

evidence that they did so, which certainly leaves open an inviting door for future studies of seventeenth-century women writers' relationship to this particular genre and in particular, the literary culture of the women's courts who supposedly provoked the genre.

English Clandestine Satire will be an invaluable tool for all students of the literary culture during the Restoration and late seventeenth century. It offers a remarkable amount of data collected by a master investigator over a lifetime devoted to the literature of the period. In its speculations about the social, sexual, and poetic values of those times as opposed to our own, it offers new perspectives on familiar authors and texts and at the same time highlights new ways of considering the significance of the sites of production and the modes of transmission as part of understanding the poetics of the text and the dynamics of the period.

Anthony Adolph. *Full of Soup and Gold: The Life of Henry Jermyn*. London: Anthony Adolph, 2006. Cloth. 324 pp., 31 images. £17.95. Review by MAUREEN E. MULVIHILL, PRINCETON RESEARCH FORUM, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.

Revisionist biographers must be master picklocks. Their impulse is discovery, finding new truths; and their tactics of detection must be bold, shrewd, and imaginative. Rectifying historical error and re-representing their subjects, biographers of this persuasion blow off the dust of centuries. They collect new evidence; they draw fresh inferences; and they (inconveniently) upend traditional views. Reliable revisionist biographers, those who delve with care and good judgment, reorder long-held opinions, and we are in their debt for the alterations they make in our perception of an individual life and the forces which shaped the character and the arc of that life.

Cometh the hour, cometh the man. Welcome, Anthony Adolph, who brings to seventeenth-century studies the first-ever biography of a principal, though unstudied and much maligned, Stuart statesman: Henry Jermyn (c.1604/1605; d., 1684), first Earl of St Alban (investiture, 1672). Adolph's biography was a short-list nominee for The Biographer's Club Prize; and while the book is (oddly) a self-published venture, it valuably received close vetting and guidance by many distinguished specialists and peers named in the volume's Ac-



Henry Jermyn (Germain), first Earl of St Alban (baptized 1605, died 1684).

Principal Stuart Statesman & Courtier.

Knight of the Garter Portrait (investiture, 1672) by Sir Peter Lely.

Kedleston Hall, Scarsdale Collection.

(Acquired with assistance from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and transferred to The National Trust, 1987.)

Photograph: Photographic Survey, Courtauld Institute.

With gracious permission.

knowledgments: Earl Bathurst, Malcolm Smuts, Ronald Hutton, *et al.* (283). Well up to the task, Adolph is a student of seventeenth-century history (training: Durham University and The Institute of Heraldry and Genealogical Studies, Canterbury) and also a professional writer, genealogist, and TV and radio broadcaster (see Adolph's website, referenced at the close of this review). His broad, interdisciplinary skills supplied several good lenses through which he examined a large, complex body of uncollected material on his subject.

Most students of Stuart court culture and seventeenth-century English political history are but vaguely familiar with Henry Jermyn. While they appreciate that he was a pervasive presence and faithful royalist during the administrations of Charles I and Charles II, the typical view is that of a man who achieved more than his wit and talent allowed. Adolph has done an important service for history by swiveling the focus altogether. He counters the vilified view of Jermyn with a substantial body of new facts and inferences which enable him to convincingly reconfigure (indeed, radically reconfigure) his subject's character and achievements. Adolph presents Jermyn as a capable, energetic personality, especially during Jermyn's glamorous youth at the first Caroline court, where he secured his reputation and status as the acknowledged favorite and confidant of Queen Henrietta Maria. In his black satin suit and white boots, Jermyn cut a stylish figure, and Van Dyck's portrait of a youthful Jermyn (62) captures something of his early vigor. But the man's singular talent, as Adolph shows over some 24 densely supported chapters, many with excellent images, was the courtly arts of intrigue and diplomacy. Adolph's Jermyn is a man of parts, and Jermyn's long *rèsumé* lists several critical roles during the turbulent seventeenth century: chief financial administrator and household steward to Queen Henrietta Maria; administrative principal during the long Stuart exile of the Queen's coterie ('the Louvre group', mostly English Catholics); and after the Stuart restoration in 1660, Lord Chamberlain to Charles II, who assigned Jermyn (then into his sixth decade, nearly blind and crippled by gout) the sensitive task of opening negotiations with Louis XIV's ambassadors—talks which importantly led to the secret Treaty of Dover (May, 1670).

Yet, for all of Jermyn's contribution to domestic and foreign affairs, not to mention his devoted care of Queen Henrietta Maria, dating from about 1624 to her sad death in 1669, his reputation was nastily smeared by Puritan propagandists, by jealous court satirists, and by Clarendon, a principal antago-

nist. It fell to Andrew Marvell, in his scathing satire on the conduct of the Dutch Wars, *Last Instructions to a Painter* (September, 1667), to famously fix Jermyn in the historical record as a dissipated opportunist, gambler, and *roué* — a man who had outlived his usefulness in the boneyard of obsolete power brokers:

Paint then *St Albans* full of soup and gold,
The new court's pattern, stallion of the old.
Him neither wit nor courage did exalt,
But Fortune chose him for her pleasure salt.
Paint him with drayman's shoulders, butcher's mien,
Member'd like mules, with elephantine chine.
Well he the title of *St Alban's* bore,
For *Bacon* never studied nature more
But age, allaying now that youthful heat,
Fits him in France to play at cards and treat.
(G. de F. Lord et al., eds., *Poems on Affairs of State*,
1 [1963], 100)

Marvell's Jermyn is the pompous and unattractive subject in Lely's garter portrait (1674), the man whom ol' 'Harry' Jermyn invariably became in his declining years. Sadly, this soiled and unjust image is the one that has remained, even amongst the publishers whom Anthony Adolph approached, evidently. And while C H Firth's perfunctory essay on Jermyn in the earlier *DNB* series (1891) is now justly superseded by Adolph's, there is no denying that Henry Jermyn has taken quite a pasting over the centuries.

While never valorizing his subject, Adolph's book on the life and times of Jermyn valuably balances the record: Adolph admits to his subject's vagaries (his seduction and consequent indifference to the pregnant Lady Elizabeth Villiers was but one of many high-profile peccadilloes), but Adolph foregrounds Jermyn's political skills and his subject's faithful assistance to the Stuart monarchy before and after 1660. Thankfully, this is not a modish psychobiography (Adolph is no 'pathographer', nor would his source-materials allow such latitude); this is a responsible repositioning of an important political figure in seventeenth-century English history, drawn mainly from a broad range of interdisciplinary sources. In his role as a responsible revisionist biographer, in this case, Adolph handsomely serves three masters, really: biography, history, and also genealogy; the book's closing chapter includes three

pedigrees of Adolph's own personal construction (262-267), representing Jermyn's paternal line, his maternal line, and the Bourbon-Stuart line which played so large a part in Jermyn's life and long career.

There are two facets of Jermyn's biography which Adolph manages with special care. First is Jermyn's special relationship to Queen Henrietta Maria, dating from the 1620s. Restoration gossips and memoirists, and especially Puritan scandalmongers, roundly asserted that Jermyn's power and rise to the nobility were not earned, but all the Queen's doing; rumor also had it that one of the great open secrets of the century was the quiet 'marriage', after 1649, between Henrietta Maria and Jermyn; and according to a tantalizing bit of spin in Pepys, a child resulted from this union. Adolph confirms that this long, affectionate union did in fact exist between the Queen and Jermyn (morganatic marriages were not uncommon at this time, especially on the Continent), but he deduces that theirs was very probably a "chaste, Platonic" bond. Adolph does suggest, however, in a masterful essay in the *Irish Genealogist*, volume 10, 1999, that Pepys's throwaway comment on illegitimate issue from this union, alongside other garbled versions of Pepys's court gossip, suggests at least Pepys's suspicion of bastard issue from this union and also that the child was quietly taken in and bred up by the Queen's favorite lady-in-waiting and adoptive daughter, Mary Villiers, later Stuart, Duchess of Richmond (very probably the 'Ephelia' poetess); and furthermore that the child, as Adolph puts it, may have 'masqueraded' as Mary Stuart, later Butler, Countess of Arran (1651-1668), daughter of the Duchess of Richmond and her husband, James (Stuart), Duke of Richmond. This view gains credibility in light of the strenuous and successful attempts by the Duchess's only living brother, George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, to disinherit the Duchess's 'daughter', an action entirely sensible had she not been legitimate issue of the Villiers bloodline.

And then there is Jermyn's little-known link to the English order of the Freemasons, an association suggested by the activities and disposition of Jermyn's coterie, by Jermyn's work in urban planning, by James Anderson's history of the Craft (*Constitutions of the . . . Masons*, compiled with the authority of the Grand Lodge, London, 1723, 1738, 1746), and by Jermyn's own choice of title upon his elevation to the peerage in 1659: Earl of St Alban, St Alban being the legendary founder of English masonry (180-187, with images; 256-259). It appears that Jermyn maintained a distinguished niche in the

London order of the Freemasons, rising to the elected administrative role of Patron and also Grand Master (1660-1666). The seventeenth-century English brotherhood of Freemasons was the Mensa group of its day: an élite and clandestine society of cultured and forward-looking individuals, whose agenda promoted Classical ideals in the trades (especially architecture), as well as tolerance, benevolence, and human improvement. Its distinguished (elected) membership included Sir Francis Bacon, Elias Ashmole, Sir John Denham, Sir Christopher Wren, Inigo Jones, Sir Robert Moray, George Villiers second Duke of Buckingham, Thomas (Savage) third Earl Rivers, Henry (Bennet) first Earl of Arlington, Charles II, *et al.* Jermyn's work in Masonic circles is visible down to the present day in his principal achievement: the design of St James's Square and surrounding streets, including Jermyn Street in London's Westminster. As Adolph emphasizes, this was the first truly unified, residential square built on Classical lines in London, and it led to the growth of the West End of London, to the extent that Jermyn has justly been hailed 'the Founder of the West End'. The extent to which Jermyn (familiarily, Jermyn the Great and "His Greatness," 256) figures in the "J.G." sequence in *Female Poems . . . by Ephelia* (London: William Downing for James Courtney, 1679; 8vo), we leave to the hungry hounds of literary history (of which this reviewer is one, and in the best of company).

Priced at a manageable £18, Adolph's biography of Jermyn is an attractive and useful new product; it doubtless shall remain for some time the authoritative source on this consummate Stuart courtier and diplomat. Ol' Harry Jermyn, dusted off and dignified at last.

Audio track: Adolph lecture, National Archives, Kew UK, 22nd February 2007; www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/podcast/jermynology.mp3?pod=rss

(Book Orders: see Adolph's website, linked at: <http://www.genealogypro.com/anthonyadolph.html>.)