

Robert D. Hume and Harold Love, eds. *Plays, Poems, and Miscellaneous Writings associated with George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham*. Including *Sir Politick Would-be*, Wallace Kirsop, ed., and H. Gaston Hall, trans. 2 vols. lxii + 770 pp. & xiii + 586 pp. £215. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Cheryl Sawyer. *The Winter Prince*. New York and London: Signet Eclipse, New American Library, Penguin Group and Penguin Group Ltd., 2007. 384 pp. \$14.00.

Reviews by MAUREEN E. MULVIHILL
PRINCETON RESEARCH FORUM, PRINCETON, NJ.

In 2007, students of the seventeenth century welcomed two very different titles related to the highly-placed Villiers family: An ambitious two-volume collection of the writings, to date, “associated with,” though not necessarily “by,” George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687), and a captivating historical novel on the reputed liaison between Buckingham’s intriguing older sister, Mary Villiers, later Stuart, Duchess of Richmond & Lennox (1622-1685), and Prince Rupert of the Rhine, that glamorous hero of the English Civil Wars and son of the unfortunate Elizabeth (Stuart) Electress Palatine, Bohemia’s ‘Winter Queen’. Both of these new offerings—one a sober scholarly venture, the other a creative reconstruction—engage with the literary culture of the Stuart court. We begin with that “blest madman,” as Dryden famously wrote of him in 1681: George Villiers.

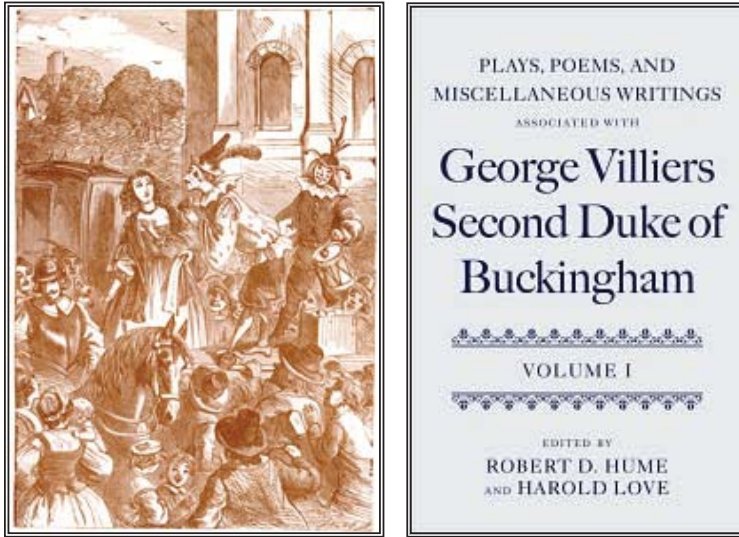


Image left: *Hiding in Plain Sight*. George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham (1628-1687), masquerading as Merry Andrew in the perilous streets of Cromwell's London, *circa* 1649, and passing a packet of royalist communiqués, intermixed with anti-Villiers lampoons, to his sister Mary Villiers. From *Wits & Beaux* by Grace & Philip Wharton, 2 vols (London, 1890); ill. H K Browne & James Godwin; as recounted in d'Aulnoy (Dunois), *Mémoires* (Paris, 1695), I:20. **Image right:** Jacket of the new *Buckingham*, 2 vols (Oxford University Press, 2007).

In the literary register of the seventeenth century, George Villiers signed his name with a bold flourish. Child of privilege, toy of fate, this second duke of Buckingham was actually doomed to fame; few of his century courted notoriety with equal dash or wore destiny as publicly. As his father and sister, 'great Villiers' was a narcissistic personality, keen to cover himself in glory. After the murder in 1628 of his powerful father, Buckingham and his two older siblings, Francis and Mary, were 'bred up' by Charles I and introduced to a life of sumptuous empowerment. The Villiers children breathed the air of courts from childhood and their playmates were the future kings and queens of Europe. As a young man in the 1640s and '50s, Buckingham's political loyalties and mettle were tested in the English Civil Wars, where his valor at Surrey proved useful to the future Charles II. With the restora-

tion of the Stuart monarchy in 1660, Buckingham was well rewarded by his king with several titles. The most highly-placed non-royal peer of his age, Buckingham built a distinguished, if short-lived, career in English politics; his natural charm, good looks, and quick wit commanded full attention from friend and foe alike. (This was a dangerous man when in power, more dangerous when out of it.) But the duke was also a gifted writer, by fits and starts. The most broadly talented of the king's literary circle of 'Court Wits', Buckingham's corpus of work included plays, poetry, caricatures, lampoons, essays, speeches, and letters. Far from an original genius, he was mostly a collaborative writer and, by temperament, his chief *métier* was ridicule; his amusing talents in mimicry and masquerade are documented in the memoirs of his century. Recent attention to his dazzling older sister, Mary (Stuart) Duchess of Richmond, very probably the 'Ephelia' poetess (ESTC, EEBO, BL catalogue), has added a new figure to the literary gallery, a woman rumored to have "fought a duel with a female rival" (Burghclere, *Villiers* [1903], 140) and possibly coached in fencing by Prince Rupert. Duchess Mary evidently had a close literary sibling bond with her troublesome younger brother. (Maureen Quilligan's new book will demonstrate seventeenth-century women writers' use of sibling ties as effective literary agency: consider Mary and Philip Sidney.) After many tensions with the Stuart administration, Buckingham "laughed himself from Court" in 1674, as John Dryden aptly put it, roundly scorned for outrageous scandals and imbroglios. Buckingham died a lonely, embittered former courtier, without heir and intestate; his large potential and wealth were squandered and sabotaged by self-indulgence and political missteps. Yet for all his sins, Buckingham and his writings were never wholly out of fashion.

Sorting through centuries of lore and canonical shambles, Robert D. Hume and Harold Love have constructed a new, if tentative, two-volume edition of Buckingham's work—texts "associated with" Buckingham, not necessarily "by" him. This is not a photographic facsimile of the writings, but rather a carefully constructed old-spelling transcription from pre-existing copy-texts of printed and manuscript sources (textblock, from running title to last line of footnotes, 6¾" x 4¼", 1356 pp), with full scholarly apparatus, General Introduction, several well-selected illustrations (portraits, manuscripts, title-pages,

musical settings), and an index and bibliography, per volume, of printed sources. The edition's dedicatee is Donald McKenzie (d. 1999), a distinguished bibliographer and textual scholar.

While the editorial principles of this new edition are likely to be questioned by textual purists and some Restoration specialists, there is no denying that this is an admirably immersive new product which takes readers into the depths of its subject. The editors, of course, had a huge headstart in the project; what they achieved is not a 'first,' cut from whole cloth. Prior to 2007, students of Buckingham could avail themselves of a fairly substantial body of critical work on the man's life, career, and writings. One had, for example, earlier collections and editions (1704, 1705, 1715, 1752, 1754, 1775, 1985); book-length studies (Burghclere, 1903; Chapman, 1949; Wilson, 1954, O'Neill, 1984); extended authoritative articles (O'Neill, *DLB*, 1989; Yardley, *Oxford DNB*, 2004); and, valuably, a first canonical study of the writings (Mizener, dissertation, Princeton U., 1934). All of this earlier spadework was useful critical background and a clear advantage to any twenty-first-century editorial team. While these earlier investigations certainly burdened Hume and Love with additional sources to collate and assess, they also would have suggested new editorial directions and some basic contours for the present edition.

Volume I (770 pp), the dominant volume in this two-volume set, with Hume very probably at the editorial helm, presents six plays associated with the duke. Some of these—*The Rehearsal*, *The Chances*, *The Country Gentleman*—will be familiar to students of Restoration drama and the important scholarship of Hume, Judith Milhous, and Arthur H. Scouten. Other plays printed in this volume include *The Restoration* and, of special interest, *Sir Politick Would-be*, originally a play in French by Saint-Évremond, Buckingham, and the Sieur d'Aubigny, and presented here in English for the first time (H. Gaston Hall, translator; Wallace Kirsop, editor). Extending the corpus of dramatic writings "associated with" Buckingham, volume one adds a new title in his 'associative' corpus: '*Theodorick*', a fragment of a verse play (two acts, 70 lines) from the commonplace book traditionally associated with Buckingham. The '*Theodorick*' is a modest curiosity, but an interesting supplement to the dramatic writings, certain to inspire further scrutiny. In addition to textual footnotes to all of the six plays, the volume's

scholarly apparatus presents a dedicated section of 'Explanatory Notes' and, of particular value, a dedicated section of 'Transmissional Histories' which supplies bibliographical information on the background history of each of the plays: composition, performance, publication, etc. These two closing sections of the volume, especially the 'Transmissional Histories', are an inspiring working model for students of attribution and textual scholarship, for it is here that we see close and dexterous editorial work.

Volume II (586 pp), very probably assembled by the late Harold Love (d. 2007), presents the non-dramatic writings "associated with" Buckingham, being (in this edition) twenty-two poems, nine miscellaneous writings (topical pieces: political, religious, satiric), and the full text of the commonplace book reportedly found in Buckingham's pocket on the day of his death (provenance, Earl of Jersey; currently on deposit, London Metropolitan Archives). For many Restoration specialists, the presentation of the complete commonplace book, with editorial commentary, will be the chief attraction in this edition. However, the argument by the volume editor that the commonplace book is not written in Buckingham's hand, but rather in that of his secretary Martin Clifford, based on differences in a single letter formation (a secretary-style "e," rather than an italic "e"), may not find universal acceptance. As specialists on evidentiary documents have shown, an individual's handwriting changes over time and it is always affected by external (physical and material) circumstances. Volume II also offers seven interesting appendices, such as Poems about Buckingham, Rejected Attributions, etc. This second volume is less satisfying editorially than its companion volume, and it is likely to be irksome and unpersuasive to some specialists, especially those (Phipps, O'Neill, et al.) whose original researches and earlier commentary are rather blithely criticized, sometimes dismissed by the volume editor. The attributional methodology is often so tentative and skeptical as to be inconclusive—even a bit perverse, making other attributional approaches all the more attractive; e.g., David Vieth's "principle of probability" (*Attribution*, Yale UP [1963]) and Samuel N. Rosenberg's "internal signatures" ("Colin Muset... Attribution," *Textual Cultures*, I.1 [2006]). The sensitive section of Rejected Attributions, for example, presents only the commentary of the volume editor; in all fairness, it

needed to display the texts whose authorship is being rejected. Also the note (II:435, n.17) to an important couplet (“Poor George, grows old, his Muse worne out of fashion, / Hoarsly she sung Ephelias Lamentation”) in one of the “Julian” poems (pp 30-32), attributed to Buckingham by Brice Harris (*ELH* 10 [1943]), refuses to even “entertain” an “ingenious” counter-reading of the couplet as being Buckingham’s (encoded) disclosure of his own literary sibling bond with his clever older sister, Mary Villiers, his old-fashioned “Muse” and, as the couplet certainly implies, the ‘Ephelia’ poetess. The note also withholds from readers the source of this sensible, if not obvious, counter-reading, being Chapter IV at <http://www.ephelia.com>. Commentary in this edition on the Ephelia-MaryVilliers-Etherege connection is never quite complete and current. Etherege’s poetry, for example, is nothing like Ephelia’s, of course; the network of references in the Ephelia corpus to Mary Villiers, her documented coterie associations and court intrigues, exists as the attributional compass. Incidentally, Duchess Mary may have died “childless,” but her marriage to James (Stuart), Duke of Richmond, was not a barren union; it produced two children, Esmé and Mary, who both predeceased her. John Michael Wright’s painting of Lady Mary with her children (*circa* 1661), long misidentified as Lady Elizabeth Churchill and children, was correctly identified in 2001; see commentary by Karen Hearn, Tate Britain, at <http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?cgrou pid=999999961&workid=19552&searchid=9878&tabview=text>). Finally, it is a shame that the section of Poems About Buckingham in Volume II fails to include one of the best (encoded) verses on the duke’s sensational sex scandal with Lady Shrewsbury, namely, “To a Gentleman that had left a Vertuous Lady for a Miss” (*Female Poems... by Ephelia*, 1679, 75-76; 42 lines), wherein Buckingham (“the fancied Greatness of your boasted Wit”) is given a proper dressing-down by his angry older sister for his shameful amour with “the wanton *Flora*” (she, of “sickly Fame”) and his abusive treatment of the abandoned *Phylena* (Buckingham’s long-suffering wife, Mary Fairfax). Perhaps the volume editor found these obvious correspondences too “ingenious”?

For all of its manifest achievements, the problem with this edition is announced on its title-page. This is not an edition, per se, but rather a heavily-annotated miscellany of writings “associated with”

Buckingham, not “by” Buckingham. While it is splendid, on several grounds, to have even an ‘associative’ collection of Buckingham’s writings available in two handsome volumes, the overall editorial principles of this collection may be disturbing to some textual editors and Restoration specialists who expect this new product to be an attributionally and textually assertive edition of the writings, not two volumes of merely ‘associative’ texts. As the editors effectively admit (Preface I:ix-x), theirs is perforce a default editorial position which will not garner full acceptance. Invoking John Harold Wilson’s views on concealed authorship, the editors make special pleadings; they say that definitive attribution for coterie and court literature of Buckingham’s time is a near impossibility since most of these texts were collaborative, anonymous, pseudonymous, and often transmitted in scribal copies and, it must be added, in private code (there is no body of “assured texts,” II:403). Editorial purists, fearing a new precedent in this edition, will argue that if an editor cannot find persuasive evidence to sustain an attribution, the editor must withhold the edition until further delvings prove more productive. In the absence of hard evidence or even highly probative evidence, the new *Buckingham* boldly shifts the traditional responsibilities of textual editing and attribution to a suppositional and putative plane, wherein ‘an edition’ becomes a gathering of closely researched and annotated ‘associative’ writings. Yes, this is a protective editorial posture; yes, it is cautiously judicious; and yes, there are even a few titles in this collection which can be traced to the duke. But overall, the reader is left with one fundamental question: Which texts are truly Buckingham’s?

For a wholly different treatment of the Villiers subject there is the new book by Cheryl Sawyer (now “Hingley”), a successful writer of historical novels (<http://www.cherylhingley.com/>). Her latest offering is a credible reconstruction of a short-lived affair between Lady Mary Villiers and Prince Rupert, with special focus on the history, literature, and contemporary commentary which framed that clandestine romance. Faithful to historical fact, Sawyer calls this little gem of a book *The Winter Prince*.

When the historical record is sparse and unreliable, writers of biography sometimes turn to creative, but responsible, historical reconstruction; Janet Todd's *Secret Life of Aphra Behn* (1996) is a recent example of this popular new form in the biography genre. Cheryl Sawyer is an established novelist (with two graduate degrees), whose special interests have resulted in a flourishing literary career. In addition to her successful narrative on the Mary Villiers-Prince Rupert connection, she has written several historical novels engaging with early-modern figures; her forthcoming book, *The Propagation of Fire*, reconstructs the relationship between Voltaire and his muse: Émilie, the Marquise du Châtelet.

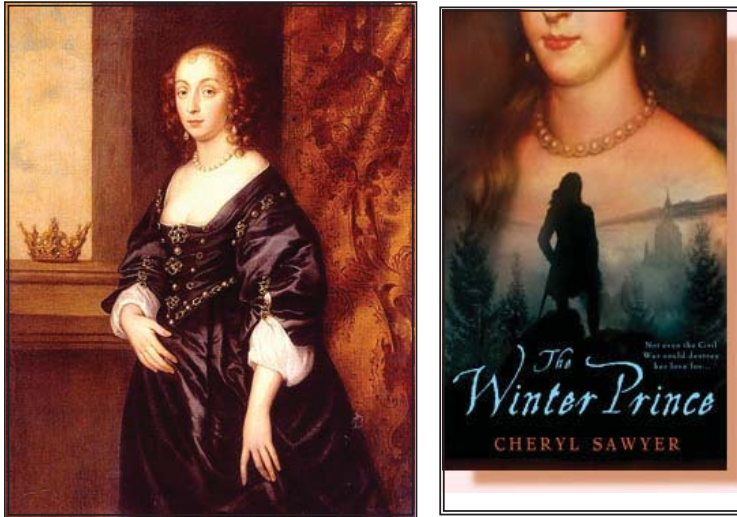


Image left: Mary Villiers, later Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (1622-1685), with ducal coronet, by the School of Van Dyck. Oil on Canvas, three-quarter length: 47 1/4" x 38" (120cm x 96.5cm). Date undetermined. Huntington Art Collections, San Marino, California. Catalogue No. 25.21. With gracious permission. (Full-length version, 84" x 50" [210cm x 125cm], Petworth House, West Sussex UK; Pet.P99. Millar, *Van Dyck* [Yale UP, 2004], IV.204, p590. Both portraits are evidently derivatives of a lost original by Van Dyck.) **Image right:** Cover, *The Winter Prince* by Cheryl Sawyer (Signet Eclipse / NAL, Penguin, 2007).

The Winter Prince reconstructs two volatile years, 1642-44, in the intersecting lives of Lady Mary Villiers, later Stuart, Duchess of

Richmond, and her ardent suitor Prince Rupert of the Rhine, nephew of Charles I and the king's principal military commander during the opening years of the English Civil Wars. The very pattern of a warrior prince, Rupert was not without failings and flaws as Sawyer faithfully shows. The setting of his short-lived romance with Mary Villiers is the temporary Stuart court at Christ Church, Oxford; and this setting is true to established fact. At this time, Rupert was still on the marriage market, but the Duchess of Richmond was into her seventh year of marriage to the King's cousin: James (Stuart) Duke of Richmond (d. 1655). Mary's union with Richmond was her second, court-arranged marriage, and it evidently had its tensions and disappointments; an heir was not produced until 1649. Complicating matters, Rupert and the Duke of Richmond were the best of friends, dating from childhood. Mary Villiers and Prince Rupert were high-voltage, glamorous personalities; one imagines their attraction for one another was magnetic and palpable. It was not long before their quiet relationship was all the chat in the streets of the capital. "Lady Mary is brisk and jolly, which makes Prince Rupert melancholy," wrote Puritan propagandists and anti-royalists; and in *A Parliament of Ladies* ([Henry Neville], 1647), Mary and Rupert are depicted as frequent visitors to Kate's in Covent Garden (home of Lady 'Kate' Howard) where they were known for "beating up of Quarters and other unlawful sports," very probably gambling, shooting, and especially fencing, a new vogue amongst noblewomen (Fea, "Duchess Mazarin," *Some Beauties* [1906]), 1-26). While there is no historical proof that the Villiers-Rupert affair was consummated (both parties had everything to lose by it), rumor was high. Mary's (unsigned, watermarked) letter to Rupert (Pythouse Papers, British Library), mentioned by Sawyer and by Rupert biographers, certainly reveals a special attachment.

The achievement of Sawyer's book, in addition to Sawyer's writing, imagination, and obvious skill in setting a scene, be it a sensitive political exchange between Mary and Charles I, or Rupert's awesome presence on the battlefield, is her painstaking research. Not only did she "tramp Civil War battlefields and country towns in England," as she says, surveying the very places her subjects visited, but she also scoured the principal printed sources on Rupert, Mary, and the history of the Civil War; moreover, she wisely consulted specialists on

Rupert's military career, such as Charles Earl Spencer and, even more impressively, Sir Frank Kitson, GBE, KCB, former Commander-in-Chief UK Land Forces, whose assessment of her book's historical content merits full citation: "Your book is an excellent recreation of the period and of the Civil War. Your depiction of Rupert as a commander is both vivid and convincing. I was particularly impressed by your description of the battles of Newark and Marston Moor you describe them as they might have appeared to Rupert at the time in a vivid and spectacular manner... . You get King Charles's charm, consideration, indecision and ability to be swayed by the last person speaking to him, to a tee; a mixture between a saint and a disaster" (as posted on Sawyer's website, referenced above). Sawyer includes a helpful Historical Note in her book and a (1640s) map of England, with locations of Rupert's battles clearly marked.

Sawyer's narrative approach and plotting are not formulaic, nor could they be in view of the material selected. The psychological complexity she adds to her characterizations—Mary's strained relations with her husband, Mary's emotional confusion over the Rupert affair, Rupert's similar torment—engage and retain attention. The book's secondary characters, most especially its three remarkable dwarfs, being the painter Richard Gibson and his wife Anne Shepherd, and the fierce Sir Jeffrey Hudson who was 'given' as a gift to Queen Henrietta Maria by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, are depicted with fidelity, humor, and high color. (Every inch a courtier, all of them!) Students of special friendship between women, a popular theme in seventeenth-century literary culture, will admire the novel's moments of tender (documentable) ties between Mary Villiers and Queen Henrietta Maria, and Mary's relationship with her dwarf confidante, and possible agent, Anne Shepherd Gibson, the subject of an intriguing double portrait by Van Dyck (Blenheim Palace; Wilton House; Millar, *Van Dyck* [Yale UP 2004], IV.206, p. 591, with facing photo 9¼" x 5½"). Showing herself to be an alert student of recent research on the Villiers set, Sawyer layers into her representation of Mary Villiers the duchess's very probable identity as the 'Ephelia' poetess, even excerpting lines from the poet's book of 'female poems' (1679) as chapter epigrams. Of special interest is Sawyer's use of Ephelia's exercise in alchemical verse, "To *Phyloctes*, inviting him to Friendship"

(*Female Poems*, 1679, 85-86, 28 lines), which opens with a fine salutation: "Best of thy Sex!" This charming poem on the melding of genders ("We'l mix our souls") certainly sounds like chaste, pre-emptive writing from Mary Villiers to her 'Phylocles' (lover of fame), Prince Rupert, during the first stirrings of their romance. Finally, being a novel, there are a few predictable fictions in Sawyer's reconstruction—e.g., Richard Gibson painting Mary Villiers, Anne Shepherd Gibson secreting away Mary's poems in a glove-case, Mary's tragic souvenir, being the knife which killed her father—but these indulgences 'work' so very well we fancy they could be true. Scholars of the seventeenth century will find this book enchanting, and they will see familiar and new personalities through a creative but accurate lens.

Kenneth Fincham and Peter Lake, eds. *Religious Politics in Post-Reformation England: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Tyacke*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2006. xiv + 254 pp. + 1 illus. \$85.00. Review by P. G. STANWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Nicholas Tyacke is well known to literary and church historians—and to all students of early modern England—for his highly influential *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). His research was among the first to chart a distinctive new course in our understanding of post-Reformation England, but it is only the most familiar of the numerous works by this distinguished historian. In his honor, a number of friends and colleagues have now brought together fourteen essays that variously address many of the issues that have concerned Tyacke over the years.

These essays are of uniformly high quality. Some are very specialized, and examine little known archival and manuscript documents, such as Kenneth Fincham's study of "The Religious Legacy of the Interregnum at St. George Trombland, Norwich," which appears last in the collection. Yet this local controversy over the removal of a gallery across the east end of the chancel, built in 1652 to provide more seating for the godly auditory, is shown to have significant implications for our better understanding of the interaction of opposing groups—dissenters and conformists—during the turbulent years