

Edward Hyde, 3rd Earl of Clarendon

Edward Hyde, 3rd Earl of Clarendon (28 November 1661 – 31 March 1723), styled **Viscount Cornbury** between 1674 and 1709, was an English aristocrat and politician. Better known as **Lord Cornbury**, he was propelled into the forefront of English politics when he and part of his army defected from the Catholic King James II to support the newly arrived Protestant contender, William III of Orange. These actions were part of the beginning of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. As a reward, he was appointed governor of the provinces of New York and New Jersey, serving between 1701 and 1708.

As a High Tory governor, his primary mission was to protect the colonies during the War of the Spanish Succession (known in the Americas as Queen Anne's War, or the 2nd French and Indian War; 1701 – 1714). His administration successfully prevented French incursions into the middle colonies. However, he became mired in the region's many factional conflicts and accrued powerful political enemies such as Lewis Morris, who would go on to become Governor of New Jersey in 1738.

By 1708, war weariness led to a shift in the political tide in Great Britain. Governor Cornbury was recalled from the colonies, but was soon after installed as a member of Queen Anne's privy council. Lord Cornbury's fortunes changed again when George I was crowned King of Great Britain on 1 August 1714. Out of favor, Lord Cornbury died in Chelsea, London on 31 March 1723.

Lord Cornbury's conduct as governor has been generally remembered as scandalous. He was accused by his political enemies of being a cross-dresser, a moral profligate, and wildly corrupt. Few contemporary accounts exist of his conduct; and modern writers disagree as to whether or not Cornbury was actually a cross-dresser, or if he was possibly transgender.

Contents

Early life
Military service Glorious Revolution
Governor of New York and New Jersey Religious issues and politics End of governorship
Post-governorship Special emissary to Hanover and death
Conduct in office Alleged cross-dressing Monetary corruption

The Right Honourable

The Earl of Clarendon

MP PC



Portrait of an unknown woman, purported by some to be Lord Cornbury, held by the New-York Historical Society and reflecting allegations of Cornbury's cross-dressing

1st Governor of New Jersey in British North America	
In office 1701–1708	
Monarch	Anne
Lieutenant	Col. Richard Ingoldesby Lieutenant-Governor
Preceded by	<i>Office created</i>
Succeeded by	John, 4th Baron Lovelace
14th colonial Governor of New York	
In office 1702–1708	
Monarch	Anne
Preceded by	John Nanfan

Family

Portrait

Styles of address**In popular culture****See also****Notes and references**

Notes

References

External links

Succeeded by	John, 4th Baron Lovelace
Personal details	
Born	The Hon. Edward Hyde 28 November 1661 England
Died	31 March 1723 (aged 61) Chelsea, London, England
Resting place	Westminster Abbey
Political party	Tory
Spouse(s)	Katherine O'Brien, 8th Baroness Clifton
Children	Edward, 9th Baron Clifton; Catherine; Mary; Flora; Theodosia; 10th Baroness Clifton
Alma mater	Christ Church, Oxford
Profession	Diplomat and Governor in British North America

Early life

The Honourable Edward Hyde, born was the only child of [Henry, Viscount Cornbury & 2nd Earl of Clarendon](#) (1638–1709) and [Theodosia Capell](#) (1640–1661), daughter of [Arthur Capell, 1st Baron Capell of Hadham](#), and sister of [Arthur Capell](#).^[1] Henry and Theodosia gave birth to Edward eleven months into their marriage. But only three months after Edward's birth, in March 1662, his mother Theodosia died of smallpox.^[2]



Hyde's parents: Henry Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, later 2nd Earl of Clarendon (1688–1709) and his wife, Theodosia Capel, Viscountess Cornbury, by Peter Lely

The Hyde family had close ties to the monarchy: Edward's grandfather, also named Edward, was the [1st Earl of Clarendon](#) (1609–1674). He was born a commoner but became an important advisor to King [Charles I](#) (after 1641) and to [Charles II](#) (after 1651). He was best known for negotiating the [Restoration of the English Monarchy](#) in 1660 through a series of provisions known as the [Clarendon Code](#). The same year Charles II regained the throne, Clarendon's daughter, [Anne Hyde](#) (1637–1671), married the new king's younger brother & heir, James, Duke of York. Meanwhile, Clarendon's eldest son, Henry, married into the Capells of Hadham, one of the richest families in England. Edward's aunt [Anne, Duchess of York](#) was the mother of two English Queens, [Mary II](#) and [Anne](#).

At age 13, Edward [matriculated](#) at [Christ Church, Oxford](#) on 23 January 1675. Only a year early he had inherited the title Viscount Cornbury when his father succeeded as 2nd Earl of Clarendon, thus he was now known as Lord Cornbury. Oxford was followed by three years at l'Academie de Calvin in Geneva.^[3]

In 1688, Lord Cornbury eloped with [Lady Katherine O'Brien](#), the only surviving child of [Henry O'Brien](#), Lord Ibrackan. Viscountess Cornbury succeeded her mother as 8th [Baroness Clifton](#) (1702). Lady Cornbury died in New York on 11 August 1706 and was buried at [Trinity Church, New York](#).

Military service

After graduation, Lord Cornbury joined the elite Royal Regiment of Dragoons under the command of John Churchill, the future Duke of Marlborough. Cornbury first rose to prominence after King Charles II's death on 6 February 1685 triggered a struggle for the throne. James II was the legitimate heir, but he was a staunch Catholic. His nephew, James Fitzroy, the Duke of Monmouth, was illegitimate but a Protestant. On 11 June 1685, Monmouth landed in England hoping to gather popular support for his claim to the throne, triggering the Monmouth Rebellion.

In response, King James II appointed John Churchill as second in command of the Royalist armies, while Lord Cornbury was promoted to command the Royal Dragoons. The rebellion was quickly crushed, with the Royal Dragoons playing a prominent role.^[4] As a reward for his service, Cornbury was given a seat in the Loyal Parliament of 1685.^[5]

Glorious Revolution

On 18 June 1688, prominent English nobles^[6] sent a letter to William III of Orange requesting his intervention in English politics on the Protestant side. In response, William arrived in Brixham, in southwest England on 5 November with over 450 ships, 15,000–18,000 men, and 3,660 cavalry.^{[7][8]} Cornbury's Dragoons was the first royalist unit to make contact with the invasion force – without engaging. A small skirmish was fought at Sherborne on 20 November, but shortly thereafter Lord Cornbury defected to William's side, bringing many of his dragoons with him.^[9] Four days later on November 24 Cornbury's mentor, Lord Churchill, also switched sides.^[10]

By late December James had disbanded his army and fled to France. With James gone, Parliament debated whether William would rule as King in his own right, or as Queen Mary's consort. Lord Cornbury argued for placing his cousin Anne next in succession after Mary, bypassing William. In the end, Parliament favored William, who punished Cornbury by dismissing him from his regiment on 17 July 1689 and from his ceremonial post as Master of Horse for the King of Denmark in May 1690.^[11]

After William III died in 1702, the crown went to Queen Mary II's younger sister Anne. The new queen's closest friend was Sarah Jennings Churchill, wife of John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough. Lord Cornbury was Anne's 1st cousin and John Churchill's protégé. When war broke out, the Duke of Marlborough was placed in command of the allied armies on the Continent, while Cornbury was sent to New York to protect England's American possessions from New France – France's American holdings that stretched from eastern Canada, through the Great Lakes, to the Mississippi River valley. In August 1703, the newly formed Province of New Jersey was added to Cornbury's responsibilities.

Governor of New York and New Jersey

Lord Cornbury arrived in New York on May 3, 1702 to begin his governorship and was graciously welcomed by the local aristocracy. Hyde assumed the governorship amidst Queen Anne's War, which threatened the colonies.^[12] When Lord Cornbury was appointed governor, he was also made "captain-general of all forces by sea and land" for all colonies north of Virginia.^[13] Upon arrival, the new governor inspected the colony's ring of defensive forts and found them in total disrepair, with the key defensive fort at Albany essentially unusable.^{[14][15][16][17]}



New York 1700

The governor immediately dismissed Colonel Wolfgang William Römer, the imperial engineer who had responsibility for maintaining the forts. He then assumed direct oversight over a vast project to construct a large fortress ringed with stone ramparts (later named Fort Frederick).^[18] In August 1702, Governor Cornbury toured the site with representatives of the Iroquois Five Nations. In a report to the Lords of Trade dated 18 June 1703, Imperial Inspector Colonel Robert Quarry reported on construction of the forts:

My Lord Cornbury hath laid the foundation of a stone fort at Albany, and hath carried it on a great way. It will be very regular and answer the end. ... [The fortifications give] great satisfaction to our Indians, who lay the great stress of their security on the defense of those forts.

Invasion by sea was the other threat to New York. The approaches to New York harbor were fortified by a rebuilt Fort William Henry on the tip of Manhattan Island, in addition to a line of forts and stockades on the both banks of the Hudson River^[19] as far as the East River. A breastwork with cannon lined the island's riverbanks. Some of the cannon had been commandeered from ships in the harbor.^[20] Fears of attack from the sea were realized on 26 July 1706, when the French 16-gun brig *Queen Anne* suddenly appeared off Sandy Hook at the harbor entrance. Rumors quickly spread that 10 more ships were on the way from the Virginia Capes.

The resulting panic was magnified by the fact that fortifications at the Verrazano narrows were as yet incomplete.^[21] The local populace rushed to the site and quickly dug defensive embankments.^[22] The French ship sailed away without attacking, and the approaching fleet turned out to be 10 ships that had been captured from the French.^[23] In 1703, the New York Assembly had assigned Mayor William Peartree^[24] to raise £1500 to complete the project.^[25] However, blame was quickly shifted to Governor Cornbury, with accusations of embezzlement. The charge prompted the New York Assembly to cut off funding to the governor and manage the colonial budget directly.^[26] No French or native incursions into New York Colony occurred throughout the 11-year war.^[27]

Religious issues and politics

In spite of an Anglican minority, Governor Cornbury was determined to secure the Church of England as the state religion in the colonies. He was shocked to discover that public funds had been used to build and maintain a Presbyterian church in the village of Jamaica on Long Island. On 4 July 1704, the church, parsonage, and associated buildings were confiscated for use by the Anglican Church.^[28]

Cornbury's most notorious religious scandal involved Reverend Francis Makemie (1658–1708), the "Father of American Presbyterianism". During 1683–1706, the minister established the first Presbyterian congregations in America, primarily in Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. While passing through New York in January 1707, Reverend Makemie led a worship service in a private home. During the service he performed an infant baptism. In doing so, he violated a number of English laws prohibiting the practice of "dissenter" religions.^[29]

It was a time of increased tension: the Acts of Union (1706 & 1707) had just united England and Scotland under a single government. Most Scots vehemently disapproved of the change, Presbyterians in particular. Rumors circulated about dissenter groups plotting subversion, riot or revolution. High Tories like Cornbury rallied to the cry of "The Church in Danger" – the supposed threat posed by Whigs and Nonconformists. Governor Cornbury duly arrested the visiting minister for preaching without a license.^{[30][31]} Seven weeks later Makemie faced trial by the Supreme Court of New York and was acquitted.^{[32][33]} Furious, the governor ordered the minister to pay all expenses for the trial.

During this period Cornbury found himself at odds with the Lewis Morris (1671–1746), then member of the New Jersey Provincial Council and eventual rival of Cornbury. Cornbury responded by suspending Morris from the upper house in September 1704. Morris apologized to the governor and was reinstated, but in December 1704 Cornbury suspended him again.^[34]

Meanwhile, the Anglican Church prospered. Trinity Church, the first meetinghouse in New York, had opened for worship on 3 Mar 1698. In 1705, Governor Cornbury and Lewis Morris – despite animosity between the two – arranged to add 215 acres from Morris's personal holdings, known as The Queen's Farm, to the Trinity Church holdings.^[35] The site was

earmarked for a new college, which was finally founded in 1754 as King's College.^[36] On 1 May 1784 the name was changed to Columbia University.^{[37][38]} Columbia University denies having ties to the former governor:^{[39][40]}

Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury (1661–1723), could very well have been known as the pre-founder of King's College. He was an advocate for the placement of a college in New York City, but somehow his suggestions were overshadowed by Colonel Lewis Morris' statements on the matter, as Morris is more famously known as the college's pre-founder. Although documents lead to evidence of Cornbury's support of the college, his involvement with the college's founding has been ignored because of his damaged reputation over the years.

The first street in New York was paved, with sidewalks install in 1648 by Anneke Lockermans Van Cortland, when the city was still New Amsterdam.^[41] This set the tone for the English to follow. During the second half of Cornbury's term, the streets and sidewalks were paved with cobblestone (in the area around Trinity Church), fire-buckets were positioned throughout the town, and a fledgling fire department was created with two hooks and eight ladders.^[42]

End of governorship

Meanwhile, in New York, Tory Governor Cornbury had become another casualty of the Whig revolution (he was recalled in June 1708).^[43] The cabinet believed that he had been too passive militarily. It also seemed unlikely that he would be able to procure the necessary funding from the contentious colonial assembly.

Post-governorship

In December 1708, he was put under house arrest by the sheriff of New York City for outstanding debts. Since 1705, both the New York & New Jersey Assemblies had refused to appropriate funds for the governor's salary and for support of the colonial garrison. Both were forced to survive on borrowed funds, which had led to Cornbury accruing large debts.^{[44][45]} As a result, the ex-governor was still in town to welcome his successor, John Lovelace, Baron of Hurley (who arrived on 18 December 1708.)^[46] Unfortunately, the new governor died five months later. Administration of the colony then fell to Richard Ingoldsby, who had been Cornbury's Lieutenant Governor and avid supporter. Thus colonial policy continued unchanged. In fact, colonists continued to beg for Cornbury's intervention in local affairs for at least another decade.^[47] After a series of acting governors, General Robert Hunter arrived in 1710 to fill the post permanently. He served until 1720.^[48]

Cornbury's fortunes found reversal soon after his recall as governor. His father's death elevated him to the Peerage, and with it, Parliamentary immunity against civil actions, thus rescuing him from debtors' prison (31 Oct 1709). Upon his return to England, the queen awarded him a pension and lodging at Somerset House, one of the royal palaces. He joined the Harley Ministry as first commissioner of the admiralty in December 1711.^[49]

Although a member of Harley's cabinet, Cornbury was able to remain untainted by the series of scandals that rocked the Tory leadership during this period: His old mentor, the Duke of Marlborough was removed from his place as Captain-General (29 December 1711), charged with bribery and embezzlement. Several "High Tories" were implicated in the (Catholic) Jacobite rising of 1715, which supported James Francis Edward Stuart as the successor to the dying queen.^[50] And finally, he was not linked to Harley's South Seas Bubble, which caused the ruin and bankruptcy of many aristocrats and office holders in 1720–1721.^[51]

Special emissary to Hanover and death

In the midst of political turmoil, Queen Anne sent Cornbury as a replacement for Harley's emissary to her successor, George, Elector of Hannover (1660–1727; King 1714–1727). From his arrival in August 1714 until the Queen's death in November, Cornbury dined and spent his evenings with the royal family. "My Lord Clarendon is very much approved of at Court", wrote his secretary, John Gay.^[52]

Once King George I assumed the British throne, his animosity toward the Tories became apparent, and Cornbury lost his position as emissary. Cornbury continued to be active in the House of Lords until about 1720.^[53] He died on 31 March 1723 at Chelsea, London. He is interred in the Henry VII chapel in Westminster Abbey, in the Hdye family crypt.^[54]

Conduct in office

Hyde has maintained a scandalous reputation for much of history, known for being highly corrupt and being an easy caricature of the wrongs and incompetence that American colonists saw in British colonialism.^[55] Author and journalist Shelly Ross agreed with this viewpoint and saw Cornbury as corrupt, in both moral and governmental terms.^[56] Ross wrote that Cornbury's alleged conduct helped to start the American Revolution, and that framers of the constitution had Lord Cornbury in mind when they wrote the articles of impeachment.^[57] The only modern biography that focuses solely on Hyde was written by New York University professor Patricia Bonomi in 1998 and takes a more nuanced view of Cornbury.^[58]

Alleged cross-dressing

Lord Cornbury was infamously alleged to have opened the 1702 New York Assembly in drag. He wore a "hooped gown and elaborate headdress and carrying a fan, much in the style of the fashionable Queen Anne."^[59] A 2018 editorial in *The New York Times* on gender issues suggested that Cornbury was transgender.^[60] Ross, writing in 1988, called him a "transvestite" and takes his cross-dressing as fact.^[56] However, Bonomi (1998) concluded that he was not a crossdresser, as a royal governor could not have publicly cross-dressed without severe censure.^[61] Bonomi further stated "there is no evidence to indicate that Cornbury was a homosexual",^[62] but that it was difficult to conclude whether or not he was transgender.^[63] She notes that Cornbury's preoccupation with "military matters and manly honor" could be evidence of trying to compensate for gender dysphoria, or that the death of his wife in 1706 may have "emboldened him to attempt to "pass" in public as a woman."^[64] Bonomi ultimately concludes that Lord Cornbury's crossdressing was invented by his political enemies in order to "assassinate" Cornbury's character.^[65]

As the 18th century unfolded, Britain experienced the rise of moral reform societies determined to purge "sodomy" and "transvestism" from society.^[66] Cornbury's reputation suffered as these groups gained increasing influence in British society.^[67]

Monetary corruption

According to Ross, Cornbury dispensed thousands of state acres in corrupt fashion. The most solid evidence of misappropriation of land by Lord Cornbury came in 1706 when he granted a swath of government land south of Albany to nine friends of his, which included his secretary. Known as the Little Nine Partners Patent it was likely illegal and was sold by Hyde for cash. The land would eventually become Hyde Park (named for Lord Cornbury), famous for being the home of Franklin D. Roosevelt.^[68]

Virtually every reference written about Lord Cornbury has described him in disparaging terms. The criticisms can be traced back to a spring 1706 complaint written to the newly appointed Whig ministry by Lewis Morris (1671–1746), and Samuel Jennings (about 1660–1708) in behalf of the New Jersey Assembly.^[69] In 1708, the New York Assembly followed suit with their own letter.^[70] Specific accusations included:

- Asserting royal prerogative over locally elected assemblies
- Accepting bribes
- Persecution of the Presbyterians by confiscating church property and imprisoning their ministers
- Embezzlement of defense funds
- Fiscal mismanagement, leading to a large amount of public & personal debt

Such complaints were commonplace during that era. Similar allegations were made about the royal governors who preceded and succeeded Cornbury – both in New York & New Jersey, and in the other colonies.^[71] What was unique about Governor Cornbury was the allegation of wearing women's clothes.^[72]

A generation later, the story was told of a conversation about Lord Cornbury between the famous Whig minister & author Horace Walpole (1717–1797)^[73] and author George James Williams (1719–1805).^[74] Walpole recounted that:

[Lord Cornbury] was a clever man. His great insanity was dressing himself as a woman. When Governor in America he opened the Assembly dressed in that fashion. When some of those about him remonstrated, his reply was, 'You are very stupid not to see the propriety of it. In this place and particularly on this occasion I represent a woman (Queen Anne) and ought in all respects to represent her as faithfully as I can.'

Williams reply was reportedly:

My father did business with Cornbury in woman's clothes. He used to sit at the open window so dressed, to the great amusement of the neighbors. He employed always the most fashionable milliner, shoemaker, stay maker, etc. I saw a picture of him at Sir Herbert Packington's in Worcestershire, in a gown, stays, tucker, long ruffles, and cap....



Lewis Morris, eventual Governor of New Jersey and political rival of Lord Cornbury

Family

Marriage: (10 July 1685) Eloped with Katherine O'Brien, the 8th Baroness Clifton (22 January 1663 – 11 August 1706).^[75] She was the daughter of Henry O'Brien, Lord Ibrackan, 7th Earl of Thomond. She died in New York City and was buried at Trinity Church, New York.

Children:

- Catherine Hyde. Died young.
- Mary Hyde (–1697)
- Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury & 9th Baron Clifton (1691–February 1713), Died unmarried at age 21 due to fever.
- Theodosia Hyde, 10th Baroness Clifton (9 November 1695 – 30 July 1722) Married August 1713 to John Bligh, the 1st Earl of Darnley (1687–1728). Died of sepsis at age 26 shortly after the birth of her 6th child.

Portrait

No confirmed contemporary portraits of Cornbury exist. An uncaptioned 18th-century portrait that hangs in the New-York Historical Society has been commonly believed to be Governor Cornbury wearing a dress. Professor Bonomi suggested that the subject was not Cornbury.^[76] However, other art historians have remained unconvinced.^[77]

The Dallas Museum of Art has a different portrait of unknown provenance also ascribed to be *Lord Cornbury in a Dress*, painted sometime between 1705 and 1750.^[78]

Styles of address

- 1661–1674: *The Honourable* Edward Hyde
- 1674–1685: Viscount Cornbury
- 1685–1701: Viscount Cornbury MP
- 1701–1709: Viscount Cornbury
- 1709–1723: *The Right Honourable* The Third Earl of Clarendon

In popular culture

Androboros ["man-eater" in corrupted Greek], a play by Robert Hunter, Cornbury's successor as Governor of New York (1710–1719) was a satire that ridiculed prominent New York citizens, including Lord Cornbury (as "Lord Oinobaros" ["heavy with wine"]). Crossdressing was a central theme in the play. It was one of the first plays written and published in Britain's American colonies. It was recently revived by the Peculiar Works Project of New York City on 4–6 November 2016, under the direction of Ralph Lewis.^[79]

Cornbury was the lead character in the play *Cornbury: The Queen's Governor* – first presented as a staged reading at The Public Theater on 12 April 1976, the play was written by William M. Hoffman and Anthony Holland. Joseph Papp produced and Holland directed, with Joseph Maher in the role of Cornbury.^[80] The play was revived in 2009 at the Hudson Guild Theater under the direction of Tim Cusack. David Greenspan played Cornbury.^[81]

He also made appearances in Edward Rutherfurd's historical saga novel *New York*, in Daniel Pinkwater's "The Adventures of a Cat-Whiskered Girl", and in Robert McCammon's "Matthew Corbett" series of novels.

Cornbury was referenced in an episode of the podcast *Cum Town*, where they discuss his cross-dressing and flamboyant manner as an early example of open transgenderism.^[82]

See also

- List of deserters from James II to William of Orange

Notes and references

Notes

1. "Edward Hyde, 3rd Earl of Clarendon" (<https://web.archive.org/web/20181024073743/http://www.thepeerage.com/p22558.htm>). The Peerage. Archived from the original (<http://www.thepeerage.com/p22558.htm#i225579>) on 19



An alleged portrait of Lord Cornbury, wearing a dress. Artist unknown, painted sometime between 1705 and 1750. Lord Cornbury died in the 1720s, making it possible the portrait was posthumous. It resembles a similar portrait that hangs in the New-York Historical Society.^[78]

December 2018. Retrieved 7 October 2017.

2. Bonomi 1998, p. 31
3. Bonomi 1998, p. 32
4. Bonomi 1998, p. 33
5. See Wiltshire County section of *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660–1690*, ed. B. D. Henning, (1983) and 1690–1715, ed. D. Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002 (Found at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/>) These accounts detail the political maneuvering that led to Cornbury's election.
6. Later known as the "Immortal Seven".
7. "RBH Biography: Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon (1638–1709)" (http://www.berkshirehistory.com/bios/hhyde_2eofc.html). *www.berkshirehistory.com*. Retrieved 20 December 2018.
8. "Glorious Revolution" (https://www.tititudorancea.com/z/glorious_revolution_14.htm). *www.tititudorancea.com*. Retrieved 20 December 2018.
9. Bonomi 1998, pp 38-39; see also Stone 1892, pp. 55–56.
10. See University of Nottingham's map of Wiliam's invasion route at: <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/documents/elearning/conflict/williamoforangeitinerary-illustration5.pdf>
11. George, King of Denmark, had married Cornbury's cousin Anne, soon to be Queen of England. The couple lived in London with little real political power until 1702.
12. Ross 1988, p. 3
13. Bonomi 1998, pp 62–64
14. William Glidden, *The English Stone Fortress: Fort Frederick*, Lake Champlain Weekly (17 September 2003) Quoted at: http://dmna.ny.gov/forts/fortsE_L/frederickFort.htm
15. See Reynolds (1906) page 157 for the previous governor's (Earl of Bellomont) report of the conditions at Albany in 1700.
16. Stone (1892) pp. 60–61
17. Cliff Lamere, Fort Albany & Fort Frederick at Albany NY at: <http://www.genealogy.cliffamere.com/Aid/History/FortFrederick-Albany-working.htm>
18. Bonomi 1998, p. 64
19. Known at the time as the *North River*.
20. Stone 1892, p. 69; Booth 1859, pp. 276–278
21. Bonomi 1998, p. 83: The plan was to repair and fortify blockhouses originally built by the Dutch – One on Signal Hill on Staten Island (built 1653, later known as Flagstaff Fort [1776] and Fort Tompkins [1806]). Another blockhouse stood in the village of New Utrecht on the Brooklyn side (built 1657, later Fort Hamilton [1826]). England was supposed to supply cannon, but they never arrived.
22. Stone 1892, p. 70
23. Stone 1892, p. 70–71
24. Booth 1859, p. 281: Peartree had been appointed mayor because of his former experience as a privateer
25. Bonomi 1998, pp. 82-85: The Assembly's subsequent inquiry discovered that tax collectors only raised £398 of the total. The money had been placed in the hands of the colonial receiver of revenues. In spite of these findings, historians have continued to cite the charge as proof of Cornbury's incompetence. Compare Stone 1892, p. 70 & p. 73. See also, Booth 1859, pp. 276–281
26. Stone 1892, p. 73: In England, the Parliament House of Commons has the "power of the purse" – sole control over taxation and funding of major undertakings. A Charter of Liberties had been enacted by the New York Assembly in 1683 but they were annulled by Queen Mary II in 1691. See also Booth 1859, pp. 207–208, p. 240)
27. Stone 1892, pp. 65–66
28. Stone 1892, p. 65

29. Wilson 1892, p. 81: Other ministers had warned Makemie about meeting the legal requirements, so the subject of Makemie's sermon was "We ought to obey God, rather than Men." (Acts 5:29)
30. "Francis Makemie and Freedom of Speech" (<https://www.theaquilareport.com/francis-makemie-and-freedom-of-speech/>). *The Aquila Report*. 25 January 2015. Retrieved 20 December 2018.
31. Cornbury accused Makemie of being a "Disturber of Governments". See David Hall, Francis Makemie and Freedom of Speech in *The Aquila Report* 25 January 2015; and Wilson 1892, p. 82.
32. The decision has been hailed as a landmark for American religious freedom. See *Francis Makemie, Presbyterian Pioneer*, by Kirk Mariner. <http://francismakemiesociety.org/files/Download/Francis%20Makemie%20-%20Presbyterian%20Pioneer%20by%20Kirk%20Mariner.pdf>
33. Makemie's published account of the event can be found in Rev. Francis Makemie: *A Narrative of a New and Unusual American Imprisonment of Two Presbyterian Ministers And Prosecution of Mr. Francis Makemie* in William Henry Foote 1850, Foote's Sketches of Virginia (First Book) pp. 65–84 <http://www.roanetnhistory.org/foote-virginia.php?loc=Foote-Sketches-Virginia-First&pgid=92>
34. *The Path to Freedom: The Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey 1703–1776*; Donald L. Kemmerer; Princeton University Press; Princeton, 1940; p. 358
35. Bonomi 1998, p. 70. Booth 1859, pp. 273–274: That same year, Governor Cornbury established the first free grammar school in New York City.
36. Not the current King's College of New York, which was founded in 1938
37. McCaughey, Robert (2003). *Stand, Columbia : A History of Columbia University in the City of New York*. New York, New York: Columbia University Press. p. 1. ISBN 0-231-13008-2.
38. Matthews, Brander; John Pine; Harry Peck; Munroe Smith (1904). *A History of Columbia University: 1754–1904*. London, England: Macmillan Company. pp. 8–10.
39. Quote from Kristan Aiken (18 February 2002) Columbia University: A Social History <http://cuhistory3057.tripod.com/hyde/id1.html>
40. Matthews, Brander; John Pine; Harry Peck; Munroe Smith (1904), *A History of Columbia University: 1754–1904*. London, England: Macmillan Company, pages 8–10.
41. Booraem, Hendrik, Jr. (Summer 2011). "Walking tour of the New York branch of the Holland Society September 19, 1970" (<http://www.hollandsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/dHM-2011-Summer-Vol-LXXXIV-Nr-2-A.pdf>) (PDF). *De Halve Maen*. **34**: 32.
42. Valentine, David Ed (1853) *History of the City of New York* McSperton & Baset Printers https://archive.org/details/ldpd_6499138_000/page/n5
43. Alsop 1982, page 57: "The selection of Lord Lovelace in March as governor of New York raised expectations that the colony would play a more active role in the war."
44. Wilson 1893, p. 100
45. Bonomi 1998, p. 85: Note that Bonomi only mentions he was arrested in December 1708 and says that he was detained for 17 months. She makes no mention of whether he was under house arrest or in prison.
46. Wilson 1892, p. 100: The welcoming banquet cost £46 7s. 6d. which Cornbury borrowed from Henry Swift, a wealthy merchant. The New York Assembly refused to reimburse the sum, which only added to Cornbury's debt burden.
47. Wilson 1892, p. 135
48. Lou., Lustig, Mary (1983). *Robert Hunter, 1666–1734, New York's Augustan statesman* (1st ed.). Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. ISBN 978-0815622963. OCLC 10276017 (<https://www.worldcat.org/oclc/10276017>).
49. Bonomi 1998, p. 51
50. James Edward was the son of James II who had been deposed during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and died in 1701.

51. Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford, lived 1661–1724. As Queen Anne's Lord High Treasurer (1711–1714), he was responsible for restructuring the national debt incurred during the war. His solution was the formation of a joint-stock company, the South Sea Company (1711). Due to fraud, insider trading, and bribery, the scheme collapsed after 1721. Shares were issued at £100, reached a high of £1000 in 1720, and fell to less than nominal value by 1721. Much of the aristocracy—including Harley—was ruined financially by the scheme. There's no evidence of Cornbury's involvement.
52. Bonomi 1998, pp. 52–55
53. Bonomi 1998, pp. 54–55
54. Bonomi 1998, p. 55
55. Bonomi 1998 p. 3: "Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, is notorious in the historical literature as a moral profligate, sunk in corruption, and perhaps the worst governor Britain ever imposed on an American colony. ... Soon historians were portraying him as the embodiment of all that was wrong with the empire, some drew a line directly from Cornbury's administration in the first decade of the eighteenth century to the coming of the Revolution in 1776."
56. Ross 1988, p. 3: Ross calls Cornbury a "thief, a bigot, a grafter, a drunk, and, strange as it was, a transvestite."
57. Ross 1988 p. 3: "The combination of public and private wrongdoings was so outrageous that Lord Cornbury fanned the fires of revolution and later served as an inspiration for the articles of impeachment in the United States Constitution. Never again would anyone have to endure such a despicable or corrupt leader without a legal recourse for removal from office."
58. "The Lord Cornbury Scandal | Patricia U. Bonomi" (<https://www.uncpress.org/book/9780807848692/the-lord-cornbury-scandal>). *University of North Carolina Press*. Retrieved 20 December 2018.
59. Ross 1988, p. 4
60. Boylan, Jennifer Finney (22 October 2018). "Opinion – Trump Cannot Define Away My Existence" (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/22/opinion/trump-transgender-sex-policy.html>). *The New York Times*. ISSN 0362-4331 (<https://www.worldcat.org/issn/0362-4331>). Retrieved 20 December 2018.
61. Bonomi 1998, p.141: "That a royal governor could have publicly displayed himself in women's clothes, as Cornbury is alleged to have done, and escaped severe censure seems doubtful"
62. Bonomi 1998, p. 145 "There is no evidence to indicate that Cornbury was a homosexual"
63. Bonomi 1998, p. 146
64. Bonomi 1998, p. 145
65. Bonomi 1998, p. 186 "Cornbury's political enemies being content to merely assassinate his character" [As opposed to actually assassinate, as happened in 1710 to Daniel Parke, Governor of the British West Indian Leeward Islands]
66. "Homosexuality in Eighteenth-Century England" (<http://rictornorton.co.uk/eighteen/>). *rictornorton.co.uk*. Retrieved 20 December 2018.
67. Ross p. 4: "The first signs of cornburys eccentricities emerged when he asked [for] a special allowance of two thousand pounds ... The taxpayers agreed, and His High Mightiness, as he preferred to be called, was presented with the money at a banquet in his honor. After the dining, dancing and merriment he took to the stage to address his people. ... Lord Cornbury delivered an embarrassing dissertation on the sensual beauty of his wife's ears. If that wasn't enough, he insisted that all attending the banquet touch Lady Cornbury's ears and see for themselves."
68. Ross 1988, p. 6: "Cornbury "Gave" many of his friends large—and illegal—land grants in return for cash. Among the hundreds of thousands of acres he gave away was one tract of land south of Albany, known as the Hardenbergh tract, which was then larger than the entire colony of Connecticut. Another tract was given to a group of nine friends that included his secretary. In return they named the land Hyde park after Cornbury's family. That land is remembered today not as the estate which honored the much-despised Lord Cornbury, but as the homestead of the beloved Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose family bought the property two hundred years later."
69. Wilson 1892, p. 77
70. Wilson 1892, pp. 84–85
71. For example, Marlborough, Sunderland, Harley, and Governors Slaughter, Bellomont, Hunter et al. see Booth (1859) pages 232, 245, 285–286, & 292 and Wilson (1892), page 104
72. Ross 1988, p. 4

73. Horace's father, Prime Minister Robert Walpole (Whig), served in the Sunderland ministry that recalled Cornbury from the colonies.
74. Bonomi 1998, p. 15. See also: Benson, Eric, "English King Appoints Drag Queen – The Complete History of Scandals" (<http://nymag.com/news/features/scandals/edward-hyde-2012-4/>), in *The History of New York Scandals*, *New York magazine*, 2 April 2012
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External links

- Did New York once have a transvestite Governor? (<http://www.straightdope.com/columns/020125.html>)
- Royal Berkshire History: Edward Hyde, 3rd Earl of Clarendon (http://www.berkshirehistory.com/bios/ehyde_3eofc.html)

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Preceded by <u>Francis Gwyn</u> <u>William Ettrick</u>	<u>Member of Parliament for Christchurch</u> 1695–1701 With: <u>William Ettrick</u>	Succeeded by <u>William Ettrick</u> <u>Francis Gwyn</u>
Military offices		
Preceded by <u>The Lord Churchill</u>	<u>Colonel of The King's Own Royal Regiment of Dragoons</u> 1685–1688	Succeeded by <u>Robert Clifford</u>
Preceded by <u>Robert Clifford</u>	<u>Colonel of The King's Own Royal Regiment of Dragoons</u> 1688–1689	Succeeded by <u>Anthony Heyford</u>
Government offices		
Preceded by <u>Andrew Hamilton</u> <i>as governor of East Jersey and West Jersey</i>	<u>Governor of the Province of New Jersey</u> 1702–1708	Succeeded by <u>Lord Lovelace</u>
Preceded by <u>John Nanfan</u> <i>as acting governor</i>	<u>Governor of the Province of New York</u> 1702–1708	
Diplomatic posts		
Preceded by <u>Isaac d'Alais</u>	<u>British Envoy to Hanover</u> 1714	<u>Post abolished</u> <u>Personal union</u> between Great Britain and Hanover
Peerage of England		
Preceded by <u>Henry Hyde</u>	<u>Earl of Clarendon</u> 1709–1723	Succeeded by <u>Henry Hyde</u>

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