

Notes for *The Century of Deception*

Chapter Five: 'A Common Tavern Bottle', pp. 103-131.

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- 'A Common Tavern Bottle' title: *The General Advertiser*, 11 January 1749.
- 1730: First issue of *The Daily Advertiser* was on 3 February 1730. It comprised two pages.
- *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser*: The first issue of *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* was 4 November, 1734.
- Rebranded: It became *The General Advertiser* on 12 March, 1744 with Issue 2909..
- Only two London daily newspapers: The other London daily was *The London Gazetteer*. This is not to be confused with the *London Gazette*, the official government paper, which was a twice weekly paper. All other newspapers were either thrice weekly or weekly. This is information per the Burney Newspaper Collection.

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- Paid the theatres: *The English Newspaper, Between 1622 and the Present Day*, Stanley Morison, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 146-7; *From Grub Street to Fleet Street: An illustrated history of English Newspapers to 1899*, Bob Clarke, Revel Barker, 2010, p. 173: 'As it was considered that many people bought newspapers only for this purpose, newspapers paid the theatres for the privilege of printing their advertisements.'
- Half a million readers: *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, p. 190. Individual newspaper sales are not known, although *The Daily Advertiser* was estimated at sales of over 2,500 copies by 1746 (p. 190). *The General Advertiser* hit 2,300 in December, 1746 (p. 57), but probably averaged around 2,000. *From Grub Street to Fleet Street*, p. 89. Annual sales of newspapers in 1750 were 7.3 million.
- 500-plus coffee shops: *Newspaper History from the seventeenth century to the present day*, Edited by George Boyce et al, London: Constable, 1978, Chapter 4, 'The structure, ownership and control of the press, 1620-1780', Michael Harris. 'In London 559 coffee-houses were in business in 1739 and most found it necessary to offer a selection of newspapers for their customers.' (p. 91). 'Contemporaries calculated that a single copy of a London daily paper could have as many as 20 readers and a popular weekly up to 40.' (p. 92).
- Five consecutive days: Advertisement appeared on 11, 12, 13, 14 & 16 January, 1749 in both *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*.
- 'the Conversation of every public Place': *A Letter to the Town Concerning The Man and The Bottle*, London, 1749, p. 18. Published on 27 January 1749, *The General Advertiser*. 'For a Fortnight before-hand they were the Conversation of every public Place.' It could not have been a fortnight as the first advert was only placed 5 days before the hoax took place.
- Music on walking cane: 'First, he takes a common Walking cane from any of the Spectators, and thereon plays the Music of every Instrument now in Use, and likewise Sings to surprising Perfection.'
- Enters and sings inside: 'Secondly, he presents you with a common Wine Bottle, which any of the Spectators may first examine; this Bottle is placed on a Table in the middle of the Stage, and he (without any Equivocation) goes into it in Sight of all the Spectators, and sings in it; during his Stay in the Bottle, any Person may handle it, and see plainly that it does not exceed a common Tavern Bottle.'
- Sitting on the stage: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, Edited with a Critical Introduction By Emmett L. Avery, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960, p. xliviii 'Adjoining the stage on both left and right were boxes, and the space for acting could be contracted by placing benches or building boxes on it for special occasions'. Spectators on stage standing, and in boxes, can be seen in William Hogarth's engraving of *The Beggar's Opera*.
- Wearing a mask: 'Those on the Stage or in the Boxes may come in masked Habits (if agreeable to them) and the Performer (if desired) will inform them who they are.' A 'Habit' was used as a generic term for clothing.
- Converse with the actresses: Again this can be seen in Hogarth's engraving of *The Beggar's Opera*.
- Ticket prices: 'Stage 7s 6d. Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. Gallery 2s.' The Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres were larger venues and so they had two galleries: a First Gallery (Dress Circle) with the price of 2s and an Upper Gallery (Upper Circle) of 1s; but the cost of the Boxes and Pit tickets were the same at 5s and 3s respectively. Neither had a separate ticket price on offer that allowed the performance to be watched from the stage. Indeed the Covent Garden Theatre specifically prohibited this seating arrangement by stating in their advertisement that: 'No Persons to be admitted behind the Scenes'. This was the wording used to inform audience members that the stage was out of bounds.
- Excess of four hours: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 3: 1729-1747*, Edited with a Critical Introduction By Arthur H. Scouten, Southern Illinois University Press, 1961, p. clxxxiv. Reference is made to a performance of *Macbeth* and *Harlequin Restor'd* where the writer left at 10-30 when the pantomime was still running. Cited as letter of complaint in *The Daily Journal*, 23 December 1736 but I was unable to track it down.
- 'The Performance continues about Two Hours and an Half': Scepticism about this claim is seen in the spoof advertisement inserted on 13 January [see Page 105 Note 'a surprising Dwarf'] in which Jumpedo would jump down his own throat 'after he has diverted the Spectators two Hours and a half'.
- Half past six: 'To begin at Half an Hour after Six o'Clock'. *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, p. li. Six o'clock was the usual hour of starting, put back to seven o'clock in the summer.
- Seats at the theatre: 'Tickets to be had at the Theatre'. It is unclear whether you could buy tickets in advance or only on the night.

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- Additional fee, in a separate room: 'If any Gentlemen or Ladies after the above Performance, (either singly or in Company, in or out of Mask) is desirous of seeing a Representation of any deceased Person, such as Husband or Wife, Sister or Brother, or any intimate Friend of either Sex, (upon making a Gratuity to the Performer) shall be gratified by seeing and conversing with them for some Minutes as if alive: Likewise (if desired) he will tell you your most secret Thoughts in your past life; and give you a full View of Persons who have injured you, whether Dead or Alive.'
- £5: 'These Performances have been seen by most of the Crown'd Heads of *Asia, Africa, and Europe*, and never appear'd publick any where but once; but will wait of any at their Houses, and perform as above, for Five Pounds each Time.'
- 'a *surprising Dwarf*, no taller than a common Tavern Tobacco-Pipe' and 'open his Mouth wide, and jump down his own Throat'. The spoof appeared in *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 January 1749, directly underneath the main Bottle Conjurer advertisement. 'Lately arriv'd from Italy, SIG. CAPITELLO JUMPEDO, a *surprising Dwarf*, no taller than a common Tavern Tobacco-Pipe; who can perform a many wonderful Equilibres on the Slack or Tight Rope: Likewise he'll transform his Body in above ten thousand different Shapes and Postures; and after he has diverted the Spectators two Hours and a half, he will open his Mouth wide, and jump down his own Throat. He being the most wonderfull'st Wonder of Wonders as ever the World wonder'd at, would be willing to join in Performance with that surprising Musician on Monday next, in the Hay-market. He is to be spoke with at the Black Raven in Golden-lane every Day from Seven till Twelve, and from Twelve all Day long.'
- 'There will be a proper Guard to keep the House in due Decorum': appeared in both *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser* in the last three advertisements of 13, 14 and 16 January 1749.
- Near packed-out: There were 'prodigious Numbers' according to *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749; 'numerous Audience' stated *The General Advertiser*, 17 January, 1749; 'the Theatre was crowded (at near double prices) by five o'clock' 'Charles Adams and John Gilbert-Cooper', Alan D. Guest, *Theatre Notebook, A Quarterly Journal of the History and Technique of the British Theatre*, Volume 11, October 1956-July, 1957, Letter from Charles Adams to John Gilbert-Cooper, 17 January 1749, p. 139 (In fact the prices were the same as other theatres and the timings in this letter differ from contemporary newspaper reports). Over time the numbers appear to have increased. According to the *Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities*, William S. Walsh, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 476: 'On the appointed night the theatre was crowded to suffocation. Every box, every seat in the pit and the gallery was taken. Standing-room was at a premium.'

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- At seven: This report comes from *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. The same report is repeated in *The London Evening-Post*, 14-17 January 1749, *The Penny London Post; Or, The Morning Advertiser*, 17 January, 1749 and *Old England*, 21 January 1749. The same report was also reproduced in the monthly journal *The London Magazine Or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1749, pp. 34-5. Copying copy from other papers was common policy, openly admitted at the time. *The London Evening-Post* printer later confessed on 5 April 1740, 'every Post we copy the principal Paragraphs from the Morning Papers (without which our Evening Paper would be of no Service to the Country).' Cited in *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole*, p. 161. According to the advertisement the show was scheduled to start at six-thirty.
- Illuminating the audience: Audiences were as interested in who else was attending as much as they were in the drama itself. Theatres were well aware of potential fire hazards. The candles were placed in stands with large tin bases, so if they did topple over danger was averted. There were always containers of waters in strategic places and plenty of carpenters, scene men and servants to douse any flames
- 'a single Fiddle to keep the Audience in a good Humour'; 'a Chorus of Catcalls, heightened by loud Vociferations, and beating with Sticks' and 'from behind the Curtain': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. According to a later account in *The London Medical Gazette*, Volume II, June 7, 1828 to November 29, 1828, London, 1828, p. 723, it is not a representative of the theatre who tells the audience of the non-appearance of the conjurer; it is the elusive performer himself. With spectators waiting expectantly, 'the curtain slowly rose, and disclosed...a coarse, vulgar looking fellow, who informed them that he really had not been able to procure a quart bottle suited to his purpose, but that if they would come again another day he would get into a pint bottle in its stead.'
- that 'if the Performer did not appear, the Money should be return'd': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- Desired effect: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: 'a Person came before the Curtain, and, bowing, promis'd if Mr Conjurer did not arrive in half an Hour, their money should be return'd this they quietly submitted to; but after near a Hour, their Passions grew predominant'. Again this contradicts the newspapers version of events which states that the rioting took place almost immediately after this announcement.
- 'if the Ladies and Gentlemen would give Double prices, the Conjurer would get into a Pint Bottle': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. According to the *General Advertiser*, 17 January 1749 (repeated in *The Whitehall Evening Post; Or, London Intelligencer*, 17 January, 1749) the audience were 'told from behind the Curtain that the Performer had not yet appear'd; but that if they would stay until the next Night, instead of a Quart Bottle he should creep into a Pint'. It seems very unlikely that the theatre management would make such a provocative comment. So I have gone with the *Daily Advertiser* narrative.
- 'a young Gentleman in one of the Boxes seized a lighted Candle, and threw it upon the Stage': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- pick pocketed: 'Several persons of high rank being present, the pick pockets made a good booty'. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1749, p. 42.
- snuffboxes, wigs, cloaks and swords: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139.

- mob: *The London Mob, Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth-Century England*, Robert B. Shoemaker, London, 2004: The mob comes from the Latin phrase *mobile vulgus* (the movable or excitable crowd) and first came into usage in late 17th century. It came to mean crowds, disorder and the lower classes (pp. xi-xii). Also pertinent to the Bottle Conjurer hoax: Bonfires were often associated with mobs (p. 118). The expression ‘pulling down’ a house was used to ‘leave the structure of the house intact and only destroy the windows and doors, interior fittings, and furniture; the debris was burned in the street’ (p. 125). ‘The London ‘mob’ was not composed of the dregs of society, as the meaning suggests and contemporaries often alleged’ (p. 139). ‘Rioters in the early eighteenth century rarely used weapons more lethal than stones, and those who did were soldiers and gentlemen wielding swords’ (p. 142).
- Dismantled the theatre by tearing: According to *The General Advertiser*, 17 January 1749 the tearing down took ‘Quarter of an Hour’s Time’. *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: it took ‘less than ten Minutes’. *The London Gazetteer*, 17 January 1749 conflated the *General Advertiser* report: ‘One of the Conjuring tribe appeared on the Stage, and made a Speech, declaring, among other Things of equal Importance, That if the Gentleman did not appear in a Quarter of an Hour, they should have their Money returned’.
- Scenery and drapes: *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: ‘an excellent Bonfire was made of the Materials of Mr. Foote’s Auction Room’. The Bottle Conjurer wouldn’t have had any scenery, so it must have all been Foote’s paraphernalia.
- ‘a mighty Bonfire’ and ‘hoisted on a Pole, by way of Flag’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- ‘young Nobleman’s Chin’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.

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- ‘Principals’ and ‘fell into the Hands of the Audience’: *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 17 January 1749. A private letter dated 23rd January, 1749 stated that ‘the man disappeared, after he had got about 200 pounds’. *The Lyon in Mourning Or A Collection of Speeches Letters Journals etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by the Rev Robert Forbes, 1746-1775*, Edited by Henry Paton, In Three Volumes. Vol. II, Edinburgh, 1895, Letter from Mrs Clerk to Mrs Houston, p. 226.
- Non-existent Conjurer: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.
- Theatre proprietors: *The Scots Magazine*, January 1749, p. 50.
- Eight days: *The Daily Advertiser*, 24 January 1749. Unfortunately we don’t know the artist behind this amusing print.
- *The Bottle Conjurer, from Head to Foot, without Equivocation: Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, March 28, 1734, to c. 1750, Frederic George Stephens, 1877, no. 3026, p. 742. The phrase ‘without Equivocation’ is taken from the original advertisement where it was claimed that the person would climb into the bottle ‘without any Equivocation’.
- Celebrating: The scene of the three men in the tavern and the man swinging the cat is taken from William Hogarth’s *Hudibras Encounters the Skimmington*, 1726 [BM 1847.0508.19].
- ‘large Party of the Guards were sent for, but came Time enough only to warm themselves round the Fire’: *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: ‘A Party of Guards were sent for, and came just Time enough to solace themselves with the Ale, which they drank as they stood warming them by the Fire.’
- Nearby army garrison: *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750*, J. M. Beattie, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 128. In 1710 rioting in support of Henry Sacheverell could not be quelled by the constables or watchmen. So the Government turned to ‘the soldiers guarding St James’s Palace’. Also in common with this riot was that the mob burnt furniture from ransacked houses on a bonfire.
- Sitting in a tavern: The figure hanging off the yardarm is Bacchus, representing the God of Wine. Hence we know it’s a tavern, see AM Broadley, ‘The Rariora of the Tavern’, *Country Life*, Vol. 33, 29 March 1913.
- Poem in *The London Evening Post: The London Evening-Post*, 19-21 January 1749. Poem is called ‘*On the late Action at the Theatre in the Hay-market*’. It starts: ‘When Conjurers the Quality can bubble, And get their Gold with very little Trouble, By putting giddy Lyes in publick Papers, – And jumping in Quart-Bottles, — such like Vapours;’ And concludes with: ‘no let me speak in brief, The Audience Fools, the Conjurer a Thief.’
- Six pennies: This was the standard print price and 1s for coloured, see *The Daily Advertiser*, 24 January 1749: ‘(Price 6d. plain, 1s. colour’d)’. No hand coloured versions of the print survive.
- *A Letter to The Town, concerning The Man and the Bottle: A Letter to The Town, concerning The Man and the Bottle*, London, 1749. Advertised in *The Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1749.
- ‘By Himself’: *A Modest Apology for the Man in the Bottle. By Himself*. London, 1749. Advertised in *The Daily Advertiser*, 13 February 1749.
- ‘Spoof notices’: For example, *The Daily Advertiser*, 20 January 1749, reprised in *The London Magazine Or Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, January 1749, p. 35: ‘*This is to inform the Publick*, That notwithstanding the great Abuse that has been put upon the Gentry, there is now in Town a Man, who, instead of creeping into a Quart or Pint Bottle, will change himself *into a Rattle*; which he hopes will please both young and old. If this Person meets with Encouragement to this Advertisement, he will then acquaint the Gentry where and when he performs.’ Also *The General Advertiser*, 21 January 1749 has one about ‘*Lately arrived from Ethopia*, The most wonderful and surprising Doctor Benimbe Zammampoango, Oculist and Body Surgeon to the Emperor of Monoemungi, who will perform on Sunday next, at the Little P — in the Haymarket, the following surprising Operations, viz.’

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- ‘which never was heretofore, nor ever will be here after seen’: *The General Advertiser*, 27 January, 1749. Full advertisement was: ‘Don John de Nasaquitine, sworn Brother and Companion to the Man that was to have jumped into the Bottle at the Little Theatre in the Hay-Market on Monday the 16th past; hereby invites all such as were then disappointed, to repair to the Theatre aforesaid on Monday the 30th, and that shall be exhibited unto them, which never was heretofore, nor ever will be hereafter seen. All such as shall swear upon the Book of Wisdom that they paid for seeing the Bottle-Man, will be admitted gratis; the Rest at Gotham Prices.’

- 'for he never advertised he would go into two Bottles at one and the same time': *Love at First Sight; Or, The Gay in a Flutter. Being a Collection of Advertisements, Chiefly Comic*, London: F. Noble, 1750, p. 76. Advertisement for this pamphlet in *Old England*, 11 November 1749. Next seen in *Kirby's Wonderful And Scientific Museum: Or Magazine, Of Remarkable Characters; Including All The Curiosities Of Nature And Art, From The Remotest Period To The Present Time, Drawn from every authentic Source*. Volume II, London, 1804, pp. 17-8. In *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet. Being The most Genuine and Extraordinary, perhaps, ever published*, Dublin, 1755, p. 323, there is a reference to a gentleman who said that 'when you got into the Bottle he would cork it'.
- Lin: First reference to Rich performing as Lin was on 22 April 1717. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses etc. In London, 1660-1800. Volume 12: Pinner to Rizzo* by Philip H Highfill et al., Southern Illinois Press, 1987, John Rich, p. 339
- *Beggar's Opera: Ibid*, p. 343. 'The work opened on 29 January 1728 for an unprecedented uninterrupted run of 32 nights and then a continued run that lasted a total of 62 nights.' Although it was said to have made 'Rich Gay' and 'Gay Rich', 'Gay wrote Swift on 20 March 1728 that he had earned between £700 and £800, and Rich had cleared nearly £4000.'
- Covent Garden Theatre: Theatre opened on 7 December, 1732, *Ibid*, p. 344.

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- *Apollo and Daphne*: Full title was *Apollo and Daphne; Or, The Burgo-Master Trick'd*. Advertised in *The General Advertiser* 25 January 1749.
- Ongoing role for Phillips: *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors. Volume 11*, pp. 296-7.
- 'the Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle': *The General Advertiser*, 26 January 1749. 'In which will be Introduc'd, An Additional Scene of the Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle.'
- *An Apology to the Town, for Himself and the Bottle: An Apology to the Town, for Himself and the Bottle*, By J.* Nick-all * N.B. Mr P--tt--r was mistaken in the name. This is a reference to John Potter claiming that William Nicholls was the instigator of the hoax. More on this below. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3025, pp. 740-2.
- Creating the illusion: Some idea of what the vanish might have looked at can be garnered from Jackson recalling Rich's presentation of the Harlequin hatched from an egg by the heat of the sun in *Harlequin a Sorcerer. The History of the Scottish Stage*, John Jackson, Edinburgh, 1793, p. 368: 'From the first chipping of the egg, his receiving motion, his feeling the ground, his standing upright, to his quick *Harlequin* trip round the empty shell, through the whole progression, every limb had its tongue, and every motion a voice.'
- 'an exact Representation of Harlequin's Escape into the Bottle'; 'to crouded and polite Audiences': Full wording is 'The above Print is an exact Representation of Harlequin's Escape into the Bottle; introduc'd in the Pantomime Entertainment of Apollo and Daphene, or the Burgo-Master Trick'd, acted at the Theatre Royal in *Covent-Garden*, to crouded and polite Audiences.'
- *The Royal Chace*: Full title is *The Royal Chace; Or, Merlin's Cave*. It opened on January 23 1736 and was an extensively revised version of *Jupiter and Europa; Or, the Intrigues of Harlequin*. Information from 'The Tricks of Lun: Mimesis and Mimicry in John Rich's Performance and Conception of Pantomimes', Marc Martinez, *Theatre history studies*. Vol. 29, 2009, pp. 148-170. My thanks to Marc Martinez who assisted me in my research in an email he sent to me in September 2016.
- 'Don Jumpedo in the Character of *Harlequin*, will Jump down his Own Throat': *The General Advertiser*, 17 March 1749. This is the first time that I have come across it being advertised. But there was a report on 13 March 1749 in *The General Advertiser* that the Harlequin on 11 March made 'his first Essay of *Jumping down his own Throat*, and was universally applauded'.
- Jumpedo: The name is reprised in the print *Jumpedo and Canning in Newgate, or the Bottle and the Pitcher met*, where the Bottle Conjurer and Elizabeth Canning are both in Newgate prison together. This print is discussed in the chapter on Elizabeth Canning.
- *A Companion to the Bottle: A Companion to the Bottle; or, Don Jumpedo in the Character of Harlequin Jumping down his own Throat*. It states that 'The above Print is an exact Representation of Harlequin's Escape, introduc'd in the Pantomime Entertainment of the *Royal Chace, or Merlin's Cave*, now Acting at the Theatre Royal, in *Covent-Garden*, with great Applause.' The print was published on 20 March 1749, per *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3024, pp. 739-40.
- *Apollo and Daphne* reprised 23 March: *The General Advertiser*, 23 March 1749: 'In which will be Introduc'd, The Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle. Also the Last New Scene of Don Jumpedo, Jumping down His Own Throat.'
- Jumping up again afterwards: *The General Advertiser*, 13 April 1749: 'In which will be Introduc'd, the Escape of Harlequin into a Quart Bottle. Also Don Jumpedo (*Tho' Not the Original*) Will Jump down His Own Throat; And (as a New Addition) afterwards Jump Up Again.' Thanks to Marc Martinez for alerting me to this advertisement.
- Dancing a hornpipe: *The London Gazetteer*, 8 April 1749. 'Signor Capitello Jumpedo; Who, after entertaining the Audience with Dancing a *Hornpipe*, will Jump Down His Own Throat.'

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- John Wilkes: *The Two Jacks. Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. V, 1711-1783*, Mary Dorothy George, 1935, no. 5245, pp. 177-8. John Wilkes, as Mayor, is inside a funnel on top of a bottle, facing off Lord Bute, depicted as the devil, who is inside a boot.
- *Corsican Bottle Conjurer: Britannia Blowing up the Corsican Bottle Conjurer*, 1803. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VIII, 1801-1811*, Mary Dorothy George, 1947, no. 10069. The British Museum copy of the engraving has 'Cruikshanks' written on, suggesting it was done by Isaac Cruikshank, the father of George.

- Lord Mayor of London: *Smoak Jack the alarmist, Extinguishing the Second Great Fire of London, a la Gulliver!!!* 12 October 1819. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. IX, 1811-1819*, Mary Dorothy George, 1949, no. 13272, pp. 927-8.
- *Italian bottle-conjuror: My-Joke-O!! the Italian Bottle-Conjuror*, August 1820. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. X, 1820-1827*, M. Dorothy George, 1952, no. 13828, p. 87, a reference to an Italian valet called Theodore Majocchi who lied under oath at the trial of Queen Caroline of Brunswick for adultery. See *A Queen on Trial: The Affair of Queen Caroline*, E. A. Smith, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1993; and *Rebel Queen: How the Trial of Caroline Brought England to the Brink of Revolution*, Jane Robins, London: Pocket Books, 2007.
- *The Bottle Conjurers Arms*: This is a very simplified summary of a complex print. A copy is in Dublin City Library and Archive, Folio 04/06 - Date c. 1810-1830. It is almost certainly dated 1823. The image is reproduced in *Celebrations of Curious Characters*, Ricky Jay, San Francisco: McSweeney's Books, 2011, p. 88.

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- *The Theatrical Bubble: The Theatrical Bubble; being a new specimen of the astonishing Powers of the Great Politico-Punchinello, in the Art of Dramatic-Puffing -- Vide. New method of Raising the Wind.* 7 January 1805. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VIII*, no. 10459.
- *The Rivals, The School for Scandal, The Critic*: *The Rivals* was first performed in 1775, *The School for Scandal* in 1777 and *The Critic* in 1779.
- Harlequin: First time Gillray depicted Sheridan with a Harlequin coat was in his 4 February 1802 print *Blowing up the Pic Nic's: - or - Harlequin Quixotte attacking the Puppets*. *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. VIII*, no. 9916.
- Owner of Drury Lane Theatre: Sheridan purchased a half share from David Garrick in 1776 and two years later became the sole owner. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [hereafter known as *ODNB*], Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816).
- 3,500 people: The first time he filled it was with the play *Vortigern* on 2 April 1796, see chapter 10.
- Performing animals: 'Why do they take my horses?' asked the owner of Astley's Amphitheatre, famous for its performing fillies, 'I never tried to engage Mrs Siddons.'
- William Betty: The thirteen year old first appeared at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1804. *ODNB*, Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816). Betty is in Highland dress in the engraving in the role of Norval, a character in the play *Douglas*, written by John Home and first performed in 1756.
- 'a great General lost his Sword in the Quarrel': *The London Gazetteer*, 17 January 1749.

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- 'and no Questions asked'. *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749. Advert repeated on 18 & 19 January except the wording from 'Lost last Night' was changed to 'Lost last Monday Night'.
- Stolen valuables: *The General Advertiser*, 6 October 1748: 'LOST On Friday Sept. 30, between Six and Seven in the Evening, A Rose Diamond Side Drop of an Ear Ring, supposed to be dropt near Mr. Vernon's in Grosvenor Street, or the Countess of Stafford's in Albermarle-Street. Whoever will bring it to Mrs Chenevix's Toy-Shop, near the Haymarket, shall have Five Guineas Reward.' *The General Advertiser*, 19 February 1748: 'A Gold Watch Chain, with two Ring Seals, and a Triangular one of Brown Chrystal, having a coat of Arms on one Side...Whoever will bring the same to Mrs Chenevix's Toy-Shop, near Charing Cross; shall have Five Guineas Reward and no Questions ask'd. No greater Reward will be given'. The shop was quite a tourist attraction, famous for its high prices. *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, Edited by W S Lewis, Yale University Press: <http://images.library.yale.edu/hwcorrespondence/> [hereafter known as *Walpole*, accessed July 2021], Vol. 19, p. 308, 15 September 1746.
- 30 guineas: *The Daily Advertiser*, 20 January 1749. It was repeated in the same paper on Saturday 21 January with the final insertion on 23 January. The owner of the loss sword and the reward for its recovery were linked in the January 1749 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, p. 42: 'a great general's rich sword was lost, for the recovery of which a reward of 30 guineas was advertised'.
- 'Peace was well restored / Before the G—L lost his *Cutting Sword*': *The London Evening-Post*, 21-24 January 1749.
- 'Gold hilted Sword'; 'found entangled in the slit of a lady's demolished smock-petticoat'; 'supposed to have been stolen from the plump side of a great General'; and 'the Quart Bottle and Musical Cane, in Potter's-row'. *Old England*, 28 January, 1749. Full advert was as follows: 'Found entangled in the slit of a Lady's demolish'd Smock-Petticoat, a Gold-hilted Sword of martial Length and Temper, nothing worse for Wear, with the Spey curiously wrought on one Side of the Blade, and the Scheld on the other; supposed to have been stolen from the Plump-Side of a great General in his precipitate Retreat from the Battle of Bottle Noodles, at Station-Foot. Enquire at the Quart-Bottle and Musical Cane, in Potter's-Row. N. B. Every Word of a certain late Advertisement is true, except — all the Advertisement.' As well as the clear sexual innuendo of the spoof, the 'Spey' is a river in East Scotland, so reminding the readers about the Duke's activities in Scotland; whilst the town of Ghent, one of the towns the Duke lost following his defeat at the Battle of Fontenoy, stands on the river Scheld. It also cleverly incorporates Samuel Foote ('Station-Foot') and John Potter ('Potter's Row') into the notice, as well as reminding the reader about the proposed performance ('Quart-Bottle and Musical Cane') laid out in the original advertisement.
- 'I have lost my head': The headless man actually says 'no I have lost my Head' in *The Bottle Conjuror, from Head to Foot, without Equivocation*.
- *The Bottl'd Heroes*: Full title is 'The Bottl'd Heroes, Or, Madness and Folly A La Mode. Being a full Description of those Animals, that, by their Biting, occasion that contagious Disorder now so common in Great Britain; with a Receipt to cure the same. Humbly Inscrib'd To Mr. H*G***H, and Mr. G*****K. By Anglicanus, M. D.' Copies are owned

by the Library of Congress (PC 3 - 1749 - Bottl'd heroes) and the Princeton University Library (Oversize PR3291.A6 A53f). Engraving advertised for sale in *The Daily Advertiser*, 25 January 1749.

- *English Credulity; or Ye're all Bottled: The Daily Advertiser*, 30 January 1749. It had been pre-advertised in *The Daily Advertiser*, 28 January 1749. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3022, pp. 737-8. A preliminary pen & ink drawing was done for this print. It is titled *The Spiritualists* and can be found in the Yale Centre for British Art, accession no. B1977.14.6017, the engraver being Anthony Walker.

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- 'if people want to be deceived, let them be deceived': Latin text is *Si Populus vault decipi Decipiateur*.
- *The Beggar's Opera*: The slogan *Veluti in Speculum* ('as in a mirror') can also be seen on the overhanging banner in William Hogarth's *The Beggar's Opera, Act III*. On the right hand side of this same print can be seen a large statue of a satyr.
- *Masquerades and Operas*: This engraving includes the image of a satyr holding a bag of money, along with the figure of the fool, encircling a crowd with a piece of rope to bring them into see a masquerade.
- At the top of the engraving, there is an angelic nymph chasing after a flying sword, while crying out 'Stop or I loose 30 guineas'. A label is attached to the sword with the words 'Thirty guineas reward'.
- None of the references name: *Kirby's Wonderful And Scientific Museum* in 1804, p. 13 is the earliest citation that I can find to the Duke of Cumberland being unequivocally stated as the 'great General' who lost his sword.

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- William Augustus: Information about the Duke of Cumberland has principally come from *William Augustus Duke of Cumberland and The Seven Years' War*, The Hon. Evan Charteris, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1925; *William Augustus Duke of Cumberland A Life*, Rex Whitworth, London: Leo Cooper, 1992; and *ODNB*, William Augustus, Prince, duke of Cumberland (1721–1765).
- Treatment of the Jacobites: *Walpole*, Vol. 9, p. 34, 24 June 1746: 'The Scotch...are loud in censuring the Duke for his great severities in the Highlands'.
- Butcher of Culloden: Earliest citation is in *Walpole*, Vol. 19, p. 288, 1 August 1746, when Horace Walpole wrote: 'It was lately proposed in the City, to present him with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, 'Then let it be of the *Butchers* !''
- War of Austrian Succession: Second defeat was at the Battle of Lauffeld on 2 July 1747. First was at Fontenoy on 11 May 1745. War of Austrian Succession finished with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle signed on 18 October 1748.
- Sadistic taskmaster: According to Horace Walpole, during the time of the rebellion some men who had enlisted for three years had gone home when their term had expired without receiving the proper papers. 'The Duke of Cumberland ordered them to be tried and shot for desertion', *Walpole*, Vol. 19, p. 464, n. 10, 16 February 1748. Walpole also wrote that the Duke's 'savage temper increases every day'. He recounted how a young man had received two hundred lashes. But that the Duke 'who loves blood like a leech, insisted that it was not enough' and had administered more. *Walpole*, Vol. 9, p. 93, 20 July 1749.
- Private life: Thomas Gray wrote in September 1746: The Duke 'is here at his Lodge [in Windsor Great Park] with three Whores & three Aide-de-Camps.' *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, Edited by the late Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley, In Three Volumes, Volume I. 1734-1755, Oxford, 1971, p. 239. 'All the letters are full of the Duke's humanity and bravery: he will be as popular with the lower class of men, as he has been for three or four years with the low women.' *Walpole*, Vol. 19, p. 52, 24 May 1745.
- Overweight appearance: 'I could not get the fat sides of him to go out of the way. He stared at me and spoke. I bid him go out of the way and let people pass.' *The Lyon in Mourning*, Letter from Mrs Clerk, dated 23 January 1749 to Mrs Houston, p. 226, with regard to meeting the Duke at a masquerade she attended. *Walpole*, Vol. 18, p. 268, 11 July 1743, 'he is gross'; *Walpole*, Vol. 9, p. 73, 3 September 1748, 'The Duke is fatter, and it is now not denied that he has entirely lost the sight of one eye'; and *Walpole*, Vol. 20, p. 49, 3 May 1749, he 'was so immensely corpulent, that he looked like Cacofogo, the drunken captain in *Rule a Wife and have a Wife*', a comedy by John Fletcher. It is unfortunate that we don't have Walpole's take on the Bottle Conjurer hoax, but his letter is missing. He clearly had written about it, as one correspondent replied to him saying: 'I could not help laughing at some many hundreds being deceived by the man and his quart bottle, but I blushed at their folly', *Walpole*, Vol. 20, p. 29, 8 March 1749.
- Commanding the house should be tore down: *The Lyon in Mourning*, Letter from Mrs Clerk, dated 23 January 1749 to Mrs Houston, p. 226. 'Cumberland was the first that flew in a rage, and called to pull down the house, which in ten minutes was done'. Another questionable report of the Duke's involvement is in *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill with Copious Notes and a Life of the Author*, W. Tooke, Volume III, London: William Pickering, 1844, p. 120: 'Among the spectators was William Duke of Cumberland, who in the *melé* lost his diamond-hilted sword, on which the Jacobite portion of the crowd set up a cry of Billy the Butcher has lost his knife, and this formed the *refrain* of the veritable ballad of the Bottle Conjurer, written on the occasion.' This anecdote was repeated in *Caricature History of the Georges*, Thomas Wright, London: John Camden Hotten, 1876, p. 232: 'The Duke of Cumberland lost his diamond-hilted sword; and on this being known, some in the crowd shouted, 'Billy the Butcher has lost his knife!'' We know Wright used Toole for his sources, as later in his *Caricature History* (p. 300) Wright repeats an anecdote which he admits came from 'Mr Tooke, from whose notes to Churchill this fact is taken'. It is also reprised in *The Way of the Montagues: A Gallery of Family Portraits*, Bernard Falk, London: Hutchinson & Co, 1947, p. 271: 'The Duke of Cumberland, "hero" of Culloden, endeavouring to extricate himself from the infuriated crowd, had his diamond-hilted sword snatched away from him, and on remonstrating with the rioters was answered by the taunt that Billy the Butcher had lost his knife'. *The Secret History of Magic: The True Story of the Deceptive Art*, Peter Lamont and Jim Steinmeyer, New York: TarcherPerigree, 2018, p. 54 cites Wright in this passage about the hoax: 'He had earned the nickname of 'Billy the Butcher' because of his merciless execution of the Jacobites after the battle [of Culloden]. In the

commotion that followed, Cumberland lost his diamond-hilted sword. As they destroyed the theatre, the crowd were heard to shout, 'Billy the Butcher has lost his knife!'. I have found no contemporary reference to the refrain 'Billy the Butcher has lost his knife'; so can only conclude that Tooke invented the taunt some 100 years after the event. And we know from the advertisement (*The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749) that the Duke posted, it was a gold, not diamond, hilt sword that he lost.

- 'pulled the sword out of his hand': *The Lyon in Mourning*, Letter from Mrs Clerk, dated 23 January 1749 to Mrs Houston, p. 226.
- 'Monster of Nature!' *Ibid.*
- Instigator of the rioting: A couple of other examples of the Duke of Cumberland being blamed for starting the rioting. *Epistles for the Ladies*, Vol. II, London, 1750, Epistle XCIII 'From Apamia to Euphrosine in the Country, on the pretended Conjuror that was expected to shew Wonders at the Theatre in the Hay-market'. p. 88: 'a certain very Great Person, who had come to Town for no other Purpose, as it proved, than to be disarmed, been so much incensed at the Disappointment, that he resolved Revenge on the poor Scenes, and without any Consideration of the Fright he might give the Ladies, ordered the Doors to be opened to the Mob, who broke in like a Torrent, driving all before them, plucking up Benches, Boxes, and Orchestra, in their Way to the Stage, which, with their heroic Leader at their Head, they soon demolished.' *A Book of the Play*, Dutton Cook, Third and Revised Edition, London, 1881, Chapter 35: 'At the Haymarket Theatre, in 1749, the audience enraged at the famous Bottle Conjuror hoax, were incited by the Culloden Duke of Cumberland to pull down the house!'

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- Publicly stated: Duke is mentioned a couple of times in the aftermath of the hoax. *The Whitehall Evening Post Or, London Intelligencer*, 17-19 January 1749: 'Yesterday the Duke of Cumberland presented the Rev. Mr Drake to the Rectory of Blitching in Devonshire.' *The Remembrancer*, 21 January 1749: 'We are assured, that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland having heard such various Accounts of the Strength and Forces at Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, is determined next Summer, to visit both these Fortresses himself, in order to give Directions for their better Regulation.'
- 'purify me after the bad air and humour I contracted in London': *The Life and Correspondence of Philip Yorke Earl of Hardwicke Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain*, Philip C. Yorke, Volume II, Cambridge, 1913. Letter to Joseph Yorke, 10 April 1740, p. 167. He goes on to write about passing the controversial passing of the Mutiny Bill, so he might have been referring more to that.
- Opera: *The General Advertiser*, 4 May 1749: 'We hear that his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and several of the Nobility, were at the New Theatre in the Haymarket on Tuesday last, to see *L'Opera du Gueux*, and express'd great Satisfaction at the Performance.'
- 'services': *Walpole*, Vol. 9, p. 94, 20 July 1749. 'You heard I suppose of his other armour with the Savoyard girl: he sent her to Windsor, and offered her a hundred pound, which she refused because he was a heretic; he sent her back on foot.'
- Hurdy-gurdy: Sounds are produced by turning a crank that rubs wheels against strings, similar to a bow of a violin. Melodies are played on a keyboard that presses small wedges, typically made of wood, against one or more of the strings to change their pitch.
- Marian: 'From Savoy came Marian this Conquest to win;' *The London Evening-Post*, 25-27 July 1749. Reproduced in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1749, p. 327 with the title of 'A New Court Ballad.'
- 'a poor mean-dressed wench, but pretty enough if she was dressed out': *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, Edited by Richard Parkinson, Vol. II - Part II, Printed for the Chetham Society, 1857. John Byrom to Mrs Byrom, 3 August 1749, p. 504. 'The Savoyard girl has made some noise and some pictures; she is a poor mean-dressed wench, but pretty enough if she was dressed out.'
- *John of Gant in Love: John of Gant in Love, or Mars on his knees*. This Day is publish'd, *The London Evening-Post*, 13-15 July 1749. *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*, no. 3037, pp. 750-1.
- Throwback to John of Gaunt: Article in, *The Remembrancer*, 20 May 1749 connects the two.
- 'more humour than I almost ever saw in one of that sort': *Walpole*, Vol. 9, p. 94, 20 July 1749: 'Enclosed is a new print on the subject, which I think has more humour than I almost ever saw in one of that sort'. However perhaps the representation of the Savoyard Girl was not especially accurate, as she is 'not at all like the picture in the print where the Duke kneels', *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byrom*, p. 504.
- Other prints: *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Vol. III, Part I*. 1) *Solomons Glory Or the Rival Mistresses*, no. 3040, pp. 752-3; 2) *The Cropper*, 3034, p. 747. This relates to the Duke of Cumberland ordering his soldiers' uniforms to be cut shorter. This was inspired by a notice which appeared in *The London Evening-Post*, 1-3 June 1749: 'The Dress of the Foot Forces having been found inconvenient and burdensome on Marches, occasion'd by the Length of their Coats, &c. his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland has been pleased to give Orders for shortening the Cloaths of the three Regiments of Foot Guards from their usual Size, and many more Alterations are order'd to be made in their Cloathing, especially as to their Shoes and Buckles, obliging them all to wear the uniform Reigimentals now provided for them.' As well as seeing the soldiers having their tunics cropped overseen by the Duke, the print has the Savoyard in the background saying, 'He wanted to crop my Virginity'. 3) *The agreeable Contract between the formidable John of Gant and Don Carlos of Southern Extraction*, July, 1749, no. 3042, pp. 753-4. This shows Britannia expressing her support for Bonnie Prince Charlie, while the print of John of Gant in Love lies on the floor. It is a re-working of a previous pro Duke of Cumberland print called *The agreeable Contrast between the British Hero, and the Italian Fugitive*, no. 2832, pp. 626-7.

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- Seditious libel: 28 September 1749 the Duke of Newcastle issued a warrant for the apprehension of the author, engraver, printers and publishers of four 'seditious & treasonable Prints', cited in *Political Prints in the Age of Hogarth*, Herbert M Atheron, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974, p. 77. A notice appeared in the *Penny London Post; Or The Morning Advertiser*, 29 September-2 October 1749. 'On Friday last a Printseller near the Crown Tavern, on Ludgate-Hill, was taken into Custody by his Majesty's Messengers for selling Prints reflecting on a very great Personage'. Clearly a reference to the Duke of Cumberland. It went on: 'The same Day several others of the same Profession were seiz'd for selling the said Prints; and we hear that Informations are lodged against divers Printsellers for selling and exposing to Sale privately very obscene Prints and Pictures, which greatly tend to the corrupting the Morals of Youth.'
- *The Savoyard Girl*: Painting is owned by The Huntington Library, Art Collections, having been purchased from a London Auction House in 1991. An engraving was made of the print in 1798 by George Sherlock. Hogarth also depicted a Savoyard Girl in *Southwark Fair*, where she can be seen in her natural environment outside, looking at a peep show. The analysis of this painting is thanks to Elizabeth Einberg, 'Music for Mars, or the Case of the Duke's Lost Sword', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 56, 1993, pp. 181-9. Einberg thought the painting was a pre-cursor to an engraving (p. 186). But Paulson questions this in *Hogarth, Volume 3, Art and Politics, 1750-1764*, Ronald Paulson, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1993, p. 136: 'there is no similar shape or composition among Hogarth's engravings. More likely he painted it for a friend.'
- A picture of innocence. Fanny Burney talking about her friend Hetty going to a masquerade in January, 1770, 'Hetty went as a Savoyard, with a *hurdy gurdy* fastened round her waist. Nothing could look more simple, innocent, or pretty.' *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778*, Edited by Annie Raine Ellis, Vol. 1, London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913, p. 71.
- Dutch tiles: *Hogarth, Volume 3, Art and Politics*, p. 136. 'The Dutch tiles on the fireplace may refer to Cumberland's military defeat at Fontenoy in May 1745'.
- Erotic: *Ibid*. 'Certainly the "lost" sword, the *cracked* mirror, and the *cocked* hat establish beyond question the sexual content.'
- Tricorn hat: The Duke of Cumberland is seen wearing the tricorn hat in the print *English Credulity; or Ye're all Bottled*.
- George Hay: *Hogarth, Volume 3, Art and Politics*, p. 136.

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- *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding: Essays Concerning Human Understanding*, [David Hume], London: A. Millar, 1748. Hume questions the existence of miracles.
- 'greatly disappointed by the Conjurer's Non-Appearance in the Bottle': *The Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1749.

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- 'you are doubtless impatient to know how all this came about': *Epistles for the Ladies*, 1750, p. 89.
- John Potter: information about Potter comes from *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses etc. In London 1660-1800, Volume 12*, Potter, John.
- Twelve o'clock: *The General Advertiser*, 2 May 1747. 'Mr Foote takes the Liberty to inform his Friends, that the Waiter is well, so that Chocolate may be had as usual, at the little Theatre in the Hay-Market, this Day, exactly at Twelve o'Clock.'
- 6-30: *The General Advertiser*, 2 June 1747. 'Friends are desired to Drink a Dish of Tea with him, at Half an Hour after Six in the Evening.'
- *Mr Foote gives Tea*: Advertised in *The General Advertiser*, 1 February, 1748.
- *A Sale at his Auction Room*: Advertised in *The General Advertiser*, 18 April, 1748,
- Picture frames: *The General Advertiser* 14 January 1749. 'At his Auction Room, late the *New Theatre in the Haymarket*, Mr. FOOTE will exhibit some entire new Lots, consisting of a *Poet*, a *Beau*, a *Frenchman*, a *Miser*, a *Taylor*, a *Sot*, two *Young Gentlewomen*, and a *GHOST*. Two of which are Originals, the rest Copies from the best Masters.'
- Fiftieth performance: *The British Magazine for the Year 1749*, Vol. IV, London, February 1749, 'Some Observations on the Performances of the Auctioneer in the Hay-Market; and his new Lots of the Characters in Lethe. In a Letter to the Author'. pp. 55-59. This was a full review of the Foote show.

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- 'Rent of the House'; 'no real Imposition'; and 'obliged to fly to save their Lives': *The General Advertiser and The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749.
- 'upwards of Four hundred Pounds': Knowing John Potter, this was doubtless an exaggerated figure. *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.G., K.T., Preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall*, 2 Vols. in 1, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899, pp. 371-2. Letter from M. Procace to the Duke of Montagu, 17 May 1722 calls John Potter a 'cunning rogue' in extracting 42 guineas from him in order to remove some of his belongings from the new theatre in the Haymarket. Letters from Aaron Hall, also to the Duke, question Potter's integrity (pp. 369-371).
- 'make me a reasonable Satisfaction': *The General Advertiser and The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749.
- William Nicholls: *The General Advertiser and The Daily Advertiser*, 19 January 1749 and repeated 20 January 1749. 'N.B. The Person who took the House was a Man of genteel Appearance, said his Name was *William Nicholls*, and directed Letters to be left for him at the Bedford Coffee-house, Covent-Garden.'
- Renege on his: Suggested in *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139: 'others imagine Foote himself is at the Bottom of it, to elude the Performance of his Promise in granting a Benefit to his Company.' This was not true as the benefit for the performer did go ahead on 18 February 1749: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, A Calendar of Plays etc., Part 4: 1747-1776*, Edited by George Winchester Stone, Jr., Southern Illinois Press, 1962, p. 98. 'Benefit for a performer. Tickets for the 11th [postponed due to Foote going hoarse] will be taken.'

- Go ahead: *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749. Foote had to make a correction the following day about who he spoken to in this matter. He originally claimed it was Mr Lewis, John Potter's attorney. Turned out to be his clerk, who was also John Potter's nephew. *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 19 and 20 January 1749.
- Foote attended the performance: *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 18 January 1749. Foote said he 'told a Gentleman near me in the Boxes, who was clamorous for his Money, the Measures I had taken for his Security.' A *Modest Apology for the Man in the Bottle*, although a satirical pamphlet, makes a couple of references to Foote being there on the night: 'That I was to have been in the *Bottle*, was as evident as Mr F-'s being in the House.' (p. 7) and: 'When I intended either to go into my *Bottle*...a certain *Footy* fellow, in one of the Boxes...very modestly took upon him to assert, That the audience should have their Money returned; and he truly was seconded by another Conjuror on the Stage' (p. 22). In *Mr Foote's Other Leg*, Ian Kelly, London: Picador, 2012 no mention is made of the *Bottle* Conjuror hoax. It also seems to suggest that Foote was not even in London in January 1749: 'Foote left London in 1748, first for Dublin and then for Paris. Though he was back in London briefly in April 1749, and in 1751, he did not base himself there for several years' (p. 133). Apart from this surprising omission, the book is excellent.
- 'so ruin a Place never did my eyes behold': *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139. The writer correctly predicted that it would 'put a [Pe]riod to the Auction, till the Theatre can be refitted'.

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- 'Managers of both Play Houses contriv'd it to hinder Foote's going on': *Theatre Notebook*, p. 139
- End of his run: In *The General Advertiser* 11 & 14 January 1749 the advertisement for Foote's show states 'Being positively the last Time of performing it this Season'. His actual final performance was on 18 February 1749. Prior to that he did shows on 25, 27 January and 4 February. *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4*, pp. 93-98.
- *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet: The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet. Being The most Genuine and Extraordinary, perhaps, ever published*, Dublin, 1755
- Appears to be true: *Memoirs of Laetitia Pilkington*, Edited by A. C. Elias, Jr, The University of Georgia Press, 1997, p. 204. She writes, in 1748, about her encounter with 'one Mr. *Bradstreet*, famous for being a Spy for the Duke of *Cumberland*'. State papers from the Duke of Newcastle also mention Bradstreet.

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- 'there was not nine Men': *The Life and Uncommon Adventures of Capt. Dudley Bradstreet*, p. 143.
- Lottery scheme: *Ibid*, p. 244. 'But to return to my Lottery I must inform you that Fortune declared against me; I lost above twenty Pounds by it.'
- 'introduced the noisy and famed *Bottle* Conjuror to the World, in *January* one thousand, seven hundred and forty seven-eight': *Life and Uncommon Adventures*, p. 244. Bradstreet's entry in the *ODNB*, Bradstreet, Dudley (1711–1763) repeats this incorrect year: 'His last show was as a 'bottle conjuror', which he performed in January 1748.' In Georgian England, January 1749 dates were often referred to as 1748-9, so maybe we can overlook that lapse; or assume it was a misprint.
- 'fly to the Moon in the People's Presence'; 'teach *French* and Cooking perfectly well in an Hour' and 'hereafter explained': *Ibid*, p. 246. In his play (p. 254), the two schemes are expanded upon. He states that although people might believe he has flown to the moon, he wasn't sure how to get their money upfront for 'they wou'd not give you a Shilling after'.
- 'an Historical Comedy' and 'extraordinary Oddities'. *Ibid*, p. 247. For dramatic purposes he has confined 'the Business of ten Days to twenty four Hours, which the Rules of the Stage require' (p. 248).
- 'great Success': *Ibid*, p. 248.
- No existing record of any performances: Part of the reason why it was never staged may be explained by the stage directions near the end, *Ibid*, p. 329. 'Enter several Ladies and Gentlemen from the Boxes, Pit, and Galleries, in great Disorder, some without Hats, Wigs, Caps, Loss of Swords, Watches, &c.' And: 'The Confusion continues, the Mob break in, ransack the House, carry Benches and Boards across the Stage, buzzaing as they go along, the Curtain, by way of Triumph, carried as Colours, and all made a Fire of in the Street, from whence loud Huzzas are heard; the Guards come, but too late.' Bradstreet has clearly copied all of this from the newspaper reports of the day without giving any thought to the practical constraints of a dramatic reconstruction.
- 'restore Youth to old Age', *Ibid*, p. 246. Later he claims that an advertisement was inserted in the papers *after* the hoax which again caught people out. 'It might well be expected this Affair would reform the Town, but alas! immediately after, a Man who kept an Ale-house at the *Raven* in *Golden-lane* advertised, that *Don Quevedo de Jumpedo* was just arrived from *Italy*, and would in five Nights jump down his own Throat at his House: An incredible Number went to see this Performer, and were all disappointed, except the Man who promised it' (p. 334). Bradstreet seems to be referencing the spoof advertisement [see Page 105 Note 'a surprising Dwarf'] that was posted *before* the hoax took place. There is no evidence that anyone was taken in by the latter.

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- 'Lawyer in *London* in a low Way': *Ibid*, p. 246.
- 'paid before-hand': *Ibid*, p. 261.
- New Theatre in the Haymarket: *Ibid*, p. 264.
- 'shall send this Afternoon to all my Friends in *Cumberland*, to hasten to Town': *Ibid*, p. 284.
- child and tickets: *Ibid*, p. 334. 'The first Suspicion that I was the *Bottle-Conjuror*, was occasioned by a Child's taking, unperceived, to Mr. *H-low*'s, my next Door Neighbour, a Parcel of Tickets for the *Hay-market* before the Night of Performance.' This is a sentence that seems to contradict itself: if the child was unperceived, how could it arouse suspicion?
- 'receive the Money for Tickets, and take it away when the House is full': *Ibid*, p. 297.

- loot: *Ibid*, p. 328. 'Liewell gathers the Gold in the Box, puts it in his Pockets, and gives the Keepers the flip, who are kept in Discourse by Spy and Front, who likewise go off.'
- 300 Guineas: *Ibid*, p. 334. *The Whitehall Evening Post: Or, London Intelligencer*, 17 January, 1749, stated £115 was stolen.
- He publicly confessed: *Ibid*, p. 334. 'soon after it was publicly known, and confessed by myself.'
- 'as the real *Bottle-Conjurer*' and 'a vast many Subscribers': *Ibid*, p. 356.
- 'I hope my *Magician* or *Bottle Conjurer* will please, for it has neither Nature nor Reason to support it': *Ibid*, p. Preface, v. He follows that by writing 'tho' every Word true.'

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- Credible motive for the hoax: One writer who seems to endorse Bradstreet is *Performing Dark Arts A Cultural History of Conjuring*, Michael Mangan, Bristol: Intellect, 2007, p. 74. I must disagree with Mangan's statement that 'What is certain is that Bradstreet gives us a detailed and sustained contemporary insight into this notorious hoax.' I would also dispute his statement that 'no alternative culprit has been identified with any certainty'. Mangan repeats a misquote from *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776*, in stating that the cost of damages to the theatre was estimated at £4,000 (p. 71) - it was £400 (this error is repeated in several other books). He is also wrong in claiming that the Duke of Cumberland and the 4th Earl of Sandwich were 'rumoured to have perpetrated the scam' (p. 72). The confusion over the 4th Earl of Sandwich comes from *The Illustrated History of Magic*, Milbourne Christopher, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1973, pp. 83-4 where the author thinks the 2nd Duke of Montagu is also the Earl of Sandwich: they were two different men.
- 'the reports of the Town and the three Kingdoms, was that a certain Duke contrived it': *Life and Uncommon Adventures*, p. 244.
- 'Presence of some Noble Contributors' and 'put into neat Order': *The Daily Advertiser*, 23 January 1749. 'Note, It is humbly hoped on the Part of the Person who is to expect the Charity of the Town on this Occasion, that those Gentlemen and Ladies who already have Tickets, will not look on the Play's being *deferr'd* as a Disappointment, because the House could not before that Time be made so decent as the Presence of some Noble Contributors will require; but they may depend on its being then put into neat Order.' *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776*, p. 94 wrote that the play had been 'postponed because of damage to the theatre until a nobleman paid for some repairs'.
- Twenty-three years had passed: The first nobleman to be suggested as the hoaxer was 21 years afterwards. It was the Earl of Chesterfield. *The Drivers: A Dialogue*, Cambridge, 1770, p. 30. 'The man who was to have got into a Quart-Bottle, &c. An experiment made by Lord Chesterfield upon English Credulity'. The possibility of Chesterfield's involvement is also suggested by his name appearing in the print, underneath the perpetrators, in *The Bottle Conjurer, from Head to Foot, without Equivocation*. However no further evidence or support that I have found links the Earl of Chesterfield to the hoax. For instance *Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield*; Edited by Lord Mahon, In Four Volumes, Vol. III, London, 1845, pp. 316-18 sees The Earl writings a letter to Solomon Dayrolles on 20 January 1749 but there is no mention of the hoax. *Thoughts on the Conduct of the Understanding*, Basil Montagu, 1820, p. 184 connects the Duke of Montagu & the Earl of Chesterfield together: 'The Duke of Montagu said, that "if a man advertised the most improbable thing in the world, he would find fools enough to fill a play-house."' "Surely," said Lord Chesterfield, "should a man say he would jump into a quart-bottle, nobody would believe it". On 17th [sic] January, 1749, an advertisement accordingly appeared, that "the next day a person at the theatre in Haymarket would play on a common walking-cane..." Another nobleman thrown into the mix was Lord Portland. *Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities* William S. Walsh, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1909 pp. 475-6: 'Early in the year 1749 a distinguished company of Englishmen were discussing the question of human gullibility. Among them were the Duke of Portland and the Earl of Chesterfield. "I will wager," said the duke, "that let a man advertise the most impossible thing in the world, he will find fools enough in London to fill a play house and pay handsomely for the privilege of being there."' In *The Romance of London*, John Timbs, Vol. II, London: Frederick Warne and Co., [1890], p. 177, it is The Duke of Montagu and Lord Chesterfield connected with the hoax: 'The Duke of Montague being in company with some other noblemen, proposed a wager, that let a man...in earnest. "Surely," said Lord Chesterfield, "if a man should say that he would jump into a quart bottle, nobody would believe that!"' Yet another variation on the noblemen involved is in *A History of Advertising*, Henry Sampson, London: Chatto and Windus, 1874, pp. 365: 'At the close of the year 1748, or in the beginning of 1749, the Duke of Montague, Lord Portman, and some other noblemen were talking about the gullibility of the people, and the Duke offered to wager that, let a man advertise the most impossible thing in the world, he would find fools enough in London to fill a playhouse, and pay handsomely for the privilege of being there. "Surely," said the Earl of Chesterfield, "if a man should say that he would jump into a quart bottle, nobody would believe that." The Duke was somewhat staggered at this, but for the sake of the jest determined to make the experiment. Accordingly the following advertisement was inserted in the papers.'
- *The Town and Country*: Full title is *The Town and Country Magazine; Or Universal Repository Of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment*.
- Mrs O—b—n and L—d G— : *Memoirs of the Tête-à-Tête annexed*; or, the History of L—d G— and Mrs. O — b—n. (No 25, 26.), *The Town and Country Magazine*, September 1772, p. 457.

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- Mrs Osbern; Granville Leveson-Gower: Their true names were revealed in *Notes and Queries*, Tenth Series, Volume IV, October 28, 1905, p. 843. Also in *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires, Vol. V, 1711-1783*, Mary Dorothy George, 1935, no. 4982, p. 70. Granville Leveson-Gower was also known as Viscount Trentham. Leveson-Gower is pronounced Lurson-Gore, an example of a counter-intuitive pronunciation of a surname.
- Milkmaid: *The Town and Country Magazine*, September 1772, p. 458. 'She was a foundling, and after attaining the age at which the hospital usually dismisses them, she was apprenticed to a milk woman near Red-Lyon Square.'

- Bitterly fought election: *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, Winter, 1977-1978, 'Fielding, Bedford and the Westminster Election of 1749', M. C. with R. R. Batestin, pp. 154-5
- Disrupt the play: Reported in *The Daily Advertiser*, 16 November 1749, cited in *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 4: 1747-1776*, p. 152: 'On Tuesday night there was a great Disturbance...at the French Play, it being the Night of Opening; the first Act was very much disturbed and some Persons were wounded'. *The London Evening-Post*, 14-16 November 1749: 'Tuesday Night the Campaign open'd at the Little Theatre in the Hay-market...and several others of as great Honour and Rank, attack'd the Gallery Sword in Hand (occasion'd by a few unpolite English attempting to interrupt them in their Performance) with such great Success, that, be it spoken to their immortal Fame; they entirely defeated ten Gentlemen, some of whom were run through the Arms; Face, Eyes, and Body: Three of the valiant Heroes beat a Boy almost to Death! after which they made a most gallant Retreat.'
- Vehemently denied: *The General Advertiser*, 27 November 1749: 'Whereas it has been maliciously reported...that I was active in the Disturbance at the French Playhouse last Tuesday Se'venight...I was neither in the Pit nor Gallery where the Disturbance happened during the Time of the Performance, nor drew my Sword, nor made use of any Weapon, either to strike or terrify any of the Spectators.'
- 'a scheme planned by the late duke of Montagu, in company with the duke of Richmond'; and 'if an advertisement was published, setting forth that on such a day a man would get into a quart bottle, the inhabitants of this metropolis would flock to pay for being spectators of an impossibility.' *The Town and Country Magazine*, September, 1772 p. 457.
- Attended coffee houses: 'Struensee in Britain: The Interpretation of the Struensee Affair in British Periodicals, 1772', Merethe Roos, *Library of the Written Word*, The Handpress World, Editor-in-Chief, Andrew Pettegree, Volume 42, 2015, pp. 89-90.
- Remarkably accurate: 'The Tête-à-Têtes in *The Town And Country Magazine* (1769 - 1793)', Eleanor Drake Mitchell, *Interpretations*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1977, p. 18: 'A careful examination of the facts given in the Tête-à-têtes reveals amazing accuracy and faithful representation. One or two factual inaccuracies do occur, and of course, many of the anecdotes cannot be proved, but the dates, names, places of most of the incidents are verifiable in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and other standard works.' Email from Cindy McCreery (author of 'Keeping up with the Bon Ton: the Tête-à-Tête series in the Town and Country Magazine' in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, Edited by Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, London: Routledge, 1997) to author dated 30 January 2017: 'My guess, though, is that it IS likely to be true – not only because I do think that in general the t-a-ts are fairly accurate (at least about some aspects of their subjects' careers!) but because the hoax appears to have involved such big names – major Whig figures and families like the Lennoxes and Montagus with their close association not only with the Whig establishment but also George II. It would seem odd for such big names to be associated with a hoax if there wasn't a shred of truth to it.'

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- 'the late facetious Duke of Montague (the memorable author of the scheme of the bottle-conjuror, at the Theatre in the Hay-market)...': *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 3-5 November, 1779, reproduced in *The Public Advertiser*, 9 November 1779 would seem to be this earliest reference. The next 'new' citation, that I have found, to the Duke of Montagu is in *The New, Complete, and Universal History, Description, and Survey of The Cities of London and Westminster, The Borough of Southwark, And the Parts adjacent*, William Thornton, London, 1784, p. 289: 'A humorous incident happened about this time, which greatly diverted the attention of the people, and was ascribed to a contrivance of the duke of Montague to ridicule the public credulity.' An earlier edition of a similar book, *A New and Compleat History and Survey Of the Cities of London and Westminster*, Henry Chamberlain, London, 1770, pp. 328-9 refers to the hoax but doesn't mention the Duke of Montagu. Which presupposes that it was the 1772 or 1779 reference that was picked up in the later edition.
- John Montagu: Primary information about the Duke was obtained from *ODNB*, Montagu, John, second duke of Montagu (1690–1749); and *Estate Letters from the Time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu 1709-39*, Transcribed by Alan Toseland, Edited by Peter McKay and David Hall, Northampton, Northamptonshire Record Society, 2013, xvi-xxv.
- Married Mary Churchill: *John and Sarah, Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, 1660-1744*, Stuart J Reid, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, p. 429. Sarah Churchill wrote a letter on 17 November 1739 saying she had 'married [Mary] to the chief match of England in all respects'. Otherwise she would have 'been married to some country gentleman with £1,500 or £2,000 a year, which for ought I know might have been better both for her and for me'.
- 'carnage': *The Way of the Montagues: A Gallery of Family Portraits*, Bernard Falk, London: Hutchinson & Co, 1947, p. 267. *Private Correspondence of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, Illustrative of the Court and Times of Queen Anne*, In Two Volumes, Vol. 1, London, 1838, Duke of Marlborough to the Duchess of Marlborough, 6 May 1706, pp. 18-9: 'Lord Monthermer has pressed Lord Halifax and myself that he might return for England, saying that he could have no happiness whilst he stayed abroad.'
- Active fighting: In a revealing letter to Henry Pelham (or possibly his brother, the Duke of Newcastle) on 6 November 1748, Montagu wrote as follows: 'I have had my desire for some years in being Master of the Ordnance and having the Command of Regiment of artillery and of a Regiment of Dragoons, but the number of unreasonable pretensions and a thousand other disagreeable things that have been the consequence of those Commands have made me heartily tired of all military matters, and if it was not for two vices, ambition that makes me not care to loose the Rank of Cabinet Councilor, and interest that makes unwilling to loose the income of my employment I would desire to quit the works.' Keeper of the Manuscripts and Special Collections, The University of Nottingham, Ref: Ne C 861/1-2. Montagu's apparent love of money was also hinted at in *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, Lord John Hervey, In Two Volumes, Vol. I, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848, p. 229 when he was appointed Governor of the Isle of Wight in 1733: 'a man of little more consequence than his being a Duke...took this opportunity to sell himself for as much as he was worth, by getting the income of this employment increased to 1500l. a year.' Despite his lack of fighting, he did

seem to have a knowledge of military matters. *Stukeley's journal*, 5 July 1749, Bodleian. MS Eng. misc. e. 126, f.76, cited in *Boughton and Beyond: An investigation of the local, national and global estate interests and activities of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-1749*, Helen Bates, PhD, 2018

(https://leicester.figshare.com/articles/thesis/Boughton_and_Beyond_An_investigation_of_the_local_national_and_global_estate_interests_and_activities_of_John_2nd_Duke_of_Montagu_1709_-1749/10228052/1, Accessed July 2021), p. 188, where she writes: 'This conflicts with the eulogy that Stukeley composed on the occasion of the Duke's death in 1749 which stated that he had 'a very quick apprehension in every thing of gunnery incampments & military operations' and that he had a 'talent in every part of the military'.'

- Sarah Churchill never warmed to him: *The Opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough*, 1788, p. 59. 'He is not a man that has any demand on account of services done by sea or land'. She made other digs at her son-in-law. *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, Lord John Hervey, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, London: John Murray, 1848, pp. 347-8. The Duke replaced Lord Westmoreland as Captain of the Horse-Guards. Sarah said that 'the Court had taken away a troop of Horse-Guards from Lord Westmoreland, who never had anything in the army but what he had bought, to give it to the Duke of Montague, who never had anything but what he had sold'. Sarah might have been envious of his wealth. In *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 360, the Duke of Montagu pays an outstanding debt for the Duchess of Marlborough.
- Trustee of his will: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 268.
- Standing up when eating: *Bishop Burnet's History of his Own Time*, Vol. V, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823, p. 147: 'He affected eating alone, which the duke of Montague (who had married one of his daughters) was to countenance by standing at his meals.'
- Chief Mourner at his funeral: *The Military History Of the Late Prince Eugene of Savoy, And of the Late John Duke of Marlborough*, Volume II, Claude Du Bosc, London, 1787, p. 333: 'His Grace the Duke of Montagu Chief Mourner'.
- Boughton House in Northampton: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 28 shows the 'Main estates owned by John, 2nd Duke of Montagu, 1709-1749'.
- Montagu House : *The Russells in Bloomsbury 1669-1771*, Gladys Scott Thomson, London: Jonathan Cape, 1940, p. 356. 'During the seventeen-thirties the second Duke of Montagu began to contemplate the possibility of getting rid of his mansion in Great Russell Street.' It was bought in 1753 and became the British Museum.
- London: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 25: 'Although Boughton was considered the ancestral seat, Duke John spent little time there. He appeared to favour other properties and spent considerable time at Montagu House, London.' Another reason why Montagu was well placed to carry out the hoax
- £17,000: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 264.
- Wayward wife: *The Wentworth Papers 1705-1739*, London, 1883, p. 197, May 1711 letter. 'The Dutchess of Montague had told her she was a fool. Lady Harvey in return in a whole assembly of Ladys told her that might be, but she was honest and had lain with nobody but her own Lord. Her Grace had lain with the Duke of Grafton and the Marchal, so they call Lord Villars.' Also p. 230, Lady Strafford in 21 December 1711 letter. 'The Duke of Montague and Lord Jersey are the dearest friends that ever was, which is a great Jest to the town, because the Duchess and Lord Jersey had been so a great while.' It might not have been one-way. *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 357: Suggestion of some sort of liaison with Miss Dela Manley writing to the Duke on May 29, c. 1710: She 'Desires pecuniary aid in her misfortunes, an "execution" having seized all her goods'. In later life husband and wife seemed to make it up. *Letters of a Grandmother 1732-1735*, Edited by Gladys Scott Thomson, London: Jonathan Cape, 1943, Letter dated 15 October 1734 from Sarah Marlborough, p. 147: 'I was told your aunt Montague and her Duke are grown excessive fond of one another, which is quite new on one side.'

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- Two year lease: A copy of the lease is held at Northampton Record Office (Box X8654). The main points of the lease are: lasts 2 years from 10 February 1721; payment of six pounds & six shillings for every performance with a minimum of £100 rental per year; no Balls, Masquerades or Gaming to be held at the theatre; Potter can use the premises for six nights in the year; Potter reserves the rights to sell 'Oranges Fruits and Books in the said theatre during the time of acting'. A copy of the final accounts (held at Boughton House) between the two parties in 1723 shows the rental payment of £200 to John Potter. It did not appear to be a profitable venture for Montagu. I am indebted to Crispin Powell for tracking down both the lease itself and the accounts, the former being a remarkable document previously not know about relating to the history of the New Theatre in the Haymarket, now the Theatre Royal Haymarket. I must thank Paul Cato and John Field for assisting me with the transcription.
- Five months: *The London Stage, 1660-1800, Part 2: 1700-1729*, p. 637. Aaron Hill tried to lease out the theatre during the same period; but was turned away by Montagu.
- Dog Harlequin: *Estate Letters from the Time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu*, p. 243. Montagu to Booth (n/d - 1726-8) 'Tell Rearen or the housekeeper to take great care of my dog Harlakin'.
- Curious: *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 68. 'He was intrigued by the curious. On a trip to Europe he reported back to his wife details of the curious appearance of a woman he saw, attaching two sketches.' Reference on p. 181, note 45: Northampton County Record Office (NCRO): Montagu to the Duchess of Montagu, Montagu, Volume 5 - letters of the Montagu family (Vol. III), 1673-1758, f23.

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- 'and twenty such pretty fancies like these': *The Opinions of Sarah Duchess-Dowager of Marlborough*, 1788, p. 58.
- Wonky mirrors: *Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, London: Henry Colburn, 1828, p. 405.
- Stammerers: *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, Vol. VI., 15 October 1864, p. 308. 'The late Duke of Montague was a man of great and peculiar humour. He was used to invite eight or ten people who all squinted, to dine with him at the same time. Once he invited as many who stammered, and they thought that they all mimicked each other, and fell a fighting.'

Horace Walpole refers to a similar story in *Walpole*, letter to Lady Ossory, 21 January 1787, Vol. 33 p. 554. 'In truth I thought the whole congregation, had it met, would have been so distressed and awkward, that it would have been like a dinner that the late Duke of Montagu made at Bath of all the people he could find there that stuttered.'

- Poured over his head: *Memoirs of the Political and Private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont*, London, 1810, p. 34.
- All sank: *The Cabinet of True Attic Wit: Or Aldermen's Jokes*, London, 1783, pp. 63-4.
- 'a couple of great earthen pots': *Richardsoniana: Or, Occasional Reflections on the Moral Nature of Man*, By the late Jonathan Richardson, London: J. Dodsley, Pall-Mall, 1776, pp. 160-1. The actual phrase used of what was dumped on the garden seat is 'house of office', which is interpreted as 'sewage' in perhaps the best summary to date of the Bottle Conjuror hoax: *Factotum, Newsletter of the XVIIIth century STC*, No. 37, September 1993, British Library, pp. 26-7. Dr Misaubin is featured in Plate 5 of William Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress*.
- A gourmet was given a very tough steak to consume, *The Lounger's Common-Place Book*, The Third Edition, In Three Volumes, Vol. 1, London: Longman Hurst, 1805, pp. 326-7.
- 'he had been carrying a legion of devils, for he had counted eighteen of them, and they were coming out still.' *The Scots Magazine*, June 1780, p. 305.

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- *God Save the King and Charley over the Water: Lloyd's Evening Post*, 3-5 November 1779. This is the first time the story is told that I have been able to find. The story was repeated in *Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth*, John Nichols, The Second Edition, Enlarged and Corrected, London, 1782, pp. 136-9. The first edition, dated 1781, does not have the anecdote.
- No date: From the *ODNB*, Heidegger, Johann Jakob (1666–1749) puts it anytime between 1715 and 1743. There is no indication whether it was George I or II involved. 'Advertisements for and references to masquerades in the capital start about 1711... However, no evidence associates him with them until about 1715 or 1716. Heidegger's masquerades flourished into the 1730s; his last known advertisement for one was in February 1743, by which time they had fallen out of fashion.'
- Mary Toft: *An Exact Diary of what was observ'd during a Close Attendance upon Mary Toft*, By Sir Richard Manningham, London, 1726, p 20. 'The same Day I told the Story of the Hog's Bladder to his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Montague, Lord Baltimore, and Mr Molyneux, but did not declare it publicly for the Reasons I have given' (p. 20). She was 'exhorted by his Grace the Duke of Montague, Lord Belmonte, Dr Douglas, and myself, to make a free and open Confession' (p. 32). The Duke of Richmond was also involved in Mary Toft's hoax but neither him, nor of course the Duke of Montagu, appear to have corresponded about it at all. This fact is noted in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, p. 69; and the same lack of correspondence by the two men would seem to be true for the Bottle Conjuror hoax.
- 'odd' and 'great goodness to me, and his incomparable understanding, far overpaid me for all the inconveniences': *Memoirs of the political and private life of James Caulfield*, p. 34.
- Kindness: His kindness didn't just apply to humans but also to animals. In *The British Magazine*, October 1749, p. 432 it relates how he saved a dog from drowning; that he captured a wild cat and ordered it to be caged – but wouldn't look at it himself as he hated seeing animals in 'an uneasy state'; and that he directed in his will that all his horses and animals should be looked after. And on p. 433 that he couldn't bear to see even harmed, once letting out of a window a swarm of flies. *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters of Books & Men*, Rev. Joseph Spence, London, 1820, p. 328: 'The Duke of Montague has an hospital for old cows and horses; none of his tenants dare kill a broken-winded horse: they must bring them all to the reservoir.— The Duke keeps a lap-dog, the ugliest creature he could meet with: he is always fond of the most hideous, and says he was at first kind to them because nobody else would be.' *Walpole*, Vol. 9, pp. 94-5, 20 July 1749: 'There are two codicils, one in favour of his servants, and the other of his dogs, cats and creatures.' 'As he was making the codicil, one of the cats jumped on his knee; "What," says he, "have you a mind to be a witness too! You can't, for you are a party concerned".' *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London*, The Second Edition, Sir John Hill, London, 1780, p. 5: 'The noble Personage alluded to here, is the late Duke of Montagu, famous, among a thousand other amiable Qualities, for his Love to the whole animal Creation, and for his being able to keep a very grave Face, when he was not in the most serious Earnest. Mr. B—r [Dr Henry Baker], a very distinguished Member of the Royal Society, had one Day entertained this Nobleman, and several other Persons, with the Sight of the Peristaltic Motion of the Bowels in a Louse by the Microscope; when the Observation was over, he was going to throw the Creature away; but the Duke, with a Face that made him believe he was perfectly in earnest, told him, it would be not only cruel but ungrateful, in return for the Entertainment that Creature had given them, to destroy it. He ordered the Boy to be brought in, from whom it was procured, and after praising the Smallness and Delicacy of Mr. B—r's Fingers, persuaded him carefully to replace the Animal in its former Territories, and to give the Boy a Shilling not to disturb it for a Fortnight.' *William Stukeley, An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*, Stuart Piggott, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950, p. 146: 'A flock of sheep happened to cross us, the Duke admired the prettiness, the simplicity, the innocence of the animal and how sorry he was when by chance he saw 'em killing one, he turn'd away his head, and could not bear to look at it'. Finally in *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 31, Note 44: 'The Duke gave specific instructions for the care of his blind, toothless lion', while his kindness towards horses is detailed on pp. 220-1.
- Generosity: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, pp. 31-2: 'The Duke has also been traditionally linked to the foundation of the Foundling Hospital although his act of kindness in offering the Hospital, Montagu House in Bloomsbury, has been interpreted by Gillian Wagner as being less philanthropic than has traditionally been thought and rather intended as a means to solve his financial problems by offloading the burden of a huge repair bill from himself to the Hospital's Governors.' Note 49 cites *Thomas Coram, Gent. 1668-1751*, G Wagner, 2nd edn Woodbridge, 2004, pp.136-37.

- £3,000 : *Walpole*, Vol. 20, p. 79, 24 July 1749 put the figure at ‘no less than £2,700.’ *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 31: ‘There is evidence to confirm that annuities were paid to widows and retired servants in the Montagu estate accounts together with provision for the education of poor children.’
- Private pensions: *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, pp. 68 and 181, note 47 cites helping a man called Thomson ‘with the character of an honest but unfortunate man, and I believe is a very Great object of charity’: John Montagu, 2nd Duke of Montagu: Letter to Lord Macclesfield, 27 June 1726, BL: Stowe MS 750, f. 420.
- Pockets full of money: *The British Magazine*, October 1749, ‘On Benevolence. *Some Anecdotes of a Nobleman lately deceas’d*’, p. 433. The author was Sir John Hill who was heavily involved in the Elizabeth Canning case, see chapter 6.
- Ignatius Sancho: *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, An African To which are prefixed, Memoirs of his Life*, The Third Edition, London: J Nichols, 1784, pp. vi-vii.
- He pardoned a man sentenced to death for stealing from him: *Policing and Punishment in London, 1660-1750*, p. 452: ‘He wanted to get him pardoned on condition of transportation – though he also wanted him to remain ignorant of the pardon until the morning of the execution “in hopes that the apprehension of dyeing may make him confes the fact”.’
- Bought books: *The British Magazine*, October 1749, p. 433.
- Curate with same name: ‘A remarkable Anecdote concerning the late Duke of M—’, *The Town and Country Magazine*, October, 1778, pp. 528-9. The story concludes: ‘Why then get a presentation to the living, bring it to me, and I will sign it.’

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- ‘as composedly as if he had done nothing’: *The British Magazine*, October 1749, pp. 433-4. Later related in *Gentleman’s and London Magazine*, March 1756, pp. 110-11, where the story is rather crueller, with the officer informed that a lady ‘long had a particular regard for him’; and that was the reason for the dinner.
- ‘He was your friend and the friend of mankind’: *Elizabeth Montagu, The Queen of the Blue-Stockings, Her Correspondence from 1720 to 1761*, In Two Volumes - Vol. I, London: John Murray, 1906, pp. 266-7
- ‘as his grace’s humanity and benevolence was universal, so his loss is irreparable’: *The British Magazine*, July, 1749, p. 306.
- ‘he was a most amiable man, and one of the most feeling I ever knew’. *Walpole*, Vol, 20, p. 79, 24 July 1749.
- Paying for the repairs: *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, Vol. II, 1734-1738*, London, 1923, p. 264: ‘I saw a great profusion of fine clothes. The Duke of Montague’s cost 400*l*.’ This was the same amount as the estimated repairs of the theatre and shows what a comparatively small sum it was to the Duke. The Duke’s love of clothes is seen here. *Lyme Letters 1660-1760*, By the Lady Newton, London: William Heinemann, 1925, Letter from Lady Anne Carew about a masked ball given by the Duke of Montagu, p. 282: ‘The Duke himself had 5 changes of Cloathes and said nothing vexed him soe much as being disappointed of the sixth’. I did check to see if there was any records of money paid from the Duke’s accounts to John Potter. However the amount of money passing through his bank accounts was such that one could easily envisage Potter being paid in cash. At the Norfolk Record Office there are account books for both the Duke prior to his death and his Estate afterwards. In the latter there is an amount of £539 in cash found at Whitehall upon his death; and £31, also in cash, found in his water closet.
- Montagu was good friends: *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 413 Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Montagu, 1748, March, Hague, writes asking that a number of pontoons be sent for the ‘ensuring campaign’. Ends it with ‘I am your affectionate friend, William’. In *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 177, there is an illustration of The Duke dressed as ‘The Great Master’ of the Order of the Bath with William, Duke of Cumberland, 1725.
- ‘Raise the Infernals to teach me Fireworks’: *English Credulity; or Ye’re all Bottled*. Evidence that it is the Duke of Montagu saying these words is supported by the physical appearance of the drawing. The 2nd Duke was known to be a tall, thin man with a prominent nose and chin. Hogarth’s print, *The Conquest of Mexico*, shows the Duke standing against a wall on the left hand side watching a show, displaying similar features. The illustration on page 126 also confirms the likeness.
- Organising the fireworks: *The General Advertiser*, 21 November, 1748. ‘We hear, that his Grace the Duke of Montagu will present to his Majesty a Plan of the intended Fireworks.’
- Two men attended the event: *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, April, 1749, p. 186: ‘His majesty and the duke of Cumberland, attended by the dukes of Montagu, Richmond, and Bedford, and several others of the nobility, were at the library to see the fireworks’. See also *The London Evening-Post*, 27-29 April 1749. They were also together when testing out the firing capacity of new canons; as reported in *Old England*, 8 April 1749. And in reviewing ‘the Train of Artillery in the Green Park’ as noted in *The General Advertiser*, 20 April 1749
- ‘to keep a very grave Face, when he was not in the most serious Earnest’: *A Review of the Works of the Royal Society of London*, p. 5. ‘The noble Personage alluded to here, is the late Duke of Montagu, famous, among a thousand other amiable Qualities, for his Love to the whole animal Creation, and for his being able to keep a very grave Face, when he was not in the most serious Earnest.’
- Admitted his part: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 271: ‘The Duke, on whom, naturally enough, suspicion fell, disclaimed all responsibility, and his death that summer automatically terminated any effort to bring home to him the authorship of the costly hoax. The fact that the management were careful not to bring his name into the affair rather suggests that he may have privately compensated them.’ I have found no evidence that the Duke ever wrote or spoke about the hoax, or that he ‘disclaimed all responsibility’. The Duke of Cumberland lived for another 16 years after the Duke of Montagu died. You can imagine the family would have been reluctant to talk about his participation while the Duke was still alive.
- Died of pneumonia: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 223. ‘When the Duke died at Whitehall, ten weeks after the fireworks on 5 July 1749, Stukeley described the cause of death as due to ‘a nervous fever’ and that ‘he had languished

under nervous disorder for 6 weeks before' which suggests that his demise began around a month after the fireworks fiasco.' 'The stress of the Duke's military appointments took a toll and...It is arguable that they eventually contributed to his death.' There seems to be some dispute about his date of death. 'Last Wednesday Morning, One o'clock, died...the Most Noble John Duke of Montagu', *The London Evening-Post*, 6-8 July 1749, which would be 5 July. 'Yesterday Morning died...the Most Noble John Duke of Montagu', *The General Advertiser*, 7 July 1749, which would be 6 July.

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- William Nicholls: *The Quarterly Review*, Volume 34, June & September, London: John Murray, 1826, p. 232. Speculation was made by Walter Scott about the identity of Nicholls. 'It may be now spoken out, that the contriver of this notable *hoax* was the Duke of Montagu, eccentric in his humour as well as in his benevolence. The person who appeared was a poor Scotchman who had some office about the India-house.' There is no other evidence that substantiates this statement.
- Pseudonym: *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors. Volume 11*, p. 20: 'One hardly knows how to style William Nicholls, but perhaps impresario will serve, since Nicholls (if that was his real name) engaged the Haymarket Theatre for the evening of 16 January 1749.'
- Curate at Scaldwell: According to *Northampton and Rutland Clergy from 1500*, Rev. Henry Isham Longden, Northampton, 1941, Nicholls, William, he was curate from 17 March 1727-8. However according to *Bishop's Transcripts, Scaldwell*, he was curate in 1726. 'This is a true copy of Scaldwells Register for the year 1726 Witnessed by Wm Nicholls Curate.'
- Rector at Little Oakley: *Parish Register, Little Oakley*: 'Memorandum: Wm Nicholls Rector Inducted September 23rd, 1728'. According to *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, it was 17 September, 1728.
- Livings: The Duke of Montagu had many livings that were under his control, varying in value. The Rectory at Scaldwell was valued in the King's Book at £14 and 10 pennies. St George's, Queen's Square, at £250. The latter was given by the Duke to William Stukeley. The value of the livings and the number owned (of which I have found at least 14) by the Duke can be found in *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus*, Rev. John Lloyd, London 1788: Scaldwell, p. 299; St George's, p. 226. Little Oakley does not seem to be listed. The granting of the living to William Stukeley is in *The Family Memoirs of the Rev. William Stukeley*, Volume 1, Surtees Society, London, 1882, pp. 56-7.
- Nicholls earned sufficient: Letter from Samuel Quincy to William Folks, 12h June 1756 stating that the living of Oakley was 'small'. Unpublished Stewart's Correspondence, M(B) 2/3/2/237, courtesy of Crispin Powell. Compare with some of the other Duke's livings. *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, John Nichols, Volume II, London, 1817, p. 787. Montagu to William Stukeley, 12 November 1747 offering him 'the living of St George, Queen-square, also, which is in my gift. In the valuation of my living, it is called two hundred pounds a year; but I am assured, by those who should know, that it is considerably more.' Also see *William Stukeley, An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*, p. 153.
- Six daughters: Of his six daughters, three survived to adulthood. His wife died giving birth to his sixth daughter, who died soon after.
- Charles Lamotte: *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, Charles Lamotte became Rector of Scaldwell on 15 October 1722. From the *Parish Register, Scaldwell*, 'Charles Lamotte DD Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Rector of this Parish. Died at his other living of Warkton January the 11 [1742] and was there Buried.'
- Falling out: *Estate Letters from the Time of John, 2nd Duke of Montagu*, pp. 59-60. Letter between March and September 1728 from Lamotte to the Duke of Montagu. 'I find, by the by, that Mr Nichols is likely to enter into a law affair with you about Oakley, which gives me much uneasyness. I beg you would remember I was not the person that recommended him to you for the living.' On pp. 50-53 correspondence between Lamotte and the Duke with the former asking not to be appointed as Rector of Scaldwell. But the Duke insists.
- Parsonage house built: *Parish Register, Little Oakley*, 'The foundation Stone of the Parsonage House was lay'd by William Nicholls Rector July the Second 1730. His Grace John Duke of Montagu gave both Stone & Timber towards the Building.'
- William Nicholls went to Oxford University: 'William Nicholls son of Richard Nicholls Gentleman of Welton in Northamptonshire, born at Welton, aged 17 was admitted Servitour into Lincoln College, Jan, 23rd, 1718/19.' From the *Matriculation Register* for William Nicholls. Received from Lindsay McCormack, Archivist, Lincoln College, sent in email dated 24 November 2016.
- Bond of resignation: 'Mischievous snares': bonds of resignation', William Gibson, *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. 10, No 1, January 1989. I am indebted to Mr Gibson for his assistance on both this issue and his thoughts on the likelihood of Nicholls being involved in the Bottle Conjuror.
- Two positions in 1749: See *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, Nicholls, William. Also, *Bishop's Transcripts, Scaldwell*: 'This is a true Copy of the Register of Scaldwells for the year 1749. Witness our Hands Wm Nicholls Minister (and Church Wardens)'. For *Parish Register, Little Oakley*, there is a sign off by Nicholls for the year 1747. Nicholls died 10 June 1756. Letter from Frances Nicholls, Scaldwell to William Folkes, 10 June 1756 Queen Square: 'Lost the best of fathers who went out riding in fields and suddenly dropped from his horse.' Unpublished Stewart's Correspondence, M(B) 2/3/2/236, with thanks to Crispin Powell.
- 'a Man of genteel Appearance' and 'directed Letters to be left for him at the Bedford Coffee-house': *The General Advertiser* and *The Daily Advertiser*, 19 January 1749 and repeated 20 January 1749. 'N.B. The Person who took the House was a Man of genteel Appearance, said his Name was *William Nicholls*, and directed Letters to be left for him at the Bedford Coffee-house, Covent-Garden.' Repeated 20 January, 1749. For 'The Bedford Coffee-House, in Covent Garden' *Club Life of London*, John Timbs, In Two Volumes, Vol. II, London: Richard Bentley, 1866, pp. 76-82. The

Bedford was a particular favourite of Samuel Foote. Its walls were papered with playbills and it was well-known for dramatic criticism.

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- One likely candidate is Philip Sone: *Parish Register, Scaldwell*: 'Philip Sone M.A. Rector of Scaldwell Inducted May 22, 1742. Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and to his Grace the Duke of Montagu.' Also *Northampton and Rutland Clergy*, Sone, Philip
- Chaplains to Frederick Prince of Wales: From correspondence with Daniel Reed, 19 January 2017, who at the time was doing research at the Royal Archives: 'At Prince Frederick's death in 1751, a list of his former chaplains was drawn up to inform decision made about who would be continued in the household of Augusta, Dowager Princess of Wales (RA/EB/EB/30, ff. 51-52). This list gives the year of appointment for each chaplain, and their whereabouts in 1751. The relevant extracts are as follows: '1732 - Charles Lamotte - dead; 1741 - Phillip Sone - living in Hampshire.'
- They were good friends: *A Duke and his Friends, The Life and Letters of the Second Duke of Richmond*, Earl of March, Vol. II, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1911, pp. 431-3 is letter from Duke of Montagu to Richmond complaining amusingly about a fox in his grounds. In Vol. I, p. 298 he receives a letter of congratulation from Montagu when he was made Master of the Horse in January, 1735. *Report on the Manuscripts of The Duke of Buccleuch*, p. 385 John Chardin to the Duke of Marlborough, 1 May 1735: 'I shall be for ever grateful to my highly honoured and beloved friends Magnifico and Clarissimo the two Dukes of Richmond and Montagu for having lately at each of their houses recommended me to your acquaintance and friendship'. *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 25 states they were 'close friends'. *The Daily Post*, 6 December 1731: 'Some Days ago the Duke of Richmond, the Duke of Montagu, and many persons of quality were at the Rehearsal of a new Comedy, call'd, The MODISH COUPLE, written by Mr. BODENS, and were very much diverted, desiring some of the Scenes to be rehearsed over again.' Cited in *The Imposteress Rabbit Breeder*, pp. 69 and 182, note 51 is reference to Richmond requesting Montagu's support in lobbying the Bishop of London in 1723: Charles Lennox, 2nd Duke of Richmond to Montagu, 4 June 1723 NCRO: Montagu Volume 2, Original Letters (Vol. III) 1681-1765, f76.
- Residences close: *The Way of the Montagues*, p. 272. 'The Dukes of Montagu and Richmond were neighbours in Privy Gardens.' *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 199: 'The revival of his fortunes and public profile appears to have been boosted by the relocation of his main residence in 1733 from his great mansion at Bloomsbury to a new 'plain and simple' house at Privy Garden which overlooked the Thames and abutted the properties of other 'noblemen'. These neighbours included the Duke of Richmond, Duke of Portland, Earl of Pembroke and Lord Loudoun.' Ref in note 687: J. Motley, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*, London, 1735, p. 655.
- Practical jokes: *A Duke and his Friends*, Vol. I, pp. 264-70 relates a pretend highway robbery orchestrated by Richmond, which Montagu enjoyed hearing about. *Notes & Queries*, 3rd Series, VI, October 29, 1864, p. 353: The Duke of Montagu himself was involved in a genuine highway robbery; but he paid a reward for the return of a valuable watch and then asked the villain to dine with some friends afterwards. After he had gone, they enquired who was the agreeable person. "'I'm sure I don't know,'" said the Duke: "all I know of him is, that he stopped me on Finchley Common last night and robbed me of all I had about me".
- Ridiculous bets: Both the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Montagu were members of White's. The original Betting Book survives, *The Betting Book of White's from 1743 to 1878*, Vol. II. Part I, London, 1892, and lists many absurdist bets, although there are no examples of any bets made by the Duke of Montagu. An amusing wager is recounted by Horace Walpole with regard to one of those involved in the Bottle Conjurer hoax. *Walpole*, Vol. 20, pp. 208-9, 19 December 1750. A man bet that he could find someone who weighed twice as much as that of the Duke of Cumberland. 'When they had betted, they recollected not knowing how to desire the Duke to step into a scale. They agreed to establish his weight at twenty stone'. Edward Bright, considered to be the largest living man was pitted against him, but died before the wager could be completed. See also *The History of Gambling in England*, John Ashton, London: Duckworth & Co., 1898, pp. 155-58 and 171-2 for other examples of ridiculous bets, including more mentioned by Horace Walpole.
- Serious historians: *Boughton and Beyond*, Helen Bates, p. 1: 'Many of his [John, 2nd Duke of Montagu] activities have escaped the historical record, overshadowed by an inordinate focus on his love of hoaxing and practical jokes.'