

SELECTED BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES

ABERCROMY, DUNCAN

Colonel Duncan Abercromy, a Scotsman, appears under versions of both names as surnames: Duncan, Duncombe, Duncome, Dungan, Abercromy Duncan, Dungan Abercromow, or Abercromby. He was an army career officer, a rake, and a furious duelist. Appointed lieutenant in Colonel Russell's Regiment of Footguards on April 13, 1681, he became a captain on April 1, 1687, served under the Duke of Grafton in the Royal Regiment of Footguards, and became a lieutenant-colonel in 1688. King William discharged him for Jacobite activities.

Military titles were used very loosely or not at all. For example, on November 8, 1682, "Capt. Godolphin, governor of Scilly, was killed in a duel by Col. Dungan in a yard in Drury Lane" (*CSPD*, 1682, p. 526). According to Luttrell (I, 236) the duel was between "Mr. Godolphin and one Lieutenant Duncomb." According to a third account, Godolphin was killed by "Mr. Duncome, who also received three wounds" (*Seventh Report*, p. 480A). On February 2, 1686, Abercromy seconded the Duke of Grafton in a duel which resulted in the death of John Talbot, the Earl of Shrewsbury's brother. A Scotsman wrote, "This morning Jake Talbot, the Earle of Shrosberry's brother, was kilde in a diuell by the Duke of Grafton. . . . Our countryman Abercromby was his second and Captain Fitzpatrick to the other. Neither of them has any hurt" (*Buccleuch MS*, II, 97). Another correspondent named Grafton's second "Dungan Abercromow" (*Downshire MS*, I, 116). On February 16, 1687, Dryden, in a letter to Etherege, reported a duel in Covent Garden between "Abercromy" and Cardell Goodman, the famous actor, in which Goodman was wounded.

On September 9, 1690, "Abercromy" was one of a group of Jacobites who "surrendered themselves," and in March, 1691, "Capt. Duncan Abercromy" was one of a party of Jacobites picked up in a tavern (*Le Fleming MS*, p. 289; Luttrell, II, 189.)

A troublesome fellow, Abercromy seems to have been a follower of the rough Duke of Grafton, sharing in his escapades and debaucheries. Yet he must have been a good soldier. An entry in *The Secret Service Accounts* (1851, p. 111) for September 29, 1685, reads "To Lieut. Duncan Abercrombey, bounty to him in consid'ac'on of the wounds he rec'd at Tangier, in the service of King Char 2d. £100 0 0."

Some time after 1688 Abercromy married Caroline, daughter of Sir George Carteret and widow of Sir Thomas Scott. On May 21, 1695, Luttrell wrote (II, 475), "Some gentlemen, coming out of a tavern in Convent Garden on Sunday morning, quarreled and fought, and Captain Abercromby Duncomb killed."

Dalton, I, 285, 316; II, 129; Dryden, *Letters*, p. 27; Evelyn, *Diary*, III, 358, note 5.

ARP , HARP, ORPE, OR ORBY

Thomas Orby was the son of Peter Orby, alias Arpe, of Burton Pedwardine, Lincs. Thomas was a gentleman usher to Queen Henrietta Maria during her long years in exile at Paris. At Brussels, on October 9, 1658, the exiled King Charles created him a baronet, and in 1671 Queen Henrietta Maria rewarded his fidelity with a twenty-one years lease of Crowland Abbey and Manor. Sir Thomas, called indifferently "Orpe" and "Orby" married Katherine, daughter of one ---- Guernier, of France; as Katherine Arp or Orpe, she became a dresser to Queen Henrietta Maria.

Sir Thomas fathered two sons and probably one daughter, Henrietta Orby, who was a dresser to Queen Catherine, 1669-77 (*CTB*, 1669-72; *CTB*, 1672-75; *CTB*, 1676-79). Sir Thomas died at his house in St. Paul's, Covent Garden, c. March 23, 1692.

The Arp, Harp, Orpe, or Orby occasionally mentioned in the Court satires was no doubt Charles, Sir Thomas's first son and heir (c. 1640-1716), an officer in the Guards and a very minor courtier. A duel between Mr. Fenwick and Mr. Churchill, reported on February 6, 1671, involved as seconds "Mr. Harpe and Mr. Newport, son to my Lord Newport" (*CSPD*, 1671, p. 71). On April 11, 1671, Charles Orby (Arp) and James, Lord Annesley, were granted pardons, ap-

parently because they had been involved with the Dukes of Albemarle and Monmouth, Viscount Dunbar, Edward Griffin, Peter Savage, and John Fenwick in the murder of Peter Vernall, a watchman slain by the band of young savages in a riot in Whetstones Park, February 26, 1671 (*CSPD*, 1671, p.183). No doubt, too, Charles was the "Mr. Harpe" or "Mr. Orpe" who appeared as one of the gentleman dancers attending upon the Duke of Monmouth in Crowne's masque, *Calisto*, February, 1675.

In "An Ironical Satire," 1680 (*POAS*, Yale, II, 203), the poet lists among the half-wits who adorned the Court,

. . . Arp, to whom Heav'n no distinction gave
From John-an-apes, but that the brute can laugh.

In the *Gyldenstolpe MS* version of the poem (p. 284) "Arp" becomes "Harp." In "Satire," 1680 (*POAS*, Yale, II, 305), the poet protests against Court fools,

Must I meet Heveningham where'er I go,
Arp, Arran, villain Frank, nay Poulteney too?

In the Portland Miscellany version of Sir Carr Scroope's "In Defense of Satire," the "vain fop" who mortgaged all his land to get "that gawdy Play-thing, a Command" is identified in a key as "Mr. Arpe: Orpe" (V. de S. Pinto, *Rochester's Poems*, 1964, p. 226). In "Satyr Unmuzzell'd," 1680 (*POAS*, Yale, II, 209) we have Arp again,

Who to the sin of pride does lay most claim:
Need you say Tollemach, Arp, or Heveningham?

Eventually Charles Arp-Harp-Orpe-Orby became colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Foot, only to be removed by William of Orange in December, 1688. Arp married (1) Anne, widow of Thomas Winter, and (2) Anne, widow of Sir William Beeston. He died in May, 1716, and was succeeded in the baronetcy by his younger brother, Thomas (c. 1658-1725).

Complete Baronetage; Angliae Notitia, 1671; Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage*; Dalton, I, 188, 253, 312; II, 89, 117, 206.

BULKELEY, HENRY AND SOPHIA

Sophia Stuart (c. 1648–1715), younger daughter of Walter Stuart, third son of Lord Blantyre, Scotland, and sister of Frances Teresa (later Duchess of Richmond), came to England from France in 1663 as one of Queen Henrietta Maria's dressers. Pepys first saw her on January 30, 1668, and considered her "very handsome." In December, 1671, she became one of Queen Catherine's Maids of Honor. In November, 1673, she married Henry Bulkeley (1638–98), fourth son of Thomas, Viscount Bulkeley of Baron Hill, near Beaumaris, Wales, and captain of a company of the King's Guards in Ireland (*Williamson Letters*, II, 71). Bulkeley became Master of the Household to Charles II and James II, a Groom of the Bedchamber, and M.P. from Beaumaris, 1679–81 and 1685–87.

A lesser member of the coterie of Court Wits, Bulkeley was a pugnacious fellow, frequently involved in brawls and duels. In 1668 he killed his man in a duel in Ireland, was convicted of manslaughter, sentenced to be burned in the hand, and promptly pardoned. In July, 1673, with his friend Lord Buckhurst, he was in a riotous brawl outside the Theatre Royal and was wounded in the neck (*Williamson Letters*, I, 87). In February, 1675, he was sent to the Tower for challenging James Butler, Earl of Ossory, who had been too free with Sophia. In December, 1677, he fought a bloodless duel with Lord Ossory—"the old quarrel about Mr. B. wiffe is the town talk" (*Rutland MS*, II, 42). In July, 1691, he fought another bloodless duel with Dr. Charles Frazier (*Seventh Report*, p. 100).

According to the gossips, Sophia was promiscuous, and a series of entries in the Secret Service accounts suggests an intimacy with King Charles II. In 1680 a Court intrigue against the Duke of York brought forth the gossip that "Godly [Sidney] Godolphin being enamored and intoxicated with Mrs. Buckley was trusted to manage the intrigue" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S., V, 561). On February 28, 1684, Sophia was granted the place and precedence of an earl's daughter for unspecified services (*CSPD*, 1684, February 28). In the reign of James II she became a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Marie Beatrice. At her leisure she presented her husband with two sons and four daughters.

An ardent Jacobite, Lady Sophia followed King James into exile. Bulkeley, who often went to France to see his wife, was certainly

a Jacobite agent and was accused as a spy but never convicted. He died in 1698. In 1700 his daughter Anne was married to James, Duke of Berwick, a natural son of King James II. Lady Sophia was still living in December, 1718, and petitioning for leave to return to England (*Stuart Papers*, VII, 605).

DNB; *Tenth Report*, V, 67; *Bulstrode*, I, 212; Luttrell, December 30, 1690; C. H. Hartmann, *La Belle Stuart*, 1924; J. H. Wilson, *Court Wits of the Restoration*, 1948.

CLEVELAND, BARBARA, DUCHESS OF

Barbara Villiers, daughter of William, second Viscount Grandison, and Mary Bayning, daughter of Paul, Viscount Bayning, was baptized on November 27, 1642. A beautiful wanton, Barbara lost her virginity to Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield, about 1656. On April 14, 1659, she married a wealthy law student, Roger Palmer. She became mistress to King Charles II in April or May, 1660, and ruled him for the next ten years. Barbara was created Countess of Castlemaine (I) in December, 1661. In December, 1663, she became a Roman Catholic. According to the French Ambassador, "The King has been asked by the relations of the lady to interfere and prevent her; but he answered that as for the souls of the ladies, he did not meddle with that" (Jusserand, *French Ambassador*, p. 95). In August, 1670, when her liaison with the King came to an end, Barbara was created Duchess of Cleveland.

In 1676 the duchess took up residence in France, returning to England at intervals. In 1682 she came back to stay and took the famous actor, Cardell Goodman, as her Gentleman of the Horse and lover. Barbara's husband, Roger, Earl of Castlemaine, died July 21, 1705, and on November 25 the duchess (now 63) married Robert ("Handsome") Fielding. When she learned that Fielding was already secretly married, the duchess had her marriage annulled on May 23, 1707. She died on October 9, 1708.

Generally acclaimed as the most beautiful woman in England, Barbara was tall, shapely, with blue eyes and auburn hair. She was said to be skilled in "all the tricks of Aretin that are to be practised to give pleasure" (Pepys, May 15, 1663). Among her numerous lovers besides Chesterfield, the King, and Goodman were (according to the

gossips) Sir Charles Berkeley, Henry Jermyn, James Hamilton, Charles Hart (an actor), Jacob Hall (a ropedancer), William Wycherley (a playwright), John Churchill (to whom she gave £5,000), Henry Savile, Ralph Montague, and John, Earl of Mulgrave. She was avaricious, extravagant, foolish, and an inveterate gambler. In spite of immense sums given her by King Charles she died poor.

Barbara's children (the first five acknowledged by King Charles II) were the following:

1. *Anne*, born February 25, 1661, and married on August 11, 1674, to Thomas Lennard, Lord Dacre (1654–1715), who was promptly created Earl of Sussex. As handsome and wanton as her mother, Anne fled to France with King James II and died there on May 16, 1722. She was "debauched" in 1678 by Ralph Montague, then Ambassador to France (*Rochester-Savile Letters*), p. 64.

2. *Charles Fitzroy*, baptized June 18, 1662, and created Duke of Southampton on September 10, 1675, was a student at Christ Church College, Oxford, from 1675 to 1678. He married (1) Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Wood, in 1671 (the ceremony was repeated in 1677); Mary died of smallpox on November 15, 1680, aged seventeen. He married (2) in November, 1694, Anne daughter of Sir William Pulteney of Misterton, Lincs. (Luttrell, III, 397). Southampton, a simple-minded, if not feeble-minded, man, inherited as Duke of Cleveland in 1709 and died September 9, 1730. His widow remarried and lived until 1746.

3. *Henry Fitzroy*, born September 20, 1663, was created Duke of Grafton on September 11, 1675. On August 1, 1672, he married Isabella, the five-year-old daughter of Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. (The wedding ceremony was repeated on November 7, 1679, and the marriage was consummated in April, 1681). Grafton, a rough, ill-educated sailor and soldier, was killed at the Battle of Cork, October 9, 1690. In October, 1697, his widow married Sir John Hanmer, a young Buckinghamshire baronet. Her reputation for promiscuity was well established, both before and after Grafton's death. Hearne wrote (*Collections*, July 19, 1714), "She is still living, and was once a beautiful woman. Several people were supposed to have had the use of her body after the death of the Duke of Grafton . . . before Hanmer married her." The duchess died on February 7, 1723.

4. *Charlotte Fitzroy*, born September 5, 1664, married on May 16, 1674, Henry Lee, Earl of Lichfield (consummated in February,

1677). An amiable and prolific spouse, she brought her husband thirteen sons and five daughters. Lichfield died on July 14, 1716; his countess died on February 17, 1718.

5. *George Fitzroy*, born December 28, 1665, was created Earl (October 1, 1674) and Duke (April 6, 1683) of Northumberland (q.v.). He married (1) c. March 12, 1686, Catherine Lucy, the penniless widow of Sir Thomas Lucy, and (2) on March 10, 1715, Mary, daughter of Thomas Dutton. Northumberland died in 1716.

6. *Barbara Palmer*, born August 23, 1670, was probably the daughter of John Churchill (future Duke of Marlborough). On May 31, 1691, Lady Barbara gave birth to an illegitimate son, sired by James Douglas, Earl of Arran. Barbara retired to a nunnery in France, where she died in 1737.

DNB; *Complete Peerage*; Abel Boyer, *History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, 1722; G. S. Steinman, *A Memoir of Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland*, 1871; Philip W. Sergeant, *My Lady Castlemaine*, 1911; J. H. Wilson, *Mr. Goodman, the Player*, 1964.

DEVONSHIRE, WILLIAM, DUKE OF

William Cavendish (1641–1707), styled Lord Cavendish, inherited as fourth Earl of Devonshire in November, 1684, and was created Duke of Devonshire on May 12, 1694. On October 28, 1662, he married Mary (1646–1710), second daughter of James Butler, Duke of Ormonde.

Cavendish was a spendthrift and a reckless gambler; once he lost one thousand pounds in two nights at the Duchess Mazarin's gaming tables (Cartwright, *Sacharissa*, p. 284). Quick to anger, he was often involved in duels. In June, 1669, on the stage of a Paris theatre, he quarreled with several French officers, who attacked him *en masse*. Only the intervention of a servant, who threw Cavendish bodily into the pit, saved his life (*Sixth Report*, p. 366A).

Notorious for his extramarital affairs, Cavendish had several illegitimate children by one Mrs. Heneage. His liaison with the lady was well known. One night in November, 1676, at a Court ball, Cavendish insolently took his stand in front of some women spectators. An Irish officer, "one Mr. Powre," remarked audibly that "if it had been Mrs. Henage, his lordship would have stood more civilly and given

them place to see." Cavendish called Powre a rascal, and was promptly challenged. The duel ended without immediate fatalities, but Cavendish's second, Lord Mohun, "was run into the guts." Mohun died several months later (*Rutland MS*, II, 32; *Le Fleming MS*, p. 14f).

According to Baronne D'Aulnoy (*Memoirs*, p. 243), Cavendish had an affair also with Olive, daughter of George Porter (q.v.). The gossips accused him of liaisons with Mrs. Barbara Berkeley, Lady Betty Felton, and Lady Elizabeth Isham. In his old age the duke took as his mistress a pretty young actress, Anne Campion; when Anne died at nineteen (May 19, 1706), he erected a monument with an epitaph describing her virtues.

In his younger days, Cavendish was a Member of Parliament from Derbyshire. An outspoken, but not violent, Whig, he was strongly opposed to the Catholic Duke of York; however, he preferred William of Orange over the Duke of Monmouth as a substitute successor to the throne, and in October, 1681, he made his peace with King Charles II. In the reign of James II, the earl was in trouble because of altercations with Colonel Thomas Colepeper, and in 1686 he struck Colepeper in Whitehall. He was fined £30,000 (never paid), and imprisoned until he gave a bond for the fine. Understandably, the Earl of Devonshire was one of the seven peers who, on June 30, 1688, signed an "Invitation" to William of Orange (Macaulay, III, 222).

Devonshire took an active part in "the Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and became an important office holder in the reigns of William and Mary, and Queen Anne. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, a connoisseur of music, architecture, painting, and literature, and a trifling poet. John Macky said of him, "He hath been the first and handsomest gentleman of his time; loves the ladies and plays; keeps a noble house and equipage; is tall, well made, and of a princely behavior. Of nice honor in everything but the paying his tradesmen" (*Memoirs*, p. 18). A typical Restoration gentleman.

DNB; *Complete Peerage*; Frances Bickley, *The Cavendish Family*, 1911; D'Aulnoy, *Memoirs*; Evelyn, *Diary*, July 9, 1685; *The Hazard of a Death-Bed Repentance*, 1708.

DUNBAR

Robert Constable (1651–1712) inherited as third Viscount Dunbar (S.) in 1668. In his youth he was a drunken bully. In 1670 Lady Newton wrote, "Poor Henry Savill and the Lord Dunbar both foule

drunk, quarreled and cuff'd, then drew, Henry could not stand, but fell, then Dunbar run him through but 'tis hoped not through the body, though he hath a terrible wound" (*The House of Lyme*, 1917, p.245).

On February 26, 1671, Dunbar with a riotous band of wild blades attacking a bawdy house in Whetstones Park, fought with the watch and killed a beadle, one Peter Vernall. All were guilty, but Dunbar gave the mortal wound, stabbing Vernall with a rapier and giving him "a wound on the right side of the head" (*Middlesex County Records*, IV, 24). Because the Dukes of Albemarle and Monmouth were in the riot, the King pardoned all the rioters (*CSPD*, 1671, p. 183).

In or before 1672, Dunbar married Mary, daughter of John, first Baron Belasyse of Worsley. Fifteen years later, she was the scandal of the town. "The thinge that makes most noise about towne is my Lady Dunbar being brought to bed, and oweing the child to bee got by Father Confessor, uppon her lord's perswadinge her she would die, and telling her shee would certainly be damned unless she told who got the infant, his lordship being very certaine 'twas none of his. This is a very great mortification to my Lord Bellasis in particular, who is her father, and to the whole [Catholic] party in general" (*Rutland MS*, II, 115, July 21, 1687). Probably Lady Dunbar died in childbed. About August 1, 1697, Dunbar married Dorothy (Brudenell), widow of Charles Fane, third Earl of Westmorland.

Opinions about Dunbar differed. Mulgrave wrote in his *Essay upon Satire*, 1679,

Who would not be as silly as Dunbar,
As dull as Monmouth, rather than Sir Carr?

But Etherege wrote on May 22, 1687, "Pray . . . send me some news of all my friends, particularly of my Lord Dunbar and of Ned Lee, whose prosperity I have always wished" (*Letters*, p. 118). Completely undistinguished, Dunbar died on January 2, 1712. His widow died January 26, 1740, aged ninety-three.

Complete Peerage.

FALKLAND, ANTHONY, VISCOUNT

Anthony Carey (1656-94) was son and heir to Anthony (1634-63), fourth Viscount Falkland in the peerage of Scotland. His grand-

father, Lucius, was a noted Cavalier poet. Young Anthony succeeded as fifth viscount in April, 1663. He attended Winchester School (1668), traveled in France (1671), and briefly attended Christ Church College, Cambridge. He married a great fortune, Rebecca Chapman of Knebworth, Hants. (1662–1709) and set about amassing more wealth.

Falkland was a rather useless Treasurer of the Navy from April, 1681, to September, 1689; a Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, December 20, 1690, and First Lord, April 15, 1693. A member of the House of Commons and an accomplished debater, he was appointed to the Privy Council in March, 1691. He was a financial speculator, engaged in some shady deals, and on January 17, 1694, he was committed to the Tower charged with peculation, but quickly freed. He died of smallpox on March 24, 1694.

Falkland was a little man, described in contemporary satires as a "monkey," "A frivolous chit," a bad mimic, and a would-be wit. Charitable John Evelyn (May 30, 1694) described him as "a pretty, brisk, understanding young gentleman; had formerly been faulty, but now much reclaimed; had also the good luck to marry a very great fortune, besides being entitled to a vast sum, his share of the Spanish wreck, taken up at the expense of divers adventurers"—Christopher, second Duke of Albemarle, Sir James Hayes, Sir John Narborough, Lord Falkland, Francis Nicolson, and Isaac Foxcraft.

Although Falkland was frequently mentioned as a writer of lampoons and prologues, only two pieces can be confidently identified as his: the prologue to Otway's *The Soldier's Fortune*, 1680, and the prologue to Congreve's *The Old Bachelor*, 1693. "To Mr. Julian"—"Julian, in verse, to ease thy wants, I write"—1679, is assigned to Lord Falkland in Dyce MS. 43, p.180; Harleian MS. 7319, p. 41; and Folger MS. m.b.12, f. 34.

Complete Peerage; Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: The Years of Peril*, 1935; E. F. Ward, *Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle*, 1915.

FANSHAW, MARY AND WILLIAM

In the course of Charles II's long exile on the continent, he shared his bed with a number of light ladies; notable among them were Lucy Walter, Elizabeth Killegrew, Eleanor (Needham), Lady Byron,

and Catherine Pegge. On April 9, 1649, Lucy Walter (1630–58) gave birth to a son, later to be known as James Crofts, Duke of Monmouth, the King's favorite. After separating from the King, Lucy, on May 6, 1651, gave birth to a daughter, Mary, whose father was (conjecturally) Nicholas, Viscount Taafe. Although King Charles never acknowledged Mary, he gave her a pension of £600 a year. Mary and her family made much of the fact that she was Monmouth's half-sister, and therefore touched with royalty.

About 1670 Mary married William Sarsfield (elder brother of Patrick Sarsfield, q.v.). Sarsfield died in 1675, and a year later Mary married William Fanshaw, a Master of Requests and eldest son of John Fanshaw of Parsloe, Essex.

Apparently Mary (ironically called "princess") once touched for the King's Evil and cured one Jonathan Trott, son of a fruit-woman. In his *Historical Observes* (1840, p. 29) Sir John Lauder noted "at the end of February, 1681," "A pamphlet against Monmouth which suggested that he prove his legitimacy by approaching a lion in the Tower . . . and why might not he try this experiment as well as his sister, Madam Fanshaw [who] had cured on[e] of the King's evil by touching and using the words which his Majesty does."

William Fanshaw was a meagre person, of small attainments and unpleasant habits. On November 1, 1677, Henry Savile wrote to Lord Rochester that Nell Gwyn had advised Fanshaw "to buy him new Shooes that hee might not dirty her roomes, and a new periwig that she might not smell him stink two storeys high when he knocks at the outward door" (*Rochester-Savile Letters*, p. 48).

A minor member of the coterie of Court wits, Fanshaw visited Lord Rochester in his last illness and was one of the witnesses to his will. In 1681 he was put out of his place "for talking little less than treason upon all occasions that he can" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S., V, 48). Thereafter the Fanshaws and their five children lived in poverty, depending on the charity of friends and on Mary's pension, which was reduced by James II and often in arrears.

Mary died before her husband, whose will (proved July 13, 1708) directed that he be buried in Barking Church "by the side of his dearly beloved wife Mary, sister of the Duke of Monmouth." For arguments that Mary's mother, Lucy Walter, was married to King Charles II, see Lord George Scott, *Lucy Walter, Wife or Mistress*, 1947.

A True Account of a Wonderful Cure of the King's Evil perform'd by Mrs. F[anshaw], sister to his Grace the Duke of Monmouth, 1681; Fea, *Some Beauties*, pp. 142-44; Johannes Prinz, *Rochester*, 1927, pp. 232, 300; A. I. Dasent, *The Private Life of Charles II*, 1927; Wilson, *Court Wits*.

FELTON, LADY BETTY

Lady Elizabeth Howard, born in 1656, was the only daughter of James, third Earl of Suffolk, by his second wife, Barbara, widow of Richard Wenman and a daughter of Sir Edward Villiers. Nineteen years later, Madam D'Aulnoy described her thus: "Madam Betty had a beauty and youth that were almost dazzling, and won her the love of all who saw her, and being of a very gay disposition she seldom frightened her lovers away by her looks" (*Memoirs*, p. 130). In July, 1675, against her parents' wishes, she stole a marriage with handsome Thomas Felton, Esq., a Groom of the King's Bed-chamber. Henry Savile wrote, "Mr. Felton has at last got my Lady Betty, and has her in lodgings in the Mall. Her parents are very disconsolate in the point, and my Lord Suffolk swears all manner of oaths never to be reconciled" (*Savile Correspondence*, p. 39). Eventually Suffolk was reconciled to the marriage and gave his daughter a large allowance.

Once married, gay Lady Betty gloried in her conquests. In 1679 Lady Sunderland commented on "the fine airs of the great beauty, my Lady Betty Felton, who turns the heads of all the men, and quarrels with all the women, and lies in bed and cries when things are not altogether to her taste" (Cartwright, *Sacharissa*, p. 240). The *enfant terrible* could not endure rivals. In March, 1681, Lady Russell wrote that "Lady Betty Felton threatens to mortify [Lady Arundell] above all sufferance; for she vows she will not suffer Lord Shrewsbury to adore there any longer . . . and for my Lord Thanet, she says, the world shall see how much more powerful her charms are than those of a great monarch" (*Letters*, p. 77). True to her vow, Lady Betty made a scene in public, and on October 2, 1681, Lady Russell added (p. 81), "The ladies' quarrel [Lady Betty and Lady Arundell] is the only news talked of: Lady Betty lies abed and cries. Lord

Newport came yesterday morning and says he never saw the King more enraged; he sent to Lord Suffolk to chain up his mad daughter, and forbid her the Court, so at present neither Lord nor Lady Suffolk sees her, and little Felton is leaving her."

Passion has its penalties: Lady Betty died "of an apoplexy" on December 13, 1681. The gossips charged that she had committed adultery with Frank Newport, William, Lord Cavendish, and James, Duke of Monmouth, but she may have been more coquette than *cocotte*. Lady Betty's husband, who succeeded his older brother as fourth baronet in February, 1697, was Comptroller of the Household under Queen Anne. He died March 2, 1709, a harmless little man and an excellent jockey.

FRAZIER, CAREY

Sir Alexander Frazier (c.1610-81), a Scots physician and an ardent royalist, was chief physician to Charles II in his years of exile. Shortly after the Restoration he was knighted, and his wife Mary (Carey) was appointed a dresser to Queen Catherine. According to Pepys (September 19, 1664), Frazier was "so great" with the Court ladies "in helping them to slip their calves when there is occasion, and with the great men in curing of their claps, that he can do what he pleases with the King." Dr. Frazier had a house in Scotland Yard, close to Whitehall. He fathered two children, a son, Charles, who also became a physician, and a daughter, Carey, one of the Queen's Maids of Honor from 1674 to 1680.

Carey was famous for her beauty and her finery. On November 2, 1676, Lady Chaworth wrote, "Mighty bravery in clothes preparing for the Queen's birthday, especially Mrs. Phraser, whose gown is ermine upon velvet imbroidered with gold and lined with cloth of gold. 'Twill come to £300 and frights Sir Carr Scroope, who is much in love with her, from marrying her, saying his estate will scarce maintaine her in clothes." On January 30, 1677, Lady Chaworth reported a quarrel between Sir Carr and Katherine Sedley (the Duke of York's mistress) as the result of libels each had written against the other. Scroope (said the gossip) accused Katherine of being "as mad as her mother and as vicious as her father," Sir Charles Sedley.

Katherine retorted with a lampoon "of him being lapt in searchloth, Mrs. Phraser being with child, but her father able to cure both" (*Rutland MS*, II, 31, 37).

Sir Carr's verses are lost, but the following squib, discovered by David M. Vieth (*Manuscripts*, VI, 160–65) may be Katherine Sedley's retort. It presents a supposed conversation between Carey Frazier and George Douglas, Earl of Dumbarton.

As Frazier one night at her post in the drawing room
stood,
Dumbarton came by, and she cried, "My lord, would
you—would—"
"What is your will, madam, for I am in haste and can't
tarry."
"The thing is soon done, for I swear it is nothing but
marry."
He laughed and cried out, "Do you think that the devil
is in me,
To marry with one that in time will be mine for a
guinea?
Nay, look not so coy, nor toss your dangling locks,
But marry Car Scroope, and your father may cure his pox."

It seems that Carey was both ambitious and promiscuous. The charge that she was once mistress to John, Earl of Mulgrave, a Knight of the Garter, was first expressed in another short squib, "Upon Madam Fra." (Add. MS. 34,362, f. 118).

There was a lass in Scotland yard,
A haughty lass of high degree;
She common was to all the Guard,
And all upon her father's fee.

There was a knight made love to her,
He wore a star and garter blue;
He got the better of Sir Carr,
Although his love was not so true.

In December, 1677, when the King's reigning mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was ailing, the rumor ran that "Mrs. Frazier, the doctor's daughter, and Mrs. Elliott, and one or two more strive for

the preferment" (*Seventh Report*, p. 469). The duchess recovered, but in 1679, according to the author of "Colin" (see above), "stately Carey Frazier" was still striving for regal preferment.

In or about 1679, Carey fell into the hands and bed of Charles, Viscount Mordaunt (q.v.), with the usual biological consequence. On May 20, 1680, a gossip reported that "Mrs. Frazer is marched off from Court; how honorably time will try" (*Seventh Report*, p. 496). Two days later another gossip continued the tale, "It is said that the marriage between my Lord Mordaunt and Mrs. Frazer will now be speedily consummated, the lady being discovered with child, and my lord seeming to own something of a contract" (*Ormonde MS.*, N.S., V, 325). But it was not until December, 1681, that Mordaunt "brought out as well as owned his lady" (*Rutland MS.*, II, 62, December 12, 1681).

Carey proved to be a devoted wife and gave her eccentric husband two sons, both of whom died of smallpox in 1710. Carey died in March, 1709.

GERARD, CHARLES AND ANNE, LORD AND LADY BRANDON

Charles Gerard (1659–1701), styled Lord Brandon or Lord Brandon Gerard from 1679 to 1694, was the elder son of Charles, first Viscount Brandon and first Earl of Macclesfield, by Jane, daughter of Pierre de Civelles. Brandon Gerard was a young spark of dissolute habits. On May 18, 1676, a gossip wrote, "Last night the Lord Charles Cornwallis and Mr. Gerard, the Lord Gerard's son, being in drink, abused the sentinels in St. James's Park, and after, Mr. Gerard meeting Captain With's footboy, upon what provocation is not known, struck him so that the boy fell down dead" (*Hatton Correspondence*, I, 127). The boy's neck was broken. Lord Cornwallis was tried for murder and acquitted. Gerard fled to France and soon won a pardon. In December, 1677, Gerard seconded Henry Bulkeley in his duel with Lord Ossory, disarmed his own opponent, and forced Ossory to yield (*Hatton Correspondence*, II, 119).

On June 18, 1683, Lord Brandon Gerard, aged twenty-four, married Anne, aged fifteen, second daughter of Sir Richard Mason of Sutton, Surrey, Comptroller of the Household, by Anne Margareta, daughter of James Long of Draycott, Wilts. The young people were completely mismatched, even in their politics; Anne came from a Tory family;

Gerard was a violent Whig. After a year and a half of constant quarrels, Brandon took his wife to his father's house and left her there, vowing never to live with her again. Two weeks later his father, Lord Macclesfield—according to Pepys (December 9, 1667) “a very proud and wicked man”—turned her out of Gerard House in Soho and left her to shift for herself.

On November 26, 1685, Lord Brandon, accused of complicity in Monmouth's Rebellion, was convicted of high treason and sentenced to death. His wife pleaded for him with King James. In January, 1687, he was released from prison, and in November his attainder was reversed. He succeeded as second Earl of Macclesfield on January 7, 1694.

His unhappy, deserted wife was no beauty, and what looks she had were damaged by smallpox in 1686, yet she seems to have had several lovers, among them Henry, Duke of Grafton. Early in 1693 Richard Savage (“Tyburn Dick”), Lord Colchester and future Earl Rivers, “a tall handsome man of a very fair complexion” (Macky, p. 160), became her lover. He fathered two children: a daughter, called Anne Savage (1695) who died in infancy, and a son, baptized Richard Smith (1697), who may have been the eighteenth century poet, Richard Savage. Lady Brandon's affair with Colchester was well known, and in “Satyr. 1692/3” (Holkham MS., p.124), Jack Howe bemoaned

Poor Brandon's fate; she loves a battered bully,
An ill performer, yet by descent no cully.

In the summer of 1697, Brandon (now Lord Macclesfield) sued for a divorce *a mensa et thoro* in the Court of the Arches. His wife contested the suit bitterly. Impatient of ecclesiastical delay, on January 15, 1698, Macclesfield offered a bill of divorce *a vinculo* (with permission to remarry) in the House of Lords. The countess continued to fight. The Bishop of St. Davids wrote, “She hath brought proofs of his ill usage, his leaving her, her seeking for reconciliation, her trouble upon the letter he left when he went first from her, her sending to his father and him at Lancaster for provision, her application when he was condemned, her letter delivered by J. Tillotson when he was pardoned, for reconciliation. She sues for liberty to recriminate, which I fear will be denied” (*Hastings MS*, II, 306).

But the countess's adultery, however justified, was fully proved, even though she claimed that she had tricked Macclesfield into spending a night with her, thinking her a stranger, and that little Richard was the result! On March 3, 1698, the House of Lords granted Macclesfield a divorce with permission to remarry, bastardized Richard Smith, and returned the ex-countess's dowry.

In 1700 Anne married Colonel Henry Brett and became a faithful, loving wife, so exemplary that (it is said) Colley Cibber used her as the model for his Lady Easy in *The Careless Husband*, 1704. She died in 1753.

In July, 1688, Anne's older sister, Dorothy (1665–1700), a beauty with a large dowry, married William Brownlow of Humby, Lincs., who succeeded as baronet July 11, 1697. Macclesfield died on November 5, 1701, and was succeeded by his brother, Fitton Gerard (c.1665–1702).

DNB; Complete Peerage; Reasons for the Earl of Macclesfield's Bill in Parliament, 1697; James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, 2 vols., 1904, I, 119, Note 2; Frederick Clifford, *A History of Private Bill Legislation*, 1885, p. 400; Clarence Tracy, *The Artificial Bastard, a Biography of Richard Savage*, 1953.

GERARD, SIR GILBERT COSINS AND LADY MARY

Gilbert Cosins Gerard (c. 1662–1720) was the son of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart., of Fiskerton, Lincs., and his second wife, Mary, daughter of John Cosins, Bishop of Durham; he was also a great nephew of Charles Gerard, first Earl of Macclesfield. He inherited as second baronet c. September 20, 1687.

On May 2, 1681, young Gerard married Mary, daughter of Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, and his notorious wife, Mary (Bagot). Born c. 1665, Mary Gerard was an emancipated young woman who quickly ran wild. For example, on November 27, 1683, a gossip wrote, "The other night Lady Mary Garrett and her woman and some other of her companions was at a tavern, whear they had musick; and after some time they went away and would not pay the musick; and so there was a quarrell amongst them, and some of the fiddlers were killed, and those that did it was taken, and one of them was the Ladys woman in mens cloaths, who was a French woman; and

she is much concerned and tells many storys of her lady, who there is a warrant from my Lord Chief Justice to take; but I fancy she will not be easily found, for, if she should, it is believed she will be punished" (*Hatton Correspondence*, II, 39-40). According to more sober accounts, several ladies dressed in male attire for "the frolic"; there were gentlemen in the party, and two musicians were killed. Apparently no one was punished. Mary's conduct then and thereafter brought her the distinction of a libel, "Advice to the Ladies," (Dyce MS. 43, II, 479-80),

She that designs to make a virtuous wife
Must not like lewd Mall Gerr-d lead her life;
Not (like her) in vice place her chief delight,
Sleep all the day and revel all the night;
Not (like her) run on every tavern score
To treat those bawds that taught her first to whore;
Not (like her) 'mongst a crowd of strumpets roll,
Nauseous alike both in body and in soul;
Not (like her) should another frost arrive,
In every booth with every blockhead swive;
Not (like her) a salacious jilt become,
And from the stews each night come reeling home;
Not (like her) scour the stews, with brandy drunk,
And fight for stallion, as he fights for punk;
Not (like her) think't a scandal to be good,
And make a jest of spilling human blood.
No—
She who'd acquire that name, her course must steer
Just opposite to what is painted here;
And that will waft her safe to the port of fame,
While t'other splits on rocks of pox and shame.

Perhaps Mary Gerard was protected by the Earl of Dorset, her step-father and, after her mother's death in 1679, her trustee. But Gerard divorced his errant wife in 1684; she died in April, 1693.

Apparently Gerard, called by one satirist "whiffing Topus" ("To Julian," 1687, Harleian MS. 7317, p.109), was a confirmed rakehell and "keeper" and "by leading such a vicious life/He justifies the lewdness of his wife." In February, 1687, he conspired to marry one of his whores to Sir Samuel Morland (q.v.), but continued his own

relations with her. No one seems to have had a good word for him. On April 6, 1712, Gerard took a second wife, one Mary Wheeler, spinster. He died in 1720.

Complete Baronetage; Verney Memoirs, II, 339; *Seventh Report*, p. 375 B; Harris, *Dorset*, p. 79.

GREY, FORD, LORD

Ford Grey (1655–1701), third Lord Grey of Werke, was the eldest son of Ralph, Lord Grey, and Katherine, daughter of Sir Edward Ford. A tall, slender, handsome young man, he married, c. 1674, Mary Berkeley, fourth daughter of George, Earl of Berkeley. Grey was clever, adventurous, a devout libertine, and a convinced Whig, an intimate of the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Duke of Monmouth.

Grey succeeded to his title in June, 1675. In 1679 and 1680 there were persistent rumors of an intrigue between Mary, Lady Grey, and the Duke of Monmouth. In January, 1680, Grey took his wife off to Northumberland, and Lady Sunderland wrote, "My Lord Grey was long in believing the Duke of Monmouth an unfaithful friend to him. He gave [Lady Grey] but one night's time to take leave, pack up, and be gone" (Cartwright, *Sacharissa*, p. 233). One result of the scandal was a scurrilous pamphlet entitled *A Relation of the Apparition which appeared to Lady Grey*, January, 1681. Nevertheless, there is no conclusive evidence that Lady Grey was ever Monmouth's mistress.

There is, however, abundant evidence that Lady Grey's younger sister, Henrietta ("Harriet") was Grey's mistress. Although the Berkeleys did not discover the incestuous intrigue until the end of June, 1682, the Town knew all about it. As one gossip wrote on June 9, 1682, Lord Grey, "as the report goes, saith that he married [Henrietta's] eldest sister and expected a maidenhead, but not finding it, hee resolved to have one in the family, if any be left" (*Kenyon MS*, p. 43).

Berated and confined by her family, Henrietta—"a young lady of a fair complexion, fair haired, full breasted, and indifferent tall"—ran away from home in August, 1682. Although Luttrell (I, 215) reported on August 24 that "one Mr. Forester hath lately stole the

Lord Berkeley's daughter, and married her," Grey was arrested, charged with "conspiring the final ruin of Lady Henrietta Berkeley . . . to commit whoredom, fornication, and aultery," committed to the King's Bench Prison, and tried on November 23. Henrietta appeared in court to testify in his defense. A witness of the trial commented, "It is the foulest story that ever eyes saw or ears heard; in short, the lady was pretty round about the wast, and the proofs given in court made it too plain (if she is with child) who is the father" (*Kenyon MS*, p.154). But Henrietta introduced one William Turner as her husband, and eventually Grey was freed. Thereafter he and his wife lived separate lives.

On June 25, 1683, Grey was arrested for complicity in the Rye House Plot. With his usual ingenuity he managed to escape to France with Henrietta and her complaisant "husband." A child was born to Henrietta during the sojourn abroad.

On June 11, 1685, Grey returned to England with the Duke of Monmouth's invading force, as commander of the cavalry. As a soldier he was useless, as a coward contemptible. After Sedgemoor he was captured, forced to plead for his life, and eventually freed after writing a full confession, testifying at the trials of Lords Delamere and Brandon Gerard, and giving up his fee-simple estates and most of the income from his entailed properties. In King William's reign, his attainder was reversed and most of his estates and income returned. On May 11, 1695, William created him Earl of Tankerville and appointed him to the Privy Council. He became a successful politician and an acknowledged orator. He died on June 30, 1701. Henrietta Berkeley died in obscurity August 13, 1706. Lady Grey took a second husband, Richard Rooth of Epsom, in 1712, and died May 19, 1719.

DNB; *Complete Peerage*; *A New Vision of the Lady Gr--s Concerning her Sister the Lady Henrietta Berkeley*, 1682; Aphra Behn [?], *The Love Letters of a Nobleman to his Sister*, 1683; Cecil Price, *Cold Caleb*, 1956.

GWYN, NELL

The origins of Ellen Gwyn are obscure. She was born (supposedly in an alley near Covent Garden, London) on February 2, 1650, the

second daughter of Helena Gwyn (said to have been an apple woman) and an unknown father. Nell's older sister, Rose, once declared that their "father was a gentleman that did faithful service for his late Majesty [Charles I] and lost all that ever wee had for him" (PRO, State Papers 29/86/62)

According to her own account, Nell was employed in a bawdy-house "to fill strong waters to the guests" (Pepys, October 26, 1667). At about thirteen, through the agency of her sister, she became an orange girl in the Theater Royal. A year later she was a probationary member of the King's Company, and probably mistress of Charles Hart, the Company's leading man. Quick-witted and clever, she learned to read and even to write after a fashion, although to the end of her life she signed documents with a scrawled "E. G." At fifteen she was already noted as a dancer and as "pretty, witty Nell" at the King's House. At seventeen she was a star, especially in comedy, and briefly mistress of Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst. (It is said that she called King Charles II her "Charles the Third".)

In 1668 and 1669, Nell was an occasional mistress of King Charles. In May, 1670, she gave birth to a son, named, of course, Charles. In December, despairing of recognition by the King, she returned to the stage. Two months later she left theatrical life for good; the King gave her a house in Pall Mall and an allowance. Her second son by the King, James, was born on Christmas Day, 1671. Late in 1676 her son Charles "Beauclerc" was created Earl of Burford, and James became Lord Beauclerc.

During the Popish Plot years (1678-81) Nell was popular with the mob as a Protestant and a friend of the Whig Party. When a mob mistook Nell's coach for that of the King's Catholic mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Nell stuck her head out the window and said sweetly, "Pray, good people, be civil. I am the Protestant whore." On July 28, 1679, old Mrs. Gwyn, living in Chelsea at Nell's expense, drank too much brandy, fell into a brook and drowned. In June, 1680, Lord James Beauclerc died in France. In January, 1684, Charles, Earl of Burford, was created Duke of St. Albans.

Nell was always a spendthrift, but she was also generous and charitable. On her journey to the meeting of Parliament at Oxford in March, 1681, she was "very liberal to the Ringers and Poor all the Road and especially at Beconsfield and Wickham where she distributed

much money." At Oxford she was "very liberal here upon all occasions, and out of her charitable inclinations, has released Three Prisoners for Debt out of the Castle, and two out of Bocardo" (Smith's *Protestant Intelligence*, no. 20, April 4–April 7, 1681).

When King Charles died on February 6, 1685, Nell was deeply in debt to tradesmen. Eventually King James II, urged by his dying brother to "Let not poor Nelly starve," came to her rescue, paid her debts, and gave her a pension of £1,500 a year. She died "of an apoplexy" on November 14, 1687.

Although Nell was commonly attacked by contemporary satirists, the author of the following untitled song (MS. Don. b. 8. p.504) treated her with sympathy. Nell is represented as speaking to King Charles,

Long days of absence, dear, I could endure,
If thy divided heart were mine secure;
But each minute I find myself without thee,
Methinks I find my rival's arms about thee.
She perhaps her interest may improve
By all the studied acts of fraud and love;
Whilst I, a poor, kind, harmless creature,
A plain true passion show and trust good nature.
In her white hand let thy gold sceptre shine,
And what I must not name be put in mine.
Crowned and in purple robes to her I'll fling thee,
But naked every night let Nell unking thee.

DNB; Peter Cunningham, *The Story of Nell Gwyn*, 1852; Arthur I. Dasent, *Nell Gwynne*, 1928; J. H. Wilson, *Nell Gwyn, Royal Mistress*, 1952.

HERBERT, ELIZABETH, LADY

Elizabeth Brydges (1651–1718) was the second daughter of George, sixth Baron Chandos, by his first wife, Susan (Montague). In August, 1673, Elizabeth married (as his second wife), Edward, third Lord Herbert of Cherbury. She was "a great beauty of £10,000 portion" (*Williamson Letters*, I, 192). Lord Herbert died on December 9, 1678, aged 64.

Thereafter Lady Herbert and her widowed older sister, Mrs. Margaret Brownlow, seem to have lived together and to have been guilty of loose conduct; at least they became favorite subjects for satirists. In March, 1683, Captain Patrick Sarsfield (q.v.) abducted Lady Herbert, but could not persuade her to marry him. It is possible that she had been his mistress for a time. In September, 1686, Lady Herbert married (as his second wife) William O'Brien, second Earl of Inchiquin (I), who died in Jamaica in January, 1692, aged 52.

In August, 1694, Lady Inchiquin (now 43) took a third husband, Charles Howard, fourth Baron Howard of Escrick, a handsome young man many years her junior. In December he sold her jewels, took all her money and deserted her, leaving her with only £200 a year. On January 1, 1695, James Vernon wrote, "The Lord Howard of Escrick, who not long since married the Lady Inchiquin, has left her already for the sake of another woman, whom he was in league with before, and it is said they are both gone together for Holland. I find all his lady's concern now is to prove, if she can, that he was first married to that woman, for since she is like to lose her husband, she is desirous to preserve her jointure"—of £1,000 a year (*Lexington Papers*, pp. 37-38).

Lady Inchiquin brought suit against Howard at the Court of the King's Bench and proved that he had previously married his mistress, Mrs. Pike. In a suit at the Guildhall, in July, 1697, Lady Inchiquin tried to have her marriage annulled, but a jury decided against her. In December she petitioned the House of Lords, saying that she wanted to sue her husband in the ecclesiastical Court of the Arches, but that Howard stood upon his privilege as a peer and refused to answer. The Lords ordered him to submit to the Court, but before he did so he came back with a counter offer: to pay half her jointure annually and to give her £500 to pay the expenses of her suits. She refused. Finally her suit reached the High Court of Delegates, which, on February 4, 1701, declared her marriage null and void, "there being full proof of 5 witnesses of a prior marriage with Mrs. Pike of Stafford in the year 1689" (Luttrell, V, 141).

In 1712 Lady Inchiquin married a Mr. George, a French Protestant. She died February 3, 1718, aged 57. She had had a full life but, fortunately, no children.

Complete Peerage; *Calendar of Orrery Papers*, p. 320; *Hastings MS*, II, 243; Luttrell, III, 227; *House of Lords MS*, III, 10; G. S. Alleman,

Matrimonial Law and the Materials of Restoration Comedy, 1924, pp. 132-33.

HEWITT, SIR GEORGE

Sir George ("Beau") Hewitt (1652-89) was a famous fop, noted for his fine clothes and well-arranged cravats. The only surviving son of Sir Thomas Hewitt, Bart., of Pishiobury, Herts., he succeeded to the baronetcy on August 4, 1662. He had six sisters, all of whom married.

On June 25, 1673, Sir George, "the young gallant", bought a commission as cornet in the Queen's Troop of Guards. On July 2 he was caned by Mr. Ravenscroft for an insult in the theatre "halfe a year since." Hewitt challenged Ravenscroft, but the King ordered the Earl Marshall to sieze both men and prevented the duel (*Williamson Letters*, I, 67, 87, 94). Hewitt did not lack courage, although references to him as "purblind" suggest that he may have been nearsighted. On the other hand, the word also meant "slow of understanding," or "dim-witted."

In April, 1676, Hewitt fought a set duel with maniacal Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Hewitt was "wounded in the thumb and arm, but little hurt" (*Seventh Report*, p. 467B). On February 28, 1680, he fought a duel with Charles, Earl of Plymouth; Lords Cavendish and Mordaunt were their seconds. "My Lord Plymouth was disarmed, and my Lord Mordaunt hurt in the shoulder. The quarrel was upon some idle messages that passed in the park by an orange wench that, they say, reported lies to one another to make herself sport" (*Hatton Correspondence*, II, 222). In "An Ironical Satire," 1680 (*POAS*, Yale, II, 202), a satirist reported a different result and made light of the affair, sneering at

Plymouth, who lately showed upon the plain,
And did by Hewitt's fall immortal honor gain.
So Mouse and Frog came gravely to the field,
Both feared to fight, and yet both scorned to yield.

No doubt Sir George was a fop, although there seems to be no truth in the tradition that he was the model for Etherege's Sir Fopling

Flutter in *The Man of Mode*, 1676. Contemporary libelers described him as a "tittle-tattle fool" and "a moving thing without one grain of wit" and called him "fop Hewitt" and "Sir Amorous La Fool." Nevertheless, as a soldier he was considered competent enough to command the Queen Dowager's Regiment of Horse in the campaign against King James in Ireland. As a man of business he must have been at least adequate. When King Charles bought Lord Scarsdale's house in Pall Mall for Nell Gwyn (April 1, 1671), Hewitt acted as the King's agent. He was also one of Nell's trustees when she acquired Burford House in Windsor on September 24, 1680. According to Lord Clarendon, when Prince George of Denmark wanted to get rid of his Groom of the Stole, Lord Scarsdale ("a pitiful wretch"), he thought of replacing him with Hewitt, who was not a peer, but could be ennobled "when things were settled" (*Clarendon State Papers*, II, 150, January 17, 1689). Sure enough, in April, 1689, King William created Hewitt Baron of Jamestown and Viscount Hewitt of Gowran (I). However, on his return from the campaign in Ireland, Hewitt died at Chester, December 2, 1689. He never married. The chances are that he was never as much a fop and fool as he was painted.

Complete Peerage; Arthur Sherbo, "Sir Fopling Flutter and Beau Hewitt," *Modern Languages Notes*, LXIV, 1949; *CSPD*, 1673, p. 393, June 25; Luttrell I, 520; Wilson, *Nell Gwyn*, pp. 118. 233.

HINTON, MARY

"Moll" Hinton was a notorious strumpet who, to judge by contemporary comments, flourished from about 1680 to 1692. In "The Playhouse. A Satyr. 1685," Robert Gould described the audience at a theatre:

In the side box Moll Hinton you may see,
Or Howard Moll, much wickeder than she;
That is their throne, for there they best survey
All the young fops that flutter to the play.

Moll was the daughter of Sir John Hinton (1603–82), a physician in ordinary to the King. He was knighted by King Charles early

in 1666. According to one report he was honored for "giving his positive opinion that the Queen is with child again" (*Sixth Report*, p. 338A). However, in a begging "Letter of Memorial" to the King in 1679, Hinton himself said that he was knighted for procuring an advance of money to enable the Duke of Albemarle to pay the army (Henry Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd Series, 1846, IV, 296).

According to his own account, Hinton had worked and fought for both Charles I and Charles II. However, he was never a popular physician and never prospered. Said Samuel Pepys (December 18, 1665), "Lord, to see how Dr. Hinton come in with a gallant or two from Court, and do so call 'Cozen' Mr. Hinton, the goldsmith, but . . . I know him to be a beggar and a knave."

Moll Hinton was well known in Court circles. In an undated letter, Charles, Earl of Dorset, thanked her ironically for giving him the pox, "a greater favor than any of your sex have bestowed on me this five year" (Harris, *Dorset*, p. 91). On January 26, 1682, we learn that the Russian Ambassador to England "is so taken with Moll Hinton that he intends to carry her over with him" to Russia (*Rutland MS*, II, 64). About that time a satirist took the item as his spring board for "On Three Late Marriages" (see above), insisting that Moll was about to get "an honorable spouse."

Since she is still referred to as "Moll" or "Mall" Hinton after 1682, we must presume that the marriage never took place. Moll was called "pocky lewd Hinton" in "The Session of Ladies," 1688 (see above), and in "The False Favorite's Downfall," 1692 (*POAS*, Yale, V, 332) Arabella Churchill is said to be "as pocky as Hinton, as lewd as Peg Hughes." Moll's reputation for lechery lasted into the next century. Eustace Budgell (*The Spectator*, no. 77, May 29, 1711) presented his *persona*, Will Honeycombe, in a coffee-house, giving "an account of the person and character of Moll Hinton" to an admiring crowd. Unfortunately Budgell did not record Honeycombe's imaginary account.

HOWARD, MARY

Often linked with Moll Hinton (q.v.) as a notorious whore, "Dirty Mall" Howard was also famous as a bawd. Her dates are unknown, and her origins obscure, but apparently she was one of the numerous

Howards who claimed gentility. In "Evidence Mall" (Harleian MS. 7319, p.313) she was said to be "kin to an evidence lord"—William, Lord Howard of Escrick. In "Cheviot Chace" (see above), a stanza ending with the line, "No man will need Mall Howard" is followed by a stanza beginning "Escrick's daughter's much the best/ That family can show."

Related by marriage to Mary Howard, Countess of Arundel, Mall seems to have become that lady's companion or superior lady-in-waiting some time after August, 1678, when the countess's former companion, Frances Skinner, married Sir William Buck (*Complete Baronetage*, III, 142; *Cold Caleb*, p. 30). Mall quickly became famous for her double function. See "A Pert Imitation of all the Flatteries of Fate," c. 1680 (Harleian MS. 6913, p. 91),

All the world can't afford
Such a bitch as Mall Howard,
She procures for my lady and fucks with my lord.
If this she deny
'Tis time she should die,
For she's able to bawd for a whole Council board.

See also "A Court Satyr. 1682" (Harleian MS. 7317, p. 91. The "Countess" is Lady Arundel),

Alas for poor St. James's Park
Since Moll Howard left the Town;
Baber himself, that very spark,
Is turned a very clown.
The withered lime trees cast no shade,
The jolly Dillons droop,
And Jack Howe's parts are so decayed
You'd take him for Sir Scroope.

Since none but Roger Martin's there,
And stately Stamford stalks,
Now both the witty and the fair
Retire to Gray's Inn walks.
Ah, Countess, since unkind you be
To rob us of our dear,
May Shrewsbury lose the other eye,
And Arundel see clear.

In 1683 it was rumored that Mall was to marry an Irish lord. Evidently the author of "A Letter to the E. of Kildare dissuading him from marrying Mall Howard" (Harleian MS. 7319, p. 326) was successful. Mall never married.

There is no way of knowing how long Mall continued as Lady Arundel's companion. The author of "News from Tunbridge. 1684" (Dyce MS. 43, II, 470) saw at Tunbridge

none but knaves; the D of N[orfolk]'s bride,
With dirty Mall attending by her side;
Mall, who is proof against all human nature,
Mall, who was never foiled by any creature,
Insatiate, yet foul in every feature.

Mall's name was often linked with that of Harry Wharton, third son of Philip, Lord Wharton. In "Satire on the Court Ladies," 1680 (see above), he is called "Mall Howard's witty Harry." On February 4, 1687, Thomas Maule wrote to Etherege at Ratisbon, "I cannot forbear telling you that Harry Wharton is no more the constant . . . for he has forsaken Mrs. Mary [Howard?] and makes violent love to Mrs. Drumar" (Etherege, *Letters*, p. 275). The author of "A Letter to Julian," 1687 (Harleian MS. 7319, p. 522) asks,

Has Mall Howard made her peace with Harry,
Will they still fornicate, or marry?

In 1688 Mall appears as "Howard's pert Mall" in "The Session of Ladies" (see above), and in 1690 she is "silent Moll Howard" in "Tunbridge Dance" (*POAS*, Yale, V, 379). The rest is silence.

HOWE, JOHN GRUBHAM

Jack Howe's father, John Grubham Howe of Lingar, Notts., married Annabella, third natural daughter of Emanuel Scrope, Earl of Sunderland (1585-1630), by Martha Janes, a servant. Annabella and her two sisters, Mary (who married [1] Henry Carey, and [2] Charles Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester) and Elizabeth (who married Thomas Savage, Earl Rivers) were legitimized and given the rank of an earl's daughters on June 1, 1663. Annabella survived her husband, dying on March 21, 1704.

The Howes had five daughters ("Lady Annabella's girls"), of whom Bridget married John, Lord Ossulton; Elizabeth married Sir John Guise of Rendecomb, and Diana married Sir Francis Molineux of Tiverfall. The Howes had also four sons, Scroope, John, Charles, and Emanuel; of these only the first two were in any degree distinguished.

Scroope Howe (1648–1712) was a staunch Whig in Parliament and became a Groom of the Bedchamber to King William. He was knighted on March 16, 1663 and on May 6, 1701, he became Viscount Howe (I). Under Queen Anne he was Comptroller of the Excise. In April, 1672, he abducted and married Anne Manners, daughter of the eighth Earl of Rutland. His second wife (1698) was Juliana, daughter of William, Lord Allington. Lord Howe died January 15, 1713.

John ("Libeling Jack") Howe (1657–1722), was at first merely "a young amorous spark of the Court." In August, 1679, he tried to make love to Frances, the widowed Duchess of Richmond. When she scorned him, he plotted revenge and reported abroad "several testimonies of her kindness, as well by letters as otherwise." The duchess complained to King Charles who appointed four lords to look into the matter. Howe could produce only one letter, which the King declared was neither the duchess's "hand nor style" (Sidney, *Diary*, I, 100). Nevertheless, for years the Court satirists listed Howe among the duchess's putative lovers.

In November, 1679, Howe, with George Porter, Jr., and Henry Wharton, all drunk and disorderly, "came and broke down Mrs. Willis's balls [on her gateposts] and called her all to naught, upon which she sent for the constable, but he was so civil as not to secure them" (*Seventh Report*, p. 477B). Howe's talents were better employed in writing libels than in beating up bawdyhouses.

Originally a violent, noisy Whig, Howe was a member of the Convention Parliament of 1689, and represented Cirencester in several later Parliaments. He served as Vice-Chamberlain to Queen Mary from 1689 to March, 1692, when he was dismissed (*Portledge*, p. 133). According to Macaulay (VII, 170), "If rumor could be trusted, he had fancied that Mary was in love with him, and had availed himself of an opportunity which offered itself while he was in attendance on her as Vice Chamberlain to make some advances, which had justly moved her indignation." In early November of the same year he cut and wounded his own servant in the verge of Whitehall—a heinous crime. He was forced to plead guilty and sue for a pardon,

but the double blow was too much for his pride. From then on he was a violent Tory and "showed the most rancorous hatred of his royal mistress, of her husband, and of all who were favored by either." When Tory Queen Anne came to the throne, Howe became a member of the Privy Council and Paymaster of the Guards (1702-14). Howe was an eloquent speaker, with a gift for telling epithets, but wrong-headed, fractious, and malicious.

Howe married Mary, daughter of Humphry Baskerville, Herts., and widow of Sir Edward Morgan of Monmouthshire. Macky said that he was "endued with good natural parts, attended with an unaccountable boldness, daring to say what he pleases, and will be heard out; so that he passes with some for the shrew of the House. . . . He is a tall, thin, pale-faced man, with a very wild look; brave in his person, bold in expressing himself, a violent enemy, a sure friend, and seems always to be in a hurry" (*Memoirs*, p. 118).

Although Howe was famed "For smutty jests and downright lies" in verse (see above, "An Answer to the Satire on the Court Ladies"), only a few poems can be positively identified as his: two agreeable songs in Dryden's *Miscellany Poems*, 1716, "A Song by Mr. John Howe" (II, 214) and "A Song. By Mr. J. H." (II, 344). "An Epistle to Somerton, Secretary to the Muses, 1691" is signed "Your Servant, Jack Howe", and "Satyr 1692/3" is signed "Jack Howe" (Holkham MS, pp. 96, 129). Apparently he was also author, or coauthor, of the second-day Prologue to Rochester's alteration of *Valentinian*, 1684.

DNB; *Complete Peerage*; Burke, *Extinct Peerages*, 1938; *Buckleuch MS*, I, 317; *Lady Giffard's Letters*, 1911, p. 14.

JULIAN, ROBERT

In 1667 "Captain" Robert Julian was clerk or secretary to Admiral Sir Edward Spragge. He seems to have served in that capacity, or as Judge Advocate of the Mediterranean Fleet, until Spragge was killed in action in 1673. (In 1685 Julian claimed that he had "served the late King nine years at sea.")

About 1670, Julian entered upon the trade which earned him the ironic title "Secretary to the Muses." Perhaps aided by a clerk or two, he copied and sold libels and lampoons written by the wits of the Town and Court, who either gave or sold him the rights to

their satires. Evidently he did a thriving trade. Numerous references to him in contemporary satires, and a number of lampoons addressed to him, or pretending to speak for him, testify to his reputation as a purveyor of scandal. It is unlikely that he wrote any of the verses attributed to him. He seems to have been a big, heavy man, much addicted to brandy.

On May 31, 1684, he pleaded not guilty to the charge of writing and publishing a libel on King Charles II entitled "Old Rowley the King, to the tune of Old Simon the King." On November 12 he was convicted of publishing this and other "scandalous libels," and sentenced to pay one hundred marks fine, to stand in the pillory at Westminster, Charing Cross, and Bow Street, and to give bonds for his future good behavior. Unable to pay the fine, he languished in the King's Bench Prison until June, 1685, when he was released, "he being an ancient man and almost blind and very poor."

After he was free, Julian returned to his old vocation. Several lampoons were addressed to him in 1686 and 1687, and on February 16, 1688, Sir George Etherege wrote from Ratisbon, "I was thinking of inviting Mr. Julian to a correspondence that I might at least know how scandalous goes" (*Letters*, p. 328).

The date of Julian's death is unknown, but it must have been early in the 1690s. An undated epitaph (*POAS*, 1698, Pt. III, 226) ironically sang his praises and concluded:

But, ah, his loss 'tis now too late to mourn!
He's gone, and Fate admits of no return!
But whither is he gone? To Heaven, no doubt,
Where if there's any drink, he'll find it out.

Brice Harris, "Captain Robert Julian, Secretary to the Muses," *ELH*, X, 4 (December, 1943), 294-309; Judith Slater, "The Early Career of Captain Robert Julian, Secretary to the Muses," *N&Q*, N.S., XIII, 7 (July, 1666), 260-62; Tom Brown, *Amusements Serious and Comical*, ed. A. L. Hayward, 1927, pp. 248-55.

KIRKE, PERCY, PHILIP, DIANA, AND MARY

Although it is possible that famous Percy Kirke was the son of George Kirke, Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles I, by his first wife, Anne Killigrew, who died in 1641, it is more likely that

his mother was George's second wife, Mary (daughter of Aurelian Townshend), who married him on February 26, 1646. Mary was a beautiful wanton, whose reputation did not improve with years. However, she gave her husband two sons, Percy and Philip, and two daughters, Diana and Mary. At the Restoration George Kirke became Housekeeper of Whitehall Palace. He died on April 6, 1675.

Percy Kirke (c. 1647-91) was commissioned as an ensign July 7, 1666. He moved regularly up the military ladder, and in 1682 he became Governor of Tangier and Colonel of Fairborne's Regiment at Tangier. Kirke was a first-rate soldier, a brutal fighter, a duelist, and a wench. Brought back from Tangier in 1684, his regiment, known as "Kirke's Lambs" distinguished itself bloodily after Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. Kirke was general of the English force which raised the siege of Londonderry in July, 1689. He died at Brussels on October 31, 1691.

Kirke married Lady Mary Howard, daughter of George Howard, who became fourth Earl of Suffolk in 1689. Lady Mary had her gallants as Kirke had his whores.

Philip Kirke, Percy's younger brother, also chose a military life. He was a captain in the King's Holland Regiment in 1678, a captain in the First Footguards in 1683, and lieutenant-colonel of the Queen's Regiment of Foot in 1684. In June, 1675, he became Under-Housekeeper of Whitehall (*CSPD*, 1675-76, p. 192), and on October 8, 1679, he became Housekeeper (*PRO*, L.C. 7/1). He held the post until his death, c. September 8, 1687, when his brother Percy succeeded him. Philip seems not to have married, but he was a true Kirke with the ladies.

About April, 1673, Diana Kirke married Aubrey de Vere, twentieth Earl of Oxford. She produced a daughter, also Diana, who on April 17, 1694, married Nell Gwyn's son, Charles, Duke of St. Albans, and died on January 15, 1742.

George Kirke's second daughter, Mary ("Mall") Kirke, was a Maid of Honor to Marie Beatrice, Duchess of York, c. 1673-75. She seems to have been mistress (1) to the Duke of York, (2) to the Duke of Monmouth, and (3) to the Earl of Mulgrave. Apparently she tried to juggle all three at once. On October 1, 1674, a gossip reported that "The Duke of Monmouth, being jealous of Lord Mulgrave's courting his newest mistress, Mall Kirke, watched his coming thence late four or five nights ago, and made the Guards keep him amongst them all night" (*Rutland MS*, II, 27). On June 27, 1675, we learn

that Mall had long known that she was pregnant, had turned Roman Catholic, and had planned to retire to a nunnery on the continent for her confinement. But she waited too long "and spoiled all." Her infant was born that morning with no midwife in attendance, just "the young Mother of the Maids and her own servant." The child died a few hours after birth (*Bulstrode*, I, 303). Mall was turned out of St. James's Palace and found refuge with her mother in Whitehall. On July 4 Percy Kirke challenged Lord Mulgrave "for having debauched and abused his sister." Mulgrave denied everything, and Mall denied any carnal relations with him, but the Restoration Hotspur would not be appeased; he fought with Mulgrave and wounded him seriously. On August 30 Mall fled to France and a nunnery "to do penance for the rest of her life for her past follies" (*Bulstrode*, I, 305, 313; *Savile Correspondence*, p. 39).

Even in a nunnery, Mall was pursued by lovers. In the spring of 1676, Honoré Courtin, newly appointed Ambassador to England, visited her and pumped her about English Court affairs. He wrote to the French Minister, Louvois, "She is a pretty bit of stuff, as pretty as I've seen for a long time, and if I had as much money and opportunity as you, she would not escape me" (Delpech, *Portsmouth*, p. 101). On August 15, 1676, there was "a warm report" that Mall had married Lord Mordaunt at Paris. "Mrs. Kirke hopes it is false, for she does not look upon him as a good match" (*Rochester-Savile Letters*, p. 42). Finally Mall became mistress to Sir Thomas Vernon, of Hodnet, Salop (1637-84), a man at least twice her age, who finally married her at Paris in May, 1677 (*Savile Correspondence*, p. 57). Mall gave Sir Thomas, a Teller of the Exchequer, three children; according to the Court gossips, she was still promiscuous. She "ended her life in miserable circumstances at Greenwich in 1711" (G. S. Steinman, *N&Q*, November 12, 1853, p. 461).

DNB; Complete Peerage; Letters and the Second Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. R. G. Howarth, 1933; Dalton, *Army Lists; CTB*, 1679, p. 563; 1685-89, p. 1558; Luttrell, I, 413.

LAWSON, ELIZABETH [?]

By his wife Catherine, third daughter of Sir William Howard, Sir John Lawson of Brough Hall, Yorks., had five sons and three daughters. In 1680 Sir John's sister-in-law, Mary, Duchess of Richmond

(who had married "Northern Tom" Howard, fourth son of Sir William Howard) tried to interest King Charles in one of her nieces by marriage, probably Elizabeth, the youngest. Her aim was to oust her enemy, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and "to bring the Duke of Buckingham [her brother] into favor" (*Portland MS*, III, 368).

In "Flatfoot the Gudgeon Taker," 1680 (*POAS*, Yale, II, 190) we are told that Mistress Lawson was "managed" by "Two rev'rend aunts, renown'd in British story/ For lust and drunkenness with Nell and Lory." ("Aunt" still carried the connotation of bawd). One "aunt" was the Duchess of Richmond; the other, "my Lady Mary", is sometimes erroneously identified as Lady Mary (Mordaunt), wife of Henry Howard, then Earl of Arundel. At this time, of course, Arundel's wife was properly identified as "Lady Arundel," and is so called by contemporary satirists. Probably "Lady Mary" was Lady Mary Fenwick, granddaughter of Sir William Howard, wife of Sir John Fenwick, and Mistress Lawson's first cousin. Lady Mary Fenwick was a great intriguer with a scandalous reputation.

Mistress Lawson was too timid to attract a jaded old roué; she never became the King's mistress. In "The Ladies' March," 1681 (see above), we learn that

Lawson, she who's disappointed,
Grieves to lose the Lord's anointed,
Follows next in the reverend clutches
Of her old aunt and bawd, the duchess.

In 1682, Mistress Lawson was still about the Court, apparently drinking heavily (see above, "Satire. 1682"). In 1684-85 she was in Paris, and there was a false report that she had married Lord Grey of Ruthven. In fact, she was living in the nunnery to which the Duke of Norfolk (Arundel) took his wife and left her for a year. In 1696 an Elizabeth Lawson (presumably Sir John Lawson's daughter) was in London and intimate with the Duchess of Norfolk and Lady Mary Fenwick at the time of Fenwick's trial for high treason. Apparently she never married.

Complete Peerage; *Rutland MS*, II, 85; *State Trials*, XII, col. 926; *House of Lords MS*, 1695-97, pp. 283-89; *Luttrell*, IV, 166.

LOFTUS, ADAM

Adam Loftus (1647–91), a Roman Catholic, second son of Sir Arthur Loftus of Rathfarnham, co. Dublin, was Ranger of Phoenix Park and of the King's parks in Ireland and a Master of the Court of Requests. He was hot tempered, a compulsive gambler, and a heavy drinker. On December 27, 1677, a gossip wrote, "Lord Pembroke hath hurt Mr. Loftus att a quarrell at dice, but a slight wound, many being present at the tavern where they played" (*Rutland MS*, I, 44). In June, 1684, the Earl of Ranelagh lost a suit for £30,000 in Dublin. "Mr. Loftus, who has appeared all along in this business for his lordship, threatened the judges that my Lord Ranelagh would have them turned out, and in a drunken fit did very much abuse the Chief Baron at his own house, but it seems upon Mr. Loftus asking pardon, my Lord Chief Justice promised not to complain, or else it should not have gone so with him; Mr. Loftus is like to lose by this £4,000 or £5,000 so that he may be allowed a little anger" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S. VII, 248).

On January 29, 1686, King James II, who loved to elevate Roman Catholics, created Loftus Baron of Rathfarnham and Viscount Lisburne. Nevertheless, Lord Lisburne took the Whig side in the Glorious Revolution and in 1689 he commanded an English regiment in Ireland. He aroused no enthusiasm in his superiors. On December 30, 1689, Marshall Schomberg wrote to King William, "My Lord Lisburne's conduct is not good. He passes his life at play and the bottle; a little wine fuddles him" (Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, 1773, App., Pt. II, 59). At the siege of Limerick, September 15, 1691, Lisburne was slain by a cannon ball.

Loftus married (1) on March 7, 1673, Lucy, aged twenty-two, second daughter of George Brydges, Lord Chandos (1620–55), by his second wife, Jane Savage. Although Lucy was a coheiress to her father's estates, Chandos left most of them to his second wife, who married (2) Sir William Sidley, and (3) George Pitt of Stratfieldsaye, Hants. Jane died June 6, 1676, and it is likely that Loftus sued Pitt for his wife's inheritance. Lucy Loftus gave birth to a daughter, also Lucy, who married, as his second wife, Thomas Wharton (q.v.).

After his first wife died in April, 1681, Loftus married (2) in May, 1682. Dorothy, daughter of Patrick Allen, Esq. From Paris on May

31, the Earl of Donegal wrote, "I hear Addy Loftus's wedding was very public. It was a great match for her [Dorothy]. I hear the furniture of the wedding room cost £1,000" (*Calendar of Orrery Papers*, p. 260). Dorothy (Lady Lisburne) died in July, 1689.

Complete Peerage; *London Marriage Licenses*; Mark Noble, *Biographical History of England*, 1806, I, 341; *Ormonde MS*, N.S., VI, 226; Francis Nichols, *The Irish Compendium*, 1756.

LUMLEY, RICHARD AND HENRY

Richard (c. 1650–1721) and Henry (c. 1659–1722) Lumley were the first and second sons of John Lumley, Esq., by his wife Mary Compton, and grandsons of Richard, Viscount Lumley, of Waterford, in the peerage of Ireland. The brothers were educated as Roman Catholics, but became Protestants c. 1685–86. Richard became Viscount Lumley of Waterford on the death of his grandfather in 1662. On May 31, 1681, Richard was created Baron Lumley of Lumley Castle, Durham; on April 9, 1689, Viscount Lumley of Lumley Castle; and on April 15, 1690, Earl of Scarborough. He was Master of the Horse to Queen Catherine 1680–82. He was one of the seven peers who signed an invitation to William of Orange on June 31, 1688, and he became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King William and a member of the Privy Council. Later he held numerous government and Court posts. As Deputy-Lieutenant of Sussex, Lord Lumley was responsible for capturing the Duke of Monmouth after the Battle of Sedgemoor.

On March 17, 1685, Richard Lumley married Frances (aged nineteen), daughter of Sir Henry Jones of Aston, Oxon., "a fine young woman and heiress of £1,000 per annum" (*Rutland MS*, II, 85). By her he had seven sons and four daughters. Frequently mentioned in satires as "Lumley" or "Lord Lumley," he was accused of affairs with Mary, Countess of Scarsdale, Mrs. Elizabeth Fox, and an actress, "the fam'd Mrs. Cox." Macky described him as "a gentleman of very good sense, a great lover of the constitution of his country, and an improver of trade . . . a handsome man of a brown complexion" (*Memoirs*, p. 74). Swift called him "a knave and a coward" (Burnet, *Own Time*, III, 264n.)

Henry Lumley, in his younger days known as a wit and a beau ("Lumley Beau"), took to the army in 1685, became a lieutenant-

general in 1703, and achieved distinction in Marlborough's campaigns. He was Governor of the Isle of Jersey when he died on October 18, 1722. He married (1) Elizabeth Trimbleby and (2) Anne, daughter of Sir William Wiseman. He was said to have suffered much from the pox, as one result of which his mouth was drawn awry; hence "wry-mouthed Lumley" or "wry-mouthed tyzard." In contemporary satires he is usually associated with Susannah, Lady Williams and Mary, Countess of Arundel. Macky described Lieutenant-general Lumley as "a good officer, brave, but hot and passionate to a great degree . . . he is tall, fair, and [in 1703] 45 years old" (*Memoirs*, p.163).

Complete Peerage; Collins, *Peerage*.

MACKEREL, BETTY

An orange girl in the Theatre Royal, Betty Mackerel, a tall, handsome young wanton, had her moment of glory when she played the role of tiny Ariel in Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest*, November, 1674. In the last act she sang a parody of Ariel's song,

Where good ale is, there suck I,
In a cobbler's stall I lie
While the watch are passing by;
Then about the streets I fly
After cullies merrily.
And I merrily, merrily take up my clo'se
Under the Watch and the Constable's nose.

Betty's wit was decidedly coarse. According to Sir Francis Fane (MS Commonplace Book, c. 1675), "Bet Mackell ye orange wench taught a sterlin to speake baudy & gave ye bird to ye King, on[e] day ye Bishop of Canterbury came into ye bed chamber & ye bird hopt on his shoulder & sade 'Wilt thou have a whore, thou lecherous dog?'"

Evidently she pleased the courtiers who thronged the playhouse. In 1685 Robert Gould wrote ("The Playhouse," Add. MS. 30,492),

Here others, who no doubt believe they're witty,
Are hot at repartee with Orange Betty,
Who, though not blest with half a grain of sense

To leaven her whole lump of impudence,
 Aided with that, she always is too hard
 For the vain things and beats them from their guard.

According to "Satire to Julian," 1682 (see above), Betty had once been mistress to "Handsome" Robert Fielding, and then had fallen into bed with Sir Thomas Armstrong (Monmouth's follower). Incredibly, the author of "Sir Thomas Armstrong's Last Farewell to the World. 1684" (*POAS*, Yale, III, 563) asserted that she had been Armstrong's mistress "this fourteen long years."

Betty's size and harlotry were so famous that in John Phillips' *The History of Don Quixote*, 1687, p. 412, she was mentioned as "the Gyantess Betty-Mackerela, who . . . was one of the most diligent women of her time." In September, 1686, Sir George Etherege described the Countess de Windisgratz as "very like, and full as handsome as Mrs. Betty Mackerell" (*Letters*, p. 60). She must have been living in 1688, because she appears as "a favorite of the blind god" in "The Session of Ladies" (see above).

Montague Summers, *Shakespeare Adaptations*, 1922; Fane's commonplace Book, Shakespeare Memorial Library, Stratford.

MAZARIN, HORTENSE, DUCHESS

Hortense, third daughter of Lorenzo Mancini and favorite niece of Cardinal Mazarin, Prime Minister of France, was born in Rome in 1646. Brought up at the French Court, at the age of fourteen she was married to a nobleman twice her age, Armand Charles de la Porte, Marquis de Meilleraye, who was created Duc Mazarin after the marriage. Mazarin was a religious bigot, a jealous tyrant, and so prurient minded that he defaced statues and paintings, and prohibited the women on his estates from milking cows—to preserve them from wicked thoughts. Hortense endured him for seven years and bore him a son and three daughters.

After long and fruitless litigation for a separation, Hortense took flight in June, 1668, and found refuge in Italy. For the next eight years she was free to indulge her romantic fancies in escapades and her libido in love affairs, some of which (the gossips said) resulted in biological consequences.

Late in 1675 Hortense traveled to England, dressed *en cavalier* and followed by half a dozen servants, including a Turkish page boy, Mustapha, who made her coffee. She reached London in January, 1676, and was heartily welcomed. The Duke of York bought Lord Windsor's house in St. James's Park and loaned it to her, rent free (*Rutland MS*, II, 28). King Charles gave her an allowance of £3,000 a year (Luttrell, IV, 528).

At thirty the duchess, a dark, pneumatic beauty, had the bloom and freshness of youth, and King Charles quickly joined the long train of her lovers. A woman of wit and learning, she soon had a brilliant salon, patronized by pimps, prostitutes, gamblers, politicians, and philosophers. Although she was often accused of unbounded lust, she discreetly concealed the names of her lovers. Only one, Luigi I, Prince of Monaco, gave King Charles the pangs of jealousy.

After the death of King Charles II, the duchess fell upon hard times. She gambled wildly and lost a great deal of money. She took to drinking heavily and went deeply into debt, but she was still beautiful and still surrounded by admirers. She died June 11, 1699, in a rented house in Paradise Row, Chelsea.

Memoires d'Hortense et de Marie Mancini, 1929; St. Evremonde, *Oeuvres*, V, 316–20; Delpech, *Portsmouth*, pp. 90–99; Fea, *Some Beauties*, pp. 1–26; C. H. Hartman, *The Vagabond Duchess*, 1926.

MIDDLETON, JANE

By his second wife, Jane, widow of John Worfield of All Hallows, Barking, Sir John Needham of Denbyshire had six daughters. The oldest, Jane, was born in January, 1646; the third, Eleanor, was born in July, 1650. For some years Eleanor was mistress to James, Duke of Monmouth, to whom she bore four children, all surnamed Crofts. After Monmouth's death in 1685, Eleanor married John South, a Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland.

On June 18, 1660, Jane Needham married Charles Middleton Esq. (1635–91) of Morton Hall, Denbigh., sixth son of Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle. Jane's daughter Jane ("Jenny") was baptized December 21, 1661. Mrs. Middleton, a great beauty and a skilled painter, was very popular at the Court of Charles II, pursued by

Grammont, Viscount Ranelagh, Ralph Montague, Lawrence Hyde, Edmund Waller, and the Duke of York. Of these only Montague and York seem to have had some measure of success. In 1665 Mrs. Middleton was spoken of as a rival to Lady Castlemaine for the King's bed, and in "Colin. 1679" (see above), she was listed among the candidates for the Duchess of Portsmouth's place as chief mistress.

On October 3, Pepys, who greatly admired Mrs. Middleton, was told that she was noted "for carrying about her body a continued sour smell that is very offensive"; hence, perhaps, the frequent libelous allusions to "the fair one's funky hose." In her old age Mrs. Middleton was a close associate of the Duchess of Mazarin and her circle. She died in 1692.

As for her daughter, on June 4, 1678, Savile wrote to Lord Rochester, "My Lady Harvey [Ralph Montague's sister] who always loves one civill plot more, is working body and soul to bring Mrs. Jenny Middleton into play" as a new mistress for the King (*Rochester-Savile Letters*, p. 56). The rumor was confirmed by Ambassador Barillon, who wrote on July 25, 1678, that Mesdames Harvey and Middleton were trying to get the King "to honor Mrs. Middleton's daughter with his attentions" (Forneron, *Louise de Keroualle*, 1887, p. 202). Evidently their schemes failed. Jenny Middleton married a Mr. May, perhaps Richard May, a naval officer. Jenny died in 1740.

DNB; G. S. Steinman, *A Memoir of Mrs. Myddleton*, 1864; Fea, *Some Beauties*; Delpech, *Portsmouth*.

MORDAUNT, CHARLES, VISCOUNT

Charles Mordaunt (c.1658–1735) was the son of John, Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon, and Elizabeth Cary, daughter of Thomas, first Earl of Monmouth. Charles was semieducated at Westminster School and Christ Church, Cambridge; he succeeded as second Viscount on June 5, 1675. Taking to the sea "Romantic Mordaunt" spent two years as a volunteer in wars against the Algerines, 1675–77. In June, 1680, he accompanied Lords Mulgrave and Plymouth on an expedition for the relief of Tangier, which was not relieved. In 1681 Mordaunt was captain of *The Loyal Mordaunt*, a war ship built at his own expense. In later years Mordaunt held various commissions in the army, rising to the rank of general.

Mordaunt was an eccentric courtier, a would-be wit, and a poetaster. He is frequently named as a rhymer and writer of libels. Like all gentlemen of the time, he was always ready for a duel. On February 28, 1680, he and Lord Cavendish were seconds to the two principals, Lord Plymouth and Sir George Hewitt. Mordaunt was "hurt in the shoulder" (*Hatton Correspondence*, I, 222). On August 1, 1681, he fought "with sword and pistol" against James Douglas, Lord Arran. Both suffered sword wounds, "Lord Arran through the thigh, the other through the arm and into the body" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S., VI, 117).

A staunch Whig, Mordaunt became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King William in 1689. On April 9, 1689, he was created Earl of Monmouth and soon became First Commissioner of the Treasury. In 1690 he was one of the peers appointed as advisers to Queen Mary while King William was abroad. Queen Mary wrote to her husband that "Lord Monmouth is mad, and his wife [Carey] who is madder, governs him" (Marjorie Bowen, *The Third Mary Stuart*, 1929, p. 171). On the death of his uncle Henry, June 19, 1697, Monmouth became Earl of Peterborough. In 1705 he was in command of the allied forces in Spain, and on August 3, 1713, he became a Knight of the Garter.

Mordaunt married (1) Carey Fraizer, a Maid of Honor to Queen Catherine and daughter of the King's physician, Sir Alexander Frazier. She seems to have been his mistress first, and the marriage was secret. In December, 1681, Mordaunt "brought out as well as owned his lady" (*Rutland MS*, II, 62). By his first wife he had two sons. Mordaunt married (2), after keeping her for several years, a celebrated singer, Anastasia Robinson. Mordaunt (Peterborough) died October 25, 1735.

Bishop Burnet described Mordaunt as "a man of much heat, many notions, and full of discourse; he was brave and generous, but had not true judgement [and less virtue], his thoughts were crude and indigested, and his secrets were soon known. [He was both vain, passionate, and inconstant]" (*Own Time*, III, 262). Macky described him as possessed of "natural giddiness" and a "fiery, inconstant temper . . . He affects popularity, and loves to preach in Coffee Houses and public places; is an open enemy to Revealed Religion; brave in his person, hath a good estate; does not seem Expensive, yet always in debt, and very poor. A well shaped thin man, with a very brisk look" (*Memoirs*, pp. 65-66).

In contemporary satires there are references to the fact that Mordaunt lisped. For example, see above, "An Answer to the Satire on the Court Ladies," 1680,

There's lisping Mordaunt and Beau Henningham,
Much to be famed for two sharp writing men,

and in "Scandal Satyred," c. 1682 (Harleian MS. 6913, p. 209),

Let Mordaunt please dull Monmouth and his rout,
Lisp by the hour while they all crowd about.

Complete Peerage; Frank S. Russell, *The Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth*, 1887; Colin Ballard, *The Great Earl of Peterborough*, 1929; *DNB*.

MORLAND, SIR SAMUEL

Sir Samuel Morland, Bart. (1625–96) had been a clerk to Secretary Thurloe under Cromwell. In 1660 he was knighted at Breda for betraying Commonwealth secrets to the Royalists; later he was created a baronet. King Charles gave him a pension of £500 a year, which he sold for ready money.

Sir Samuel was famed as a mathematician and inventor. He invented the plunger pump, an ear trumpet, a perpetual calendar, a calculating machine, a naval gun carriage, the drum capstan, a device for opening letters without breaking the seals, and dozens of other gadgets. He wrote books on cryptography and compound interest. He served as an expert on ciphers for the Foreign Office, as the King's Master of Mechanics, and as a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. He was a feckless man, and money slipped like water through his fingers.

Sir Samuel was married four times. His first wife was Susanne, daughter of Daniel de Milleville, Baron of Boissy in Normandy. He married his second wife, Carola, daughter of Sir Roger Harsnett, on October 26, 1670; she died October 10, 1674. On November 16, 1676, he married a third wife, Anne, "handsome [Robert] Fielding's sister," without a penny of portion. "She is handsomer for a woman than he [Fielding] is for a man" (*Seventh Report*, p. 467B). Anne died on February 20, 1680, aged nineteen.

At last the connoisseur of beauty decided to marry for money. On February 1, 1687, Morland married one Mary Aylif, who had been represented to him as a fortune with £4,000 in cash and £500 a year in land. Quickly he learned that he had been abused; Mary turned out to be a coachman's daughter, penniless, sadly diseased, and a whore who some months earlier had given birth to a bastard. Later Morland learned that for six months before the marriage Mary had been kept by Sir Gilbert Cosins Gerard. Morland sued for a divorce in the ecclesiastical courts, and after a long battle won his case on July 16, 1688. Gerard, who had continued his relations with Mary after her marriage and had been named as co-respondent in the divorce suit, appealed fruitlessly against the verdict.

On October 25, 1696, Evelyn visited Morland at Hammersmith and found him "entirely blind" and fanatically religious. Morland died in abject poverty December 30, 1696.

DNB; Pepys, *Diary*; *Letters and Second Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. G. Howarth, 1933; Evelyn, *Diary*.

MULGRAVE, JOHN, EARL OF

John Sheffield (1648–1721), son of Edmund and Elizabeth (Cranfield), succeeded as third Earl of Mulgrave at the age of ten. In 1666 he was a volunteer with Prince Rupert in the Fleet. On June 13, 1667, he was commissioned captain of a troop of horse. In February, 1673, he became a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King Charles II. In the summer of 1673 he commanded a war ship, *The Royal Katherine*. In December he was commissioned colonel of the "Old Holland" regiment of foot. On April 23, 1674, probably by the influence of his then mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland, he was elected a Knight of the Garter.

A haughty, arrogant young man, Mulgrave made many enemies, and in his early years he was involved in a number of quarrels. In 1669 King Charles stopped a duel between Mulgrave and the Earl of Rochester. In July, 1670, the King, "having timely notice," prevented a duel between Mulgrave and Mr. Digby, second son to the Earl of Bristol (*Bulstrode*, I, 146). On October 30, 1671, a writer reported that "Lord Mulgrave has been wounded in a duel with Mr. Felton" (*Le Fleming MS*, p. 189). In June, 1675, Captain Percy Kirke accused Mulgrave of fathering his sister's stillborn child, fought with

him and "worsted and wounded him" (Marvell, *Letters*, ed. H. M. Margoliouth, 1927, II, 318).

In 1677 Mulgrave served briefly in the French army under Marshall Turenne. In 1679 he became Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire and Governor of Hull. In 1680 he commanded an expedition for the relief of Tangier. In October, 1682, he was forbidden the Court because he had tried to make love to Princess Anne. "Some believe his proceeding so far as to spoil her marrying to anyone else, and therefore the Town have given him the nickname of King John" (*Seventh Report*, p. 480A). He was also called, contemptuously, "Numps."

By 1684 Mulgrave was in favor again. A Tory by conviction but politically a time-server, he became a Privy Councillor, and on May 10, 1694, King William created him Marquis of Normanby. In March, 1703, Queen Anne created him Duke of Buckinghamshire.

On March 11, 1686, Mulgrave married a wealthy young widow, Ursula, Lady Conway. In Ratisbon, Sir George Etherege commented, "Numps is now in the stocks in earnest" (*Letters*, p. 28). Ursula died on August 13, 1697. Mulgrave's second wife (March 12, 1699) was Katherine, widow of the Earl of Gainsborough. His third wife (February 7, 1704) was Katherine (Darnley), natural daughter of James II by Katherine Sedley and divorced wife of the Earl of Anglesey. Mulgrave had many children, legitimate and illegitimate.

Mulgrave was a patron of poets, particularly of John Dryden. As a minor poet he was guilty of a number of weak lyrics and lampoons. He is best known for two long poems, *An Essay upon Satyr*, 1679 (at first attributed to Dryden) and *An Essay on Poetry*, 1682. His literary productions are embalmed in *The Works of John Sheffield*, etc., 2 vols., 1723. Macky described Mulgrave as "very proud, insolent, and covetous, and takes all advantages. In paying his debts unwilling; and is neither esteemed nor beloved. . . . He is of a middle Stature, of a Brown Complexion, with a sour, Lofty Look" (*Memoirs*, p. 20). Mulgrave died February 24, 1721.

DNB; *Complete Peerage*; V.de S. Pinto, *Rochester*, 1962; *Conduct of the Earl of Nottingham*, 1941, ed. W. A. Aiken; Wilson, *Court Wits*.

NORFOLK, SEVENTH DUKE AND DUCHESS OF

On August 7, 1677, Henry Howard (1655–1701), first son of Henry, Earl of Norwich (who inherited in December, 1677, as sixth Duke of Norfolk), married Mary Mordaunt (1659–1705), sole surviving daughter and heiress of Henry, Earl of Peterborough. Because the Howards were Roman Catholics and the Mordaunts were Protestants, “the wedding was perfectly private.” Afterward the young couple seemed to be “very fond” (*Hodgkin MS*, p.65). Until the death of the sixth Duke of Norfolk on January 11, 1684, Henry and his wife were known as Lord and Lady Arundel. On his father’s death, Lord Arundel became seventh Duke of Norfolk—premier duke of England—and Lord Marshall.

A few months after the marriage, Lord Arundel, a man of dissolute life, fond of fair hot wenches in flame-colored taffeta, returned to his old habits, and Lady Arundel, a pert, witty, if not beautiful young woman, and a Lady of the Queen’s Bedchamber, found a number of admirers, among them Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. Her relations with Shrewsbury brought her the open enmity of a rival, Lady Betty Felton (q.v.) and the slings and arrows of outraged Court poets.

In 1679, to keep his seat in the House of Lords, Lord Arundel turned Protestant and was rewarded with a number of appointments, including, on November 30, 1682, the office of Constable of Windsor Castle. At Windsor Castle, in the autumn of 1685, Arundel (now Norfolk) discovered an intrigue between his wife and John Germaine, a handsome Dutch adventurer and gambler (1654–1714), said to be a bastard brother of William, Prince of Orange. (Tradition has it that Germaine saved himself from the angry husband by jumping through a window into the Thames—a truly remarkable feat!) The duke took his wife to France and shut her up in a nunnery. After six month’s incarceration (during which she turned Roman Catholic), the duchess promised to behave and was allowed to return to England. Thenceforth the duke and the duchess lived separate lives, and the duchess managed to live incognito with her lover, Germaine.

In January, 1692, the duke brought to the House of Lords a bill of divorce *a vinculo*, with permission to remarry. The Lords rejected it because he had not previously sued in the ecclesiastical courts

for a divorce *a mensa et thoro*. In November, 1692, the duke sued Germaine for "committing adultery with the Duchess." The jury found for the duke "but gave only a hundred marks damage." Since Germaine was known to be wealthy, the small award (about £67) enraged the Lord Chief Justice, who told the jury that "he was sorry the world should know how low virtue and chastity were valued in England" (*Portland MS*, III, 508). The duke proceeded to bring a second divorce bill to the House of Lords, but the Lords rejected it for the same reason as before. Apparently the duchess was living almost openly with Germaine, who, in 1698, was created a baronet by King William.

In February, 1700, Norfolk's third bill of divorce *a vinculo* was presented, finally approved, and signed by the King on April 11. Unfortunately for Norfolk, who wanted to marry again and get an heir for his estates, his debaucheries caught up with him on April 4, 1701. In September, 1701, the ex-duchess, now merely Lady Mary Mordaunt, married her faithful lover and lived happily with him until her death on November 16, 1705.

State Trials, XII, cols. 833-948; M. A. Tierney, *History and Antiquities of the Castle and Town of Arundel*, 1834; H. K. S. Causton, *The Howard Papers*, 1862; *The Proceedings upon the Bill of Divorce, Between his Grace the Duke of Norfolk and the Lady Mary Mordaunt*, 1700.

NORTHUMBERLAND, GEORGE, DUKE OF

George Fitzroy (1665-1716), third natural son of King Charles II by the Duchess of Cleveland, was a tall, dark, handsome young man. He was created Earl of Northumberland on October 1, 1674, and Duke of Northumberland on April 6, 1683. On or about March 12, 1686, he married in haste beautiful but penniless Catherine Lucy, widow of Captain Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, Warwickshire. She was said to be "daughter to a poulterer near Fleet Bridge" (*Portland MS*, III, 395), but her father was a gentleman, Robert Wheatley, Esq., of Bracknell, Berks. Nevertheless she was no match for a half-royal duke. King James II, who had been trying to arrange a marriage for his nephew with a daughter of the Duke of Newcastle, was furious, and the Court was delightfully scandalized.

Evidently the young duke quickly came to his senses and was distressed by his action. His older brother, Henry, Duke of Grafton, seeing no legal remedy, suggested getting rid of the lady by the simplest means. On March 22, 1686, Northumberland took his bride for an airing in his coach, met Grafton at Chelsea, and the three boarded a barge for Gravesend, where they took ship for France. The two dukes returned on April 3, leaving the new duchess locked up in a nunnery.

Law and public opinion forced them to bring her back. On May 19, a yacht was sent for the duchess. She returned to England in June and took her proper place at Court. In Northumberland's otherwise harmless life, this episode alone kept the Court satirists happy for two or three years. Yet the marriage, although childless, seems to have been happy enough, in spite of many slanders against the duke and duchess.

Northumberland became a competent soldier and rarely meddled in politics. His first wife died on May 25, 1714, and on March 10, 1715, Northumberland married Mary, daughter of Henry Dutton, Esq. Macky described Northumberland as "a Man of Honor, nice in paying his Debts, and living well with his Neighbors in the country; does not much care for the Conversation of Men of Quality, or Business. Is a tall black man like his father the King" (*Memoirs*, p. 39).

Complete Peerage; *Downshire MS*, I, 135, 138, 140, 141, 146, 169; *Rutland MS*, II, 107, 110; *Ellis Correspondence*, I, 68.

OGLE, ELIZABETH, LADY

In November, 1679, at the age of twelve, Elizabeth Percy, daughter and heiress of Joscelyn, eleventh Earl of Northumberland, married Henry Cavendish, Lord Ogle, son of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle. Elizabeth was a pretty little redhead; Ogle was a puny, sickly youth, who conveniently died a year later, on November 1, 1680. The young widow, a great fortune, was besieged by suitors, among them the Duke of Somerset; George Fitzroy, Earl of Northumberland by a new creation; the Earl of Kingston; Count Charles Koningsmarck, a German soldier of fortune; Sir Edward Villiers; and Thomas Thynne of Longleat—"Tom of Ten Thousand" pounds a year.

Lady Ogle's father was dead, and her mother had remarried. Influenced by her grandmother, the Dowager Countess of Northumberland, and by Colonel and Mrs. Brett, at whose house in Richmond she saw Mr. Thynne almost daily, Lady Ogle finally agreed to marry Thynne. The marriage was performed in haste, but, at the bride's request to be allowed to complete her year of mourning, not consummated. Regretting the match, she fled to Holland on November 7, 1681, aided by Henry Sidney. Her friends tried to get the marriage annulled on the ground that Thynne had been previously contracted to one of the Duchess of York's Maids of Honor, Mrs. Trevor, who had given birth to a bastard in 1678, assigning its paternity to Thynne. Squire Thynne denied everything.

On February 12, 1682, Thynne was assassinated in his coach in Pall Mall by three of Count Koningsmarck's mercenary soldiers, Vratz, Boroski, and Sterne. Koningsmarck was tried and acquitted; his three followers were tried, convicted, and hanged. Lady Ogle's character did not escape calumny, and she was said "to have had great intimacy with the Count in Holland, before he came over hither" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S. VI, 315). The author of "Satire in its Own Colors. 1682" (*Harleian MS*. 7319, p.187) was brutally specific,

Ogle were a fine bitch
If she were not so rich,
For Coningsmark and lusty Harry,
Ere she was fifteen
Her bald tail-piece had seen,
And taught her a trick to miscarry.

Lady Ogle returned to England March 15, 1682, and on May 30 she married "the Proud Duke," Charles Seymour, fifth Duke of Somerset (1662-1748). The rumors that Lady Ogle had somehow connived at Thynne's murder persisted for years. In 1711 Dean Swift incorporated them in his "The W--ds-r Prophecy," in which he called the red-haired duchess "Carrots,"

And dear England, if ought I understand,
Beware of Carrots from Northumberland.
Carrots sown Thyn a deep root may get,
If so be they are in Somerset;

Their Conyns mark thou, for I have been told
They assassine when young and poison when old.

The duchess was then Mistress of the Robes to Queen Anne, and she made sure that Swift never became a bishop (Carl Van Doren, *Swift*, 1930, p. 114).

The Duchess of Somerset gave her husband thirteen children, of whom only one son and three daughters lived to maturity. The duchess died in 1722, aged fifty-three.

Complete Peerage; Allen Fea, *Some Beauties*; *Hatton Correspondence*, II, 9; "Ogle's History," *The Roxburghe Ballads*, V, 97.

PORTER, GEORGE, SENIOR AND JUNIOR

George Porter (1622–1683), eldest son of Endymion Porter by Olivia Botlier, had three sons and five daughters by his wife Diana, daughter of George Goring, first Earl of Norwich. Porter was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Queen Henrietta Maria and later a Groom of the Bedchamber to King Charles II, but he took very lightly his duties as a courtier and as Surveyor of the Customs of the Port of London. He was hot-tempered, but much in demand as a jolly companion.

About 1673 Porter left his wife, took an actress, Jane Long, as his permanent mistress, and retired to Berkshire, making occasional visits to London. According to Baronne D'Aulnoy (*Memoirs*, p. 243) one such visit was made to break up a liaison between his daughter Olive and William, Lord Cavendish. Fearing Porter's temper, Lord Cavendish's father bought off the lady with "a handsome pension." On another occasion (November 17, 1677) Henry Savile reported that Porter was in London, and that "the rogue is grown so ravenous that he surfeits of everything he sees but Mrs. Long and his son Nobbs, which he can never have enough on" (*Rochester-Savile Letters*, p. 52). "Nobbs" was no doubt George Porter, Junior, who since 1663 had been a Gentleman Usher of the Privy Chamber to Queen Catherine. George Porter, Senior, died December 11, 1683.

"Nobbs" was wild and troublesome. One night in November, 1679, he, with Harry Wharton and Jack Howe, broke down the balls on the gate posts of Mrs. Willis's bawdy house, "and called her all to

naught" (*Seventh Report*, p. 477B). In February, 1680, young Porter, with Sir Scroope Howe, Henry Wharton and others, invaded one of the playhouses, calling Lord Sunderland and the Duchess of Portsmouth names, acclaiming the Duke of Monmouth, and "throwing candles and links" (Cartwright, *Sacharissa*, p. 224). Porter and another rioter were challenged by Colonel Ogleshorpe, "but the challenge was refused" (Newdigate Newsletter, February 17, 1680).

Although the Court satirists accused young Porter ("buggered Porter") of unnatural practices, he married Mary, daughter of John Mawson, and fathered several children. He died c. 1687.

DNB; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1685-89, pp. 1073, 1432; "Satyr," c. 1679, Add. MS. 34,362, f. 116v; Dorothea Townshend, *Life and Letters of Endymion Porter*, 1897; Gervase Huxley, *Endymion Porter*, 1959.

PORTSMOUTH, LOUISE, DUCHESS OF

Louise de Penancoët de Keroualle was born in September, 1649, first daughter of a poor but proud Breton nobleman, Guillaume de Penancoët, Comte de Keroualle. In 1668 she became a Maid of Honor to Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, sister to King Charles II. Malicious chroniclers accused her of affairs with the old Duke of Beaufort, Chief Admiral of France, and with young Comte de Sault, son of the Duke de Lesdiguières.

In May, 1670, King Charles saw Louise in his sister's train at Dover and promptly fell in love with her. When Henrietta set out for France, the King asked her to send him Louise. Two weeks later Henrietta died suddenly. King Charles offered Louise a post as Maid of Honor to Queen Catherine, and in October, 1670, the pretty little Breton arrived in London.

For a full year Louise was truly a Maid of Honor, in spite of constant temptation and the persuasions of the French Ambassador. At last, in October, 1671, she became the King's mistress after a mock marriage at Lord Arlington's country estate, Euston. According to Sir Francis Fane, the morning after the mock marriage Louise asked the King to make Arlington Lord Treasurer. The King replied,

"Madam, you should have asked me that yesterday" (MS Common-place Book, Stratford Library).

Louise de Keroualle ("Madam Carwell" to the mob) quickly became the reigning royal mistress. On July 25, 1673, she was created Baroness Petersfield, Countess of Farnham, and Duchess of Portsmouth, with apartments in Whitehall and an income of some £10,000 a year. She succeeded in marrying her younger sister, Henrietta, to the rich but maniacal Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and on July 15, 1675, she succeeded in getting her son Charles (born July 29, 1672) acknowledged by the King and created Duke of Richmond.

However, Louise's lot was not easy. She was generally hated as a Roman Catholic, a French woman, and a French agent, commissioned to keep King Charles true to the interests of France. The Court satirists found her a vulnerable target, and her rivals, Nell Gwyn, and the Duchesses of Cleveland and Mazarin, united against her. She was often ill, once (in 1674) of venereal disease given her by promiscuous King Charles.

In 1679, at the height of the Popish Plot terror, Louise was so frightened that she seriously considered fleeing to France. Deciding to weather the storm, she made peace with the Whig faction, hoping that her son might be named as the King's successor. In March, 1682, she made a visit to France and was royally received. Back in England in July, she reigned alone over the King's heart and mind. She had only one moment of danger: in 1683 she foolishly listened to the ardent wooing of a handsome young libertine, Philippe de Vendôme, Grand Prior of France, and King Charles was forced to banish the besotted nobleman. In January, 1684, King Louis XIV created Louise Duchess of Aubigny.

After the death of King Charles on February 6, 1685, the duchess returned to France, where for a while she lived royally on the wealth she had saved from the gifts of two kings. Little by little her income dwindled, and in her later years she was deeply in debt. She died on November 14, 1734, at the great age of eighty-five.

Complete Peerage; The Life of . . . Francelia, Late D---ss of P-----h, 1734; H. Forneron, Louise Keroualle, Duchess of Portsmouth, 1887; Fea, Some Beauties; Delpech, Portsmouth.

PULTENEY (POULTNEY), JOHN

Sir William Pulteney of Miskerton, Leics. (d. August, 1691), represented Westminster in several Parliaments and in 1690 was a Commissioner of the Privy Seal. His wife was a noted gamester. January 1, 1685, "Basset still keeps in credit at her grace of Portsmouth, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lady Poultney, and Mrs. Morine" (*Rutland MS*, II, 85). The Pulteneys had two sons and a daughter.

William Pulteney, the eldest, was commissioned a captain in the Royal Regiment of Dragoons on June 11, 1679. Twice married, his first wife was Mary, daughter of one Floyd, Esq.; his second was Arabella, third daughter of George, Earl of Berkeley. An inoffensive man, William died in 1715.

In contemporary satires, John, the second son, was often attacked for cowardice. In "To Mr. Julian," c. 1679 (*POAS*, 1705, p. 421) a satirist linked Pulteney with Sir Carr Scroope,

But for thy profit, Julian, have a care
Of prying Poultney and of bully Carr,
In them there's danger, for the one does write
With the same prowess the other used to fight.

Apparently the charge was based on the fact that John was with the Dutch army routed at the siege of St. Omers, April, 1676. "An Ironical Satire," 1680 (*POAS*, Yale, II, 203), lists a number of "mighty knights,"

Among all these 'twere not amiss to name
Poultney to whom St. Omers' siege gave fame.

It seems that Pulteney was considered merely one of the Court hangers-on, a rather worthless young fop. The author of "Satyr," c. 1679 (Add. MS. 34,362, f. 116v), called him "Pimp-Prig Poultney," and accused him of being one of the Duchess of Cleveland's numerous stallions, concluding,

He's famed for cowardice as his mother's for cheating,
But she has some excuse: it is for eating.
Were she as 'fraid of cards as he's of swords and guns,
The spark might starve, for all his pantaloons.

Some time before 1682, John married (in France) Lucy Colville of Northamptonshire. The marriage seems to have caused a duel between Pulteney and a rival, one Mr. Howard. Pulteney killed Howard; thereafter no one accused him of cowardice.

John became a useful public servant, first as secretary to Lord Shrewsbury, Secretary of State, in 1689, and after in various other secretarial positions. He became a Commissioner of Trade in 1707, and a Commissioner of Customs in 1714. Like his fellows, a poetaster, he is listed as the author of "Hermione to Orestes" in Dryden's *Ovid's Epistles*, 1680. He died in 1726.

On November 10, 1674, Anne Pulteney, Sir William's daughter, married, as his second wife, Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Southampton.

Dalton I, 255; *Le Fleming MS*, p. 136; *Seventh Report*, 497B; Luttrell I, 205, 579; III, 154, 397; *Rutland MS*, II, 85, 157.

RANELAGH, RICHARD, EARL OF

At the age of twelve Richard Jones (1641–1712) became a pupil of the great Puritan poet, John Milton, from whom he learned neither poetics nor virtue. After some time spent at Oxford and in foreign travel, Jones inherited as third Viscount Ranelagh, January 7, 1670, and on December 11, 1677, he was created Earl of Ranelagh in the peerage of Ireland.

Ranelagh was successively a member of the Irish Parliament from Roscommon (1661–66), Governor of Roscommon Castle (1661), Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer (1668–74), a Gentleman of the Bedchamber (1679), M.P. for Plymouth (1685–1702), and Paymaster of the Army (1685–1702). While Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, he headed a company which "farmed" the Irish revenues, and by trickery, double dealing, and double taxation he richly lined his own pockets. Finally called to account, he was short by some £76,000, which the easy-going King forgave him. As Paymaster he continued his sharp practices until 1702, when he was convicted of misappropriating £72,000, dismissed, and expelled from the House of Commons.

Ranelagh married (1), Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Willoughby of Parham, by whom he had three daughters: Katherine, who became the King's mistress in 1679 and died unmarried; Elizabeth, who married on June 12, 1684 (as his second wife) John Fitzgerald, Earl

of Kildare; and Frances, who married on April 23, 1698 (as his second wife), Thomas, Lord Coningsby of Clanbrassil. The first Lady Ranelagh died August 3, 1695, and on January 9, 1696, Ranelagh married Margaret, Dowager Baroness Stawell.

Ranelagh's private life was notoriously wicked. On December 28, 1677, Lord Conway wrote of Edward Seymour, Speaker of the House of Commons, "Mr. Speaker's lady is a most virtuous person, but her husband is worse for women than my Lord Ranelagh. If she [Conway's niece] were in either of those families, the world would judge I might better have ventured her in a bawdy house" (Marjorie Nicolson, *The Conway Letters*, 1930, p. 440). In 1679, when Ranelagh went to Ireland to defend his revenue accounts, he had his current mistress, one "Cocky," brought over to him, to the distress of his family. On January 20, 1680, a friend wrote drily, "Lord Ranelagh and his miss make much discourse in Ireland" (*CSPD*, 1679-80, pp. 272, 375, 417).

Ranelagh was a witty, clever, unscrupulous rascal; he spent all his peculations in luxurious living and died poor. According to Thomas Carte, Ranelagh "was a man of good parts, great wit, and very little religion; had a head turned for projects, and was formed for intrigue, artful, insinuating, and designing, craving and greedy for money, yet at the same time profuse and lavish" (*Ormonde*, IV, 501).

DNB; *Complete Peerage*; Lady Burghclere, James, *First Duke of Ormonde*, 1912; Carte, *Ormonde*; W. R. Parker, *Milton*, 1968, I, 476.

RICHMOND, DUCHESSES OF

From 1667 to 1685 there were two Duchesses of Richmond at the Court of Charles II. The older duchess, Mary (1622-85), daughter of George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, was married on January 8, 1634, at the age of twelve, to seventeen-year-old Charles, Lord Herbert. The next year Herbert died in Italy of smallpox. On August 3, 1637, Mary was married to James Stuart, first Duke of Richmond, who died in 1655, leaving Mary with a son, Esmé, who died in 1660, and a daughter, Mary, who married Richard Butler, Earl of Arran, and died without issue in 1668. In November, 1664, the duchess took

a third husband, Colonel Thomas Howard, fourth son of Sir William Howard and brother of Charles, first Earl of Carlisle. A contemporary noted on November 26, "Northern Tom Howard is married to ye Duchess of Richmond, and they say [they] are the fondest couple that can be" (*Hatton Correspondence*, I, 42). Of course the duchess retained her title. Howard died in 1678, the duchess in 1685. According to Robert Harley, "The old Duchess of Richmond died a Roman Catholic" (*Portland MS*, III, 391).

The younger duchess, sometimes called "the Court Lady Richmond," was Frances Teresa (1647–1702), eldest daughter of the Honorable Walter Stuart, third son of Lord Blantyre of Scotland. A Roman Catholic, she was educated at the Court of France and brought to England in 1662 to be one of Queen Catherine's Maids of Honor. She was a great beauty and Rotier's model for Britannia on the new coins. Hotly pursued by King Charles, she resisted all his advances and seems to have retained her virginity. On March 30, 1667, she married privately Charles Stuart, third Duke of Richmond (a cousin of Esmé, the second duke), 1640–72. King Charles, who had marked the beauty for his seraglio, was hurt and angry. The Duke of Richmond was sent as Ambassador to Denmark, where he died on December 12, 1672.

In March, 1668, smallpox marred the duchess's beauty and left her with one eye blemished. In July the King appointed her a Lady of the Queen's Bedchamber, a post she seems to have held until 1689. In spite of Jack Howe's boasts and the allegations of incredulous libelers, she lived in the odor of chastity. She never remarried; she died October 15, 1702.

Complete Peerage; Fea, *Some Beauties*; Winifred, Lady Burghclere, *George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*, 1903; Cyril Hughes Hartmann, *La Belle Stuart*, 1924.

SARFIELD, PATRICK

Patrick Sarsfield, a bellicose soldier noted for his escapades, was the second son of Patrick Sarsfield of Lucan, c. Dublin. His older brother, William, was the first husband of Mary, daughter of Lucy Walter and half-sister to the Duke of Monmouth (see *Fanshaw*).

Patrick was educated at a French military academy, served a term in the French army, returned to England, and in 1678 was captain in a regiment of footguards. He was a very tall young man, impulsive, headstrong, and proud. On September 9, 1681, Luttrell wrote, "There [has] been a tall Irishman to be seen in Bartholomew Fair, and the Lord Grey [of Werke] being to see him, was pleas'd to say he would make a swinging evidence; on which one capt. Sarsfield, an Irishman, sent his lordship a challenge, taking it as an affront on his countrymen." Grey reported the challenge, and Sarsfield "was taken into custody, but hath since made his escape out of the messenger's hands" (I, 126, 127).

On December 6, 1681, Luttrell reported a duel "between the lord Newburgh and the lord Kinsale, as principals (two striplings under age), and Mr. Kirke and capt. Sarsfield as seconds: the principals had no hurt, but capt. Sarsfield was run through the body near the shoulder, very dangerously" (I, 150). Sarsfield had no luck in duels. On April 13, 1682, it was reported that "Last night Mr. Bridges & Capt. Sarsfield quarreled & the last was run through 'tis feared mortally" (Newdigate Newsletter). But Sarsfield bore a charmed life.

He had barely recovered from his wound when, in May, 1682, he joined Captain Francis Clifford and some other wild blades in abducting Mrs. Anne Siderfin, a wealthy young widow, with whose fortune Clifford was in love. They siezed the lady on Hounslow Heath, galloped off with her to the nearest landing, placed her in "an open shallop . . . and carried her to Calais." She refused to marry Clifford and managed to get in touch with the French authorities. Clifford and his cronies escaped to England. In due time Mrs. Siderfin returned and prosecuted the kidnappers. In February, 1683, Clifford was fined £1,000 and his accomplices £500 each. "She is to sue them again for her own damages" (*Seventh Report*, pp. 328A, 353A, 362A).

Undaunted, on March 24, 1683, Sarsfield tried his hand at abduction again. According to Francis Gwyn, "Last Saturday Capt. Sarsfield, the tall Irishman, ran away with Lady [Elizabeth] Herbert, widow to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who was Loftus's wife's [half] sister. [He] carried her that night to [Sir John] Parsons' house at Enfield Chace, where, on her refusing marriage and promising not to prosecute him, he brought her back on Sunday. She has taken out a warrant from the Lord Chief Justice on him, but, notwithstanding,

the Town says it will be a marriage and that all this is an artifice. Wagers are laid on it, and it appears there was a great familiarity between them" (*CSPD*, 1683, p. 136).

Apparently Sarsfield was besotted. When he learned that Lady Herbert had taken out a warrant against him, he "went to her lodging and either dissembling love or frenzy took forth a pen knife and opening his breast slashed his skin, and then stabbed himself therewith, at which the blood gushed out extremely before her presence and he was carried away, but is not yet dead. But 'tis thought he will scarce recover, he refusing to have his wounds dressed" (Lady Newdegate-Newdigate, *Cavalier and Puritan*, 1901, p. 183).

Sarsfield's wounds were only superficial, and he recovered quickly. Earlier he had left with Sir John Parsons Lady Herbert's written promise not to prosecute him. Now he asked for its return, and Parsons, sure that he would give it to Lady Herbert, refused. The two friends quarreled, and on April 29 they fought a duel behind Montague House. Both were run through the lungs; incredibly both survived.

Sarsfield, a brave soldier, distinguished himself at the time of Monmouth's Rebellion. In 1689 he followed King James II to France, and became successively colonel and brigadier when the deposed monarch invaded Ireland. After the decisive Battle of the Boyne, he is reported to have said to some English officers, "Change kings with us, and we will willingly try our luck with you again" (Macaulay, VI, 217). When hostilities ended, Sarsfield returned to France and took service in the French Army. In January, 1691, King James created him Earl of Lucan. He was killed at the head of a French division at the Battle of Landen in Flanders, July 29, 1693.

On or about January 9, 1690, Sarsfield married Honora, second daughter of William de Burgh, Earl of Clanrickard, who survived him.

DNB; Price, *Cold Caleb*; Macaulay, *History*.

SCARSDALE, ROBERT, EARL OF

Robert Leke, third Earl of Scarsdale (1654–1708), styled Lord Deincourt until January 27, 1681, seems to have been completely

worthless. Yet he was captain of the Band of Gentleman Pensioners, 1677-83, a captain in Lord Gerard's Regiment of Horse, 1677-78, Governor of Hull, 1682, Lord Lieutenant of Derbyshire until 1688, and Groom of the Stole to Prince George of Denmark until 1688. On or about February 11, 1672, he abducted and married a very pretty girl, Mary, daughter of Sir John Lewis of York. Mary achieved notoriety as "the famous Scarsdale," and was accused of numerous affairs, notably one with Lord Lumley. She died February 17, 1684.

The Court satirists described Scarsdale as a "cully," a "cuckold," and "Scarsdale the stinking," and accused him of having a "pestilential breath." Yet he seems to have been very successful with women. More than a year after his wife's death, on May 30, 1685, we learn that "The great discourse of the Town besides Parliament affairs is of Lord Thomond's daughter, one of our great beauties, [who] last Sunday fell raving mad and so continues for love of Lord Scarsdale, who refuses to marry her, this is said to be the occasion" (*Portland MS*, III, 384). A year or two later, a libeler commented (*POAS*, Yale, IV, 200),

Scarsdale, though loathed, still the fair sex adores,
And has a regiment of horse and whores.

Yet according to Prince George, Scarsdale was "so pitiful a wretch" that he would have no more to do with him (*Clarendon State Papers*, II, 150).

In his old age, Scarsdale became infatuated with Anne Bracegirdle, "the Virgin Actress," famous for her supposed chastity. Whether or no she accepted him as a lover is a moot question, but in his will Scarsdale left her £1,000. He died at his house in Duke Street January 4, 1708.

According to Macky, Scarsdale "was always a man of pleasure more than business. No man loves the company of ladies more than he, or says less, when he is in it, yet is successful in his intrigues; a great sportsman, and hath neither genius nor taste for anything else; is of a middle stature, of a sanguine complexion, very fat" (*Memoirs*, p. 81).

Complete Peerage; John C. Hodges, *William Congreve*, 1941, pp. 88-89.

SHEPHERD (SHEPARD, SHEPPARD), FLEETWOOD

Sir Fleetwood Shepherd was born January 6, 1634, the second son of William Shepherd of Great Rowright by Mary, daughter of Sir Fleetwood Dormer. In 1653 he received his B.A. at Christ Church, Oxford (M.A. in June, 1657), and in 1655 was at Gray's Inn in London. About 1673 he was a companion and steward of Charles Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (later Earl of Dorset). About 1676 he was also tutor to Nell Gwyn's son, Lord Beauclerc.

According to Anthony Wood, Shepherd was "a debauchee and atheist, a grand companion of Buckhurst, Sedley, Buckingham, Rochester" and other wits, who "enlivened the suppers of Charles II in the private apartments of his favorite ladies" (*Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 627). In 1690 Shepherd became a Gentleman Usher to King William, and on April 25, 1694, he was knighted and appointed Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. He took advantage of his connection with Lord Dorset (now Lord Chamberlain) to engage in the selling of places, to the scandal of the Court.

On August 29, 1698, James Vernon wrote, "Sir Fleetwood Sheppard died this morning at Copt Hall, having been for some time bed-ridden. He left no will, and they say there was no occasion for it. If he has made even with the world, it is all that is to be expected" (*Letters, Reign of William III*, II, 159). Shepherd never married.

A man of jests and fancies, Shepherd wrote, among other squibs, "The Countess of Dorset's Petition to the late Queen Mary for Chocolate," *POAS*, 1698, Part III, 233; "Upon an Old Affected Court Lady," and "The Calendar Reformed," Buckingham's *Works*, 1704, I, 82, 217; "A Prophecy," "An Epitaph on the D. of G[raffton]," and "The Petition of Tom Brown," in *POAS*, 1705, 266, 272, and 373.

SHREWSBURY, COUNTESS OF AND DUKE OF

On January 10, 1659, Francis Talbot, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury (aged 36), married, as his second wife, Anna-Maria Brudenell (aged 17), daughter of Robert Brudenell, who became second Earl of Cardigan. After the Restoration Lord Shrewsbury was appointed Housekeeper of Hampton Court Palace. He took his beautiful young wife to Court, where she was fair game for such libertines as Henry Jermyn

and "Northern Tom" Howard, who fought a duel over her. Jermyn's second, Giles Rawlins, was killed. In 1666 she became mistress to George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham.

On January 16, 1668, in a six-man encounter on "the field of honor," Lieutenant William Jenkins lost his life and Bucks gave Lord Shrewsbury a wound which resulted in his death two months later. Thereafter Buckingham and Anna-Maria lived openly together, and in February, 1671, Anna-Maria bore the duke a son who died within a few days and was buried in Westminster Abbey as Earl of Coventry, a title in the duke's family. This was too much even for the Court of libertines. On January 31, 1674, the House of Lords ordered Buckingham and his mistress to cease cohabiting, and made them give bonds of £10,000 apiece to ensure obedience.

Lady Shrewsbury fled to France. She returned to England two years later, and in 1677 married George Rodney Bridges, Esq., for whom she bought a post as Groom to the King's Bedchamber. In July, 1678, she bore Bridges a son, also George. The countess died on April 20, 1702; Bridges died September 9, 1713.

Charles Talbot, twelfth Earl of Shrewsbury (1660-1718), Anna-Maria's first son by her first husband, was brought up in the Catholic faith in France and came to England in April, 1678. A handsome young man in spite of the loss of an eye (c. 1680), he was successful as a lover (although reputedly bisexual), and seems to have been a bone of contention between Lady Betty Felton (q.v.) and Mary, Countess of Arundel. In 1681 he became a Protestant and entered politics, holding many important posts under William and Mary and Queen Anne. On April 30, 1694, he was created Duke of Shrewsbury. On September 9, 1705, he married an Italian widow, Adelaide, daughter of the Marquis Paleotti of Bologna. Shrewsbury died February 1, 1718.

John Talbot (1665-86), Anna-Maria's second son, a libertine with a scandalous reputation, was killed by Henry, Duke of Grafton, in a duel on February 2, 1686. By a macabre coincidence, he had recently danced in a shroud at a ball given by the Earl of Devonshire.

John Macky described the Duke of Shrewsbury as "A great man, attended with a sweetness of behavior and easiness of conversation which charms all who come near him. . . . And although but one eye, yet he has a very charming countenance, and is the most generally

beloved by the ladies of any gentleman in his time" (*Memoirs*, p. 15).

Complete Peerage; J. H. Wilson, *A Rake and His Times*, 1954; *Rutland MS*, II, 50; *Portland MS*, III, 394, Cartwright, *Sacharissa*, p. 225.

SKIPWITH, SIR THOMAS

Thomas Skipwith ("little Tom") of Metheringham (c.1652–1710) succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father, Sir Thomas, June 2, 1694. A would-be wit, his only qualification for distinction was an income of £2,000 a year. About 1685 he married Margaret, daughter of George Brydges, sixth Viscount Chandos, and widow of William Brownlow of Snarford, Lincs. His wife died January 1, 1731, aged 94; she was some fifteen years older than her husband.

Skipwith was a little man, weak, vain, and boastful. He became important in theatre annals in 1693 when he invested heavily in the United Company of players at the Theatre Royal. For ten years he and Christopher Rich controlled the company, and Skipwith improved neither his reputation nor his finances. When, in 1695, a group of the best actors, headed by Thomas Betterton, sought a license to open a new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields, the patentees, apparently led by Skipwith, petitioned vainly against the rebels. No doubt the following verses (MS. Rawl. Poet. 159, f. 135) refer to the struggle. The MS is folded to letter size and marked on the back "Mrs. Bracegirdle's Petition to Sr Robert Howard. 1695."

To the Right Honble Sr Robt Howard

The humble Petition of Ann Bracegirdle.
 Rinaldo-like, leave your Armida's charms,
 And in our just defense resume your arms;
 The dreadful Skipwith would again enslave us;
 You who created, sir, can only save us.
 Draw then your conquering sword in the defense
 Of wit, youth, beauty, and my innocence,
 And your petitioner shall ever pray.

In 1707 Skipwith gave his unproductive shares to Colonel Henry Brett, husband of the former Lady Brandon Gerard (q.v.). Two years later, when the two companies were reunited and prospering, Skipwith sued for the return of his shares, and Brett quietly returned them.

Skipwith's sister, Susannah, married April 30, 1673, Sir John Williams, Bart., of Minster Court, Kent. She was widowed in 1680. From 1681 on she seems to have lived at No. 13, St. James's Square, and to have acted as a purchasing agent for ladies of the Court and as a part-time doxy. She died September 26, 1689.

Complete Baronetage; An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, ed. R. W. Lowe, 2 vols., 1889; A. I. Dasent, *The History of St. James's Square*, 1895; Wilson, *Nell Gwyn*.

STAMFORD, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF

Sometime before April 13, 1675, Elizabeth (1657–87), oldest daughter of Sir Daniel Harvey by his wife Elizabeth (Montague), married Thomas Gray (1653–1720), who inherited from his grandfather as second Earl of Stamford on August 21, 1673. (From 1657 to 1675 Gray was styled Lord Gray of Groby). Soon after the wedding, Lady Russell wrote, "My Lord Stamford left his wife this morning at four o'clock and is gone to his uncle Gray" (*Letters*, p. 25). In spite of frequent separations, the countess had three children by her husband, all of whom died in infancy. Lady Stamford was apparently unstable; according to one account, she deliberately set fire to the Stamford mansion at Broadgate, and "the countess, with her infant daughter Diana narrowly escaped with their lives" (John Nichols, *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, 1795, III, 661–84). The countess was a famous beauty, tall, well-formed, and wanton. On September 5, 1682, when a rumor of the earl's death was current, Francis Gwyn wrote to Richard, Lord Arran, "The Earl of Stamford is lately dead; I need not acquaint your lordship how buxom [i.e., pliant] a widow he hath left behind him" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S., VI, 437).

The Earl of Stamford survived, was suspected of complicity in the Rye House Plot, and was in the Tower from July, 1685, to February, 1686. Lady Stamford died on September 7, 1687, and on March

12, 1691, Stamford married Mary, granddaughter of Sergeant Sir John Maynard.

DNB; Complete Peerage.

VILLIERS (GRANDISON)

George Villiers, fourth Viscount Grandison (I), the third of three brothers who inherited in succession, married (1) Lady Mary Leigh. His first wife died on July 7, 1671, and in November, 1674, he married (2) widowed Mary Starling ("about 40"), who died in June, 1700 (*London Marriage Licenses*). Lord Grandison (uncle to the Duchess of Cleveland) was Captain of the Band of Gentleman Pensioners from 1662 to 1689, when he was removed by King William. Grandison, who fathered four sons and two daughters, died December 16, 1699, aged about 75.

1. *Edward Villiers*, the first son, married in March, 1677, an heiress, Katherine, daughter of John Fitzgerald, and in accordance with the marriage settlement changed his name to Fitzgerald. However, at the Court of Charles II he was still known as Villiers. Edward died in 1693; his wife survived until December 26, 1725. Edward's son John became fifth Viscount Grandison.

2. *Francis Villiers* ("villain Frank") became Standard Bearer to the Band of Gentleman Pensioners in April, 1672, Lieutenant of the Band in 1679, and a Teller of the Exchequer in February, 1685. Ridiculed as an epicure and a fop, he never married. Dying February 4, 1694, he bequeathed his estate to his brother George and his sister Elizabeth.

3 & 4. *Charles* and *George Villiers* appear in a grant of the Clerkship of the Pipe to their older brother, Edward, for the lives of his two younger brothers in reversion, April 28, 1676. On September 20, 1679, a warrant was issued to swear in Charles Villiers as Clerk of the Cheque to the Yeomen of the Guard. On the death of their father, Charles and George became executors of his estate. Charles appears in various editions of *Angliae Notitia* as "third son of the Lord Viscount Grandison." Luttrell noted on February 14, 1693 that "Charles Villiers of the Guards is made colonel of Sir John Morgan's Regiment" (III, 35).

5. *Anne* ("Nancy") *Villiers* is frequently referred to in contemporary satires as Frank Villiers's sister. See above, "Advice in a Heroic Epistle to Mr. Fr. Villiers," 1683. On April 13, 1687, a license was issued to Edward Rumbold of Fulham, Middlesex, gent, aged 22, and Anne Villiers, of St. Margaret's, Westminster, aged 19, "daughter of the Rt. Hon. George Lord Viscount Grandison, who consents" (*Marriage Licenses Faculty Office*, p. 185)

6. *Elizabeth Villiers* appears only as Francis's legatee.

Complete Peerage; Luttrell, IV, 595; *CSPD*, 1672, p. 509; 1676–77, p. 91; 1679–80, p. 325; *CTB*, 1681–85, p. 1524; 1700–1701, p. 341; *Westminster Abbey Registers*, p. 233.

VILLIERS (JERSEY)

In the seventeenth century Villiers were as plentiful as blackberries, and their relationships as tangled as the vines. Colonel (later Sir) Edward Villiers, Knight Marshall, George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, and George Villiers, fourth Viscount Grandison, had a common grandfather, Sir George Villiers of Brooksby, Leicestershire. Colonel Villiers married Lady Frances Howard, daughter of Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk. In 1669 Lady Frances was governess to the Duke of York's children. She died at St. James's Palace on November 30, 1677; her husband in 1689. The Villiers had two sons and six daughters.

1. *Edward*, the first son (1656–1711), was knighted in 1676 and in 1677 went to Holland with William and Mary as the princess's Master of the Horse. In 1685, a gossip remarked, "Sir Edward Velors is Master of the Horse to the Princess, and he hath three sisters in Holland, and Bentyng and these Velores do govern all things" (*Seventh Report*, p. 535A). In December, 1681, Sir Edward married Barbara (aged 18), daughter of William Chiffinch, the infamous Closet Keeper to King Charles II. After "the Glorious Revolution" Sir Edward continued as Master of the Horse to Queen Mary and succeeded his father as Knight Marshall. He was created Viscount Villiers of Dartford, March 20, 1691, and Earl of Jersey, October 13, 1697. He was a Secretary of State in 1699 and Lord Chamberlain in 1700. In his younger days Edward was called scornfully "Scabby Ned."

2. *Henry*, the second son (1658–1707), was twice married and completely undistinguished.

3. *Elizabeth*, a Maid of Honor to Princess Mary, became mistress to William of Orange soon after his marriage to Mary. On November 25, 1695, she married a distant cousin, Lord George Hamilton (1666–1737), fifth son of William, Duke of Hamilton; on January 3, 1696, Lord George was created Earl of Orkney.

4. *Katherine* was a Maid of Honor to Queen Catherine. On May 20, 1680, a gossip reported that “Fine Mrs. Frazier, one of the Maids of Honor, is lately withdrawn from Court & Coll. Villiers daughter sworn in her place” (Newdigate Newsletter). The best dancers at a Court ball in November, 1684, were said to be “the Duchesses of Norfolk and Grafton, Lady Mary Tudor, Mrs. Fox, and Villers, the maid of honor” (*Portland MS*, III, 383). On July 20, 1685, Katherine married James Lewis du Puissar, second son of a French refugee, the Marquis de Thouars. After Puissar’s death in 1701, Katherine married a cousin, William Villiers. She died in 1709.

5. *Barbara* (1657–1708) married in 1677 John Berkeley (1650–1712), an officer in the Guards. Barbara became governess to Princess Anne’s children. On June 13, 1690, Berkeley succeeded as fourth Viscount Fitzharding.

6. *Anne*, a Maid of Honor to Princess Mary of Orange, married on February 1, 1678, at The Hague, Hans Willem Bentinck (1649–1709), who was created Earl of Portland on April 9, 1689. Anne died in Holland, November 20, 1680.

7. *Henrietta* married, as his second wife, on May 23, 1695, John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane (1662–1752). She died on February 1, 1720.

8. *Mary*, a Maid of Honor to Queen Mary, married, as his second wife, William O’Brien (1666–1719), known as Lord O’Brien until 1692 when he inherited as third Earl of Inchiquin. On April 12, 1691, Luttrell reported, “The lord Obryan has married Mrs. Villiers, one of the maids of honor to the queen; her majesty gave them their wedding supper at Kensington, where many of the nobility were present at a great ball. Her portion is £4,000 given by their majesties, and £1,000 in clothes and jewels” (II, 208). Mary died April 17, 1753.

Complete Peerage; Westminster Abbey Registers; The Diary of Dr. Edward Lake; Rutland MS, II, 37); *London Marriage Licenses*; Collins, *Peerage*.

WHARTON

Philip Wharton, fourth Baron Wharton (1613–96), was a Puritan and in the reign of Charles II an ardent Whig. By his first wife, Elizabeth Wandesford, he had a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Lord Willoughby of Eresby. By his second wife, Jane Goodwin, Wharton had four daughters and three sons who survived the perils of infancy: Thomas, Goodwin, and Henry. By his third wife, Anne Carr, Wharton had one son, William.

1. *Thomas* (1646–1715), “Honest Tom,” was also a Whig. In spite of his Puritan background he became one of the greatest rakes in England. A modern historian described him as “Bluff, blasphemous and randy, possessing the social confidence engendered by great wealth, high social position, a commanding charm for women, and the reputation of the first swordsman of his age—and yet with it all an organizer of genius, an effective speaker, and a powerful electioneer” (J. F. Kenyon, *Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland*, 1958, p. 270).

Thomas held a number of political posts under King William and Queen Anne. He succeeded as fifth Baron Wharton in February, 1696; on December 23, 1706, he became Earl of Wharton, and on February 5, 1715, Marquess of Wharton. He married (1) on September 16, 1673, Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Lee of Ditchley, a gentle poetess with £10,000 dowry and £2,500 a year, who died in 1685; and (2), in July, 1692, Lucy, daughter of Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburne—“her estate,” wrote Luttrell, “said to be 3 or 4,000 £ per annum” (II, 313). Lucy died February 5, 1716, leaving an eighteen-year-old son, Philip, who became notorious as the “infamous” Duke of Wharton. Perhaps Thomas should be better remembered as the author of a famous political song, *Lilliburlero*, 1688.

Macky commented on Thomas, “He is certainly the completest Gentleman in England, hath a very clear understanding and manly expressions, with abundance of wit. He is brave in his person, much of a libertine, of a middle stature, fair complexion” (*Memoirs*, p. 92).

2. *Goodwin Wharton*, a flighty, addle-brained man, was once arrested and sent to the Tower (October, 1688), “for viewing the fortifications at Portsmouth” (Luttrell, I, 468). He said he “went to Portsmouth only out of curiosity to see the new fortifications” (*Le Fleming*

MS, p. 214). Goodwin was something of a projector, a Member of Parliament for Grinstead, Sussex, and in 1697 one of the Lords of the Admiralty. He died in 1704.

3. *Henry Wharton*, first commissioned in the army in 1674, became a colonel and died at Dundalk, Ireland, October 28, 1689. He was a notorious duelist and wench.

4. In December, 1687, *William Wharton* was killed by Robert Wolseley in a duel, the result of a poetomachia between the two whiffling poets. In Dryden's *Miscellany*, II, 19, "A New Song of the Times, 1683" is attributed to William.

Thomas and *Henry* were notable bullies and fighters. The following items record some of their exploits.

November 24, 1679, "On Saturday night young Porter, Wharton [Henry?], and Jack Howe came and broke down Mrs. Willis's balls [on her gate posts] and called her all to naught, upon which she sent for the constable, but he was so civil as not to secure them" (*Seventh Report*, p. 477B).

February 28, 1680, "In a duel between Sir William Poultney's son and young Warcup, the first disarmed the second." Poultney's second, "a son of My Lord Wharton's, was hurt in the side by one Oglethorpe, not Theophilus" (*Hatton Correspondence*, I, 223). The Wharton was Henry, who was "so dangerously wounded that he is more like to die than to live" (*Ormonde MS*, N.S., V, 281).

January 24, 1682, "Mr. Henry Wharton is forbid ye Cot for running one of Madm Guin's coach horses thro wch drove too near him" (Newdigate Newsletter).

1682, "Our country talk is that my Lord Scarsdale, Ld. Spencer, Mr. Thos: Wharton and his brother Henry went to Ethrop & whipped the Earle of Carnarvan in his own house & didd some other Peccadillos in his Castle besides. . . . Capt. Bertie was sent for to relieve the Castle & I hear he did come accordingly, but the bravos were all gone first" (*Verney Memoirs*, II, 402).

July 8, 1682, "I hear two of Lord Wharton's sons played a grievous prank in Burford Church, how true I know not" (*Seventh Report*, p. 497B). This episode was remembered by Swift (*Examiner*, no. 23). Thomas Wharton, he wrote, "felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the Cathedral of Gloucester [error for Burford Church, corrected in *Examiner*, no. 25] . . . one morning or night he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and then did that which

in cleanly phrase is called disburdening of nature." According to Swift, Wharton was prosecuted and fined £1,000. Truly "one of the completest gentlemen in England!"

August 16, 1685, "Yesterday morning Capt. Henry Wharton comeing to [Tunbridge] Wells, bade a coachman drive out of the way for the D. of Norfolk was comeing, but the coachman having broke some harness said the D. of Norfolk must waite if he came, or words to that effect, on which Harry W. knockt him down." Dr. Jeffreys, brother to Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, looked out of the coach and protested; "the captain bade him come out of the coach, & he would serve him soe too" (*Verney Memoirs*, II, 401).

February 4, 1686, "On Tuesday night one Moxon, a lieutenant in the Duke of Norfolk's regiment, was killed at the Blue Posts in the Haymarket by Harry Wharton upon some words aris[ing] between them after having been at play" (*Downshire MS*, I, Part 1, 116).

Complete Peerage; Memoirs of the Life of the Most Noble Thomas, Late Marquess of Wharton, 1715; E. B. Chancellor, *Colonel Charteris and the Duke of Wharton*, 1926; Harris, *Dorset*, pp. 110-12.

WILLIS, SUE

The origins of Sue Willis, a famous prostitute and bawd, are unknown. The first recorded attack on her appears in "Lampoons," c. 1673 (Harvard MS. English 636F),

Willis the expensive is now grown old;
In her youth she was ugly as I have been told.
For herself by-the-by some pricks to engage
Turns governess bawd to the young whores of the stage;
Near Whetstone keeps school to teach jilting tricks,
To give running diseases to purses and pricks.

In "Satire on Bentinck," 1689 (see above), we have a brief account of her career. She is now said to be the mistress of William Bentinck, Groom of the Stole to King William.

This whore at first her life with Moseley led,
The bawd's least profit, not her bully's bread;

Thence in a playhouse, where a goatish peer
Feeling her c--t liked it, but never her.

There is no evidence that Mrs. Willis was ever on the stage, but she may have been a "playhouse punk" in the audience. The "goatish peer" is identifiable as Thomas, Lord Colepeper of Thoresby (1633-89).

On June 24, 1677, Henry Savile wrote, "My Ld Culpepper is also returned from Paris with Mrs. Willis, whom he carried thither to buy whatsoever pleased her there and this nation could not afford" (*Savile Correspondence*, p. 62). The affair must have begun some years earlier, because by Mrs. Willis Colepeper had a daughter, Susan, who by February, 1686, was old enough to marry Sir Charles Englefield, Bart., of Englefield, Berks.

From 1675 to 1683 "Maddam Willis" kept a bawdyhouse in Lincolns Inn Fields, with two white balls on the gateposts. In November, 1679, young Porter, Wharton, and Howe, according to the custom which permitted them to beat up the quarters of bawds and whores, "came and broke down Mrs. Willis's balls and called her all to naught" (*Seventh Report*, p. 477B). In 1686 she had moved to Park Place, where her house narrowly escaped a fire which consumed fourteen houses. She was still in business in 1687; on May 22, Sir George Etherege wrote from Ratisbon, asking his correspondent to "make the kindest compliment you can for me to Mrs. Willis, and let me know how she and her little family does" (*Letters*, p. 118).

Among Mrs. Willis's putative lovers were Captain Edward Lee, Sir Scroope Howe, Sir George Hewitt, and perhaps John, Earl of Rochester. D. M. Vieth (*Rochester*, p. 137) printed as possibly by Rochester an obscene libel titled "On Mrs. Willis."

Complete Baronetage; *Herbert Correspondence*, p. 326; *Ellis Correspondence*, I, 132; London County Council, *Survey of London*, 1912, III, 32.

