these interpretations, not only because of the gap in the historiography on English royal rituals but also because of the light it can shed on the position and power of the monarch at a time of intense political upheaval, as represented by the Revolution in 1688, and subsequently a deeply divided political class.

This study offers the first detailed examination of later royal Stuart funerals based on detailed investigation in archival sources. Since the aim is to understand why funerals and associated rituals were performed in particular ways, the most important source is the planning records. These records includes the papers of various court and government offices,

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Neufeld, *The Civil Wars After 1660: Public Remembering in Late Stuart Britain* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), p. 35; Mark Kishlanksy, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714* (London: Penguin, 1997), p. 35; Peter Jupp, *The Governing of Britain, 1688-1848: The Executive, Parliament and the People* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 7-8.

including that of the Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household, the Lord Steward and the Board of Greencloth, the College of Arms and the Privy Council. Most of these are stored in the National Archives of the United Kingdom. In addition the research draws on official, government-sanctioned accounts available in *The London Gazette* in its capacity as the newspaper of government record. These sources allow for the process of crafting and then performing a funeral to be reconstructed, analysed and understood.

Alongside these records the personal papers of those involved or who witnessed these events from within the government, the court and household will be explored. These sources include contemporary observations by men and women who participated or viewed the events and recorded their own opinions about them in correspondence, diaries and autobiographies.

Amongst this group include the diarists John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys, Whig historian and clergyman Gilbert Burnet, government officials such as James Vernon (a long-term Secretary of State), Lord Godolphin (Lord Treasurer) and Viscount Bolingbroke (who held various ministries), army men such as the Duke of Marlborough, British diplomats such Lord Raby, foreign ambassadors at Court such the Venetian Resident and the courtiers who performed royal service, for example the Duchess of Marlborough, Thomas Wentworth and Abigail Masham. Time and space has not allowed detailed investigation of wider popular reactions to the deaths of the monarchs, but where possible, some attempt to gauge public reaction has been made through diaries and printed accounts.

These sources will allow for a series of case studies to be presented across six chapters. Each chapter examines the case of one or two royal

deaths which best illuminate a particular theme or event. Not all deaths and funerals were equally well documented and so those which offered the most evidence were used. These include four monarchs and two princes as well as several minor members of the royal family from the 1660s through the 1680s. The noted omission from the period is the death of William III in 1702. Research conducted into his funeral, mourning and the response to his death revealed that sources for the study of his death are surprisingly limited and so do not allow for a fruitful in-depth analysis. However, despite not being given a case-study of his own, material on the funerary rites of William III will be included in other chapters by way of comparison.

The aim of the first chapter is to provide a general overview of the major events which occurred in this period from the royal deathbed through to the burial. Drawing on a diverse amount of primary material and using examples from across the entire period it reconstructs the royal deathbed and then the subsequent rituals planning and composition before considering the nature of burials. This chapter acts as a foundation of general knowledge about these rituals to allow for more in-depth analysis and interpretation to take place in the subsequent case-studies. The chapter argues that the patterns of both continuity and change for the late Stuart royal rituals of death were more complex and nuanced than most histories have shown, opening up for further investigation how decisions about the planning and staging of rituals were made in the context of both cultural shifts and political circumstances.

Chapters two and three analyse funerary rituals directly. They explore the wider context in which the planning and execution of the obsequies for

Charles II and Mary II took place. Chapter two tackles the funeral of Charles II which was the first 'private' funeral put on for an English monarch. Using documents from the Lord Chamberlain, the Privy Council and College of Arms it looks at the motivations behind the decision, which until now has been attributed in large part to longer-term cultural changes among elites in England and beyond. Detailed analysis of the documents indicates that the decision-making was more contingent and based on politics and circumstance. There was a desire for a quick resolution of the obsequies due to pressing political concerns surrounding James II's controversial accession to the throne. The position and power of the monarchy in 1660 was still very much of a different order from that of the nobility and the decision to opt for a less lavish funeral was not caused simply and only by the wider cultural changes in the elite funeral practices. The specific political context of early-1685 generated a break with tradition which drew on but was not determined by elite practices.

This argument is strengthened in chapter three which examines why the funeral of Mary II revived the older 'public' or heraldic style which was abandoned in Charles II's case. An analysis of the documents that shed light on arrangements made for Mary's funeral in relation to the wider political climate at the accession of William III in 1694-5 highlights the significance of wider political considerations for decisions made about the style of the ceremonial funeral. Mary's position as the legitimate Stuart heir, a queen regnant who had ruled as a *de facto* consort, who operated as the acceptable face of the increasingly unpopular Williamite regime, had a greater influence over the planners's decisions. Whereas in 1685 a smaller funeral was used

to smooth over the transition to a controversial Catholic king and to concentrate on arrangements for his coronation, what was required in 1694-5 was a funeral which underlined the legitimacy and continuity of a King who faced opposition from groups such as the Jacobites and accusations that his rule was illegitimate. A 'public' funeral was ordered and its ritual and symbolism designed and choreographed to achieve this goal. The images conveyed in the composition of the funeral procession, the words spoken at the service and the response all conveyed messages ostensibly about Mary but also reinforced and supported William's claim to the throne. Chapters two and three together demonstrate that changes in this period to the style of royal funeral were not automatic or inevitable but contingent and were shaped by the immediate political context of their planning as much as long term cultural shifts or precedents.

Chapter four also explores the malleability and conditional character of seemingly 'traditional' royal funerary rites by exploring how politics also undermined efforts to perform rituals, using the death of James II in 1701 as an example. James's death was unique for English monarchs in the early modern period because he died in exile in France, after being forced into exile and deposed from his thrones in 1689. The condition of James II's exile already complicated the conditions for mourning his death. The international and domestic politics which then developed around his funerary rites created an environment unsuitable for public mourning. The political consequences and reactions in England and Protestant Europe of the declaration of James's controversial son as his rightful successor by the French government which posed a serious threat to the security of the Protestant succession made any

expression about James's death controversial. This was particularly true when his daughter Princess Anne of Denmark attempted to mourn her father, only to be thwarted by the effect of these politics.

Chapter five moves the analysis away from the funerals themselves to examine the ritualised practice of court mourning, how it reflected royal grief and the insights the practice can provide into gendered relationships between the monarch and the wider polity. Grief and mourning required complex negotiation of this very human emotional state within the gendered expectations of both grief itself and the institution of monarchy in the early modern context. The chapter focuses in the main on the grief of Queen Anne after the death of her husband Prince George of Denmark in 1708 as it manifested itself over the subsequent two years, with comparative consideration of the grief of William III after the death of Mary II. Whereas earlier chapters look at how politics shaped the nature of funeral rituals this chapter looks at how Anne's emotions shaped the nature of court mourning and how this affected the politics of the government and royal household of 1708-1710. Her grief was analysed in relation to gendered notions of monarchy and government, often defined along masculine lines, and ideas about proper grief for women and widows. Looking at both her public role as Queen surrounded by men and her private life within her Bedchamber amongst female servants it analyses the effect which Anne's grief had on her movements within this complicated environment.

Finally chapter six explores the relationship between death and succession. In hereditary monarchies these two events are closely related, but the late Stuart period added a layer of complexity because the Revolution

in 1689 resulted in the succession no longer being defined solely by hereditary right. The hereditary component related also to the religious qualification of adhering to Protestantism. The sixth chapter examines the response to the deaths of William, duke of Gloucester in 1700 and his mother Queen Anne in 1714 in relation to the politics of the Protestant Succession. Through this analysis we can understand how a desire to secure the British throne for Protestantism overshadowed and shaped the rituals performed after their deaths. In life the Duke of Gloucester had personified the security of the Protestant Succession and his death generated fears for its safety and viability. The reaction to his death reveals how people felt about this young prince and how they understood and cared about the succession he had represented. After his death the government reinforced the terms of the Protestant Succession with a new statute which was put into effect on Anne's death in 1714. Analysis of reactions to her demise and arrangements for her mourning were overshadowed by concerns about the controversial Hanoverian succession and a desire to secure its stability. Mourning for the loss of Anne was less significant in the minds of men in authority than arranging a suitably joyous welcome and coronation for the new German king to use ritual to try and stabilise controversial succession arrangements and to ensure continuity and political stability.

Together these chapters offer the first in-depth analysis of the royal funerals in this period. The structure of this thesis allows for the best insight into what has often been treated with only brief examinations within existing long-term narratives. Through detailed archival research, careful reconstruction of the rituals themselves, and their analysis within their

immediate political context we discover that the politics within these rituals determined their nature and the extent of continuity and change through the period. To begin this process, a more general reconstruction of which rituals took place during this period, and how they were planned and performed is required. That is the purpose of the next chapter.

I

**‘The General Misfortune of these Kingdoms’:
Reconstructing the Royal Funerary Rituals of 1685-1714**

On 17th December 1737 the ‘private Interment’ of Caroline of Ansbach was performed at Westminster Abbey.¹ Early in the planning stages about three days after Caroline’s death a report was produced listing information about the ‘Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown.’² While the authorship is unclear, the information within was made available to the Privy Council, as it was included amongst their records. Within the document, information about the funerals of Mary II in 1694, the Duke of Gloucester in 1700, William III in 1702, the Prince of Denmark in 1708 and Queen Anne in 1714 were included. Under each of these names was a small report on the kind of orders which the Council had (or in some cases had not) made at the time that person died. A list at the end recorded where the burials of Gloucester, the Prince of Denmark and Anne had originated.³ It is likely that this report was drawn up to inform the planners of Caroline’s funeral about what were considered suitable precedents for this kind of event.

Each of the funerals listed in this source from 1737 were from the late Stuart period (1660-1714) with only the funeral of Charles II in 1685 excluded

¹ *London Gazette*, 17 December to 20 December, 1737, p. 1.

² TNA PC 1/13/48, Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown from Queen Mary to Frederick Prince of Wales, 23 November 1737.

³ TNA PC 1/13/48, Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown.

from consideration.⁴ The broad and general practices followed during this period which the planners of 1737 were interested in is the focus of this chapter. As a necessary introduction to the detailed chapters that follow on specific royal interments, the analysis that follows offers the first systematic study in all relevant primary documents of the five major areas relating to the rituals surrounding royal deaths: the deathbed, the planning stages, the mourning, the funeral itself, and the burial. Examining these together rather than separately will allow close comparison of the similarities and continuities across the entire period being investigated here. Until recently, historians have tended to examine funeral rituals in broad studies that explore patterns of change from the 'public' royal heraldic funerals of the Tudor period to the 'private' ceremonies of the Hanoverian era. Breadth tends to produce generalised conclusions about the entire early modern period whereas close attention to the detail provided by the documents highlights far more complicated patterns of continuity and change in style of ritual.⁵ This chapter provides an overview of the structure and planning of royal rituals as a necessary context for the case studies which follow.

⁴ TNA PC 1/13/48, Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown.

⁵ For this see: Paul S. Fritz, 'From 'Public' to 'Private': The Royal Funerals in England, 1500-1830' in Joachim Whaley (ed), *Mirrors on Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London: Europa Publishing, 1981), pp. 61-79; Claire Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 216-234; Michael Schiach, 'The Funerals of the British Monarchy,' in Michael Schiach (ed), *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 421-450.

The Royal Deathbed

The descendants of Charles I were afforded the luxury which his execution denied him, of dying in their own palace in the royal bed. The monarchs of later Stuart England all died of natural causes and Charles I had shared a similar lifespan with his descendants, who mostly died in their mid to late forties. There were exceptions such as William, duke of Gloucester, who died at the age of eleven and James II, who was 67 when he died in exile, but all the other Stuart monarchs died in middle age. The later Stuarts all seem to have experienced a peaceful death in contrast to the violent execution of their common ancestor. According to the accounts left by those who witnessed or reported on these matters, Stuart monarchs and their relatives conformed to the early modern notion of the 'good' death by embracing their fate, settling their worldly business and performing acts of piety.⁶

Tensions between the ritualised regality of the royal body and the precariousness of the human condition are reflected in the numerous descriptions that register distress at the infirmities and degradations of the royal body in later Stuart England.⁷ Charles II (r.1660-1685) died in February 1685, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. He became ill on 2nd February after coming into his bedchamber at Whitehall for his dressing and suffered 'a

⁶ For details on elements of the 'good' death see: Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage, 1982), pp. 300-307; Lucinda McCray Beier, 'The Good Death in Seventeenth-Century England,' in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed) *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 43-61; Ralph Houlbrooke, 'The Age of Decency, 1660-1760' in Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (eds) *Death in England: An Illustrated History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 174.

⁷ Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'A comparative historiographic reflection on sovereignty in early modern Europe: interregnum rites and papal funerals,' in Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds) *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. 1, Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 164.

violent Fit of an Epilesis (or some other Distemper).’⁸ For some time ‘his Speech and Senses were taken away,’ which suggested he suffered a stroke, but he then appeared to recover. These symptoms were sufficient for his physicians to report to the Privy Council that they expected the king to recover, telling them that they ‘thought him in a condition of safety’.⁹ The news apparently provoked ‘all Demonstrations of Joy, and Loyalty imaginable...for him’ among his people when the news got out. However, on 4th February the King suffered another attack and died two days later on 6th February between 11am and midday.¹⁰

Historians are fairly confident that during his final days Charles II converted secretly to Catholicism, an act he had long promised his cousin and ally the French King Louis XIV.¹¹ Charles had urged the Duke of York (soon to be James II) to look after his illegitimate sons, his long-term mistress the Duchess of Portsmouth, and to not let ‘poor Nelly starve,’ referring to the actress Nell Gwyn with whom he had also had an affair and sired some of those illegitimate children.¹² The Earl of Chesterfield, a privy councillor who

⁸ ‘An Account of the Sickness and Disease of His late Maty King Charles the 2d with the manner of proclaiming his present Maty King James the 2d on Friday 6 Febr. 1684/5’ in CA I series, vol. 4 ‘Funerals of Kings Princes &c.’, fo 71.

⁹ ‘Lord Middleton to the Earl of Rutland, 3 February, 1684(5), in HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., preserved at Belvoir Castle*, vol. 2 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1889), p.85.

¹⁰ ‘An Account of the Sickness and Disease of His late Maty King Charles the 2d with the manner of proclaiming his present Maty King James the 2d on Friday 6 Febr. 1684/5’ in CA I series, vol. 4 ‘Funerals of Kings Princes &c.’, fo 71.

¹¹ This act was promised under the secret terms of the Treaty of Dover (1670): Antonia Fraser, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), p. 275; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 71. See also: Patricia Gael, ‘Kingship and Catholicism in Posthumous Reputations of Charles II, 1685-1714’, *The Seventeenth Century* 29, no. 2 (2014), pp. 173-196.

¹² Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time: From The Restoration of Charles II. To the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, in the Reign of Queen Anne. A New Edition, with Historical and Biographical Notes* (London: William Smith, 1838), pp. 392-3.

was witness to the King's last two days and to his death, dwelt at length in his letters on the decline in the dignity of the King, 'as the manner of [his death]...nothing could be greater,' with the entire process being 'a dismal scene...to have seene this brave and worthy prince lye in horrid agonie of death, with all the paines imaginable upon him.'¹³ He described the way the king sought the forgiveness of his wife Catharine of Braganza for his behaviour and apologised to his attendants 'for giving them so much trouble by being so long dieing.'¹⁴

Mary II (r.1689-1694) died much younger at age 32 in December 1694 from smallpox.¹⁵ Mary began to feel unwell while at Kensington Palace for Christmas, but before she told anyone else, she began to organise her papers, burning any she did not want kept after her death (though some survived because they were kept at Whitehall). Only once this work was complete did she make her condition known and the first signs of smallpox appeared on the 23rd December.¹⁶ Again the distress at the decline of the majesty and dignity of the royal body is communicated in surviving accounts. Smallpox, as the diarist John Evelyn recorded, was 'increasingly and

¹³ 'Earl of Chesterfield to the Earl of Arran, 7 February 1684(5)', in *Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, to several celebrated individuals of the time of Charles II., James II., William III., and Queen Anne, with some of their replies* (London, 1832), pp. 278-9.

¹⁴ 'Earl of Chesterfield to the Earl of Arran, 7 February 1684(5)', in *Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, to several celebrated individuals of the time of Charles II., James II., William III., and Queen Anne, with some of their replies* (London, 1832), pp. 278-9.

¹⁵ After the demise of plague, smallpox (and with other infectious diseases such as tuberculosis) were the major causes of deaths in Britain and were endemic in London with smallpox regularly causing 8% of deaths alone in the city. See: Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (London: Papermac, 2000), pp. 166-7, 170, 279, 417; S.R. Duncan, Susan Scott, and C.J. Duncan, 'The Dynamics of Smallpox Epidemics in Britain, 1550-1800,' *Demography* 30, no. 3 (August 1993), pp. 405-423.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Hamilton, *William's Mary: A Biography of Mary II* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1972), pp. 327-8.

exceedingl(y) mortal' and the Queen became 'full of spotts' before her death.¹⁷ The doctors attempted to offer some relief in the hope the disease would be fought off, which was possible with milder outbreaks; however, this was to no avail. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, administered the sacrament of communion on 27th December and the other bishops were invited to attend the deathbed. King William III, distraught over his wife's decline, shocked everyone present with his overt displays of affection and was often removed from her room by his close advisor William Bentinck, earl of Portland. Reports emphasised dignity rather than degradation at the end. Tenison commented that Mary appeared accepting of her death, seeming 'neither to fear death, nor to covet life', and that the Queen died peacefully on 28th December at around 12:45am.¹⁸

The context and meaning of the death of Mary's nephew, the 11-year-old William, duke of Gloucester who died in 1700, was slightly different. According to the Bill of Rights the young Prince was second in line to the throne after his mother, the Princess Anne of Denmark, but he was also a child. His death added to the tragic maternal history of Anne in that none of her children lived to adulthood even though at eleven he survived the longest. Like his aunt, Gloucester was believed and reported to have died of smallpox shortly after his eleventh birthday celebrations at Windsor Castle.¹⁹ Letters

¹⁷ E.S. DeBeers (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn: Now first printed in full from the manuscripts belonging to Mr John Evelyn and edited by E.S. DeBeers, in Six Volumes, vol. 5, Kalendarium 1690-1706* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 200.

¹⁸ Hamilton, *William's Mary*, pp.329-331; Henri Van Der Zee and Barbara Van Der Zee, *William and Mary* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973), p.385; Thomas Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory, In the Abbey-Church in Westminster, Upon March 5 1694/5* (London: H. Hills, 1709), p. 13.

¹⁹ DeBeers (ed), *The Diary of John Evelyn, vol. 5*, pp. 420-1.

written to King William by three of the boy's physicians described the same symptoms of pains, a fever, delirium and a rash, though only one (Dr Radcliff) reported a 'suspicion that it might prove the small-pox.'²⁰

Reports describe the devotion and distress of his mother Princess Anne, who remained by her son's side throughout his illness. She had survived a mild outbreak of small pox in her youth and so she was immune to the disease. Her vulnerability as a mother, despite her royal status, was emphasised in accounts. For example, she was reported to have fainted at one point, and one of her biographers has argued this was more to do with distress at the boy's doctors attempt to remove her from the room than fatigue from nursing him for so long.²¹ Despite this care, after a few days Gloucester succumbed to his sibling's fate and died. In a review of the evidence in the 1920s a new conclusion was reached and printed in the *British Medical Journal* that argued the young Prince instead died of a combination of smallpox complicated by laryngitis along with a pre-existing tonsillar condition.²² But his mother's distress was palpable.²³

James II and William III, who were related by blood and marriage but opponents in religion and politics, died six months apart in 1701-2. James was living in exile with his family and a court of supporters at the Chateau de

²⁰ B.P., *A Letter to a Friend Concerning the sickness and death of His Highness the Duke of Gloucester. With true copies of three letters wrote by Dr Hannes, Dr Gibbons, and Dr Radcliffe, to the King; and also the surgeons certificate who dissected him. Publish'd for rectifying the many mistaken rumours spread on this most lamented loss* (London: A. Baldwin, 1700), p. 3.

²¹ Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion, A Biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012), p. 162.

²² W.P. MacArthur, 'The Cause of the Death of William, Duke of Gloucester, Son of Queen Anne, in 1700,' *The British Medical Journal* 1, no. 3507 (March 24, 1928), p. 503.

²³ See chapters 5 and 6 for further discussions about contemporary comments on Anne's grief.

Saint-Germain in Paris under the protection of Louis XIV. James was in his late-60s by this time and was much older than those members of his family who died in England. He had suffered a stroke which had partly paralysed him earlier in 1701 but he had recovered after a few months. However, while taking mass in the late summer of that year he collapsed again.²⁴ James's death of course occurred in the context of dangerous political tensions and rivalries and, unsurprisingly perhaps, the official report in England lacked detail and downplayed the event, simply describing how on 14th September 1701, James 'fell into a Lethargy, and was thought dead,' but lived on for a few more days.²⁵ By contrast, other accounts written by Jacobites from information received from abroad emphasised the reverence due to royalty with which he was treated by the French in his final hours as well as the political significance of the death of the exiled Catholic king. According to one version of events, during his final illness James was visited by Louis and his court, where the French King promised to recognise James's son as his successor, upon which 'the Lords and others of the [Jacobite] Court made great Shouts of Joy, and threw themselves at his Majesty's Feet, to thank him.'²⁶ The political rivalries and ambitions of the exiled King were weighed against his commitment to the Catholic faith in the report of his final words. He was reported to have urged his son to be a good king, should he be restored, but to 'never put the Crown of England in Competition with your Eternal Salvation' by abandoning Roman Catholicism. James thanked Louis

²⁴ John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (Hove: Wayland Publishers, 1977), p. 239.

²⁵ *The London Gazette*, 8 September to 11 September 1701, p. 2.

²⁶ *An Account of the Death of the late King James, and of the Titular Pr. of Wales's being Proclaimed King at St Germans in France* (1701).

for his support on his final visit and forgave his enemies, including those in his family who had betrayed him in 1688-9.²⁷ The death was therefore far from a private and intimate affair. Its political and religious significance was commented upon and manipulated in Catholic propaganda. Reports told how the exiled King died after receiving the rites of the Catholic Church, and the Pope himself wrote of the courage of the exiled Catholic King who, it was said, died 'with the height of devotion and courage' on 16th September 1701 between 3pm and 4pm.²⁸

William III (r.1689-1702) died six months later after suffering a fall from his horse at the beginning of March 1702. Having survived his wife for just over seven years, William was in his early fifties when the fall happened and his injuries, which at first had seemed only minor and it was believed he was likely to recover from, had then turned serious. Writing after his death to the Dutch authorities to report the news, his successor Queen Anne told them that 'he was attacked by a fever which rose so strongly during the following days, that in spite of all remedies he expired.'²⁹ In private, according to one nineteenth century writer, William told his close associates that as 'this great prospect [death] is opening before me, I do wish to stay here a little longer.'³⁰ But in public and in printed reports by the likes of Gilbert Burnet, for example, care was taken to emphasise the dignity and courage of the King, who it was

²⁷ *The Last Dying-Words of the Late King James To his Son and Daughter, and the French King. Who was Sickened the 22nd August, and Died the 5th September 1701* (London: Printed by D.E., 1701).

²⁸ *The Pope's Speech to the College of Cardinals; Upon the Death of the late King James* (Dublin: 1701).

²⁹ Beatrice Curtis Brown (ed), *Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne* (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd, 1935), p. 76.

³⁰ Edward E. Morris, *Age of Anne*, 9th ed. (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1894), p. 11

said said 'died with a clear and full presence of mind, and in a wonderful tranquility' on 8th March 1702 at Kensington around 8am.³¹

The key feature of the reports of the death of Prince George of Denmark, who was de facto consort to the crown between 1702 and his death in 1708, is the human suffering and grief of Queen Anne, rather than the courage of her husband. Prince George, like William and Mary before him, died at Kensington Palace. He was also, like his son the Duke of Gloucester, nursed in his final illness by Anne herself. The intimacy and domesticity as well as details of the infirmities which caused the death are striking in the report of his demise in *The London Gazette* published after the event. It was explained that the Prince had been 'troubled for many years with constant difficulty breathing, and sometimes with a spitting of blood, which often endangered his Life.'³² It was reported that Anne assisted with her husband's care 'in the most mournful and Affecting manner.' Apparently, three months earlier the Prince had been hit with 'a dropsical humour...[that] seized his Legs, and most parts of his Body,' joined by coughing blood and asthma attacks 'with an Addition of Convulsive Motions of the Tendents.'³³ The remedies applied proved useless and George 'fell into a suffocation, from which neither a Bleeding or a Vomit, both being administered, could relieve

³¹ Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p.702.

³² *London Gazette*, 28 October to 1 November 1708, p.1.

³³ *London Gazette*, 28 October to 1 November 1708, p.1

him.³⁴ He died on Thursday 28th October 1708, 'to the insupportable grief of her majestie', as Narcissus Luttrell recorded.³⁵

The tensions between a desire to project monarchical power in the context of corporeal transience and political complexity are also apparent in the way that the death of Queen Anne was reported. Anne (r. 1702-1714) also died at Kensington Palace. The Queen became ill during the winter of 1713-4 but she lived into the summer of 1714 when she was struck down by a similar ailment to Charles II. Anne's relatives had all predeceased her and so she was not nursed or attended by a family member. Instead, as the provisions of the Act of Settlement (1701) were being readied for implementation, the long-running partisan strife that had dominated the government in her reign invaded her deathbed. The Lord High Treasurer was the chief minister in the royal government and the post was vacant after the recent dismissal of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford. Taking advantage of the Queen's weakness and vulnerability in her dying days, the Whigs secured a political coup with the appointment of the Whig and moderate Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury to the office.³⁶ The ailing Anne agreed to the appointment, handing Shrewsbury the white staff that symbolised his new office. Too weak to do so herself, her hand was guided by the Lord Chancellor Simon, Lord Harcourt, in order to complete the ceremony. Servants urged to go and pray for their mistress opted to stay to try and hear what was happening, and rumours circulated that the Queen's favourite,

³⁴ *London Gazette*, 28 October to 1 November 1708, p.1

³⁵ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*. In six volumes, vol. 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), p.366.

³⁶ See chapter 6 for further discussion of this process.

Abigail Masham, left her mistress's side to ransack the royal apartments at St. James's Palace.³⁷

One of Anne's physicians, Sir David Hamilton, blamed politics for the Queen's demise. He wrote a diary that recorded his consultations with the Queen but edited his words carefully after her death and the diary remained unpublished until the 20th century, perhaps because of its political significance. He wrote that Anne's death was caused by a 'translation of the gouty humour from the knee and the foot, first upon the Nerves and then upon the brain'.³⁸ But he argued that the symptoms were made so severe because Anne had been exposed to 'a Succession of disquiets' caused by the political factions and partisanship 'which by grieving her mind...weakening her Nerves', thus rendering her 'less able to resist this last translation of the Gout'.³⁹ By contrast, politics was effaced from official reports of the Queen's demise that emphasised dignity and peace at the time of death. Thomas Wentworth simply wrote that the Queen eventually died peacefully on 1st August 1714 between seven and eight in the morning.⁴⁰ A pamphlet printed by Robert Newcomb simply reported that the Queen was struck with 'a swimming in her Head' which her doctors attempts to alleviate proved futile

³⁷ 'Peter Wentworth to Thomas Wentworth, 30 July 1714' and "Peter Wentworth to Thomas Wentworth, 3 August 1714', in James J. Cartwright (ed), *The Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739. Selected from the private and family correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, created 1711 Earl of Strafford, of Stainborough, co. York* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1888), pp.407-8.

³⁸ Philip Roberts (ed), *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 3.

³⁹ Roberts (ed), *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton*, p. 4

⁴⁰ Ragnhild Hatton, *George I: Elector and King* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1978), pp.108-9; Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p.394.

when another attack hit her.⁴¹ Such variations highlight the importance of attention to the complexities of the political context, and political and religious upheavals in later Stuart England, as well as cultural movements, in any analysis of continuity and change in the organisation of the rituals and ceremony surrounding royal death.

Planning the obsequies

During this period two overlapping institutions (which occupied the same space and often used the same set of people) were given the responsibility of ensuring that the specific needs of a royal funeral were met. The aim was always to reflect and ritually reinforce the former rank and status of the monarch as well as the symbolic transfer of power through continuity of the dynasty. These two institutions were the government, as represented by the Privy Council, and the royal household, headed by the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward. Together these institutions formed the core of the monarch's court and were responsible for the planning and execution of appropriate rituals at the time of a royal death.

The mourning and funerary rites primarily involved the courtiers and the spaces of the royal court in the capital where power was displayed and authority resided. Court ritual was choreographed to reflect the monarch's political priorities, as well as more general social and political hierarchies, the personal style of rule for each monarch from jovial to formal, and to reflect

⁴¹ 'The whole life, birth, glorious actions and dying words of Queen Anne' (London: Robert Newcomb, 1714), Print, from the British Museum.

their ideas about how an idealised society at large should look.⁴² Household Regulations created the organisation of the court so that 'from thence may spread more honour through all parts of our Kingdoms.'⁴³ The majority of courtiers were members of the aristocracy or highly placed gentlemen and within their ranks an intricate hierarchy of status was defined and displayed through the organisation and use of space, together with a complex language of bodily gesture.⁴⁴ Such cultural codes were also used by the monarch to indicate pleasure or displeasure and thereby the political power or lack of it of an individual or group.⁴⁵ Such codes were incorporated into the ritual organisation and performance of mourning which brought with it its own etiquette, fashion and requirements.

The royal household had four divisions which each had their role to play in the organisation of the rituals. The first was the department that oversaw the running of the household above stairs (also known as the 'chamber') which was headed by the Lord Chamberlain. A separate section ordered affairs below stairs and was led by the Lord Steward. The Groom of the Stole took charge of the Bedchamber while the office of Master of the Horse dealt with the stables or Royal Mews and the court when it went out of doors.⁴⁶ However, of these officers it was the Lord Chamberlain who was

⁴² For an explanation of different styles of Court in the late Stuart period see: R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 12-35.

⁴³ TNA LC 5/196 Household Regulations, c. 1685, p. 1

⁴⁴ R.O. Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700: A Visitor's Guide' *The Court Historian* 5, no. 4 (December 2000), pp.181, 184-5, 191

⁴⁵ R.O. Bucholz, 'Nothing but Ceremony: Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual,' *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 3 (July 1991), pp.290-1.

⁴⁶ Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.105-6.

charged with preparing for the funeral and thus also ensuring that the court's personnel and space went into mourning because, as the head of the household above stairs, he had responsibility over ceremonial. Between 1685 and 1714 five men held the office and were responsible for the arrangements of a royal funeral. The ceremony for Charles II was the responsibility of Henry Bennett, earl of Arlington; that of Mary II was directed by Charles Sackville, earl of Dorset; that of William, duke of Gloucester and William III by Edward Villiers, earl of Jersey; Prince George by Henry Grey, marquess of Kent's; and Queen Anne by Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury.⁴⁷

These men were given the task by the Privy Council of implementing the Orders in Council relating to the funeral. However, the majority of these orders were not formulated by the whole Council but rather by a special committee which was appointed shortly after the monarch's death. The committee was asked 'to consider of the Disposall of the late King's Body', to quote the remit of the 1685 version.⁴⁸ That said, there were variations in arrangements. For example, when the Duke of Gloucester died no committee was appointed, and on some other occasions the full Council gave directions.⁴⁹ The majority of the directions which the Lord Chamberlain was

⁴⁷ List of Lord Chamberlains available on: Database of Court Officers, 'List 1: Chamber Administration, Lord Chamberlain, 1660-1837' (n.d.), available at: <http://courtofficers.ctsdh.luc.edu/CHAMBER1.list.pdf>, accessed 14 July 2015.

⁴⁸ TNA PC 2/71 Privy Council Registers, James II February 6 1684/5-December 18 1688, p. 7.

⁴⁹ Gloucester's lack of committee is indicated by the lack of activity in the Privy Council registers at the time of his death (TNA PC 2/78, PC Registers, William III, vol. 6, 4 April 1700-10 February 1701, pp.71-7) and again in a summary of activity in a Privy Council memo from 1760 (TNA PC1/13/48 Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown from Queen Mary to Frederick Prince of Wales, 23 November 1753).

required to implement for the funeral came from this smaller group. However, the division did not represent a separation of household and government nor did it indicate governmental control over the proceedings. Instead it was an example of the collaboration between the two institutions and the overlap which continued to exist between the two entities throughout this period.

The committees usually included a mixture of both household and government officers. For example, those formed for Mary II, which was convened in December 1694, and for Prince George, which was convened in October 1708, both gave seats to the Lord Chamberlain and to the Lord Steward. Their membership was listed using their title rather than the name of the individual in the registers of the Privy Council, meaning that this was an ex-officio arrangement.⁵⁰ The committee convened to organise the funeral of Charles II in February 1685, and for that of William III, in March 1702, also allocated extra places for any Gentlemen of the Bedchamber who were also Privy Councillors.⁵¹ The members of the committee to arrange William III's funeral were joined by those who held the government offices of Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord President, Lord Great Chamberlain and Earl Marshal. In addition to those appointed by virtue of office were the earls of Manchester, Montagu and Bradford who were all specifically named as members.⁵² It is not clear why those individually named members were chosen, though it is possible they held minor positions which were not given in the Privy Council

⁵⁰ For Mary II: TNA PC 2/76, PC Registers, William III, vol. 4, 2 December 1694-23 April 1697, p.21; For Prince George: TNA PC 2/82 part 1, PC Registers, Anne, vol. 4, 5 March 1707-2 May 1710, p.181.

⁵¹ For Charles II: TNA PC 2/71, p. 7.

⁵² For William III: TNA PC 2/79, p.4; For Charles II: TNA PC 2/71 PC Registers, James II, 6 February 1684/5-18 December 1688, p. 7.

records. For example, the earl (late duke) of Montagu held a life patent as Master of the Great Wardrobe in the royal household.⁵³ These memberships highlight the combination of both household and government officers along with the choice of certain individual members.

Further evidence of collaboration is provided by the fact that once the Council, through its committee, had made their decisions, the warrant of the Lord Chamberlain was required to actually implement their decisions. This was because he wielded authority over the sub-divisions of the household which would then provide the necessary materials and personnel. One of the most important sub-divisions of the royal household involved in the arrangement of funerals and mourning was the Wardrobe, to which the Lord Chamberlain issued warrants for supplies, although the number of warrants actually issued by him varied immensely according to the style and scale of the ritual that was staged. For example, between December 1694 and March 1695 the Lord Chamberlain issued over 160 individual warrants to the Master of the Wardrobe for Mary II's mourning and funeral as recorded in the Wardrobe's account.⁵⁴ In contrast, the Lord Chamberlain's records only list six issued for the funeral of the Duke of Gloucester in 1700.⁵⁵ Records for Anne's funeral in 1714 listed forty nine warrants to the Wardrobe from the

⁵³ Database of Court Officers, 'Chamber List 3: Dependent Sub-Departments, Great Wardrobe, 1660-1837' (n.d.), available at: <http://courtofficers.ctsdh.luc.edu/CHAMBER3.list.pdf>, accessed 14 July 2015.

⁵⁴ TNA LC 2/11/2, Expense at the Funeral (& Mourning) of her Majesty Queen Mary, 1694.

⁵⁵ TNA LC 2/14/1 Provisions for the Funeral of His Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

Lord Chamberlain in a similar account to that compiled for Mary II's funeral but on a lesser scale.⁵⁶

These numbers do need to be examined in context. The Privy Council report of 1737 states that 'No orders were made by the Council for [Gloucester's] Funerall,' which helps explain the small number of warrants. The fact that the young Duke was a minor may also have had a part to play in the lesser scale of the ritual.⁵⁷ On a more prosaic level, the difference between the number of orders issued in 1694-5 and 1714 may also be explained by the fact that the royal household as a whole was simply much larger at the time of the death of Queen Mary II than it was during the reign of Queen Anne. The records for Mary's funeral give details about the mourning for the four existing royal palaces (Kensington, St James, Whitehall, and Westminster) and for the various households established within them that included Mary's former servants, William's household, and that of the Prince and Princess of Denmark.⁵⁸ By the time of Anne's demise only her personal household remained since all the other households had been dissolved on the death of the member of the family they had served. Furthermore, the household was divided across only three rather than four locations as Whitehall Palace had been lost in a fire in 1697. The declining number of warrants issued therefore reflected the reduction in the numbers of people and spaces involved in the ritual.

⁵⁶ TNA LC 2/18 Account for the Necessaries provided by The Great Wardrobe For the Funeral of, & Mourning for, her late Majesty Queen Anne in the Year 1714.

⁵⁷ TNA PC 1/13/48 Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown.

⁵⁸ TNA LC 2/11/2.

It seems that in later Stuart England, as in the early modern era, the reigning or surviving monarch often had little to do with the funeral plans themselves. Privy Council records indicate that while the new or incumbent monarch attended meetings immediately following their predecessor's death they rarely attended the meetings dealing with funerary matters. Sometimes this was simply because of practical problems. For example, William III was in Holland during the summer of 1700 when Gloucester died and in 1714 George I was abroad at his accession because he had not resided in Britain before he came to the throne.⁵⁹ There were also exceptions to the rule. Both James II in 1685 and Anne in 1702 and 1708 were involved in the organisation of the funerals of their predecessors and members of their family. The orders issued for Charles II's funeral were not issued in the name of the Privy Council but referred directly to the wishes of James II.⁶⁰ In 1702 Anne was present at a few of the Privy Council meetings when the funeral of her brother-in-law William III was discussed.⁶¹ When her husband died in 1708, Anne wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough, her most senior female courtier, that her specific orders about the funeral should be passed to Lord Treasurer Godolphin, 'to desire...he would give directions that there may be a great many yeomen of the guards to carry the prince's dear body, that it may not be let fall, the great stairs being very steep and slippery.'⁶²

⁵⁹ Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 121; G. C. Gibbs, 'George I (1660–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10538>, accessed 14 July 2015.

⁶⁰ TNA LC 2/11/1 Funeral: Charles II (1685).

⁶¹ TNA PC 2/79, pp. 37, 45, 82.

⁶² 'To the Duchess of Marlborough, St. James's, October 28, 1708,' in Beatrice Curtis Brown (ed) *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne* (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd, 1935), p. 263.

Regardless of whether the monarch was present or not it was the Lord Chamberlain who remained paramount in the planning process. Records reveal that it was his warrant that was key to the success of the rituals. Throughout the planning stages, implementing the Privy Council's decisions rested on his authority rather than the Council's own. In 1695 the importance of this authority was demonstrated when the Earl of Dorset wrote to the King to assert his right to distribute amongst the lesser servants the property from the late Queen's household. Dorset argued to William that since Mary was a consort in all but name his position as Lord Chamberlain outranked any member of the Queen's household, and since it was Dorset's warrant which was responsible for ordering the items in question they now belonged to him and thus also were for his distribution. The records subsequently indicated that Dorset ultimately acquired these items (or succeeded in asserting his authority over their distribution) and gave them to others in the household, often those in junior positions, and pointed out that they did not come to them by virtue of their office or place but as a personal gift from him.⁶³

Other elements of the funerary rituals required input from the two other major officers of the household: the Lord Steward and the Master of the Horse. These officers authorised the use of any personnel and material which came from their areas which were outside the responsibility of the Lord Chamberlain. The responsibilities of the Master of the Horse were the most straightforward. As head of the stables it was his task, or the commission exercising the role, as was the case in 1714, to provide the coaches and

⁶³ TNA LC 2/11/1 Funeral: Mary II (1694-5).

horse guards for the procession and to transport the body.⁶⁴ While the role was smaller than that of the other officers involved in the staging of royal funerals, it was a closely guarded one. For example, in 1695 the incumbent Master of the Horse wrote to the Privy Council to reinforce the fact that only he was to be consulted on matters relating to the stables during the planning of the funeral of Mary II.⁶⁵

As the head of the household below stairs, which dealt with more domestic needs of the household, the Lord Steward was charged with the supply of other materials, many of which would have been provided by this department anyway for everyday use.⁶⁶ For example, the provision of lights (candles) which were required for rooms blackened out by the mourning cloth hangings and for use in the procession was the responsibility of this department. The scale of the task was considerable. During the funeral processions of each of the monarchs discussed in this thesis, two candles of white wax were distributed to each person who took part. In the case of the funeral procession of William III, the Lord Steward's department provided 600 flambeaux for such use.⁶⁷ In addition to lights, the Lord Steward was required to provide meals, termed 'diets', for the servants who waited on the royal body while it lay in state or lay awaiting burial. Richard Steele, who served in Prince George's household, wrote to his wife how he was 'detain'd [at Kensington] to sit up with the Prince's Body, and must do so every third night

⁶⁴ For example see: TNA PC 1/2/245 Account of the Proceedings of the Privy Council upon the Death of Queen Anne (1714), fo. 1.

⁶⁵ TNA PC 2/76, p.54.

⁶⁶ Bucholz and Ward, *London*, p. 105.

⁶⁷ TNA LC 2/14/2 Order in Council for lights etc. for the funeral, 7 April 1702.

till He is interred.⁶⁸ For servants like Steele the Lord Steward was ordered to provide 'dyets' during the period of lying in state at Kensington, the body's removal to Westminster and the time it waited there before the funeral.⁶⁹ The Lord Steward's records indicate that multiple dishes were served each day to the various ranks of servants from Lords of the Bedchamber to Pages, with each receiving a different number of options.⁷⁰ For example, on 2nd November 1708 eight dishes were served for the Lords of the Bedchamber while three were available for the Pages. These then changed each day; for example, on 2nd the Pages received beef, roast mutton and pullets while on the next day they received cod and flounder, mutton and turkey.⁷¹

An important question in any analysis of patterns of continuity and change in the organisation of royal funerals is the role of the College of Arms. Evidence shows that beyond the four departments of the royal household, and despite a move away from heraldic funerals amongst the aristocracy, the College of Arms continued to play an important role in the staging of royal rituals of interment. Since the late medieval-period, it had been intimately involved in the planning and execution of the mourning and funeral rites of

⁶⁸ 'Steele to Mrs. Steele, Octbr 29th, 1708, Kensington' in Rae Blanchard (ed) *The Correspondence of Richard Steele* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 243.

⁶⁹ TNA LC 2/17, Order Relating to the Funeral of His Royal Highness, 1 November 1708.

⁷⁰ TNA LS 9/53 Lord Stewards Department, Kitchen Books, Extraordinary Diets, 1707-1709, Extraordinary Dietts in the Month of November 1708 To those that Attended the Body of His Royal Highness at Kensington and Westminster.

⁷¹ TNA LS 9/53, Extraordinary Dietts in the Month of November 1708, 2 November 1708.

monarchs as well as members of the aristocracy.⁷² Traditionally, the College organised the personnel to march in processions, issued orders that regulated the style of mourning for the court and for society outside it and supplied information requested by the Privy Council and the Lord Chamberlain for the planning and implementation of the event. Interestingly, its role continued in the later Stuart period. By that date the College of Arms was headed by the Duke of Norfolk as hereditary Earl Marshal, who acted as England's heraldic authority.⁷³ The College of Arms was the first body to be consulted about plans and procedures for the execution of the funeral of Charles II.⁷⁴ The records show that there was an expectation that the Earl Marshal and the heralds would be able to provide plans, draft processions and give advice on the use of heraldry when asked. For example, in 1685 the Officers of Arms were called to the Council in the presence of James II to fulfil their traditional duties. But it seems that they could not answer the Council's questions because there were gaps in their own records. The documents reveal that King James was annoyed, and chastised them for failing to maintain proper records about these events for reference.⁷⁵ As late as 1714, three days after Queen Anne's death, the Privy Council committee requested

⁷² College of Arms, 'History,' available at: <http://www.college-of-arms.gov.uk/about-us/history>, accessed 30 June 2014; Julian Litten, 'The English Funeral, 1700-1850,' in Margaret Cox (ed) *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England, 1700-1850* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1998), p. 4; Claire Gittings *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), p. 171; Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual, c. 1500-1800* (London: Reaktion Books, 1991), p. 61.

⁷³ The British Monarchy, 'Earl Marshal' (n.d.), available at: <http://www.royal.gov.uk/TheRoyalHousehold/OfficialRoyalposts/EarlMarshal.aspx>, accessed 14 July 2015.

⁷⁴ CA I series, vol. 4 'Funerals of Kings, Princes &c.', The Ceremony of the Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the Second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral, fo. 74-77.

⁷⁵ TNA PC 2/71, PC Registers, James II, 6 February 1685-18 December 1688, p.11; CA I series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings, Princes, &c.', fo 76.

a draft plan for the Queen's funeral procession from the heralds with 'regard being had to what was done at the funerall Solemnity of His late Majesty King William and His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark and...that a report be prepared out of what is proper for Her Majesty's funerall out of these.'⁷⁶ While some requirements were later added which resulted in some revisions to their draft, including a change of the starting location from Kensington to Westminster, the report was approved as presented to the committee on 17th August.⁷⁷ Such evidence provides interesting insights into patterns of continuity and change in the planning and organisation of ceremonial. Their evolution from 'public' to 'private' was more complex than is sometimes suggested and the influence of wider cultural trends amongst the elite was counterbalanced by the function of the royal funeral within the parameters of court governance and traditions, as well as the political role of ritual royal funerals within the highly charged later Stuart politics of the succession.

This point is further emphasised when consideration is given to the time taken to plan and execute a royal funeral. Traditionally, in the Tudor and early Stuart period the ceremony, with its enormous procession, numbering a cast of well over a thousand, its magnificent chariot bearing the coffin with its life-like effigy of the deceased monarch, was a magnificent spectacle that took months to prepare.⁷⁸ In later Stuart England the amount of preparation time varied considerably according to context. Most of the royal funerals of the period were concluded in a month or less. Queen Anne died on 1st August

⁷⁶ TNA LC 1/2/245, Account of the Proceedings of the Privy Council upon the Death of Queen Anne, fo. 2.

⁷⁷ TNA LC 1/2/256, Report of the Committee about her late Majesty's Funerall, 16 August 1714.

⁷⁸ Fritz, 'From 'public' to 'private'', pp. 74-5.

and her funeral was staged within five weeks. The funeral of William III took place just over a month after his death on 8th March, occurring on 12th April.⁷⁹ Prince George's funeral took place just over two weeks after his death on 13th November.⁸⁰ Admittedly Prince George was not a monarch and so may have had less attention paid to his interment. But for the most part it seems clear that the complexities of the political context and the politics of succession as much as cultural shifts had the most important part to play in decisions about the timing of the royal obsequies. George I ordered that Anne's funeral be completed by the time he first set foot on English soil in early September.⁸¹ By contrast, the funeral of Mary II was a magnificent affair in the traditional style, staged largely to stabilise the potentially problematic politics of the succession of her husband William III that will be discussed in detail later on, and took just over two months to organise from 28th December to the 5th March.

Mourning

Mourning was a stage in the rituals associated with death that was designed to offer comfort to the bereaved. To that extent, even the mourning of a royal death had public and private aspects. The length of the mourning period varied, however, and was determined by the new monarch, and it

⁷⁹ TNA PC 1/13/57, Account of the time of the Coronations, deaths, and burials of Queen Anne, King George the 1st & King George the 2nd, October 1760.

⁸⁰ *London Gazette*, November 11 to November 15 1708, p.1.

⁸¹ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p.397.

appears that at times it also reflected the depth of their grief. For example, the mourning period for Queen Mary II was unusually long and lasted for two years after her death in 1694 and the mourning for Prince George also lasted for two years after his death in November 1708.⁸² In both instances the intensity of the mourning reflected the depth of despair of the bereaved incumbent on the throne, William III and Queen Anne respectively.⁸³ That said, by 1715, public authority exerted stricter control over the mourning period. That year the College of Arms reported that despite such long period in the more immediate past 'the times of Mourning generally observed in England, upon the death of their own sovereign Princes, have been about a twelve month.'⁸⁴ It seems that limits were placed on the practice of court mourning in the later Stuart period mainly because of the detrimental effect on the domestic silk-weaving trade and the cloth merchants whose customers often adopted court styles regardless of whether they were members of the courtier class or not. In 1709 an order was issued to lessen the mourning outside the court to prevent a collapse in the domestic silk industry.⁸⁵ In March 1715 mourning for Queen Anne was again lifted in order to help the same industry. It was reported that 'nothing is more prejudicial to the said silk trade...than long Public Mournings' as during this time 'the Ladies wear either black silks or black Velvets, almost all of which are of the Manufacture either

⁸² TNA PC 1/14/79 Heralds Report about limited times of Mourning, 2 March 1714(5).

⁸³ Further discussion of this is given in chapter 5.

⁸⁴ TNA PC 1/14/79 Heralds Report about limited times of Mourning, 2 March 1714(5).

⁸⁵ TNA PC 1/2/154 Copy of an Order in Council made upon the Mourning for the Prince of Denmark. That it should not continue to be observed, but only by her own Servants and such as has access to her Royall Person, 27 March 1709.

of Italy or Holland,' to the detriment of the domestic trade.⁸⁶ In 1728 when George II was on the throne, and probably in reaction to another long mourning period for his father George I (d.1727), he ordered that in future court or public mourning would no longer include furniture and coaches and would 'be no more than one half of the time that has been usuall and customary on those occasions.'⁸⁷

Regulation of the length of mourning and its style was the responsibility of the Earl Marshal, and thus the College of Arms remained as involved in the arrangements of the rites associated with royal mourning, as it did with the arrangement of royal funerals. It was the Earl Marshal who issued the orders for mourning and these were printed in *The London Gazette* shortly after the death in question. The Earl Marshal's orders remained remarkably consistent in style and composition throughout the later Stuart period. Prescriptions were issued for the style of mourning to be adopted by courtiers, officers and peers as well as for their servants. Restrictions were also placed on the use of certain furniture. The scale of commitment required for mourning meant that, in order to give courtiers time to comply, the order was printed one day with a date in the future given for courtiers to begin the ritual together with further dates for their servants and/or coaches, depending on the order's scope and requirements. For example, the order instating the mourning for Prince George in 1708 required people to be in mourning by the 7th November 1708, while coaches, chariots and servants were to be in black

⁸⁶ TNA PC 1/14/97 Report from the Lords Commissioners of Trade upon the Representation of the Turkey Company & touching upon the Mourning, 17 March 1714(5).

⁸⁷ TNA PC 1/4/89 Copy of His Majesty's Order in Council for regulating Publick Mourning, 14 November 1728.

mourning a week later.⁸⁸ These arrangements allowed those affected time to purchase cloth and have mourning garments and coverings for their servants and property made.

The similarity in orders can be seen in those issued for Charles II in 1685 and Anne in 1714 at both ends of our period. In both cases the Earl Marshal ordered that people of 'quality' (peers, gentlemen and the like) enter 'the deepest mourning that is possible' and that those of the Privy Council and officers of the household were to place their coaches, chariots and sedan chairs (the primary means of transport about the city and to the palaces) in mourning along with livery servants.⁸⁹ There were some differences in detail between the two periods but these were minor. Charles's order omitted imposing dates for the adoption of the different elements. Also, while both banned bullion or varnished nails from being used or shown on coaches, the order for the mourning of Charles II exempted members of the royal family from this rule.⁹⁰ In 1714 the order included the provision that painted arms on coaches were not to be displayed for six months as well as the other restrictions.⁹¹

The practice of court mourning for extended periods of time involved all those who lived, worked and socialised in the court space. While the funeral was the main ceremonial expression of the kingdom's loss, sentiments were also reflected in the longer-term mourning styles and

⁸⁸ *London Gazette*, 4 November to 8 November, 1708.

⁸⁹ *London Gazette*, 9 February to 12 February, 1684(5), p. 1; *London Gazette*, 3 August to 7 August, 1714, p. 1.

⁹⁰ *London Gazette*, 9 February to 12 February, 1684(5), p. 1.

⁹¹ *London Gazette*, 3 August to 7 August, 1714, p. 1.

behaviours which engulfed the royal palace, the court and its members, as well as people outside its parameters. Paul Fritz has referred to this practice as a 'totality of mourning' and the extent to which both space and people were affected by ritualised mourning fits this description.⁹² Detailed research in the records of the Lord Chamberlain and the College of Arms offers the possibility for the first time of a detailed reconstruction of the mourning practices of the later Stuart court.⁹³

It was usually ordered that courtiers adopt 'deepest mourning' which appears to have been a strict and extensive code of dress, behaviour and gesture. Some royal household servants were expected to place themselves into mourning costume at their own expense and initiative but others were issued with suitable attire from the Wardrobe department of the household. In this case the major officers of the household were expected to inform the Privy Council committee planning the funeral of those 'inferior servants' who were unable to fulfil the requirements themselves.⁹⁴ In 1702 the Lord Steward submitted a list of 157 individuals requiring mourning, while the Groom of the Stole gave them a list of 25.⁹⁵ However, the records of the Wardrobe do not indicate what specific styles was issued. For example, in 1694-5 most servants were listed as just receiving 'mourning' or 'mourning

⁹² Paul S. Fritz, 'The Trade in Death: The Royal Funerals in England, 1685-1830,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 15, no. 3 (Spring 1982): pp.291-216.

⁹³ Further discussion and analysis of this practice is also available in chapter 5.

⁹⁴ For example see: TNA PC 2/76 Privy Council Registers, William III, vol. 4, 2 December 1694-23 April 1697, p.22; TNA LC 2/14/2 Order of Council to prepare a list of servants, 8 March 1702.

⁹⁵ TNA PC 6/15 List of Household Servants to be provided with Mourning (1701/2), A List of the Servants under the Groom of the Stole who desire Mourning, 14 March 1701(2).

liveries' while others were given lengths of black cloth to use to make mourning.⁹⁶ The precise style in either case was not recorded.

Court records from the mid-to-late-eighteenth century, during the reign of George III, give some sense of the scale of the mourning practice expected of courtiers. An order from 1773 related to the mourning practices to be staged for the death of a foreign monarch seems to indicate two phases. The first, which can be assumed to be the deepest, required ladies to wear dresses of black fringed silk or plain black linen, with white gloves, necklaces and earrings, black or white shoes, fans or tippetts. Men were to wear black linen either full fringed or plain with black swords and buckles. The second phase saw the introduction of more colours such as white, silver or gold.⁹⁷ The same orders were also ordered for later mournings marked at court in 1773 and 1827, although it seems that in some cases the ritual would be reduced simply to the first stage, depending on the rank of the deceased.⁹⁸ Of course, these records need to be treated with care, given the later period and the likely change in fashion and precedent. The practices of the late Stuart court may have been different in detail, but the evidence does offer at least some suggestion of what was expected and what was staged in the earlier period.

An idea of what late Stuart period mourning looked like is available in the painting *Charles II Receiving the Spanish Ambassador in 1660* by François du Chastel. The image depicts Charles II receiving the new

⁹⁶ TNA LC 2/11/2. The records for Mary II's funeral gives lots of examples. Some are warrant numbers 67, 68, 70-89 for those receiving 'mourning', warrant number 142 as an example of 'mourning liveries' and warrant number 139 for lengths of cloth to officers.

⁹⁷ TNA LC 5/199 Orders for Court Mourning from 1773 to 1827.

⁹⁸ TNA LC 5/199 Orders for Court Mourning from 1773 to 1827.

Ambassador in a reception at Whitehall's Banqueting House. The scene includes the King and his chief male courtiers assembled near the throne of state, dressed in mourning black, in honour of the King's younger brother Henry, duke of Gloucester (1640-1660) who had died in September 1660. By contrast the Spanish delegation are dressed in colourful clothes of gold, white and red, and so the English monarch and his courtiers stand out. It is noteworthy that the red throne is contrasted by the courtiers standing around it draped in long cloaks of black, only punctured by some white collars and the occasional embroidered Garter star.⁹⁹ The Venetian Resident had reported on this event in a letter back to his superiors, noting that the Spanish originally came in 'great pomp' to a public audience. However, the Spanish later returned 'Following the example of the king and Court who went into mourning for the duke of Gloucester...[the Spanish Ambassador] went to the private audience [with Charles] with all his suite in black.'¹⁰⁰

While black was the traditional colour for mourning clothing and drapery, the monarchs of this period followed the same practice their predecessors in the early modern period had used and would wear purple to express mourning. The difference was intended to distinguish the monarch from the other mourners and to reflect their higher rank above the rest of the royal family and courtiers.¹⁰¹ For example, in July 1687 James II 'putt on

⁹⁹ Charles II Receiving the Spanish Ambassador in 1660, probably by François du Chastel, oil on canvas, Southern Netherlands (now Belgium).

¹⁰⁰ 'Oct 1 Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident to England, to the Doge and Senate' in Allen B. Hinds (ed) *Calendar of the State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and other Libraries of Northern Italy, vol. XXXII, 1659-1661* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1931), p. 201.

¹⁰¹ Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of the Royal Funeral in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997) p. 19.

purple' as he 'mourned for the Duchess of Modena, mother to the Queen.'¹⁰²

The practice was also seen on the continent, and it is possible that the Stuarts adopted the fashion of their European peers as they did in many other court rituals.¹⁰³ In one example in August 1714, the British ambassador in Paris reported to Lord Bolingbroke that when Louis XIV heard that Anne had died the king now 'mourns in Purple for Her Majesty.'¹⁰⁴

The combination of black and purple extended beyond clothes and was also used to drape over the interior rooms of the court. The directions for how these spaces were to be presented were handed down by the Privy Council but often their instructions were vague. Some discretion was allowed or at least it was expected that the people charged with the responsibility of dressing the rooms would understand what was required. For example, when William III died in 1702 the Privy Council simply ordered in a general way that the Privy Chamber 'and the room by it' in Kensington be 'hung in mourning' to receive the royal body and that 'his Lordship do give the necessary Directions for hanging the said two rooms in mourning forthwith.'¹⁰⁵ However, on other occasions orders were issued to be more specific; for example, on 26th March 1702 the Council issued another order for further rooms to be hung in mourning and among them was Kensington's great drawing room which they

¹⁰² TNA LC 5/201 Lord Chamberlain Misc: Precedent Book 1660-1687, p.177.

¹⁰³ Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700,' p.186. Bucholz writes that by 1650 the Stuart court was heavily influenced by French, rather than Spanish, court practices. This was seen in the translation of French court etiquette guides into English during the first half of the seventeenth century.

¹⁰⁴ Prior to Bolingbroke, Paris, 28 August 1714, in TNA SP 78/159 State Papers: France, Mr Prior and Others from July 12th 1714 to March 21st 1715, 129.

¹⁰⁵ TNA LC 2/14/2 Order of Council for the hanging the presence at Kensington in mourning, 11 March 1702.

specified was to be hung in black cloth.¹⁰⁶ After mourning was declared the rooms in royal palaces were then mostly hung in black but occasionally purple cloth covered the walls, fixtures and furniture. The public rooms in each of the major palaces were prepared in this way.

Judging from the documents the rooms draped in mourning black typically included privy chambers, presence chambers, council chambers, staircases, guard chambers, withdrawing rooms, some backstair passages, chapels and closets. Interestingly a hierarchy of space was established in that the rooms in which the monarch resided were hung in purple while public rooms had black, allowing the possibility of using ritual mourning to delineate status as well as an area of privacy for the monarch. For example, in 1714 the Great Bedchamber at St. James's was hung with purple cloth, had a purple cloth bed, window curtains and chair covers installed, while in the same palace the presence, council and privy chambers all had black cloth hangings and furnishings.¹⁰⁷ In contexts where space was shared, such as the Chapel Royal in St. James's, the colours could define space more closely. So in 1714 the King's Closet within the Chapel was hung and furnished in purple while the rest of the chapel was hung, furnished or covered using black cloth.¹⁰⁸

The best description of the mourning as laid out in the public rooms of the royal palaces was recorded by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, a German traveller who visited London in 1710 during court mourning for Prince

¹⁰⁶ Order of Council for mourning for the funerall of his late Majesty, 26 March 1702.

¹⁰⁷ TNA LC 2/18 Account of the Necessaries provided by The Great Wardrobe For the Funeral of, & Mourning for, her late Majesty Queen Anne in the Year 1714, no. 11.

¹⁰⁸ TNA LC 2/18 Account of the Necessaries provided by The Great Wardrobe For the Funeral of, & Mourning for, her late Majesty Queen Anne in the Year 1714, no. 6.

George which had begun in 1708. The Prince's mourning was particularly intense and von Uffenbach discovered on his visit to St. James's that the rooms were 'entirely bare on account of the mourning', although he also noted that in some rooms furniture and decorations remained.¹⁰⁹ For example, he noted that in one room there was 'a quite in comparable large new clock' which was also covered in mourning cloth. He described the appearance in detail:

[W]hen we saw the interior we found the rooms were large and handsome, though they were entirely bare on account of the mourning for Prince George, so that there is little to be seen in them. There were still hangings everywhere--even the stairs outside being draped in black flannel, while inside in the apartments there were black cloth. Even the sconces were black oxidized metal, though in one room, which was hung with purple, they were tinted blue...All the paintings have been taken to Hampton Court or Windsor.¹¹⁰

Judging from the documents the practices described were not unique to the mourning of Prince George. Similar practices were organised throughout the period, although the level of reverence compares more to that provided for a reigning monarch than for a prince.

The Ceremony of the Royal Funeral

The funeral itself was divided into three parts: the procession, usually referred to by contemporaries as a 'the proceeding', the church service, and

¹⁰⁹ W.H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (trans. and eds.), *London in 1710: From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), p.104.

¹¹⁰ Quarrell and Mare (trans. and eds.), *London in 1710*, p.104.

the burial. Throughout this period the use of a 'private' funeral for all the monarchs except Mary II meant they took place at night.¹¹¹ While Mary's 'public' funeral was expected to start at twelve noon, the others appeared to take place in the evening, indicating, according to some scholars, a changing relationship between royal ritual and public reception.¹¹² The funeral of Charles II was reported to have been conducted 'this Evening' according to *The London Gazette*, and the Earl of Ailesbury recalled in a letter that it was occurring 'this night.'¹¹³ Unlike this vague timing we know when the Duke of Gloucester's funeral began when the *Gazette* reported that 'last night about 8 o'clock' the body was removed 'into the painted chamber, and about 9 was conveyed to the Abby church.'¹¹⁴ The paper reported that Prince George's funeral was 'at 10 of the clock' on the night of his burial.¹¹⁵ Historians have noted that a cultural shift occurred amongst the European aristocracy to favouring the night-time for their burials.¹¹⁶ Night burials had the added effect of deterring crowds; for example, the re-burial of Mary Queen of Scots was

¹¹¹ See chapters 2 and 3 for further discussion of this point.

¹¹² *The form of the proceeding to the funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary II. Of blessed Memory, from the royal palace of Whitehall to the Collegiate church at Westminster; the 5th day of this instant March, 1694/5* (London: Edward Jones, 1695); Amy Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction': Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early Eighteenth Century England,' *Parergon* 31, no. 2 (2014), pp. 100-102,

¹¹³ *London Gazette*, 12 February to 16 February 1684(5), p. 4; 'The Earl of Ailesbury to the Earl of Rutland, February 4 1684(5)' in HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., Preserved at Belvoir Castle, vol. 2* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1889), p. 85.

¹¹⁴ *London Gazette*, 8 August to 12 August 1700, p. 2.

¹¹⁵ *London Gazette*, 11 November to 15 November, 1708, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Craig M. Kosolsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 133-152; Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, p. 188

apparently timed to ensure large crowds were avoided.¹¹⁷ This would have been politically important in the late Stuart period when crowds in London had been important in the Exclusion Crisis and the Glorious Revolution.¹¹⁸

Even if the timing suggested a changing role for the ritual display of royal power and continuity to the public, symbolically the funeral procession in the later Stuart period continued to ritually reinforce order and continuity to those who had observed it. These themes were a long-standing tradition within royal funerals and evolved out of the original heraldic style used at the medieval, Tudor and early Stuart funerals. Jennifer Woodward has described these earlier processions as a 'microcosm of the social unit of the kingdom, hierarchically organized according to status and degree...the effect was a crescendo building up to a climax of dignity at the centre' around the body of the monarch.¹¹⁹ Elements of this heraldic funeral tradition were retained in the funerals of the later Stuart monarchs even if the style evolved to become more in line with noble 'private' funeral practices.¹²⁰ Funeral processions were still reflective of social structure, especially within the court, and were as hierarchal in their order during the late Stuart era as they had been in earlier periods. The procession of course fulfilled a practical as well as symbolic role. It was the ritual vehicle by which the royal body was transported to burial at Westminster Abbey. In most cases the procession was performed on foot; only the funeral of William III consisted of a procession of carriages

¹¹⁷ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 139.

¹¹⁸ For discussion of crowds in late Stuart politics see: Tim Harris, *London crowds in the reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹¹⁹ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p.17.

¹²⁰ See chapter 2 for details of and discussion about this.

because the route took a longer distance from Kensington.¹²¹ This was a much longer distance than the processions of the funerals of the Duke of Gloucester, Prince George and Anne which all started from the Palace of Westminster.¹²² The funeral of Mary II was the most elaborate and so a much longer procession was staged which began at Whitehall Palace. The royal body was conveyed in a carriage while the attendees marched on foot.¹²³

As with early modern funerals, the processions associated with the interment ceremonies of the later Stuarts were dominated by participants from the royal household and the peerage. The records reveal that later Stuart processions were long, elaborate and carefully stage-managed affairs even if, despite close examination of all relevant records, the precise numbers in each procession could not be identified. The plans often referred to participants as individuals, but others were listed by household or function which meant that numbers cannot be calculated precisely. For example, the plan for Prince George's procession refers to the 'Knight Marshall's men' (plural) who were to march two and two at the start to make the way, but the exact number is unknown. Entries for the same procession list 'Physicians to His Royal Highness' and 'Gentlemen, Servants to His Royal Highness' without specifying how many of these there actually were.¹²⁴

The processions of William, duke of Gloucester and Prince George of Denmark incorporated variations in personnel. Because William was still a

¹²¹ TNA PC 2/79, pp. 44-5.

¹²² TNA PC 1/13/48, Precedents of what orders have first been made upon the Demise of the Crown.

¹²³ *The form of the proceeding to the funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary II.*

¹²⁴ Funeral procession plan recorded in: TNA PC 2/82, part 1, Privy Council Registers: Anne, vol. 4, 5 March 1707-2 May 1710, p.194.

minor his procession included both his parents, and his uncle's servants alongside his own since he had been given his own small household by the time of his death.¹²⁵ When Queen Anne's husband, Prince George, died eight years later, Anne's household marched with members of his household, although rank was reflected in the fact that the Queen's servants marched ahead of those of her husband. Records show that 'Gentlemen, Servants to Her Majesty' marched before the similarly ranked officers who had served the Prince, with the same pattern repeated for their Equerries, Household Chaplains and Pages of Honour, among others.¹²⁶ The Queen's household also marched in the procession and took precedence at the funeral of her son in 1700.¹²⁷

A person's place in the procession was carefully ordered to reflect the hierarchy of rank and the most senior positions were those placed closest to the body of the monarch. The household servants were followed by the Privy Councillors who were not peers and they came before the peerage which was arranged hierarchically from Baron to Duke. Aristocrats were often accompanied by their younger and elder sons, both styled as lords but the latter often using courtesy titles derived from their father's other, lesser peerage titles.¹²⁸ For example, the eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon was styled Viscount Cornbury. In the plan for Anne's procession the ordering also separated the peers of Great Britain from those of Ireland. The Irish marched

¹²⁵ Gloucester's funeral procession recorded in: TNA LC 5/202 Lord Chamberlain Miscellaneous Records: Precedent Book 1 January 1697-31 December 1739, p.79.

¹²⁶ TNA PC 2/82 part 1, p.194.

¹²⁷ TNA LC 5/202, p. 79.

¹²⁸ Debrett's, 'Courtesy titles' (n.d.), available at: <http://www.debretts.com/people/essential-guide-peerage/courtesy-titles>, accessed 15 July 2015.

before the British, indicating the higher position of the British peerage in the hierarchy of rank. Thus Irish barons marched before British barons as was also the case with viscounts and earls. No Irish marquesses or dukes were recorded as present.¹²⁹ To provide more clarification a section of the plan of the procession of the peers is outlined below:

Marquisses Younger Sons
 Earls Eldest Sons
 Viscounts of Ireland
 Viscounts of Great Britain
 Duke's Younger Sons
 Marquisses Elder Sons
 Earls of Ireland
 Earls of Great Britain.

The order continued with dukes who preceded the great officers of state such as the Lord President of the Council and the leaders of the Church, the Archbishops of York and Canterbury (the junior bishops had been placed earlier in the procession, after the barons).¹³⁰ In later Stuart Britain therefore, as in early modern England, the funeral processions of monarchs continued to reflect and represent the social rank of the state, and the relative importance of the various kingdoms over which the Stuarts ruled.

The magnificence of the occasion, its political significance and the extent of the detail in the plans for the procession suggest that all members of the peerage attended, although seemingly sometimes with some reluctance. The Earl of Ailesbury informed the Earl of Rutland that for the funeral of King

¹²⁹ TNA PC 1/2/256 'A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Internment of her late Matie Queen Anne, from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster to King Henry the 7th Chapell' (1714), 7.

¹³⁰ TNA PC 1/2/256 'A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Internment of her late Matie Queen Anne, from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster to King Henry the 7th Chapell' (1714), 7.

Charles II in 1685, for example, 'All the Lords are warned to be there,' but we cannot know how many heeded this warning.¹³¹ In 1714, before the funeral of Queen Anne, the Earl Marshal was asked to choose the peers to march and act in certain capacities at the ceremony. He was instructed to 'write to all the Persons...according to their precedence and if any of them excuse themselves...his Lordship will write to the next in course.'¹³² A list of members of the nobility survives in the College of Arms records that may reflect those who were to take part in the funeral procession of William III. Some sense of the scale of the event can be gleaned by the fact that sixty four barons, nine viscounts, seventy earls, a single marquess, sixteen dukes, one Archbishop and one prince were listed.¹³³ The College of Arms records point out that only English peers were invited, although some space was planned in the procession for Scottish and Irish peers, as was the case with the procession for Queen Anne.¹³⁴

The focus of the funeral procession was the coffin that contained the royal body which in the later-seventeenth century was covered in a pall of purple velvet cloth. The practice of presenting a fully-clothed effigy placed upon the coffin had been abandoned after the funeral of James I in 1625.¹³⁵

¹³¹ 'The Earl of Ailesbury to the Earl of Rutland, February 4 1684(5)' in HMC, *Rutland*, vol. 2, p. 85.

¹³² TNA PC 1/2/245 Minutes relating to the late queen's Funerall taken at St. James's August 16th 1714, 17th August 1714 Read and Agreed to.

¹³³ CA, 'Royal Funerals', fo. 30.

¹³⁴ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funerals of Kings Princes &c.', fo. 87.

¹³⁵ Julian Littlen, 'The Funeral Effigy: its Function and Purpose' in Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer (eds) *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 3-19.

There were, in fact, two coffins, one made of lead and another of wood.¹³⁶

The use of two coffins had become common practice in the medieval period, probably as a result of the primitive nature of the embalming of the body which allowed for the protracted preparations of the elaborate ceremonial to take place.¹³⁷ The outer leaden coffin had a silver gilt plate for the inscription attached to it 'of the Bigness of Half a Sheet of Paper,' while the wooden one had a copper gilt plate with an inscription placed outside the purple velvet covering.¹³⁸ Records detailing the cost of the coffins of Charles II indicate that the outer lead coffin was more expensive (at £20) compared to the wooden one (at £13, 6s, 8d) which was made of elm.¹³⁹ One observer of Mary II's coffin before it was delivered for use recalled that it 'was made of waynscot, with purple velvet, nailed with a double row of nails with small handsome guilt heads around the edges and corners...The inside lined with a thin leaden coffin of the same shape.' The plate featured 'neat pierced work representing the crown and sceptres and a cypher of the Queen's name.'¹⁴⁰ When Anne died Whigs said that her coffin had been as wide as it was long

¹³⁶ Examples of the double coffins: for the Duke of Gloucester (TNA LC 5/202, Precedent Book, p. 77), William III who was ordered 'Inward and Outward coffins' (TNA LC/ 14/2 Order in Council for preparing the Depositum, 11 March 1702) and Prince George of Denmark (LC 2/17 Order Relating to the Funeral of His Royal Highness, 1 November 1708).

¹³⁷ Explicit orders for embalming include: TNA LC 2/11/1 At the Council Chamber at Whitehall the Sixth of February 1684/5, By the Lords of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council appoint a Committee to consider of disposing of the late King's Body; TNA LC 2/14/2 Order in Council for embalming the late King's Body, 8 March 1702; LC 2/18 Order of Council To the Groom of the Stole to deliver the Queen's body to Lord Chamberlain, 1 August 1714.

¹³⁸ TNA PC 1/2/250 A Collection of all the Orders issued to Lord Chamberlain upon the funeral of Queen Anne at the time it was intended to proceed from Kensington directly to Westminster Abbey (1714).

¹³⁹ TNA LC 2/11/1 'Arlington to the Lords Commissioners'.

¹⁴⁰ 'The Coffin of Queen [Mary?], 1694' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire. Preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks.*, vol.1, *The Papers of William Trumbull*, part 1 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1924), pp.456-7.

as a result of her obesity, although there are no records of this from the Lord Chamberlain, Wardrobe or Lord Steward to indicate that this was true.¹⁴¹

The task of lifting and carrying the coffin was done by lower servants. Even in the cases where it had been transported to the Abbey in a chariot, as in the case of Mary II, servants were chosen to carry it from the chariot into the Abbey. The Surveyor-General, Sir Christopher Wren, was ordered to appoint twenty men who were to carry Mary's coffin into the Abbey from the chariot.¹⁴² The coffin for the Duke of Gloucester's funeral was carried across Westminster by six servants to the young Duke assisted by Yeomen of the Guard.¹⁴³ Anne's was done by 'ten or twelve yeomen.'¹⁴⁴ The pall was placed over the coffin and had an equal number of 'supporters' on each side. David Cressy has described this duty as being 'invested with honour and respect.'¹⁴⁵ As a result the task was performed by peers. William III's pall had six supporters, all of whom were dukes (Bolton, Southampton, Ormond, Northumberland, Grafton and Richmond) whereas Prince George's six supporters were all earls.¹⁴⁶ A magnificent canopy of purple was held over the body of the reigning monarchs while black canopies were used for the

¹⁴¹ Robert Bucholz, 'The 'Stomach of a Queen' or Size Matters: Gender, Body and the Historical Reputation of Queen Anne,' in Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (eds) *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 253.

¹⁴² TNA PC 2/76, p. 42.

¹⁴³ LC 5/202, p. 79.

¹⁴⁴ TNA PC 1/2/256 'A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Internment of her late Matie Queen Anne, from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster to King Henry the 7th Chapell' (1714), 7.

¹⁴⁵ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 436.

¹⁴⁶ CA, I series, vol. 4 'Funerals of Kings Princes &c.', fo. 88; *London Gazette*, November 11 to November 15 1708, p.1.

Princes.¹⁴⁷ The canopy was supported by a number of Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. There were eight gentlemen at Gloucester's funeral while ten were present at the ceremony of Queen Anne.¹⁴⁸ The gentlemen were allocated mourning cloth for that purpose, and it can be assumed that there were an equal number on each side to carry the canopy (as with the supporters of the pall).¹⁴⁹

The Garter King of Arms and the Chief Mourner with their supporters and assistants followed immediately behind the royal body. The Chief Mourner was usually a high-ranked person of the same sex as the deceased. Reigning monarchs did not march in the funeral processions nor did they attend the service and so were hardly ever the Chief Mourner. Charles I had broken with tradition and marched at the funeral procession of his father James I in 1625.¹⁵⁰ After Charles, a reigning monarch did not march again until William IV did so at his brother George IV's funeral in 1830, an act which *The Times* called 'an intense curiosity' to see.¹⁵¹ In both cases these kings acted as the Chief Mourner. Between 1685 and 1714 five people acted in this role for all the funerals: Prince George of Denmark, Henry, duke of Norfolk, Charles, duke of Somerset, Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset and Mary,

¹⁴⁷ The Accounts for Anne's funeral lists an order of 60 yards of purple in grain cloth for a canopy and at Gloucester's funeral the *London Gazette* gave a description of 'a canopy of black velvet' over the body: TNA LC 2/19 The Account of The Most Noble John, Duke of Montagu Master of His Majesties Great Wardrobe...(1715); *London Gazette*, August 8 to August 12 1700, p.2.

¹⁴⁸ TNA LC 5/202 Precedent Book, 79; TNA PC 1/2/256 'A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Internment of her late Matie Queen Anne...', 7.

¹⁴⁹ TNA LC 2/18 Account of the Necessaries provided by The Great Wardrobe For the Funeral of, & Mourning for, her late Majesty Queen Anne in the year 1714, warrant 24.

¹⁵⁰ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 186.

¹⁵¹ *The Times*, 16 July 1830.

duchess of Ormond. In each case they were the highest-ranked person available to attend. Prince George did so at the funerals of both Charles II and William III.¹⁵² The Duke of Norfolk did so at Gloucester's for, though Prince George still outranked Norfolk being the deceased's father, he would not have attended.¹⁵³ The Duke of Somerset did so at Prince George's.¹⁵⁴ Somerset's wife, the Duchess, marched at the funeral of Mary II when the then-Princess Anne was suspected to be pregnant and it was deemed unsuitable for her to take part and the Duchess held a suitable rank.¹⁵⁵ Somerset was appointed again to be Chief Mourner for the funeral of Queen Anne in 1714 but *The London Gazette* stated she 'was Indisposed' and so her place was filled by the Duchess of Ormond instead.¹⁵⁶

The Chief Mourners were allocated the largest allowance for their mourning clothes from the Wardrobe. Their cloak was always the longest and the train was usually carried by attendants. At Mary II's funeral the Duchess of Somerset's train was borne by the Duchesses of Southampton and St. Albans.¹⁵⁷ Two unnamed duchesses, this time assisted by the Vice

¹⁵² *London Gazette*, 12 February to 16 February, 1684(5), p. 4 (for Charles' funeral); TNA PC/79, p. 76 (for William's funeral).

¹⁵³ *London Gazette*, 8 August to 12 August, 1700 p. 2.

¹⁵⁴ TNA PC 2/82, part 1, p. 196.

¹⁵⁵ R. O. Bucholz, 'Seymour, Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset (1667–1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21925>, accessed 5 Jan 2015; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 150.

¹⁵⁶ *London Gazette*, 24 August to 28 August 1714, p. 2; James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 599.

¹⁵⁷ *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary II*, p. 3.

Chamberlain, repeated the practice at Anne's in 1714.¹⁵⁸ On Prince George's first time as Chief Mourner in 1685, his train was supported by Edward Hyde, viscount Cornbury,¹⁵⁹ while at Prince George's own funeral the Duke of Somerset's was borne by a baronet.¹⁶⁰ The Chief Mourners were then supported by two peers, who may have held some high office or have been there by virtue of their title. In 1685 the supporters were the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Beaufort.¹⁶¹ In 1695 the Duchess of Somerset was supported by the Lord Privy Seal (Earl of Pembroke) and the Lord President of the Council (Duke of Leeds).¹⁶²

Behind the Chief Mourner and their two supporters (who marched side by side in one line) came the Assistants to the Chief Mourner. These were also peers, described in Gloucester's plan as being 'of the Principal Nobility'.¹⁶³ The assistants were again of the same sex as the deceased and marched two by two. The plan for Mary II's funeral which listed them by name and marching order indicated that the assistants marched in the reverse order of the peerage, meaning they went from highest ranked (as represented by the Chief Mourner) to lower as they moved away from the royal body. Most assistant mourners were from the ranks of the Earls and Countesses, alongside a few higher-ranked peers. Mary II's eighteen assistants included

¹⁵⁸ TNA PC 1/2/256 A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Internment of her late Matie Queen Anne, from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster to King Henry the 7th Chappell (1714), 7.

¹⁵⁹ *London Gazette*, February 12 to February 16 1684(5), p. 4.

¹⁶⁰ TNA PC 2/82, part 1, p. 196.

¹⁶¹ *London Gazette*, February 12 to February 16 1684(5), p. 4.

¹⁶² *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary II*, p. 3.

¹⁶³ TNA LC 5/202 Precedent Book, 79.

Duchesses and Countesses, who made up the majority, and then Baronesses, who marched two by two in that descending order of rank¹⁶⁴ At Prince George's funeral two Marquesses (of Dorchester and Lothian) were accompanied by fifteen Earls.¹⁶⁵ At the funeral of Queen Anne it was two Duchesses and 14 Countesses.¹⁶⁶

The procession was met outside the Abbey by the Dean, prebends and choir, who followed behind it into the Church. The second part of the funeral, the service, then began. According to the Anglican liturgy the service began outside the church with the reading or singing of three texts. Two were taken from the New Testament, one was from the gospel of John, and the other from Paul's first letter to Timothy. The third reading was taken from the Old Testament book of Job.¹⁶⁷ The funeral service usually took place in Henry VII's Lady Chapel on the eastern side of the Abbey, although Mary II's funeral was so large that it had to take place in the main Abbey before moving into the Chapel for the burial. The small chapel offered an intimate atmosphere. Chairs or benches were provided for the majority, although an arm-chair was given to the Chief Mourner and chairs without arms to his/her supporters.¹⁶⁸ The service was usually conducted by the Bishop of Rochester, who was also Dean of Westminster in this period, and was conducted according to the

¹⁶⁴ *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of her Late Majesty Queen Mary II*, 4.

¹⁶⁵ TNA PC 2/82, part 1, pp.196, 98.

¹⁶⁶ TNA PC 1/2/256 'A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Internment of her late Matie Queen Anne...', 7.

¹⁶⁷ 'The Burial of the Dead, 1662' in Brian Cummings (ed), *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 451.

¹⁶⁸ For example as provided for Mary II's funeral: an armed chair covered in black velvet for the chief mourner, two smaller chairs without arms for the supporters and fourteen round stools with black velvet cushion for the assistants. LC 2/11/2, warrant no. 13.

Anglican liturgy in *The Book of Common Prayer* of 1662. The service was short and consisted of psalms and a lesson taken from the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians. Further prayers were offered over the body as it was lowered into the grave.¹⁶⁹

Music formed a key element in the ceremony. Although records of the exact musical arrangements for all the funerals of the period are not available, it is known that anthems were composed, for example, for the funerals of Mary II and Anne. Mary's anthem, known as 'Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of my heart', was composed by Henry Purcell, court composer since the reign of Charles II, and under his direction there was also a march and canzona for use by 'flat trumpet' instruments which were designed to play in minor keys. Purcell's last composition was performed in 1695 to mark the Duke of Gloucester's birthday. Anne's funeral featured an anthem entitled 'The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God', composed by Dr William Croft, a composer in ordinary to the Queen, but the music was never published.¹⁷⁰

The burial, the third part of the funeral ceremony of the Stuart monarchs, occurred close to the location of their ancestor Mary Queen of Scots, whom James I had had reburied in the Chapel early in his reign. The white staff officers of the household such as the Lord Chamberlain and Lord Steward (in the case of monarchs) broke their staff of office once the body was interred and threw the pieces on to the coffin to symbolise the break with the old monarch who had granted them their positions. Interestingly these

¹⁶⁹ 'The Burial of the Dead, 1662' in Cummings (ed), *The Book of Common Prayer*, pp.451-6.

¹⁷⁰ Robert Thompson, 'Purcell, Henry (1659-1695),' Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004, online edn, January 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22894>, accessed 5 June 2013; 'Three Royal Funeral Anthems,' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 42, no. 697 (March 1, 1901), p. 169.

gestures were performed at the young Duke of Gloucester's burial in 1700.¹⁷¹ The only exception to this practice was at Anne's funeral. Her officers were instructed by parliamentary statute not to break their staffs. George I's accession to the throne required that all the officers were to continue in their office(s) until further notice and so the break with the tradition was designed to symbolise continuity at a precarious point in the politics of succession.¹⁷²

The burial was concluded by the Garter King of Arms (a senior herald under the Earl Marshal) who proclaimed the titles of the deceased in full. This varied according to the rank of the deceased and the honours which they held. As a result, the proclamation at the end of the Duke of Gloucester's funeral was the shortest because he only held a peerage and was a Knight of the Garter.¹⁷³ In contrast, Prince George's was the longest as he held both Danish and British titles from Prince down to Baron, official positions such as Lord High Admiral and Privy Councillor and honours such as Knight of the Garter.¹⁷⁴ In 1714, Anne's queenly title as proclaimed at burial stated:

Thus is hath pleased Almighty God, to take out of this transitory life, to his divine mercy, the late most High, most Mighty, and most Excellent Princess Anne by the Grace of God Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith and Sovereign of the most noble orders of the Garter and of St. Andrew.

¹⁷¹ *London Gazette*, 8 August 1700 to 12 August 1700, p.2.

¹⁷² TNA PC 1/2/245 Minutes relating to the late Queen's Funerall taken at St. James's August 16th 1714, 17th August 1714 Read and Agreed to.

¹⁷³ *London Gazette*, August 8 to August 12 1700, 2.

¹⁷⁴ Prince George's full style was reported to the Privy Council committee by the Deputy Earl Marshall on 4 November 1708: TNA PC 2/82 part 1, 189-190.

This was followed by the same title read again for the new King George I (although using the masculine equivalents) before asking God for his 'long life Health and Honour, and all Worldly Happiness' and ending with a cry of 'God save King George.'¹⁷⁵ The funeral thus ended. There was no record that any entertainment or food was provided afterwards.¹⁷⁶

Burial Place and Monuments

With the exception of James II and his exiled family, many of whom were buried in the Vatican, and the wife of Charles II, Catharine, who returned to her native Portugal and later died there without any apparent marking of the event in London, all the other late Stuart monarchs were buried in Westminster Abbey.¹⁷⁷ The Abbey had long been the preferred location for royal burials, and Henry VII (r.1485-1509) had commissioned a new chapel within it which then acted as the preferred royal necropolis from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Daniel Defoe described Westminster Abbey in his travelogue as 'the Repository of the British King and Nobility,' although he also observed that 'our kings and queens make always Two Solemn Visits to this Church, and very rarely, if ever, come here any more, viz. to be Crown'd

¹⁷⁵ TNA PC 1/2/256, 'A Scheme of the Proceeding,' 8.

¹⁷⁶ Lord Chamberlain and Privy Council planning records do not give any indication that post-funeral events took place. No records of food being provided beyond feeding servants before the event who looked after the body was given in the Lord Steward's records, for example, TNA LS 9/51 Lord Steward's Department: Kitchen Books. Diets Extraordinary. 1 March 1692-31 January 1696.

¹⁷⁷ Westminster Abbey, 'Our History: Royals', available at: <http://www.westminster-abbey.org/our-history/royals>, accessed 31 May 2015.

and to be Buried.¹⁷⁸ The establishment of a royal or dynastic necropolis was not unusual in early modern Europe; French monarchs had long used the Basilica of St. Denis as theirs, Italian noble families adopted the tradition too, such as the Medici who used the Basilica di San Lorenzo in Florence and, despite its non-dynastic nature, even the Papacy had St. Peter's Basilica as its preferred location for all papal burials.¹⁷⁹

The first Stuart, James I of England, had used the Henry VII Chapel's Tudor connection as a way of symbolically establishing the Stuart dynasty in England. He celebrated his Tudor predecessor Elizabeth's life in a large funeral and ornate tomb sculpture in the Chapel before moving his mother (Mary Queen of Scots) to the Chapel in 1612. Mary's re-burial included the installation of a large tomb within the chapel previously occupied only by the Tudor dynasty, allowing, as Jennifer Woodward argues, for James to assert the Stuart's legitimacy as the Tudor dynasty's successors.¹⁸⁰ Thomas Cocke has extended the same logic to explain the Hanoverian dynasty's continued attachment to the chapel as a place of burial after their accession in 1714.¹⁸¹

On the Restoration in 1660 the space within the Henry VII Chapel already included the graves of Henry VII, Elizabeth of York, Edward VI, Mary

¹⁷⁸ Daniel Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,' in John McVeagh (ed) *Writing on Travel, Discovery and History by Daniel Defoe*, vol. 2, *A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, volume II* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), 110.

¹⁷⁹ Visceglia, 'A comparative historiographic reflection on sovereignty in early modern Europe' in Schilling and Tóth (eds) *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1, *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe*, p. 189.

¹⁸⁰ Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 129-140.

¹⁸¹ Thomas Cocke, 'The Repository of Our English Kings': The Henry VII Chapel as Royal Mansoleum,' *Architectural History* 44, *Essays in Architectural History Presented to John Newman* (2001), pp.213-4.

I, Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, James I and Anne of Denmark.¹⁸² Some had large and elaborate monuments such as that to Henry VII, Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots, while others had simpler or unrealised tombs. While some were interred within or near these already existing structures, the six members of the Stuart dynasty who died in England between 1685 and 1714 were buried in a new vault which Charles II had commissioned. The vault was probably built after 1671 as Anne, duchess of York was not buried in this one but within the vault of Mary Queen of Scots instead.¹⁸³ Although details are sparse about the nature of the structure, one observer of Charles II's burial reported that 'The King was buried...in a new vault about twelve foot square, lined with black marble.'¹⁸⁴ Space in this vault appeared to be limited and filled by the time Anne died, leading Defoe to remark that 'Tis very remarkable, that the Royal Vault...was filled up with Queen Ann; so that just as the family was extinct above, there was no Room to have any more below.'¹⁸⁵ By the time of Prince George's death in 1708, Queen Anne expressed concern that there was not enough room for her and the Prince to be placed there and she wrote to Lord Treasurer Godolphin to make sure that

¹⁸² Charles I and Henry VIII, the other two monarchs from this period, were buried in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

¹⁸³ John Miller, 'Anne , duchess of York (1637–1671)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14325>, accessed 17 July 2015.

¹⁸⁴ 'Sir C. Wyche to Ormonde, Feb. 17 1684/5, Jermyn St.' in HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., Preserved by Kilkenny Castle. New Series, vol. III* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1912), pp. 322-3

¹⁸⁵ Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain,' p. 110.

enough space was secured.¹⁸⁶ Anne later specifically requested in her will to be buried as close as possible to her husband within the vault.¹⁸⁷

Since the late Stuart monarchs used just one burial vault, no further funerary monuments were added to Henry VII Chapel. Nigel Llewellyn has argued that this was because each new monument had grown ever more impressive and so the practice was abandoned rather than risk creating something underwhelming.¹⁸⁸ There is evidence of some discussion about the installation of new structures for the recently deceased and in some cases plans were drawn up. An impressive monument was sketched out by Sir Christopher Wren for Mary II.¹⁸⁹ A joint tomb for William and Mary was also designed but neither of these structures was ever built.¹⁹⁰

What is very interesting is that effigies were commissioned for the later Stuart monarchs buried in the Chapel, thus continuing an older heraldic tradition. Effigies had originally been adopted from France where they played an important symbolic role, though as Ralph Giesey has argued, the English never embraced its mystic qualities.¹⁹¹ Effigies tapped into an older medieval

¹⁸⁶ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 371.

¹⁸⁷TNA PC 1/2/260, Uncompleted draft for Q. Anne's will.

¹⁸⁸ Nigel Llewellyn, 'The Royal Body: Monuments to the Dead, For the Living,' in Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (eds), *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture, c. 1540-1660* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990), p. 240.

¹⁸⁹ For Mary's single tomb see: Anthony Geraghty, *The Architectural Drawings of Sir Christopher Wren at All Souls College, Oxford: A Complete Catalogue* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007), p. 279.

¹⁹⁰ British Museum Collections, Prints and Drawings, no. 1881,0611.164, 'Design for a monument for King William III and Queen Mary II; Baroque triumphal arch with statues of the King and Queen on a pedestal behind a sarcophagus, with Corinthian columns in front of which stand figures symbolizing Hope, Justice, Truth and Charity Pen and brown ink with wash,' accessed online via catalogue on 2 September 2014.

¹⁹¹ Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960), pp. 80, 85.

belief in 'the King's two bodies', where one was immortal and represented perpetual kingship while another one aged and died.¹⁹² The effigy therefore represented the eternal body of the King. In France the effigy ended with the death of Henry IV (d. 1610), while England last used the fully robed funeral effigy at the funeral of James I in 1625. Afterwards funeral rituals discarded this as a symbol of royal sovereignty but a wax effigy was commissioned to lie over the grave of Charles II in the Abbey and then later effigies of Mary II, William III and Anne were created and all survive in Westminster Abbey's collection. However, care must be taken when interpreting the meaning and function of effigies. According to Richard Mortimer the effigy of Charles II was associated with or used in a funeral, but those for Mary, William and Anne were commissioned for display.¹⁹³

The different functions are reflected in the timing of their construction. Charles II's effigy was put in a place in the Abbey near his grave within a year of his death, whereas the effigies of William and Mary were not on display until March 1725, three decades after Mary's death and twenty-three after William's, at a cost of over £187. Anne's effigy was started soon after her death with £13 paid for moulds of her head and hands but it was not until 1740 that the remaining amount was paid for the completed effigy, nearly two and a half decades after the Queen had died.¹⁹⁴ The effigy of Anne, unlike all the others, showed the Queen seated and so departed from the traditional

¹⁹² For discussion of this belief see: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

¹⁹³ Richard Mortimer, 'The History of the Collection,' in Anthony Harvey and Richard Mortimer (eds), *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp.21, 24.

¹⁹⁴ Julian Litten, 'The Funeral Effigy: It's Function and Purpose,' in *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, pp.17-8.

style of effigy that was designed so that it could be made to lie on a bed of state in the procession. Moreover, until a restoration in the 1760s, the effigy had the wrong colour wig, a black one rather than brown. The effigy showed the Queen at the time of her death, plump and full framed, again distinguishing it from those effigies that had once been designed for funerary use which had always showed the idealised image of the deceased monarch and not the their physical reality at their death.¹⁹⁵ These effigies were originally displayed with the others in the Henry VII Chapel, perhaps as a substitution for actual stone tombs, before being moved to the smaller Islip Chapel near the Henry VII Chapel by the 1760s. They remained there locked up and out of sight until World War II when they were stored in Piccadilly for their safety. On their return, and after some restoration to the entire collection, they were put on display in the Undercroft Museum in Westminster Abbey from the 1950s, where they remain today along with an accompanying note which states when the subject lived, reigned and was buried.¹⁹⁶

In the Henry VII Chapel, however, no permanent monument was ever built to the later Stuart monarchs except for some stone slabs with their names and dates on to mark their burial location on the floor.¹⁹⁷ While these memorials were far less grandiose than their Tudor counterparts, they were far better than their Jacobite opponents. James II had multiple burial spots in Paris after his body parts were separated but they were all lost in the

¹⁹⁵ Philip Lindley and Julian Litten, 'Queen Anne,' in *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, p.121.

¹⁹⁶ Richard Mortimer, 'The History of the Collection,' pp.24, 26, 28.

¹⁹⁷ Based on author's own observations.

destruction of the French Revolution.¹⁹⁸ If we assume that those effigies in the Abbey were used for a time as a substitute for a tomb structure, and thus as a memorial to them, it was a better fate than effigies made of James III (the Jacobite Pretender) who was burned in effigy at the time of Anne's death and George I's accession in 1714 by a crowd of people in London.¹⁹⁹

This chapter has used original documents to reconstruct the process by which the royal funerals of the late Stuart period were planned and implemented between 1685 and 1714. In doing so it has demonstrated that the ritual interment of monarchs and princes remained costly and complex events. There were changes in the timing of rituals that altered the reception of the ritual for the public. Elements of ceremony also evolved and altered. But patterns of continuity and change were not consistent and were more complex than broader histories often assume. While there is evidence of change influenced by wider cultural shifts, several aspects of the organisation and performance of funeral rites and mourning practices continued to draw on early modern court precedent. The next chapter considers these complexities through a detailed examination of the contexts for and details of the planning and execution of the first 'private' funeral for a monarch, that of Charles II in 1685.

¹⁹⁸ John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (Hove: Wayland Publishers, 1977), p. 240.

¹⁹⁹ Dorothy H. Somerville, *The King of Hearts: Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p.333.

II

**'Without any manner of pomp':
Charles II and the Origins of the 'Private' Royal Funeral**

On 29th May 1660 Sam Percivall wrote to his cousin Sir John Percivall describing what he called 'the greatest show that ever England saw.'¹ After nearly a decade in exile Charles II, the recently restored King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, was entering his capital city to reclaim his thrones with much pomp and grandeur. Sam Percivall argued that the spectacle was 'infinitely beyond my ability to express that I will not go about the describing' but still wrote of how 'joy was certainly never so transcendently expressed' by the people and that 'All foreigners are in a maze at it.'² The spectacle of the thirty-year-old Charles II entering London (on his birthday) in 1660 with all its associated publicity was not to be matched in February 1685 when the fifty-four-year-old king died and was then buried 'privately'. By the time of his death the enthusiasm of the 1660s had vanished; Charles had grown more authoritarian and had not called Parliament for four years in violation of the Triennial Act (1661). His brother and heir was a confirmed and devout Catholic. The country had only recently survived the possibility of renewed civil war and the accessible 'merry monarch' of his early years had become far more private and formal.

¹ 'Sam Percivall to his cousin, Sir John Percivall, May 29, 1660,' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, vol. 1* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1905), pp. 612-13.

² 'Sam Percivall to his cousin, Sir John Percivall, May 29, 1660,' in HMC, *Earl of Egmont, vol. 1*, pp. 612-13.

Charles II's funeral was the first to be performed for a reigning monarch of Britain since his grandfather James I had died sixty years earlier in 1625. King James I's funeral had conformed to the prevailing style for royal interments and he was given a large heraldic (or 'public') funeral by his son and heir Charles I. As Kevin Sharpe has argued, Charles I had used this as an opportunity for the self-promotion of a new king. The content and structure of the 'public' funeral of his father became an opportunity for Charles I to publicise his own vision of kingship, and of the society over which he wished to preside. Importantly, the funeral was used to reassure his people of his dedication to the Anglican Church. He attempted to allay anxieties about his religious affiliations, generated in part by his marriage to a French Catholic bride who was already on her way to England, by banning Catholic peers from marching in the funeral procession.³ A combination of longer-term cultural precedents, the succession of a new monarch and immediate political concerns all underpinned the planning of the funeral of 1625. The same combination of factors ultimately determined the very different form of the funeral of his son Charles II in 1685.

In contrast to the ritual interment of his grandfather, the funeral of Charles II was 'private' and designated as such by his contemporaries. *The London Gazette*, for example, described the ceremony as being 'privately Solemnized'.⁴ The rituals were not private in the modern sense of being restricted to only close family and friends. Instead the term refers to the way the timing, style and composition of the funeral was handled. Historians have

³ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 231-2.

⁴ *The London Gazette*, 12 February-16 February, 1684(5), p. 4.

drawn attention to the reduction in heraldic imagery and pageantry. There was also a scaling down of the size of the event in order to restrict the involvement of officials such as the aldermen and Lord Mayor of London or the ambassadors who had marched at the funeral of Elizabeth I (1603), as well as public spectators on the streets. Participation at the ceremony was confined instead to court or royal household officials, and the procession and service took place at night rather than the day.⁵ It should be noted that these kind of funerals were not new in 1685, as nobles had begun to conduct non-heraldic and nocturnal funerals at the turn of the seventeenth century, but royalty had resisted until the 1660s when those in the extended royal family began to be given 'private' burials as well.

This chapter explores why Charles II was given a 'private' funeral. Existing accounts in the literature that examine the style of the funeral put on for Charles II have tended to focus on explanations that rely on broad interpretations based on cultural shifts in elite funerary practice alongside the decline in the influence and role of the College of Arms, together with reflections on the monarchy's declining power and influence.⁶ What has been missing in these accounts is a detailed examination of the documents that allows consideration of the performance conditions in which the funeral was

⁵ For definitions and discussions of the 'private' style see: Paul S. Fritz, 'From 'Public' to 'Private': the Royal Funeral in England, 1500-1830,' in Joachim Whaley (ed) *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London: Europa, 1981), pp. 61, 68, 71; Michael Schiach, 'The Funerals of the British Monarchy,' in Michael Schaich (ed) *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 430-440; Ralph Houlbrooke, 'Public' and 'private' in the funerals of the later Stuart gentry: some Somerset examples,' *Mortality* 1, no. 2 (1996), pp. 163-176. For Elizabeth I's Funeral Procession see: Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), p. 212.

⁶ Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 216, 228; Fritz, 'From 'Public' to 'Private'', pp. 62-78.

enacted and the context of the influence of the pressing and immediate political concerns on the decision-making process. Despite the tensions surrounding the succession, the political world of the late-seventeenth century continued to revolve around the monarch,⁷ and although there was a growing preference amongst the elite and members of the royal family for ‘private’ funerals, it is a mistake to assume that there was an inevitable acceptance of the change in form by the monarchy. The funerals of monarchs were of a different order. Elaborate ceremonial interments, and their associated pomp and circumstance, remained opportunities to display and promote the majesty of a monarch at a time of political and dynastic disjuncture, as the discussion on the funeral of Mary II in the next chapter will show. The political context in which decisions were made about the character of royal funerary practices was as influential as cultural shifts in shaping the form of the interment of Charles II and the precedent which it then set.

Cultural Shifts: The Rise of the ‘Private’ Funeral

Jennifer Woodward has established the close connection between the ritual performance of noble heraldic funerals and the obsequies arranged for royalty in the early modern period and so, as a necessary cultural context for detailed analysis of the royal funerals in the later seventeenth century, changes in the style of aristocratic funerals during the period need first to be

⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 119-120, 206-7, 214-5.

outlined.⁸ In the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, large heraldic-style (or 'public') funerals were used by the peerage, the members of the episcopacy and knights as well as the monarchy. Members of society who were entitled to bear a coat of arms engaged the services of the heraldic officers and authorities of the College of Arms in order to organise funerals which reflected their specific status and position in society. This was achieved through the display of arms and chivalric images alongside the use of a large procession of people. The heraldic funeral, as Lawrence Stone asserted, was the 'last tribute of a deferential society to the dignity of a title.'⁹ The ceremony provided a ritual display of the position and the status of the deceased as well as a strong sense of continuity in power, title and inheritance.¹⁰

The heraldic funeral reached its 'apogee' amongst the nobility in the sixteenth century and thereafter gradually declined.¹¹ The reasons for the shift cannot be attributed to any one particular factor and historians have differed in their explanations. Lawrence Stone, for example, has argued that it was rooted in the aristocracy's crisis over finance. Large displays were too expensive and of little benefit to the individual or his family. For example, the Earl of Dorset in 1608 requested a smaller funeral on the grounds that a sumptuous one would be of benefit only to the heralds who were paid to

⁸ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*.

⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 572.

¹⁰ Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 1991), pp. 13-4; Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 209-210; Ralph Houlbrooke, "Public' and 'private' in the funerals of the later Stuart gentry: some Somerset examples," *Mortality* 1, no. 2 (1996), p. 164.

¹¹ Houlbrooke, "Public' and 'private' in the funerals of the later Stuart gentry," p. 174.

attend it and the drapers who provided the materials.¹² Ralph Houlbrooke has suggested that, in addition to issues of cost, a smaller event allowed the family more control over the planning and nature of the event.¹³ Vanessa Harding ultimately concurs with Stone's basic argument about expense but she also adds that in a marketplace in which professional undertakers were emerging, the heralds's monopoly over funerals seemed exploitative. The development of private undertaker businesses during the late Stuart era (the first professionals emerged in the 1670s and 1680s) gave the elite a good opportunity to break free of the College's control.¹⁴

Clare Gittings has offered the most detailed interpretation of the reasons why the heraldic style changed amongst the English aristocracy. She argues that the heraldic funeral celebrated individuality, but once the Crown took control through the heralds (who were its agents), individual expression was stifled. Night funerals, she argues, which were a key component of non-heraldic funerals, allowed the family to have a greater role in the funeral itself and allowed for an emotional expression and recognition of familial loss. They also offered the possibility for faster burials by removing the need for embalming, which was becoming an increasingly unpopular idea anyway.¹⁵ These new fashions were condemned by the heralds who tried to halt them in 1619, but their resistance ultimately failed. While the noble

¹² Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, pp. 572-581.

¹³ Houlbrooke, 'Public' and 'private' in the funerals of the later Stuart gentry,' p. 166.

¹⁴ Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*, pp. 212-215.

¹⁵ Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 36-7, 166, 175, 190-2, 199.

heraldic funeral mostly died out after the Glorious Revolution, their obsequies remained lavish and elaborate in the 'private' setting.¹⁶

These changes were not limited to the British. There was a similar pattern of decline and shifting tastes amongst the Irish elite around the same time.¹⁷ Craig Koslofsky has also noted the change for the German nobility. There the nocturnal funeral had only been reserved for dishonourable people such as criminals or those who committed suicide until the seventeenth century. However, nocturnal funerals became popular with nobles and spread downwards in popularity through the social ranks by the early eighteenth century. Koslofsky argues this change occurred because of growing noble resentment and resistance to the 'equalising' effect of Lutheran rites which treated nobles and peasants in the same way without any deference to title or status. The nocturnal funeral, condemned by Lutheran clergy and authorities, spread 'to escape the ritual hegemony' of the church and allowed first nobles and then townspeople to design their own funerals, either filled with displays of pomp or reduced to austere private affairs.¹⁸ These innovations coincided with wider shifting attitudes towards the night within society in line with the rise of baroque culture which allowed for greater acceptability of night-time festivals especially in court life.¹⁹ Elites across Europe in the seventeenth

¹⁶ Houlbrooke, 'Public' and 'private' in the funerals of later Stuart gentry,' p. 166; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 450.

¹⁷ Clodagh Tait, *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550-1650* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 40, 48.

¹⁸ Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp. 133-152.

¹⁹ Craig Koslofsky, *Evening's Empire: A History of the Night in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 97, 99, 110-117.

century began to take control of their obsequies, although for particular reasons in particular contexts.

Nobles who deviated from the new trend and returned to heraldic styles soon began to stand out amongst their peers. Some clung to the older forms for personal reasons or did so for ulterior motives. This was the case with the third Earl of Devonshire who died in 1684. His son, the new fourth earl (later one of the 'Immortal Seven' in 1688), believed that his father deserved an elevation to a dukedom. The king may not have granted him the honour in life but his son did so after. The new Earl ordered that a funeral fit for a duke be performed for his father. This act was a conscious affront to Charles II and formed part of the ongoing post-Exclusion Crisis purges in local government. To punish the Earl for his pretensions Charles stripped him of the lord lieutenancy of Derbyshire which had been granted to his family in a semi-hereditary fashion.²⁰

Members of the royal family also seemed increasingly inclined to conduct private funerals. There appears to be considerable evidence that royalty also began to favour a less heraldic style after the Restoration of 1660 even if change was incremental, more a matter of degree rather than kind. Prior to the 1660s, larger 'public' funerals for all members of the Stuart dynasty were the norm. Lavish heraldic funerals were staged for Prince Henry Stuart, Queen Anne of Denmark and King James I up to 1625. Between 1625 and 1660 there was of course only one monarchical death to

²⁰ Roy Hattersley, *The Devonshires: The Story of a Family and a Nation* (London: Vintage Books, 2014), pp. 143-4; David Hosford, 'Cavendish, William, first duke of Devonshire (1641–1707)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008; available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4948>, accessed 4 Dec 2014.

occur, that of Charles I, but his 'dishonourable' execution and subsequent interment was exceptional and in sharp contrast to the ceremonies staged for his predecessors. After the Restoration there was a string of deaths in the royal family up to 1671 when ten members of the Stuart clan died in Britain (two more family members also died in France).²¹ Three funerals from this number are sufficiently well-documented to be able to reconstruct the arrangements in some depth. Interestingly both in the planning stages and in aspects of the content of the funerals, there is evidence of elements of older royal traditions within a move towards the wider social trend for 'private' funerals, confirming arguments made by Woodward about the 'inherent flexibility of ritual', while at the same time retaining a natural propensity towards tradition that meets the expectations of the participants and observers about the reinforcement of status and power.²²

The first funeral to take place was that of Henry, duke of Gloucester, in September 1660, whose funeral was also the best documented amongst those ten royal deaths in the 1660s. The twenty-year-old brother of the newly restored Charles II died on 13th September 1660 'of the small-pox,' due to 'the great negligence of his Doctors', according to Samuel Pepys.²³ The Duke was the third, and youngest, son of Charles I and Henrietta Maria. He had

²¹ The ten deaths were: Henry, duke of Gloucester (1660), Mary, dowager princess of Orange (1660), Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia (1662), Anne, duchess of York (1671), and six of the Duke and Duchess of York's young children: Charles, duke of Cambridge (1661), James, duke of Cambridge (1667), Charles, duke of Kendal (1667), Lady Henrietta (1669), Lady Catherine (1671) and Edgar, duke of Cambridge (1671). Queen dowager Henrietta Maria (mother of Charles II) and Henrietta Anne, duchess of Orleans (Charles II's youngest sister) both died in France.

²² Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 13.

²³ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 1, 1660, edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1970), p. 244.

been kept in London under Parliamentary control for most of the Civil Wars which meant that he was one of only a few family members who saw his father on the eve of his execution in January 1649. Henry escaped into exile in 1653 and settled with his sister Mary in Holland before moving to live with his mother in France for a short time. However, because she tried to convert him to Catholicism he moved on again to live with his brother Charles in the Spanish Netherlands. He accompanied his elder brothers Charles and James on their return to England in mid-1660.²⁴

King Charles was devastated by the death of his younger brother, who some historians have argued was his favourite of the two.²⁵ The Venetian Resident, Francesco Giavarina, wrote back home to the Doge that 'the king is distressed and weeps bitterly' over his brother's death and 'he has withdrawn himself and no one soever is allowed to approach him.'²⁶ Even the Duke of York, who was serving as Lord High Admiral, had stopped all his work on the news and left without giving any orders to cover his absence.²⁷ On 16th September Pepys wrote in his diary that he had seen 'the King in purple mourning for his brother' while visiting Whitehall's gardens.²⁸

²⁴ Stuart Handley, 'Henry, Prince, Duke of Gloucester,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12962>; accessed 11 November 2013.

²⁵ For example: Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second: King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 155.

²⁶ 'Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and Senate,' in Allen B. Hinds (ed) *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. XXXII, 1659-1661 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1931), p. 198 (Hereafter: *State Papers, Venetian*).

²⁷ Mary Anne Everett Green (ed) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II 1660-1661, preserved in the State Paper Department of the Public Record Office* (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1860), p. 270.

²⁸ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 1, p. 246.

Details of the arrangements for Gloucester's funeral were not recorded in any depth in the records of the Privy Council, as later funerals would be. Instead the Council's register briefly summarised a discussion concluded during a meeting on 14th September 1660 (the day after his death). It noted that 'Mr Secretary Morice, by his Maties Command acquainted the Councill with the sad notice of the death of his Royall Highness the most illustrious and hopefully Prince Henry.'²⁹ The assembled Privy Councillors then 'had several debates about the manner and time of his Enternment, but came to no Conclusion' except to immediately embalm the body under the care of the Duke's servants at Somerset House (where he had died). The register then makes no further reference to this event.³⁰

Interestingly, however, the Privy Council records noted that the Council had 'several debates about the manner' in which the Duke of Gloucester was to be buried immediately after his death but no detail is provided about the nature of these discussions.³¹ This entry suggests that the Council was unsure about how to proceed at this time. Records in the College of Arms indicate that the Council (or perhaps some committee of it that was not recorded) had made the decision that there was to be a 'private' interment for the Duke of Gloucester. The College's records described how, 'Some days passed before any resolution was taken of the manner of his Internment but at length it being resolved it should bee private.'³² It was Venetian Resident

²⁹ TNA PC 2/54 Privy Council Registers: Charles II, vol. 1, May 3 1649-May 6 1650; January 13 1658-September 28 1660, p. 162.

³⁰ TNA PC 2/54, p. 162.

³¹ TNA PC 2/54, p. 162.

³² CA, I Series, vol. 4 'Funerals of Kings Princes &c.', fo. 49.

Giavarina's letter home at the start of October 1660 which reveals how a 'private' funeral for Gloucester was not inevitable. Writing again to the Doge, Giavarina describes how 'The Court was considering a public funeral for the prince, but at the end of it all he has been buried privately.'³³ While any deliberations are not recorded, there was some consideration of the 'public' option before choosing the 'private' one.

No further details about the planning survive but, since it appears that attention was already turning to Charles' forthcoming coronation, it is likely that questions of time and economy may well have exerted as much influence as cultural change in shaping decisions made about the style of the ritual. Thirteen days after Gloucester's death the Privy Council began planning the coronation and appointed a committee to deal with the planning of those rituals.³⁴ In the same letter describing the Duke's funeral the Venetian Resident reported how 'his Majesty's coronation has been fixed for February.'³⁵ The allocation of several months of planning for the coronation suggests where the royal and political priorities lay in 1660. Cost was also important for, while the coronation was expected to 'involve extraordinary expenses' (as Giavarina described it), the Duke of Gloucester's funeral

³³ 'Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and Senate, October 1 1660,' *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XXXII, 1659-1661, p. 201.

³⁴ TNA PC 2/54, pp. 173-4.

³⁵ 'Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and Senate, October 1 1660,' *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XXXII, 1659-1661, p. 201.

expenses were recorded in the accounts of the Great Wardrobe as the relatively modest sum of £2328, 14s, 7d.³⁶

The interment of the Duke of Gloucester took place on 21st September, only eight days after his death which meant there was little time to plan and execute a large funeral. The body was moved by boat along the river and then buried in Westminster Abbey. As befitting the wider noble trend for 'private' funerals, the ritual took place during the evening. Pepys's diary gives a brief mention of it. He states that he had been 'Back by the water about 8[pm]; and upon the water saw [the] corps of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset-house stairs to go by water to Westminster.'³⁷ A Dr Thomas Smith noted that the Duke 'was buried...on Friday about midnight, by Dr. Sheldon,' referring to Gilbert Sheldon who had also been nominated that day by the King to become the next Bishop of London.³⁸ No lying in state or procession was recorded as having taken place but the Venetian Resident described in a letter home that 'the king and Court...went into mourning for the Duke of Gloucester.'³⁹

The funeral of Charles II's other sibling who died in 1660 was also a low-key affair. Charles's sister Mary, princess dowager of Orange, also died

³⁶ 'Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and Senate, October 1 1660,' *State Papers, Venetian*, p. 201; TNA LC 2/7 The Account of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich Master of His Maties Great Wardrobe For the Funerals of the Duke of Gloucester, The Princess of Aurange, The Duke of Cambridge and the Queen of Bohemia, 'For the Funeral of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester', 22.

³⁷ Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, vol. 1, p. 249.

³⁸ Dr Thomas Smith to D.F. [Daniel Fleming], September 25 1660' in HMC, *Le Fleming*, pp. 26-27; Handley, 'Henry, Prince, Duke of Gloucester' ODNB; John Spurr, 'Sheldon, Gilbert (1598–1677)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008; available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25304>; accessed 14 Nov 2013.

³⁹ *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XXXII, p. 201.

of smallpox just over three months after Gloucester on 24th December 1660. Again Francesco Giavarina wrote back to his superiors in Italy of 'the intense grief of the the whole Court and especially of the King' at this event, and noted that, 'the Court has resumed strict mourning, which was already partly laid aside for the death of the duke of Gloucester.'⁴⁰ No records about planning the Princess's funeral were made by the Privy Council, although they did deal with the Princess's request that Charles take care of her son William's (the future William III of England) affairs by appointing a committee to advise the King on these matters.⁴¹ The Lord Chamberlain's accounts show that similar provisions to those for Gloucester's funeral were ordered but no details of the events themselves were included. The same situation occurred again with the death of Charles's aunt Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia in 1662. There is little surviving evidence of the arrangement for her mourning and funeral except for the Venetian Resident's report that he and the other foreign ambassadors had offered their formal condolences to Charles II.⁴² This lack of records continued for the deaths of two of James, duke of York's young sons in 1667.

The other two, better-recorded funerals of this period were for Edgar, duke of Cambridge, the last surviving son of the Duke and Duchess of York,

⁴⁰ Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and the Senate, January 7, 1661, *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XXXII, 1659-1661, p. 235.

⁴¹ TNA PC 2/55 Privy Council Registers, Charles II, vol. 2, 3 October 1660-30 May 1662, p. 119.

⁴² TNA LC 2/7 The Account of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Sandwich Master of His Maties Great Wardrobe For the Funerals of the Duke of Gloucester, The Princess of Aurange, The Duke of Cambridge and the Queen of Bohemia, 'For the Funeral of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Aurange' and 'For the Funeral of the Queen of Bohemia'; Francesco Giavarina, Venetian Resident in England, to the Doge and the Senate, February 24, 1662, *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XXXIII, 1661-1664 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1932), p. 112.

and of the Duchess herself, both of which were in 1671. Similar to the planning of Gloucester's funeral there appeared to be some uncertainty about whether to afford the young prince and his mother a heraldic or non-heraldic funeral. Both held more senior positions in the royal family than Gloucester had; at the time of his death Edgar was the second-in-line to his uncle's throne after his father, while Anne, duchess of York (formerly Anne Hyde) was the wife of the king's heir. Edgar was the fifth child from the York's family to die and his was also the best-recorded funeral of them all.

The Duke of Cambridge's death in June 1671 was 'extremely to the affliction of their Majesties and his Royal Highness' according to *The London Gazette*.⁴³ The Venetian Secretary reported back home that formal mourning was now being re-introduced at Court as a result.⁴⁴ Despite these gestures the young Duke's funeral was also conducted privately in a similar style to that of Gloucester's and the other royal funerals in the previous decade. No detailed report about the funeral was published in the *Gazette* but a description survives in a letter from Henry Ball (which was probably sent to Sir Joseph Williamson) in the *Calendar of State Papers*.⁴⁵ Ball's description of the Duke's funeral shows how it matches the tropes of the small, nocturnal 'private' funeral:

⁴³ *London Gazette*, 8 June-12 June, 1671, p. 2.

⁴⁴ 'Girolamo Albert, Venetian Secretary in England, to the Doge and Senate. June 26 1671.' in *State Papers, Venetian*, vol. XXXVII 1671-2 (1939), p. 79.

⁴⁵ The letter simply states it being 'Henry Ball to Williamson'. Joseph Williamson was at this time a key employee to Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, one of Charles II's Secretaries of State and held a seat in the House of Commons. See: Alan Marshall, 'Williamson, Sir Joseph (1633-1701)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29571>, accessed 23 March 2015.

Last night about 12 o'clock the Duke of Cambridge was most privately interred without the heralds, scrutcheons, or any other solemnity used to the other. Very few were present besides his Royal Highness' own servants. Lord Cornbury went in the chief mourner's place. The corpse was brought from Richmond by water, and with only a canopy and [pall] conveyed to the Abbey, at the door of which the bishop and quire met them, and so interred it in Henry VII's Chapel with the rest.⁴⁶

The only Lord Chamberlain records from this period which referred generically to a 'Duke of Cambridge' (which could also be for the ones who died before Edgar's birth) support this description of a small funeral in that the records record payment simply for black cloth to cover a barge and provisions to make a pall and canopy.⁴⁷

Ball then made an interesting observation about the form of the event and its participants. He writes how 'Scrutcheons and a coronet were sent for, and the heralds were ready to attend, but no use was made of any of them.'⁴⁸ It shows that here was a clear attempt to scale down the entire proceeding because while a coronet (indicating his ducal status), heraldry (indicating his royal birth, title and state) and the heralds (who should reinforce rank and title and ensure proper decorum befitting a royal duke's funeral) were readily available for use, they were purposefully left out. The indecision perhaps reflects the fact that, while heraldic funerals may have lost ground in the later Stuart period, a taste for elaborate display had by no means disappeared by

⁴⁶ 'Henry Ball to Williamson' in F.H. Blockburne Daniell (ed) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, January to November, 1671* (Nendeln, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968), pp. 317-8.

⁴⁷ TNA LC 2/7, pp. 38-9.

⁴⁸ 'Henry Ball to Williamson,' in *State Papers, Domestic, January to December 1671*, p. 318.

this date and that the decision to opt for a less opulent and 'private' funeral for members of the royal family was by no means inevitable at this stage.⁴⁹

The third of the better-documented deaths from this time occurred when Anne, duchess of York, the wife of James, duke of York and sister-in-law to Charles II, died on 31st March 1671. She was also buried without any lavish ceremonies. It is at least a possibility that politico-religious factors may have had a part to play in the decision-making process about the levels of public display utilised during the funeral of the Duchess. Anne, duchess of York, had died a Catholic and her refusal to accept the Anglican last rites made her religious allegiance public.⁵⁰ Her funeral was still conducted according to the Anglican rites by Anglican clergy in Westminster Abbey. It also followed the 'private style' at night, perhaps to discourage the interest and attendance of the 'public', but records suggest that the ritual was also accompanied with some pomp befitting her rank. Some evidence of Privy Council discussion about the proper placement of any Privy Councillors who were not also peers in its procession survives, for example. It was ruled that they 'doe Immediately follow after the Barony.'⁵¹ Some sense of the scale of the ceremony can also be gauged from the reported in a short paragraph in *The London Gazette* as follows:

On Wednesday the 5th [April 1671] between 9 and 10 at night, was enterred her Royal Highness the Dutchess of York, her body having been accompanied from the Painted Chamber in the Palace of Westminster (whither it was

⁴⁹ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, Death*, p. 450.

⁵⁰ Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion, A Biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012), p. 13.

⁵¹ TNA PC 2/62 Privy Council Registers: Charles II, vol. 9, 1 October 1669-23 April 1671.

privately brought from S. James's), by his Highness Prince Rupert, who appeared as a chief Mourner, and by most of the Nobility, who followed in order; the Kings and Officers of Arms giving their attendance; their Majesties and Royal Highnesses servants, and several Gentlemen and person of Quality preceding the Corps, to the place of enterment (which was a large Vault to the South side of King Henry VII Chappel in Westminster Abby) with the solemnities usually practised on the like occasion.⁵²

The description gives us a clearer view of the event than others that were staged in the years immediately before hers. It suggests that the style and scale of funerals of members of the royal family were highly variable in the second half of the seventeenth century. There was an increasing tendency to conduct the ceremonies at night, in keeping with wider cultural trends, but there was no consistent pattern in terms of scale or levels of opulence.⁵³

These conclusions are confirmed when consideration is given to the one further royal funeral which took place before the death of Charles II, that of Charles's cousin, Prince Rupert of the Rhine, in 1682. After the Prince had died on the morning of 29th November 1682 the funeral took place on the night of 6th December with the body being 'privately interred' in Westminster Abbey.⁵⁴ The Lord Chamberlain's records are just as sparse as they were for the earlier Stuart funerals of the 1660s and 1670s and comprise of two compact orders to cover all the necessities needed for the embalming and then the funeral itself.⁵⁵ *The London Gazette* reported that the funeral was 'privately solemnised' in the evening. The body was placed under a black

⁵² *London Gazette*, 6 April-10 April, 1671, p. 2.

⁵³ Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, Death*, p. 450.

⁵⁴ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 1, pp. 241, 243.

⁵⁵ TNA LC 2/10/3 For the Funeral of H:H Prince Rupert.

velvet canopy which was lined with taffeta and held up by eight staves as part of a procession which included 'several Knights of the Garter, and divers of the Principal Nobility, and other Persons of Quality' marching from the Painted Chamber at Westminster to the Henry VII Chapel in the Abbey. The Earl of Craven acted as Chief Mourner (he was also the named executor of Prince Rupert's estate, according to his will) and a coronet upon a black velvet cushion was carried by 'one of the Kings at Arms'.⁵⁶ The combination of elements of the private style with lavish display of symbols of rank is similar to that of the funeral of Anne, duchess of York.

It is in this context of tension between the demands of tradition, the requirement to confer status, identity and dynastic continuity that the funeral of Charles II needs to be considered. Despite the growing trends towards nocturnal rituals, royal funerals were still clearly regarded as an occasion for ceremonial display of power and social position, as the evidence about debate, indecision and variation in the style of the royal interments has suggested. Close examination of the records reveals that the style of funeral chosen for Charles II was by no means an inevitable and predictable outcome of a linear cultural trend away from a heraldic and public style. Political as much as cultural influences shaped the decisions made about the ceremonial arrangement of the interment of the later Stuart Kings.

⁵⁶ *The London Gazette*, 7 December to 11 December 1682, p. 2; TNA PROB 1/46 Will of Prince Rupert, Palatine of the Rhine 27 November 1682. Proved 1 December 1682.

Choosing 'private': Planning Charles II's Funeral, February 1685

King Charles II died between 11am and 12pm on Friday 6th February 1685; he was nearly 55 and had been on the throne for almost 25 of those years (although it was claimed he had actually been king from his father's death, making it 36).⁵⁷ The members of the Privy Council who had been with him in the Bedchamber at Whitehall left the king's corpse and relocated to the Council chamber where they started working on the proclamation of his brother's accession. As the Council was finalising the wording of the document, the new King James II 'who had for some time retired into his Chamber, was pleased to come into the Council' and 'sat down in the chair at the head of the council table' and 'with tears' in his eyes he addressed assembled members. James told them that 'I will endeavour to follow [Charles II's] Example, and most especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to His People.' Hoping to refute the long-held suspicions that he was 'a Man for Arbitrary Power' because of his Catholic faith, he promised to 'Preserve this Government in both Church and State as it is now by Law Established.' James' words impressed the Councillors, who requested that they be published which the new king readily agreed to.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The proclamation of Charles's restoration was made on 3 May 1660 in which it was ruled that Charles II had actually inherited 'upon the decease of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles...being lineally, justly and lawfully next heir of the blood royal of this realm.' 'Proclamation of Charles II, 1660,' in Andrew Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII, 1660-1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), pp. 58-9. For further details on Charles's death see chapter 1.

⁵⁸ TNA PC 2/71, Privy Council Register: James II, February 6 1684/5 to December 18 1688, ,p. 1; *London Gazette*, 5 February to 9 February 1684(5), p. 2; 'James Fraser to — —' in HMC, *Report of the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, vol. II* (Dublin: For HM Stationery Office by John Falconer, 1909), p. 147.

During the late-Stuart period only two monarchs were directly involved in any capacity with the planning of funeral rituals. James II was one of these when he personally presided over the Council while certain issues about his brother's funeral were discussed; his daughter Anne (r.1702-14) would then do the same during her own reign for the funerals of her predecessor (William III) and her husband (Prince George of Denmark). Most of the work of researching and choosing details of the organisation of the staging of symbols and rituals was carried out by a committee made up from members of the Privy Council members, with the specific membership being decided upon during that first Council meeting with the new monarch present. Much of the business was *ex officio* and so the Lords Keeper, President, and Privy Seal, as well as the two Secretaries of State, the Commissioners of the Treasury, the former Gentlemen of the Bedchamber to Charles who were also Privy Councillors and the Earl of Huntingdon were all appointed to the committee 'to consider of the Disposall of the late King's Body.' Their orders were to 'send for such Persons and Books of [precedents] that they judge may tend to their better information herein; and do report their Opinion thereupon to his Majesty.'⁵⁹

The next morning (7th February) the officers of the College of Arms were summoned to the committee on the order of the Lord Keeper (then Francis, Lord Guildford) in order to give the members an account of how to properly conduct the disposal of the royal body. They did not discuss the actual funeral ceremonies at this meeting because the officers then requested more time in order to consult their records. Another committee meeting that

⁵⁹ TNA PC 2/71, p. 6.

the evening was attended by the Duke of Norfolk (in his capacity as Earl Marshal) who was ordered to 'bring some knowing and experienced Heralds' in order to tell the committee about mourning, which was then ordered. They were accompanied by the officers of arms seen that morning who could now show the committee 'what they had in their Books touching the Ordering of the Body of King James the first' who were then promptly dismissed.⁶⁰

After this the committee began issuing their first orders with James I as the model. At this stage they only concerned themselves with the treatment of the royal body and the precedent of the embalming of James I remained a strong point of reference. They ordered that Charles's body was to be opened by the physicians and apothecaries in the same manner as James I and that then the body was to be embalmed 'after the same manner, as you shall find the Body of King James the first.'⁶¹ Christopher Wren, the surveyor general, was ordered to produce coffins of wood and lead after the design for the first Stuart king, and the royal wardrobe was to provide purple velvet to cover the outermost one 'done after the same manner as it was for King James the First, which appears in the Bookes of the Great Wardrobe.'⁶²

After this the attention moved to the funeral itself. Initially the committee continued to use James I as the point of reference, suggesting that it was expected that Charles II would be given a 'public' or heraldic funeral like his grandfather. On the 10th February the committee (which now

⁶⁰ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 74.

⁶¹ TNA LC 2/11/1, Funeral: Charles II, 1685, Arlington to his late Majesty's Apothecary.

⁶² TNA LC 2/11/1, To Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor-General, 7 February; TNA LC 2/11/1 Arlington to the Lord Commissioners.

including the Earl Marshal) was given another report by the officers of arms about 'in what manner K[ing] James the 1st was buried.' They also presented a 'depositum' for the king's coffins, which was also modelled on that of James I. However, this was the last time James I was referred to in the planning process. After the last report the committee 'Ordered that the Duke of Norfolk...be at the committee on the morrow with some of the Heralds who should bring the Precedents of the Duke of Gloucesters Funeral.'⁶³

This was the turning point. Until this point the funeral planners had only used precedent from the 'public' ceremony of James I as their point of reference, but in requesting additional information about the Duke of Gloucester's 'private' funeral from 1660 they were moving away from 'public' and to the 'private' funeral style. The Lords of the Committee now declared that it was 'intended That his late Maties Funeral should be private' and were therefore asking for suitable information. It should be noted that on 10th February the 'private' funeral was only intended, it was not definite. The next day, after the officers of Arms returned and reported to them, this *intention* became that 'It was now *resolved*, His late Matie should be Privately Interred (respect being had to his Dignity) as the D. of Glocester was.'⁶⁴

The reasons behind the shift in style are not recorded in the documents and why the Duke of Gloucester's funeral was chosen as a point of reference was not clear. In fact the information which the College of Arms could provide the Council about this source of precedent appeared to run out

⁶³ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 75.

⁶⁴ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 75-6. Emphasis added.

quickly. On the 13th February the officers were called again to provide information but this time it was before the full Council at which James II was also present. The Earl of Craven had asked them about the dress code and coverings used for certain military officers and the drums at Gloucester's funeral so that the same could be ordered now. The officers of arms 'could say nothing' to answer him because of their 'not being called to attend the said Funeral', which meant that the information was missing from their records.⁶⁵ Such a claim is supported by the events at the Duke of Cambridge's 1671 funeral when they made themselves available but were then purposefully excluded from taking part (see above).⁶⁶ King James was surprised at this and, 'taking notice of the neglect & omission in the officers of Arms, in taking such due & exact Entrys of all Publique Ceremonys, Proceedings and Solemnities,' he chastised them for their failure to keep good records. Expecting them to be 'very punctual in Recording such things' he ordered that from now on they should search all the related offices for information and to 'keep exact Registers of all Ceremonies whatsoever.'⁶⁷

Regardless of the lack of information available from the heralds, the decision remained and the committee ordered that the Lord Chamberlain was to begin providing for a funeral that now reflected the private ceremony put on for the Duke of Gloucester from 1660. The ritual forms included orders for

⁶⁵ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 76.

⁶⁶ 'Henry Ball to Williamson,' in *State Papers, Domestic, January to December 1671*, p. 318.

⁶⁷ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 76; TNA PC 2/71, p. 11.

'Lights to burn day and night where the Body lies (as was done at the funeral of the Duke of Gloucester)' and for two black velvet palls and a fine holland sheet 'as at the Duke of Gloucester's Funerall.'⁶⁸ Interestingly this deviates from the long-standing tradition for using purple at the funerals of actual monarchs instead of black.⁶⁹ The reasons for this change was never given in the records. While the committee had not immediately settled on a 'private' funeral they moved forward with it quickly and the funeral was 'privately Solemnized' on the night of 14th February, only eight days after Charles died.⁷⁰

The Whig commentator and opponent of James II, Gilbert Burnet, was angered by the ceremony, which he regarded as an inadequate display of respect for rank and dignity. He wrote:

[King Charles II's] funeral was very mean. He did not lie in state...the expense of it was not equal to what an ordinary nobleman's funeral will rise to. Many upon this said, that he deserved better from his brother, than to thus ungratefully treated in ceremonies that are public, and that make an impression on those who see them, and who will make severe observations and inferences upon such omissions.⁷¹

Unsurprisingly, perhaps, given his political disposition, Burnet laid the blame at James II's feet. There is no doubt in Burnet's mind that a 'public' funeral would have been more appropriate. Burnet's interpretation of events suggests that political more than cultural reasons lay behind the decision to stage a less grand interment. The organisers felt differently from Burnet and

⁶⁸ TNA LC 2/11/1, By the Committee to the Lord Chamberlain, 10 February 1684(5).

⁶⁹ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 13.

⁷⁰ *The London Gazette*, 12 February to 16 February, 1684(5), p. 4.

⁷¹ Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p. 393.

thought that this ceremony was not unfit for a monarch, so why was this decision made? It certainly seems from the evidence that political more than cultural considerations provide the explanation. Consideration of the wider political context does suggest the possibility that plans were changed because of lingering anxieties about the security of the succession of the new monarch. Heraldic funerals often took weeks to prepare whereas the smaller funeral planned for Charles II could be executed quickly.

The succession was deeply controversial. Historians have rightly emphasised that Charles II, with financial support from Louis XIV, was able to resist and then overcome opposition to the succession of his Catholic brother, James, to the throne in the Exclusion Crisis of 1679-1681.⁷² It is also evident that public opinion had turned in favour of James by the time of his accession.⁷³ The turn in public opinion towards James during the 1680s was reinforced by the publication of his speech to the Privy Council from the day of Charles's death. This allowed for his peaceful accession in February 1685 to the relief of those men in authority. The Earl of Rochester observed to the Duke of Ormonde on 10th February that there was 'very general satisfaction' around at 'what his Majesty said at Council the first time he came there.' Rochester, not wishing to boast after only a few days, concluded that

⁷² Hutton, *Charles II*, pp. 357-458; John Miller, *Charles II* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991), pp. 288-346; Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1660-1714* (London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 250-262; Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 8-14; Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms, 1660-1685*, pp. 211-246.

⁷³ John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), pp. 277-8; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 39-41, 61-2; Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 92-117; John Miller, 'The Late Stuart Monarchy,' in J.R. Jones (ed), *The Restored Monarchy, 1660-1688* (London: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 36-40.

'everything is calm and quiet to a wonder.'⁷⁴ The king's words proved to be particularly popular, with one man reporting to Sir William Trumbull that 'At the mentioning his Majesty's declaration...all people's hearts were transported with joy, thinking themselves secure upon his royal word.'⁷⁵ Narcissus Luttrell also recorded 'the great joy and satisfaction...upon the proclaiming of his majestie' in Scotland with similar reports coming from Ireland.⁷⁶

But many men in authority remained worried about opponents of the new Catholic king and the possibility of a rise of resistance at home and abroad. There was a deep-seated anti-popish culture in Stuart England, and the fear of Catholic tyranny it provoked remained as a threat to the security of James II's succession.⁷⁷ Charles II had even violated the Triennial Act and had not called a Parliament since 1681 for fear of reawakening exclusion efforts.⁷⁸ At the time of Charles's death, minor acts of resistance were quickly reported, including rumours circulating the country that James had poisoned

⁷⁴ 'Same to the Same, Feb 10 1684/5, Whitehall,' in HMC, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde, K.P., Preserved by Kilkenny Castle, New Series, vol. III* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1912), p. 317.

⁷⁵ 'Henry Watkinson to Sir William Trumbull, Feb 11, 1684/5' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire. Preserved at Easthampstead Park, Berks., vol. 1, The Papers of Sir William Trumbull, part 1* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1924), p. 36.

⁷⁶ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relations of State Affairs, from September 1678 to April 1714, vol. 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), p. 330.

⁷⁷ Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery' in Conrad Russell (ed) *The Origins of the English Civil War* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1973), pp. 144-137; Scott Sowerby, 'Opposition to Anti-Popery in Restoration England', *Journal of British Studies* 51, no. 1 (January 2012), pp. 26-49; Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: Continuum, 2008), p. 143; James Daly, 'The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England,' *The Historical Journal* 21, no. 2 (June 1978), pp. 244-5; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European History* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 201-4; John Miller, 'Britain', in John Miller (ed) *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), p. 206; Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800: State, Religion and Identity in Britain and Ireland* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), pp. 50-51.

⁷⁸ Kishlanksy, *A Monarchy Transformed*, p. 259.

Charles in order to take the throne. Sir John Reresby informed the Earl of Burlington in a letter on 7th February that 'I hear some few would have raised a rumour as if the king had been murdered by the Papists' and that they were now 'seeking out the the authors.'⁷⁹ Another paper which accused James of 'poisoning his Brother to come to the Crowne' was found 'upon the road between seven Kings and Chadwell Stuple in the Parish of Barking' by a traveller and subsequently reported to a Justice of the Peace in Essex.⁸⁰ Sir John Clobery wrote to the Earl of Sunderland about another accusation that was made by a Mary Kemp in Southampton, who had told people how Charles's ghost had visited James in order to accuse him of his murder.⁸¹

By the final years of his reign Charles's efforts to secure his brother's position as heir had become his paramount policy. It is highly likely that the alteration of plans for Charles's funeral were influenced in part by this wider political tension. It was only in Scotland that the success of James's accession could be guaranteed because the Scottish Succession Act (1681) had established in law that 'the kings of [Scotland]...do succeed lineally... according to the known degree of proximity in blood, which cannot be interrupted, suspended or diverted by any Act or statute whatsoever.'⁸² This Act also eliminated the need to take an oath, which James never took, or for a ritual expression of the succession through the coronation because it made

⁷⁹ 'Feb. 7 Sir John Reresby to [Earl of Burlington]', in *Calendar of State Papers, preserved in the Public Records Office, Domestic Series, James II, vol. 1, February-December 1685* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1960), p. 3. (Hereafter: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James II*).

⁸⁰ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James II, vol. 1*, p. 61.

⁸¹ 'April 26. Winchester. Sir John Clobery to the Earl of Sunderland,' in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, James II, vol. 1*, pp. 137-8.

⁸² 'Act of Succession, 1681,' in Andrew Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII, 1660-1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), p. 631.

the heir the legitimate King of Scotland immediately on his predecessor's death.⁸³

The situation in England was different and meant there needed to be a rapid and ritualised transfer of power including the taking of specific oaths and a coronation. The controversial accession of James II needed to be at the centre of public focus and ritual attention. Extended mourning for his deceased brother would cause unnecessary and potentially destabilising delay. Political priorities were reflected in the way the two events were covered in *The London Gazette* (the government's official paper and de-facto source of pro-regime propaganda) when Charles's funeral actually took place. The short article about the burial of the late king Charles II was relegated to the back page of the issue. It was the last substantive article on the last page before the advertisements. By contrast, nearly four pages of text at the front documented the most recently received loyalty addresses sent to the new King, news about the proclamations of the new monarch and reports from the sessions of the circuit courts.⁸⁴

Resources needed to be directed towards completing the rituals associated with the accession. James's coronation in England had to be completed as soon as possible and so Charles needed to be buried quickly so that the celebration of the accession could be staged. The 1660 funeral of the Duke of Gloucester was a useful precedent as it speeded up the process. The smaller scale 'private' funeral was not only less costly, but it could be organised much more quickly. The sense of urgency and desire for a quick

⁸³ Harris, *Revolution*, p. 44.

⁸⁴ *London Gazette*, February 12-February 14, 1684(5).

ceremony is reflected in the wording of the orders issued by the Committee. On the 10th February, the day the funeral organisers began to turn away from plans for an elaborate and 'public' funeral modelled on that of James I, the Committee ordered that the Lord Chamberlain was to 'forthwith issue his letters and warrants' but was to be 'concerned with *the speedy providing and putting into execution* the several particulars' necessary for the funeral.⁸⁵ This evidence of a desire for speed suggests that more immediate concerns which needed to be dealt with were driving forward the committee's plans and influencing their final decisions. There is the impression that Charles's funeral needed to be expedited so that time and resources could be directed to the new king and the rituals associated with succession.

The speed with which the funeral of Charles II was organised was matched by the rapidity with which the coronation of James II was staged. In contrast to his brother Charles II, whose coronation took place nearly a year after his succession was agreed by Parliament, James II was unwilling, or felt unable, to wait, and was crowned within three months of his accession. The controversy around James's potential succession earlier in the decade, rumours that he had poisoned his brother and potential rivals living overseas all meant speed was of the essence. The French Ambassador reported to Louis XIV that the coronation was designed to remove any doubt that James was the legitimate king.⁸⁶ A new committee of the Privy Council was appointed on 27th February, and it officially started work at the start of March, about two weeks after Charles' funeral was held. On 6th March the

⁸⁵ TNA LC 2/11/1, Funeral: Charles II, Committee meeting 10 February 1684(5). Emphasis added.

⁸⁶ Harris, *Revolution*, p. 44.

proclamation was issued and the date set was St. George's Day (23rd April 1685), the same day as the coronation of Charles II and which was later used by Anne in 1702.⁸⁷ Two days before this proclamation on 4th March, James also began to touch for the King's Evil (scrofula) and he continued to do so until Easter.⁸⁸ The ritual was a key component of the ceremonial staging of the belief in sacred monarchy and was a way for James to publicly demonstrate his legitimacy because only true kings were believed to possess the healing power needed to combat the disease.⁸⁹ By the end of 1685 he had touched more than 4,000 sufferers.⁹⁰

While it became apparent soon after James's accession that his regime did not need to worry about large popular reactions against him, there was still the issue of challengers to his throne. The most significant of those was Charles II's illegitimate but Protestant son James, duke of Monmouth, who was then living in exile and of whom the Earl of Chesterfield had once observed that James II 'hates'.⁹¹ Before Charles II, died exclusionists and the opponents of James II had looked to Monmouth as a potential male heir to Charles but Monmouth's illegitimacy (and Charles II's refusal to legitimise him) barred him from the succession, the only other option being James's

⁸⁷ TNA PC 2/71, p. 20, 24, 26-7.

⁸⁸ *London Gazette*, 2 March to 5 March 1684(5), p. 4.

⁸⁹ For discussion of its importance to sacred monarchy see: Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J.E. Anderson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973); Robert Zaller, 'Breaking the Vessels: The Desacralization of Monarchy in Early Modern England,' *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29, no. 3 (Autumn, 1998), pp. 758.

⁹⁰ Bloch, *The Royal Touch*, p. 219.

⁹¹ 'Chesterfield to the Earl of Arran, January 30 1684,' in *Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield, to several celebrated individuals in the time of Charles II, James II, William III, and Queen Anne. With some of their replies* (London, 1832), p. 254.

daughter Mary (the future Mary II) who lived abroad after her marriage. Continued support for Monmouth after Charles II's death, especially in the western counties of England in Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, was worrisome to James and his supporters. The government in London knew that the coronation would help silence these pretenders by anointing and enthroning him at Westminster Abbey according to tradition.

In the medieval period the coronation had symbolised the entire accession and it was not considered complete without it. Although by 1685 the coronation no longer secured the throne, since English law and hereditary succession confirmed legitimacy, the ceremony was still considered a ritual affirmation of power and authority.⁹² Such beliefs proved to be effective in overcoming opposition to James because those English and Scottish peers and émigrés in the Netherlands who planned to overthrow him during that first summer of his reign knew the coronation had a great psychological impact that could undermine their cause. The Earl of Argyll, a Scottish noble who worked alongside the Duke of Monmouth to plan dual uprisings in Scotland and England, recognised the coronation's power for securing James and urged Monmouth and their supporters to launch their twin rebellions either before or as soon after the event as possible. Ultimately this advice was not heeded and Argyll's ships did not leave the Netherlands, where the plotters were based, for his landing place in Scotland until May.⁹³ Those initial concerns over James' security were vindicated in the summer of 1685,

⁹² Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 318, 328-330, 336.

⁹³ J.N.P. Watson, *Captain-General and Rebel Chief: The Life of James, Duke of Monmouth* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1979), p. 196.

months after Charles's death and James's subsequent coronation, when first the Argyll and then the Monmouth rebellion against him finally took place. However, both took place after the coronation, neither went as planned and they were quickly suppressed.⁹⁴

While it had taken months to appear, the support which Monmouth and his allies had gathered (though limited) demonstrated that anti-James sentiments still existed in the country and had to be overcome. In order to do this the legitimacy of James II had to be asserted. The accession therefore needed to be prioritised and attention focused on the new king to the detriment of mourning the old one. Charles II's 'private' funeral was as rooted in these concerns as much as the long-term culture shifts in elite funerals. Using a precedent for 'private' that had been established over the long term gave the desired for speed and a reduced public focus which the immediate events required.

⁹⁴ For details of the Monmouth Rebellion see: TNA PC 2/71, p. 102-4; David Stevenson, 'Campbell, Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll (1629–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4473>, accessed 3 July 2014; Tim Harris, 'Scott [Crofts], James, duke of Monmouth and first duke of Buccleuch (1649–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24879>, accessed 5 July 2014; Watson, *Captain-General and Rebel Chief*; Peter Earle, *Monmouth's Rebels: The Road to Sedgemoor, 1685* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); Miller, *James II*, pp. 140-41; Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 40; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration to the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 223, 226; Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 252.

The 'private' funeral of Charles II

Surviving official records along with those from participants and contemporaries mean that the funeral of Charles II can be reconstructed in far more depth than the royal funerals of the 1660s and early 1670s. Some parts remain vague and lack the specifics necessary to dissect its content in significant depth. However, the available records do give us a certain level of detail that can be useful in identifying what this first monarchical 'private' funeral looked like and how considerations for the monarch's position and title meant that elements of the older 'public' funeral survived this transition.

For a few days before the funeral Charles's body was kept at the Prince's Lodging in Westminster near the House of Lords. It was attended day and night by eight gentlemen servants, two grooms of the chamber and some yeomen of the guard.⁹⁵ The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod was ordered by the Lord Chamberlain to 'attend there...to keep good order in wayting.' The Lord Chamberlain also ordered that 'noe Crowds, or indecent Company of people bee admitted to see the Body, But persons of Quality, and good fashion may be admitted.'⁹⁶ Despite this order there was no indication that this period was officially designated as a lying in state for Charles II.

The sparse records mean there is limited detail about what happened at this stage. Lights were to burn all day and night about the room, an arrangement which specifically cited Gloucester's 1660 funeral as

⁹⁵ TNA LC 2/11/1 At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 10 February 1684(5), By the Committee to the Lord Chamberlain.

⁹⁶ TNA LC 2/11/1, order signed by Arlington, 11 February 1685.

precedent.⁹⁷ The room was hung in black cloth while the floor was covered in black baize.⁹⁸ For some of the other specifics, such as a black velvet cushion for the crown to rest on or for a black canopy to be supplied, it is not clear if it was for the funeral itself or for use while the body was kept at Westminster.⁹⁹ Again this deviated from accepted practice about the colour used at monarchical funerals, but no reason for the change was given.

The funeral's proceedings were held at night. In the postscript to a letter the Earl of Ailesbury wrote to the Earl of Rutland on the 14th, Ailesbury mentioned that the former king was being interred 'this night...at Westminster' with 'All the Lords warned to be there.'¹⁰⁰ Accounts of the funeral procession and service were given in *The London Gazette* and also by Narcissus Luttrell. It seems likely that the former was the main source for the latter as the content and the tone are very similar and in some places identical. Using both gives us as good a sense as possible about what occurred, although neither are as detailed in giving precise participants as later planning records would be.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ TNA LC 2/11/1 At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 10 February 1684(5), By the Committee to the Lord Chamberlain.

⁹⁸ TNA LC 2/11/1, Arlington to the Lords of the Treasury Commission, c. 10/11th February 1685.

⁹⁹ TNA LC 2/11/1, At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 11 February 1684(5), Committee of Council for the Funeral.

¹⁰⁰ 'The Earl of Ailesbury to the Earl of Rutland, February 14 1684/5' in HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, K.G., preserved at Belvoir Castle, vol. 2* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1889), p. 85.

¹⁰¹ For examples of this see detailed processions available for Mary II (1695) in: *The form of the proceeding to the funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary II. Of blessed Memory, from the royal palace of Whitehall to the Collegiate church at Westminster; the 5th day of this instant March, 1694/5* (London: Edward Jones, 1695); or given for George, Prince of Denmark (1708) in: TNA PC 2/82 Part 1, Privy Council Registers, Anne, vol. 4 March 5 1707-May 2 1710, pp. 193-196, 200-201.

The ceremony began with a very short procession from the Prince's Lodgings to Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Luttrell wrote that the procession opened with a variety of servants: the nobility's, those belonging to 'their royal highnesses' (which referred to the Prince and Princess of Denmark), those of Queen dowager Catharine, the new King and Queen's and finally Charles' former servants. The specifics of who were included, either by name or position, were not given although, the established practice tells us that these groups usually marched in ascending order of seniority and excluded those who qualified, or were appointed, to march elsewhere in the procession; for example, as one of those who carried the canopy or as a member of the peerage.¹⁰² Following this came the barons, bishops of the Church of England and then 'others of the Nobility according to their respective degrees.'¹⁰³ Despite the observation of the Earl of Ailesbury that all the lords were to attend, the sources do not indicate who was and was not actually there.¹⁰⁴ Sir Christopher Wren was ordered to have the path between the House of Lords and the Abbey gravelled so 'that the Lords may walk dry, and the Funerall pass with the greater dignity.'¹⁰⁵

More details can be found for the procession around the body. A canopy made of black velvet lined with black taffeta, six breadths and five

¹⁰² For the usual structure and composition of funeral processions please see chapter 1.

¹⁰³ *London Gazette*, February 12-February 16 1684(5), p. 4; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, p. 330.

¹⁰⁴ 'The Earl of Ailesbury to the Earl of Rutland, February 14 1684/5' in HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁵ TNA 2/11/1 Arlington to Sir Christopher Wren, Surveyor, 12 February 1684(5).

yards long was carried over the body.¹⁰⁶ The Lord Chamberlain ordered that twenty Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber were 'to carry the Canopy att the funerall of his late Majesty...by two att each staffe' although the records only listed fifteen names.¹⁰⁷ The pall placed over the body was supported by six Earls. The Chief Mourner was James II's son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, who was the highest ranked male at court under James himself. The Prince's train was borne by Edward Hyde, viscount Cornbury. The supporters to the Prince (who marched on either side of him) were the Dukes of Somerset and Beaufort and the sixteen Earls who followed them acted as the assistant mourners. The Band of Gentlemen Pensioners closed the procession.¹⁰⁸

The body was met at the door to the Abbey by 'the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, attended with the Quire, and proceeded to Henry the Seventh's Chappel, where it was Interred in a Vault under the East-end of the South Isle.'¹⁰⁹ Charles's funeral would have been conducted according to the rites of the Anglican church. As a result it complied with the prayer book Charles had re-introduced in the first years after the Restoration when Anglicanism was reinstated as the state religion.¹¹⁰ Once the religious service finished, one of the King of Arms (probably Garter) proclaimed the royal styles of Charles and then James in turn. Amongst the procession had

¹⁰⁶ TNA LC 2/11/1, At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 11 February 1684(5), Committee of Council for the Funeral.

¹⁰⁷ TNA 2/11/1 To the Gentlemen Ushers of the his late Majesty's Privy Chamber or one of time, 13 February 1684(5).

¹⁰⁸ *London Gazette*, February 12-February 16 1684(5), p. 4; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 1, p. 330.

¹⁰⁹ *London Gazette*, February 12-February 16 1684(5), p. 4.

¹¹⁰ See chapter 1 for further details on the Anglican service of burial.

been Charles's white staff officers (or as John Evelyn described them: the 'Great Officers') who at the end of the service as the styles were read 'broke their white-Staves [of office] on the Grave.'¹¹¹

These descriptions and details suggest a funeral generally similar in style and composition to the 'private' ones given to the others in the royal family: smaller in scale, a nocturnal burial, a shorter procession of mostly servants and a distinct lack of pomp and ceremony. However, when the Privy Councillors had ordered that Charles's funeral be 'private' they had also included the caveat that it was to be done with 'respect being had to his Dignity' as the king.¹¹² This would suggest that a wholesale abandonment of the older traditions was not intended.

Elements of these older traditions are found in the smaller details of the planning records. When the Duke of Cambridge was buried a ducal coronet had been made available but was not used. In contrast, for Charles's funeral a crown (as the ultimate symbol of majesty) was both ordered and used. It was made of gilt tin with a crimson cap turned up with ermine which was then placed upon a purple velvet cushion fringed with gold.¹¹³ This crown was then carried in the funeral procession by one of the King of Arms (a senior herald) who would have also worn a uniform featuring the royal coat of arms.¹¹⁴ The heralds were the original organisers of the 'public' funerals

¹¹¹ DeBeers (ed) *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 1, *Kalendarium*, 1673-1689, p. 415.

¹¹² CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 75-6.

¹¹³ TNA LC 2/11/1, At the Council Chamber, Whitehall, 11 February 1684(5), Committee of Council for the Funeral.

¹¹⁴ *London Gazette*, February 12-February 16 1684(5), p. 4; Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 1, p. 333.

given to royalty and nobles and their attendance had been required at them but their presence in the other 'private' royal funerals was mixed: absent at Gloucester's and Cambridge's but then present at the Duchess of York's. For Charles's they not only attended it but they were also described as 'directing the ceremony' as they would have done at a 'public' funeral.¹¹⁵ Heraldry was also present in the form of eight escutcheons of the royal arms of England and Portugal (representing Charles's wife) which the Lord Chamberlain had made for the event.¹¹⁶

These details show that even in the 'private' funeral there was not a complete repudiation of the older tradition. As Woodward has argued, traditional expectations of the observers and participants about the use of ritual, 'restrains the wishes of the organisers to mould form to suit the political needs of the moment.'¹¹⁷ The funeral ceremony for Charles II retained a high degree of grandeur but its political significance had altered from the 'public' funeral staged for King James I. The nocturnal procession was elaborate, although on a smaller scale, but importantly it was conducted largely outside of the view of the populace, and so the reception by the public of its political significance in terms of its theatrical display of power and authority was altered.

The political concerns ultimately did not allow for a 'public' funeral for Charles II to take place but it could have in a different circumstance. If these were included to respect Charles's position then there was an acceptance of

¹¹⁵ *London Gazette*, February 12-February 16 1684(5), p. 4.

¹¹⁶ CA, I Series, vol. 4, 'Funeral of Kings Princes &c.', 'The Ceremony and Funeral of his late Matie of Blessed Memory King Charles the second with the same manner of Embalming the Body and Disposing the same till the Funeral,' fo. 75-6.

¹¹⁷ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 13.

showing this in ritual. Had James II's succession been less controversial a 'public' funeral for his brother, which had been considered early on in the planing stages, may have materialised.

The funeral of James I sixty years earlier had been part of a long tradition of these kind of ceremonies. By 1685 the conditions were set to introduce a new one: the shifts and changes in fashion amongst the nobility as well as the move away from heraldic funerals for other members of the royal family all provided precedents for change. However, such wider long-term shifts did not necessarily mean that adoption of the private funeral for monarchs was either imminent or automatic. The funeral of James I had occurred as the nobility began to abandon the heraldic tradition. In order to understand why decisions were made to alter the plans for the funeral of Charles II, the political context needs to be taken into account. Securing James's position and asserting his legitimacy as king amidst concerns about potential rebellion provided that short-term reason why Charles II was buried quickly and quietly. The 'private' royal funeral provided a useful and politically expedient precedent in these circumstances. That the rites of passage organised for Charles II became a source of precedent for the conduct of all royal funerals after 1702 when William III was buried is clear. But cultural histories tend to present an overly simplistic view of change and overlook how malleable ritual could be and how choices were conditioned by political contingency. Queen Mary II, who died nearly a decade later, was given the largest and most expensive funeral ever for a British monarch. Again a mix of cultural trends

and short-term political concerns explains these choices. What these were, why this happened and how it worked are the topic of the next chapter.

III

**'A very melancholy pompous sight':
The Meaning of Mary II's Funeral, March 1695**

On 27th February 1695, John Evelyn visited John Sheffield, marquess of Normanby, who told him about an abandoned plan by the late King Charles II to purchase Kings Street, which led into Westminster, in order to 'build it nobly,' probably as a processional route. Evelyn visited London in the midst of preparations for the funeral of Mary II, who died at the end of December 1694. Evelyn noted the cost of this unrealised plan was one 'which the expense of [Queen Mary II's] funeral would have don[e]; the pomp of which cost above 50000 pounds: very unseasonably & against her desire.'¹ His estimate of the cost was close to reality. In May 1695, the Auditor of the Receipts issued over £29,000 to the Master of the Great Wardrobe to pay the remaining balance from over £41,000 of funeral charges.² One observer noted that 'the coronation was not thought so fine as the funeral' with it being 'a very melancholy pompous sight.'³ Mary's lavish funeral took place on the 5th March 1695. Its massive scale and ornate heraldic in the older 'public' style contrasted sharply with the 'private' rituals of interment put on for

¹ E.S. DeBeer (ed), *The Diary of John Evelyn: Now first printed in full from the manuscripts belonging to Mr John Evelyn and edited by E.D. DeBeer*, vol. 5, *Kalendarium, 1690-1706* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 204.

² *Calendar of Treasury Books, vol. 10, January 1693 to March 1696, Part 3* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1935), p. 1081.

³ 'A Pye to Abigail Harley, 13 March 1694/5,' in: HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace, The Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey, vol. 3, Harley Papers, vol. 1* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1894), p. 562.

Charles II a decade earlier. How and why the funeral of Mary II differed from the ceremonies provided for her predecessor and the monarchs who followed her is the focus of this chapter.

Several historians have examined the ways in which the image of Mary was shaped and defined during her life and after her death to ease the political tensions that surrounded the establishment of the dual monarchy after the Glorious Revolution. Lois Schwoerer and Rachel Weil have shown how, while alive, Mary's femininity, domesticity, and disinterest in politics was emphasised to help resolve her ambiguous constitutional position as queen regnant without 'regal power.'⁴ Together with Alex Garganigo and Melinda Zook, they have also examined the flood of commemorative texts written after Mary's death that were designed to assist with the difficult task of persuading her subjects to transfer their affections to William.⁵ The common theme in all of this scholarship is Mary's importance as a symbol of political stability during her life and after her death for the Williamite regime in Britain.

Most studies assume a linear development towards the 'private' royal funeral and so within the historiographical narratives of the royal funeral, Mary II's stands out as an anomaly. Paul Fritz and Claire Gittings in particular have adopted this approach.⁶ Michael Schaich approached Mary's funeral slightly

⁴ Lois Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II,' *Renaissance Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (Winter, 1989), pp. 717-748; Rachel Weil, *Political passions: Gender, the family and political argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 105-120.

⁵ Alex Garganigo, 'William without Mary: Mourning sensibly in the Public Sphere,' *The Seventeenth Century* 23, no. 1 (Spring, 2008), pp. 105-141; Melinda S. Zook, 'The Shocking Death of Mary II: Gender and Political Crisis in Late Stuart England,' *British Scholar* 1, no. 1 (September 2008), pp. 21-36.

⁶ Paul S. Fritz, 'From 'Public' to 'Private': The Royal Funerals in England, 1500-1830' in Joachim Whaley (ed), *Mirrors on Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death* (London: Europa Publishing, 1981), pp. 65, 79; Claire Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 222, 228, 232.

differently because he acknowledged it as the 'apogee of the lavish funeral' and 'also the postscript of an era' which ushered in the ritual's decline with the eighteenth century.⁷ But what has been regarded as an unusual and anomalous decision to hold a 'public' or heraldic funeral is understood and explained in the wider context of Mary's role in the Williamite regime. Historians often see the elaborate ceremony put on for Mary II as a deliberate return to past precedents to strengthen support for Mary's unpopular Dutch husband and successor to the throne.⁸ To date, however, these assumptions have not been tested through detailed research in the primary material to explore *how* and to what extent political meanings were communicated through symbolism at the funeral of Mary II. We still know very little about when, why and how the style to be adopted for the staging of Mary's funeral was determined or indeed details about the planning and staging of the event. The following analysis is the first systematic study of the funeral of Mary II based on archival sources. Its aim is to reconstruct the form and material structure of the ceremony within the political context in which decisions were made.

⁷ Micheal Schaich, 'The Funerals of the British Monarchy,' in Michael Schiach (ed), *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 426-8.

⁸ Fritz, 'From 'Public' to 'Private'', p. 79; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 77-9; Amy Oberlin, "Share with me in my Grief and affliction': Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early Eighteenth-Century England,' *Pareregon* 31, no. 2 (2014), p. 101; Schaich, 'The Funerals of the British Monarchy,' p. 423.

Mary II and William III in 1694-5

To understand the meaning and significance of the ritual arrangements for the funeral ceremony of Mary II, the circumstances surrounding her accession, the nature of her monarchical authority, and the political context at the time of her death, need first to be established. William and Mary had reigned as dual monarchs since the Revolution of 1688-9 when they had been formally offered the throne by Protestant, Whig Parliamentarians and ousted Mary's Catholic father, James II, who had escaped into exile in France in December 1688. But William was not secure on the throne as king regnant when Mary died. The circumstances of his succession in 1689, together with his difficult personality and foreign nationality, made the Dutchman deeply unpopular with his English subjects throughout his reign.⁹

The legitimacy of William's succession rested on his relationship with Mary, who was the legitimate heir to the Stuart throne when the Catholic son of James II was ignored (which he was). It was agreed that Mary and William would occupy the throne together. However, while in the sixteenth century, Mary I had ruled as queen regnant, with power identical to that of a king, by the seventeenth century, the nature of monarchy had shifted.¹⁰ Where once

⁹ For the unpopularity of William III see: Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013) pp. 502-5; R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 26-34; Tony Claydon, 'William III and II (1650-1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29450>, accessed 13 July 2015.

¹⁰ Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II,' pp. 717-726.

the law had proclaimed that 'the kingly or regal office of the realm...being invested in either male or female, are and be and ought to be taken in the one as in the other,'¹¹ the settlement of 1689 not only split Mary's inheritance between husband and wife but also added that, 'the sole and full exercise of regal power be only in and executed by the said prince of Orange in the names of the said prince and princess.'¹² A year later Parliament confirmed that 'the royal state, crown and dignity...the honours, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions and authorities' were 'most fully rightfully and entirely invested and incorporated' in both of the new monarchs,¹³ but at the same time it passed a Regency Act ensuring William's authority would not be undermined while he was outside the country and Mary was left alone. During this time Mary would only deal with routine business and anything more important was either referred to William abroad or left until he returned.¹⁴

Mary occupied the complicated position of a queen with full royal authority but without regal power. In this sense Mary II was a queen consort wrapped in the rhetoric of a queen regnant; never fully one or the other. John Chamberlayne's *Magna Britannia Notitia: or the Present State of Great Britain* gives a sense of the role and nature of consorts in the period. Chamberlayne described a consort as 'the second person in the Kingdom' who 'follows her

¹¹ 'An Act Concerning Regal Power (1554)' in Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460-1571* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973), p. 174.

¹² 'Bill of Rights, 1689,' in Andrew Browning (ed), *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII, 1660-1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), pp. 124.

¹³ 'Act of Recognition, 1690' in Browning (ed), *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII*, pp. 128-9.

¹⁴ Richard Price, 'An Incomparable Lady: Queen Mary II's Share in the Government of England, 1689-1694,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 75, no. 3 (Autumn 2012), p. 309; Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II,' p. 738.

husband's condition' to share in the 'High Prerogatives, Dignity and State' of the monarchy.¹⁵ Mary did not formally conform to this condition because she was declared to be William's equal, but in practice her highly restricted role was closer to consort than to queen regnant. Some did officially recognise Mary as a consort. After her death the loyalty address sent from the colony of New York to William described Mary as 'our most Excellent Queen' but immediately clarified this by calling her 'Your Royall Consort.'¹⁶

Mary's main role in this system was to be the face of the post-Glorious Revolution regime. The chronicler Abel Boyer described Mary's job as being 'to maintain and gain friends'¹⁷ and historians have long accepted this to be a part of her history.¹⁸ As Elaine Anderson Philips points out, 'her contemporaries and even Mary herself did not see herself as a cipher, but rather an important figure in the propaganda for the Revolution of 1688-89.'¹⁹ Philips argues that this propaganda campaign was designed to 'allay fears about the Revolution of 1688' and even provide support for the idea of contracts in monarchy, through Mary's deference to her marriage contract to William so the contractual nature of monarchy between sovereign and subject

¹⁵ John Chamberlayne, *Magna Britannia Notitia: Or, the Present State of Great Britain, with diver Remarks upon the Antient State thereof* (London, 1710), pp. 61-2.

¹⁶ TNA CO 5/1039 Board of Trade, New York vol. 6 1695-6, fo. 65.

¹⁷ Abel Boyer as quoted in: Price, 'An Incomparable Lady,' p. 308.

¹⁸ Many historians have reached this conclusion: Nellie M. Waterson, *Mary II: Queen of England, 1689-1694* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1928), p. 198; Lord Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second, vol. 3* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1861), p. 54; David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 321, 396; Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II,' p. 743; Weil, *Political passions*, p. 166; W.A. Speck, 'Mary II (1662-1694)' in H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, in Association with the British Academy. From the Earliest Times to the year 2000*, vol. 31, Martindale-Meynell, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 133, 135.

¹⁹ Elaine Anderson Philips, 'Creating Queen Mary: Textual Representations of Queen Mary II,' *Restoration* 37, no. 1 (Spring 2013), p. 61.

after the Revolution could be legitimated.²⁰ Despite William's central role in the events of 1688 he not accepted unconditionally by his British subjects. His security was always threatened by Jacobite political support for the exiled King James II in Catholic Europe as well as at home.

At the time of Mary's death the Jacobite threat became even more worrying to William and his supporters. The court of the exiled King James II in France was quick to respond to the news of Mary's death. Although reports were still unsubstantiated on 13th January, James's senior secretary of state, Lord Middleton, wrote to an English contact that '[the King] did not think fit to wait for confirmation of it [to write], because his friends might reasonably be impatient to hear from him on such an extraordinary occasion.' A caveat was added that in case the news was false, he should 'take no notice of this to anybody.'²¹ John Caryll, James II's other secretary of state, summarised the political opposition that the Queen's death had opened up for the Jacobite cause in a letter to Bishop Ellis, formerly a Catholic bishop of Wales then living in Rome. 'Though the death of the Princess of Orange does not produce any sensible alteration,' he wrote, 'yet that, joined with the discontents of the nation in general, which daily increase, together with their poverty, caused by their heavy and continual taxes' which he argued 'must necessarily end in some violent commotion,' he concluded. The British

²⁰ Philips, 'Creating Queen Mary', p. 72.

²¹ Lord Middleton's letter quoted in: James MacPherson (ed), *Original Papers; containing the secret history of Great Britain, from the Restoration, to the accession of the House of Hannover. To which are prefixed extracts from the life of James II as written by himself*, vol. 1 (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776), p. 505.

people, he argued, felt 'betrayed by their own representatives,' who they believed 'are bought by the Prince of Orange to sell them.'²²

Caryll also wrote a longer piece on the false claims of William to the throne. Referring to William as 'The prince of Orange,' he argued that his possession of the throne was 'not only unjust, in reference to the King and to the prince of Wales, but also the princess [Anne] of Denmark.' He set out the legality of the hereditary right and the illegality of the Bill of Rights that formed the settlement of the succession of the dual monarchy of William and Mary in 1689 and concluded that those who had supported William's accession only did so 'upon a supposition that the prince of Orange could not out live his wife' due to his ill-health and her 'vigorous and healthy constitution'. He also recognised the positive political role Mary had played in bolstering William's popularity, arguing that without Mary to calm the Church and overcome William's 'haunty and morose humour,' the people would inevitably reject William, turn to Princess Anne, and eventually back to James.²³

Analysis of the documents reveals that there was rising anxiety amongst the men in authority due to rumours of Jacobite preparations for the restoration of James II to the throne. Reports of Jacobite activity were sent to London fairly frequently. For example, one deposition collected in early January sent in from a town in Nottinghamshire told of how a woman 'had seen a gentleman at Elsey who she was told was the Duke of Berwick [James

²² 'J. Caryll to Bishop Ellis, March 21 1695' in: HMC, *Calendar of the Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, preserved at Windsor Castle, vol. 1* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1902), pp. 99-100.

²³ 'A memorial concerning the State of England. 19 January 1695. An Examination of the P. Of O---'s right to the Crown at Queen Mary's death,' in MacPherson (ed), *Original Papers, vol. 1*, pp. 508-11.

II's illegitimate son], and that he was enlisting men who were ready at an hour's warning.'²⁴ The vicar who sent this to their MP in London included a report of other suspicious activity in the local area he suspected was Jacobite activity against the King.²⁵ The Duke of Shrewsbury, one of William's secretaries of state, was also informed by an unknown lady that her husband (whom she described as 'a young Lord') was involved in a Jacobite plot to invite the old king back and with his blessing to take steps to secure William in the Tower of London with 'all those that came out of Holland with him.'²⁶

Authorities in England were further disturbed by the news that James II refused to put his court at St. Germain into mourning for his daughter. Lord Middleton, announced that 'the king...does not consider her his daughter, because she renounced it in such an open manner' and so will not mark her death.²⁷ Jacobites in England behaved provocatively and openly flaunted the customary mourning etiquette. One observer in London wrote that 'all are in deep mourning except rank Jacobites.'²⁸ Reports from Bristol told that Jacobites there publicly rejoiced at news of Mary's death by ringing bells, and when this news reached the court in London prosecutions were ordered.

²⁴ The Duke of Berwick' and 'Thomas Calton [Vicar of Worksop] to Ricahrd Taylor' in HMC, *Portland*, vol. II (London: HM Stationery Office, 1893), p. 170.

²⁵ 'The Same to the Same, a Member of Parliament, London' in HMC, *Portland*, vol. II, pp. 170-172.

²⁶ 'Lady ? To Shrewsbury, January 5 1695' and 'Lady ? To Shrewsbury, January 7, 1695' in: HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensbury, K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*, vol. 2, part 1 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1903), pp. 169-70.

²⁷ Lord Middleton quoted in: Richard Holmes, *Marlborough: England's Fragile Genius* (London: Harper Press, 2008), pp. 186.

²⁸ 'Michael Fleming to Sir [Daniel Fleming], March 2 1694/5,' in: HMC, *The Manuscripts of S.H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1890), p. 335.

However, not all who were reported and rumoured to have publicly flaunted customary mourning costume escaped punishment. Narcissus Luttrell recorded with some pleasure that a Mr Young who, at a coffee house the day the Queen died, 'rejoyced much...and used some malicious expressions; on a sudden a paleness came in his face; he satt down, and in a few minutes dyed.'²⁹

It was not only Jacobites who questioned William's legitimacy when Queen Mary died. It was customary for a Parliament that was in session to be dissolved on the death of the monarch who had summoned it, since their writ was no longer valid. It was rumoured that some men within Parliament had argued that since it had been called in the names of both William and Mary, regardless of William's sole exercise of monarchical power, the writ was still subject to the same tradition as that configuration of monarchy was now no more. However, as James Vernon recounted to the English Ambassador in Vienna, despite rumours that the issue would be forced to action 'none appeared to own it' amongst the assembled MPs and peers who continued to sit in Parliamentary session.³⁰ It may well have been the case that these political threats were exaggerated and fomented by Jacobites. James II made it clear through his ministers that this action needed to occur. Middleton wrote to his English contact that James had stated that 'The chief

²⁹ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), pp. 423, 421.

³⁰ 'Mr Vernon to Lord Lexington, Whitehall, Dec. 28, 1694' in H. Manners Sutton (ed), *The Lexington Papers; or, Some Account of the Court of London and Vienna; At the Conclusion of the Seventeenth Century. Extracted from the Official and Private Correspondence of Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, British Minister at Vienna, 1694-1698* (London: John Murray, 1851), p. 35.

thing to be aimed at is the dissolution of this parliament.'³¹ He also told the senior French minister, the marquis de Croissy, that the dissolution idea was supported by 'the most intelligent persons' and, while the members of parliament were unlikely to agree to suit their own interests, 'King [James]... has already sent his orders to print all the reasons which can prove the nullity of this assembly, in order to discredit it in the opinions of the people.'³²

These political tensions were exacerbated by William's excessive grief after Mary's death. He became even more aloof and distant at a time when he should have been more visible to reassure his supporters and confront his political opponents. His emotional reaction was regarded by many commentators as dangerous and criticised publicly and in print.³³ John Evelyn recorded that the King 'seemed mightily afflicted' by the Queen's death.³⁴ Gilbert Burnet recalled that his reaction to her death was:

greater than those who knew him best thought his temper capable of...When she died his spirits sunk so low, that there was great reason to apprehend that he was following her; for some weeks after he was so little master of himself, that he was not capable of minding business, or of seeing company.³⁵

³¹ Earl of Middleton in: McPherson (ed) *Original Papers*, vol. 1, p. 505.

³² Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croissy, in: McPherson (ed) *Original Papers*, vol. 1, p. 506.

³³ Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction,' pp. 117-8.

³⁴ DeBeers(ed), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 5, p. 200.

³⁵ Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p. 607.

As a result William was not present at the Privy Council, especially in the days after the Queen's death, when they met to discuss the funeral plans.³⁶ When William was required to attend the presentation of addresses from the Houses of Parliament an observer commented that 'his answer...which was as short as it is, he had no small difficulty to deliver, his grief interrupting.'³⁷ As a result all he managed was a thank you and a comment to the effect that 'I am able to think of nothing but Our great loss.'³⁸ At a time when the King needed to be seen he was unable to function due to his emotional state.³⁹ It is possible that his inability to intervene politically may have been a factor in the decision to put on a large public funeral for Mary II. It is highly likely, as several scholars have commented, that an elaborate and ritualised display of continuity of the dual monarchy was an attempt to reinforce William's legitimacy at a time of insecurity and potential political threat.⁴⁰

What is interesting, therefore, is that detailed examination of the documents reveals that choices about the style of funeral to be organised for the Queen were far from clear-cut at the start. As with the planning of the funeral of Charles II, research in the records reveals the reality of the contradictory and contingent character of the decision-making process that

³⁶ TNA PC 2/76 Privy Council Registers: William III, vol. 4, December 2 1694-April 23 1697, pp. 26-7.

³⁷ 'Mr Vernon to Lord Lexington, Whitehall, Jan. 1, 1694' in H. Manners Sutton (ed), *The Lexington Papers; Or, Some Account of the Courts of London and Vienna; At the Conclusion of the Seventeenth Century. Extracted from the Official and Private Correspondence of Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, British Minister at Vienna, 1694-1698* (London: John Murray, 1851), pp. 36-7.

³⁸ *The London Gazette*, 27 December to 31 December 1694, p. 1.

³⁹ See chapter 5 for further discussion of emotion and grief affecting the work of monarchs at this time.

⁴⁰ For example: Fritz, 'From 'public' to 'private'', p. 79; Claydon, William III and the Godly Revolution, p. 77-9.

modifies more generalised interpretations of continuity and change. Although little detail survives about the decision-making process in the days after the Queen's death, some hint at the indecision is provided by Luttrell, who remarked that at first it was considered that 'the ceremony [of Mary's funeral] will be much after that of king Charles the 2d' and recorded on the 29th December that the Council agreed on a private ceremony during its meeting 'last night' (meaning the 28th December).⁴¹ The exact timing of the change is not given or listed in any Privy Council records but Luttrell noted by 1st January 1695 that 'there will be a publick funeral.'⁴² The form of the ceremony was to be based largely on precedents set by the heraldic and public funerals for Elizabeth I (1603) and James I (1625), which had involved long processions in public spaces. Such events allowed for large numbers of people to watch the spectacle and to participate publicly in the mourning of the passing of the monarch, and to observe the symbolic and ritual display of monarchical authority, stability and continuity of the dynasty within the political and social community.

The Lying-in-State and Procession

The opulent funerary rituals were preceded by the lying-in-state at Whitehall which lasted for ten days from 21st February until 4th March 1695 and attracted crowds of thousands. Such was the frenzy to view the royal

⁴¹ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, p. 418.

⁴² Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, p. 420.

body that a few individuals were reported injured or killed.⁴³ All, 'without distinction' as Narcissus Luttrell noted, could visit the scene between noon and 5pm each day.⁴⁴ Printed descriptions were provided for those who could not visit to 'satisfy their curiosity' which provide an interesting insight into the appearance and presentation of the royal body and the space:

After we ascended Whitehall, we pass several rooms hung with mourning, lighted with lights in silver sconces. In the antechamber, before we come to the Queen's corpse, sit her six Maids of Honour by a throne, in a mournful dejected posture. In the next room is the Queen's corpse upon an elevated place or table. The coffin is very large, covered with rich tissue of gold and silver. At the foot of the table are placed helmets and other ensigns of honour; at her head an embroidered cushion, on which is placed the crown and sceptre. At the four corners of the coffin stand four great ladies of the bedchamber, veiled to the ground. The spectators have only a view in passing, being hasted on by the yeomen of the guard, and descend at the other side of Whitehall.⁴⁵

The Queen's crown, sceptre and orb were all on display and they had to be delivered each day by the Master of the Jewel House from the Tower of London.⁴⁶ The ladies who attended the room had twelve yards of black cloth and twenty-six yards of crêpe issued to them by the Great Wardrobe for the purpose of creating their mourning garments for the event.⁴⁷

⁴³ Schiach, 'The Funerals of the British Monarchy,' p. 424.

⁴⁴ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, p. 442.

⁴⁵ William John Hardy (ed) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III July 1-December 31 1695, and Addenda, 1689-1694. Preserved in the Public Record Office* (Neldelm, Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 314.

⁴⁶ TNA PC 2/76 Privy Council Registers: William III, vol. 4, December 2 1694-April 23 1697, p. 67.

⁴⁷ TNA LC 2/11/2 Expense at the Funeral (& Mourning) of her Majesty Queen Mary 1694, warrant 28.

Different records reveal details of the heraldic display in the chamber. As discussed earlier, heraldic symbols were not used in 'private' funerals, which mark one of the main technical distinctions between 'public' and 'private' rites. 'Heraldic' funerals were those in which the royal insignia were displayed. To use them in a ceremony, the Court had to apply to the College of Arms and pay relevant fees. These traditional heraldic symbols provided an important display of legitimacy, continuity and prestige that made them useful for the purposes and context of 1695. Luttrell observed that there were 'banners and escutcheons hanging around' the room in which the Queen lay.⁴⁸ Celia Fiennes recorded after her visit that she saw 'the armes of England curiously painted and gilt' in the middle of the canopy, 'the head piece embroidered richly with a crown and cyphers of [the Queen's] name'.⁴⁹ Heralds from the College of Arms were requested by the Privy Council to attend the event to ensure that the 'Decency and Order as becometh this Solemne Occasion' were complied with.⁵⁰ The Lord Chamberlain's accounts documented that the elements ordered for the event were often decorated with heraldic symbols called escutcheons which were a smaller shield. Some examples of these include 'a large pall of velvet of 9 breadths and 8 yards long...which pall is to be garnished with Escocheons of Sattin' and a rail to be put around the bed 'of five foot distance covered with black velvet and garnished with Escocheons within and without'. The Lord Chamberlain had

⁴⁸ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 3, p. 442.

⁴⁹ Celia Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, edited and with an introduction by Christopher Morris, with a foreword by G.M. Trevelyan (London: The Cresset Press, 1947), p. 294.

⁵⁰ TNA PC 2/76, p. 71.

also ordered that larger heraldic symbols be on display within the rail around the bed where there:

is to be placed at the feet the Great Banner and the Great Banner of the Union painted on Sattin and on the sides four lesser Banners of the 4 Kingdoms [England, Scotland, Ireland, France] and 12 bannerolls of their Majesties descent with 12 black stands.⁵¹

Heraldic symbolism was also prominent in the enormous procession to the funeral service which took place on 5th March that was also attended by thousands of mourners. A sizeable public attendance was encouraged by the timing of the ritual. The procession took place in daylight to encourage public reception of the event, unlike the nocturnal processions of the private interments that were staged for Charles II and those who followed Mary II. The procession began at midday, to ensure it could be seen and also to allow a long time for the public to watch it. The size of the procession may also have needed more time to simply be completed. This was not unusual; for example, Prince Henry's funeral procession in 1612 had taken four hours to complete its journey.⁵² The documents also offer insights into those who participated and some sense of the magnificence of the spectacle.

Mary's procession, as with those put on for those who followed her, included servants and public officials, along with official mourners and displays of royalty. We can get a good idea of who attended and where they

⁵¹ TNA LC 2/11/2 Expense at the Funeral (& Mourning) of her Majesty Queen Mary, 1694, 'As to the Lying in State'.

⁵² *The form of the proceeding to the funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary II. Of blessed Memory, from the royal palace of Whitehall to the Collegiate church at Westminster; the 5th day of this instant March, 1694/5* (London: Edward Jones, 1695); Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 149.

marched from a printed plan of the procession which survives, although exact numbers cannot be established with certainty because types of persons rather than individuals were often listed. We know that 300 women marched at the head of the procession, but beyond that, most were listed in terms of plural holders of a position. Interestingly, despite Mary's sex, the procession was not dominated by female participants. Regulations required that at heraldic funerals for women, the chief and assistant mourners should be female because these roles were supposed to match the sex of the deceased. A noted exception to this rule during the seventeenth century was the funeral of Anne of Denmark, wife of James I and the mother of the future Charles I, who acted as his mother's chief mourner at her heraldic funeral in 1619. The largest number of women at Mary's was at the very start of the procession where 300 poor women marched 'four and four' to open it.⁵³ Philippe Ariès identified that this practice had originally developed as a 'last act of charity' in the middle ages that reflected the deceased's wealth and generosity.⁵⁴ All of these women were recommended by the members of the Privy Council to the Lord Chamberlain 'with particular regard that they may be widows or relations of such whose Husbands and relations have suffered in his Majesty's Service by Sea or Land' and were issued with a cloth gown, petticoat and a pair of shoes along with a payment of twenty shillings.⁵⁵ This kind of display was common at large heraldic funerals and, as with the official mourners, the rules required that they match the deceased's sex, although

⁵³ *The form of the proceeding*, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁴ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage, 1982), p. 168.

⁵⁵ TNA LC 2/11/2, Expense at the Funeral (& Mourning) of her Majesty Queen Mary, 1694

the number used could vary; for example, at Elizabeth I's funeral in 1603 there were only 240 poor women.⁵⁶ After these women it was a succession of servants, officers, both Houses of Parliament and peers, who were all male.

As Jennifer Woodward has described, the heraldic funeral created a crescendo effect with the status of the procession's participants rising towards the body, reaching its peak around the coffin itself, and then trailing off with those after the body.⁵⁷ The same pattern was repeated in all the late-Stuart processions, regardless of their 'public' or 'private' nature, as later chapters will show. What was interesting at Mary's funeral was that, despite the body itself being surrounded by men (the baronets and knights who carried the twelve bannerolls, the six peers who supported the pall and the two senior Kings of Arms (Clarenceux and Garter) flanked by Gentlemen Ushers who came immediately before and after the chariot), the two people who were located closest to the body were two Bedchamber Women. Unlike the men, these women were seated inside the chariot itself and were sitting at the head and feet of the coffin.⁵⁸

The reason for including the women, according to the plans, was 'to take care of the body.' Considering the bannerolls, chariot and men surrounding the coffin, these two women were unlikely to be prominently on display. They were there for a practical purpose which was ultimately symbolic of their role in general. The Women of the Bedchamber were not from the upper classes. Unlike the Ladies of the Bedchamber and Maids of

⁵⁶ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 210.

⁵⁷ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 17.

⁵⁸ *The form of the proceeding*, p. 2.

Honour, they were the Queen's most intimate servants and performed the more menial tasks in the service of their monarch, referred to by Sarah Churchill as 'chambermaids'. As a result the women had been in attendance all the time to perform domestic duties when the Queen was alive; and while the role was not strictly defined, it appeared they were doing the same work at her funeral and after her death. The role of the Ladies of the Bedchamber was less demanding and this was reflected in their more privileged and public place, both in the household itself and in this procession, where a space was reserved for them immediately after the body had passed.⁵⁹

The Chief Mourner was Elizabeth, duchess of Somerset, the most senior lady at court after Princess Anne, who was absent because she was suspected to be pregnant again and therefore excused.⁶⁰ Somerset's train was supported by the Duchesses of Southampton and St. Alban's while eighteen peeress arranged in descending order of rank from front to back acted as the assistant mourners. After this contingent the presence of women continued in line with the trailing of the crescendo with six Ladies of the Bedchamber, six Maids of Honour and six more Bedchamber Women. The concentration of female office-holders at the back of the funeral contrasted with the large number of men who had preceded the body, which meant that at this woman's funeral it was at the beginning and end of the procession

⁵⁹ *The form of the proceeding*, p. 2; Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion, A Biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012), pp. 239-40.

⁶⁰ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 150.

where the other women were located.⁶¹ In general this pattern mirrored the practice from Elizabeth I's funeral.⁶²

As well as offering a great opportunity to display power and authority, careful examination of the symbolism incorporated into the design of the processions reveals how its elements were choreographed to communicate specific political meanings that serviced the interests of the Williamite regime. The primary medium for putting these across was through heraldic display; much of it was taken from the earlier lying-in-state but was rearranged to enhance its impact. The enormous chariot that formed the centrepiece as well as the carriage for the royal body was preceded in the procession by the banners, coats of arms, and symbols of chivalry, which were all borne by peers who wore black mourning.⁶³ Between them were the officers of arms (heralds) who wore their armorial tabards to add to the effect. These banners displayed the territories over which William and Mary ruled in order of political importance. They began with those of Chester, Wales and Cornwall (carried by barons and a viscount), and then to Scotland and Ireland (carried by earls from the respective kingdoms); next came the banner of France and England quartered, the Great Banner and the banner of England which were all carried by earls.⁶⁴

Importantly, and for political purposes, the banners were followed by symbols historically associated with masculine qualities of kingship and chivalry: the target, crest, helmet and sword (or the 'ensigns of honour' as

⁶¹ *The form of the proceeding*, pp. 2-3.

⁶² Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, pp. 212.

⁶³ TNA LC 2/11/2, warrant no. 29.

⁶⁴ *The form of the proceeding*, p. 3.

they were called in the description of the lying-in-state).⁶⁵ On the ceremonial public occasions staged to mark the accession of William and Mary, these masculine symbols had been reserved solely for William, in order to ritually reinforce Mary's secondary role in the dual monarchy as a woman rather than a female king.⁶⁶ At Mary's funeral, their display was specifically ordered by the Earl Marshal for the event, allying her in death with Elizabeth I who, as queen regnant, had always associated herself with masculine imagery to bolster her political authority, as well as drawing creatively upon a repertoire of feminine qualities when necessary.⁶⁷ The images of masculine kingship were deliberately deployed to emphasise the legitimacy of Mary's rule and so in death she was transformed from her ambiguous position without royal authority to unambiguous queen regnant in order to sanction the succession of her husband.

Following on from these banners was 'The Coat of Arms' which was carried by Norroy King of Arms although precisely which coat he held is not revealed.⁶⁸ There were two possibilities for display here which was a result of the dual monarchy: the joint one of the king and queen or Mary's personal one. Mary's personal coat of arms was that of her paternal family (meaning the Stuart dynasty's) which incorporated the arms of the four kingdoms the Stuarts claimed to rule: England, Scotland, France and Ireland. This had

⁶⁵ *The form of the proceeding*, p. 3; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, William III July 1-Dec 31 1695, and Addenda, 1689-1695*, p. 314.

⁶⁶ Lois G. Schwoerer, 'The coronation of William and Mary, April 11, 1689,' in Lois G. Schwoerer (ed), *The Revolution of 1688-1689: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 117.

⁶⁷ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 212.

⁶⁸ *The form of the proceeding*, p. 3.

been originally designed for James I and was used by all the succeeding monarchs until James II when it was impaled with William III's arms to create a new shield for the joint reign of William and Mary. William's coat of arms also used the Stuart dynasty's but included an in-escutcheon in pretence (a heraldic term denoting when a smaller shield placed in the centre) of his father's arms of Nassau to recognise his other position as prince of Orange. After Mary's death the combined coat was retired and William's mixture of Stuart and Nassau was used alone.⁶⁹

The escutcheons used on the pall and on other elements such as the drums and trumpets⁷⁰ were not defined as being of either the coat of Mary alone nor of the two monarchs; but at the Privy Council some changes to the queen's arms were ordered on the advice of the Earl Marshal, which suggests that it was at least displayed separately somewhere at the event. The change which was ordered to be made was that 'the Garter...be put about the Queen's Arms' which referred to the symbol of the Order of the Garter.⁷¹ This was a blue buckled garter with a border of gold and the order's motto ('*HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE*') written about in gold lettering which encircled the main shield in the coat of arms. The fact it had to be specially ordered suggested that it was not originally present and, despite the queen being the ex officio co-sovereign of the order by virtue of being queen regnant, it appeared that this duty was covered by William's sole exercise of the regal powers. William, the other co-sovereign, had been made a Knight of the

⁶⁹ Charles Boutell, *Heraldry, Historical and Popular* (London: Richard Bentley, 1864), p. 298; Charles Boutell, *Boutell's Manual of Heraldry*, revised and illustrated by V. Wheeler-Holohan (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1931), pp. 164-5.

⁷⁰ TNA LC 2/11/2, warrant no. 25 (escutcheons on trumpets).

⁷¹ TNA PC 2/76, p. 42.

Order long before his accession and, as a result, his arms would already have had the garter on them. Like all women between the reigns of Henry VII and Edward VII, Mary was not admitted to the order despite her status (Queen Victoria once wrote that the Order's statutes do not allow for it to be given to ladies). Only sole queens regnant were considered members as the sovereign of the Order, and both Mary I and Elizabeth I were considered as members. Even in this case they did not necessarily use Garter imagery, however; it was Mary's sister Anne who was the first queen to publicly wear the Order's regalia regularly.⁷²

The display of the banners of Mary's various kingdoms and territories early in the procession and the inclusion of the Garter on any use of her coat of arms all helped emphasise that Mary was not simply William's consort but also queen in her own right. Asserting this publicly for the first time since the coronation in 1689 meant the Williamite regime was again using Mary's greater claim to legitimacy in general to demonstrate the legitimacy of the regime. Symbolic display of Mary's position and her legitimacy as queen regnant bolstered the settlement of the Revolution from which William also claimed his position and his own legitimacy to continue alone.

However, these heraldic displays needed to ensure that William's own right to the throne was asserted as well to show he was not just a foreign usurper but a legitimate heir to the Stuart inheritance. This was achieved

⁷² Boutell, *Heraldry, Historical and Popular*, pp. 16, 107; Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood of the British Empire; of the Order of the Guelphs of Hanover; and of the Medals, Clasps, and Crosses, conferred for Naval and Military Services*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for John Hunter by William Pickering, 1842), pp. 267, 271; Peter J. Begent and Hubert Cheshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter: 650 Years* (London: Spink, 1999), p. 101; George Frederick Beltz, *Memorials of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, from its foundation to the Present Time. Including the history of the Order; Biographical Notices of the Knights in the reigns of Edward III and Richard III; and the chronological succession of members...* (London: William Pickering, 1841), p. cxviii.

through the use of the bannerolls positioned around the body which demonstrated that both William and Mary were descendants of the same dynasty. Jennifer Woodward has argued that part of the wider function of the heraldic funeral was to secure the succession through the display of bannerolls that underlined the titles that men claimed as right as a result of heredity. Those on display at Mary's funeral functioned in this way for William as much as continuing to underline Mary's legitimacy with the other elements.⁷³ The Lord Chamberlain's records showed that these bannerolls were ordered to show 'their Majesties descent' and had been originally made for use at the lying-in-state.⁷⁴ Twelve in total were used, a figure which matched their rank, and they were then carried in the procession, six on each side of the coffin by knights.⁷⁵

The printed processional plan did not give details of how exactly 'their Majesties descent' was displayed but fortunately the records of the College of Arms offer more information. Apparently, the bannerolls began with Henry II (r.1154-89) and Eleanor of Aquitaine at the front left and moved through time and succession of English monarchs from left to right until they reached William and Mary's reign at the rear right. The complete order and placement was as follows:

Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine	Edward I and Eleanor of Castile
Edward II and Isabel of France	Edward III and Philippa of Hainault

⁷³ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, pp. 50-51, 212; Julian Litten, *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral since 1450* (London: Robert Hale, 1991), p. 177.

⁷⁴ TNA LC 2/11/2, 'As to the Lying in State'.

⁷⁵ *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of Her late Majesty*, p. 3

Henry VII and Elizabeth of York	James IV of Scotland and Margaret of England
James V of Scotland and Mary of Guise	Mary, Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley
James I of England and Anne of Denmark	Charles I of England and Henrietta Maria of France
Mary, Princess Royal and William Prince of Orange	William III and Mary II

The basic pattern was the Stuart claim to the throne truncated in order to use the number more effectively until it reached William and Mary's common ancestor: Charles I of England. The first four showed Plantagenet kings of England from Henry II (first) to Edward III (fourth), through whom Henry VII claimed the throne, although the reasons for choosing Edward I and Edward II as well are unclear. The direct line of succession from Henry VII of England to Charles I via the Scottish monarchs was shown from numbers five through to ten. After that the pattern varied from hereditary succession to include William III's parents rather than those of Mary II, James II and Anne Hyde, duchess of York. This change allowed William's line of inheritance to be publicly expressed and displayed and to show how connected it was to Mary's own. The imagery sent a clear message about William's place in the hereditary line and by extension his own legitimacy as king by surrounding the body of his wife.⁷⁶

Heraldry which was being carried by the procession's participants was not the only thing witnesses would have seen nor the only medium by which political messages were communicated. The unique inclusion of both Houses of Parliament in the procession who marched as two distinct bodies for the first and only time at a royal funeral was ordered as a result of their non-

⁷⁶ CA I Series, vol. 4 'Funerals of Kings, Princes &c.', fo. 85.

dissolution on this monarch's death. In subsequent royal funerals of this period the continuation of Parliament for a few months after the monarch's death was authorised by new laws.⁷⁷ Appearing in public this way sent a clear message about the continuity of Parliament under William's sole rule, ending speculation about the legitimacy of meeting without Mary, and also showing their solidarity with the King as a result of their continued existence as a body.

The peerage, by contrast, had always marched at these events by virtue of their titles alone. The elder and/or younger sons of senior peers such as dukes, marquesses and earls were also included because they held titles derived from their fathers. However, interestingly during the 1695 event peers marched as the parliamentary body of the House of Lords, meaning that only the title-holders themselves were included. The members of the House of Commons usually never marched unless they held a government office, sat on the Privy Council or had a position in the royal household(s). In 1695 (regardless of this) all the members of the Commons had the right to attend and those who did were issued with six yards of mourning cloth for the purpose.⁷⁸

Conforming to the general trend of funeral processions the House of Commons, being ranked below the Lords, went first of the two in the procession, followed by their Speaker (the highest-ranked person in their

⁷⁷ 'William III, 1695-6: An Act for the continueing meeting and sitting of Parliament in case of the Death or Demise of His Majesty His Heirs and Successors [Chapter XV. Rot. Parl. 7&8 Gul. III p.s. n.1]', *Statutes of the Realm: volume 7: 1695-1701* (1820), pp. 84, available at: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46822>, accessed 21 July 2014; see chapter 6 for the effect the Regency Act (1708) had on the continued sitting of Parliament in 1714.

⁷⁸ Further details on the usual make up of the processions are give in chapter one. TNA LC 2/11/2, warrant no. 164.

body), and then came the House of Lords. Peers, in contrast to the black of the Commons, were reported to have worn 'their Robes' and no mourning cloth was issued en masse for them which means this most probably referred to their scarlet parliamentary robes.⁷⁹ This mirrored a tradition in France where the *Parlement* of Paris, the central French law court, wore their ceremonial red robes in a public demonstration of the permanence and continuance of royal power and authority.⁸⁰ The attire of the House of Lords reinforced the statement about their continuity. By not marching in mourning black they were showing that the Parliament had not dissolved and so they needed to wear their official robes. Members of the Commons demonstrated their loyalty by wearing a medallion with the king's image upon it with their mourning robes.⁸¹ While the exact numbers for this group are not given, since Parliament was still in session it was likely that a large proportion of them were able to attend. As an approximation, by 1700 there were 170 members of the House of Lords while the number of MPs was around 500.⁸² Thus this was both a form of solidarity with the king and a display of strength in numbers.

The cumulative effect of both the heraldry and the procession's participants was a visual affirmation of Mary's place and her legitimacy which was then extended to William, either indirectly through an affirmation of his

⁷⁹ *London Gazette*, 4 March to 7 March 1694(5), p. 1; *The Form of the Proceeding to the Funeral of Her late Majesty*, p. 2; Alan Mansfield, *Ceremonial Costume: Court, Civil and Civic Costume from 1660 to the Present Day* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1980), pp. 3-4.

⁸⁰ Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E Droz, 1960), pp. 57-8, 185.

⁸¹ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 3, p. 438.

⁸² Mark Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603-1714* (London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 57, 59.

co-monarch Mary or directly as in the case of Parliament's involvement. The next part of the ritual started once the funeral cortège had arrived at the Abbey and the funeral service began. The liturgy was entirely in conformity to the Book of Common Prayer, but the sermon delivered by Thomas Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, offered further opportunities to reaffirm William's legitimacy and political authority.

Archbishop Tenison's Funeral Sermon

Tenison had been installed as the Archbishop of Canterbury just before Mary died and was present at her death. His sermon during the Abbey service heaped praise on Mary for her virtues, godliness and her 'good' death which Tenison had witnessed himself.⁸³ The sermon was later published, allowing for its content and message to be disseminated across the country. Tenison's message proved useful in the propaganda war against the Jacobites. Since he had been a witness to both Mary's longer deathbed scene, and to the death itself, he could use this an opportunity to counter their accusations that Mary had died with regret and guilt over her role in the Revolution of 1688-9, for which, Jacobites argued, her sudden demise was a punishment.⁸⁴

⁸³ For details of the 'good' death see: Lucinder McCray Beier, 'The Good Death in Seventeenth-Century England,' in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed) *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 45-61.

⁸⁴ Garganigo, 'William without Mary,' p. 119.

The sermon used Ecclesiastes 7:14 as its basis: 'In the Day of Prosperity be Joyful, but in the Day of Adversity consider: God, also, hath set the one over against the other.' Focusing on the 'day of adversity' aspect (Tenison argued that to dwell on prosperity was 'by no means, a fit subject to entertain you with in the House of Mourning'), he looked at four considerations for that day: the greatness of the loss, the principal cause of it, the good God offers in exchange, and the duty owed to turn the affliction into joy.⁸⁵ Delving into the first consideration, the Archbishop offered praise of Mary's virtues, listing knowledge, piety, charity, grace, wisdom and humility among them. All these were also idealised feminine virtues of the time and conventional images associated with Mary II.⁸⁶ Throughout the sermon, the queen's dedication to her faith was a constant theme. For example, Tenison noted that while her knowledge was 'fed and improved by Reading...the Holy Scriptures were the Oracles which she chiefly consulted.'⁸⁷ This internalisation of religious doctrine and reflection in virtues was also part of the idealised image of contemporary womanhood.⁸⁸ Mary's exemplary nature was contrasted by Tenison with discussion of the 'Athetistic and Profane Age'

⁸⁵ Thomas Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory, In the Abbey-Church in Westminster, Upon March 5, 1694/5* (London: H. Hills, 1709), p. 3.

⁸⁶ Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II'; Weil, *Political passions*, pp. 109-117.

⁸⁷ Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory*, pp. 3-8, specific quote on p. 4.

⁸⁸ Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (Harlow: Pearson, 1998), p. 23; Jacqueline Eales, *Women in early modern England, 1500-1700* (London: UCL Press, 1998), pp. 23-4.

they lived in, a time of 'foreign War and domestick Discontent' caused by those 'whose Resentments are stronger than their Reasons.'⁸⁹

The Archbishop went so far as to place the blame for Mary's death on 'the Immorality, the sin of the Nation which hastened it as a judgement.' He argued that God 'shewed what a mighty Blessing he had for a People, if they would become reform'd; but we were not sufficiently sensible nor thankful' and so he had taken away the exemplary Mary.⁹⁰ Tenison's line of argument here was a common one during the public discussions of Mary's death, as was argued by others elsewhere. Alex Garganigo has argued that this approach, of linking Mary's death to the nation's sin, was an extension of an existing narrative about the Glorious Revolution by the time of her death, which stressed the Providential nature of the event. Now the argument was that while God had allowed for England's salvation by William in 1688-9, the country had not reformed itself enough in the aftermath and so their pious and virtuous queen was taken from them.⁹¹

While Tenison lamented the death of the Queen as a national punishment, he also reminded them of the various good things that continued to alleviate the loss. Many of these listed focus on the good state of affairs of the kingdoms, including the health of King William who had continued to reside in the country to prevent instability and was still pursuing war for 'securing the Liberties of Europe.' Others included William's recent reunion

⁸⁹ Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory*, pp. 9-11.

⁹⁰ Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory*, p. 11.

⁹¹ Garganigo, 'William without Mary,' pp. 107-8.

with Princess Anne after a prolonged feud with Mary,⁹² a supportive Parliament and Council, and the loyalty which the kingdoms have shown him. Tenison's points emphasised both the stability and accepted continuity of the Williamite regime, which some believed had been weakened.⁹³

Tenison's sermon had allowed for reflection on Mary's life, virtues and qualities, and had turned these into support for the King. In his conclusion the Archbishop described the duties to ourselves, God, the deceased Queen and to the King. While he also offered standard Christian expressions (for example, give God glory, thanks and ask for forgiveness of sins), or reminded the audience to follow the example set by Mary's piety, in closing, Tenison described the duty they all owed to the king: to be loyal and to ask God to double the blessings on him.⁹⁴ By emphasising the loyalty owed to the king after describing the loss of the Queen, Tenison's words were chosen carefully to direct emotional responses, and political loyalty to the surviving king. The sermon was printed after the service to allow its message to be disseminated beyond those in the Abbey on that day.

⁹² Princess Anne and Queen Mary had quarrelled during 1691 because Anne continued to have a close relationship with the Earl and Countess of Marlborough, who were then out of favour with both the King and Queen due the Earl's perceived Jacobite tendencies and for his criticism of the King. The two sisters then remained estranged at Mary's death after which Anne had sought to mend her relationship with the widowed King.

⁹³ Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory*, pp. 12-15.

⁹⁴ Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory*, p. 16.

Outside the Rituals

After the main funeral service and the sermon was over, the royal body was moved to the Henry VII Chapel, where the royal vault was located, to be buried. The process was described in *The London Gazette* as follows:

After Sermon the late Queens Secretary and Treasurer, Master of the Horse, and Lord Chamberlain, the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster, and both Quires, with the Officers of Arms, and those that bore the Achievements and Regalia, proceeded before the Body to King Henry VII Chapel, which was attended only by the Supporters of the Pall, and followed by the Chief Mourner, her supporters, and Supporters of her Train, and the Ladies, the rest remaining in their places. The Dean of Westminster performed the Officer of Burial, which ended, Garter [King of Arms] Proclaimed the Royal Styles, and the Body was interred in a Vault on the South side of the said Chapel.⁹⁵

Thus ended the rituals of Mary II's interment, although the fact that visual records of the event were created provides further evidence of the importance of the symbolic significance and propaganda value of the event for William's regime. The images were created by Dutch print artist Romeyn de Hooghe whose work featured in a large folio known as *Funeralia Mariæ II* which was printed in Holland in 1695. The twelve plates which de Hooghe produced showed Mary's death, lying-in-state, funeral and burial, and accompanied nearly fifty pages of Latin text. Although, as Ralph Hyde has argued, looking at the details of London, the palaces and the participants depicted in the plates, these were not taken from first-hand knowledge of the event but were rather attempts to capture 'not the accuracy of the scene, but the glory of the

⁹⁵ *London Gazette*, 5 March to 7 March 1694(5), p. 1.

occasion.⁹⁶ They also convey the highly politicised ritual that characterised the event.

In one of the plates the already deceased Mary lies in a bed at the back of the picture fully dressed with the crown, orb and sceptre next to the bed, while ladies at the foot of the bed are crying (in some cases it appears they did so quite dramatically). The other main feature of this print occurs in the foreground, where William sits calmly on a chair of estate on the left wearing his crown and Garter robes. In front of Mary's bed and the wailing women comes a line of men in official robes, including those of peers, a bishop and knight offering homage and/or their sympathies to William (fig. 1).⁹⁷

Fig. 1



Such a scene had not occurred and Ralph Hyde pointed out that the image's extra details, including a view outside to Westminster Abbey, does not match any geography of the royal palaces where these events would have taken place. What it did visualise was the meaning of Mary's death and funeral to the regime. William was receiving the assurances of his courtiers (who still surrounded him) of their loyalties and sympathies; the emotion for Mary's death, as shown in one part by the women, was then given to William as represented by the line of men waiting to pay their respects to the king.⁹⁸

Outside the court the extent of the honours bestowed upon Mary was greeted favourably. Celia Fiennes observed that '[the King] omitted no ceremony of respect to [the Queen's] memory and remains.'⁹⁹ Another compared it favourably to the coronation of 1689, and concluded that the earlier event was 'not thought so fine as the funeral.'¹⁰⁰ John Evelyn reflected that, while the funeral was 'infinitely expensive', it was also 'never so universal a mourning.'¹⁰¹ Gilbert Burnet, who criticised the poor nature of Charles II's funeral from 1685 gave Mary's a simple review of being 'ordinary' which (while something of an understatement) can be taken to mean he saw it as suitable for someone of her rank.¹⁰² When news of the funeral spread to the American colonies, Samuel Sewall wrote in his diary that they had been told

⁹⁸ Hyde, 'Romeyn de Hooghe and the Funeral of the People's Queen,' p. 156.

⁹⁹ Fiennes, *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes*, p. 294.

¹⁰⁰ 'A. Pye to Abigail Harley at Brampton, March 13 1694-5' in HMC, *Portland*, vol. 3, *Harley Papers* vol. 1, p. 562.

¹⁰¹ DeBeer (ed) *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 5, *Kalendarium*, 1690-1706, p. 204.

¹⁰² Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p. 608.

Parliament had ordered money for a funeral 'to be sumptuous.'¹⁰³ The display at the funeral had an effect on those who saw it. For example, Richard Steele wrote a poem about the occasion which he prefaced with a letter to John, Lord Cutts. In it he described how 'Compassion which gives us a more sweet, and generous touch...had me at the Funeral-Procession so sensible an effect...that I could not Forbear being guilty of the Paper with which I presume to trouble your Lordship.'¹⁰⁴

But while the King's willingness to show his wife full funerary honours attracted praise and stirred emotion, the real purpose for staging it was deeper and more political, and so there needed to be some recognition that this had been fulfilled. The political impact of the funeral is very hard indeed to gauge, but evidence appears to suggest some level of success. At the very least there appears to have been a discussion on the development of sympathy for William as a consequence of it. One of the most explicit examples comes from a contemporary (and anonymously authored) ballad, *The Court and Kingdoms in Tears*, which includes a recurring chorus focused on the idea of Mary being 'snatch'd from the throne' and thus has left 'our most gracious King William alone.' The ballad's verses reflected on the general state of mourning throughout the kingdoms, and then use the chorus interspersed between them to return to this central idea of Mary's death but with William's sole and continued occupation of the thrones. Some variations in the lyrics did occur. For example, one chorus stated 'By the hand of cold

¹⁰³ Samuel Sewall, *Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729, vol. 1, 1674-1700* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), p. 403.

¹⁰⁴ Richard Steele [attributed, author given as 'Gentleman of the Army'] *The Procession: A Poem on Her Majesties Funeral. By a Gentleman of the Army* (London: Thomas Bennet at the Half-Moon in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1695), letter to Lord Cutts, no page numbers.

Death, she was snatchd from the throne,/ Leaving our most gracious King William alone', while a later one used the same idea in different words: 'To our sadness and grief she was snatchd from the Throne,/ And our Monarch King William, now governs alone.' After seven verses and choruses that follow this general theme, the ballad's eighth verse and final chorus then explicitly addressed the need to turn support towards William:

For gracious King William lets send up our prayers,
That the LORD would support him in all his Affairs;
That he still may be able our Lawes to defend,
He hath been to the Nation a Fatherly Friend;

Therefore, Heaven, we hope, will establish his throne,
In spite of his Foes, tho' he governs alone.

This example, however, does not address the funeral itself but instead looked at Mary's death and commemoration in general.¹⁰⁵ Other ballads which used other funerary elements to reflect on the same theme were also produced.

One example that drew on the results of the funeral was another contemporary anonymous ballad called *The Westminster Wonder*. This ballad told an imagined story of a 'Robin Red-breast' who 'to this day,/ Continues singing where she lay,' but who was doing so not in 'the mourning chamber...but in Westminster-Abby, where/ They did a pyramid prepare.' The ballad also told of the interest this robin, who returned daily to sing from atop the Queen's grave, generated amongst the lords, ladies and commoners. It

¹⁰⁵ English Broadside Ballad Archive, 'The Court and the Kingdom in Tears: Or, the Sorrowful Subjects Lamentation for the Death of her Majesty Queen Mary who departed this Life, the 28th December, 1694; To the unspeakable Grief of his Majesty, ad all his Loyal and Loving Subjects. To the Tune of, If Loves a sweet Passion, etc.' (n.d.); available at: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/31209/xml>; accessed 27 October 2013.

concluded that an astrologer who witnessed the event interpreted it as 'a sign that our Affairs/ Will be successful every Spring' and that France will not destroy them and the English church. The event was fanciful, for it rested on the idea of the Robin sitting on 'pyramid' prepared for Mary's grave, which was never marked with a tomb sculpture. However, it did interact with the knowledge of Mary's recent burial and one of the roles which William, who was then still at war with France, was playing. It linked the death and burial of Mary to a sign of heavenly approval for William's action (as represented by the robin), which must ultimately be successful, and thus people must support or choose to support France instead.¹⁰⁶

The funeral procession, service and burial had a considerable effect on the thousands who saw it in London, and attempts were also made to influence the public outside the capital. A detailed report was included in the issue of the *London Gazette* which followed, although the audience for the official publication was still limited to a relatively narrow elite. Some parts of the country engaged in practices that acknowledged that in the capital their Queen was being buried. In Dublin on 5th March the Lord Mayor ordered the shops of the city be shut and the bells tolled to mark the day of the Queen's funeral.¹⁰⁷ At the mouth of the Thames Estuary, at The Nore, His Majesty's ships fired their guns from 2pm until sunset. On orders from the Privy Council 'the biggest Bell in every Cathedral, Collegiate and Parochial Church of

¹⁰⁶ English Broadside Ballad Archive, 'The Westminster Wonder: Giving an Account of a Robin Red-Breast, who ever since the Queen's Funeral, continues on the top Pinnacle of the Queen's Mausoleum, or Pyramid, in the Abby of Westminster, where he is seen and heard to sing, and will not depart the place, to the admiration of many Beholders. Tune of, Jealous Lovers,' (n.d.); available at: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/22411/xml>; accessed 28 October 2013.

¹⁰⁷ *London Gazette*, 7 March to 11 March 1694(5), p. 2.

England and Wales' was to be rung the day of the funeral in three, hour-long periods at 9am-10am, 2pm-3pm and finally at 5pm-6pm.¹⁰⁸

Another way of publicly expressing a continued loyalty towards the regime, especially for those outside London, was in the form of loyalty addresses sent to the king in support of his position. These were drawn up and signed in the localities, arrived in London and then usually presented by the MP to William, mostly in the months before the funeral itself. However, when we consider the volume of them, it demonstrated the need for the ruling elites across the country, who claimed to represent their town, city, county or organisation, to reassure the Crown of its security. These addresses often acknowledged the great loss suffered on Mary's death, and then the author's resolve to support William through this. On one occasion in late January 1695 the king received ten different addresses from towns, cities, boroughs and counties across England in succession.¹⁰⁹ The one from Cumberland presented that day was drawn up in such haste that justices left out Lord Carlisle, the Lord Lieutenant of the county who was absent, as a signatory.¹¹⁰ When these addresses, and especially their number, are coupled with the funerary ritual,s they gave a larger public sense of the regime's security.

In a less public but still a social way the king's subjects could demonstrate their loyalty amongst friends and superiors with informal gestures. One rather humorous example of this can be taken from the letters of William Lawrence, a squire in Shurdington. When he had heard of Mary's

¹⁰⁸ *London Gazette*, 4 March to 7 March 1694 (5), p.1; TNA PC 2/76, p. 67.

¹⁰⁹ *London Gazette*, 24 January to 28 January 1694(5).

¹¹⁰ Sir John Lowther to Sir D.F. (Daniel Fleming), in HMC, *The Manuscripts of S.H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1890), p. 335.

death he was about to begin hosting a party, and the guests for it had already arrived. Deciding not to cancel he instead 'had a large flagon filled with decaying small beer, and threw into it a good lump of ice; so that it was as dead and cold as the queen; and...also poured into it a sufficient quantity of the spirit of wormwood.' The drink would be served to the guests with the idea being they 'must first drink a glass of sadness, and then a glass of gladness; the one in remembrance of the Queen's death, the other to the happy life of the King.' The assembled guests all did as asked, with all unanimously praying for the king's life and health, although William Lawrence did think 'they did not wish it so much for the King's sake as their own,' for if he died they would only have to do this ritual again.¹¹¹

The 'melancholy pompous sight' of Mary II's funerary rituals was the last opportunity for Mary herself to be used by her husband's regime to bolster its own standing. The large public funeral they planned and implemented has been treated as an anomaly in wider narratives, but within the specific context of Mary's life, role and meaning to post-Revolutionary Britain it made sense. Studying the staging of the event in detail on the basis of the documentary evidence gives us the opportunity for the first time to see exactly how the political meaning was conveyed. Beyond the much-studied elegies, poetry and sermons, we can see ways in which the funerary rituals were choreographed carefully to convey the legitimacy of her husband's claim to the throne and his continuing authority, despite a weaker hereditary claim.

¹¹¹ 'Letter 46' in Iona Sinclair (ed), *The Pyramid and the Urn: The Life in Letters of a Restoration Squire: William Lawrence of Shurdington, 1636-1697* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1994), pp. 109-110.

Mary herself had wanted a smaller funeral (as Evelyn had mentioned), perhaps in deference to the new precedent for royal funerals, but in the political context in which she lived her last years and died, such forms were deemed unsuitable. While this funeral set no new precedent it provides a reminder of the contingent character of patterns of continuity and change and the significance of political context in the design and execution of royal funerary rituals.

IV

**‘The ill-natured, cruel proceedings of Mr. Caliban’:
Avoiding Public Rituals on the Death of James II, 1701**

A 1701 poem ‘On the Death of King James’ opens with a self-justification. Published anonymously ‘By a Lady’, the piece argues that if King James II had died with ‘the Possession of Imperial Sway...And to a Mournful Successor made way’, the news would have been greeted by ‘Melancholly Dirges’ and ‘Weeping Elogies.’¹ Instead, ‘Royal James’ was deprived of these honours and so the task of eulogising him, by an ‘abler Writer’, fell to the anonymous author of this poem. The remainder of the piece celebrates James’s achievements during his military career, and avoids mention of the more controversial aspects of his life and career: his attempts at reforming the anti-Catholic laws, the collapse of his regime in 1688 and his subsequent exile.²

The poem identified the major difference between the death of James II and his relations in the Stuart dynasty. Unlike them, his death was not marked by the same commemorations in pamphlets, news-sheets and proclamations afforded to other Stuart Kings and Queens of England. Nor was he afforded the same rituals they were. What made James’s death and its ritual aftermath so distinctive was the deliberate attempt to avoid the performance of public obsequies to mark the passing of the monarch. Rituals

¹ *On the Death of King James. By a Lady* (1701).

² *On the Death of King James. By a Lady* (1701).

of royal interment were, as explored in the previous chapters, determined not just by cultural forces but by political concerns and needs. The wider context of James's death, this time incorporating international politics, drove the ritual response in the same way that the domestic political concerns surrounding James's accession in 1685 had determined the course of Charles II's funeral. In 1701 the impolitic rejection of the terms of the Protestant Succession by King Louis XIV of France by recognising James's son as his rightful heir acted to deprive James II of the rituals traditionally offered to even exiled monarchs in his native lands.³ Whereas James's government had scaled back the funeral of Charles II to meet their political needs, in 1701 the government under William III sought to scale back to as little as possible.

This chapter offers a more detailed analysis of the ritual mourning and burial of James II than has been provided in the existing historical accounts. As with many deaths covered in this thesis, that of James II has only had passing mentions within histories of the period, usually as part of explanations and analyses of European politics around the time of the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession.⁴ Histories of James himself have offered little but description and do not focus on the response in England.⁵ Only the

³ As an example see the discussion on the funerary rituals performed for Mary Queen of Scots by Elizabeth I's England in: Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 67-86.

⁴ Examples include: David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 471-2; Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 74-5, 77, 123; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2007), pp. 477-8; Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution, 1688: Britain's Fight for Liberty* (London: Little, Brown, 2006), pp. 290, 296.

⁵ Maurice Ashley, *James II* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1977), pp. 288-9; John Miller, *James II: A Study in Kingship* (Hove: Wayland Publishers, 1977), pp. 239-240; John Callow, *King in Exile: James II: Warrior, King and Saint, 1689-1701* (Thrupp: Sutton, 2004), pp. 340-395.

biographies of Anne offer any discussion of the reaction to his death, though these are often very brief and lack analysis of wider implications.⁶ Perhaps this is because, as Kevin Sharpe has pointed out, the history of James's life and afterlife (like with Mary I) has more often been dictated by his enemies.⁷ This chapter aims to deepen our understanding of the meaning of the rituals organised after the death of James II, both in terms of their public and private contexts. It also aims to show how politics could not only shape the scale of funerals, as shown in the previous two chapters, but also undermine the very performance of them at all.

The Death of James II

King James II died in early September 1701 at the Chateau de Saint-Germain outside Paris.⁸ The King had been granted the Chateau by Louis XIV of France in 1688 when James and his family were exiled after the Glorious Revolution. James, his second wife, Mary of Modena, and their infant son were joined by loyal exiled supporters to form the Jacobite court. The royal family expanded after the birth of a daughter, Princess Louisa, in

⁶ Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), pp. 127-8; Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion, A Biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012), p. 169.

⁷ Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 225-6; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p. 234.

⁸ It should be noted that since James died in France, which used the New Style (NS) calendar, and this chapter is about events in Britain, which still used Old Style (OS), the dates for events in these countries do not match. Attempts have been made to distinguish between them when necessary.

1692. As a result of his exile, James II was the first English king to die outside of the British Isles since Henry V, who passed away in a castle just outside Paris in 1422 during the Hundred Years War. But there the comparison ends. Henry died with honour and glory, the victorious English king who had conquered France and been named heir to the French throne. James II, on the other hand, died ignominiously in exile after a forced abdication, surrounded only by émigré courtiers, protected and financed by a foreign power.

James II suffered the stroke which began his irreversible decline while attending mass in late August 1701.⁹ The political implications of his death and the potential threat to William III posed by his son Prince James, probably explain the management of the announcement of James's demise in the official English press. When the news of James II's death reached London and was reported on in *The London Gazette*, it was relegated to the second page (of two) in the 8th September 1701 (O.S.) issue alongside a much longer report about French troop movements and activities.¹⁰ The brief account went as follows:

Paris, September 17. N.S. The late King James fell into a Lethargy on the 14th Instant, and was thought dead; he continued in the same till yesterday, and died between Three and Four in the Afternoon.¹¹

⁹ John Miller, *James II*, pp. 239-40.

¹⁰ *London Gazette*, 8 September to 11 September 1701, p.2.

¹¹ *London Gazette*, 8 September to 11 September 1701, p.2.

The brevity of this thirty-one word official announcement contrasts sharply with those provided for his brother Charles II, whose death was announced on the front page in seventy-four words, and that of his daughter Mary II, whose demise was described in sixty-eight words when she died in December 1694.¹² The brevity of the account is perhaps unsurprising given that *The London Gazette* was carefully edited to protect, as far as possible, the interests of the Williamite regime as the official government newspaper. The aim was probably to minimise, as far as possible, any negative implications for the Protestant Succession because of the death of James II and the potential threat that his son might now pose. The subject matter and the content of the paper was edited and selected (including information being delayed) in order to benefit the official line. As a result minimal details about the death of James II were included in the official accounts.¹³ Nothing was included about the events surrounding James's son.

It was left to James's Jacobite and Catholic supporters to make available the details of the manner of James's demise. Descriptions of his death were part of a propaganda war that claimed James and his son as the rightful rulers of the three kingdoms.¹⁴ Printed accounts began to appear soon after James's death describing his final days during what the *Gazette*

¹² *London Gazette*, 5 February to 9 February 1684(5); *The London Gazette*, 27 December to 31 December 1694.

¹³ R.B. Walker, 'The Newspaper Press in the Reign of William III,' *The Historical Journal* 17, no. 4 (December 1974), pp. 706-7.

¹⁴ For discussions of the propaganda wars between Williamites, Jacobites and others in this period over legitimacy see: Paul Monod, 'The Jacobite Press and English Censorship, 1689-1695' in Eveline Cruikshanks and Edward Corp (eds), *The Stuart Court in Exile and the Jacobites* (London: The Hambleton Press, 1995), pp. 124-142; Tony Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*.

had simply called 'a Lethargy'.¹⁵ The fact that these accounts emphasised that the King had performed the major tenets of a 'good' and, importantly, Catholic death, in part explains the brevity of the account in the official paper issued by the Protestant regime.¹⁶ James's Catholic loyalties form a prominent theme. Accounts record that he had made peace with God, performed displays of piety, taken care of his remaining worldly business and shown concern for his funeral. One text began with the words, 'Moriatur anima mea morte justorum' ('let me die the death of the righteous').¹⁷ The account opens with the acknowledgement that James received the Catholic last rites and had told those around him that he was ready for death. The politics of succession are also a central theme. He is reported to have asked God to grant forgiveness to 'the Chief Contrivers of my Dethroning' and that they receive the 'Grace to Repent of their Errors.' The text goes on to say that James's two children were brought into his presence and he gave them both pieces of advice. Again Catholic piety is prominent in the description. He apparently told his son that he should 'never put the Crown of England in Competition with your Eternal Salvation,' meaning that he should not reject Catholicism for the sake of reclaiming the throne. To Princess Louisa he gave the gendered advice that she should remain virtuous as it was 'the greatest Ornament of your Sex' and to follow the example set by her mother.¹⁸

¹⁵ *London Gazette*, 8 September to 11 September 1701, p.2.

¹⁶ For explanation of the 'good' death see: Licinder McCray Beier, 'The Good Death in Seventeenth-Century England,' in Ralph Houlbrooke (ed) *Death, Ritual and Bereavement* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 46.

¹⁷ *The Last Dying-Words of the Late King James To his Son and Daughter, and the French King. Who Sickened the 22d of August, and Died 5th of September. 1701.* (London: Printed by D.E., 1701).

¹⁸ *The Last Dying-Words of the Late King James To his Son and Daughter, and the French King.*

The controversial religio-political context and meaning of James's life and his death is reflected in the presentation of the king almost as a Catholic martyr. James's piety at his death and the need to show a 'good' death in the face of his family's woes would have been part of an effort to show the righteousness of his cause. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century martyrs, both Catholic and Protestant, had used such tactics to link their fate to that of Jesus Christ and subvert their violent punishment into a symbol of resistance and defiance.¹⁹ James's 'martyrdom' mirrored his father Charles I's acceptance of his execution in 1649, an effort which cultivated a cult of King Charles the Martyr who had heroically died for the royalist cause.²⁰ Edward Gregg has explored how the Jacobite kings cultivated an image as martyrs for the Catholic faith, losing their thrones and position due to their devotion.²¹ The narrative of James's death would have only added to this effort.

The record of the visit paid to James by Louis XIV is also described in these accounts. James is said to have thanked the Catholic Louis for 'all your Kindness to me and my Afflicted Family,' referring both to political and financial support.²² James apparently told the French king that he was resigned to his death and restated his forgiveness of 'all the World, particularly, the Emperor and the P—of O—.' Whether this name, blanked

¹⁹ Thomas S. Freeman, 'Imitatio Christi with a Vengeance': The Politicisation of Martyrdom in Early Modern England' in Thomas S. Freeman and Thomas F. Mayer (eds) *Martyrs and Martyrdom in England, c. 1400-1700* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), pp. 35-69.

²⁰ Andrew Lacey, *The Cult of King Charles the Martyr* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003).

²¹ Edward Gregg, 'The Exiled Stuarts: Martyrs for the Faith?' in Michael Schaich (ed) *Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 187-213.

²² *The Last Dying-Words of the Late King James To his Son and Daughter, and the French King.*

out, referred to his son-in-law William, who had led the invasion against him in 1688, or his daughter Mary, who betrayed her father to support her husband, is unclear but it was probably deliberately left ambiguous for the interpretation of the reader. But the act of forgiveness, though politically controversial, conformed to the tenets of the 'good' death by emphasising James's commitment to forgiving those who had wronged him in life. Interestingly the account ends with the comment that he begged to be 'Buried as a Private Gentlemen' which, according to the text at least, was 'unwillingly granted to him.'²³

The controversial connections of the exiled Stuart court with Catholic powers in Europe are apparent everywhere in the documents surrounding James's demise. James's son wrote to Pope Clement XI to inform him about his father's death and to assure the Papacy of the continuity of allegiance of the Stuart dynasty to the Catholic faith.²⁴ The young 'pretender' described to the Pope the advice which James II had given on his deathbed about the priority of the Catholic faith over any political power. He made assurance that he had promised and was willing to follow this advice.²⁵ The public expressions of grief by the Papacy are also striking. The Pope addressed the College of Cardinals about the 'truly lamentable death of James, King of Great Britain' whom he described as a 'truly Catholick Prince...true son of the Church, and true defender of the Faith.'²⁶ The Holy Father then promised to

²³ *The Last Dying-Words of the Late King James To his Son and Daughter, and the French King.*

²⁴ 'James III to Pope Clement XI' in HMC, *Stuart Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 160-61.

²⁵ 'James III to Pope Clement XI' in HMC, *Stuart Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 160-61.

²⁶ *The Pope's Speech to the College of Cardinals; Upon the Death of the late King James* (Dublin: 1701).

perform 'Funeral Obsequies in public, in our Pontifical Chapel, according to the customs of the Roman Pontiffs.'²⁷ Mary of Modena later praised the Pope's actions in a letter to Count Alessandro Caprana and told him she was particularly impressed by the Pope's gesture in asking his nephew, the Abbé Albani, to give the sermon at these funerary rituals.²⁸ Mary interpreted the move as a mark of the Pope's high esteem for her late husband.²⁹ Several thousand masses were ordered by the Vatican to be said for James's soul.³⁰ In addition, the Jesuit leader Tirso Gonzalez prayed for James's soul and also ordered 5000 masses be said for the same purpose.³¹

Yet despite the opportunity that a ritual funeral ceremony might have offered as a display of political authority and solidarity by Catholic supporters for audiences at home and abroad, the ceremonial gestures put on by the Vatican for James II were not matched by supporters in France or in his homeland. The French court had entered mourning. Newspapers in London reported in December 1701 that Louis XVI 'will go out of Mourning for the late King James New Years Day.'³² But rather than organise a programme of elaborate obsequies, what seems to have happened is that a series of stop-gap measures were put on to preserve the royal body for future ceremonies after an imagined future restoration of Stuart and Catholic power. The

²⁷ *The Pope's Speech to the College of Cardinals.*

²⁸ 'Queen Mary to Count Alessandro Caprana' in HMC, *Stuart Papers*, vol. 1, p. 169.

²⁹ 'Queen Mary to Count Alessandro Caprana' in HMC, *Stuart Papers*, vol. 1, p. 169.

³⁰ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), p. 100.

³¹ 'James III to [Tirso Gonzalez], General of the Jesuits' and 'Queen Mary to [Tirso Gonzalez], General of the Jesuits' in HMC, *Stuart Papers*, vol. 1, p. 171.

³² *Post Boy* (London), 17 December 1701-18 December 1701.

newspaper *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick* reported that Mary of Modena had 'shut herself up' in the Nunnery of Chaillot immediately after James's death while her two children remained at St Germain.³³ James's heart was removed and then transported to the Chaillot nunnery for burial 'without any Ceremony, pursuant to his own request.' His entrails, probably removed during embalming, were 'Interred at St. Germaines.'³⁴ This particular action was not unusual for English monarchs as their removed internal organs were usually buried separately shortly after death.³⁵ Across Europe the practice was also widespread, especially removing the heart of monarchs, and (despite early Papal opposition to the idea), a desire for the relics of potential saints broke this resistance down.³⁶ The location of Chaillot also had a familial connection as the heart of James's mother, Queen Henrietta Maria, was also interred there after her death in 1669.³⁷ The newspaper report also detailed how the body was sent to Benedictine monks 'where it is to be deposited till there shall be an Opportunity of transporting the [body] into England, to be laid in the tombs of

³³ *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick* (London, England), 12 September - 15 September, 1701.

³⁴ *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick* (London, England), 12 September - 15 September, 1701.

³⁵ For example, In 1702 after William III's death it was ordered on 8 March that 'the Bowells of the late King be buried as soon as conveniently may be in King Henry the Seventh's Chappell': TNA LC 2/14/2, Order of Council for burying the bowells, 8 March 1702.

³⁶ Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'A comparative historiographic reflection on sovereignty in early modern Europe: interregnum rites and papal funerals' in Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds) *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. 1, Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 172-4.

³⁷ Caroline M. Hibbard, 'Henrietta Maria (1609–1669)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12947>, accessed 15 August 2015.

the Kings his Predecessors.³⁸ The exiles may have had in mind that James's body would be treated in a similar manner to the corpse of Henry V, which was taken from France and buried in Westminster Abbey, once James's son had been restored to the throne.³⁹ Instead a small procession was led by the Duke of Berwick and the Earl of Middleton to the Benedictine priory where James's body remained in the care of the English Benedictines in Paris. As befitting James's 'martyrdom' narrative the remains of the Stuart king developed mystical significance amongst the monks and their Prior referred to it as 'joyful relics' of 'a Reverent martyr' upon its arrival.⁴⁰ Ten days after James's death the Bishop of Autun reported the miraculous cure of a fistula in his eye which he attributed to praying a mass for James's soul at La Chaillot.⁴¹ The Benedictines reported that miracles attributed to the late-king's spirit had also occurred after prayers were said at his sepulchre. But an attempt by the Jacobites to enhance the propaganda power of the royal remains and invest the royal body with a saintly significance apparently foundered after attempts at canonisation were unsuccessful.⁴² James's body remained with the Benedictines until it was lost, and most probably destroyed, during the French Revolution, suffering a similar fate to those of the French

³⁸ *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick* (London, England), 12 September - 15 September, 1701.

³⁹ Keith Dockray, *Henry V* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), p. 209; John Matusiak, *Henry V* (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 234-5.

⁴⁰ Prior Anthony Turberville as quoted in: John Callow, *King in Exile James II: Warrior, King and Saint, 1689-1701* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), p. 385.

⁴¹ Callow, *King in Exile*, p. 389.

⁴² Ashley, *James II*, p. 289; Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, p. 128.

royal family buried at St. Denis, which were also destroyed during the radical phase of the Revolution.⁴³

In London news circulated of the decision made by Louis XIV to recognise James's son as his rightful heir. This created great anxiety since it was in direct contravention of the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick. The Treaty had been signed in 1697 between Louis XIV and William III and required Louis to acknowledge the Protestant Succession, to agree to recognise William III as King of England and to promise not to aid any of his enemies.⁴⁴ Yet on his final visit to James's deathbed Louis XIV took James's family and supporters into an ante-chamber and promised to recognise James's son as his rightful heir. According to sympathetic reports, the news of Louis's decision caused 'great Shouts for Joy' amongst the Jacobite courtiers in exile. Similar expressions of joy were heard at the announcement that James II had died and his son had been proclaimed James III of England and VIII of Scotland outside the gates of St. Germain by the French.⁴⁵ According to Narcissus Luttrell, when all this information had reached England by 11th September it included the detail that 'One Kerry, an Irish man (formerly belonging to our Heralds office,) with some of the late king James's followers, went to the gates of St Germain and proclaimed the pretended prince of Wales king of England &c.'⁴⁶

⁴³ Miller, *James II*, p. 240; Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'Burying and Unburying the Kings of France,' in Richard C. Trexler (ed) *Persons in Groups: Social Behaviour in Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Binghampton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1975), pp. 252-5.

⁴⁴ 'Treaty of Ryswick, 1697' in Andrew Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII, 1660-1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), pp. 881.

⁴⁵ *An Account of the Death of the late King James, and of the Titular Pr. of Wales being Proclaimed King at Germans in France* (1701).

⁴⁶ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 89.

Historians have long debated why Louis XIV made his decision to renege on the terms of the Treaty. Lord Macaulay attributed the move to the influence of Madame de Maintenon, Louis's morganatic second wife, who was a close friend and supporter of James's wife, Mary of Modena.⁴⁷ It has been suggested that Mary of Modena herself also had a role in the decision, arguing that Louis was denying the legitimacy of the Stuart line.⁴⁸ Most recently, Edward Corp has argued convincingly that Louis's devout Catholicism underlined his dedication to the exiled Stuarts, which made for a consistent, even if not always a particularly efficient, policy for Louis. Supporting a fellow Catholic monarch in his claim to his throne simply represented a continuation of this policy.⁴⁹ Similarly, David Sturdy has argued that Louis's recognition of an exiled Catholic monarch allowed him to present himself as the leader of Catholic Europe at the time when Emperor Leopold was allying with Protestant nations against the French.⁵⁰ More practically, Louis was also providing himself with an insurance policy in case James III, like Charles II, was restored to his throne. The French had withdrawn support for Charles in 1654 only to see him restored in 1660; Louis was shoring up a bond in case it happened again.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Lord [Thomas] Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, vol. 6 (London: Macmillan, 1915), p. 2980.

⁴⁸ R.M. Hatton, 'Louis XIV and His Fellow Monarchs,' in John C. Rule (ed) *Louis XIV and the Craft of Kingship* (Ohio State University Press, 1969), p. 162.

⁴⁹ Edward Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 160.

⁵⁰ David J. Sturdy, *Louis XIV* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 149.

⁵¹ Edward Gregg, 'France, Rome and the exiled Stuarts, 1689-1713' in Corp, *A Court in Exile* p. 58.

But it is by no means clear that the French were enamoured of their king's impolitic declarations. Indeed, divided opinion over the decision by Louis XIV to declare support for James III might explain the muted ceremonial staged in France after James's death. Luttrell, for example, heard that the French Council members had been divided over the decision to recognise James's son and had only come around at the insistence of the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy (the Dauphin's son).⁵² Luttrell's account, however, is slightly inaccurate as, while the Dauphin had been admitted to the *Conseil d'En Haut* in 1691, the Duke of Burgundy was not invited to join until 1703.⁵³ However, the influence of the Dauphin appears well established. Gilbert Burnet later repeated the same story in his *History of His Own Time* describing that the French Council had advised Louis to be passive and just let the Prince assume whatever title he wanted without a French declaration on the matter until the Dauphin 'interposed with some heat' to change their minds.⁵⁴

More importantly, printed and personal accounts show strong evidence of grave doubts about the foreign policy implications of Louis's decision in the context of a weakening French monarchy. Those against the King's action had argued that it put French foreign policy on a poor footing. Their fiercest enemy (William) maintained an army in neighbouring Holland, and the violation of the Treaty of Ryswick would only serve to unite Protestant princes

⁵² Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 89.

⁵³ James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 197.

⁵⁴ Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time: From The Restoration of Charles II. To the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht, in the Reign of Queen Anne. A New Edition, with Historical and Biographical Notes* (London: William Smith, 1838), p. 696.

against them.⁵⁵ Historians have emphasised that Louis took this decision against the advice of his ministers usually by adhering more closely to his personal conviction rather than their practical advice for France's security or position.⁵⁶ The French courtier Louis de Rouvoy, duc de Saint-Simon, gave a more detailed analysis of the doubts surrounding Louis XIV's decision. At first there 'was general delight...but second thoughts were quick in coming even if they were not voiced.'⁵⁷ He described how Louis hoped that concessions which had been made to the Dutch and English would keep them away but in Saint-Simon's view 'nothing could have been more damaging to the King's policy' than recognising the Jacobite claimant. Rather than being placated by other actions, William, England and Holland had been given 'the greatest possible offence' in the repudiation of Ryswick. Thinking about the new James III's position, he concluded that Louis 'gave him no real help' because:

It only served to highlight the jealousy, the suspicions and the strong feelings of those opposed to him in England; to bind them more firmly in their allegiance to King William and to the Protestant succession on which they were intent. It made them more vigilant, active and violent against Catholics and those suspected of leaning towards the Stuarts. It poisoned them more and more against this young Prince and against France which wanted to foist a king on them contrary to their wishes.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *An Account of the Death of the late King James...* (1701).

⁵⁶ Jeremy Black, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon: The Fate of a Great Power* (London: UCL Press, 1999), pp. 52-3; Vincent Cronin, *Louis XIV* (London: Harvill Press, 1964), pp. 313-6; Geoffrey Treasure, *Louis XIV* (London: Pearson, 2001), p. 267; Richard Wilkinson, *Louis XIV* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 182; William Doyle, 'Politics: Louis XIV' in William Doyle (ed) *Old Regime France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 187.

⁵⁷ 'Saint-Simon's View' in Bruce P. Lenman and John S. Gibson (eds) *The Jacobite Threat—England, Scotland, Ireland, France: A Sourcebook* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990), pp. 80.

⁵⁸ 'Saint-Simon's View' in Lenman and Gibson (eds) *The Jacobite Threat*, pp. 80-81.

His observations on the reaction of the English and the damaging nature of this on Franco-English reactions was accurate. The English Ambassador at Versailles, Lord Manchester, now wrote back to London urging for permission to leave his post. Describing this request in a letter to the Earl of Rochester, James Vernon wrote that 'I suppose there will be now a proper opportunity for it when a new King of England is suffered to be proclaimed in France.'⁵⁹ Manchester was informed by the 20th September that the Lord Justices were 'requiring him to leave [Versailles] immediately, without so much as taking leave [of the king]', and that the French ambassador in London was being expelled.⁶⁰ On 23rd September Vernon had informed the Admiralty that they were to immediately send a yacht to collect Manchester from Calais.⁶¹ Luttrell noted that 'the French secretary' had left for France on 29th September.⁶² Letters received via Holland informed them that at Versailles, William was no longer being referred to as a king and instead 'when the French king now speaks of his Majesty, he calls him only Prince of Orange.'⁶³

⁵⁹ 'Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, September 9 1701' in Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, pp. 383-4.

⁶⁰ 'Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, September 20 1701,' in Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, p. 389.

⁶¹ 'Ja. Vernon to the Admiralty' in Edward Bateson (ed) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series of the Reign of William III, 1 April 1700-8 March 1702* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), p. 422.

⁶² Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 94.

⁶³ 'Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, September 20 1701,' in Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, p. 390.

According to many, Louis's action made the young Stuart prince another pawn of the French as part of a wider design to impose French hegemony over Europe.⁶⁴ Concerns had already been raised by the accession of Louis's younger grandson to the throne of Spain in violation of several Partition Treaties the previous year which eventually led to the outbreak of a new European war in 1702.⁶⁵ It is perhaps noteworthy that the Court at Brussels, capital of the Spanish Netherlands, entered six weeks of mourning for James II's death, prompting the withdrawal of the English representative there.⁶⁶

In the context of such doubts and controversies the French were keen to assert that Louis's decision did not violate the terms of Ryswick *per se*. The French Ambassador to London, Monsieur Poussine, for example, was charged with the responsibility of explaining to the British why his king had acted in this way. William was in Holland so the Ambassador delivered this message to the Lord Justices left behind in London.⁶⁷ The report was later described by Secretary of State James Vernon in a letter to the Earl of Rochester:

The reasons run much upon the treaty of Ryswick, that [the French] are only obliged not to favour any rebellion or

⁶⁴ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 350.

⁶⁵ For details about the Spanish succession and Louis XIV see: Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain, 1700-1715* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp. 1-4; Henry Kamen, *Philip V of Spain: The King who Reigned Twice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 1-33; Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*, 2nd ed., pp. 157-63.

⁶⁶ *Post Man and Historical Account* (London), 25 September 1701-27 September 1701; *London Post with Intelligence Foreign and Domestick* (London), 8 October 1701-10 October 1701.

⁶⁷ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 91.

conspiracy against the King, nor assist with any arms, ships, provisions, or money, or in any other way, who shall hereafter disturb or molest his Majesty in the free and full possession of his kingdoms. That the treaty does not require [that Louis] should withdraw the protection he had given either to the father or the son; and if the son, upon his father's death, took upon him his title, the French King made himself no judge how far it belonged to him; but his intentions only were to relieve his necessities, and, as he had received him into his country, to make his condition easy to him.⁶⁸

Unsurprisingly, people were not convinced by this line of argument. When Poussine asked Vernon if he also wanted a copy of the letter from Paris he told him no and that its content 'could signify nothing to us, unless it were to show [the French] were always ready with excuses for their non-performance of treaties.'⁶⁹

James's death and Louis's declaration of support for James's son in 1701 after it therefore reignited the issue of the Protestant Succession. The latter half of 1701 was marked by a public outcry against the French and renewed support for War. 'I think [the French King's actions] has so opened the eyes of everybody, that no one dares hardly speak against a war,' wrote one contemporary.⁷⁰ The public swing of support in favour of William's foreign policy can be explained almost entirely by the provocative policies of Louis

⁶⁸ 'Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, 13th September 1701,' in Samuel Weller Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester; with the Diary of Lord Clarendon from 1687 to 1690 containing minute particulars of the events attending the Revolution: And the Diary of Lord Rochester during his Embassy to Poland in 1676*, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1828), p. 385.

⁶⁹ 'Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, 13th September 1701,' in Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, p. 385.

⁷⁰ 'Robert Jennens to Thomas Coke, October 4 1700' in HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, K.G., Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Devonshire*, vol. 2 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1888), p. 436.

XIV.⁷¹ The French King's declaration was interpreted by many as French meddling in British affairs. James III was referred to by his opponents as 'the Pretender' from then on. Unsurprisingly, as a consequence of the combustible, confessional political conflict the Williamite regime directed public attention towards opposing the French and away from ritual mourning for the death of James II.

Admittedly when news arrived in Britain of the Stuart king's demise, John Evelyn noted with some sympathy in his diary that 'The death of K. James...put an end to that unhappy Princes troubles.'⁷² But public expressions of grief were much harder to find. As Amy Oberlin has pointed out, publicly presented loyalty addresses from the local authorities to the monarch grew more common in this period and included references to sorrow at the death of the previous monarch.⁷³ However, those which appeared in the wake of James's death omitted this mourning aspect and instead praised William, focused on condemning the Stuart pretender and the French action towards him.

In London, for example, the city authorities set about drafting and preparing an address to the king before his arrival back in England after visiting Holland and it was presented to the Lord Justices on 30th September.⁷⁴ They told the king that 'we are Duty bound highly to resent that

⁷¹ G.C. Gibbs, 'The Revolution in foreign policy', in Geoffrey Holmes (ed) *Britain after the Glorious Revolution, 1689-1714* (London: Macmillan, 1969), p. 73.

⁷² E.S. DeBeer (ed), *The Diary of John Evelyn, vol. 5, Kalendarium, 1690-1706* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 475.

⁷³ Amy Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction': Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early Eighteenth-Century England,' *Pareregon* 31, no. 2 (2014), pp. 100-102.

⁷⁴ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation, vol. 5*, pp. 93-5.

Great Indignity and Affront offered to Your most Sacred Majesty buy the French King, by giving the title of King...to the Pretended Prince of Wales' all in violation of William's title and laws.⁷⁵ Referring to Louis's ambitions, they argued that it was now apparent that he designed to 'Dethrone Your Majesty, to Exptipate the Protestant Religion out of these Your Majesty's Kingdoms, and to Invade our Liberties and Properties' which William had shown zeal to protect even at risk to his own life. The addressed concluded with 'We therefore, Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, do sincerely, and Unanimously, and Cheerfully assure Your Majesty, that we at all Times, and upon all Occasions' pledge to protect William and support his claim to the throne.⁷⁶ Unsurprisingly, the loyalty address was published in *The London Gazette* and similar declarations were prepared across the kingdom with the same tone and content in order to orchestrate a display of loyalty and unity.⁷⁷ William also ordered that the London address be translated and sent to the major cities of Europe as proof of his support at home.⁷⁸

In Scotland similar addresses were sent down to London to be presented by the Scottish peers there. The Earl of Mar sent one with a similar tone and content as London's from the Commissioners of the Justiciary of the Southern District which was to be delivered to the king at Whitehall by James, earl of Seafield.⁷⁹ Seafield wrote back to acknowledge

⁷⁵ *London Gazette*, 29 September to 2 October 1700, p. 1.

⁷⁶ *London Gazette*, 29 September to 2 October 1700, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 96.

⁷⁸ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 100.

⁷⁹ 'Earl of Mar to Earl of Seafield, October 17 1701, Alloa,' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved in Alloa House, N.B.* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1904), p. 223.

Mar's request and told him that he would include it with an address he was also presenting from Edinburgh. Seafield then openly wondered why people would not want to support the king in order to let 'the world see that the King of France [owning] the pretended Prince of Wales has no influence on us.' He argued that in Britain such an action would only adhere the people 'mor closlie to the interest of his Majestie, who under God delivered us from the great dangers which our religion and liberties wer exposed.'⁸⁰

Keen to harness a rare moment of political unity enhanced by the rise in anti-popery and anti-French xenophobia after James's death, on his return to England in early-November 1701 William immediately dissolved Parliament and called a new one.⁸¹ Henry St. John explained that, 'The King is desirous to meet a Parliament of good Englishmen and Protestants' to deal with the problems which had arisen.⁸² Although public support for William's opposition to the French was very strong by 1701 because of Louis's impolitic actions over the Treaty of Ryswick, a number of Tories remained wedded to the idea of divine right, and in doubt about the terms of the Protestant Succession and so remained unwilling to support renewed plans for war. William and his supporters aimed to use the propaganda potential offered by the opening of the new Parliament and the legislative process that followed as tools to condemn the Jacobite opponents of the Williamite regime and their French supporters. In doing so William built on the foundations laid by the official

⁸⁰ 'Earl of Seafield to Earl of Mar, October 25 1701, Whitehall,' in HMC, *Earl of Mar and Kellie*, p. 224.

⁸¹ Wilkinson, *Louis XIV*, p. 182; Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 128.

⁸² 'The same [Henry St. John] to the same [Sir William Trumbull]' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire, vol. 1, Papers of William Trumbull, Part 2* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1924), pp. 810-811.

outpouring of support shown in the loyalty addresses written and presented since September. In Parliament on 31st December William reminded MPs of the resentment expressed towards France's actions in the addresses he had received and called the declaration of the Jacobite Pretender, 'not only the highest Indignity offered to Me and the Nation, but does so nearly concern every Man who has a Regard for the Protestant Religion, or the present and future Quiet and Happiness of his Country.'⁸³ The King placed Louis XIV's decision in the wider context of a Catholic conspiracy and French ambitions in Europe. He called on Parliament to support England's place in the cause 'to obviate the General Calamity with which the rest of Christendom is threatened by this Exorbitant Power of France.'⁸⁴ Even though Parliament was not convinced of the case for war, which did not come until Anne issued a declaration of war on 4th May 1702,⁸⁵ it did pass a bill of attainder against Prince James and his mother Mary of Modena, and made it high treason to correspond with him.⁸⁶ As one British Catholic clergyman reflected later that year, Louis's actions 'by declaring the [Prince of Wales], had done a service to King William.'⁸⁷

⁸³ *The London Gazette*, 29 December [1701] to 1 January 1 1701(2), p. 1.

⁸⁴ *The London Gazette*, 29 December [1701] to 1 January 1 1701(2), p. 1.

⁸⁵ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 203.

⁸⁶ 'William III, 1701: An Act for the Attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of High Treason [Chapter III. Rot. Parl. 13 & 14 Gul. III. n.3.],' in John Raithby (ed) *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 7, 1695-1701* (Great Britain Record Commission, 1820), p.739, available from: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol7/p739>, accessed July 19, 2015; Queen Mary (late wife of James II) Attainder Bill' in *The Manuscripts of the House of Lords, vol. IV, New Series, 1699-1702* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1908), pp. 426-7.

⁸⁷ Bishop Ellis in a conversation with the Duke of Shrewsbury in Rome on 26th November 1701, as quoted in: 'Journal of the Duke of Shrewsbury, 1700-1706,' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall, vol. 2, part 2* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1903), p. 758.

But temporary political unity was short-lived. A new oath was drawn up, ratified by the Abjuration Act of 1702, which required all office-holders, clergymen, members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, teachers, lawyers and dissenting ministers to swear their allegiance to William and his title, to state their belief that James's son had no right to the throne and to pledge that they would defend William against the Pretender and all other enemies.⁸⁸ By this date the temporary political unity had fractured. Many Tories remained less than certain about their allegiance to the terms of the Protestant Succession and even less convinced about agreeing to finance a further war against the French. The Earl of Nottingham, for example, took two months to take the oath and several Tories outside of Westminster had still not taken it by the time of Anne's accession in 1702. Despite a public outcry in support of William in 1701, these political tensions probably put paid to any possibility that the Williamite regime would stage any ceremonial event to mark the death of King James, with all the propaganda power a funeral might offer his supporters.

To mourn James publicly in the face of such controversy was problematic, to say the least. Firstly, there was no body to bury. The escalating tension between the British and the French in the period immediately following James's death cut off shipping and trade between them. James Vernon told the Earl of Rochester how English imports were either banned outright or subjected to heavy duties, dissuading trade and the

⁸⁸ 'Security of the King's Person &c. [H.L.] Bill' in *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, vol. IV, pp. 413-4.

arrival of ships in French ports.⁸⁹ Luttrell reported that the French government had ordered that no English or Dutch fleets were to be permitted to enter French harbours.⁹⁰ Such a policy would have prevented the removal of James's body from France to England for burial had such an arrangement been desired.

Even beyond such practical restrictions, the rituals of mourning James II would have recognised his legitimacy, raising deeply difficult questions about the nature of both his abdication and his son's succession. After all, royal funeral rituals as they existed contained references to the successor, particularly with the reading of the deceased's styles at the culmination of the ceremony. When Mary II was buried in 1695 the question of William's succession to the sole occupation of the throne was intimately tied up in the design and execution of the funeral itself.⁹¹ As the previous chapters have argued, funerals made political statements, even when they were celebrated in a 'private' style.⁹² Therefore, to have performed rituals for James II in the midst of the controversy surrounding his son carried serious political risks.

Some groups such as the Jacobites who supported the exiled Stuarts might have used the death of James II as an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty. There was a precedent in that they had already used mourning etiquette as a political tool to show their opposition to the Williamite regime by

⁸⁹ 'Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, September 9 1701' in Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, p. 384.

⁹⁰ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 91.

⁹¹ See chapter 3 for discussion of this.

⁹² See chapter 2 for discussion of this.

deliberately shunning the public mourning for Mary II in 1694-5.⁹³ But in 1701 reports of ritual resistance by Jacobites were few in number, perhaps because it was too risky in the face of opposition to the French which at the time was so intense. Luttrell recorded an incident in Dublin where 'several Irish papist and other disaffected persons made great rejoycing upon the French kings owning the pretended prince of Wales, for which they were seized.'⁹⁴ A similar fate had met those Jacobites who had celebrated Mary's death.⁹⁵

Those known as the non-jurors who had remained loyal to James and opposed the accession of William and Mary in 1689 had mixed reactions. Some remained committed to the Stuart succession. Others now abandoned their public opposition to William III. One newspaper reported how:

Several Nonjurors of Note who scrupled to take the Oaths during the Life of the late King James, judging themselves now discharged from that Obligation, come in daily, and take the Oaths &c. thereby freeing themselves from paying double Taxes and other Inconveniences.⁹⁶

Luttrell noted that these included a former court official to James, a former Bishop of Norwich and a gentleman from Hertfordshire worth £3000 a year.⁹⁷ Other non-jurors would join them on Anne's accession since both William and

⁹³ 'Michael Fleming to Sir [Daniel Fleming], March 2 1694/5,' in: HMC, *The Manuscripts of S.H. Le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal Hall* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1890), p. 335.

⁹⁴ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 94.

⁹⁵ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 3, p. 423.

⁹⁶ *English Post with News Foreign and Domestick* (London), 19 September 1701-22 September 1701.

⁹⁷ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 5, pp. 92, 95.

James were dead, removing the two causes of their opposition, but some remained steadfast, with one such example being the Earl of Clarendon.⁹⁸

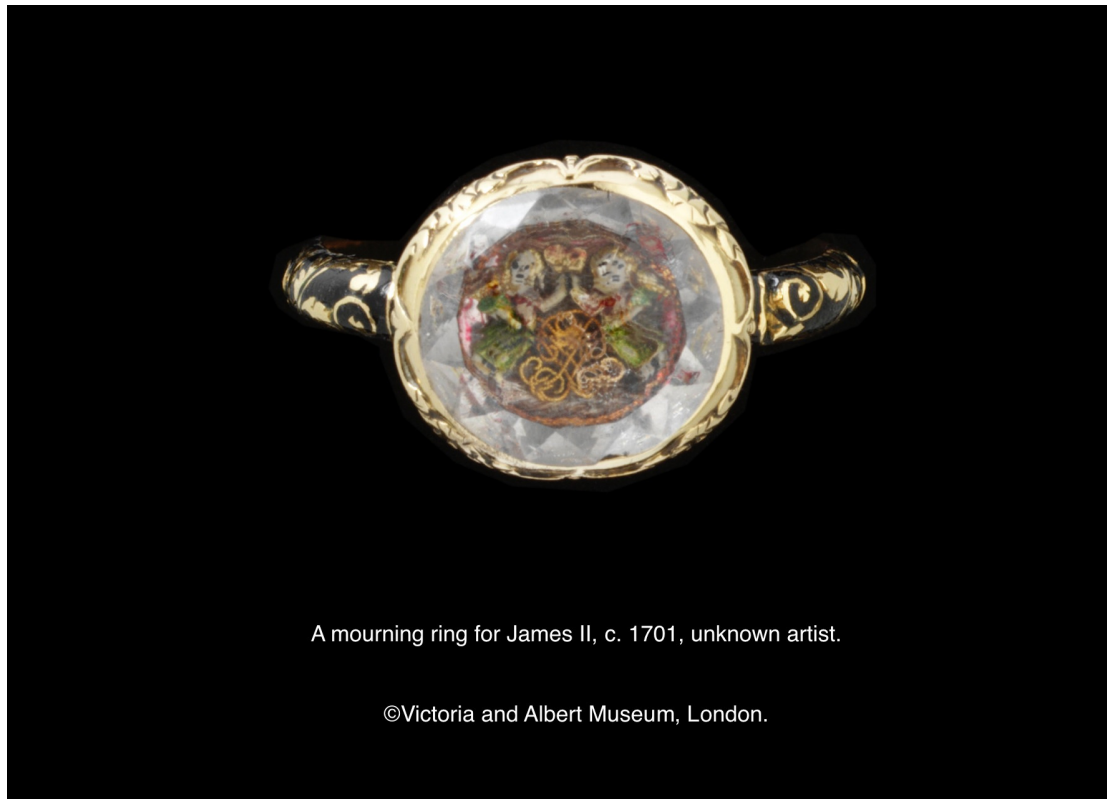
Less overt gestures of ritual resistance were adopted by some Jacobites. Mourning rings for James II were made and worn.⁹⁹ The rings were a form of jewellery fashioned to commemorate a death worn by those wishing to memorialise an individual through dress. An example made in England for James II survives at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 2) featuring two angels holding a crown above James's royal cypher.¹⁰⁰ How many rings were made, who made this particular ring and for whom is unknown, but considering the political climate, the wearing of commemorative jewellery for a king whose death had sparked what Edward Corp called a 'firestorm of indignation which swept throughout England,' was a courageous act of political resistance that was only likely to have been undertaken by someone dedicated to honouring James's memory.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 200-1.

⁹⁹ Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁰ Victoria and Albert Museum, M.21-1929, Ring, c. 1701, Unknown Artist, ex Harman-Oates Collection, Gallery location: Jewellery, room 91, case 12, shelf B, box 1.

¹⁰¹ Corp, *A Court in Exile*, p. 59.

Fig. 2

Mourning, Politics and 'Private' Grief

Yet while to mourn James publicly was problematic politically, on a more human level there was the issue of personal loss. The tensions surrounding James II as monarch-in-exile notwithstanding, there was the reality that James was a close relation to members of the Stuart dynasty in England. James was father to Princess Anne and the father-in-law to both King William III and Prince George of Denmark and a sense of propriety might demand them to mourn him as a private man, even if not in public as a monarch. It might seem reasonable to assume, therefore, that the attitudes of James's children to his death and its ritual aftermath would be complicated by family ties. Princess Anne of Denmark was after all his only surviving child

from his first marriage, and her attempts at performing the traditional mourning for her father were caught up in these political concerns.¹⁰²

But Princess Anne's relationship with her father was complicated.

Unlike Mary she had resided in London at her father's court after her marriage but both she and her husband Prince George had abandoned James during the Glorious Revolution, though James would claim that the loss of George was not that important.¹⁰³ In fact her reluctance to wholeheartedly accept the Prince of Wales's legitimate birth in 1688, and at times to openly doubt it, had been important in giving the accusations that he was really an impostor more authority.¹⁰⁴ After James's abdication Anne had made contact with her father three times during the 1690s. According to Edward Gregg, all three attempts coincided with heightened fears of Jacobite activity. They appeared to be brief, focusing on attempts to insure herself against future Jacobite successes or to ask for James's permission to take the throne on William's death.¹⁰⁵ These overtures aside, she continued to support the Glorious Revolution and its settlement and remained opposed to her half-brother's succession.

Perhaps because of a sense of propriety, it is interesting therefore to note that Anne began to enter mourning immediately on hearing about her father's death. Narcissus Luttrell noted on 11th September 1701, the same

¹⁰² James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patronness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 269.

¹⁰³ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 99-103.

¹⁰⁴ 'To the Princess of Orange, The Cockpit, March 14, 1688', 'To the Princess of Orange, The Cockpit, March 20, 1688' and 'To the Princess of Orange, The Cockpit, March 18, 1688' in Beatrice Curtis Brown (ed) *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne* (London: Cassell and Company, 1935), pp. 34, 35, 37.

¹⁰⁵ Edward Gregg, 'Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?', *History* 57 (October 1972), pp. 365-6.

day he recorded the news of James's demise, that 'The princesse of Denmark admits of no visits, and on Sunday goes in mourning.'¹⁰⁶ Mourning was to focus on Anne's household based at St. James's Palace, which William had given her as a London residence after the death of Mary II because William preferred Kensington.¹⁰⁷ One newspaper reported on 15th September that 'They have begun to hang the Appartments at St. James's Pallace with Mourning' which almost certainly meant Anne's apartments.¹⁰⁸ She expected some kind of mourning ritual to occur. The previous year the Court had gone into mourning for the Duke of Gloucester, as well as on the deaths of foreign monarchs and members of other royal families. Even Catholics were also marked by mourning at the English court, including the death of King Carlos II of Spain and Philippe duc d'Orleans, Louis XIV's younger brother who had been married to Princess Henrietta (1644-1670), the youngest daughter of Charles I.¹⁰⁹ In December 1700 William had ordered mourning for Carlos 'As soon as his received from Spain the notification of the king's death'.¹¹⁰ According to precedent, however, the form of mourning at Court was decided by the monarch and followed a highly formalised procedure which dictated styles of dress and behaviour for people

¹⁰⁶ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 89.

¹⁰⁷ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁸ *English Post with News Foreign and Domestick* (London), 12 September 1701-15 September 1701.

¹⁰⁹ 'Ja. Vernon to the lord justices of Ireland' and 'The same to the Lord Justices of Ireland' in Bateson (ed) *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, William III, 1 April 1700-8 March 1702*, pp. 156, 365.

¹¹⁰ 'The same to Monsr. Marmande' in Bateson (ed), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, William III, 1700-1702*, p. 173.

and decoration of space.¹¹¹ Anne believed that since James was her father and that there was a familial obligation for her to mourn him she was allowed to adopt deep mourning immediately without approval or instruction from her brother-in-law.¹¹² But William's wishes had to be known before public mourning could be set in motion, and he was away in Holland. The controversy surrounding James's death meant the courtiers were reluctant to act without instruction.

While Anne saw this as a relatively straightforward decision, others were not so sure. She may have been granted St. James's as her residence but as the heir to the throne she was not left alone there. The Prince and Princess hosted balls and social engagements, including celebrations for William's birthday, and the Princess had acted as the hostess at court after Mary's death.¹¹³ Her movements and her ritual practices were far from private. The Princess's decision and actions over her mourning for her father were the subject of a series of letters between John, earl of Marlborough, who had gone to Holland with William, and Sidney, lord Godolphin, who was still in London. Writing from Loo on 15th September (O.S.)/26th September (N.S.) Marlborough confirmed to Godolphin that news of James's death had arrived there and interestingly that William 'will mourn for him.'¹¹⁴ He also reported that William had also received 'a letter from the Lord Chamberlain which gives

¹¹¹ See chapter 1 for the process of setting up mourning.

¹¹² Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 169.

¹¹³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 105; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 156, 160; Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 126.

¹¹⁴ 'Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 15/26 1701' in Henry L. Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 34.

him an account that the Princess has [directed] mourning' which had caused some concern. As Marlborough then explains:

the King is very desirous the Princess should mourn for her father, as she thinkes proper; but at the same time [the King] thinkes there should be noe directions for mourning till he had been acquainted with itt, soe if the PrincCESS should have forgote to desire Lord Chamberlain to the King for her, I desire that you give my humble duty to her, and desire that she doe itt.

According to Marlborough, in her haste to mourn her father, Anne had inadvertently overlooked the wishes of the King on the matter, as expressed through the Lord Chamberlain. This interpretation of Anne's actions avoided political controversy by suggesting that she was not acting with malicious intent to snub or critique William by her decision. Marlborough urged Godolphin to tell the Princess that 'she will not give directions for the putting the court of St. James in mourning, if she has any thoughts to doe itt, till Lord Chamberlain has acquainted the King.'¹¹⁵

Tensions were clearly high and Marlborough told Godolphin that he should impress upon Anne that she should not go into mourning until she had heard from the King. He stated that if she was seen to be mourning for James in the tense political climate she might attract 'the malice of a party that may be to[o] much inclined to doe her ill.'¹¹⁶ The urgency in his words suggests how much the wider context influenced behaviour. His tone and words to Godolphin indicate how delicate this situation was: if Anne was going

¹¹⁵ 'Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 15/26 1701' in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 34.

¹¹⁶ Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 15/26 1701' in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 34.

to mourn her father she needed to make sure what she was doing was not being perceived as a public act to insult the king nor suggest sympathy with his enemies.

The next day Marlborough sent another letter to London because William had just told him about plans for his mourning and ‘commanded me to write to the Princess to let her know.’¹¹⁷ The instructions gave permission for mourning to take place, and to inform the Princess that the King planned on doing the same. However, in giving this permission there was a distinct limitation in the scale:

[the King] intended to put himself, his coaches and [livery servants] in mourning but not his apartments, and that he desired that the Princess would doe the same, by which he means she should not putt St. Jameses in mourning.

Marlborough put it more succinctly to Godolphin: ‘if she had thoughts’ of placing her home in complete mourning, ‘you see it can’t bee.’¹¹⁸

Again, Marlborough reiterated his arguments from the day before telling Godolphin that Anne must be made to see that it would ‘doe her Highness good in England’ to act this way.¹¹⁹ His reason was that if people saw Anne putting her household into mourning for James it would cause an outcry against her.¹²⁰ As explained above, public opinion at the death of

¹¹⁷ ‘Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 16/27 1701’ in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 35.

¹¹⁸ ‘Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 16/27 1701’ in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 35.

¹¹⁹ ‘Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 16/27 1701’ in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 35.

¹²⁰ ‘Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 16/27 1701’ in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 35.

James had focused on the outrage at the actions of the French king and the apparent 'accession' of James's son to the throne. Anne's mourning of James in such a public way could have turned this anger towards her for appearing to support the pretensions of her half-brother against William, with whom she maintained a polite but cool relationship.¹²¹ The Earl of Marlborough therefore was arguing that the political climate surrounding the death of James II would make a ritualised response controversial and should be avoided if at all possible.

It fell to Godolphin to pass this information on to the Princess, though exactly how Godolphin delivered all this to Anne is unclear. A letter written by Anne to Godolphin around this time does shed some light on it and gives us some possibilities. Writing from Windsor, Anne told him:

It is a very great satisfaction to me to find you agree with Mrs Morley [Anne] concerning the ill-natured, cruel proceedings of Mr. Caliban [William], which vexes me more than you can imagine, and I am out of all patience when I think I must do so monstrous a thing as not to put my lodgings in mourning for my father.¹²²

The wording of this letter suggests that Anne had not been presented with informal, friendly advice from her close and faithful servants as Marlborough had initially suggested, but with direct orders from the King. This was probably a result of the rapid succession of the letters from Holland: they

¹²¹ For the Anne-William relationship after Mary II's death see: Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 105, 107; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 151, 160.

¹²² 'To Lord Godolphin, Windsor, ? 1700-1701' in Beatrice Curtis Brown (ed) *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne* (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd., 1935), pp. 67-8.

came too close together for informal advice to precede formal instruction. This was implied by the way Anne referred to them as ‘the ill-natured, cruel proceedings’ coming directly from ‘Mr. Caliban’, a code-word for the King used by her in correspondence.¹²³ The letter also suggests that Godolphin had indicated his own displeasure with the content of William’s instructions, perhaps to endear himself to Anne (which the letter showed was happening with Anne’s claim ‘It is a very great satisfaction to me to find you agree’) or just to soften the blow.¹²⁴

The last part of the Godolphin letter indicated the way Anne had approached the mourning as she referred to it not as a formalised, public ritual but simply as ‘mourning *for my father*.’¹²⁵ Yet when Marlborough wrote from Holland, his letters confirmed that Anne’s interpretations were simplistic at best, and that what the Princess was planning (and had already started to do) was bound to have public significance.¹²⁶ In fact, the order not to conduct a display of filial piety appeared to insult her. The importance of mourning to her was shown in her use of ‘monstrous’ to describe William’s actions.¹²⁷

¹²³ The letters between Anne’s friends and family often made use of pen or code names to disguise who they were referring to and to remove the deference to rank. So the Marlboroughs were ‘Mr and Mrs Freeman’, the Denmarks were ‘Mr and Mrs Morley’, Godolphin was ‘Mr Montgomery’ and William was ‘Mr Caliban’. See: Ophelia Field, *The Favourite: Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London: Sceptre, 2002), pp. 66-7; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 81-2.

¹²⁴ ‘To Lord Godolphin, Windsor, ? 1700-1701’ in Brown (ed) *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, p. 68.

¹²⁵ ‘To Lord Godolphin, Windsor, ? 1700-1701’ in Brown (ed) *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, p. 68. Emphasis added.

¹²⁶ ‘Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 15/26 1701’ and ‘Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 16/27 1701’ in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 34-5.

¹²⁷ ‘To Lord Godolphin, Windsor, ? 1700-1701’ in Brown (ed) *The Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, p. 68.

This incident demonstrates how extensive the plans were to avoid any public rituals to mark James II's death. Even Anne's mourning rituals for St. James's appeared from the tone of Marlborough's letters to be more extensive than the mourning which William eventually adopted. What did finally occur at court to mark James's passing was very small-scale and very short-lived. One observer described how 'The King does not go into mourning till his return' from Holland.¹²⁸ The decision restricted the duration of mourning because William did not return to England until much later in the year.¹²⁹ Such behaviour gives the impression of a minimal gesture designed to satisfy protocols of royal propriety rather than genuine expressions of loss. No Lord Chamberlain records survive about preparation of the royal household for mourning, unlike those issued a few months later when William III himself passed away.¹³⁰ The Great Wardrobe's records do contain some references to mourning attire, though these are restricted to the work of the King's seamstress and starchers who were to fashion William's clothes for mourning. Judging from these accounts mourning seems to have been restricted to the King's person rather than to those around him or the spaces he occupied. The women required muslin, cambric and fine holland sheets to prepare shirts, nightshirts, shaving cloths, cravats and necks for the King's mourning. The cost of all these materials was £234.¹³¹

¹²⁸ 'Robert Jennens to Thomas Coke, Sep 25 1701,' in HMC, *Cowper*, vol. 2, p. 436.

¹²⁹ The Privy Council Registers list the appointment of the Lord Justices to be left 'for the Administration of Government, during his Matys Absence' on 28 June and still referenced that the Lord Justices were in office at Council on 4 November 1701. William first re-appears at the Privy Council on 11 November 1701: TNA, PC 2/78 Privy Council Registers, William III, vol. 6, 4 April 1700-19 February 1701(2), pp. 222, 269, 271.

¹³⁰ For Lord Chamberlain records relating to preparing court for mourning for William III in 1702 see: TNA LC 2/14/2 Funeral: William III, 1702.

¹³¹ LC 9/281, Great Wardrobe: Tradesman Bills from Michas. 1699 to 1703, fo. 78.

There appears to have been some confusion about what courtiers were to do. Luttrell's account informs us that on 18th September the court was forbidden from entering mourning.¹³² However, this appears to be inaccurate. Robert Jennens noted that, while the King only planned on 'mourning as for a relation,' it was still expected that 'all people that come to court...be in black as usual.'¹³³ Such details do not contradict the idea of a minimal mourning centred around the King's person and only those who came to court, which was a small number indeed because William's court was notoriously dull and kept people away.¹³⁴ Outside of the court there was not the usual widespread use of mourning rituals. Mourning orders were not published in *The London Gazette* and the absence of notice led to some confusion. For example, the Earl of Marlborough asked Godolphin to clarify 'if the Lords are to put their coaches and [liveries] in mourning' before he left Holland.¹³⁵ James Vernon had to clarify the requirements for the Earl of Rochester, writing to tell him that 'it is not expected that any of the peers should put their coaches or liveries into mourning.'¹³⁶ Nonetheless Anne's inability to place her household in mourning as she desired and William's limited mourning rituals contrasts markedly with the highly formalised court

¹³² Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 5, p. 91.

¹³³ 'Robert Jennens to Thomas Coke, Sep 25 1701,' in HMC, *Cowper*, vol. 2, p. 436.

¹³⁴ R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 31-4.

¹³⁵ 'Marlborough to Godolphin, Loo, Sept 23/4 Oct. 1701' in Snyder (ed), *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 36.

¹³⁶ Mr Vernon to the Earl of Rochester, Whitehall, September 20 1701' in Singer (ed) *The Correspondence of Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and of his brother, Laurence Hyde, Earl of Rochester*, pp. 389-90.

rituals of mourning which were performed on Mary II's death and later for Prince George.¹³⁷

The ceremonial surrounding the death of a monarch-in-exile was inevitably fraught with political tensions not least because the symbolism of succession was so problematic. The death of James II came at an especially sensitive time in European political history. The existing tensions between the British and the French over the Spanish succession meant war loomed on the continent. The reigniting of the English succession issue after the declaration by Louis XIV of James II's son as heir in contravention of the Treaty of Ryswick angered the British and threatened the security of the terms of the Protestant Succession as represented by William III. As a result of this political climate the death of James II in September 1701 received little ritual attention at court. Although the fact that his body was abroad may have prevented a funeral from taking place there was also a deliberate attempt to avoid the staging of rituals regarded as traditional and associated with protocol and propriety surrounding a royal death outside the funeral. This thesis has already shown ways in which the scale and content of rituals were determined by the wider political environment as well as cultural shifts. The death of James II demonstrates the 'malleability' of symbol and ceremony and the importance of consideration of the political context which could alter and in the case of James II prevent 'traditional' ritual from being staged

¹³⁷ TNA PC 1/14/79 Herald's Report about limited times of Mourning, 2 March 1714(5).

altogether.¹³⁸ The lack of mourning for James II was in distinct contrast to the ceremony for Prince George of Denmark, husband of Anne. The impact of the grief of the Queen on mourning practices is the subject of the next chapter.

¹³⁸ Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p. 19.

V

**‘Those dire Impressions this Loss will attempt upon her Majesty’s
spirit’:
Gender, Politics and the Grief of Queen Anne, 1708-1710**

Writing to Sir John Perceval (the future Earl of Egmont) on 28th October 1708, Helena Le Grand announced to him that 'The poor prince [George of Denmark] died about 2 o'clock to-day after a very tedious life of illness for some years.' She continued that, along with his chronic illnesses, he had suffered 'a week of lethargy, spitting blood, dropsy and asthma' before his death. She then described how 'The poor Queen [Anne]...is, as you can imagine, from a couple that lived so entirely happy together, in a state of inexpressible affliction.' She then moved on to consider the wider implications of this event and the uncertainty it raised: 'What alteration this will make to State affairs I am not able to say, but I think it will produce you a new lieutenant [of Ireland], and that the other will be made high admiral.'¹ Mrs Le Grand, like many others, was considering the politics which would arise to disturb the mourning Queen. What she failed to realise was how wide this impact was to be.

Historical research on the subject of the grief and mourning of Stuart monarchs is fairly limited. Beyond a recent article by Amy Oberlin which tracks the interesting increase in the expression of royal grief in print in later

¹ 'Mrs Helena Le Grand to Sir John Perceval, London, October 28, 1708,' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*, vol. 2 (Dublin: HM Stationery Office, 1909), p. 232.

Stuart and Hanoverian England, in order to ‘cultivate political relationships’,² royal grief and rituals of mourning in early-eighteenth-century court culture have been largely overlooked in larger political histories of the period.³ The following analysis begins to redress the balance by offering a case study of the neglected topic of the ritual arrangements that were staged after the death of Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, and the political consequences of the Queen’s expressions of grief. The subject has been chosen in part because of the lack of existing research on the topic in the literature but also because of the light it sheds on gendered patterns of grieving and the relationship of women to political authority in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.

Anne ruled as Queen regnant in a society which assumed females were naturally inferior, and which consistently viewed the prospect of female rule with anxiety. It was only after 1553 that England had had a queen regnant⁴ and, despite the precedent set by the reigns of Mary I and her sister Elizabeth I, the status of female monarchs was never fully established. The paradoxical position of a member of the supposedly weaker sex inhabiting the highest position in the political and social hierarchy was rationalised but never

² Amy Oberlin, ‘Share with me in my Grief and Affliction’: Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early Eighteenth Century England’, *Parergon* 31, no. 2 (2014), p. 117.

³ Examples of only fleeting mentions of Anne’s grief in political histories include: George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne, vol. 2, Ramillies and the Union with Scotland* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1932), pp. 389-90; Brian W. Hill, *Robert Harley: Speaker, Secretary of State and Premier Minister* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 121; William Calvin Dickinson, Sidney Godolphin, *Lord Treasurer, 1702-1710* (Lewiston New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), p. 146; No mention in: Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1967).

⁴ The Empress Matilda, the only legitimate surviving child of Henry I, claimed the throne of England but never secured this claim in the ensuing civil war between her and her cousin Stephen known as ‘The Anarchy’ (1135-1154). On Stephen’s death the throne passed to Matilda’s son, Henry II.

entirely secured in the sixteenth century by reference to the medieval concept of the king's 'two bodies' in which there existed an immortal, incorruptible and transferrable 'body politic' of the King which resided within the 'body natural' of the individual king which aged and died.⁵ The laws from the reign of Mary I along with the rhetoric of Elizabeth I suggested that, while the natural body was female, the spiritual one remained male.⁶ In Edward Chamberlayne's *Anglia Notitia; Or the Present State of England* (1669) he described the king in this fashion but used only male pronouns to explain the condition of the spiritual King to his reader.⁷

But even the great success of Elizabeth's reign did not persuade men in authority of women's fitness for rule. The institution of monarchy continued to be conceived in male terms. Chamberlayne described England as a 'Hereditary Paternal Monarchy' governed by one 'Supreme, Independent, and Undeposable Head.'⁸ In doing so he emphasised both the masculine, patriarchal and hierarchical nature of the institution. Monarchy was also closely tied to the masculine sphere of the military. The right to control the armed forces and to act independently in both foreign and military affairs was considered a fundamental prerogative of kingship and a male domain. Gender thus intruded into the ritual ceremony of coronation when the new

⁵ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

⁶ For laws see: 'An Act Concerning the Regal Power' in Mortimer Levine, *Tudor Dynastic Problems, 1460-1571* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973), pp. 174-5; For rhetoric see: Internet Modern History Sourcebook, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Against the Spanish Armada,' (1997), available at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1588elizabeth.asp>, accessed 17 February 2014.

⁷ Edward Chamberlayne, *Anglia Notitia; Or the present state of England: Together with Diver Reflections Upon the Antient State Thereof* (London: T.N. For John Martyn, 1669).

⁸ Chamberlayne, *Anglia Notitia*, p. 83.

monarch was invested with the masculine military symbols of rule by being touched with spurs and presented with a sword of state.

This debate about gender and authority had profound implications for later Stuart politics. As far as male politicians in 1688 were concerned the right of Mary II to inherit the throne was confirmed but the administration was vested solely in her husband William III.⁹ What is interesting, therefore, for the purposes of this chapter, is that unlike her sister, Queen Anne retained full power on her accession as monarch and ruled as well as reigned. Some insight into the authority that she maintained can be gleaned from a speech made just before her death in 1714 when she informed Parliament that these were '*My Kingdoms*' and they needed to show respect for '*My Just Prerogative*, and for the Honour of *my Government*, as I have always expressed for the Rights of *My People*.'¹⁰ Charles Beem has argued that, as a result of this attitude, Anne was 'recognised politically as a single woman in the public sphere of politics and government, even though she catered to the conventional social expectations.'¹¹

After many years of neglect and an assumption by historians that Anne was a weak and ineffective ruler, her competence and political acumen have recently been more widely recognised by historians. She remained active in government and, as Kevin Sharpe has argued, she 'worked assiduously at the business of ruling' and regularly met with her ministers and attended

⁹ For discussion of Mary II's role in government see chapter 3.

¹⁰ Her Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the Ninth Day of July, 1714,' in F. William Torrington (ed) *House of Lords Sessional Papers, Sessions 1714 to 1717-1718* (Dobbs Ferry NY: Oceana Publications, 1978), p.42. Emphasis/italics added.

¹¹ Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 179.

Cabinet meetings each week.¹² Robert Bucholz has asserted that Anne's political skills have been underestimated and that she has suffered at the hands of modern scholars who have failed to recognise her ability to negotiate her femininity in a masculine sphere effectively, to the detriment of her historical image.¹³ Anne emphasised maternal and peace-loving qualities, for example, in an effort to avoid the conflict of party politics and her manipulation of gendered norms arguably met with some political success. Her reign was understood to be distinctly feminine from its beginning. She fostered a link between her reign and that of Elizabeth I's, notably by adopting the same motto (*Semper Eadem*).¹⁴ However, she did not associate herself with qualities deemed masculine, as Elizabeth had sometimes done to define herself as Queen of England.¹⁵ In contrast, Anne embraced her role as a married woman who has been a mother and still wished to be one in her rhetoric and imagery. Her coronation sermon drew on the idea of a queen as a 'nursing mother' to the nation, presenting herself as the nation's mother as well as its monarch.¹⁶ But despite her success in several fields, her position as a woman in a male-dominated political sphere was always complicated and gender and authority had to be negotiated quite carefully. The analysis

¹² Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 510-11

¹³ Robert O. Bucholz, 'Queen Anne: victim of her virtues?' in Clarissa Campbell-Orr (ed), *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 120-1.

¹⁴ Anne Somerset, *Queen Anne: The Politics of Passion, A Biography* (London: Harper Press, 2012), p. 179.

¹⁵ Internet Modern History Sourcebook, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Against the Spanish Armada,' (1997), available at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1588elizabeth.asp>, accessed 17 February 2014.

¹⁶ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 180.

that follows explores the political complexities of gender and monarchical power in the context of Queen Anne's grief at the loss of her husband and the mourning rituals which she arranged.

The Grieving Queen and Court Mourning

When Prince George of Denmark died in October 1708 his marriage to Queen Anne of Great Britain had lasted twenty-five years. In that time he had been involved in late-Stuart political and court society to varying degrees, including membership of the Privy Council since 1685 and admission to the House of Lords in 1689.¹⁷ After his wife's accession to the throne in 1702 he had served as Lord High Admiral.¹⁸ However, he was always more passive than active in these roles, sitting more on the sidelines than the centre of action and he had never carved out his own political clique or power base.¹⁹ As Barry Coward has commented, Prince George remained 'as subservient to Queen Anne as Mary II had been to William III.'²⁰ George was happy to remain in the background while others took centre stage. His shyness and

¹⁷ *London Gazette*, 9 February to 12 February, 1685, p. 1; *London Gazette*, April 8 to April 11, 1689, p. 2.

¹⁸ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 184.

¹⁹ W. A. Speck, 'George, prince of Denmark and duke of Cumberland (1653–1708)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10543>, accessed 21 April 2013.

²⁰ Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age, England 1603-1714*, 4th ed. (Harlow: Pearson, 2012), p. 418.

his poorer command of the English language left him more comfortable as a consort to Anne who remained the centrepiece of politics and government.²¹

George's passivity may have reduced his presence in political life while alive but his wife's reaction to his death had a much larger impact. He died at Kensington Palace on 28th October 1708. According to *The London Gazette* he had been affected by 'a dropsical Humour' which 'seized his Legs, and most parts of his Body' for three months and this had coincided with 'a Sleepiness, Cough and an encrease of his Asthma.' On the day of his death he 'fell into a suffocation, from which neither a Bleeding or a Vomit...could relieve him' and he died with Anne 'assisting in his last moments...in the most mournful and affecting manner.'²² Lord Godolphin called the development unsurprising when relaying the news to the Duke of Marlborough and that 'Nature was quite worn out in him and no art could support him long.'²³ Anne was inconsolable after her husband died and fell into a deep and prolonged period of grieving which sprang from her love for him. One courtier reported how 'She never left him till he was dead, but continued kissing him till the very moment the breath went out of his body.'²⁴ The Duchess of Marlborough, who was serving as Anne's Groom of the Stole, sprung to action to move the Queen out of the room and then out of Kensington itself to St. James's

²¹ Charles Beem, *The Lioness Roared: The Problems of Female Rule in English History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 101-139; Charles Beem, 'Why Prince George of Denmark did not become a King of England,' available at: <http://www.tudorhistorian.com/empress.html>; accessed 18 December 2012.

²² *London Gazette*, 28 October to 1 November 1708, p. 1.

²³ 'Godolphin to Marlborough, 29 October 1708' in Henry L. Snyder (ed) *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 1142.

²⁴ James Brydges to William Cadogan (1708) as quoted in: Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 280.

Palace. The Earl of Mar observed that the queen 'came...to St. James about two hours after [Prince George] died.'²⁵

From St. James's the Queen had slowly returned to her duties. Anne was a particularly active monarch in conducting and involving herself in routine business.²⁶ While Narcissus Luttrell noted that she did not officially receive visitors until mid-December, she had continued to work on her papers and various government duties before then, despite intense emotional suffering.²⁷ She also informally received some visitors who were not her household servants. The Rev. Ralph Bridges told Sir William Trumbull in November 1708 that Henry Compton, the Bishop of London, who had been in charge of Anne's education when she was a girl, now 'takes a world of care of the Queen on this mournful occasion' and visits her every day.²⁸

The depth of Anne's suffering can be gauged from a letter she wrote to the Dutch States General informing them of the Prince's death. She described sending the letter as her 'sad duty' and was informing them 'of the great and irreplaceable loss we have suffered by the death of our very dear Husband.'²⁹ Written so soon after she had lost her husband it seems fair to say that her words reflected the pain of her grief. The intimacy of the

²⁵ 'Earl of Mar to his brother, Lord Grange, October 28 1708,' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House, N.B.* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1904), p.469.

²⁶ Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, pp. 510-11; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 216-18.

²⁷ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, vol. VI (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), p. 382.

²⁸ 'The Rev. Ralph Bridges to Sir William Trumbull, Fulham, November 8 1708,' in HMC, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire...*, vol. 1, *Papers of Sir William Trumbull, Part II* (London: HM Stationery Office, 1924), p. 863.

²⁹ 'Queen Anne to the States General, November 9 1708,' in Beatrice Curtis Brown (ed), *Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne* (London: Cassell and Co Ltd, 1935), p.264.

sentiment is striking. Anne is expressing disinterest in the political sphere, defining herself in terms of her relationships more than her public power and authority. She went on to describe the personal and emotional impact of her bereavement:

This terrible misfortune has overwhelmed us with such deep sorrow that we would willingly remain in profound silence, if ties which we would have with your State did not oblige us to communicate everything that occurs to us, either good or bad. You can judge the magnitude of our affliction because such a good husband was an inestimable treasure, who loved us with such tenderness for the course of so many years. You, too, have lost in him a true friend, who cherished your interests on every occasion.³⁰

Anne wrote this letter quite soon after George's death (it was dated 9th November and the Prince died on 28th October) so was an accurate description and reflection of Anne's state at that time from her personally. The text offers more than just a description of her grief: it also reveals the tensions between her public and private role created by her emotional state. She expressed the desire to 'remain in profound silence' away from the public gaze and insulated from the dialogue and debate of court life. At the same time she acknowledged her public obligations referred to as her 'sad duty' to report the event to the Dutch authorities.³¹ This offers valuable insights into the way a female monarch negotiated public duty and personal relationships.

³⁰ 'Queen Anne to the States General, November 9 1708,' in Brown (ed), *Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, p.264.

³¹ 'Queen Anne to the States General, November 9 1708,' in Brown (ed), *Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, p.264.

Her private grief existed in tension with her public authority until the end of her mourning in 1711.

Anne had experienced profound suffering before while she was still a Princess but did so admittedly without the weight of public political obligation. She and her husband had isolated themselves as a response to the intense grief that they experienced when their only surviving son William, duke of Gloucester, died at Windsor on 30th July 1700. Anne and George were consumed by their emotional agony and separated themselves from courtiers and politics. 'They do not think of leaving Windsor' wrote the Secretary of State James Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and both Anne and George refused to receive visitors with exceptions for those who were their close friends or servants such as the-then Earl and Countess of Marlborough (with whom they were still very close).³² Luttrell recorded that Anne was often carried in her chair to a garden to help distract her from her 'melancholly thoughts'.³³ Both she and George often consulted and read Christian texts on death together to try alleviating their suffering.³⁴ The grieving parents mourned in this fashion for most of 1700. Prince George had a long and steady absence from meetings of the Privy Council that year. After Gloucester's death he remained absent until 28th November, even staying away when the King returned to Council in October after visiting the

³² 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 30 July 1700,' and 'Mr Vernon to Duke of Shrewsbury, 3 August 1700,' G.P.R. James (ed), *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Coburn, 1841), p.120, p.123.

³³ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, in *Six Volumes*, vol. IV (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), p. 675.

³⁴ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p.163-4.

continent.³⁵ It was noted by Luttrell that the Prince and Princess had remained at Windsor until at least Michaelmas that year and that Anne had 'ordered that the day on which the duke of Gloucester died to be annually kept as a day of mourning in her family.'³⁶

The all-consuming grief which Anne had experienced in 1700 was repeated in October 1708, but as Queen the political impact of her emotional response was far more significant. This was acknowledged by many of her contemporaries who commented on it. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, described how the Queen was 'not only decently, but deeply affected' by her loss.³⁷ Anne's servant, Abigail Masham, reported to the politician Robert Harley that Anne was 'in a very deplorable condition, for now all her [courage] is gone.'³⁸ In one sermon given shortly after the Prince's death and published afterwards the preacher prays God 'restrain those dire Impressions which the Loss will attempt upon Her Majesty's spirit' and give her the strength, courage and patience to live longer than George did, for the good of war-torn Europe.³⁹ When Anne herself died in 1714 those eulogising her spoke of her

³⁵ TNA PC 2/82 Privy Council Registers: William III, vol. 6, 4 April 1700 to 10 February 1701, pp. 47, 60, 51, 56, 100.

³⁶ Luttrell, *A Brief Relation of State Affairs*, p. 676.

³⁷ Gilbert Burnet, Bishop Burnet's *History of His Own Time: From the Restoration of Charles II. To the Treaty of Peace at Utrecht in the Reign of Queen Anne. A New Edition, with Historical and Biographical Notes* (London: William Smith, 1838), p. 833.

³⁸ 'Abigail Masham to Robert Harley, November 6 1708,' in HMC, *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Portland, Preserved at Welbeck Abbey*, vol. 4 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1897) p. 511 (Hereafter: HMC, *Portland*, vol. 4).

³⁹ D. Sturmy, *A Sermon Preached &c. October the 31st 1708 on the Death of His Royal Highness The Prince* (London: Printed for Dan Midwinter, at the Three Crowns in St. Paul's, 1708), p. 13.

being 'to the Day of her Death a sorrowful widow' and 'inconsolable' on her husband's death years earlier.⁴⁰

There was some concern that the Queen would succumb to ill-effects as a result of performing excessive mourning. Excessive grief was seen as both dangerous and deadly at this time. The Bills of Mortality for London listed grief as a cause of death alongside diseases and illness such as dropsy, plague and fever. During the same period as Anne's mourning fourteen people in London were reported to have died of grief.⁴¹ Prominent diplomats such as Lord Raby, then an Ambassador in Prussia, wrote home of their own 'great grief' on hearing the news of the Prince's death but noted that there was an 'addition to my affliction, when I consider the part the Queen has in this great loss, & how this might endanger her health.'⁴² The Duke of Marlborough wrote from his army camp in Belgium that he hopes God will 'enable H[er] M[ajesty] to support this great affliction.'⁴³ One ode written to mark the Prince's death addressed to the Queen urged her to avoid such

⁴⁰ George Noone, *A Sermon upon the Death of Queen Anne of Blessed Memory, Who Departed this Life Aug 1. 1714. Preached at Chelmsford in Essex, August 15. 1714* (London: Printed for Samuel Keble at the Turks Head in Fleet Street, 1714); Anon., *The History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne...* (London: Printed and Sold by Booksellers, c. 1714).

⁴¹ 'A General Account of all the Christenings and Burials, from the 14th December 1708, to the 13th of December 1709. According to a Report made to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, By the Company of Parish Clerks of London &c.' and 'A General Account of all the Christenings and Burials, from the 13th December 1709, to the 12th of December 1710. According to a Report made to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, By the Company of Parish Clerks of London &c.' in *A Collection of the Yearly Bills of Mortality, from 1657 to 1758 inclusive. Together with several other Bills of an earlier Date* (London: Printed for A. Millar, 1759).

⁴² TNA SP 90/4 State Papers, Prussia, 1706-1708, Lord Raby to Secretary Boyle, Berlin, 24 November 1708, fo. 787.

⁴³ 'The Duke of Marlborough to Mr Secretary Boyle' in Sir George Murray (ed), *The Letters and Dispatches of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1712*, vol. IV (London: John Murray, 1845), p. 324.

excessive displays of grief and the mourning it provoked for the good of the nation. They wrote as advice to her:

Yet, Monarch, spare us useless Grief,
That Grief might well be spar'd as vain,
Which to Thy Would brings no Relief,
But Thro' thy Realms diffuses Pain.⁴⁴

We cannot be sure that Anne ever read these words, and if she did it appears to have had no effect on convincing her to temper her mourning. In fact it found physical expression in imposing strict regulations on her court and courtiers.

David Cressy has argued grief was something felt and performed.⁴⁵ As Anne grieved she was surrounded by her court, composed of servants, attendants, ministers, politicians and foreign diplomats. All entered into a ritualised display of mourning from the time of George's death until Anne lifted it in late 1710. The royal widow's grief was most clearly manifested in the way that it consumed her court's space and its attendees in deep mourning black. Whether the court and the royal household operated as public space for government or private space for the queen's domestic life/service, they were still subject to the same strict mourning conditions. This acted as a constant reminder to those who witnessed it of the impact grief was having on the Queen.

⁴⁴ Anon., *An Ode to the Queen on the Death of His Royal Highness George, Hereditary Prince of Denmark, &c. Generalissimo of Her Majesty's Forces, both Sea and Land; Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c.* (London: Printed by J.L., 1708), p. 5.

⁴⁵ David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 393.

This ritualised mourning survived the transition from 'public' to 'private' funerals traced in previous chapters.⁴⁶ Mourning was part of the process of commemorating the deceased's importance to the community and it survived despite the iconoclasm of the Protestant Reformation, the political upheavals of the Stuart century and the wider cultural shifts in funerals. It also served, as Susan Vincent has argued, as a 'mechanism for assuring the living that their response to...death was the right one' and the distribution of mourning for use by members of communities shared the burden of grief.⁴⁷ Court mourning reflected all of these as the community of courtiers and servants around the monarch shared in her grief over her husband's passing, and also commemorated his importance to her in a way which was structured and ritualised in order to appear proper.

The mourning process began when the Earl Marshal ordered that 'all Persons, on this occasion, do put themselves into the deepest mourning (long coat's excepted) on Sunday 7th [November 1708]' and that by the 14th both the Queen's and the late Prince's household officers as well as Privy Councillors 'do cover their Coaches and Chariots, and Chairs, and Cloath their Livery-Servants with Black Cloth.'⁴⁸ Interestingly, however, economic considerations came into play and, despite the Queen's orders, by 1709 only courtiers who spent time in Anne's presence were required to wear mourning black, because of their impact on England's cloth weavers and merchants. Persons concerned included the Queen's courtiers, lady servants, Privy

⁴⁶ See chapters 2 and 3 for discussion of 'private' and 'public' funerals of this period.

⁴⁷ Susan Vincent, *Dressing the elite: Clothes in early modern England* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), pp. 68-71.

⁴⁸ *London Gazette*, November 4 to November 8 1708, p.1.

Councillors and ministers who often had to come into contact with her to perform their duties or to conduct business.⁴⁹ The uncertainty of the transition in mourning arrangements is indicated in a letter written by the Duke of Marlborough to his wife in October 1709 from Holland when he asked his wife, 'I desire you would in your next [letter] let me know what sort of mourning is to wore this winter', so that he could have a new black suit made before his departure home.⁵⁰

Alongside this the rooms of the royal palaces were covered with hangings and specially provided furnishings. Throughout the public rooms there were black hangings while purple was used in some to reflect the presence of the monarch. For example, at St. James's the Great Bedchamber was hung from top to bottom with purple hangings, purple cloth coverings for the bed, chairs, tables, floor, and ceilings, and new purple cloth window curtains. In contrast, the drawing room, privy chamber and presence chamber were the same but with black cloth. The great stairs, portico and porch of the gate were hung with a ring of black baize.⁵¹ In the more private rooms, those which Anne occupied with greater privacy from the court and accessible only by those intimate servants, white cloth coverings were used instead. For example, Anne's private bedchamber, its closets and backstairs

⁴⁹ TNA PC 1/2/154 Copy of an Order in Council made upon the Mourning for the Prince of Denmark, 27 March 1709. The order states that 'Her Majesty having compassion for so many families who are likely to fall into want; Is graciously pleased hereby to Declare, That she does not require or expect that any of her Subjects (Except her own Servants and such that have access to Her Royal Person) should continue to observe the present Mourning.'

⁵⁰ 'Marlborough to the Duchess, October 21 (N.S.) 1709,' in Snyder (ed) *The Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 3, p. 1397.

⁵¹ TNA LC 2/16 Funeral: Prince George of Denmark, 1708-1709, warrant 1, 1 November 1708.

were covered this way.⁵² This difference probably reflected mourning styles adopted from the French court fashion which favoured white rather than black.⁵³ For example, this was famously depicted in Francois Clouet's portraits of Mary Queen of Scots while she was in mourning for her first husband Francis II.⁵⁴

Court mourning was therefore a ritual of dress and decoration. It also brought with it certain behaviours which those who attended court were expected to conform to. First and foremost they had to respect the rules governing mourning. Anne expected this from everyone and she told the Lord Chamberlain that she expected strict compliance from any servant who entered her presence.⁵⁵ Anne was a stickler for these kinds of rules and historians have agreed in their belief that she had found some comfort in deciding on their details and then enforcing them.⁵⁶ The strictness of this was reflected when in 1711 the court celebrated the first royal birthday after the mourning was lifted. Commentators noted that particular efforts to appear opulent were made and Luttrell noted that the men went 'in richer habits than has been known since 1660' while the ladies 'appeared in jewels very

⁵² TNA LC 2/16, warrant 17, 10 November 1708.

⁵³ Catherine de'Medici, the wife of Henri II (d. 1559), mourned her husband by wearing black in defiance of the French custom to mourn in white: John Guy, *My Heart is My Own: The Life of Mary Queen of Scots* (London: Fourth Estate, 2004), p. 103.

⁵⁴ Helen Smailes and Duncan Thomas, *The Queen's Image: A Celebration of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1987), pp. 31-3; Guy, *My Heart is My Own*, p. 114.

⁵⁵ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 375.

⁵⁶ Examples of historians taking this view are: David Green, *Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (London: Collins, 1967) who claims that 'to one who took pleasure in the rules of etiquette there might have been some slight relief in meticulously observing them' (p. 137); also by Bucholz, 'Nothing but Ceremony', who wrote 'at her very darkest hour...she appears to have found some consolation in busying herself with the details of his funeral' (p.290).

glorious.⁵⁷ Jonathan Swift wrote that courtiers wore 'so much fine Cloths' and 'the Court was so crowded that I do not go there.'⁵⁸

Court mourning etiquette became a manifestation of Anne's grief and one that courtiers could constantly see and feel even when they were away from London. Anne's desire for strict compliance was required by her ambassadors on the continent as well. Lord Raby wrote from Prussia that he began to 'put myself, family, & Equipage into the deepest mourning can be... wch shall be done as soon as possible.' Raby was particularly exercised and requested further instructions from the Secretary of State about how to negotiate adherence to the Queen's orders for mourning costume while stationed at a foreign court which was in the midst of celebrating its own king's wedding.⁵⁹

The structure provided by court mourning suggests that the emotions of royal grief were transformed into something that was not only tangible but also manageable since it followed set rules defined by ritual authorities (meaning the Earl Marshal). Philippe Ariès has pointed out that at this time, especially amongst the elite, public and ritual mourning was becoming more common and, in effect, prohibited an effective emotional release.⁶⁰ But Ariès's conclusion is simple and vague because it acknowledges very general trends but fails to address the point that grief was an individual experience

⁵⁷ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. VI, p. 688.

⁵⁸ Jonathan Swift, 'Letter XV', in Harold Williams (ed) *Jonathan Swift, Journal to Stella*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974), p. 181.

⁵⁹ TNA SP 90/4 State Papers, Prussia, 1706-1708, Lord Raby to Secretary Boyle, 24 November 1708 and 1 December 1708, fo. 787-9, 793-4.

⁶⁰ Philippe Ariès, *Western Attitudes to Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Patricia M. Rouen (London: Marion Boyars, 1976), pp. 56-9; Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Vintage, 1981), pp. 326-7.

even within structured rituals and that it was also affected by other cultural politics. Anne's grief was real and found a physical expression through court mourning, but it was not as simple as that. Anne's gender and her position as the nation's female king caused tensions due to cultural perceptions about suitable male and female grieving as well as the patriarchal origins and meaning of monarchy. It was Anne's response within this cultural context and the formalised court mourning structure which caused further conflicts.

Gendered Grief, Gendered Monarchy

In the early modern period excessive grief was regarded as dangerous. William III was warned about the consequences for his political authority and the welfare of his kingdom when experiencing intense grief after the death of his wife Mary II in 1694. Throughout his reign to that point William had displayed the qualities of male kingship expected of a seventeenth-century monarch, much of it rooted in his military success and his image as Europe's Protestant champion.⁶¹ At court he was aloof and distant, had often shunned court entertainments and remained formal and focused on business.⁶² But after Mary II fell ill and died in late-December 1694 he uncharacteristically 'drowned in sorrow' and lapsed into a state of

⁶¹ Paul Kleber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 259, 267.

⁶² David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 319; R.O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 31-3.

intense grief. His emotional display made his (male) attendants fear for both his health and sanity.⁶³

William's grief undermined the stoic image and emotional distance that courtiers were used to and caused them to be anxious. 'It was greater than those who knew him thought his temper capable of,' recalled Gilbert Burnet and 'for some weeks after he was so little master of himself, that he was not capable of minding business, or seeing company.'⁶⁴ In sending their condolences, both Houses of Parliament urged the king not to 'indulge Your Grief upon this Sad Occasion to the Prejudice of the Health of Your Royal Person, in whose Preservation not only the Welfare of Your own subjects, but of all Christendom is so nearly Concerned.' His reply thanking them for their concern added that 'I am able to think of nothing but our great loss.'⁶⁵ One eyewitness to this scene wrote that his reply 'as short as it is, he had no small difficulty to deliver, his grief interrupting him.'⁶⁶

While, as Alex Garganigo has argued, the display of grief over Mary allowed for some sympathy towards William to be generated, it also threatened to undermine his authority.⁶⁷ Such fears were also expressed by the king's contemporaries and associates. James Vernon wrote regularly to Lord Lexington, then an Ambassador in Vienna, to update him on William's

⁶³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 101.

⁶⁴ Burnet, *History of His Own Time*, p. 607.

⁶⁵ *London Gazette*, December 27 to December 31 1694.

⁶⁶ 'Mr Vernon to Lord Lexington, Whitehall, Jan. 1, 1694' in H. Manners Sutton (ed), *The Lexington Papers; Or Some Account of The Courts of London and Vienna; At the Conclusion of the Seventeenth Century. Extracted from the Official Correspondence of Robert Sutton, Lord Lexington, British Minister at Vienna, 1694-1698* (London: John Murray, 1851), p. 37.

⁶⁷ Alex Garganigo, 'William without Mary: Mourning sensibly in the Public Sphere,' *The Seventeenth Century* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2008), p. 120.

condition. Vernon firstly expressed concern over the King's health, but by 1st January wrote that this was no longer his concern. After this he worried instead about access to the King for official business and the King's public duties, which was either being denied or hindered by his wallowing in grief.⁶⁸ By 4th January Vernon wrote that the king had allowed some courtiers access 'but his grief rising at the first sight of them, makes that they can't continue long in his presence.'⁶⁹ Lexington received a letter dated 15th January from the Earl of Portland, one of William's closest advisors and favourites, in which he summarised the king's experience of grief and noted that where once they had 'great cause for alarm,' they now see 'the strength of feeling and reason' appear which was allowing him to move beyond his loss and handle it 'with resignation and patience.'⁷⁰

Outside the Court, the public sphere also discussed and criticised William's apparently disabling grief over his wife's death. In an epigram by George Stepney given in Latin and then subsequently translated, this conflict between expected male and female grieving is expressed most explicitly: 'So greatly Mary died, and William grieves/ You'd think the hero gone, the woman lives.' This piece subverts William's image as a manly hero by elevating Mary's 'good' death (see chapter 3 for details) as the heroic act befitting a ruler while William's grief is deemed as womanly. This proved to be a

⁶⁸ Mr Vernon to Lord Lexington, Whitehall, Jan. 1, 1694,' in Sutton(ed), *Lexington Papers*, pp.36-7.

⁶⁹ Mr Vernon to Lord Lexington, Whitehall, Jan. 4, 1694', in Sutton (ed), *Lexington Papers*, pp. 38-9.

⁷⁰ 'Lord Portland to Lord Lexington, Kensington, January 15/25, no date but 1695' in Sutton (ed), *Lexington Papers*, p. 48.

recurring theme. Another translation of the epigram made it an even more direct attack along gendered lines:

The Queen her death so bravely bore,
The King so poorly cried,
You'd think the manly woman lived,
The Female Hero Died.⁷¹

This poem continues the theme from above by interpreting Mary's stoic acceptance of death (a story circulated by men such as Archbishop Thomas Tenison who used it in his funeral sermon)⁷² as more befitting the heroic man than William's tears, which were deemed more effeminate. A third poem written using the spirit of Stepney's words added to it:

Sure Death's a Jacobite that thus bewitches
Him to wear petticoats, and her the breeches.
Were we mistaken in the choice of our commanders;
Will should have knotted, and Moll gone for Flanders.⁷³

These three poems demonstrate the emasculating effect which open displays of grief were having on William III. The fact that these are the accounts of courtiers suggests that this was observed and understood by those outside

⁷¹ '---- Morley, On the Death of the Queen (1695)' in William J. Cameron (ed), *Poems on the Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, vol. 5, 1688-1714 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 444-445.

⁷² Thomas Tenison, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of Her late Majesty Queen Mary of Ever Blessed Memory, In the Abbey-Church in Westminster, Upon March 5, 1694/5* (London: H. Hills, 1709).

⁷³ '---- Morley, On the Death of the Queen (1695)' in Cameron (ed), *Poems on the Affairs of State*, vol. 5, 1688-1714, pp. 444-446.

the confines of the royal household. It also explains Portland's relief when William's 'resignation and patience' emerged again.⁷⁴

Anxiety about William's public expression of suffering highlights the risk to all monarchs of any perceived expression of emotional vulnerability associated with personal loss and the need in the male-dominated sphere of court politics to perform the role in masculine ways. It is interesting therefore to note, as Amy Oberlin has pointed out, that William III was unique for the printed warnings he received about the dangers of excessive grief. Even though Anne's distress was just as intense after the death of Prince George, and worries were expressed behind the scenes about Queen Anne's excessive grief, no formal addresses on the subject were printed.⁷⁵ These differences have been explained by historians in terms of a rise in the culture of sensibility and the growing acceptance that deep feelings of loss would be expressed in public at the death of a monarch.⁷⁶

But since the time between the death of Mary II and Prince George was only a matter of a few years it is possible that other factors had a part to play and the gender of the monarch surely needs to be considered in any analysis of the negotiation between personal and public roles. After all, two broad gendered expectations about the expression and spatial experience of grief existed. One was overly emotional and expressive which was associated with women, who were believed to be less able to govern their

⁷⁴ '---- Morley, On the Death of the Queen (1695)' in William J. Cameron (ed), *Poems on the Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, vol. 5, 1688-1714 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp.444-446; 'Lord Portland to Lord Lexington, January 15, 1694/5' in *Lexington Papers*, 561.

⁷⁵ Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction', p. 117.

⁷⁶ Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction', pp. 117-120.

emotions due to their nature. This was therefore also associated with privacy.⁷⁷ The other was stoic and restrained, which was associated with men and publicity. Early Humanists such as Petrarch had argued that overly emotional women should be kept at home.⁷⁸ Protestant reformers pushed these ideas forward because in the reformers' minds the excess of female mourning was more aligned with Catholicism. In contrast, they saw male mourning as being suitably reformed and so was praised.⁷⁹ As one seventeenth-century book on mourning argued to its readers, there must be a 'Christian-like Moderation of our Grief' in order to submit to the will of God and to a belief in the afterlife to which good Christians were ultimately destined.⁸⁰

Patricia Phillippy has examined this 'early modern gendering of grief' and has argued that both men and women participated in the relegation of female grief to the home and attributing of stoic male grief to the public realm. She posits that this was due to maternity which allowed women 'a unique site of affective and emotional license' that, when terminated with the death of their children, saw women contemplate the total dissolution of their identities. This was accompanied by 'melancholic gestures toward self-cancellation, dissolution and death,' the ideas of the religious reformers, and the prevailing ideas about the weakness of the female body which meant they were in a weaker emotional state compared to men. As a result their grief required

⁷⁷ Bernard Capp, 'Jesus Wept' but did the Englishman? Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern England,' *Past and Present* 224 (August 2014), p. 80.

⁷⁸ Patricia Phillippy, 'I might again have been the sepulchre': Paternal and Maternal Mourning in Early Modern England,' in Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner (ed) *Grief and Gender: 700-1700* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 202.

⁷⁹ Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.8.

⁸⁰ Richard Allestree, *The Whole Duty of Mourning, And Great Concern for Preparing Ourselves for Death, Practically Considered* (London: J. Bach, 1695), 155.

relegation to their home.⁸¹ Anne's mourning for the Duke of Gloucester in 1700 was this experience.

As these ideas about female grief took hold they were mirrored by the idea that male tears were not appropriate behaviour. Philip Carter has argued that, until the eighteenth-century, 'weeping was principally defined as private, purgatory, and, especially feminine' and, despite a shift towards sensibility, these basic ideas were never really abandoned.⁸² Bernard Capp has shown that societal disapproval of male tears was actually never absolute but class, character and context dictated the extent of what was allowed.⁸³ Tears of grief were more acceptable but moderation was expected and preferred, especially amongst elites with monarchs keen to relegate theirs to private rooms.⁸⁴ In the mid-eighteenth-century, Vicesimus Knox argued against the perception that 'To shed tears is...unmanly' because there were many examples of 'the greatest men recorded in antiquity' doing so including Jesus who wept in the Gospel.⁸⁵ Knox drew off ideas from the Enlightenment by arguing that weeping was found in the state of nature and that the 'lacrymal glands were intended by Providence for use, as much as any other part...of the human frame.' He called on people to stop refusing 'the real mourner... give expression to his feelings, by the mode which nature powerfully

⁸¹ Phillippy, 'I might again have been the sepulchre': Paternal and Maternal Mourning in Early Modern England,' pp.197-204

⁸² Philip Carter, 'Tears and the Man,' in Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds) *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 158-9.

⁸³ Capp, 'Jesus Wept' but did the Englishman?, pp. 80, 107, 108.

⁸⁴ Capp, 'Jesus wept' but did the Englishman?', pp. 88-9.

⁸⁵ Vicesimus Knox, *Winter Evenings: Or, Lubrications on Life and Letters. New edition. Vol. II* (London, 1823), pp. 272-3.

recommends' but the belief in the stoical nature of male grief remained strong.⁸⁶

In the context of a general uncertainty surrounding the security of female political authority, there was always a tension between Anne's 'private' role as wife and 'public' role as a monarch and the lines became very blurred at her entry into widowhood. But perhaps in part as a consequence of her strategic manipulation of her femininity in the construction of her image as monarch, Anne's excessive grief and desire for 'privacy' was less publicly criticised than similar patterns of behaviour exhibited by William III.

Grief, Gender and the Politics of the Whig Junto

In contrast to her brother-in-law, however, Anne's grief had concrete and negative political consequences for her in court as well as in Cabinet. Prince George's death came amidst a difficult time politically for Anne. Prince George's main office (Lord High Admiral) became vacant upon his death and a space opened up for further political manoeuvring and scheming. The grief-stricken Anne had to negotiate and stave off incursions into her royal prerogative. In 1694-5 a grieving William was similarly threatened by his emotional state, but at that time there was no single pressing political crisis to meet (some of the more general ones being met by the content of Mary's funeral, as discussed in chapter 3). Unfortunately Anne faced a more difficult

⁸⁶ Knox, *Winter Evenings*, pp. 274-5.

political situation that was complicated by her position as a woman at the centre of power.

During Prince George's final year Anne had been embroiled in partisan politics between herself, the Tories represented by Robert Harley, and the Whigs represented by their leadership group (five lords known as the 'Whig Junto').⁸⁷ Like William III before her, Anne had opted for a policy of 'mixed ministry' as much as possible during her reign. In the interest of promoting national unity amidst an increasingly divided polity, this meant that a mixture of able men from both political parties were usually appointed to government office. This was supposed to prevent one faction from dominating the resources of her crown for themselves. The earlier Stuart monarchs had governed through consensus amongst the smaller, more homogenous political class but over the seventeenth-century the changes to parliamentary power, the birth of organised parties in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis, and the more frequent elections after the Glorious Revolution had allowed majority-will politics to emerge instead.⁸⁸ This had reached its greatest intensity during Anne's reign. As Lawrence Stone observed England, became 'a deeply fissured society, perhaps more passionately divided...than at any time in English history—except of course the Interregnum.'⁸⁹

⁸⁷ The Whig Junto was comprised of Lords Somers, Wharton, Halifax, Orford and Sunderland.

⁸⁸ Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, pp.62-4; James Jay Carafano, 'William III and the Negative Voice,' *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 19, no. 4 (Winter 1987), p. 513; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 134-5.

⁸⁹ Lawrence Stone, 'The Results of the English Revolutions of the Seventeenth Century,' in J.G.A. Pocock (ed) *Three British Revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), p.75.

Anne's 'mixed ministry' at this time was headed by the team of Lord High Treasurer Sidney, earl Godolphin and the army chief John Churchill, duke of Marlborough. These men were nominally associated with the Tories but were close to, and were esteemed by, the Whigs and their leaders. This was symbolised by the marriage of Marlborough's younger daughter Anne to one of the Whig Junto lords (the Earl of Sunderland). Marlborough and Godolphin (known as 'the duumvirs') viewed themselves as statesmen rather than as professional politicians and were trusted by Anne; she relied on them but she still acted independently when needed. Under them served a mixture of Whig and Tory ministers.

In her dealings with both the duumvirs and the Junto lords Anne was not willing to sacrifice her own prerogatives nor was she willing to let her gender inhibit the exercise of her office. This was especially true in her dealings with the Church of England, an institution Anne was passionate about and dedicated to wholeheartedly.⁹⁰ In 1706-7 a political conflict emerged between these three groups when several vacant bishoprics needed to be filled. This power rested with the Crown and Godolphin and Marlborough negotiated with the Whig Junto on compromise candidates whom Anne would then appoint. Anne, however, had already settled on her own candidates, two of whom were Tories opposed by the Junto on partisan grounds. The duumvirs urged Anne at length to adopt their compromise ones but she had offered her royal promise to her preferred choices despite Whig

⁹⁰ Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 99, 187; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 145-7; Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, pp. 313-4; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 21; Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, p. 545; James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 15.

anger at being overlooked.⁹¹ Writing to Godolphin later she told him 'Whoever of ye Whigs thinks I am to be Hecktor'd or frighted into Compliance tho I am a woman, are mightily mistaken in me.'⁹² She was to remain steadfast to her independent exercise of prerogative power in the face of this partisanship for several years.

The Whig Junto continued to exercise a significant amount of power due to their party's strength in Parliament. Anne was still resistant to hand power over to such overtly partisan politicians and was eager to dilute their influence. In late 1707 Robert Harley, then one of the Secretaries of State, floated an idea of creating a new ministry headed by Godolphin and Marlborough which leaned on the Tories while being backed up by some moderate Whig peers. The Queen seemed to favour the idea, but Godolphin split with Harley over the issue and this alienated Marlborough's support. At a meeting between Anne, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough and Godolphin before the Cabinet met on 8th February 1708, the resignations of all three were offered if the Queen chose to execute Harley's plan. In the subsequent Cabinet meeting, with both Godolphin and Marlborough being notably absent, the moderate Whig peers shied away from the plan which resulted in both the scheme's collapse and Harley's dismissal from office.⁹³

Instead of diluting the Whig Junto's influence the episode only fuelled their desire for more senior offices and greater influence in government. In the wake of Harley's ousting more Tory ministers such as Henry St. John

⁹¹ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 238-9, 240-1, 249.

⁹² Letter from Anne to Lord Treasurer Godolphin, September 1707, as quoted in: Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 250.

⁹³ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp.335-340.

(Secretary of War) and Lord Harcourt (Attorney General) also resigned making the ministry lean even more on the Whigs. As the Queen attended to the increasingly unwell Prince George the Junto's desire for positions and power was increased when the general election of 1708 returned a Whig majority to the Commons. Anne, however, remained committed to opposing the Junto. She had always disliked them and out of the two parties Anne had always preferred the Tories because of their strong support for the established Church. As such she had resisted any attempt to have the Junto's members appointed to the Cabinet. With their control of the Commons they continued to add pressure for advancement despite Anne's strong resistance to the idea. It was to be George's death which handed them victory as Anne's strength and desire to resist their demands collapsed with her adoption of mourning. The monarch's grieving state was something exploited to the Junto's advantage.⁹⁴

When Prince George died Anne was inconsolable but that did not spare her from the Junto's ambitions. In fact, observers were well aware that this would open up a new opportunity for them to gain the power and promotion they wanted. On news of the Prince of Denmark's death the Earl of Sunderland wrote to Admiral Byng that 'it opened an easy way to have everything put upon a right foot.'⁹⁵ Jonathan Swift wrote to Archdeacon Walls about what he described as the 'new change we expect on the Prince's

⁹⁴ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 341; Henry Snyder, 'Queen Anne versus the Junto: The Effort to Place Orford at the Head of the Admiralty in 1709,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (August 1972), p.342.

⁹⁵ Earl of Sunderland as quoted in: Snyder, 'Queen Anne versus the Junto,' p.326.

Death.⁹⁶ In a separate letter to Archbishop William King, Swift wrote of how 'There is a new world here' and that he had visited 'a certain great Man,' who was probably one of the leading Junto lords, 'and we entered very freely into Discourse upon the present Juncture. He assured me, there was no doubt now of the Scheme holding about the Admiralty, the Government of Ireland, and the presidency of the Council.'⁹⁷

The reason why change was now expected was Anne's emotional state. She had been strong in resisting the Junto's demands and steadfast in her opposition to them and while Prince George's death had not immediately altered the composition of government it had acted as a catalyst for changing the Queen's ability to resist. The Junto's target was the Admiralty which George had headed while he was alive. Before his death it was hoped that attacking the Prince's favourite Admiral, George Churchill (Marlborough's brother), who dominated the admiralty council, would force his dismissal (something that had also incurred Marlborough's resentment towards them). If Prince George had resigned (or was dismissed) due to Churchill's departure then the Junto could manoeuvre the Earl of Pembroke into his office, thus freeing up the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland and the Lord Presidency of the Council which Pembroke held but the Junto wanted for its own members.⁹⁸

In the immediate aftermath of George's death, Anne had instead chosen to take on the responsibilities of his office herself. James Vernon

⁹⁶ 'Swift to Archdeacon Walls, Lond., Novbr 9. 1708' in Harold Williams (ed) *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, vol. 1, 1690-1713* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963), p. 108.

⁹⁷ 'Swift to Archbishop King, London, Nov. 9, 1708' in Williams (ed) *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, vol. 1*, p.104.

⁹⁸ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp.283-4; Snyder, 'Queen Anne versus the Junto,' p.326.

noted in a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury that this was the first time since the reign of Charles II that this had happened.⁹⁹ However, this proved detrimental as it exposed her weakened emotional state. After his wife's death William III's courtiers and ministers had worried that his emotional state was negatively affecting his ability to do business properly. Back then Vernon had written of his concern that the king was not fulfilling this duty, saying that 'I hope what is excessive in his sorrow will wear off...and that he will begin to admit the diversion of business, which must be allowed to have its turn.'¹⁰⁰

When Anne lost her husband and first turned to the duties of Lord High Admiral her emotional state got the better of her. The Admiralty papers were brought to her for her signature at noon on 30th October.¹⁰¹ Anne was overcome with sorrow at attending to her husband's duties and broke down in tears. The papers had to be taken away and business postponed.¹⁰²

The Admiralty needed to be dealt with properly but Anne had exposed that she was in no fit state to conduct this. With Britain still at war against France and Spain (in the War of the Spanish Succession) and the navy accounting for half of the military expenditures it needed effective administration.¹⁰³ The Junto renewed the pressure for Pembroke's move to the Admiralty. Anne's energy to resist them was now gone as she mourned

⁹⁹ 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, October 30, 1708,' in G.D.R. James (ed) *Letters illustrative of the reign of William III. From 1696 to 1708. Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury, by James Vernon, Esq., Secretary of State. Now published from the originals, Volume 3* (London: Henry Colburn, 1841), p. 367.

¹⁰⁰ 'Mr Vernon to Lord Lexington, Whitehall, Jan. 1, 1694' in *Lexington Papers*, p. 36.

¹⁰¹ Vernon mentions in a letter of 30 October that the papers were brought 'at noon': 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, October 30, 1708,' in James (ed) *Letters illustrative of the reign of William III, vol. 3*, p. 367.

¹⁰² Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 283; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 372-3.

¹⁰³ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 184.

her loss and relented to the appointment. This freed up the Lord Lieutenancy and the Lord Presidency the Junto wanted and Lords Somers and Wharton respectively were appointed to these offices.¹⁰⁴

Anne's years of resisting Junto influence suddenly ended amidst her grief and throughout her mourning period the Whigs dominated government in violation of her 'mixed ministry' preference. As Edward Gregg has pointed out, 'The Whigs...cold-bloodedly used the prince's death as an opportunity to ride roughshod over the queen's wishes.'¹⁰⁵ As had been commented, William III's experience in 1694-5 showed that there was an understanding that business would suffer if the monarch's emotions distracted and overwhelmed them. In the male-dominated world of government such a response was not suitable. Anne's emotional response, though conforming to conventional feminine norms of behaviour, was inappropriate and politically costly. The Queen who had long resisted the Junto found herself overpowered to her political cost. An analysis of the Queen's grief exposes the tensions between personal and public roles and highlights the complex position of women and the feminine in early-eighteenth-century constructions of royal authority.

¹⁰⁴ 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, November 6 1708', in James (ed) *Letters illustrative of the reign of William III*, vol. 3, pp. 369-70; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 283.

¹⁰⁵ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 283-4.

Conflict in the Household of the Grieving Widow: Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough

Anne's grief was not only damaging to her political strategy, it also impacted on personal and political relationships at court. The monarch had always sought places of privacy and, as the court developed during the Tudor to Stuart periods, these private spaces were drawn ever inward through the palace's rooms from the Privy Chamber under the Tudors to the Bedchamber under James I and his successors.¹⁰⁶ Household Regulations had stipulated how far certain people could penetrate into the rooms, based on their title, sex or office, becoming more exclusive as they got closer to the Bedchamber.¹⁰⁷ Within the Bedchamber existed the ostensibly private world of the monarch which was staffed by peers and menial body servants who always matched the gender of the monarch. According to the Household Ordinances in the reign of Charles II, the 'Bedchamber and Back-Staires' were placed into 'the care and government' of the Groom of the Stole, who was usually a higher-ranked peer or someone personally close to the monarch.¹⁰⁸ On her accession in 1702, Anne awarded this office to her close friend and confidante Sarah Churchill, countess of Marlborough. Later known as the

¹⁰⁶ Hugh Murray Baille, 'Etiquette and the Planning of the State Apartments in Baroque Palaces,' *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 101 (1967), pp. 175-6; David Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547,' in David Starkey (ed) *The English Court: from the War of the Roses to the Civil War* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 71-118; Neil Cuddy, 'The revival of the entourage: the Bedchamber of James I, 1603-1625' in Starkey (ed) *The English Court*, pp. 173-225; R.O. Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700: A Visitor's Guide,' *The Court Historian* 5, no. 4 (December 2000), pp. 200-1, 206-7.

¹⁰⁷ TNA LC 5/196 Household Regulations, c. 1685.

¹⁰⁸ *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, made in divers reigns. From King Edward II. To King William and Queen Mary* (London: John Nichols, 1790), p. 364.

Duchess of Marlborough, she served until her dismissal in 1711 when the post was given to Elizabeth Seymour, duchess of Somerset.

Just as Anne had fostered the idea of herself as the nation's mother, she applied domestic ideals to her household, thus emphasising her understanding of it as a private space. It has been noted by historians that she often envisioned her household as her 'family'. Such attitudes were based on the close-knit community of courtiers who were often drawn from the same pool of families who raised children for the purpose of following them into household offices.¹⁰⁹ For example, in 1702 after Anne had appointed the Countess of Marlborough as Groom, she then appointed the Countess's eldest two daughters (Henrietta and Anne) as Ladies of the Bedchamber.¹¹⁰ It had been expected that Anne would confer the Countess's offices on her daughters should she ever have to vacate them.¹¹¹ Anne also wished to ensure that, regardless of an individual officer's right to patronage and appointment, she had a say in appointments to ensure a congenial and trustworthy 'family' in her private, domestic spaces at court as represented by areas such as the Bedchamber.¹¹²

In this sense Anne had again copied the example of her Tudor predecessor Elizabeth I. Although the Bedchamber was not established until

¹⁰⁹ Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, p. 112.

¹¹⁰ TNA LC 5/166, Lord Chamberlain Miscellaneous Records, Warrant Books: Miscellaneous, Swearing in of officials, 1687-1714, p. 72.

¹¹¹ Sarah Churchill recalled later that after a personal plea to Anne, the queen had made the promise in person and later in writing that Sarah's daughters could take over her employments: BL Add MS 61422, Blenheim Papers CCXXII, An Account of a conversation with her Majtie she it appear'd plainly that she did not intend to keep her promise to the dutchess of Marlborough in letting her resign her employments to her children, Feb 1709/10, fo. 57-8.

¹¹² Bucholz, *Augustan Court*, pp. 78-82.

the Stuart period, Elizabeth had cultivated her Privy Chamber as a space of relative privacy, staffed by women supposedly free of the factions and politics which had come to dominate her father's court. Here Elizabeth had escaped the male-dominated world of government to a place of sanctuary.¹¹³ Anna Whitelock has called this place 'the frontier between the Queen's public and private worlds' with the space within it becoming 'the most private place in the Elizabethan realm.'¹¹⁴ During Elizabeth's reign the ladies who had access here had the potential to be in a place of great power and influence with the Queen. As a result they attracted the attention of the male politicians now barred from such access due to their gender, though these women did not hold roles or actively participate in public politics themselves.¹¹⁵

Anne's approach to the Bedchamber matched Elizabeth I's towards her Privy Chamber, and within this space Anne might have been expected to exercise the feminine expression of grief associated with the private household. But politics intruded here too and made it both a private and political space, even unintentionally or unknowingly. Elizabeth's Privy Chamber was still political because the Queen of England, whose physical body represented the state itself, resided within.¹¹⁶ The politicisation of the Privy Chamber under the Tudor kings had occurred because, as David Starkey identified, 'nearness—intimacy—was the key to the Privy Chamber's

¹¹³ Pam Wright, 'A change of direction: the ramifications of a female household,' in Starkey (ed) *The English Court*, p.159.

¹¹⁴ Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows*, p. 18.

¹¹⁵ Wright, 'A change in direction,' p. 161; Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows*, p. 22.

¹¹⁶ Whitelock, *Elizabeth's Bedfellows*, pp. 8, 10.

importance.¹¹⁷ Such proximity to the source of royal power infused the space itself and service within it with the same, and made it political as a result, regardless of gender.¹¹⁸ Anne, however, resisted this interpretation, and in resisting it came into conflict with her Groom of the Stole who more understood the political potential of her office.

The Queen's increasingly difficult relationship with Sarah Churchill (now Duchess of Marlborough), whose post as Groom allowed her great political influence, meant that grief expressed in the semi-private space of the Bedchamber also had wider political ramifications. Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, was a woman who believed her gender should not prevent her from participating in partisan politics. 'I am confydant,' she once reflected, 'I should have been the greatest Hero that ever was known in the Parliament Hous, if I had been so happy as to have been a Man.'¹¹⁹ As Rachel Weil has argued, to Sarah Churchill, gender 'did not matter in the construction of herself as a political actor' because, like the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, she interpreted her own actions through a lens of political virtue.¹²⁰ She was convinced that she had subverted ambition and personal interest for the good of the nation. However, unlike her husband, whose

¹¹⁷ Starkey, 'Intimacy and innovation: the rise of the Privy Chamber, 1485-1547,' in Starkey (ed.) *The English Court*, p. 71.

¹¹⁸ Nadine Akkerman and Brigit Houben, 'Introduction' in Nadine Akkerman and Brigit Houben (eds.) *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 4-5; Cynthia Fry, 'Perceptions of Influence: The Catholic Diplomacy of Queen Anna and Her Ladies, 1601-1604' in Akkerman and Houben (eds.) *The Politics of Female Households*, pp. 267-285; Sara Wolfson, 'The Female Bedchamber of Queen Henrietta Maria: Politics, Familial Networks and Policy, 1626-1641,' in Akkerman and Houben (eds.) *The Politics of Female Households*, pp. 311-341.

¹¹⁹ Sarah Churchill as quoted in: Frances Harris, *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 3.

¹²⁰ Rachel Weil, *Political passions: Gender, the family and political argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 189-90.

Toryism was only nominal, she had embraced the Whigs (and the ideas and opinions of the Junto in particular) because she believed that only they could be trusted to save the Glorious Revolution's settlement.¹²¹ By the time of Prince George's death she understood her service to Anne through the Bedchamber as a political role as well.

Her downfall came when she attempted to manipulate her access to the Queen through her post in the Bedchamber and to to exploit Anne's vulnerability in her grief for political advantage. The Duchess reflected later in life that 'there are very few, if any women, that have understanding and impartiality enough to serve well those they really wish to serve' and in the wake of the Prince's death she demonstrated that she was not one of those women.¹²² As Anne retreated into her excessive grief Sarah used her access to the Queen's semi-'private' space politically. In doing so she eroded her relationship with Anne. Indeed her final dismissal from office coincided with Anne's exit from mourning. While the Junto who the Duchess supported had successfully exploited the Queen's grief for their own advancement, Sarah's attempt to manipulate the Queen's vulnerability had wholly negative effects and she lost her position in the Bedchamber and the access to political influence it provided.

Sarah described the events surrounding the death of Prince George that led to her downfall after her dismissal in 1711 when she wrote first-hand accounts of this period to create what Frances Harris described as 'a self-

¹²¹ Weil, *Political passions*, pp. 189-92.

¹²² Lord Hailes (ed) *The Opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough, published from the Original MSS* (1788), p. 120.

justifying narrative of her years at Court.¹²³ The texts were often written with the help of others (or just dictated to servants) and eventually found their way into her autobiography published in the 1740s.¹²⁴ These accounts, and particularly the individual one detailing the specifics after Prince George's death, are available in the Blenheim papers of the British Library.¹²⁵ This provides the evidence for the intensity of Anne's emotional state after Prince George had died and for Sarah's misinterpretation and mishandling of the events that she had thought to exploit politically.

Sarah Churchill used her control over access to the Queen in the relatively private space of the Bedchamber to exert political influence and she operated as gatekeeper to Anne for politicians both in and out of favour who accessed her private rooms using the backstairs.¹²⁶ Such informal power was one of the prerogatives reserved to her as the Groom of the Stole.¹²⁷ The significance of the position is well-expressed by her fear of losing it during the summer of 1708 when Anne insisted on remaining at her house at Windsor despite Prince George's struggles to breathe clearly due to the heat there.¹²⁸ The Duchess of Marlborough was particularly exercised by the

¹²³ Frances Harris, 'Accounts of the Conduct of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 1704-1742,' *British Library Journal* 8 (1982), p. 7.

¹²⁴ Harris, 'Accounts of the Conduct of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, 1704-1742,' p. 7.

¹²⁵ BL, Add MS 61422, Blenheim Papers, vol. CCCXXII, 'An account of the closet where she saw Mrs Masham & of what passed at the Prince's death', fo. 31-34.

¹²⁶ Bucholz, 'Going to Court,' p. 209.

¹²⁷ *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, p. 364.

¹²⁸ Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough, *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, From her first coming to Court, To the Year 1710. In a Letter from Herself to My Lord* (London: James Bettenham, 1742), p. 264. (Hereafter: Sarah, *Conduct*)

influence on the Queen of her Tory-supporting cousin Abigail Masham, Sarah's main political opponent. Masham had originally been employed as an act of charity by Sarah, and also lived and worked within the Bedchamber as one of the a lower-ranked and more menial servants, known as a Woman of the Bedchamber, but Sarah's long absences from Court (usually as a result of clashes with Anne) allowed Masham (who was more constantly in attendance) to grow in Anne's esteem.¹²⁹ As a close friend and high-ranked servant to the Queen she garnered a level of intimacy and influence which allowed her to operate politically. Sarah remarked that Anne's behaviour that summer was so 'from the Park such Persons, as Mrs. Masham had a Mind to bring to her Majesty, could be let in privately.'¹³⁰

When Prince George died Sarah Churchill attempted to prioritise and guarantee her own access and availability to Anne in order to establish her political position against any encroachments from Masham during Anne's grief. Sarah recorded in her account of the period that she was 'in the room when he [the Prince] died' and how she had quickly taken Anne out of the room.¹³¹ She recalls how 'when [Anne] left him, she expressed some passion' and the Duchess noticed the other servants in the room 'which I thought must bee uneasy to [Anne], & that made it impossible for me to speak with her, upon which I went up to my Lady Burlington, & desired she give me an opportunity of speaking alone with the Queen.' Burlington complied and

¹²⁹ Frances Harris, 'Masham , Abigail, Lady Masham (1670?–1734)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18261>; accessed 20 June 2015.

¹³⁰ Sarah, *Conduct*, p. 264.

¹³¹ BL Add MS 61422 fo. 31-2.

left them alone. Sarah was attempting to take control of Anne's attention but found the queen inconsolable:

I knelt down to the Queen, and said all that I could imagine from a faithful servant...but she seemed not to mind me, but clapt her hands together, with other marks of passion, and when I expressed all I could think of to moderate her grief, I knelt by her without speaking for some time.¹³²

Sarah's account shows that the Queen was not easily persuaded to move to St. James's Palace where the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough resided while in London.¹³³ At her suggestion of it Anne refused to go, telling her that such an arrangement was 'impossible.' Sarah recalled that 'I made all the arguments that are common...but all in vain,' with one in particular being that 'nobody in the world would ever continue in a place where a dead husband lay, and I did not see where she could be, but within a room or two of that dismal body.'¹³⁴ But her powers of persuasion failed and Anne 'persisted that she would stay.' The Duchess was convinced that her political rival was the explanation for the Queen's refusal to move. She wrote 'that [Anne's] chief difficulty in removing was, for fear she could not have so much of Mrs. Masham's company as she desired.' In order to persuade the Queen, therefore, she told Anne that she could still continue to see whomever she

¹³² BL Add MS 61422 fo. 32.

¹³³ Ophelia Field, *The Favourite: Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London: Sceptre, 2002), p. 213.

¹³⁴ BL Add MS 61422 fo. 32.

pleased at St. James's. Anne eventually relented to the Duchess's idea and re-located that evening.¹³⁵

The account reveals the way in which Sarah Churchill saw Anne's mourning as a political ritual and a political opportunity more than a personal and emotional experience. When the Queen finally agreed to leave Kensington she requested that Sarah bring Masham to her while the Duchess made the arrangements. Sarah believed this request was 'very shocking' and, although she told Anne that she complied with her wishes, in fact she revealed in her account that she thought the idea 'so disagreeable for me to send for Mrs. Masham to go into her...that I resolved to go avoid that.'¹³⁶ Later that evening she led Anne out of Kensington through the gallery when Abigail Masham appeared alongside other servants and ministers. Noting that due to 'her great affliction for the Prince' Anne had been leaning on her arm, Sarah was surprised that 'at the sight of that charming lady...I found [Anne] had strength to bend down towards Mrs. Masham like a sayle, and in passing by, went some steps more than was necessary to bee nearer her', expressing her disgust by describing the Queen's gesture as 'that cruel touch'.¹³⁷ Once at St. James's the Duchess isolated the Queen from Masham and stayed in constant attendance, something Abigail noted in a letter to Robert Harley soon afterwards.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ BL Add MS 61422 fo. 32.

¹³⁶ BL Add MS 61422, fo. 32.

¹³⁷ BL Add MS 61422, fo. 33.

¹³⁸ 'Abigail Masham to Robert Harley, November 6 1708,' in HMC, *Portland*, vol. 4, pp.510-11.

Upon her arrival at St. James's Anne was consumed by her grief and isolated herself within the Prince's apartments. She spent a great deal of time in his most intimate space, the closet where her husband had enjoyed spending time building model ships and where his tools remained after his death.¹³⁹ Sarah recalled that Anne spent time there 'Soon after the Prince died' and ordered fires be made in the closet. The Duchess believed these spaces were 'far from agreeable' for the Queen's use since one was 'full of [Prince George's] tools, which he worked with' and its window had only 'looked into a very ugly little close space' used for drying linen. She noted Anne chose to sit here, despite never doing so before, instead of in her own closets which 'were both pretty, one looking into the garden.'¹⁴⁰ Sarah also recalled in her autobiography that Anne 'spent many hours in [George's closet] every Day' and that she was 'amazed at this.' When she enquired of the Queen as to why she spent time in this way, she noted that Anne 'seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something that she would not have done.'¹⁴¹

It does not seem unreasonable to believe that Anne wished to surround herself with mementos of her husband. Her close relationship with George and the emotion and intense mourning she adopted for him suggests a sincere grieving process. Sarah Churchill, on the other hand, interpreted things differently and concluded that the 'true Reason' for this behaviour had nothing to do with George's death but rather the access it afforded the Queen

¹³⁹ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 374.

¹⁴⁰ BL Add MS 61422, of. 31.

¹⁴¹ Sarah, *Conduct*, p. 265.

and her new favourite because the backstairs attached to it 'came from Mrs. Masham's Lodgings, who by that Means [Masham] could secretly bring to [Anne] whom she pleased.'¹⁴² Sarah's fears were as much political as personal. She was convinced that Abigail Masham was using her access connection to further the political interests of Robert Harley, the Tory politician whom the duumvirs, with Sarah's help, had dismissed from office earlier in 1708. Such a move would have benefited Sarah Churchill's political enemies and undermined her ability to use her position to advance the Whig cause.

Sarah Churchill's interpretation of Anne's behaviour ignored any possibility that the Queen was in a state of genuine emotional distress. Throughout her writings, the Duchess of Marlborough describes her mistress as simply wallowing in her sadness at her husband's passing and perceived it as a political manoeuvre. Such an interpretation distorted the realities of the Bedchamber and was fatal to Sarah's career in Anne's household. Anne was a grieving widow as well as a reigning monarch and strict mourning protocol was adopted in this area as well as the rest of the court. Moreover, since it was under the control of the Queen's domestic service, this department was completely exempted from the order lifting general mourning issued in 1709.¹⁴³ The Bedchamber was a form of semi-private space that was defended as the site for the Queen's mourning by Anne herself. For example, Sarah and her two daughters, Henrietta and Anne, were reported for breaching the required dress code in 1710.¹⁴⁴ Sarah's political ambition

¹⁴² Sarah *Conduct*, p. 265.

¹⁴³ TNA PC 1/2/154 Copy of an Order in Council made upon the Mourning for the Prince of Denmark. That it should not continue to be observed, but only by her own servants and such as has access to her Royall Person, 27 March 1709.

¹⁴⁴ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, p. 375.

shaped and distorted her view of the Queen's display of grief to her own detriment.

Sarah's instrumental interpretation of the Queen's display of grief are clear in her accounts. 'I did see tears in her eyes two or three times after his death,' she later wrote, 'and, I believe she fancied she loved him...but her nature was very hard, and she was not apt to cry.'¹⁴⁵ Such a description ran contrary to many other incidents, such the Queen's tears when George's Admiralty papers were brought to her. Sarah argued that Anne's placing of herself in George's old closets was further proof because to the Duchess 'nothing was more natural than to avoid seeing...anything that belonged to one that one loved when they were just dead.'¹⁴⁶ Sarah followed this belief into action by removing George's portrait from Anne's private rooms, which upset Anne dreadfully. The Queen begged the Duchess 'once more for God's sake...lett the Dear picture you have of mine, be put into my Bedchamber, for I cannot be without it any longer.'¹⁴⁷ To Sarah this request simply acted as further vindication of her belief in Anne's insincerity: 'her Majesty's real Grief would have made her avoid every Place and every Object that might sensibly revive the Remembrance of her Loss.'¹⁴⁸

Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, had experienced this form of intense grief herself. In 1703 her only son John, marquess of Blandford, died of smallpox aged sixteen and Sarah had allowed herself to become consumed

¹⁴⁵ BL Add MS 61422, fo. 34.

¹⁴⁶ BL Add MS 61422, fo. 31.

¹⁴⁷ Anne to Sarah Churchill as quoted in: Virginia Cowles, *The Great Marlborough and his Duchess* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983), p. 299.

¹⁴⁸ Sarah, *Conduct*, pp. 264-5.

by her own grief.¹⁴⁹ In this she followed many of the gendered expectations for female and maternal grieving of the early modern period.¹⁵⁰ The Queen wrote to the Duchess at the time in an attempt to console her and offer some comfort, unlike the lack of support offered by Sarah to Anne.¹⁵¹ For example, Lord Godolphin reported Anne's interventions to the Duke of Marlborough, noting that 'The Queen is full of all goodness and concern for her.'¹⁵²

Biographers have explained this difference in terms of bitterness. Edward Gregg argued that Sarah's 'wit, which had been sharp, became piercing...her convictions, which had been firm, became absolute; her manner, which had been bold and assured, became precipitous and arrogant.'¹⁵³ Others also suggest that Sarah embraced politics as an outlet for her grief. That said, Sarah's attempt to use her close and continuous access to the monarch in her time of suffering failed to achieve any political gains.¹⁵⁴

The Duchess of Marlborough used her role in the Bedchamber as her political stage in direct opposition to the wishes of the Queen. Her introduction of party politics into the Queen's semi-private space at a time of personal anguish met with resistance and increasing alienation from the monarch herself. Mourning continued in Anne's household from 1708 to 1710 and the relationship between Sarah and the Queen, once so important that it

¹⁴⁹ Fields, *The Favourite*, pp. 119-120; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 253-4.

¹⁵⁰ Philippy, "I might again have been the sepulchre" pp. 203-4.

¹⁵¹ 'To the Duchess of Marlborough, St. James's, February 1703' and 'To the Duchess of Marlborough, St. James's, Feb-March, 1703' in Brown (ed), *Letters and Diplomatic Instructions of Queen Anne*, p. 116.

¹⁵² 'Godolphin to Marlborough, 26 February 1703,' in Snyder (ed) *Marlborough-Godolphin Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 152.

¹⁵³ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, 169.

¹⁵⁴ Somerset, *Queen Anne*, 254.

caused a rift in the royal family, deteriorated beyond repair. Anne dismissed her and her daughters from the Bedchamber in early 1711. Sarah Churchill misunderstood her role and misread Anne's emotional state and in doing so lost her informal political influence.

Grief is a powerful human emotion, one which the rituals of monarchy attempted to convey through the ritualised staging of mourning. Court practice and etiquette were defined by the monarch at its centre and his or her emotional state could determine the appearance of the courtiers and the spaces they inhabited with their sovereign. Mourning was also gendered in the early modern period and by the time of the late Stuart monarchy, there were different expectations about how men and women should behave and present themselves while grieving. Although society crafted gendered versions of mourning, the institution of monarchy remained defined by male roles and patriarchal ideas and so overt expressions of excessive and feminised grief could damage the image and symbolic power of monarchy within the male sphere of politics. In 1694-5 and 1708 William III and Anne respectively faced this problem. Yet while William III faced public criticism and anxiety about his excessive grief, Anne did not, perhaps reflecting her successful negotiation of a feminised image of monarchy. Yet Anne suffered politically as a consequence of her emotional vulnerability. The Whig party made political gains and her retreat into the private, female-dominated household to mourn could not insulate her from the party political conflict she tried to avoid. Grief was ritualised through court mourning practices but these

rituals had political meanings and consequences. Mourning was part of and had impacts on the conduct of court politics.

VI

**'In the Protestant Line':
Death and the Protestant Succession after the Glorious Revolution**

This thesis has so far dealt with the planning, performance or non-performance of the rituals surrounding royal deaths in late-Stuart Britain. On the surface, elaborate obsequies were about expressions of grief at the loss of one particular member of the royal family, but several studies have also shown that royal funeral rites were as important for marking and facilitating the succession of an heir as they were for honouring the deceased.¹ These arguments are reinforced and strengthened by close examination of late-Stuart royal funerals. As previous chapters have argued, the existing historiography has tended to overlook how the immediate political context affected the staging of later Stuart royal funerals as much as any desire to conform to tradition or to adapt to broader cultural shifts. Chapters two and three have shown how the politics surrounding the succession of particular monarchs affected the specific rituals performed. Those examples focused on the individual monarchs at the time (James II and William III respectively), but this chapter explores instead how the newly enshrined idea about a defined and secure but specifically *Protestant* line of succession to the throne permeated and defined the responses to two deaths in this period. As with politics more generally, the complex politics surrounding the preservation of

¹ Ralph Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1960); Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997).

the Protestant Succession is another aspect overlooked in the existing literature on royal deaths and funerals. To fill this gap this chapter will focus on two deaths: that of William, duke of Gloucester, in 1700, and of Queen Anne in 1714, and explores how managing the impact of a royal death in this period was closely related to the politics of the Protestant Succession.

The birth of a legitimate Catholic male heir to James II in June 1688 provoked fear and superstition amongst the Protestant populace of Britain who knew that the boy, now Prince of Wales, would inherit the throne. Fear of a perpetual Catholic monarchy, forever associated in the minds of Protestants with tyranny and absolutism, coalesced with other grievances against James to create resistance and revolution by late 1688.² The Revolution of 1688-9 culminated in the exile of James II and the declaration that in the act of fleeing his kingdoms he had also abdicated. When his daughter and son-in-law replaced him, Parliament passed the Bill of Rights (1689), which included the requirement that all monarchs should thereafter be Protestant:

all and every person and persons that is, are or shall be reconciled to or shall have communion with the see or Church of Rome...or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded and be

² For discussion of the perceived link between absolutism and Catholicism at this time see: James Daly, 'The Idea of Absolute Monarchy in Seventeenth-Century England,' *The Historical Journal* 21, no. 2 (June 1978), p. 244; Robin Clifton, 'Fear of Popery' in Conrad Russell (ed) *The Origins of the English Civil War* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1973), pp. 144-167; John Miller, 'Britain' in John Miller (ed) *Absolutism in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), p. 206; Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern Europe* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 201-3; Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800: State, Religion and Identity in Britain and Ireland* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), p. 50. For the causes of the Glorious Revolution and its outbreak see: Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2007); Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution, 1688: Britain's Fight for Liberty* (London: Little, Brown, 2006).

for ever incapable to inherit, possess or enjoy the crown and government of this realm.³

The monarch was still required to be of the Stuart bloodline, but the succession to the throne moved from a strict hereditary arrangement to one where Protestantism took priority. The succession was nonetheless highly precarious. Aside from protecting the monarchy from the political threats posed by the exiled Stuarts and their French supporters, in order for the arrangement to become permanent a Protestant heir was required. The newly installed William III and Mary II did not have any legitimate children and so Anne, James II's younger daughter, the Princess of Denmark, was made next-in-line to the throne. Anne fulfilled all the necessary credentials as a Stuart princess and also a devout Anglican, married to the Protestant (Lutheran) Prince George of Denmark since 1683. On the 24th July 1689 Princess Anne gave birth to a boy, named William Henry, who was given the title Duke of Gloucester by his aunt and uncle, and became another heir to the throne. The birth, which had occurred so soon after the removal of James II and only a year after the birth of James's son, the former Prince of Wales, was seen as a good omen by Protestants. The birth of the Duke of Gloucester personified the security of the newly defined Protestant Succession. He was seen as the young hope for the dynasty's Protestants who would inherit the throne after his aunt, uncle and mother. However, optimism was short-lived. In the summer of 1700 the Duke of Gloucester tragically died shortly after his

³ 'Bill of Rights, 1689' in Andrew Browning (ed), *English Historical Documents, vol. VIII, 1660-1714* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1953), p. 127.

eleventh birthday, and his demise sparked new anxiety about the security of the Protestant state.

The young prince's funerary rituals were performed in a rather formulaic way, perhaps in part to conform to longer traditions of 'private' burials for princes and minors.⁴ But it also clear that the staging of funerary rites were far less of a concern to courtiers than anxiety about how to remedy the dangerous situation that his death had created for the preservation of the newly established Protestant Succession in the increasingly likely event that William and Anne died childless. The solution was eventually found in the Act of Settlement (1701) but the management of the death of Gloucester, and its political significance within the complex wider context has been less considered in broader political histories.⁵

⁴ See chapter 2 for these traditions and examples from the deaths of Henry duke of Gloucester (1660), Anne duchess of York (1671) and Edgar duke of Cambridge (1671) amongst others.

⁵ In most histories of the late Stuart period there is little or no mention of Gloucester except to introduce the Act of Settlement by linking his death and the passage of the law, or to mention that he was the only one of Anne's children to survive early childhood, examples include: David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), gives two mentions of Gloucester, both in reference his effect on the succession at his birth (p. 226) and his death (p.459); George Clark, *The Later Stuarts, 1660-1714*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 189-90 only mentions Gloucester once to open discussion of Act; he mentioned only in passing in Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London: Macmillan, 1967), p. 83; Jim Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom, 1660-1800* (Harlow: Pearson, 2001), p. 95; and Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.46. Some of the histories written about those close to Gloucester include more mentions and longer discussions of his death and its impact, for example: Hatton, *George I*, pp. 70-76; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 120-124; Richard Holmes, *Marlborough: England's Fragile Genius* (London: Harper Press, 2008), pp. 107, 163, 190-2; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 161-166. The only book exclusively about Gloucester does not discuss the events after his death beyond his funeral: Hester W. Chapman, *Queen Anne's Son: A Memoir of William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, 1689-1700* (London: Andrew Deutsch, 1954).

'A hopefull child': The Death of William, duke of Gloucester, July 1700

The Duke of Gloucester's importance to the nation was recognised throughout his short life. After his birth ballads were sung to commemorate the boy's arrival. These focused on the people's hopes for the boy after the success of the recent Revolution. One named him in its title as *The Protestant Satisfaction* and gave thanks to heaven for bringing the (Protestant) nation a new heir. It joyously invoked the idea of his succession thwarting any Catholic heir, singing: 'Who may in time sway the scepter, and like the Prince pull Popery down: May Rome and its faction be all in distraction, while we have an heir to the Royal Crown.'⁶

After the death of Mary II, the expectations around the boy rose further because she died without issue leaving Gloucester as second-in-line to the throne after his mother Princess Anne. Rumours quickly circulated that the boy would be elevated to a more senior royal dukedom (possible that of York) to reflect this status, but this never came to pass.⁷ Instead he was made a Knight of the Order of the Garter on his seventh birthday in 1696.⁸ In the end all this optimism was short-lived since only a few years later Gloucester died suddenly in the summer of 1700.⁹ Reactions to the death were profound and

⁶ English Broadside Ballad Archive, *The Protestant Satisfaction; OR, The Joy of Hampton-Court, In the Birth of a young Prince Born of Her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark on the 24th of this instant July, to the Universal Joy of the whole Kingdom. To the tune of, Protestant boys shall carry the day. License and entered according to order* (n.d.), available at: <http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20877/xml>; accessed 3 November 2013.

⁷ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September 1678 to April 1714*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1857), pp. 428-9

⁸ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 4, p. 89.

⁹ See chapter 1 for a description of Gloucester's death.

public. 'The news of...Gloucester's death is surprizing' wrote John Evelyn in a letter to Samuel Pepys a few days after it happened.¹⁰

What followed was a period in which mourning for Gloucester manifested itself not in ordered courtly ritual but in conversations in the public sphere mostly by the political, Protestant elite. The King expressed a very personal loss in a letter he wrote to the Princess of Denmark on hearing the news of the young prince's demise. 'It is so great a loss for me and for all England that my heart is pierced with affliction,' he wrote from the Hague where he was spending the summer, adding that 'I assure you that on this occasion...I shall be glad to give you any marks of my friendship.'¹¹ Given the long-standing rift between William III and the Princess Anne, his words were surprisingly considerate, although, according to Anne's close confidante, Sarah Churchill, countess of Marlborough, the kindness was short-lived. She recalled how the king also ordered that the young Duke's household should be broken up and that all his servants were to be dismissed immediately.¹² According to the Countess, William had sent the orders in the first post after the Prince's death alongside his letter to Anne, suggesting a more businesslike approach to the matters in hand.¹³ It should, however, be noted that the Countess was especially vexed by William's peremptory actions because both her son and husband were serving in Gloucester's household

¹⁰ 'John Evelyn to S. Pepys, Wotton, August 9 1700' in R.G. Howarth (ed) *Letters and Second Diary of Samuel Pepys* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1933), p. 307.

¹¹ William III's letter to Princess Anne, as quoted in: Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 121.

¹² Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough, *An Account of the Conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, From her first coming to Court, To the Year 1710. In a letter from Herself to My Lord* (London: James Bettenham, 1742), p. 128.

¹³ Sarah, *Conduct*, p. 128.

at the time of his death.¹⁴ But it is perhaps worth noting that the King's orders went against common practice to continue to pay household servants for a period after the master's death.

The historian George Trevelyan's described Gloucester's death as the end of 'the hopes of England...for a line of native Princes bred in the Anglican faith, and directly descended from James II.'¹⁵ Judging from the response in print to the death of the young prince, his interpretation, at least of the reactions of the supporters of the Protestant Succession, are correct. A plethora of elegiac poetry and odes that were first seen after the death of Queen Mary II, were also written to mark the Prince's death and often mused on the notion of promise lost.¹⁶ Such themes mirrored the reaction to the death of Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales, in 1612.¹⁷ One poem from an anonymous New England author which was written in reaction to the news (and which the author claimed was also their first attempt at poetry) captured the essence of these kinds of messages written about Gloucester's death which are imbued with a Protestant and nationalistic tone. In the piece the narrator is visited by the spirit of Britannia and, during the encounter, they

¹⁴ Holmes, *Marlborough*, p. 190.

¹⁵ G.M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne, vol. 1, Blenheim* (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1930), p. 116.

¹⁶ Amy B. Oberlin, "Share with me in My Grief and Affliction': Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning,' *Pareregon* 31, no. 2 (2014), pp. 99, 100-1.

¹⁷ For details about the response to Prince Henry Stuart's death see: Graham Parry, *The Golden Age restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603-42* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 83, 86-91; Robert Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603-1642* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 16; Thomas P. Anderson, "Wee cannot say he's dead': Writing Royal Effigies in Marvell's Poetry', *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 3 (September 2005), pp. 507-31; Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 47; Michael Ulliot, 'Poetry and Sermons on the Death of Henry, Prince of Wales: A Bibliography (1612-1760)' (February 2007), available at: http://homepages.ucalgary.ca/~ullyot/PH_bibliography.pdf, accessed 17 August 2015.

discuss 'Old England's Weal', that is its prosperity. Within a longer conversation with Britannia the narrator turns to the effect of the death of Gloucester on the security of the Protestant throne:

Since all the Kingly Race our Annals show
Have had a Royal Issue in view,
How comes it now (by severe decree)
That Blessing's wanting for Posterity?
Long on the Throne may Glorious William shine:
But Gloucester's gone!—the Promise of the Line!

The concern at the lack of heirs (or 'Issue') is clear in the text and Gloucester's importance as 'the Promise of the Line!' is at the heart of the anxiety.¹⁸

Other texts took a different, longer route to similar conclusions. Another author simply titled 'W.B.' discusses the lineage of the Prince in a celebration of his legitimacy in an ode written to commemorate his death. The author describes the Duke's rise to heaven 'Amidst the Angelick Choir' and reflects on Anne's grief as 'The sorrows which Your Sons Unhappy Fate/ Does in Your Anxious Breast create'. The text then turns to the young boy's life. The author traces the lineage of English kings from the Norman conquest up to the present (to William III) in order to project future greatness through inheritance, sadly unfulfilled:

Take all the Actions which are truly Great,
All the vast Enterprizes Draw,
From the first Norman Conquerer to the Great Nassau [William]
Which had Great Glou-ster Liv'd, had in him compleat.

¹⁸ *A Poem on the Death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester. Written by a Gentleman in New-England* (London: J. Darby, 1701), p. 3.

The ode heaps praise on William III, who it claims 'came and set us free' from both arbitrary power and 'the Roman yoke,' but turns back to Gloucester and ends with the question of 'what if?':

Oh! Had the God-like Prince we now bemoan,
Liv'd to Succeed, and wear the British Crown,
What might we expect?
But fate alas! does our vain wish reject.

The ode links Gloucester's potential and expectations to the greatness of those English kings (and queens) before him in order to enhance his place and thus also the scale of his loss to these kingdoms. To emphasise the point the text closes with the statement: 'How much Belov'd he Liv'd. How much Lamented Fell.'¹⁹

In addition to these forms of public grief, Richard Burrige gave an address to Princess Anne upon the loss of her son which was later published. Burrige does not mention Gloucester by name but instead reflects on loss as it had affected the Princess. The text mostly focuses on the issue of Anne's grief. In common with other warnings about the dangers of excessive grief, the author tries to persuade her that the emotion is ill-judged. He comforts her by reminding her that her son has entered heaven, and that his death was the will of God. But the address also reflects on the political consequences of his loss:

¹⁹ W.B., *An Ode on the Death of William, Duke of Gloucester* (London: J. Nutt, 1700), pp. 2-3, 5, 7-13.

[death acted] by depriving these kingdoms of that Jewel, which promised Posterity eternal happiness...the immature dissolution of that late hopeful branch has caused weeping grief to fly over this Island.

Burridge argues that the loss is so great that 'the greatest Orators that ere the World produced, cannot sufficiently condole the royal Family's sorrow.' But he tries to instil courage into Gloucester's mother by reminding her that she now offered 'the only hope great Brittain had now left to make her happy.'²⁰

In *Carmen Pastorale Lugubre*, written by 'J.F.' 'upon the most Lamented Death of His Royal Highness, William Duke of Gloucester', the idea of a lost golden age is introduced. The young Prince is mourned using a pastoral scene reminiscent of Virgil's *Eclogues* in which Virgil introduced the idea of the coming of a promised child during the consulship of his patron Pollio who would usher in a new golden age. Virgil's story was later interpreted as the coming of Jesus Christ by Christian scholars and this was its dominant interpretation in the late-seventeenth-century.²¹ These themes echo in the poem by 'J.F.' but focus on lost promise instead. Three characters (Menalcus, Damon and Albania) discuss the loss of a promised child called Pollio. Menalcus begins by noticing 'a sudden Cloud with Sable Wings' which 'hides the blooming Heads of Albions brightest stars' and endeavours to discover why. Damon is equally perplexed by the sight they see when 'Albania, Mistress of the Plans' who 'comes Weeping with

²⁰ Richard Burridge, *The Consolation of Death: As it was Presented to Her Highness, the Princess Ann of Denmark: On the Immature Loss of William, late Duke of Gloucester* (London: Printed for William Pinnock at the Black Dog and Ball, 1700), pp. 3-4.

²¹ Virgil, *The Eclogues of Virgil*, trans. C. Day Lewis (London: Jonathan Cape, 1963), pp. 8, 23-5; Peter Levi, *Virgil: His Life and Times* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 34, 35-6, 39, 50-54.

dischevell'd Hair, / Meager her Looks, all discompose'd her Air, / And Sorrow overwhelms the lovely Fair.' Albania tells Damon and Menalcus of the death of Pollio, 'the Princely Youth, whom all desir'd' and urges the mourning not only of the country people but of nature itself, including the trees who 'Instead of tears...shed their fading leaves' and the forest's nymphs.²²

The loss of Pollio, who represents Gloucester, is mourned in the chorus 'Pollio is gone, the Royal Youth's no more'. The young Duke is described by Albania in much the same way:

*Pollio, the Royal Youth, deriv'd from Pan,
Virtue in Him her early Course began,
Wisdom in his Youth declared him Man.
To him the Beauteous Graces did Resort,
And all the Virtues kept with him their Court;
These lovely Rays shin'd in his Noble Mind,
Nothing but Goodness there did Entrance find;
Born to be Great, Heir to the Happiest Crown,
The happiest Constitution that is known,
Yet Fate decreed he should not Mount the Throne.*²³

Britannia herself, possibly a representation of his mourning mother Anne, is described as passionately mourning Pollio's loss.²⁴ The poem ends with similar themes to other reactions, with Daman and Menalcus urging Albania not to be consumed by grief but to dwell on her loss as the will of heaven and that Pollio was now 'blest above' instead of residing on Earth.²⁵

²² J.F., *Carmen Pastorale Lugubre. A Pastoral Elegy Upon the most Lamented Death of His Royal Highness, William Duke of Gloucester* (London: By W.O., 1700), pp. 1, 2-3, 4-5.

²³ J.F., *Carmen Pastorale Lugubre*, p. 5.

²⁴ For discussion of the use of Britannia as an image for/representation of Anne once queen see: Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 548-9, 603, 609, 614.

²⁵ J.F., *Carmen Pastorale Lugubre*, pp. 7-8.

A more controversial stance on the Duke's death was taken by William Fleetwood, later bishop of Ely, Whig and favourite of Queen Anne. His words were regarded as so disturbing that a published version of the text was burned and banned in 1712.²⁶ In his sermon, delivered at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West church in London on 4th August 1700, he used a verse from scripture to argue, 'O put not your trust in Princes, nor any child of Man, for there is no help in them.'²⁷ He warned against trust in doctrines of divine right, arguing that 'the common inclination of Men...is, to build great hopes upon the Promises of Princes and Great Men...than on God above, who keepeth his Promise for ever' which was flawed because 'they are so subject to Death' and thus to trust them completely for security was naive and even impious.²⁸ But he too expressed the sense of loss and confusion after the Prince's death, referring to the way the people of Britain had placed their hopes on 'two Noble Objects', Mary II and Gloucester, but that hope had failed them, 'Six years have quite defeated them, and dried up our Springs and almost desolated a Royal Tribe.'²⁹

This evidence tends to confirm Amy Oberlin's argument about the growing importance of texts as a forum for court and public mourning at the expense of rituals.³⁰ The scale of the outpouring of grief in print in the days after the young Prince's death can be contrasted with the relatively low-key

²⁶ *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, vol. VI, 1702-1714 (London: T.C. Hansard, 1810), p. 1152.

²⁷ Psalms 146:3.

²⁸ William Fleetwood, *A Sermon Preach'd on the Death of the Duke of Gloucester, At St. Dunstan's in the West. August 4 1700* (London: H. Hills in Black-Fryars, 1708), pp. 2-3.

²⁹ Fleetwood, *A Sermon Preach'd on the Death of the Duke of Gloucester*, p.9.

³⁰ Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction,' p. 99.

funeral conducted for him very quickly after his demise, suggesting that ritual was not regarded as a priority in the public management of the political consequences for the succession of his untimely death. Comparisons between the funeral put on for the Duke of Gloucester can be made with those conducted in the 1660s and 1670s for the children of the Duke of York.³¹ In fact the College of Arms recommended the use of the 1667 burial of James, duke of Cambridge, as the source of precedent.³² The relatively small scale of the ritual can also be seen in a memorandum written in the 1730s summarising the Privy Council's handling of deaths of members of the royal family since Mary II. The entry for Gloucester's funeral simply states 'No orders were made by Councill for his funeral' but that 'there is some account of it in the Gazettes.'³³

The documents do reveal some details about the funeral arrangements which allow a reconstruction of the staging of the rites. Since the Duke had died at Windsor his body needed to be moved. This was done without ceremony late at night. Under the guidance of two Officers of Arms and the Earl of Marlborough (the boy's governor) the body was moved to the Prince's Chamber at Westminster. Originally it was planned to use barges to transport the body from Windsor but 'the Shallowness of the River in several places, and the night being very dark' prevented them from doing so.³⁴ Instead the body was placed in a coach to Thistleworth with the intention of removing it to

³¹ See chapter 2 for further details of these funerals.

³² CA I series, vol. 4 'Funeral of Kings, Princes &c.', fo. 94.

³³ TNA PC 1/13/48 Precedents of what orders have been first made upon the Demise of the Crown from Queen Mary to Frederick Princes of Wales, 23 November 1737.

³⁴ CA I series, vol. 4 'Funeral of Kings, Princes &c.', fo. 94.

the barge further down the river. However, on arrival there Marlborough and the officers decided that it was still too dark and 'considering the Body was well fixt in the Coach, as also the delay and trouble in moving it, to discharge the Barges and carry't on by Land, which was accordingly done.' The body arrived at Westminster around 2:15am.³⁵

Arrangements were made for mourning and ceremony that reflected the Duke's royal rank. The room the body was placed in had been prepared in black cloth, with wall hangings and floor coverings and a black cloth canopy of state.³⁶ Three dozen taffeta escutcheons were set around the room. The staircase leading to the Prince's Chamber was hung with black baize.³⁷ The boy lay in state for a few days before his interment, and unlike his aunt in 1695 (where no distinction was made on who could enter), only those wearing mourning were admitted to the event.³⁸ The funeral procession between the House of Lords and Westminster Abbey's Henry VII Chapel where the body was buried privately was short and consisted of servants from Gloucester's household along with those of William III and the Prince and Princess of Denmark. The Duke of Norfolk acted as Chief Mourner with ten assistants drawn from the nobility and a space was reserved just before the body for the Earl of Marlborough as the boy's governor.³⁹

³⁵ CA I series, vol. 4 'Funeral of Kings, Princes &c.', fo. 95.

³⁶ TNA LC 2/14/1 Provisions for the Funeral of His Highness The Duke of Gloucester (1700), no. 1.

³⁷ TNA LC 5/202 Lord Chamberlain Department: Miscellaneous Records: Precedent Book January 1 1697-December 31 1739, pp. 77-80.

³⁸ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 4, p. 674.

³⁹ Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation*, vol. 4, p. 675-6; *London Gazette*, 8 August to 12 August 1700, p. 2.

The funeral of the Duke of Gloucester conformed to the style and scale of a 'private' funeral. In contrast to the outpouring of grief in print and emphasis on his political significance, ritual arrangements conformed to protocol and reflected his age and position in the hierarchy as the grandson and nephew of a monarch, rather than a son, and as second-in-line to the throne rather than the heir. The precedent was perhaps the funeral of the minor and second-in-line to the throne, Edgar, duke of Cambridge, in 1671.⁴⁰ But the low-key arrangements perhaps also reflected the political priorities of the Williamite regime. The security of the succession needed to be re-established and that, more than mourning the young Duke, was the primary objective in the tense political atmosphere of bitter political rivalry and intrigue in the weeks and months after Gloucester's death.

Throughout the period of mourning the question of the security of the succession loomed large. When John Evelyn heard news of the Duke's death he immediately turned to speculation about the successson, '[w]her the Crowne will now settle, should the Princesse of Denmark breed no more to live, is a matter of high speculation to the Politic.'⁴¹ As the MP Robert Harley, fierce opponent of the Whig Junto and their aggressive foreign policy over war against the French, and one of the architects of the Act of Settlement wrote to his father in 1700, this event 'puts many upon various discourses.'⁴² One option was, for example, for the King to marry again; the other was to settle the succession on the Hanoverians, distant but Protestant relatives of

⁴⁰ For discussion of Edgar's funeral see chapter 2.

⁴¹ DeBeers (ed), *The Diary of John Evelyn*, vol. 5, p. 421.

⁴² Robert Harley to Sir Edward Harley, August 1 1700, in HMC *Portland MSS*, vol. 3, Harley Papers vol. 1 (1894), p. 624.

the Stuarts through James I's grand-daughter Sophia, who had married into the German house. The letters between James Vernon, the Secretary of State, and the Duke of Shrewsbury in the period immediately after Gloucester's death reveal the debate amongst supporters of the Protestant Succession about the best course of action. Vernon raised his concerns over the situation in his letter to Shrewsbury on the day the Duke died, writing 'God knows what will be the consequence of it,' interestingly raising the possibility that, 'some comfort themselves with the hope his Majesty will now think of marrying.'⁴³

In the weeks after the Duke of Gloucester's demise Vernon then wrote frequently to Shrewsbury on the subject, as attitudes shifted in favour of the Hanoverians. On 6th August Vernon wrote that 'Some would have [William III] marry, whether he have a prospect of children or not; nobody can tell but...the expectation of it will give a better opportunity to entail of the Crown, in which the House of Hanover may be included.'⁴⁴ Vernon observed that the King's re-marriage, and the promise of further issue, might make the inclusion of the Hanoverian line within the succession easier 'than if they were immediately and directly aimed at.' He informed Shrewsbury of some possible candidates for a wife for William including the daughter of the King of Denmark (saying that match would 'stifle all grudges between us') and the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse (who was a less popular option because 'she has many

⁴³ 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 6 1700' in G.P.R. James (ed), *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III. From 1696 to 1708. Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury, by James Vernon, Esq. Secretary of State*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Coburn, 1841), pp.123-4.

⁴⁴ 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 6 1700' in G.P.R. James (ed), *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III. From 1696 to 1708. Addressed to the Duke of Shrewsbury, by James Vernon, Esq. Secretary of State*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Coburn, 1841), pp.123-4.

brothers and kindred that would not be very welcome here').⁴⁵ The idea of the King's remarriage seemed to gather pace in the following days. Vernon wrote on 10th August that he was concerned that there 'seems to be a wrong notion getting up, that people should rely on the King's marrying, and trouble themselves no further.'⁴⁶ By that point the King had been widowed for five years and had never shown interest in marrying again after Mary II had died. Lists had even been drawn up identifying suitable royal brides for the king as early as 1696 giving their religious affiliation (all Protestants) and age but William never moved on the suggestion.⁴⁷ The possibility of the King remarrying was linked to concerns amongst supporters of the Protestant Succession that the Hanoverians were, like William III, foreigners. As Vernon commented to Shrewsbury, 'The objection is, 'what, must we have more foreigners?'' but he countered by saying it was 'better to have a Prince from Germany, than one from France', referring of course to the Stuarts in exile under the protection of Louis XIV.⁴⁸

Despite these concerns, by 22nd August Vernon indicated that there was a firm shift towards a Hanoverian succession. He wrote that 'if [Mr Guy] knows the opinions of those he converses with, one would think they were zealous both for the King's marriage, and adding the House of Hanover to the

⁴⁵ 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 6 1700' in James (ed), *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3 (London: Henry Coburn, 1841), pp. 123-4.

⁴⁶ 'Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 10 1700' in James (ed) *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3, p. 128.

⁴⁷ 'Report on possible brides for William III, 1696,' in Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents*, vol. VIII, p. 129.

⁴⁸ 'Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 15 1700' in James (ed) *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3, p. 130.

settlement.⁴⁹ The adept political operator and survivor, Lord Sunderland, who had served James II, also favoured the Hanoverians.⁵⁰ Vernon wrote in a letter of 27th August that he had heard that 'the bringing in the House of Hanover is a project from Althorpe' which was Sunderland's country seat.⁵¹ His ally at the time, another aristocrat, the Duke of Devonshire, also favoured the settlement. Vernon reported on 24th September that 'my Lord Steward... makes no scruple of coming up to any thing that may put an exclusion upon King James and the Prince of Wales, and he does not care how soon, and how strongly that is done.'⁵² Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield wrote to his son-in-law Thomas Coke (an MP) that after hearing the news of the loss of Gloucester, 'It seems to me as if heaven designed a new scheme of government for these parts of the world, and that the blood of the [Hydes] should no longer be incorporated into the royal family.'⁵³

⁴⁹ 'Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 22 1700' in James (ed) *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3, p. 130; This 'Mr Guy' is likely to Henry Guy, a politician close to the influential Lord Sunderland: A. A. Hanham, 'Guy, Henry (bap. 1631, d. 1711)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11798>, accessed 24 November 2013.

⁵⁰ W. A. Speck, 'Spencer, Robert, second earl of Sunderland (1641–1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26135>, accessed 24 November 2013.

⁵¹ 'Mr. Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury, August 27 1700,' in James (ed) *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3, p. 134; W. A. Speck, 'Spencer, Robert, second earl of Sunderland (1641–1702)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26135>, accessed 24 November 2013.

⁵² Mr Vernon to the Duke of Shrewsbury. September 24, 1700,' in James (ed) *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. 3, pp. 137-8.

⁵³ 'Earl of Chesterfield to Thomas Coke MP, August 3 1700,' in HMC, *The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper, Preserved at Melbourne Hall, Devonshire*, vol. 2 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1888), p. 402. Here the Earl of Chesterfield is making reference to the morganatic marriage of James, duke of York to Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, the mother of Anne and grandmother of Gloucester. The Hydes, a new family to the aristocracy, were not considered worthy of being associated so closely with royalty.

William recognised that matters had to be dealt with swiftly. One report indicates that William had met with Sophia of Hanover while he was in Holland during the summer of 1700, 'at which Interview no doubt the succession was not forgot, since, in his Speech to the new Parliament, he recommended it very strongly to their consideration.'⁵⁴ Upon his return to England the King dissolved the old Parliament and called a new one. On 11th February 1701 William III gave his speech to both houses of the new Parliament and referred to the impact the death of the young Duke had had on the succession:

My Lords and Gentlemen,
Our great Misfortune in the loss of the Duke of Gloucester,
hath made it absolutely Necessary, that there should be a
further provision for the Succession of the Crown in the
Protestant Line after Me and the Princess.

William told them that the 'happiness of the Nation and the Security of Our Religion...is our Chiefest Concern,' which compelled them to give it their 'early and effectual Consideration.'⁵⁵ On 11th June John Evelyn noted in his diary that 'parliament has now settled the Succession of the house of Hanover' and specifically on Sophia, whom Evelyn called 'an antient Lady of the Electoral [palatine] family living, & the duke her son.'⁵⁶

Interestingly even within the Act, acknowledgement of grief and loss was plain. The legislation opened with the following passage:

⁵⁴ *The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, From the Restoration in 1660 to the Present Time...vol. 2, from 1697 to 1714* (London: Ebenezer Timberland, 1742), p. 19.

⁵⁵ *London Gazette*, 10 February to 13 February, 1700(1), p. 1.

⁵⁶ DeBeers (ed) *The Diary of John Evelyn, vol. 5*, pp. 464-5.

it having pleased Almighty God to take away [Queen Mary II] and also the most hopeful Prince William, Duke of Gloucester (the only surviving issue of her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark), to the unspeakable grief of your Majesty and your said good subjects.

It maintained that the Act was passed 'for the happiness of the nation and the security of our religion' and 'for the safety, peace and quiet of this realm' by negating 'all doubts and contentions...by reason of any pretended title to the crown.' Such words were intended as a snub to the exiled Stuart court and their wider family of Catholic relatives descended from James II's younger sister Henrietta Anne who outranked Sophia in a purely hereditary line of succession.⁵⁷ The Act of 1701 only applied to England, but its provisions were later included in the Act of Union (1707) to apply to all of Great Britain.⁵⁸ Such provisions were required to overcome the refusal of the Scottish Parliament to adopt England's line of succession in an act of defiance to assert their independence from London.⁵⁹

The death of the Duke of Gloucester exposed the Protestant Succession to an insecurity which was feared as much as the death of this boy was mourned. The importance and the precariousness of the succession shaped the tone and content of the rituals which did not match the magnitude of the event as discussed in printed representations.

⁵⁷ 'Act of Settlement, 1701,' in Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents*, vol. VIII, p. 130.

⁵⁸ 'Act of Union, 1707,' in Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents*, vol. VIII, p. 681.

⁵⁹ 'Act of Security, 1704,' in Browning (ed) *English Historical Documents*, vol. VIII, pp. 677-8.

The Bittersweet Death of Queen Anne, August 1714

Death acts as a great agent of change in monarchical government. The Crown and its dignities, privileges and powers are transferred from one person to another because of death. In Queen Anne's case the change could have been a cause of great instability due to the nature and terms of the Act of Settlement which determined that a foreign prince would take the throne after her death. In 1714, when Anne died, an anonymous Tory poem appeared to reflect on the losses which the nation had suffered that year:

Farewell old year, for Thou canst ne'er return,
No more than that great Queen for whom we mourn;
Farewell old year, with thee the Stuart race
Its Exit made, which long our Isle did grace;
Farewell old year, the Church hath lost in thee
The best defender it will ever see;
Farewell old year, for Thou to us did bring
Strange changes to our State, a stranger King;
Farewell old year, for thou with Broomstick hard
Hadst drove poor Tory from St. James's Yard;
Farewell old year, old Monarch, and old Tory,
Farewell old England, Thou hadst lost thy glory.⁶⁰

This poem mourned the death of Queen Anne on 1st August 1714 which also marked the end of a century of rule by the Stuart dynasty. The Hanoverians and their descendants took over the rule of Britain and the political fortunes of

⁶⁰ 'A Farewell to the Year 1714,' in Frank H. Ellis (ed) *Poems on the Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714*, vol. 7, 1704-1714 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 612-3.

the Whig party were reversed. Isolated by Anne in her final years the Whig party were favoured by George I, and held power without major challenge for decades. The author of the poem understandably viewed Anne's death as an ending more than as a beginning. Others of a different political persuasion were more positive, seeing her death as a catalyst for change and development in the Protestant Succession.

Speculation and anxiety about the imminent demise of the Queen is evident in a variety of records. The Duchess of Shrewsbury reported to Robert Harley, now the Earl of Oxford, on 30th July that 'The Queen is as ill as she can be, and the physicians have but little hopes.' Richard Steele wrote to his wife from St. James's coffeehouse on 31st July that news had already arrived of the Queen's death, a report which proved to be premature.

Concern for the success of the Protestant Succession permeated all aspects of Anne's demise from the deathbed to the organisation and staging of the rites of mourning and interment for the Queen. The partisan conflicts between Whigs and Tories that dominated the politics of the period were also affected by and in turn shaped the events in the chamber in which the Queen lay dying. The Whig Junto, which became powerful during the War of Spanish Succession, lost ground in 1710 to the anti-war Tories who opposed the war under the leadership of Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and Tory ascendancy lasted until Anne's death. On 27th July while Anne was sick, she accepted Harley's resignation but although the Tories favoured Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke as their new leader, by the time of the Queen's final illness, Oxford's successor had not been chosen.⁶¹

⁶¹ Henry L Snyder, 'The Last Days of Queen Anne: The Account of Sir John Evelyn Examined,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (May 1971), pp. 266-7.

Whigs who were wholeheartedly in support of the Protestant Succession feared Tory dominance over government led by men such as Bolingbroke, who had not yet cut their ties with theories of divine right monarchy, and who contained within their party sympathisers with the Jacobite cause. Both Oxford and Bolingbroke had engaged in Jacobite intrigue, and Oxford had been willing to amend the Act of Settlement in favour of the Jacobite Pretender if he converted to Anglicanism, but his refusal to do this ended Oxford's efforts.⁶² Many Whigs as well as Jacobites believed that Anne's final will contained a clause that abandoned the Hanoverians in favour of her half-brother the Pretender.⁶³

The dismissal of Lord Oxford was especially concerning because it left vacant the office of Lord Treasurer which under the Regency Act (1708) was to lead the government of the Britain during the period between Anne's death and the Elector of Hanover's arrival, which ultimately meant about six weeks. Since the reign of Charles II the Lord Treasurer was considered the de facto prime minister and both of Anne's chief ministers (Lords Godolphin and Oxford) had held this position. The office of Lord Treasurer was effectively the head of government and granted the holder an ex officio seat in the regency. It was therefore a great prize and for those who supported the Hanoverians, a profoundly important one for the security of the Protestant Succession. The office was eventually given to Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, a moderate Whig and one of the 'immortal seven' who wrote the

⁶² H.N. Fieldhouse, 'Bolingbroke's Share in Jacobite Intrigue of 1710-14,' *The English Historical Review* 52, no. 207 (July 1937), pp. 443-8, 452-3; Gregg, *The Protestant Succession in International Politics*, pp. 301-3.

⁶³ Edward Gregg, 'Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?' *History* 57 (October 1972), p. 358.

invitation to William of Orange asking him to invade in 1688. One of the equerries recounted the event in a letter to his brother:

The Queen to day about one a clock gave the Treasurer's staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury, my Lord Chancellor [Viscount Harcourt] holding her hand to direct it to the Duke. When he took it he told her he wou'd keep it to resign to her again when she was better.⁶⁴

According to some contemporaries Anne told Shrewsbury to use the staff 'for the good of my people,' although the remark is apocryphal.⁶⁵ Shrewsbury already held the offices of Lord Chamberlain of the Household and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and it was later revealed that he was also amongst the named individuals chosen by George I to fill out the rest of the spaces in the regency (the only one to have an ex officio and named position in the regency), making him briefly one of the most powerful men in the country.⁶⁶

The conflict over the Lord Treasurership exposed the dying queen to the continuing cycle of intra- and inter-partisan bickering that had dominated her reign. Her physician Sir David Hamilton later argued that the Queen's death was hastened by this political infighting. He wrote in his diary that Anne died from a 'translation of the gouty humour from the knee and the foot, first

⁶⁴ 'Peter Wentworth to Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 30 July 1714', in James J. Cartwright (ed) *The Wentworth Papers, 1705-1739, Selected from the private and family correspondence of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, created in 1711 Earl of Strafford, of Stainborough, co. York* (London: Wyman and Sons, 1888), p. 408.

⁶⁵ Synder, 'Last Days of Queen Anne,' p. 271.

⁶⁶ T.C. Nicholson and A.S. Tuberville, *Charles Talbot Duke of Shrewsbury* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p.. 212-3.

upon the Nerves and then upon the brain.'⁶⁷ Hamilton wrote that 'a Succession of disquiets' weakened her nerves and made her 'less able to resist this last translation of the Gout, which was the cause of her sudden death.'⁶⁸ Partisanship and concern for the success of the Protestant Succession meant that death itself was seen as a relief for her. As one observer put it, 'I believe sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death was to her.'⁶⁹

Anne passed away just before 8am on 1st August 1714 and the provisions of the Act of Settlement were then quickly put into effect. While the Act had specified Sophia of Hanover to be the heir, she had predeceased Anne by about two months and her claim (as stipulated in the law) passed to her son, George Ludwig, the Elector of Hanover.⁷⁰ Shrewsbury immediately dispatched a messenger to inform the Elector and summon him to Britain.⁷¹ The Privy Council met at St. James's Palace to order the proclamation of King George I, which was done in London at St. James's, Charing Cross, Temple Bar, the Royal Exchange and at the end of Wood Street in Cheapside. The

⁶⁷ Philip Roberts (ed), *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 3.

⁶⁸ Roberts (ed), *The Diary of Sir David Hamilton*, pp. 3-4.

⁶⁹ 'John Arbuthnot on the death of Anne, 1714,' in Browning (ed), *English Historical Documents*, vol. VIII, p. 142.

⁷⁰ Sophia had died on 8 June 1714; she had been heir to the British throne for 13 years and direct heir for nearly twelve: Hatton, *George I*, pp. 76-7, 108; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 123, 182-3, 384-5; Jeremy Black, 'Sophia, princess palatine of the Rhine (1630-1714)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, available at: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37994>, accessed 17 March 2014; Tim Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London: Penguin, 2007), p. 493; Somerset, *Queen Anne*, pp. 165-6; Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), pp. 350, 515, 526-7, 663; Melinda Zook, *Protestantism, Politics and Women in Britain, 1660-1714* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 169.

⁷¹ James Anderson Winn, *Queen Anne: Patroness of Arts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 634.

lists of Lord Justices who had been chosen were open and those on the list were sworn in. Bolingbroke was ineligible for the *ex officio* list and had been left off the named list. The Privy Council, along with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of London 'with one full Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart' proclaimed that George 'now, by the Death of Our late sovereign of Happy Memory, become out only Lawful and Rightful Liege Lord...To whom we do acknowledge all Faith and constant Obedience, with all hearty and humble Affection.'⁷²

Given the anxiety about the security of the Protestant Succession it is no surprise that lamentation about the Queen's passing was carefully calibrated to stress also celebration of the successful and peaceful accession of a preferred Protestant heir, whose succession rested on religion and an Act of Parliament rather than hereditary right. In London the news was received well. The Imperial ambassador wrote to Vienna that the people 'showed great and sincere joy' while the Hanoverian Resident wrote to George on the day of his accession that everything was 'very well for him here.'⁷³ The xenophobic riots that were to mar the coronation of George were matched by an earlier popular zeal for the new Protestant king, displayed when symbols of the potential Catholic heirs were attacked.⁷⁴ The Pretender was burned in effigy and a Frenchman who publicly declared his preference for a Stuart prince had to be saved from being assaulted by an angry mob. The French ambassador,

⁷² *London Gazette*, July 31 to August 3 1714, p. 1.

⁷³ Imperial Resident and Hanoverian Resident Bothmer as quoted in: Wolfgang Michael, *England under George I: The Beginnings of the Hanoverian Dynasty* (New York: Ames Press, 1936), pp. 56, 58.

⁷⁴ Paul Kleber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 173.

whose country had long supported the exiled Stuarts's claim to the throne, asked the government for protection for his person and his property.⁷⁵

But nonetheless the uncertainty surrounding the unusual arrangements for the succession led to great efforts to celebrate them as often as possible in public. The Houses of Parliament returned to work soon after Anne died. They had been out of session since Anne had prorogued them on 9th July.⁷⁶ Now the Houses met as required by the Regency Act, which also required that Parliament remain in session and was not to dissolve on Anne's death, according to tradition.⁷⁷ The Lord Chancellor gave a speech to both Houses on behalf of the Lord Justices on 5th August 1714. In it he explained all that had been done by the Lord Justices to ensure the success of enacting the Act of Settlement:

My Lords and Gentlemen,
It having pleased Almighty God to take to himself Our late most gracious Queen, of Blessed Memory, We Hope, that nothing has been Omitted, which might contribute to the Safety of these Realms, and the Preservation of Our Religion, Laws, and Liberties in this Great Conjecture. As these Invaluable Blessings have been Secured to Us by those Acts of Parliament, which have settled the succession of these kingdoms in the most Illustrious House of Hanover, We have

⁷⁵ Michael, *England under George I*, p. 56; Dorothy H. Somerville, *The King of Hearts: Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 333.

⁷⁶ 'Her Majesties most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on Friday the Ninth of July, 1714 (London: John Baskett, 1714)' in F. William Torrington (ed) *House of Lords Sessional Papers, Session 1714 to 1717-1718* (Dobbs Ferry NY: Oceana Publications, 1978), p. 42.

⁷⁷ G.M. Trevelyan, *England under Queen Anne*, vol. 2, *Ramillies and the Union with Scotland* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1932), p.93.

Regulated Our Proceedings by those rules are therein prescribed.⁷⁸

The speech then went on to describe the actions of the Lord Justices since the Queen's death.⁷⁹

The Houses then separately drew up addresses to the new King congratulating him on his accession. The House of Lords' expressed how 'tho' deeply sensible of the great Loss these Nations have sustained by the Demise of Her late Majesty' they were compelled by duty 'with Thankful Hearts to Almighty God, to congratulate Your Majesty upon Your Happy and Peaceful Accession to the throne.' They pledged a 'Zealous and Firm' resolve to defend the King's claim to the throne against 'all Enemies and Pretenders whatsoever.'⁸⁰ George sent a reply to this address in which he thanked the Lords for their zeal and unanimity in welcoming and congratulating him.

Addressing the sorrow at Anne's death, he told them:

No one is more truly sensible than I am, to the Loss Sustained by the Death of the late Queen, whose Emplementary Piety and Virtues so much Endear'd Her to Her People, and for whose Memory I shall always have a particular regard.⁸¹

⁷⁸ 'The Speech of the The Lord Justices, Delivered by the Lord Chancellor To both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the Fifth Day of August, 1714 (London: John Baskett, 1714)', in Torrington, ed., *Lords Sessional Papers*, p. 47.

⁷⁹ 'The Speech of the The Lord Justices, Delivered by the Lord Chancellor To both Houses of Parliament, on Thursday the Fifth Day of August, 1714 (London: John Baskett, 1714)', in Torrington, ed., *Lords Sessional Papers*, pp. 47-8.

⁸⁰ 'The Humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, to his Majesty. With his Majesties most gracious answer (London: John Baskeett, 1714)', in Torrington, ed. *Lords Sessions Papers*, p. 3.

⁸¹ 'The Humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, to his Majesty. With his Majesties most gracious answer (London: John Baskeett, 1714)', in Torrington, ed. *Lords Sessions Papers*, p. 4.

He then pledged that his reign 'will never be wanting to Repair the Loss to the Nation' and would preserve British laws, liberties and religion.⁸²

In other parts of England the news of George's accession was received in a similar fashion to that in London. That xenophobia lay just below the surface is indicated by an anti-George mob in Exeter, but in the event it was easily suppressed.⁸³ In York, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote to Mr Wortley Montagu that the proclamation of George there was done before 'greater crowds of people that I believed to be in York' and all with 'the appearance of a general satisfaction.' She also described that an effigy of the Pretender was 'dragged about the streets and burned' with the ringing of bells, illuminations and bonfires 'the mob crying Liberty and Property! and Long Live King George!' She concluded that 'all Protestants here seem unanimous for the Hanoverian succession.'⁸⁴

There was some concern over making the proclamation in other parts of Britain, in particular Scotland and Ireland, where Jacobitism ran stronger. Scotland had long been seen by Jacobites as the next best thing to a strong Jacobite movement in England and felt it would be a useful launching place for taking the rest of Britain. A failed invasion and uprising had occurred in Scotland during 1708, and another more successful but ultimately doomed

⁸² 'The Humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, to his Majesty. With his Majesties most gracious answer (London: John Baskeett, 1714)', in Torrington, ed. *Lords Sessions Papers*, p. 4.

⁸³ Michael, *England under George I*, p. 59.

⁸⁴ 'Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Mr Wortley Montagu, August 9 1714,' in *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Edited by her Great-Grandson Lord Wharncliffe, with additions and corrections derived from the original manuscripts, illustrative notes and a memoir by W. Moy Thomas*, vol.1 (London: Swain, Sonnechein and Co., 1893), p. 209.

mission would happen there the following year under the leadership of John Erskine, earl of Mar. The appeal of the exiled Stuarts to the Scottish Jacobites was linked to their grievances towards the Union of 1707 and the loss of their independence to London. Central government policies such as a malt tax and the abolition of Scottish political institutions in the wake of the Union fuelled this adherence to the Stuarts, which was ironic considering that the centralisation of power under James II was a major grievance leading up to the Glorious Revolution. Scotland had also refused to adopt the Hanoverian succession independently after England had done so in an act of political independence. The English, concerned a split would threaten them, pursued Union in part to secure the Stuart thrones for Hanover and reverse this act of defiance to the English will.⁸⁵

Despite these grievances and the fear in London that they would feed into unrest at the moment of the Hanoverian succession, Scotland proved particularly peaceful in 1714. A Mr. Philipson wrote from Edinburgh to the Lord Justices on 5th August that news had arrived 'last night of the very much lamented Death of our late Queen of Glorious Memory.' He reported that 'the Lord Provost and other Magistrates of this city in their Robes, The Officers of State, and of the Crown, and most of the Quality met this day at the Cross about Twelve a Clock,' and proclaimed George's accession 'with the great Solemnity...as usual.' Addressing concerns over possible unrest in the city, Philipson wrote that 'all people [here] seem to be in a peaceful mind' and that

⁸⁵ For Scotland and Jacobitism see: Daniel Szechi, 'The Jacobite Movement' in H.T. Dickinson, ed., *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Malden MA: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 87,89; Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 56; Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom*, p. 110; Bruce Lenman, *The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1689-1746* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), pp. 51, 76-7.

if there were those that did oppose this course of events 'they are ever quiet and no disturbance has happened as yet.' This, however, was not taken as a sign that George's accession in Scotland in 1714 was going to be the peaceful event it later proved to be (the uprising coming a year later), and the Lord Justices were informed that as a precaution General Joseph Wightman 'has formed a small camp behind the Palace of Holy Rood House as he Number of Our Forces will allow.'⁸⁶ In Scotland, as in England, the Protestant Succession was not challenged in 1714 and the pattern of lamentation for Anne's death and celebration of George's elevation continued there.

Jacobitism also had a loyal base of support amongst the Irish. This derived from nationalistic concerns but also from the Catholicism which the majority of Irishmen shared with the exiled Stuarts. James II's pro-Catholic policies and zealous lord lieutenant the Earl of Tyrconnell had made him popular in Ireland. When James's French-backed invasion of Ireland occurred in 1690-91 the Irish supported him, requiring William III's campaign of re-conquest. As a result of this, the Irish continued to hold grievances against domination of the kingdom by the minority Protestant population. This well of support the Jacobite leaders around the Stuarts had rarely considered because of the fear that an Irish rebellion would undermine their support in England. As a result the Irish Jacobites lacked proper leadership.⁸⁷

Despite this, there was still a concern over potential unrest and the Lord Justices who governed Ireland needed to ensure that there was a

⁸⁶ TNA SP54/6 no. 138, Mr Philipson to the Lord Justices, Edinburgh, 5 August 1714.

⁸⁷ For Ireland and Jacobitism see: Kishlansky, *A Monarchy Transformed*, pp. 293-6; Szechi, 'The Jacobite Movement,' pp. 89-90; Szechi, *1715*, pp. 56-7; Smyth, *The Making of the United Kingdom*, p. 51; Eamonn O Ciardha, *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766: A Fatal Attachment* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002).

peaceful transition to George's reign while also mourning for Anne. Neither could be guaranteed. Bolingbroke had written to the Lord Justices of Ireland before Anne's death informing them that she 'draws apace to her latter end.'⁸⁸ As in Great Britain the proclamation of the new King was done upon the Lord Justices receiving the news from the Privy Council in London. The proclamation was read in Dublin that evening at 7pm and was followed by the firing of the great guns and the lighting of bonfires throughout the city. Orders were sent to repeat the process throughout Ireland, along with separate orders for 'Disarming the Papists, and seizing their Horses'.⁸⁹

This order appears to have been planned to pre-empt any possible Jacobite rebellion by removing the resources and materials a rebellion would have needed in the form of weapons and transportation. The specific reasoning which was listed in the orders was that these were steps for 'Preventing Dangers that may arise at this Juncture from Papists or other Persons disaffected to His Majesty's Government, and for preserving the publick peace of this Kingdom.' It included an order for all those Catholics licensed to keep weapons to surrender them to a Justice of the Peace. Officers were to search and then take any weapons, armour and ammunition found from 'all Papists not Licensed, and all reputed Papists and other Persons suspected to be Disaffected to His Majesty's Government.' In order to further inhibit any possible rebellion 'all servicable Horses, Geldings, and

⁸⁸ 'To the Lord Justices of Ireland, Kensington,' in Gilbert Parke (ed) *Letters and Correspondence, Public and Private, of The Right Honourable Henry St. John, Lord Visc. Bolingbroke; During the time he was Secretary of State to Queen Anne; with State Papers, Explanatory Notes and a Translation of the Foreign Lettters*, vol. 4 (London: G.G. And J. Robinson, 1798), p. 581.

⁸⁹ *London Gazette*, 14 August to 17 August 1714, p. 1.

Mares' were to seized from the same groups of people in order to prevent their use.⁹⁰

Archival sources demonstrate that Anne wished to be buried in the 'private' style, leaving instructions that 'my Funeral, with the Proceeding thereunto...and all other matters concerning the same be performed...as were used or appointed upon the decease of my said dear husband.'⁹¹ But it is also clear that the political tensions surrounding the succession impacted directly on the planning and staging of rituals of mourning and interment of the last Stuart Queen. At the same time as George pledged his loyalty to the British nation, the order was issued by the Earl Marshal for people to 'put themselves into the deepest Mourning...to begin upon Sunday the 15th Instant'.⁹² The late Queen's funeral was designed by a committee of the Privy Council, and the Lord Justices ordered that 'in all particulars is as much as possible to be like that of the late Prince George, according to the directions her Majesty left behind.'⁹³ It was decided that the event needed to be completed by the time George I arrived in England so that the focus could be on the new King and the funeral was held on 24th August 1714.⁹⁴ Anne was interred next to her husband and she had requested that enough space be left next to him when he had died in 1708 for her to use.⁹⁵ Her burial also

⁹⁰ *London Gazette*, 14 August to 17 August 1714, p. 1.

⁹¹ TNA PC 1/2/260 Uncompleted draft for Queen Anne's will.

⁹² *London Gazette*, 3 August to 7 August 1714.

⁹³ TNA PC 1/2/255 Mr Addison's Letter from the Lord Justices to reconsider the proceeding for the Queen's funeral, 12 August 1714.

⁹⁴ Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 397.

⁹⁵ BL Add MS 61422, Blenheim Papers vol. CCCXXII, 'An account of the closset where she saw Mrs Masham & of what passed at the Prince's death', fo.33.

filled up the vault Charles II had prepared in Henry VII Chapel. 'Tis very remarkable,' Daniel Defoe later remarked, 'that the Royal vault in which the English Royal Family was laid, was filled up with Queen Ann; so that just as the family was extinct above, there was no Room to have any more below.'⁹⁶

Anne's funeral conformed to the preference for 'private' funerals set by Charles II in 1685, although the planners of the ceremonies did not examine the arrangements for Charles's obsequies to gather information and instead they asked the heralds about 'what was done at the funeral Solemnity of His late Majesty King William and His Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark.'⁹⁷ After examining these 'and having regard to Her Majestys Royall Dignity' they planned a 'private' funeral. Because Parliament had been called into session, the funeral was initially planned to go from Kensington as Westminster was in use, however, the Privy Council thought it 'more agreeable' to follow Anne's wishes and Westminster was reinstated as it fitted with what had happened at the Prince of Denmark's funeral.⁹⁸

The funeral was described in *The London Gazette* as the 'private Interment of Her late Most Excellent Majesty' and consisted of a short procession of household officers, Irish and British peers and Anne's lady servants between the Prince's Chamber to Westminster Abbey.⁹⁹ Unlike in

⁹⁶ Daniel Defoe, 'A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain' in John McVeagh (ed) *Writing on Travel, Discovery and History by Daniel Defoe, vol. 2, A Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain, Volume II* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2001), p.110.

⁹⁷ TNA PC 1/2/245 Account of the Proceedings of the Privy Council upon the Death of Queen Anne (1714).

⁹⁸ TNA PC 1/2/245 Account of the Proceedings of the Privy Council upon the Death of Queen Anne (1714); TNA PC 2/85 Privy Council Register: George I, vol. 1, 1 August 1714-25 February 1716(7), p. 46.

⁹⁹ *London Gazette*, 24 August to 28 August 1714, pp. 1-2; TNA PC 1/2/256 A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Interment of her late Matie Queen Anne, from the Prince's Chamber at Westminster to King the 7th Chappell (1714), fo. 6-8.

1695 when Parliament was also not dissolved on a monarchical death, the Parliament of 1714 did not march in the procession. The Duchess of Ormonde replaced the Duchess of Somerset as Chief Mourner because the latter 'was Indisposed.'¹⁰⁰ After the Anglican service in the Henry VII Chapel Anne's title was read aloud by Clarenceux King of Arms before he read George's and ended the ritual with cries of 'God save King George!'¹⁰¹

The intrusion of gender into the ceremonial surrounding Anne's death is an interesting and under-researched question. Unlike her sister Mary, Anne had ruled as queen regnant and was given executive power. Her husband George had had no authority during her reign except in the mostly symbolic military role of Generalissimo of Her Majesty's Forces, because as a woman Anne could not exercise formal military leadership. She is regarded by many historians as an extremely able political operator. But she is also remembered for associating herself with maternal qualities, choosing for her coronation, for example, the text from Isaiah 49:2, 'kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and their Queens thy nursing Mothers'.¹⁰² These complications about how a queen interacted with and depicted female authority are reflected in the symbolic staging of her funeral rituals. Her Tudor predecessors, Mary and Elizabeth, had heraldic emblems of war displayed at their funerals, but at Anne's obsequies, like those of her sister Mary, military paraphernalia was

¹⁰⁰ *London Gazette*, 24 August-28 August 1714, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ TNA PC 1/2/256 A Scheme of the Proceeding to the Private Interment of her late Matie Queen Anne, fo. 8.

¹⁰² Gregg, *Queen Anne*, pp. 130-150; Robert O. Bucholz, 'Queen Anne: victim of her virtues?' in Clarissa Campbell-Orr (ed) *Queenship in Britain, 1660-1837* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), pp. 94-129; Robert Bucholz, 'The 'Stomach of a Queen,' or Size Matters: Gender, Body Image, and the Historical Reputation of Queen Anne' in Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (ed), *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Lincoln NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), pp. 242-271.

omitted.¹⁰³ Gender had a part to play in the remembrance of the Queen's death. Defoe expressed relief at her passing and looked forward to the return of a masculine martial monarchy. He would later appraise Anne's reign as being undermined 'for she was but a Woman' prompting, for example, her to dismiss able ministers for controlling and deceptive ones.¹⁰⁴ In 1715 he would praise George I's accession for replacing 'A Woman on the Throne' with 'a vigorous and magnanimous King' like William III had been.¹⁰⁵ However, this praise for William's martial spirit is curious when we consider that when he had died his funeral had also omitted any military displays in the procession and, like Mary II's and Anne's funerals, had focused on household officers.¹⁰⁶ This contrasted with the significant presence of the army and its imagery at the state funeral for the Duke of Marlborough, William's successor as military leader in Anne's reign, at his death in 1722.¹⁰⁷

The process of the marking of the loss of Anne was wrapped up in the celebration of George's accession, though was not only limited to the three British kingdoms themselves but was also seen in the British American colonies when news began to arrive there during the autumn. Although records for every colony are not readily accessible, it is possible to find

¹⁰³ Claire Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984), pp. 184, 222.

¹⁰⁴ Daniel Defoe's *Proper Language For the Tories*, as quoted in: Manuel Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics: Parliament, Press, Power, Kingship and Robinson Crusoe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 91.

¹⁰⁵ Daniel Defoe as quoted in: Schonhorn, *Defoe's Politics*, p. 137.

¹⁰⁶ *London Gazette*, 9 April to 13 April, 1702, p. 6; CA I Series, vol. 4, 'Funerals of Kings, Princes &c.' fo. 87-88.

¹⁰⁷ For details of the Duke of Marlborough's funeral see: *London Gazette*, 7 August to 11 August, 1722, pp. 1-4.

examples from several, and often they followed the same pattern of lamentation and celebration seen in the metropole.

Reports of the events from across the New England colonies were given in the weekly Massachusetts based newspaper, *The Boston News-Letter*.¹⁰⁸ In New Hampshire Anne's death was marked in the morning 'by a Discharge of all our Guns at a Minute Distance, under a Flagg hoisted up half Mast high.' At noon that day the accession was marked with its proclamation 'done with Three Loud Huzza's and Acclamations of Joy, Three Volleys of Small Arms, Three Rounds of the Great Artillery of our Fort, and followed by all the Vessels in our Harbour.' In Salem and in Boston (both located within Massachusetts) the reports were similar. Salem marked it on 23rd September 1714 when during 'the forenoon was observed the Solemnity in Condolence of the Death of Our late Sovereign Lady Queen Anne' followed by George's proclamation in the afternoon and an evening of 'Illuminations, and all Expressions of Joy and intire Satisfaction.' When the process was done in Boston to the same specification the report added that 'the Town-house and several Principall Streets being finely Illuminated beyond whatever was known in the English America.'¹⁰⁹

In Virginia the official news arrived a little later as shown from a letter written towards the end of October 1714 by Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood to the government back in London that claimed: 'I cannot omit this first opportunity after notification of the mournful news...to acquaint your

¹⁰⁸ Publication details of *The Boston News-Letter* taken from: Library of Congress, 'Eighteenth-Century American Newspapers in the Library of Congress: Massachusetts: Boston, 147. The Boston news-letter' (19 July 2010), available at <http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/18th/147.html>, accessed 22 August 2013.

¹⁰⁹ *The Boston News-Letter* (Boston, Massachusetts), 20 September to 24 September 1714, p. 2.

Lordships, that according to the directions...I proclaimed His Majesty King George with all the Solemnity this country is capable of.'¹¹⁰ The letter informing Spotswood of Anne's death was sent by Lord Bolingbroke who had written it before his dismissal from office. Unaware of this change Spotswood addressed his reply to Bolingbroke:

As it is impossible for any Subject to reflect without just concern on the justice, piety and other Royal Vertues of our late excell't Queen, I have appointed ye Clergy of this Colony in their several parish Churches to preach suitable sermons on this Occasion; And as soon as that Ceremony is over, I intend to appoint a day of General Thanksgiving and rejoycing for the blessing we enjoy of a protestant Successor in the person of our present Sovereign, King George.¹¹¹

On 17th November the Lieutenant Governor addressed the colony's Assembly (the Virginia Council and House of Burgesses meeting together) then assembled in Williamsburg. 'We now meet under the authority of another sovereign than when we were last assembled,' he told them as 'The Almighty hath pleased to call to hid mercy our late most Gracious and most religious Queen.' But, he told them, God had 'vouchsafed immediately to repair that loss to her subjects by fulfilling their desires in the next successor, and blessing our mother country with Peace and Harmony all on a sudden' and thus they were obliged 'with Thankfull Hearts to congratulate His

¹¹⁰ TNA CO 5/1317 Virginia: Letter from Col. Spottiswoode, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia of 25 October 1714 signifying his having with all due solemnity proclaimed King George according to instructions from Lord Bolingbroke, and to having been to settle the Indians and quiet the frontiers, fo. 94.

¹¹¹ 'To Lord Bolingbroke, October 25 1714,' in *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722. Now Printed from the Manuscript in the Collections of the Virginia historical Society. With an Introduction and Notes by R.A. Brock*, vol. 2 (Richmond VA: Virginia Historical Society, 1885), p. 75.

Majesty's Rightfull and Lawfull Accession to the Crown.'¹¹² By the 25th November, the Assembly had drawn up an address to the King, as Spotswood suggested, informing him that while they were 'deeply sensible of the Loss of this Colony by the Death of our late most Gracious and Indulgent Queen' they argued that 'nothing could repair [this], but the succession of so Illustrious a Prince to the Brittish Crown.'¹¹³ Spotswood forwarded the address to London in the hope that it would 'be look'd upon as a suitable testimony of our Duty and Loyalty on this Occasion.'¹¹⁴

In Maryland, as in Virginia, the legislative assembly drew up addresses for the new King, but did not do so until the following year when they reassembled. An Act of 4th May 1715 declared the 'most joyful and just Recognition of the immediate, lawful and undoubted succession' of George I to the British throne. They declared that on the 'Decease of our late Sovereign Lady Queen Anne' the throne had passed 'by Lawful and undoubted succession in the true Protestant Line' to the new King.¹¹⁵ In this sense the declaration of Maryland was similar in content, style and tone to those produced not only in the colonies but in Britain itself. However, unlike those, this one mentioned the reason why George's dynasty was likely to continue and thus why the Stuarts had failed: legitimate heirs. Maryland's act thanked God's blessing not only in preserving George and his accession but

¹¹² TNA CO 5/1317 Virginia: Copy of the Lieutenant Governors Speech to the Assembly of Virginia, the 17th November 1714, fo. 110.

¹¹³ TNA CO 5/1317, Copy of an Address from the Assembly of Virginia to the lieutenant Governor, November 25th 1714, fo. 108.

¹¹⁴ 'To the Lords Commissioners of Trade, 1 December 1714,' in *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, p. 77.

¹¹⁵ TNA CO 412/5 *Acts of Assembly, Passed in the Province of Maryland, From 1692, to 1715* (London: Printed by John Baskett, 1723), p. 85.

also for 'blessing Your Majesty with a most Royal Progency' in the form of the new Prince of Wales (the future George II) and his children (including the future Frederick Prince of Wales) this being 'so rare and invaluable a Blessing to us, and all your Majesty's Subjects.'¹¹⁶

For all the bittersweet nature of August 1714 across the British territories, the events were most bitter for the Jacobites and for their leader. There were three reasons for this. First, was the revelation that Anne had not acted in any capacity to change the settlement to the Jacobite's advantage. Second, was the acceptance of the Hanoverian succession by the Jacobites long-term time ally King Louis XIV of France for the sake of European peace. Third, which is linked to the discussion above, was the apparent acceptance of George I by his new British subjects and thus rejection of the Jacobite claims.

As mentioned above, it was a common belief amongst both Jacobites and Whigs, looking for an advantage in their respective battle against and for the Protestant Succession, that Anne was secretly in favour of removing the Hanoverians from the settlement. There was a strong belief in Jacobite circles that the Queen had specified this in her will; that the Pretender was to be legitimised and then recognised as her true heir over the Elector of Hanover. In fact Queen Anne died intestate, having refused to sign draft wills prepared for her. Interestingly, at the meeting of the Privy Council at St James's Palace on 3rd August 1714, two incomplete draft wills were read out

¹¹⁶ TNA CO 412/5 *Acts of Assembly, Passed in the Province of Maryland, From 1692, to 1715*, p. 85.

and referred to a Privy Council committee.¹¹⁷ Neither will contained anything regarding the succession, nor any specific bequests other than her wish to be buried in Westminster Abbey 'near unto the body of my Dear husband the Prince of Denmark' in the same style as his funeral in November 1708.¹¹⁸

Belief in the imagined will that would have allowed for the Pretender's accession did not end there. After Anne's death a packet of papers she had kept on her person until her death was burned, as per her order, without being opened. Eyewitnesses to its destruction claimed to see large, clerical style French handwriting they assumed to be the Pretender's letters to Anne, discussing this idea. It was suspected the purported will was within the destroyed packet. However, the historian Edward Gregg has refuted this claim by stating that eyewitness accounts of this handwriting does not match the style of the archived correspondence and writings of the Pretender. Gregg argued that these were more likely to have been letters from Prince George of Denmark that the Queen had kept and then wished to be destroyed.¹¹⁹

The political shifts in international politics and alliances are also apparent in the manner with which the French marked the death of Queen Anne. When James II died in 1701, Louis XIV had broken his agreement with the English and recognised James's son as his heir and thus as the new King

¹¹⁷ TNA PC 2/85 George I: Privy Council Registers, 1 August 1714-25 February 1716/7, p. 27, 30.

¹¹⁸ TNA PC 1/2/260 Uncompleted draft for Queen Anne's will.

¹¹⁹ Gregg, 'Was Queen Anne a Jacobite?', p.375. Destroying love letters and other personal correspondence just before or after death was not uncommon. For example, Mary II had personally destroyed her letters from William III before her fatal illness progressed too far in December 1694.

of England, Scotland and Ireland.¹²⁰ In 1714, as a consequence of his weakened European position and the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when he agreed to respect and recognise the Protestant Succession to the British thrones as was settled by their laws, the response was very different.¹²¹ Writing from Versailles shortly after receiving the news, the British Ambassador, Mr Matthew Prior described that:

as far as any man can possibly judge by the demeanor of the king, the Discourse of the Ministers or the notions of the People in General, which your Lordships knows they always receive from the Court, there is a general complacency and satisfaction in His present Majesty's peaceful accession to the crown of Great Britain, and Universal Hope that the Peace will continue between the Nations.

He also recounted how Louis 'mourns in Purple for Her Majesty' and court mourning orders were expected soon.¹²² In another letter Prior described a meeting with the King in which he had officially informed him of the events in Britain. 'His answer was very handsome,' he wrote, 'the sense of it was that we must all yield to the will of God, that he was very much afflicted for Her Majesty's death.'¹²³

¹²⁰ For the recognition of James' son on his death see: *An Account of the late King James, and of the Titular Pr. of Wales's being Proclaimed King at St. Germans in France* (1701); Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relations*, vol. 5, p. 89; for further discussion see chapter 4.

¹²¹ 'Treaty of Utrecht, 1713' in Browning (ed), *English Historical Documents*, vol. VIII, p. 885-6.

¹²² TNA SP 78/159 France. Mr Prior and Others. From July 12th 1714 to March 21st 1715, Prior to Bolingbroke. Paris. August 28 1714, fo. 129.

¹²³ TNA SP 78/159, Prior to Bolingbroke, Paris, August the 23/12 1714, fo. 77-8.

For Hanoverian Britain the French acceptance of George's accession and their mourning for Anne (which mirrored their own experience) was seen as a triumph. For Jacobites it represented a serious reversal of political fortunes. In 1713 Louis had expelled James and his court from his territory in compliance with the Treaty of Utrecht, although Mary of Modena, the Pretender's mother, continued to reside in France. Mary now wrote to her son with the news of Anne's death and the Pretender quickly left Lorraine (where he had been based since his expulsion from France) to come and seek French assistance.¹²⁴ Louis refused to meet him and instead sent the Marquis de Torcy to meet with him. Torcy delivered a message to the Pretender from Louis that his arrival was unwelcome, that the French King was unwilling to risk peace with Britain for the Jacobite cause and that James's coming to France had shown a disregard for the friendship between Louis and the exiled Stuart family. Torcy later personally reported this to Mr Prior, who then subsequently recounted it to the government in London.¹²⁵

Despite the distinct lack of Jacobite activity in August 1714 and the loss of support from Louis XIV after the Treaty of Utrecht, the Pretender issued a declaration to condemn the response to Anne's death and to assert his claim.¹²⁶ Addressed to 'all Kings, Princes, Potentates, and our loveing subjects,' he listed his claim to the throne of Britain, including historical

¹²⁴ TNA SP 78/159, Copy of a Letter from Mr Prior to the Lord Bolingbroke. Dated at Paris the 17/6 August 1714, fo. 70.

¹²⁵ TNA SP 78/159, Copy of a Letter from Mr. Prior to the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Dated 23/12 August 1714, fo. 86-7.

¹²⁶ 'The Pretender's Declaration' in *Culloden Papers: Compromising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence from the Year 1625 to 1748, Including numerous letters from the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and other distinguished persons of that time...* (London: T. Cadwell and W. Davies, 1815), pp. 30-32.

examples, and cited common and parliamentary law. He argued that a union between Hanover and Britain threatened the European balance of power and that George was 'one of the remotest Relations we have, and consequently one of the remotest Pretenders to our Crowns.' He also argued that George was just 'a foreigner...ignorant of our laws, manners, customes, and language.'¹²⁷ James also attached a family tree to demonstrate the weakness of the Hanoverian claim.¹²⁸ But all of this came to nothing. Celebrations continued in Britain and George I arrived with his family without incident in September 1714 to begin his reign proper.

The deaths of the Duke of Gloucester in 1700 and of Anne in 1714 were moments of acute instability in the context of an experiment in Protestant Succession. As a consequence the organisation of the lamentation at their passing and their funerary rites had to be carefully choreographed to emphasise the legitimacy and the security of the succession. While the Duke and his mother were buried with the reverence due to royalty, ceremony was perhaps less important than print and public oratory for the management of this moment of insecure transition.

¹²⁷ 'The Pretender's Declaration' in *Culloden Papers: Compromising an Extensive and Interesting Correspondence from the Year 1625 to 1748, Including numerous letters from the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and other distinguished persons of that time...* (London: T. Cadwell and W. Davies, 1815), pp. 31-32.

¹²⁸ HMC, *Calendar of Stuart Papers belonging to His Majesty the King, Preserved at Windsor Castle*, vol. 1 (London: HM Stationery Office, 1902), p. 333.

Conclusion

The arrival of George I marked the beginning of Hanoverian rule in Britain. He took his throne by parliamentary grant through a distant relationship to the Stuarts and the beginning of his reign marked the end of the Stuart line which had ruled over the three kingdoms for just over a century (although they began rule over Scotland in the fourteenth century). Stuart princes and their siblings who were claimants to the throne lived on in exile but, despite the support of a number of Jacobites in their native British lands, the Stuarts were never restored. The failure of the Jacobite rebellion in 1715 and then their defeat by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden during the 1745 rising in Scotland crushed any hope of a revival of their fortunes and, at the close of the eighteenth-century, the last Stuart claimant directly descended from James II, his younger grandson, abandoned his claim to the throne. Known as 'Henry IX' to his supporters, Henry Benedict was a Cardinal of the Catholic Church. The extent to which the power of the Stuarts had been extinguished by this date is indicated by the fact that after Henry was ruined by Napoleon, a sympathetic King George III granted the Cardinal an annual pension. A British Hanoverian monarch no longer had reason to fear an ageing Jacobite pretender.¹ The Cardinal's death in 1807, 93 years after the death of Queen Anne, ended the direct line of descent of the Stuart dynasty through the male line. At the end of the eighteenth-century, royal deaths and funerals had also

¹ Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution 1688: Britain's Fight for Liberty* (London: Little, Brown, 2006), pp. 304-5.

changed their political role in the creation and construction of a strong monarchy. Why this change occurred has been the subject of this thesis. Using careful archival research from a range of sources including papers from the Lord Chamberlain, Privy Council and College of Arms, along with newspapers and personal accounts, the aim has been to reconstruct the form of late-Stuart funerals to offer a thorough analysis of the complexities surrounding patterns of continuity and change.

The late-Stuart era was undoubtedly a period of transition in terms of the organisation, use and meaning of the rituals surrounding a royal death. Existing arguments that present the late-Stuart period as a key moment when the 'private' form came to dominate over the 'public' style are supported by the evidence analysed in this study. However, by offering the first detailed analysis of royal funeral ceremony in this period within a highly contextualised analysis, this study has been able to demonstrate that a broader literature that focuses largely on the cultural elements of this transition has tended to shrink the scope of analysis for patterns of continuity and change in royal ritual. The larger cultural shifts away from the heraldic funeral amongst elite society in Britain, and the corresponding alteration in attitudes towards death and burial, both facilitated and help explain the change. But close attention to the context in which plans for royal obsequies were drawn up exposes the highly contingent character of the decision-making process and the vital importance of the political context in shaping the evolution of the rites of royal interment. As in the sixteenth century, the royal funeral was managed according to traditional tropes, cultural norms and immediate political needs.²

² Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 452.

What has been lacking in the literature to date has been any detailed analysis of the alteration of funeral ceremonial and its significance as a platform for the performance of royal power within the turbulent political context of the late-seventeenth-century. This was a time that included violent execution, exile, the early death of minors, hostile Anglo-French relations and politico-religious upheavals. Instead of examining a long time frame, the focus of this thesis has been on the major royal funerals of the late Stuart period of 1660 and 1714, with emphasis on the deaths that occurred between that of Charles II in 1685 and Anne in 1714. This allows for each one to be considered in detail and placed within its immediate context. This approach enables the analysis to develop an understanding of the variety of factors that help explain why the continuities and changes within these rituals occurred as they did.

The first chapter took the broadest view and carefully reconstructed each phase of the rituals using examples from across the entire period. Looking at the ritual organisation of the royal deathbed, the planning and staging of mourning, the funeral procession and service as well as the burial, it revealed that the relationship between change and continuity was complex and varied. In some respects traditional forms remained prominent, even if change also occurred in subtle ways and in incremental, discontinuous steps. For example, while overall the composition of the funeral procession changed with the 'private' style from civic officers to household, ones the funeral of Mary II deviated from this. Also, while all the funerals took place in Westminster Abbey, they arrived at the Abbey from different places and by different means. Some bodies were carried by men from the nearby House of

Lords while others came in carriages from Whitehall Palace. Heraldry, while integral to the 'public' funeral style, was not abandoned under the new 'private' style but remained present in a far more muted and understated way. Understanding why these changes happened was the focus of the remaining chapters.

Chapters two through to four examined the performance or non-performance of the funeral rituals themselves. The analysis focused on three examples: Charles II, Mary II and James II, whose deaths in 1685, 1694 and 1701 respectively were followed by very different ritual responses. In each case placing them within the contemporary political context reveals the pressures and concerns which influenced the decisions made about their funerals. The controversial accession of James II in 1685 encouraged and made politically convenient the adoption of a 'private' funeral for Charles II. Yet while the style of the obsequies drew on wider cultural trends adopted by elites and the royal family since the Restoration, the decision to stage a less elaborate form of funeral for a reigning monarch was not automatic and was instead determined by the tense religio-political circumstances surrounding James's accession. This conclusion is reinforced by the very different form of funeral staged for Mary II, the last full 'public' or heraldic funeral provided for a monarch. The reasoning behind this can again be attributed to the contemporary political situation. Fears and concerns about the security of the Williamite regime after the death of Mary led to the use of elaborate funerary rites to emphasise continuity of sovereignty by way of ritual performance. The large and ornate 'public' funeral was filled with symbols of the legitimacy of the regime of William III to instil a sense of stability through ritual language.

In death rather than in life, symbolism emphasised an image of Mary as a ruling queen with her crown and sceptre displayed, but unlike her Tudor counterpart Mary I, gender shaped the ceremony, and military paraphernalia associated with masculine kingship were omitted. Politics is also at the heart of explanations for the style of the reaction to the death of James II, who died in exile in 1701. His passing acted as a catalyst for international controversy as Louis XIV recognised James's son as heir to the English throne, denying the legitimacy of William III, and triggering a reaction that would lead to the renewal of a war between England and France. These acute political tensions explain the absence of elaborate obsequies normally provided for kings, even those in exile. The uncertainties about ceremonial also made mourning him in Britain an impolitic act. Unlike Charles II and Mary II, James's death was followed by a distinct avoidance of rituals.

Chapter five examined the politics of mourning at court in the reign of Queen Anne, focusing on the Queen's mourning for her husband in 1708-1710. According to tradition, the ritualised response to death followed a set pattern determined by the monarch herself, but in Anne's case a complex combination of political circumstance and gender proved to be important influences on the politics of mourning. Her grieving corresponded with early modern notions of feminine grief as well conforming to the 'domestic' quality that she cultivated in her approach to government. But the critical reactions to what was regarded as her dangerous and excessive 'private grief' and its ritual aftermath expose the difficulties with which women in the late-seventeenth-century negotiated power, authority and public obligation. Anne operated in the male sphere of government and her role as monarch was

understood along gendered male lines. In this environment the gendered expectations of her as monarch and mourning widow conflicted and produced opportunities for others to exploit, and her authority was weakened.

Examination of the ritual of mourning has raised questions about the public and private aspects of monarchy. These are especially relevant to historiographical discussions on the extent and timing of the demystification and 'humanisation' of monarchy within the context of the growing critique of theories about the sacredness of monarchy within the discourses and debates in the 'public' sphere generated by the turbulent politics of succession of the later Stuart period.³ Such discussions are yet to be had but they offer potential future research that would enhance our understanding of this process in the history of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British monarchy.

It is well established that royal obsequies are designed to emphasise dynastic continuity through ritual performance.⁴ Chapter six examined the impact on the rites of later Stuart interment of the tensions surrounding the threat posed by royal death to the security of the the Protestant succession. In the late-Stuart period the issue of the succession was intimately tied up with political crises and concerns over the security of the Protestant line. In this respect the deaths of William, duke of Gloucester, in 1700 and Queen Anne in 1714 were important and especially tense moments of discontinuity

³ Amy B. Oberlin, 'Share with Me in My Grief and Affliction': Royal Sorrow and Public Mourning in Early Eighteenth-Century England' *Parergon* 31, no. 2 (2014), pp. 99-120; R.O. Bucholz, 'Nothing but Cermeony': Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual,' *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 3 (July 1991), pp. 288-323; Kevin Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule in Early Modern England* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

⁴ Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 61-66.

and political upheaval. Gloucester was mourned as the lost Protestant heir, while Anne, the last of the Stuart line, was to be succeeded by a foreign German prince. In both cases, evidence suggests that the politics of Protestant Succession took priority over ritual arrangements. Gloucester was buried 'privately' away from the public gaze. Queen Anne's obsequies were also much less elaborate than those of her sister Mary II. These choices may well have been influenced by cultural trends, but it is also clear that political attention, energy and resources were directed much less to the planning of her funeral than to the staging of the coronation of George I in order to provide a ritual platform for the dissemination of political messages about the legitimacy of the controversial arrangements for the succession of the Hanoverian prince.

Several important conclusions about the royal funerals of this period can be drawn from this research. The first of these is that in this period, as in earlier centuries more thoroughly studied elsewhere, politics as much as culture and tradition explain why and in what way the rituals were performed. Tradition was not fixed but malleable and variable according to circumstance. The distinctive political context of the late-seventeenth century meant that the development from 'public' to 'private' was not smooth or inevitable. The frequent accessions, often in highly unusual, controversial and indeed revolutionary circumstances, the acute tensions in Anglo-French relations, and the politico-religious upheavals need to be taken into account in the historiography of royal funerary ceremonial. Analysis of the varied forms of the obsequies staged after the deaths of Charles II, Mary II, the Duke of Gloucester and Anne make this point very clearly. In each case the scale and

style of the rituals performed were shaped by the immediate circumstances surrounding the politics of succession. Fears about Jacobitism and the Jacobite 'king' are clearly seen, for example, in the ritual arrangements staged after the death of Mary II and the absence of obsequies provided for James II. The need to define the Protestant character of kingship is reflected in the reaction to the death of the exiled king and to that of the Duke of Gloucester.

As a consequence the analysis has also revealed important evidence about tensions and inconsistencies in patterns of continuity and change in royal funerals. Uncertainty as to which style to adopt at first characterised the planning of the funeral of Charles II. Evidence suggests that the decision to stage a 'private' funeral was driven as much by the tensions surrounding the succession of James II as they were by cultural preferences or trends towards the humanisation and desacralisation of monarchy under Charles II.⁵ The unevenness and contingent character of change are shown especially in the funeral of Mary II, in which the longer term trend away from the 'public' style was rejected in favour of elaborate rituals designed to smooth and secure the sovereignty and continuity of the power and authority of William III. Ritual, tradition and cultural context are closely tied but in the context of royal ceremony, the style of each event was also a reflection of these immediate concerns.

The shift from a 'public' to a 'private' funeral for a reigning monarch was not immediate nor automatic, reflecting perhaps, in interesting ways, the shifting position in debates in political discourse about the position and power

⁵ Sharpe, *Reading Authority and Representing Rule*, p. 119.

of monarchy in later Stuart Britain.⁶ In the associated rituals of mourning we also see inconsistency reflecting at once political pressures and private grief. There was an almost complete lack of public or private mourning in Britain for James II, for example, in contrast to the extensive mourning held for Prince George of Denmark, who was mourned for two years. Such evidence about contingency and variety within a broader framework of tradition raises interesting questions about comparisons with the more established patterns of obsequies set out for individuals of lesser rank.⁷ The funerals of monarchs were of a different order and were shaped as much by the political circumstances in which they were staged as they were by culture and tradition.

The study of royal funerals has also allowed insights into the humanity of later Stuart monarchs. Death exposed the precariousness of life and the tension between the notion of the sacredness of the royal body and its

⁶ For discussions about the shifting image and/or position of the monarchy see (amongst many others): Nicholas Henshall, *The Myth of Absolutism: Change and Continuity in Early Modern European History* (London: Longman, 1992); Paul Kleber Monod, *The Power of Kings: Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); R.O. Bucholz, 'Nothing but Ceremony': Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual,' *Journal of British Studies* 30, no. 3 (July 1991), pp. 288-323; Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Hannah Smith, 'The Idea of a Protestant Monarchy in Britain, 1714-1760,' *Past and Present* 185 (November 2004), pp. 91-118.

⁷ For 'public' funerals of those outside the royal family see: Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 176-187; For the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney (1587) see: Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, pp. 75-7; For funeral of John Duke of Marlborough (1722) see: Winston Churchill, *Marlborough: His Life and Times, vol. IV* (London: George C. Harrap and Co., 1938), pp. 649-50; Frances Harris, *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 244; Ivor F. Burton, *The Captain-General: The Career of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, from 1702 to 1711* (London: Constable, 1968), p. 191.

humanity.⁸ The ritual of mourning and the grief that it exposed is particularly interesting in this respect and also in relation to arguments about the growing willingness and expectation, in the context of changing ideas about the meaning of monarchy in later Stuart England, for monarchs to present themselves in more accessible ways to their 'public'.⁹ Observers noted how Charles II mourned the loss of his younger brother deeply in 1660. Propriety and perhaps filial loyalty determined that Princess Anne felt obligated to mourn the father she had abandoned more than a decade earlier. But as the examination of the political consequences of the excessive expressions of grief expressed by William III and Anne have shown, negotiating the boundaries between public and private was complex for both male and female monarchs, even if their behaviour was interpreted and criticised in gendered ways.

The thesis confirms the usefulness of the study of ritual not only for the insights it provides about changes in ritual forms but also as a tool for studying the changing character of the institution of monarchy itself. These events have a history of their own, and the funerals of the later Stuarts needed to be reconstructed, but a focus on royal funerals also offers a great interpretative device for the analysis of monarchy during an especially turbulent and controversial period. Rituals may seem at times to be formulaic

⁸ Maria Antonietta Visceglia, 'A comparative historiographic reflection on sovereignty in early modern Europe: interregnum rites and paper funerals' in Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds) *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, vol. 1, Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 165.

⁹ For discussions about the presentation of monarchs in this period see: Bucholz, 'Nothing but Ceremony'; Oberlin, 'Share with me in my Grief and Affliction'; Kevin Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy, 1660-1714* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); Anna Keay, *The Magnificent Monarch: Charles II and the Ceremonies of Power* (London: COntinuum, 2008).

or static but the nuances of continuity and change found through intricate and detailed analysis allows us to see the malleability of tradition and its relationship to political context.

The scope of the study was imperative because of the lack of attention to ritual in this period in the historiography. It provides a platform from which future research can be undertaken; for example, on the effect of the variety and changes in the style of royal funerals on the wider 'public' and its attitudes to monarchy. The thesis has attempted to explore the reception of the obsequies offered for later Stuart monarchs by a selected range of diarists and correspondents. Future research in different sources might focus more on popular reactions to the changes in the style of rituals to provide very interesting insights into the changing relationship between sovereign and subject. Another fruitful area for future research that links historiographical interest in changing modes of monarchical politics and debates about a move away from emphasis on martial valour towards 'accessibility' might consider the comparison between the 'private' and low-key funeral of William III and the elaborate obsequies staged to mark the passing of the Duke of Marlborough. Such an examination could be done within the historiographical trend of masculinity studies.¹⁰ This thesis nonetheless makes a valuable contribution as the first detailed study that fills the historiographical gap in the study of later Stuart funerary ritual. In doing so it adds an important dimension to the debate about the relationship between politics, ritual and culture.

¹⁰ Karen Harvey and Alexandra Shepard, 'What Have Historians Done with Masculinity? Reflections on Five Centuries of British History, circa 1550-1950,' *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005), pp. 274-80.

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