

'THE HONOURABLE SISTERHOOD': QUEEN ANNE'S MAIDS OF HONOUR

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WHEN Sir Charles Sedley asked a new arrival among the maids of honour at the Restoration court whether she intended to set up as 'a Beauty, a Miss [mistress], a Wit or a Politician', he was acknowledging, in his unregenerate way, that these posts could offer considerable scope for a woman. The more famous among those who took advantage of this, including Sedley's own daughter ('none of the most virtuous but a wit'), have figured prominently in studies of court beauties and royal mistresses.¹ But the experience of the majority of obscurer women, for whom the court was a social centre, a means of access to public life, a marriage market, or a source of livelihood, can be equally and more generally illuminating.

Such experience is not always easy to recover. For some of the women, even basic details such as their identity and duration of office can be difficult to establish. Often their stories can only be pieced together from scattered fragments of genealogical data and court gossip. But occasionally enough documentation survives to provide a more complete picture. Among the papers of Sir William Trumbull is a small group of family correspondence concerning an attempt to obtain an appointment as maid of honour for his niece Jane Cottrell towards the end of Queen Anne's reign. Although the attempt was in the end unsuccessful, taken together with other evidence it provides an unusually detailed insight into the expectations and financial calculations which led families to seek these posts for their daughters, and into the patronage networks, including the role of the Queen herself, which operated to secure them.

The maids of honour were one of three main groups of the Queen's female servants. The highest ranking were the ten ladies of the bedchamber, all peeresses, headed by the Groom of the Stole; second were the four (in the Queen's invalid later years, five or six) bedchamber women, responsible for dressing her and for other personal attendance. Then, although they were drawing-room rather than bedchamber servants, there were the maids of honour. The number of these increased from four while Anne was Princess to six at her accession, and in contrast to the bedchamber appointments, where the holders might remain in post for twenty or thirty years and only chronic illness or death created vacancies, the turnover rate was quite high. It was expected that a maid of honour would resign after a few years in order to marry, and most did so. In all eighteen girls

held these posts in the course of the reign, and there were a number of other hopeful but unsuccessful applicants, whose experiences are also relevant.

From the biographical evidence set out in the appendix, it is clear that most of the girls came from gentry families, a good proportion of whom were of sufficient standing to send members to Parliament. But only two, Mary Berkeley and Susanna Yelverton, had fathers who were peers, and in both cases these were of junior rank and already connected, like the majority of the girls' families, with the royal household. Only three of the eighteen maids, Mary Hale, Jane Warburton and Sarah Slingsby, appear to have had no previous link with the court. The first of these owed her appointment to her Hertfordshire neighbour, the Duchess of Marlborough, having 'then no other friend at court', while even Jane Warburton's immediate descendants could not suggest 'by what means or interest' she became a maid of honour, because she came from a remote Cheshire family, and 'though well born in a herald's sense of the words, her education had not fitted her for a stately, elegant court'. Sarah Slingsby was appointed simply because the Queen took a liking to her when she first attended the drawing-room.² Each of the other fifteen maids had a parent or other close relation who held court or government office, ten actually within the royal household; and of these seven had aunts, cousins or sisters who had formerly been maids of honour.

Isabella Wentworth's family provides a striking, though not exceptional, example of this. Her mother had been lady of the bedchamber to Mary of Modena, the second Duchess of York; her grandfather, Sir Allen Apsley, and uncle by marriage, Sir Benjamin Bathurst, were both household officers; her brother Peter was an equerry to Queen Anne; two of her sisters, Frances and Anne, had formerly been maids respectively to Mary of Modena and to Anne as Princess; and as we shall see the family tried to have another sister appointed after the Queen's accession. Rosamond Yarborough's mother and aunt, Henrietta Maria and Margaret Blagge were the daughters of Colonel Thomas Blagge, one of the most active of royalists, and both had successively been maids of honour to Anne Hyde, Duchess of York. Her elder sister had been maid to Mary of Modena, while Anne Wyvill, another of Queen Anne's maids, was her niece. Several of Christian Temple's relations had been maids of honour since the Restoration: Anne Temple, who married Sir Charles Lyttelton in 1666; Philippa Temple, favourite of Catherine of Braganza; and a Mrs Temple who appears in the lists of Anne's household in 1684. Henrietta Maria Scarburgh's mother, Catherine Fraser, wife of Charles Scarburgh of the Green Cloth, and her aunt, Carey Fraser, Countess of Peterborough, were the daughters of Charles II's physician, Sir Alexander Fraser (whose wife was also a bedchamber woman to Catherine of Braganza), and both had in their turn been maids of honour at the Restoration court. Elizabeth Colyear was the niece by marriage of Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester, admittedly a maid of honour in name only, since the appointment had been bestowed on her to gloss over her position as mistress to the Duke of York.

It has been suggested that the almost hereditary nature of these appointments is evidence of the decline of court culture in Anne's reign, but it can equally be seen as a

natural consequence of the Restoration practice of bestowing court posts on the children of royalist families as a cheap means of recompensing their loyalty to the crown during the Civil War.³ Once established in a patronage society, the process acquired its own momentum, because these families were then the most likely to have friends at court and continuing services to the crown to give them prior claims. There seems also to have been an analogy to the earlier practice among lower gentry families of placing adolescent sons and daughters in households of a higher social level to complete their education and advance their careers and marriage prospects.

Even so, families with access to court patronage who placed a daughter at court did not thereby rid themselves of financial responsibility for her. It was costly to equip a girl to be a maid of honour, and more so to maintain her in the post. A small annual allowance was paid by the court as pocket money, and this was supplemented by occasional special payments for costume for more formal entertainments. Yet these were never enough to keep the girls from day to day, much less to enable them to make the kind of show expected of them. Catherine of Braganza's maids were allowed only £10 a year at the Restoration. Ten years later Sarah Jenyns, the future Duchess of Marlborough, complained of receiving only £20 a year, at the same time as she was obliged to spend at least £500 'for having that service'. By 1680, when the situation of the 'young beggarly bitches' who occupied the maids' lodgings had become notorious, the Duke of York increased the allowance of his wife's maids to £200,⁴ and by the reign of Queen Anne it was £300, and for the first time a regular 'table' was provided for them on the Lord Steward's establishment. Yet the likelihood of their ending in debt remained. When Lady Cottrell first considered sending her daughter to court in 1709, a friend reminded her 'how great the Charge is (were it obtain'd) in setting out a maid of honour & how seldome (if ever) tis they don't run out.'⁵ Families were prepared to run this risk because at best the posts offered the chance of much enhanced marriage and social prospects. The court was a place where Cinderella might find a prince, or at least royal favour and friendship. Both Queen Anne and her Groom of the Stole were living proof of this. Anne Hyde, the Queen's mother, had first attracted the attention of the Duke of York while serving as maid of honour to his sister, Mary, Princess of Orange. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who had begun her long career at court as maid of honour to Mary of Modena, had gone on to marry brilliantly and become Anne's chief favourite.

In fact the circumscribed nature of Anne's court meant that the chances of anything so spectacular happening to her own maids were more remote. Her half-brother was in exile, her children had all died before her accession, and her heirs were far away in Hanover. She herself seems to have had no more than formal contact with the maids; only Mary Stanhope became in any way a favourite, and this did not bring her any special benefits.⁶ Nevertheless, the chance of a more advantageous marriage than the girls' families might otherwise have hoped for remained. The great of the nation frequented the court. A pretty girl in so public a setting would be likelier to make an ambitious marriage than if she remained within her family circle; 'pray gett Betty to be made of honor', old Lady Wentworth urged her son, Lord Raby, concerning his youngest sister,

'she is very handsom and will soon get her a good husband'.⁷ This might happen even without the advantage of outstanding looks. The hoydenish Jane Warburton was so much teased by the other maids about her infatuation with the Duke of Argyll, whom she had seen only amongst the crowds in the drawing-room, that the Duke himself came to hear of it; 'no man can help being a little flattered by the sincere involuntary preference of any young woman...one conversation gave birth to others; these led to visits. The visits grew frequent, grew daily; and in a short time his attachment to her became notorious, and was as passionate as extraordinary'. Argyll, however, was already married, though living apart from his wife. At first he simply proposed a liaison, only to be told roundly by Miss Warburton that she would not be his whore. But in 1717, some years after the Queen's death, the Duchess died and Jane Warburton became his second wife.⁸

Although two other maids, Anne Duncombe, who was an heiress, and Elizabeth Colyear, of whom more in due course, married peers, this remained the exception rather than the rule. Mary Stanhope's experience is relevant here. She was a pretty, intelligent girl, the daughter of a career diplomat who was also the younger son of a peer, and a great favourite with the Duchess of Marlborough, who thought that 'nobody is more reasonable, nor more to be trusted with their own conduct than she is'. Within two years of her appointment she had received a proposal from William, fourth Lord Byron, gentleman of the bedchamber to the Queen's husband, Prince George of Denmark, and 'a very ancient baron', whose first wife had been a sister of the Marlboroughs' son-in-law, Lord Bridgwater. But the negotiations broke down over the portion to which Byron thought himself entitled in return for the prestige of his title and connections.⁹ It was three more years before Mary Stanhope married, and her husband, Charles Fane, had only a distant connection with the peerage, although he was to receive an Irish title in his own right ten years later. Christian Temple's was a similar case. Having rejected a proposal from the Venetian ambassador because she could not bring herself to live in Italy with him (causing him to take to his bed for three days with grief and disappointment), she instead married her cousin Thomas Lyttelton. Though the town judged this a good match, an acquaintance thought that it could not be called brilliant, because Lyttelton was only the heir to a baronetcy; 'but she has prospects att a great distance for an estate'.¹⁰ Yet in general the girls did marry quickly and well, though at their own social level.

This did not come about simply as a result of their exceptional looks, the advantage of being at court, or the caprice of an admirer. In accordance with court custom, every maid of honour who resigned her post to marry with royal approval was entitled to a dowry, and under Queen Anne this had risen to £3000, given 'as a Mark of her Favour...as a Reward for Service as one of her Maids of Honour, and for providing a competent Jointure and Maintenance' as part of the marriage settlement.¹¹ What was more, this amount was paid promptly and in full, which, as the Duchess of Marlborough remarked from her own experience, had not always been the case in former reigns.¹² At a time when it was becoming increasingly costly to marry a daughter well, it was this above all ('the Portion at last is the Inducement', as Lady Cottrell confessed), which

made families eager to put young women forward for these posts.¹³ £3000 was sufficient by itself to secure a prosperous match; Mary Hale brought only this sum to her marriage with the Vice-Chamberlain Thomas Coke, who in return made substantial settlements of his Derbyshire estates. Or it could be a major addition to an existing fortune; Mary Stanhope's £2000 from her father was more than doubled by this means. The outlay of maintaining a girl at court was therefore an investment paying substantial dividends, provided at least that she did not remain there too long.

Apart from the portion there were other attractions for potential suitors. At least two girls, Mary Berkeley and Mary Hale, married men with expectations of their own at court, who may have hoped that a wife with connections there would assist their advancement. The Queen herself gave some encouragement to this view. When Isabella Wentworth's match seemed about to break off over the financial negotiations, she hinted that 'if the man bee one that is proper to bee employ'd', she would be prepared to offer him a court or government post in addition to his wife's fortune. For the suitor himself the prospect that his wife would continue to add to his income by succeeding to one of the bedchamber posts was even more of an inducement.¹⁴

Of the eighteen maids, only three, Letitia Frowde, Jane Kingdon and Mary Forester, remained unmarried for any length of time. The first two had been appointed before the Queen's accession, and in the case of Letitia Frowde, who died in post in 1706, there may have been health reasons for her failure to marry. For Jane Kingdon, who certainly did not lack the looks or personality to attract a suitable match, remaining single may have been a matter of choice. An army officer who frequented the court remarked towards the end of the reign that since she could not get a husband, 'the Queen should give her a brevet to act as a married woman'. There was talk of her being appointed a bedchamber woman, a post for which unattached women were preferred. But in the end she retired with a court pension and shared a household with her mother, a widow of long standing, and two sisters who also remained unmarried.¹⁵ The only maid appointed in the early years of the reign who did not marry in the course of it was Mary Forester, and there was a very specific reason for this. Several years before, her father had made a child marriage between her and his ward, George Downing, but the young couple took such an intense dislike to each other that it was never consummated. But neither was it formally dissolved until after the Queen's death, so that Mary Forester, although an acknowledged beauty, was not free to marry elsewhere.¹⁶ It is an indication of improved marriage prospects for the maids once Anne had become Queen, for those who wished or were able to take advantage of them, that Isabella Wentworth and Anne South, who had been in post for at least seven years at her accession, both married respectably very shortly afterwards.

Unreasonable expectations were not met, however. Those who were tempted by the supposedly limitless resources of the crown to try to extract a larger sum than the £3000 were given short shrift. Byron may have had this intention in his negotiations with the Stanhopes, and when the Wentworths made the same request more directly the Duchess of Marlborough replied in the Queen's name,

that a president [precedent] of that kind will doe her a great deal more hurt, than itt will do Mrs Wentworth good, for noe maid of honour will ever marry without the same request, which either upon their own account or some of their friends can never be refused, when once a rule is broke, & while there is such a clamour of debts & pensions to be paid, with her revenue so much sunk as it will bee as long as the war lasts she shall not bee in a Condition to give more than the usuall portion of three thousand pounds.

When the family continued to press for a larger amount, Sarah reminded them more sharply that if more money was required they were well able to supply it themselves, and that the Queen 'wonder'd at my Lord Raby's giving noe more to dispose soe well of his sister'.¹⁷

There was always the risk, of course, that a maid of honour would find a seducer rather than a husband at court. Frances Stewart, Arabella Churchill, Louise de Keroualle, Betty Villiers and Catherine Sedley, to name only five of the most notorious, had all begun or ended their terms of office as mistresses to Charles II, his brother, or their nephew, William of Orange. In these cases, particularly if there were children of the liaison, a title, financial provision, status and influence might follow, but these were by no means guaranteed. In the space of four years between 1675 and 1678 three of the Duchess of York's maids had to retire in disgrace, one seduced by the Duke of York, another by the Duke of Monmouth and a third, Mary Trevor, by the wealthy Thomas Thynne of Longleat, who had persuaded her mother that he would only commit himself to marriage when he knew that she could bear him a child, but then (egged on by Monmouth) abandoned her once she became pregnant. The Duchess of Marlborough never forgot the sight of Mary Trevor leaving the maids' lodgings 'with infamy', wringing her hands and wailing that her mother had undone her by her advice.¹⁸ Even if no such disaster befell, a girl might become too undomesticated by the pleasures of the court to encourage safer suitors. A country gentleman who contemplated marrying one of them was warned that a court-bred wife was 'a terrible piece of furniture' for a country house and would make his life miserable if he forced her to live there, but he 'need only to compute what it would cost him in equipage, table, clothes, and gaming-money, to maintain her in London according to her caprices; and then to cast up how long his fifteen thousand a year would last.' For her part, an ambitious or daring girl, having once had these prospects open to her, might be less willing to settle for a life of 'casting up the weekly bills of housekeeping' and 'darning old napkins'.¹⁹ Carey Fraser, a maid to Catherine of Braganza who reputedly also had hopes of becoming a royal mistress, appeared at a court celebration in such a rich dress of velvet, ermine and cloth of gold that one of her suitors backed off in alarm, protesting that his estate would 'scarce maintaine her in clothes'. The assumption (though in fact she was about to be secretly married to the future Earl of Peterborough, an adventurer like herself) was that she must already have more than one lover to keep her.²⁰

The raffishness of the court somewhat diminished under James II, and both his daughters, Mary and Anne, were determined to raise moral standards still further. Mrs

Delany, a fixture in old age at the court of George III, had been brought up by her aunt, Lady Stanley, who as Anne Granville had been a maid of honour to Queen Mary. But as her niece remarked with a primness appropriate to the later age, she 'early attained all the advantages of such an education under so great and excellent a princess, without the least taint or blemish incident to that state of life, so dangerous to young minds.'²¹ Nevertheless 'the liberty allowed to maids of honour' remained axiomatic, and a man of rank who was attracted to one of them would assume, like the Duke of Argyll when he first paid his addresses to Jane Warburton, that he need not necessarily propose marriage in order to get her. In 1700 it was cynically reported that two of Anne's maids were about to marry and others were 'to shine in their places, till they find kind keepers or fond husbands'.²² In 1711 Swift and Arbuthnot amused themselves by drawing up a sham subscription for a 'History of the Maids of Honour' since the time of Henry VIII, ironically 'showing they make the best wives', until Mary Forester ('Fading Forester', Swift dubbed her) taxed him with it, making it clear that 'they did not relish it altogether well'.²³

To be eligible for the posts a girl had of course to be marriageable; to have reached puberty, but not to be long past it. If a promise had been given in advance and a vacancy occurred while the candidate was still a child, an older girl would take precedence;²⁴ on the other hand the posts were not intended for women who had already failed to marry. The families themselves were anxious to seize the opportunity as early as possible; Lady Wentworth urged her son to procure the post quickly for his youngest sister: 'she is now handsom, but will soon fayde, she is not a lasting buity.'²⁵ At this age, whatever the calculations and misgivings of their families, the girls themselves usually came to court in a state of great excitement and anticipation. 'The pleasures of the court are delightful to youth', Elizabeth Livingston, one of Queen Catherine's maids noted, 'since most of the time passes in... dressing, dancing, seeing and acting of plays, hunting, music, all sorts of diversions', and with the additional delights, without (at first) the perceived risk, of 'new caught lovers'.²⁶ Mary Granville (afterwards Mrs Delany), a member of the Tory family who had been court servants for several generations, was born in 1700 and brought up from a small child 'with the expectation of being Maid of Honour'. When the Queen died before she could be appointed and her family, proscribed by the victorious Whigs, had to retire into the country, she was as devastated as if she had been cast out of Paradise. As they trailed out of London on their long winter's journey into Gloucestershire, she 'often repeated Mr Pope's verses to a young lady on her leaving town after the coronation':

As some fond virgin, whom her mother's care
 Drags from the town to wholesome country air
 Just when she learns to roll a melting eye,
 And hear a spark, yet think no danger nigh...²⁷

However, pleasure was apt to give way to disillusion and anxiety after a year or two. Envy and back-biting thrived in courts, and for all the amusements available to the girls,

boredom and constraint were never far away. The Duchess of Marlborough thought anyone with sense and honesty must tire of a court very quickly, and after a year wished herself out of the royal household 'as much as I had desired to come into it before I knew what it was.'²⁸ And financial worries soon made themselves felt. Elizabeth Livingston, who had been delighted with her appointment at first, likewise found that 'I was no sooner a courtier than I begun to be unhappy, longing for favour and envying others who had it.' In an attempt to outshine her contemporaries she ran heavily into debt to tradesmen, and having done so lived in fear that when she did marry this would embitter relations with her husband from the outset.²⁹

Just because so much emphasis was placed on the court as a marriage market, the girls soon became aware of the conflict, recurrent for women at this period, between the need to act so as to attract a husband, and at the same time to maintain the chastity on which their marriageability depended. Margaret Blagge, soberest of the Restoration maids, advised a friend who was about to be appointed that she must pay due attention to her appearance, not to attract lovers, 'but purely for an honest designe of Disengaging yourselves as soon as you can from the place you are in, in an honourable Way', that is by marriage; but neither on this account nor to shine at court celebrations should she run into debt, 'for no duty to the Queene in making a shew behind her, can excuse one from justice to our Neighbour, before that God in whose Presence we Walke.'³⁰ To the more prudent among Queen Anne's maids the cost of dressing themselves with the necessary eye-catching finery and still having enough to live on was sufficient to spoil the pleasures of the court. Mary Stanhope wrote to her father of the Queen's birthday celebrations the year after she was appointed:

There was dancing, but it was not called a sett ball, which distinction is very fatall to us maids having no allowance for cloaths, which was never known before. It used to be a Hundred & fifty pd a peice. I am sure itt has cost none of us less for I believe there never was known so much finery. I doubt we shall find itt very hard for one days expense to live the rest of the year upon fifty pd.

And again from Windsor at the end of the following summer: 'Saterday we remove to town. Had we a table in town I shold like being there much beter than here but as it is I dread it.'³¹

While a number of the Restoration maids seem to have been put on their mettle by the lack of financial security and reliable adult guidance at court, and stimulated to make their fortunes by one or other of the means ironically set out by Sir Charles Sedley, Queen Anne's maids were a more conventional and protected set. The prompt payment of their allowances and marriage portions made their position more secure, but just as the risks were fewer, so were the opportunities. Although the practice of appointing a 'Mother of the Maids' to supervise their conduct had been discontinued, this was no great loss; the only guidance the 'Mother' of Catherine of Braganza's maids had been able to give to her charges was to yield to none 'but Ca[e]sar and his brother', and with the Queen's husband so overweight and asthmatic as to be virtually immobile in his later

years, there were no further male members of the royal family to exercise *droit de seigneur*.³² In any case not only Anne herself but her Groom of the Stole exerted a repressive influence; Sarah could never bring herself to treat her fellow lady of the bedchamber, Lady Hyde, with more than 'cold civility'; 'though every body said she had witt, it never was to my tast, I did not like her morals, & she has a boldnesse that is extreemly disagreeable to my humour.'³³

With these discouragements, only Mary Hale, who reputedly had a number of suitors simultaneously 'almost mad' for her,³⁴ and Elizabeth Colyear, niece and protégée of the former royal mistress, Catherine Sedley, in any way recalled their Restoration sisters. Although the latter was only fourteen when she came to court, her beauty and precocious sexuality began to break hearts almost at once. One of Mary Stanhope's ambitious brothers fell passionately in love with her, becoming so melancholy when she encouraged his rival, Lord Stawell, that he was unfit for company or business. After four more years of such gossip, she married Lionel Sackville, seventh Earl and afterwards first Duke of Dorset, the most glamorous match to be achieved by any of the maids, although it was not publicly acknowledged until she became visibly pregnant.³⁵

For those with any pretensions to wit, the lack of stimulating conversation at Anne's court, following the example set by the Queen herself, must have been a great discouragement. Only Jane Kingdon achieved any reputation in this way, and then it was in a sober blue-stocking mode more in keeping with the later eighteenth century than with the Restoration.³⁶ But the ambition to set up as a 'politician' was another matter. In a court presided over by a woman, whose female household controlled access to her and played a large part in her private and emotional life, there were certainly possibilities for exercising influence, and two at least of her servants, the Duchess of Marlborough and her cousin and rival, Abigail Masham, had clear ambitions to do so. Though some political historians, reacting against exaggerated contemporary claims, have discounted their direct influence, these two women certainly did affect the course of public affairs in a variety of ways, in addition, as we shall see, to playing a significant part in court patronage.³⁷

This is a complex issue, made more so at the time and since by the alleged role of lesbian sexuality in the Queen's relations with her favourites, but except in matters of patronage it was only occasionally relevant to the maids' situation. Three of the girls, Mary Stanhope, Jane Kingdon and Isabella Wentworth, did have ambitions to become bedchamber women after their marriages, but in the two latter cases this was purely for financial reasons.³⁸ Although Isabella Wentworth relied heavily on Abigail Masham's support, only Mary Stanhope was directly caught up in the political rivalry within the Queen's bedchamber, and it is not clear how far this was of her own volition. Encouraged by the Queen's liking for her, the Whigs initially had hopes, when a new bedchamber woman was required in 1709, that she might be useful as a counterweight to Abigail Masham, and so supported her candidacy.³⁹ But in the end the bid was unsuccessful, and except for this one episode none of the other maids appears to have had aspirations to political influence (although three more, Rosamond Yarborough as Mrs Pollexfen,

Elizabeth Colyear as Lady Dorset, and Mary Hale as Mrs Coke, did go on to seek court posts under the Hanoverians).⁴⁰ But what most of the girls evidently wished for first and foremost was to secure husbands as quickly as possible.

If these were the motives of the girls and their families, what of the Queen? It was not just to repay services to the crown that she provided for these young women at such expense to herself. Their function of 'adorning the court', providing public attendance, dancing at the set balls on ceremonial occasions, and attracting and helping to entertain visitors to the drawing-room, was a significant one for her prestige as sovereign, and the looks, personality and accomplishments of the maids of honour did much to set the tone of the court. This had been brought home to her during the long and humiliating period of her ostracism during the previous reign, when neither her status nor her financial situation encouraged ideal applicants, and her maids became a byword for unsuitability: either too old or too young and strikingly lacking in the qualifications for attendance. Dorothy Ogle and Anne South had been two examples in point. The former, half-sister of the poet Lady Winchelsea (herself, as Anne Kingsmill, a maid of honour to Mary of Modena), had finally been allowed to retire in the early 1690s, 'a very worthy but unhapy woman who had no prospect of marrying, having been long at court & not handsome'. The Princess, although her revenue was 'not enough for her to doe great things, having many servants that required such helps', managed to find her a lump sum of £1000, 'just to give her bread when she retired to a relation'.⁴¹ Anne South, appointed at about this time in succession to an elder sister, was at the opposite extreme; the spoilt youngest daughter of a doting mother, who wanted to be allowed to accompany her to court despite the inconvenience of this arrangement for the Princess, and so childish and lacking in the necessary accomplishments that her sister had to beg a month's tuition for her from the court dancing-master, Mr Isaac, before she could come into waiting; not to instruct her in the finer points of dance, but only 'to shoe her how to come into a Roome, for at present she cannot stand still without totering'.⁴²

As soon as her accession was imminent, therefore, Anne announced that in future she would consider none but 'reigning toasts',⁴³ so that she would be sure of a constant succession of attractive girls to add much-needed sparkle and variety to her court circle. The families of all applicants were instructed to bring them to the drawing-room so that the Queen could survey them for herself. As Sarah wrote to one mother, 'her Majesty resolves to take noe maid of honour, but has had good education & beauty. The first may be reported, but the other is sometimes fancy & the queen will see all that are offer'd and judg of it her self. Her majesty has had soe melancholly a prospect for many years in her drawing room, I don't much wonder that she desires to mend it.'⁴⁴ By this time the posts were far more inviting and the Queen soon had many more likely candidates than there were posts to fill.

In practice, however, other considerations than the Queen's personal preference and the qualifications of the girls came into play. Applicants were told that she had decided on principle to make no firm promises of appointment until a vacancy had actually occurred, 'because soe many inconveniencys has happend upon having formerly don

it'; chief among these being that if the vacancy were delayed for any reason the promised candidate might be too old or otherwise unsuitable, and therefore likely in her turn to be at court longer than was desirable. Even so, such advance promises were made, commonly to pay a debt which the Queen could not afford to satisfy in any other way. Susanna Yelverton's father, for example, had died in the post of gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince George, leaving his widow and family of young children inadequately provided for. When Lady Longueville found that the Queen could not afford to pay her a pension, she asked for and was granted the promise of a maid's place for her second daughter, although it was several years before the girl was old enough to take up the post.⁴⁵

Patronage also played a great part in the choice. Numbers of pretty girls were paraded before the Queen in the drawing-room, but given the superfluity of acceptable candidates from families already known at court, the deciding factor was the determination and interest with which the application was pressed. In the early years of the reign the Duchess of Marlborough exercised a good deal of influence over the appointment of the Queen's personal servants, including the maids of honour. Mary Stanhope was appointed while still living at The Hague with her father, solely because Sarah had taken a liking to her while on a visit there during the previous year, and without the Queen's ever having seen her.⁴⁶ No less than three other maids, Rosamond Yarborough, Mary Berkeley and Anne Wyvill, were relations of the Marlboroughs' closest friend and political ally, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin. The practice of openly selling advantageous court posts had so recently fallen into disrepute that there was also occasional gossip about bribery and patronage broking. Thomas Lyttelton was alleged to have discovered after his marriage to Christian Temple that £1200 of her private fortune of £2000 had been given to the notoriously needy Duchess of Ormonde (who then passed £500 of it on to the Duchess of Marlborough) in return for procuring the maid's post.⁴⁷ Party considerations came to play an increasing part. Anne Smith probably owed her appointment to her father's influential position as Whig Speaker of the House of Commons, and later in the reign another of the posts was reported to have been given to a daughter of the Tory hero and rival to Marlborough, General John Webb.⁴⁸ It was a complicated situation for those who wished to put a girl forward and did not have an intimate knowledge of the court and its workings; and once it became public knowledge in 1708 that the Duchess of Marlborough had been supplanted in the Queen's favour by Abigail Masham, whom she herself had placed at court as bedchamber woman, the situation became even more confusing. Such was the state of affairs in 1709, when Jane Cottrell's family decided to put her forward for a post.

Jane Cottrell, or Jenny as she was known to her family, possessed some of the necessary qualifications. The Cottrells had impeccable royalist credentials dating from before the Restoration; Jenny's father, Sir Charles Cottrell, was Master of Ceremonies, and her uncle Sir William Trumbull, in whose household she had spent part of her childhood, had held a variety of diplomatic posts culminating in that of Secretary of State before his retirement towards the end of the previous reign. The Cottrells certainly had

need of help in providing for their children. As early as 1704 Lady Cottrell was lamenting their shortage of money and her husband's inability 'to set bounds to himself'. As his health began to fail, knowing that his creditors would close in after his death, she urged him to 'quicken his endeavours in all things to the advantage of our poore dear children, for indeed I think noe body can have better pretensions to ask than he has.'⁴⁹ Trumbull evidently had a maid of honour's post in mind for Jenny from the time she left his family to return to her parents in 1708. He reminded them that she must be taught to dance and worried that her handwriting was not better. Subdued by her family's financial plight, the girl did not share the usual delights of anticipation. She simply told her uncle that the appointment 'would please me extreamly because I think it would be so great an ease to my mother'.⁵⁰

Yet there were difficulties. Cottrell's position at court was not in itself an influential one and his parlous financial state must have been public knowledge, while Trumbull had been completely out of public life for more than ten years. There was also the question of whether the appointment would really be desirable for a family in their circumstances. But 'in answer to that', Lady Cottrell argued, 'Jenny has as much discretion as most of her Age without any thing extravagant to her Inclination, That the Court is not now so expensive as formerly' – the death of Prince George in 1708 and the Queen's ill health and prolonged mourning having reduced the ceremonial – 'and if they please I think they may with small helps live on the Queens allowance, and to all this the Portion at last is the Inducement.' Soon she was able to consult a former maid of honour, Isabella Arundel, still at court under Abigail Masham's auspices hoping to obtain a bedchamber woman's place, who reassured them that the maids' situation was much better than formerly, 'so that tis not to be question'd but with good Management they may live very well and free from debt.'⁵¹

The first step was for Cottrell to petition the Queen. Although he had a discouraging response, Jenny at first drew some comfort from the sympathetic comments of Lady Hyde as she showed him out; 'we fancy she would put the Queen in mind of it, having the character of great affability & readines to oblige.' But when she learnt that Lady Wharton, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 'teizes the Queen to put Mrs Walpole [sister of the future prime minister] in', that Lady Dorchester was 'making interest for some country Lady but I can't tell who', and that Miss Touchet, a cousin and protégée of the Duke of Shrewsbury, soon to become Lord Chamberlain, was another candidate, she realized that general affability would count for little. Mrs Arundel confirmed that anyone who seriously hoped to obtain a court post had to 'try all manner of ways to make interest', and urged them to find a patron at court; but 'which way to apply in these strange uncertaine times is now the Question'. The Duchess of Marlborough, bitter in the knowledge of her declining favour, was still a formidable and unpredictable force. She expected to be approached, though it was common knowledge that she now had no influence with the Queen herself. Abigail Masham's position as favourite was well known, and Mrs Arundel told the Cottrells that it was essential for them to become acquainted with her – although she herself was too afraid of incurring the Duchess's

wrath and jeopardizing her own hopes of becoming a bedchamber woman to make the introduction herself. She suggested that they simply visit her without a formal introduction, which she claimed was 'very common', though Jenny, unfamiliar with the importunate ways of would-be courtiers, thought it 'odd'. The difficulty was that the Duchess was particularly likely to object to any candidate supported by her cousin at this time because the last appointment, that of Henrietta Maria Scarborough, had been made ('tho with a great many Frowns') at Abigail's request, 'for which reason the Duchess must now have her turn'. Abigail was reported to have 'a very good Character & every body agrees a great Favourite but is shy of using her Interest, especially where her Grace is concern'd';⁵² as well she might be, being at this very moment threatened with a parliamentary attack, instigated by the Whigs and the Duke of Marlborough, in the hope of removing her altogether from the court.⁵³

Fortunately Trumbull's home at Easthampstead was not far from the Duchess's Lodge at Windsor and they had once been on visiting terms, though their politics were at variance. He therefore composed a carefully-phrased letter in which he commiserated with her for her loss of favour, but asked her at least to give his niece's application her formal support. The royal apothecary Daniel Malthus, who attended both families, was then put to work as a reluctant intermediary. Sarah replied with surprising lack of bitterness, but without humbug: 'I remember your niece very well... but if I should flatter you with any hopes of my being able to serve her, I should deceive you, which I never yet did to anybody in my life. I have been told the Queen has given to several some encouragement to come in upon vacancies of the maids; what real engagements her Majesty has I do not know, and all I can promise is to acquaint her with your request when I have a proper opportunity.'⁵⁴ This at least made it clear that she would not oppose the appointment, but in fact her own days at court were already numbered and she was to have no opportunity to speak to the Queen, on this or any other matter, again.

Abigail Masham, instructed by the Queen to keep out of the public eye, continued to be evasive, though approached through her great friend Dr Arbuthnot, who was also attending Cottrell in his last illness. He died in July 1710, and for several months the family was too preoccupied to pursue the matter further. When it was apparent that he had not much longer to live, Lady Cottrell was reduced to smuggling a small trunk out of the house containing some linen and personal valuables, to avoid having them seized for debt along with his other goods; and when Cottrell finally died he had to be buried at the dead of night 'with the greatest privacy imaginable', to prevent his corpse being seized as well.⁵⁵

Nothing further was done about Jenny's appointment until the following year, by which time the Duchess of Marlborough had been replaced as Groom of the Stole by the Duchess of Somerset, with whom the Cottrells had no acquaintance at all. But on a rumour that the Duke of Shrewsbury was declining at court, thus apparently removing his cousin from the contest, they managed to apply to her through a neighbour, only to find that for all their efforts they had been outdistanced by their rivals. The Duchess, who 'did not care for speaking of anything', was told when she did so that there were

already enough candidates to fill the vacancies if all the present maids should resign.⁵⁶ The following year, when two were reported to be on the verge of marriage, the Cottrells tried again, this time through Thomas Bateman, one of Trumbull's men of business, who also had access to the Lord Treasurer Oxford. Bateman found himself at the disadvantage common to those who had the ear of the powerful at this period; that of having his influence hugely over-estimated by expectant but unworldly acquaintance. Convinced by the general report that he was 'able to do what he will with my Ld', the Cottrells at first took his disclaimers to be a hint that bribery would be in order, although they were also 'prety cautious' in case he should 'take it ill, or be affronted when tis proposed'.⁵⁷ Then an opportunity unexpectedly occurred for access to Oxford himself, when he paid a rare visit to a female relation who was also a friend of the Cottrells. 'Not knowing when she might have another opportunity', she pressed Jenny's claims again, telling Oxford that 'he could easily bring it about either by himself or Lady Masham', and was nonplussed when he hastily changed the subject and took his leave.⁵⁸

In fact the Cottrells were by now hopelessly out of touch with affairs at court. The Queen, rapidly becoming as disillusioned with Oxford as she had once been with the Marlboroughs, was reasserting her right to choose for herself. 'I am apt to fancy my advancement will never be more than in imagination...', Jenny Cottrell lamented, 'Everyone says Mrs Slingsby is to be the new maid of honour & that the Lord Chamberlain could not get his cousin in tho she had a promise this 3 year. It seems that the Queen took a fancy to the Lady she now makes choice of, only by seeing her in the drawing-room two year ago.'⁵⁹ Sarah Slingsby was indeed appointed. In the remaining months of the reign no other vacancy occurred and Jenny Cottrell, along with Mary Granville and no doubt a good many others with long-standing hopes, were disappointed.

'Courts are strange, mysterious places', one female courtier ruminated years later, 'those who pretend most to despise them seek to gain entrance within their precincts; those who obtain an entrance there generally lament their fate, and yet, somehow or other, cannot break their chains... Nevertheless they are necessary evils, and they afford a great school both for the heart and head. It is utterly impossible, so long as the world exists, that similar societies should not exist also.'⁶⁰ In spite of much recent work on the politics, society and culture of the Augustan period, we still have comparatively little systematic knowledge of the role of women, particularly in relation to public life and public institutions. The households of Queen Anne and other female royalty, certainly amongst the most notable female communities of the time, deserve further investigation in this respect. These insights into the motives and roles of one group of her servants are intended to serve as a contribution to this knowledge.

APPENDIX

A LIST OF QUEEN ANNE'S MAIDS OF HONOUR.

This is not an exhaustively researched list. The main sources are Chamberlayne's

Angliae Notitia, the establishments in Public Record Office LC 3/5 and BL, Add. MS. 69962, the *Calendar of Treasury Books*, G.E.C., *Peerage and Baronetage*, Luttrell's *Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, the History of Parliament volumes for 1660–1690 and 1715–1754, and individual sources cited in the entry or footnotes. Maids of honour are listed by year of appointment.

Letitia Frowde: probably a daughter of Philip Frowde, governor of the General Post Office; appointed before 1694; died in post unmarried, Aug. 1706.

Anne South: sister of Elizabeth South, maid of honour to Mary of Modena; appointed before 1694; married – Clopton, May 1703.

Isabel Wentworth: daughter of Sir William Wentworth, M.P. (d. 1689), and Isabella Apsley; appointed before 1694; married Francis Arundel of Stoke Bruers, Northants., July 1703 (J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire*, [1874–5], Wentworth pedigree). Bedchamber woman, 1713–1714.

Jane Kingdon: daughter of Lemuel Kingdon, M.P. (d. 1687); appointed 1700; retired unmarried, 1714.

Mary Stanhope: daughter of Alexander Stanhope, envoy at The Hague; appointed 1702; married Charles Fane, afterwards 1st Viscount Fane, Dec. 1707.

Rosamond Yarborough: daughter of Sir Thomas Yarborough, M.P., and Henrietta Maria Blagge; appointed 1702; married Nicholas Pollexfen, M.P., Oct. 1704. Bedchamber woman to Caroline, Princess of Wales, 1714.

Anne Duncombe: daughter and co-heiress of William Duncombe, M.P., comptroller of army accounts (d. 1704); appointed 1703; married Henry Scott, Lord Deloraine, 3rd son of the Duke of Monmouth, April 1706.

Elizabeth Colyear: daughter of Lt.-Gen. Walter Philip Colyear; niece by marriage of Catherine Sedley, Countess of Dorchester; appointed 1703; m. Lionel Sackville, 7th Earl, afterwards 1st Duke of Dorset, early 1709; Lady of the Bedchamber to Caroline, as Princess of Wales.

Mary Berkeley: daughter of John Berkeley, 4th Viscount Fitzhardinge, and Barbara Villiers, governess to William, Duke of Gloucester; appointed 1704; married Walter Chetwynd, afterwards 1st Viscount Chetwynd, 1705(?).

Mary Forester: daughter of Sir William Forester of Dothill, Shropshire, M.P., and Clerk of the Greencloth; married in 1700, aged 13, to George Downing, afterwards 2nd Bart.; appointed 1704; retired 1714.

Anne Smith: daughter of John Smith, Speaker of the House of Commons; appointed 1706; married Alexander Grant, M.P., April 1709, and petitioned for divorce in 1711 on the grounds of non-consummation (*Wentworth Papers*, p. 208).

Christian Temple: daughter of Sir Richard Temple, 3rd Bart., of Stowe, M.P. (d. 1697), sister of Richard Temple, afterw. Viscount Cobham; appointed 1707; married Thomas Lyttelton, afterw. 4th Bart., 1708.

Anne Wyvill: daughter of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, 5th Bart., M.P. (d. 1698), and Henrietta Maria Yarborough; appointed 1708; married John Wyvill of Walton upon Thames after 1714.

Mary Hale: daughter of Richard Hale of King's Walden, Herts.; sister of William Hale, M.P. (R. Clutterbuck, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, 1815, vol. iii, p. 133); appointed June 1708; married Thomas Coke, Vice Chamberlain, Oct. 1709.

Jane Warburton: daughter of Thomas Warburton (son of Sir George Warburton, 3rd Bart.) of Winnington, Cheshire; appointed April 1709; married John Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll, as his second wife, 1717.

Susanna Yelverton: daughter of Henry Yelverton, 1st Viscount de Longueville, gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince George (d. 1704); appointed 1709; unmarried in 1714.

Henrietta Maria Scarborough: daughter of Charles Scarborough of the Greencloth and Catherine Fraser; appointed 1709; married Sir Robert Jenkinson, 3rd Bart., Feb. 1712.

Sarah Slingsby: daughter of Sir Thomas Slingsby, 4th Bart., M.P.; appointed 1713; married Thomas Duncombe, Aug. 1714.

1 Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Women's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (London, 1984), pp. 452-4.

2 H.M.C., *Cowper MSS.*, vol. iii, p. 83: Duchess of Marlborough to Mary Coke, 1 Nov. 1709; BL, Add. MS. 61474, f. 186: note by Duchess of Marlborough; *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, introd. by Lady Louisa Stuart, vol. i (Edinburgh, 1889), p. xv; BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Sir William Trumbull, 12 Jan. 1713 (the Cottrell letters are all in Trumbull Papers, D/ED C).

3 R. O. Bucholz, "Nothing but Ceremony": Queen Anne and the Limitations of Royal Ritual', *Journal of British Studies*, xxx (1991), p. 313; Dr Bucholz's forthcoming book *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* promises to illuminate these matters further.

4 Agnes Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. viii (London, 1845), p. 388; Frances Harris,

A Passion for Government: the Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough (Oxford, 1991), p. 14; J. H. Wilson (ed.), *The Rochester-Savile Letters 1671-1680* (Columbus, Ohio, 1941), p. 49: 1 Nov. 1677; *Some Account of the Life of Rachel Wriothesley, Lady Russell* (London, 1819), p. 69.

5 BL, Trumbull Papers: Lady Cottrell to Sir William Trumbull, 9 Dec. 1709.

6 BL, Add. MS. 9199, ff. 68-69: notes of Henry Etough; Edward Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London, 1982), p. 290.

7 J. J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Wentworth Papers* (London, 1883), p. 48: Lady Wentworth to Lord Raby, 4 Sept. 1705.

8 *Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke*, vol. i, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

9 Kent Archives Office: Stanhope of Chevening MSS. C7/26: Duchess of Marlborough to Alexander Stanhope, 17, 23 July 1704. I am grateful to the County Archivist, West Kent

- Archives Office, for permission to quote from this collection.
- 10 H. T. Dickinson (ed.), *The Clavering Correspondence*, Surtees Soc., clxxviii (1967), p. 4: Ann to James Clavering, 29 May 1708.
 - 11 BL, Add. MS. 69997, f. 13: receipt for the dowry quoted in the marriage settlement of Thomas Coke and Mary Hale, 14 Oct. 1709.
 - 12 B. Bathurst (ed.), *The Letters of Two Queens* (London, 1924), p. 253: Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Bathurst, 28 Mar. 1703.
 - 13 For the changing ratios of dowry, land and jointure at this period, see H. J. Habbukuk, 'Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., xxxiii (1950), esp. pp. 24–5, and G. E. Mingay, *English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1963).
 - 14 *Letters of Two Queens*, p. 253: Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Bathurst, 28 Mar. 1703; BL, Add. MS. 31143, f. 369: Lady Wentworth to Lord Raby, 3 June 1709.
 - 15 F. B. Kingdon, *The Kingdon Family* (London, 1932), pp. 49, 60–4.
 - 16 *Lords' Journals*, vol. xx, pp. 41–2, 45; Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, ed. Harold Williams (Oxford, 1974), p. 239, n. 34.
 - 17 *Letters of Two Queens*, pp. 253–4: 28 Mar., 22 Apr. 1703.
 - 18 Harris, *Passion for Government*, pp. 16–17, 24–5.
 - 19 Anthony Hamilton, *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont* (London, 1911), pp. 242, 265.
 - 20 H.M.C., *Rutland MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 31: Lady Chaworth to Lord Roos, 2 Nov. 1676.
 - 21 Lady Llandover (ed.), *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, 1st Ser. (London, 1861), vol. i, p. 8.
 - 22 H.M.C., *Cowper MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 403; William Morley to Thomas Coke, 21 Aug. 1700.
 - 23 Swift, *Journal to Stella*, pp. 363–5, 377.
 - 24 *Clavering Correspondence*, p. 7: Ann to James Clavering, 10 June 1708.
 - 25 *Wentworth Papers*, p. 61: 14 Nov. 1707.
 - 26 D. G. Greene (ed.), *The Meditations of Lady Elizabeth Delaval*, Surtees Soc., cxc (1978), pp. 6, 123; on the maids and the theatre, see further David Roberts, *The Ladies: Female Patronage of Restoration Drama* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 106–7.
 - 27 *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mrs Delany*, 1st Ser., vol. i, p. 12.
 - 28 Harris, *Passion for Government*, p. 16.
 - 29 *Meditations of Lady Elizabeth Delaval*, pp. 68, 88–9, 123–4.
 - 30 John Evelyn, *The Life of Mrs Godolphin*, ed. H. Sampson (Oxford, 1939), pp. 102, 104.
 - 31 Kent Archives Office: Stanhope of Chevening MSS. C7/16: Mary to Alexander Stanhope, 9 Feb. 1703, 9 Oct. 1704.
 - 32 'An Unpublished Restoration Satire on the Court Ladies', *English Language Notes*, x (1972–3), p. 203; H.M.C., *10th Report*, vol. iv, p. 50: autobiography of Charles, 6th Earl of Westmorland.
 - 33 BL, Add. MS. 61474, f. 150: note by Duchess of Marlborough.
 - 34 *Clavering Correspondence*, pp. 20, 25: Ann to James Clavering, 20 Nov. 1708, 19 Feb. 1709; see also Spencer Cowper (ed.), *The Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper* (1858), pp. 15–16, for rumours after her marriage.
 - 35 BL, Add. MS. 61474, ff. 55–56: Countess of Dorchester to Duchess of Marlborough, [1702]; Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas Methuen–Simpson Correspondence C163: Sir William Simpson to John Methuen, 10 Oct. 1704; Lord Wharnclyffe (ed.), *The Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (London, 1893), vol. i, p. 148: to Mrs Hewet, [1709]; *Clavering Correspondence*, p. 58: Ann to James Clavering, 3 Dec. 1709.
 - 36 Bucholz, "Nothing but Ceremony"..., p. 312; *Kingdon Family*, p. 62.
 - 37 For this subject in general, see Geoffrey Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne* (London, 1967), esp. pp. 210–16; Gregg, *Queen Anne*, and Harris, *Passion for Government*, passim.
 - 38 BL, Add. MS. 31143, ff. 321, 369: Lady Wentworth to Lord Raby, 1 Apr., 3 June 1709; BL, Trumbull Papers: Fanny Cottrell to Sir William Trumbull, 25 Jan. 1712.
 - 39 Gregg, *Queen Anne*, p. 290; BL, Add. MS. 61417, f. 186: note by Duchess of Marlborough.
 - 40 Lewis Melville, *Lady Suffolk and her Circle* (London, 1924), pp. 37–8; *Diary of Mary, Countess Cowper*, p. 16.
 - 41 BL, Add. MS. 61414, f. 114: note by Duchess of Marlborough; see also Myra Reynolds (ed.), *The Poems of Anne, Countess of Winchelsea* (Chicago, 1903), pp. xx–xxii.
 - 42 BL, Add. MS. 61474, ff. 16–17: Elizabeth South to Duchess of Marlborough, 15 Mar., 8 May [early 1690s]. I am very grateful to my colleague Moira Goff for identifying Mr Isaac.

- 43 H.M.C., *Cowper MSS.*, vol. ii, p. 403: William Morley to Thomas Coke, 21 Aug. 1700.
- 44 BL, Add. MS. 33388, f. 158: Duchess of Marlborough to Lady Oglethorpe, 22, 23 Apr. 1703.
- 45 BL, Egerton MS. 1695, ff. 6-7, 18: correspondence between the Duchess of Marlborough and Lady de Longueville, c. 1704.
- 46 Kent Archives Office, Stanhope of Chevening MSS. C9/1: Alexander to James Stanhope, 29 May/9 June 1702; BL, Add. MS. 61474, f. 57: Mary Stanhope to Duchess of Marlborough, 4/15 May 1702.
- 47 H.M.C., *Portland MSS.*, vol. iv, p. 493: Erasmus Lewis to Robert Harley, 17 June 1708.
- 48 *Wentworth Papers*, p. 262: Lady Wentworth to Lord Raby, 8 Feb. 1712, states that she was appointed, but there is no official record.
- 49 BL, Trumbull Papers: Lady Cottrell to Sir William Trumbull, 28 Dec. 1704, 9 Dec. 1709. I am very grateful to Kate Irvine for information concerning Trumbull and the Cottrells.
- 50 BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, 13 Dec. 1708; 26 Dec. [1710?].
- 51 BL, Trumbull Papers: Lady Cottrell to Trumbull, 9 Dec. 1709, 18 Jan. [1710].
- 52 BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, n.d. [c. Jan. 1710]; Lady Cottrell to Trumbull, 9 Dec. 1709, 18 Jan. [1710].
- 53 Harris, *Passion for Government*, pp. 164-6.
- 54 BL, Trumbull Papers: Trumbull to Duchess of Marlborough and Daniel Malthus (drafts), 27 Feb. 1710; H.M.C., *Downshire MSS.*, vol. i, pt. 2, p. 888: Duchess of Marlborough to Trumbull, 8 April 1710; BL, Trumbull Papers: Lady Cottrell to Trumbull, [Apr. 1710].
- 55 BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, 19, 26 June, 10 July 1710.
- 56 BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, 2 Sept., 20 Oct. 1711.
- 57 BL, Trumbull Papers: Fanny and Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, 25 Jan. 1712, 9 Feb. 1713; Trumbull to Bateman, 15 Jan. [1713] (draft).
- 58 BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, 12 Jan. 1713 [1714?].
- 59 BL, Trumbull Papers: Jane Cottrell to Trumbull, 22 Feb. 1713.
- 60 Quoted in Anne Somerset, *Ladies in Waiting from the Tudors to the Present Day* (London, 1984), p. 2.

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