

UNSEEMLY PICTURES: POLITICAL GRAPHIC SATIRE IN
ENGLAND, c.1600 – c.1650

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HISTORY OF ART

SEPTEMBER 2004

VOLUME I

ABSTRACT

This thesis engages with English graphic satire and its integration into political debate c.1600-c.1650. Previous research into the political culture of early modern England has been inclined to sideline its pictorial aspects in favour of textual material, commonly employing the print in a merely illustrative capacity. Similarly, studies into the visual arts of this period have marginalized certain forms of pictorial media, in particular the engravings and woodcuts which commonly constitute graphic satire, focussing primarily on elite and court-centred displays of authority.

It is argued here that graphic satire formed an integral part of a wider culture of political propaganda and critique in early modern England. It is further proposed that this culture was in its own time, and at present, most fully understood when considered in these interdisciplinary terms. My work also challenges the commonly-held view that an iconography of politics and satire in England originated during the 1640s. It demonstrates that the roots of this iconography stretch far further back into both a native, and European, graphic culture.

The opening chapter introduces the complexity of Jacobean graphic satire, through the close reading of a highly ambivalent engraving. It is followed by an analysis of the visual language of anti-popery during the 1620s, and the satirical response to monopolies between 1621 and the early 1640s; both chapters highlight marked visual continuities between political imagery of the early and mid seventeenth centuries. The fourth chapter examines the lampooning of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his Episcopal associates during the early 1640s. Later chapters reassess the visual stereotypes of 'cavalier' and 'roundhead', and address the issue of a puritan 'style', questioning the supposed oxymoron of a puritan engagement with thought-provoking imagery. The closing chapter considers the appropriation of vocabularies of conflict and division during the later 1640s, and considers avenues for further research which trace the development of certain satirical motifs to the Restoration and beyond.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks are due to the numerous individuals and institutions who have contributed towards the completion of this thesis.

I would firstly like to acknowledge the Arts and Humanities Research Board; without their generous financial support this study would not have been feasible. In particular, their funding of an extended stay in London between 2002 and 2003 contributed greatly towards its development.

Numerous institutions have enabled me to access primary and secondary source material in an environment conducive to academic study. I would particularly like to thank the staff of the Ashmolean Museum, the British Library, the British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings, the Institute for Historical Research, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and York Minster Library.

My supervisors, Mark Hallett and Mark Jenner have proved to be both consummate critics and champions of my work, and I'd especially like to thank them both for the generous time and effort they have devoted to developing it to its full potential.

For their assistance and encouragement in many forms, I am grateful to Katherine O. Acheson, Jo Birch, Marilyn Ingle, Malcolm Jones, Amanda Lillie, Rita and Richard Marks and Sheila O'Connell. Not forgetting Ruth Stewart, who has been an exemplary fellow research student, occasional housemate and coffee-break procrastinator.

For keeping me sane and sociable, Donna, Lisa, Sue, Jon, Marky and James all know who they are.

Most importantly of all, I would like to thank my mum and dad, Muriel and Emlyn Pierce, for putting up with my avoidance of 'a proper job' over the past few years. Their constant practical, financial and emotional support has been indispensable, and without them, this thesis simply couldn't have been written. I hope they enjoy reading it...

An amended section of Chapter Two will appear as "Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire in 1620s England" in *The British Art Journal*, forthcoming. Chapter Four has been published as "Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire in England, 1640-1645", in *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004), 809-48.

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Introduction

Politics and Graphic Culture in Early Modern England

I

The allegorical figure of Opinion sits within the branches of a verdant oak tree, her eyes obscured, and a large globe nestled within her lap. Upon one wrist perches a chameleon, a symbol of duplicity and shifting allegiances; the other hand points a staff at a jester who waters the roots of the oak tree in which she is enthroned. From the tree's branches fall pamphlets and broadsides, some bearing the titles of polemical texts published during the early 1640s.

This is the scene depicted in *The World is Ruled and Governed by Opinion* (fig.1), a broadside etched by Wenceslaus Hollar around 1641, with accompanying verses penned by Henry Peacham. It features upon the covers of two recent studies of the period: Dagmar Freist's *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion, and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* and Kevin Sharpe's *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics*.¹

The studies of Freist and Sharpe are two major contributions to a growing corpus of work engaged in defining a cultural history of politics in early modern England. Joad Raymond's analysis of the pamphlet as a vehicle for political and religious opinion has complemented and furthered the work of Freist; Thomas Cogswell, Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae have all examined the role of the political verse satire and its dissemination in manuscript form; Bellany is also one of a growing number of scholars to explore the marriage of political ephemera with the growing phenomena of news and 'information' during this period.²

¹ Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion, and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London, 1637-1645* (London and New York, 1997); Kevin Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge, 2000).

² Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003); Thomas Cogswell, "Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture" in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), pp.277-300; Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603-1666* (Cambridge, 2002) and *ibid*, "'Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse': Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628" in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London, 1994), pp.285-310; Andrew McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, 2004); Adam Fox, "Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion in

However, these scholars' definition of political culture has been somewhat limited. Such studies have focussed upon the impact of the written and spoken word upon its audience, inevitably resulting in a logo-centric bias and in the neglect of the visual and iconographical aspects of political ephemera.³ The studies of Sharpe and Freist clearly expose this neglect, not least in their choice of jacket illustration. Hollar's etching is a pictorial critique of the political ephemera of the early 1640s; *The World is Ruled by Opinion* suggests an engagement between such material and contemporary audiences in the face of growing political and religious upheaval; as Opinion informs the everyman character who questions her actions, 'those idle bookes and libels bee, In everie streete, on everie stall you find.' This evaluation of ephemeral propaganda is itself interesting; whilst Hollar and Peacham's targets are principally those in pamphlet form, its pictorial equivalents, *The World is Ruled by Opinion* included, constitute a related body of persuasive polemic.

Here, as is often the case, the pictorial is employed by historians in order to illustrate, rather than elaborate, upon a point. Both Friest and Sharpe's studies can be placed within a post-revisionist debate which engages chiefly with the text as a vehicle for political consumption and awareness. In such works, the image comes a poor second. Freist's approach possesses weaknesses with regard to the pictorial; she employs woodcuts, engravings and frontispieces in a broadly illustrative capacity, her observations proving descriptive as opposed to analytical. A cursory paragraph is devoted to the complex Hollar etching which appears to provide the starting point to her entire study.⁴ In the case of *Remapping Early Modern England*, and despite calling for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of early modern political culture, Sharpe's own sense of the part played by images within the 'cultural turn' he highlights remains sketchy. However, Sharpe's growing interest in the relationship between power and the pictorial, an important progression in the understanding of political culture, as underlined by his forthcoming study of images of authority, stresses the positive

Elizabethan and Early Stuart England", *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 597-620; Pauline Croft, "Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion in Early Modern England", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 68 (1995), 265-85; Richard Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England", *Past and Present*, 112 (1986), 60-90.

³ The terms 'ephemera' and 'ephemeral' are employed throughout this thesis as fluid categories, encompassing works on paper including pamphlets, broadsides, ballads, woodcuts and engravings. Although this classification is a broad, and far from satisfactory one, there remain at present no more suitable descriptive terms.

⁴ Freist, *Governed by Opinion*, pp.2-3.

outcome which can be gained through the historian's close engagement with visual sources.⁵

Nevertheless, a casual attitude towards pictorial material amongst early modern historians is a common one, reflecting the sentiments of what Adam Fox has termed "...an age when most broadsides ended up as lavatory paper."⁶ Yet Fox's observations are tempered by his own synopsis of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as a period which witnessed an intriguing fusion of oral, scribal and print culture, wherein "iconography and visual imagery of all sorts could be an extremely powerful medium of communication, aid to memory, and stimulus to invention."⁷ The reasons behind this oversight on the part of historians are several. A difficulty in engaging with the pictorial has blighted many established scholars. This problem was highlighted, for example, by the publication in 1986 of *The English Satirical Print 1600-1832*. This collection of volumes set out to organise a selection of the British Museum's Political and Personal Satires into thematic groups, accompanied by introductory essays by a series of distinguished historians.⁸ The intention of this undertaking seems to have been to reintroduce historians to the depth and variety of the British Museum's collections, not least in its holdings of seventeenth-century material. However, the lack of any clear attempt to examine more than cursorily each satire's often complex iconography, led *The English Satirical Print* to fall into the same trap encountered by the majority of these historians: the desire to illustrate rather than analyse. The brief, often single-sentence descriptions which accompany each thematic selection highlights an unnecessary difficulty in reading an alternative historical source, reducing each satire to the status of mere illustration.

Critics have been divided over the scholarly value of *The English Satirical Print*. Roy Porter praises the efforts of its seven contributors in engaging "in convert dialogue with each other as to the importance of graphic satire both in its own day and for the present scholar"; his observation, however, that "relatively few political prints were produced by British artists before the last years of the Stuart century" demonstrates a blinkered view of graphic culture which broadly reflects the shortcomings of the

⁵ See for Sharpe's "'So Hard a Text'?: Images of Charles I, 1612-1700", *The Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), 383-405.

⁶ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000), p.4.

⁷ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p.33.

⁸ Michael Duffy (ed.), *The English Satirical Print, 1600-1832*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1986); of relevance to this thesis are John Miller's *Religion in the Popular Prints 1600-1832* and J. A. Sharpe's *Crime and the Law in English Satirical Prints, 1600-1832*.

original project.⁹ The acerbic words of Eirwen Nicholson draw attention to such shortcomings, the publication of this series having “furnished the layman with a competent general introduction to this material, and perhaps reminded the historian of its existence and potential.”¹⁰ However, whilst Nicholson’s extensive criticisms regarding the paucity of scholarly interest in English political prints of the pre-1720 period are by no means unjustified, her own survey of the faults of such scholarship does little to remedy the situation.

Furthermore, a general antipathy towards the twinning of terms such as ‘religious’ or ‘political’ with ‘visual culture’ has stemmed from the widely-accepted view of a post-Reformation rejection of art, deadening the visual consciousness of early modern audiences. This scholarly dismissal contrasts sharply with studies into comparative continental material. Robert Scribner’s 1981 work on the Protestant harnessing of the ‘popular print’ genre in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Germany has long been considered a groundbreaking study; meanwhile, ongoing projects, such as John R. Paas’ *The German Political Broadsheet 1600-1700* and the Hollstein volumes of Dutch and German woodcuts and engravings, have made available a wealth of continental graphic sources to a wide scholarly audience.¹¹ The study of the political or religious broadsheet in England, however, has been subject to certain pre-conditions, in particular that of a pervasive suspicion of the pictorial mode. Much of this has been shaped by Patrick Collinson’s influential analysis of English protestant visual culture: Collinson detects a significant watershed towards the end of the sixteenth century, in which attitudes towards imagery shift from a hostility towards religious art, to a wider ‘iconophobia’ which extends beyond items of worship and veneration.¹² Yet despite their positive

⁹ Roy Porter, “Seeing the Past”, *Past and Present*, 118 (1988), p.192, p.190.

¹⁰ Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, *English Political Prints and Pictorial Political Argument c.1640-c.1832: A Study in Historiography and Methodology* (Ph.D thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1994), p.2. Nicholson’s sentiments are shared by Celina Fox in “The English Satirical Print”, *Print Quarterly*, 7 (1990), 463-66.

¹¹ Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981); John. R. Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet, 1600-1700*, 7 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1985-continuing); F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c.1450-1700* (Amsterdam, 1949-continuing) and *ibid*, *German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts c.1400-1700* (Amsterdam, 1954-continuing).

¹² Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: the Cultural Impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading, 1986), and *ibid*, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1988). Collinson’s conjectures are informed and supported by those of K. J. Höltgen in “The Reformation of Images and Some Jacobean Writers on Art” in U.

discouragement towards historians regarding any engagement with visual sources from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Collinson's arguments have attracted criticism.¹³ The most important response in terms of graphic culture has been Tessa Watt's *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640*, which underlines the status of the printed image as a powerful mnemonic and didactic device, through a study of religious broadsheets and their imagery.¹⁴ Watt's work highlights both the presence and popularity of such ephemera with regard to early modern audiences, effectively challenging Collinson's viewpoint. Arguments put forward by my own thesis similarly question his arguments; in Chapter Two, for example, Collinson's iconophobes are conspicuously at odds with the creators of religious pictorial polemic, attacking Catholic targets with equal measures of established and innovative imagery, and assuming some visual consciousness on the part of audiences. The employment here of the pictorial by polemicists for the Protestant cause, frequently combined with a coarse and scatological humour, is one of a number of instances clearly at odds with Collinson's own thesis.

Further studies such as those of Alexandra Walsham, Margaret Aston, and Tim Harris, have revealed a growing interest among certain early modern historians, in images.¹⁵ This handful of studies has begun to reveal the idiosyncrasies of post-Reformation visual, and in particular pictorial, culture, a trait frequently misunderstood by the modern reader whose own, post-Romantic sensibilities often strongly influence their aesthetic appreciation. The painting of *Edward VI and the Pope* analysed in Aston's *The King's Bedpost* (fig.2) is a key example of how art we might consider amateur in appearance, still provides a telling window into the religious and political culture of the late sixteenth century, and contemporary artistic practice. With its melange of visual sources, such as portrait miniatures and continental engravings, the

Broich, T. Stemmler and G. Stratmann (eds.), *Functions of Literature: Essays Presented to Erwin Wolff on his Sixtieth Birthday* (Tübingen, 1984), pp.119-46.

¹³ Several reviewers of *The Birthpangs of Protestant England* have found Collinson's case for iconophobia overstated; see Peter Lake in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 41 (1990), 688-92; Charles L. Cohen, "The Plane Truth about Early English Protestantism", *Journal of British Studies*, 30 (1991), 454-59.

¹⁴ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

¹⁵ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999); Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge, 1993); Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, "The Iconography of the 'Acts and Monuments'" in D. M. Loades (ed.), *John Foxe and the English Reformation* (Aldershot, 1997), pp.66-142; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics From the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, 1987).

awkward execution and finish of *Edward VI and the Pope* reveals a complex message of religious ideology which prior to Aston's meticulous research, had perplexed and misled scholars.

The authority upon which earlier readings of *Edward VI and the Pope* had been principally based was that of Roy Strong.¹⁶ The interest of art historians such as Strong and Oliver Millar during the 1960s and 1970s in court-based art and architecture has skewed general attitudes towards the visual creativity and culture of the seventeenth century, furthering both the neglect and misunderstanding of its less appreciated facets. Confusingly, whilst Patrick Collinson writes of a pervasive 'iconophobia' curbing the aesthetic tastes of the protestant householder in early modern England, the period of Anthony Van Dyck's artistic primacy spanning the 1630s has recently been praised by the art historian Malcolm Rogers as "arguably the most glorious in the history of painting in Britain."¹⁷ Princely tastes and princely portraiture dominate the seventeenth-century artistic landscape, as the collections and commissions of the court and the elite championed by the studies of Strong, Millar and their successors, have primarily informed our understanding of the visual arts during this period.¹⁸ It is a history of art which stresses continental influences, whether through the patronage of acclaimed foreign artists such as Van Dyck and Rubens, or the experiences brought back from European sojourns by Inigo Jones. In contrast, the development of purely 'English art' is given scholarly short shrift throughout the seventeenth-century, rarely emerging from the shadow of portraiture; following the supremacy of Van Dyck, the work of native painter William Dobson and the Scottish John Michael Wright during the Civil War and Interregnum is swiftly passed over in favour of that of foreign arrivals at court, such as Peter Lely and later Godfrey Kneller. Print culture is similarly seen as subject to the

¹⁶ Roy Strong, "Edward VI and the Pope", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 23 (1960), 311-13.

¹⁷ Malcolm Rogers, "Van Dyck in England" in Christopher Brown (ed.), *Van Dyck, 1599-1641*, exh.cat (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1999), p.79.

¹⁸ Studies past and recent include Oliver Millar, *The Age of Charles I: Painting in England 1620-1649*, exh.cat. (London, Tate Gallery, 1972) and *ibid*, *Van Dyck in England*, exh.cat (London, National Portrait Gallery, 1982); Brown, *Van Dyck, 1599-1641*; Roy Strong, *The Tudor and Stuart Monarchy: Pageantry, Painting, Iconography*, 3 vols. (Woodbridge, 1995-97); David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle* (New Haven and London, 1985) and *ibid*, *Images of Rule: Art and Politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Berkeley, 1997); Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions, and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (Oxford, 1989); Karen Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630*, exh.cat (London, Tate Gallery, 1995).

dominance of foreign artists. It is ironic that the supposed progenitor of the English print, Wenceslaus Hollar, was himself a foreigner; indeed Hollar is both a significant and problematic figure within seventeenth-century print culture. Hollar's varied and highly original oeuvre has elevated the Czech from the status of artisan to that of artist. Prior to Hogarth, no other printmaker in England has attracted the wealth of scholarly attention paid to Hollar by the art historical establishment; as such he is considered one of the principal sources from which the history of the print in England has developed.¹⁹ Our modern concerns with the idea of the artist, engaged in the production of highly original, aesthetically pleasing works of art, accords far better with Hollar's output than that of many earlier English printmakers, and indeed certain of his contemporaries. As this study demonstrates, however, prints engaged with seventeenth-century audiences long before Hollar's arrival in England in 1636. The pervading sense that print culture in England originated in the 1640s via Hollar's burin, nurtured by a burgeoning market presided over by entrepreneurial printsellers such as Peter Stent, is not entirely accurate. Stent's stock, meticulously researched by Alexander Globe, included a significant proportion of Jacobean and early Caroline engravings, reprinted from aging plates to satisfy the demands of new audiences.²⁰ That a number of early seventeenth-century engravings analysed in the first chapter of this thesis, are known only through impressions from the Restoration and later, clearly compromises the status of any perceived 1640s 'watershed' in print production and consumption. The periodic reprinting of such images, themselves frequently based on continental models, similarly questions the importance of originality (a quality commonly attributed to Hollar) with early modern audiences; our present reading and understanding of the seventeenth-century print clearly demands reassessment.

II

If the visual culture of Stuart England has been subject to misunderstanding, so too has the more particular pictorial category of the satirical print. According to one

¹⁹ Book-length studies include Antony Griffiths and Gabriela Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings*, exh.cat (London, British Museum, 1983); Marion Roberts, *Dugdale and Hollar: History Illustrated* (Newark and London, 2002); Graham Parry, *Hollar's England: a Mid Seventeenth-Century View* (Salisbury, 1980); Richard Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Wenceslaus Hollar* (Cambridge, 1982); Richard Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: a Bohemian Artist in England*, exh.cat (New Haven and London, Yale Center for British Art, 1994).

²⁰ Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London Printseller ca.1642-1665* (Vancouver, 1985).

distinguished print scholar, graphic satires of this period “are usually more of antiquarian than visual interest, and reflect the poverty of early English print history. Influenced by the convoluted imagery of emblem books they reveal little of the idiosyncrasies of individual appearances, and even less in humour.”²¹ A recent exhibition at the British Museum and its excellent accompanying catalogue, *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689*, have done much to challenge this attitude, revealing the seventeenth-century English print as of far more than ‘antiquarian interest’ to audiences both then and today.²² The achievements of *The Print in Stuart Britain* build on the solid foundations established by Alexander Globe. His comprehensive study into the stock of the printseller Peter Stent reveals a significant market for prints in mid seventeenth-century London reaching far beyond the circle of print connoisseurs and gentleman-collectors, headed by men such as Lord Arundel, and addressed by the conduct books of Henry Peacham.²³

However, print satires dating from first half of the seventeenth century have not received the recent scholarly attention paid to those of later periods. The shortcomings of the *English Satirical Print* volumes were further underlined during the 1990s by the publication of several important studies: Mark Hallett’s *The Spectacle of Difference* and Diana Donald’s *The Age of Caricature*, both of which brought the graphic satire of the Georgian period to the attention of wider scholarly audiences.²⁴ Timothy Clayton’s *The English Print 1688-1802*, published in 1997, supplements these works through a detailed survey of eighteenth-century English print culture.²⁵ My own study looks both to complement this body of post-Restoration research, and complete a comprehensive analysis of English graphic satire spanning the early seventeenth and long eighteenth centuries.

Moreover, a growing scholarly interest in the wider visual arts of early modern England, outside the traditional tripos of painting, sculpture and architecture, is highly encouraging. Recent research has demonstrated how printed images appealed not only to a wide audience in an independent sense, but also interacted with a variety of other

²¹ Richard Godfrey, *English Caricature: 1620 to the Present*, exh.cat. (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1984), p.11.

²² *The Print in Stuart Britain 1603-1689*, held at the British Museum between 8 May and 20 September 1998, with an accompany exhibition catalogue by Antony Griffiths.

²³ Globe, *Peter Stent*. On Lord Arundel’s collections see Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*.

²⁴ Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, 1999); Diana Donald, *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (London, 1996).

²⁵ Timothy Clayton, *The English Print 1688-1802* (New Haven and London, 1997).

visual forms. Loose prints often vied with patternbooks to provide the direct impetus for stitching and needlework; indeed, Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass have recently proposed that needlework allowed the early modern Englishwomen to participate in and comment upon political debate through their appropriation of topical engravings.²⁶ As Margaret Aston has demonstrated, they similarly provided a pattern-book style inspiration for painted compositions.²⁷ Thomas Trevilian's *Great Book* of 1616, a manuscript collection of compositions and motifs taken from architecture, topography, the decorative arts and pattern books, also widely incorporates engraved images into its varied oeuvre.²⁸ Trevilian's remarkable collection emphasises the frequently underestimated richness of the visual, and more specifically the graphic arts during the early seventeenth century; the happy co-existence of religious and secular subject matter within the *Book* further underlines our own failure to understand how religious belief influenced visual consciousness during this period. Trevilian's collection suggests that there was a far from cautionary attitude towards the pictorial, fostered by a healthy culture of visual expression. Whilst a number of Trevilian's designs have been traced to printed sources, it has been suggested that many others were taken from now-lost prints and woodcuts which rather than being preserved through the actions of print collectors, were put to more common use, being pasted up on walls and displayed, and thus subject to deterioration.²⁹ As Nicholas Barker notes in his introduction to the facsimile of the *Great Book*, "The full range of graphic material that had grown up over the previous century, at home and abroad, that Trevilian could have copied was immense."³⁰

Prints contributed further to interior decoration, informing tapestries, wall-hangings and carvings: they were used to paper surfaces and as wrappers to line chests and boxes; they inspired paintings on canvases and on walls.³¹ Through this very evident

²⁶ Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge, 2000), ch.6.

²⁷ Aston, *The King's Bedpost*.

²⁸ *The Great Book of Thomas Trevilian: A Facsimile of the Manuscript in the Wormsley Library*, edited by Nicholas Barker, 2 vols. (London, 2000). Trevilian's shorter, yet similar 'commonplace book' of 1608 is housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library, call number V.b.232.

²⁹ J. Nevinson, "The Embroidery Patterns of Thomas Trevelyon", *Walpole Society*, 41 (1966-68), p.9.

³⁰ *The Great Book of Thomas Trevilian*, I, 87.

³¹ Malcolm Jones, "How to Decorate a Room With Prints, 1674", *Print Quarterly*, 20 (2003), 247-49, and *ibid*, "English Broadsides – I", *Print Quarterly*, 18 (June 2001), pp.158-59; Anthony Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England* (New Haven and London, 1997); Muriel Carrick, "The Prodigal Son Wall

appropriation by artists and artisans, both English and foreign prints were clearly available as inspiration and for consumption by a larger cross-section of society than that of the gentleman-connoisseur.

III

How was this visual media made available to the public? Although the scope of this thesis is concerned with the political print in early modern England, my research into the print market and spaces of consumption has inevitably centred upon London. Prior to the 1640s printing was monopolised by London's Company of Stationers and restricted by law to the capital, with the exception of presses for the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.³² The Company exercised some degree of control over the printing of books and pamphlets; members were required to submit copies of printed works to the authorities for inspection for example, and their titles entered into the Stationers' Register. Theoretically such restrictions also applied to prints and broadsides; the Star Chamber decree of 1637 'concerning printing' states that the printers of "any Bookes, Ballads, Chartes, Portraiture, or any other thing or things whatsoever, shall thereunto or thereon Print and set his and their owne name or names, as also the name or names of the Author or Authors, Maker or Makers of the same..."³³ The Company's actual involvement with pictorial ephemera was rather more sporadic, unsurprisingly in the case of much political graphic satire, the sentiments of which would not have passed the censors. Although titles of 'pyctures' and 'tables' occasionally appear within the Stationers' Register, these entries by no means reflect the quantity and type of prints being published and circulated about early modern London.³⁴ Temporary and illegal presses set up in the capital are likely to have supplied the public with a further variety of printed pictures, which were disseminated by carrier to audiences in the provinces, as well as via itinerant traders and bookshops in larger

Painting at Knightsland Farm, South Mymms: A Possible Connection with an Engraved Source", *Hertfordshire Archaeology*, 12 (1994-96), 104-110.

³² W. W. Greg, *Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1956), ch.1; Antony Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, exh.cat. (London, British Museum, 1998). p.15.

³³ *A Decree of Starre-Chamber, Concerning Printing* (London, 1637), sig.C4v-sig.D1.

³⁴ Malcolm Jones, "Engraved Works Recorded in the Stationers' Registers, 1562-1656: A Listing and Commentary". *Walpole Society*, 64 (2002), 1-68.

towns.³⁵ However, London remained the chief centre for the production, dissemination and consumption of print culture, and the term ‘audience’ within this thesis refers broadly, and most commonly, to the urban consumers of the capital.

Prints were circulated and sold about the city in a variety of ways. During the early seventeenth century it was rare for an individual to deal exclusively in loose prints and engravings; on the other hand, such material was often found alongside similar, illustrated stock. Richard Shoreleyker of the Falcon in London’s Shoe Lane, whose widow was referred to during the 1630s as “Widdow Sherleaker who lives by printing of pictures” sold pattern books, emblem books and charts in addition to illustrated broadsheets.³⁶ The trade in maps was also closely aligned to that of prints.³⁷ The uncle-and-nephew partnership of John Sudbury and Thomas Humble began selling maps from the White Horse in Pope’s Head Alley at the turn of the century, before expanding their stock to include the series of engraved portraits, broadsides and illustrated histories for which the White Horse was to become renowned. Pope’s Head Alley was one of several narrow lanes running between Lombard Street and Cornhill, home to London’s principal centre for mercantile activity, the Royal Exchange. A number of dealers in illustrated material such as prints, maps and pattern books came to set up business in the area, with Sudbury and Humble’s monopolisation of the print trade in this densely commercial space first challenged by Compton Holland’s business selling portrait prints from the Globe ‘over against the exchange, Cornehill’ from 1616.³⁸ With Thomas and John Hinde and William Riddiard all similarly stocking prints in their shops along Cornhill, competing with Thomas Jenner outside the Exchange and Thomas Geele in Lombard Street, this concentrated network of streets and alleys about the Royal Exchange became established as an important location for the circulation and consumption of prints.³⁹ This reputation is underlined by the advice given by the

³⁵ Itinerant print hawkers are discussed in Tessa Watt, “Publisher, Pedlar, Pot-poet: The Changing Character of the Broadside Trade, 1550-1640” in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print, 1550-1880* (Winchester, 1990), 61-81.

³⁶ H. R. Plomer, *Dictionaries of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland 1557-1775* (1910-32), Bibliographical Society Reprint (Chippenham, 1992), I, 244.

³⁷ Lawrence Worms, “Maps, Prints, Presses and the Merchant Taylors in the Seventeenth Century”, *London Topographical Record*, 28 (2001), 153-66; Sarah Tyacke, *London Map-Sellers, 1660-1720* (Tring, 1978); R. A. Skelton, *County Atlases of the British Isles, 1579-1850* (London, 1970).

³⁸ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.14.

³⁹ The careers of Sudbury and Humble, Compton Holland and Thomas Jenner are all briefly discussed in Leona Rostenberg, *English Publishers in the Graphic Arts 1599-*

gentlemanly conduct books of Henry Peacham, who notes that “for a bold touch, variety of posture, curious and true shadow, imitate Goltzius, his prints are commonly to be had at Popes-head-alley.”⁴⁰

It would appear that imitation was both the highest and most financially rewarding form of flattery; during the politically volatile 1640s Peter Stent tactfully changed the name of his own printselling premises west of the city walls at Newgate from the Crown to the White Horse, displaying shrewdness in associating his own business with the Pope’s Head Alley area and that of Sudbury and Humble, many of whose plates he ironically went on to acquire. Thanks primarily to the research of Alexander Globe, Stent has been considered by many scholars as something of a pioneer himself, with his successful and specialised business introducing a variety of prints to the middle-classes of Interregnum London.⁴¹ Yet whilst his business at the White Horse was undoubtedly a thriving and ambitious one in comparison to both previous and contemporary enterprises, it existed alongside various other outlets offering illustrated books and sheets to the public in a variety of ways.

The practice of print-selling could be a transitory business, with the shop only one of many changeable spaces for consumption and trade. Illustrated sheets etched by Wenceslaus Hollar commemorating *The Dimension of the Hollow Tree of Hampsted* could be bought as souvenirs at the tree itself in 1653, whilst John Evelyn noted an enterprising printer setting up his press on the frozen Thames in the winter of 1683, who gained an impressive profit of “five pounds a day, for printing a line onely, at six-pence a Name, besides what he gott by Ballads &c.”⁴² The trading in such ephemera was often far from static. Almanac sellers in early modern London are known to have peddled their pamphlet stock around the city streets in large, portable boxes; itinerant hawkers such as these played a key part in the wider distribution of printed material.⁴³ Just as the bookseller Richard Royston is said to have had “the help of certain adventurous

1700: A Study of the Printsellers and Publishers of Engravings, Art and Architectural Manuals, Maps and Copy Books (New York, 1963). On various other printsellers in the vicinity of the Royal Exchange see the location index in A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave and K. Pantzer (eds.), *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475-1640*, 2nd edn., 3 vols. (London, 1976-91), III, pp.252-53.

⁴⁰ Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1634), p.128.

⁴¹ Globe, *Peter Stent*.

⁴² *The Dimension of the Hollow Tree of Hampsted*, British Library shelf-mark 669.f.17(46); *The Diary of John Evelyn* edited by E. S. de Beer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1955), IV, 361-62.

⁴³ Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: the Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002), ch.1.

Women...to disperse every where... his Books in Defence of the Royal Cause, whether printed at London or at Oxford” during the 1640s, Alexander Globe has suggested that hawkers were also employed by printsellers such as Stent, sent out into the streets armed with inexpensive stock in order to lure customers back into their shops.⁴⁴

The practice of displaying prints via the shop window is a form of consumption which was crystallised as a popular impression of the printselling business through its representation in the graphic art of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁵ The early seventeenth-century engraving is unlikely to have been exposed to the public in this manner, given that the vast majority of shop frontages were unglazed during this period.⁴⁶ However, several contemporary references suggest that shop displays of pictorial material were directed at passing consumers. Horace Walpole’s account of Van Dyck’s discovery of the painter William Dobson working in the shop of Robert Peake, attests to this idea of images being placed consciously on display, intended to interest and to entice:

“...by the advantage of copying some pictures of Titian and Vandyck, Dobson profited so much, that a picture he had drawn being exposed in the window of [Peake’s] shop on Snow-hill, Vandyck passing by was struck with it, and inquiring for the author, found him at work in a poor garret, from whence he took him and recommended him to the King.”⁴⁷

This anecdotal record of the practice of consumerism and display in early seventeenth-century London gives a rare instance of what might be termed ‘high’ or ‘elite’ art, copies of paintings by Titian and Van Dyck, exposed for public consumption quite literally at street level. The lure of such material appears similarly to have attracted Thomas Trevelian. A number of portraits were copied down by Trevelian into his manuscript books some years before they were published and circulated in engraved form; Trevelian’s sources therefore, were earlier, painted versions of these portraits, which could be found for sale in shops in Blackfriars and the Strand.⁴⁸ Our limited

⁴⁴ P. Barwick, *The Life of the Reverend John Barwick, DD* (London, 1724), pp.61-62; Globe, *Peter Stent*, p.36.

⁴⁵ Donald, *The Age of Caricature*; Brian Maidment, *Reflections in a Print Shop Window*, unpublished conference paper delivered at ‘London Encounters: Interactions with the Metropolis, 1750-1837’ held at the University of York, January 2004.

⁴⁶ John Bennell, “Shop and Office in Medieval and Tudor London”, *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 40 (1989), pp.198-99.

⁴⁷ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 4 vols. (London, 1762-71), II, 252.

⁴⁸ Nevinson, “The Embroidery Patterns of Thomas Trevelyan”, pp.5-6.

knowledge of Trevilian suggests that his social status was that of an artisan, with modest financial means. His access therefore to the wide range of visual sources reflected in his manuscript books seems to have been supplemented by his copying of compositions directly from shop displays.

It is important to note the presence of these first specialist print dealers such as Peake, Stent and Holland within early modern London; however, it is also necessary to understand the status of their shops as developing, as opposed to established phenomena. This is reflected in the relatively limited range of quality stock available to the London consumer, far less than the wide selection of aesthetically sophisticated engravings being published and purchased on the continent; whilst Henry Peacham directed the readers of *The Compleat Gentleman* to Popes Head Alley for prints by Goltzius, they would find there little of the extensive printed oeuvre of portraits, allegories, and religious subjects sold by the engraver at his own shop in Haarlem for example, or by Hieronymous Cock at the sign of the Quatre Vents in Antwerp.⁴⁹ However, the trade in importing prints from Europe remained a significant one; Antony Griffiths has proposed that foreign prints far outnumbered their native counterparts in the shops and stalls of early seventeenth-century London.⁵⁰ Certain print specialists in the capital, aware of the quality of work produced by foreign engravers, employed them directly. Crispijn de Passe the Elder supplied Compton Holland with stock from his business in Utrecht, with his son Simon working exclusively for Holland upon his arrival in London in 1616. Another member of the de Passe family of engravers, Simon's brother, Willem, had a similar arrangement with Thomas Jenner.⁵¹

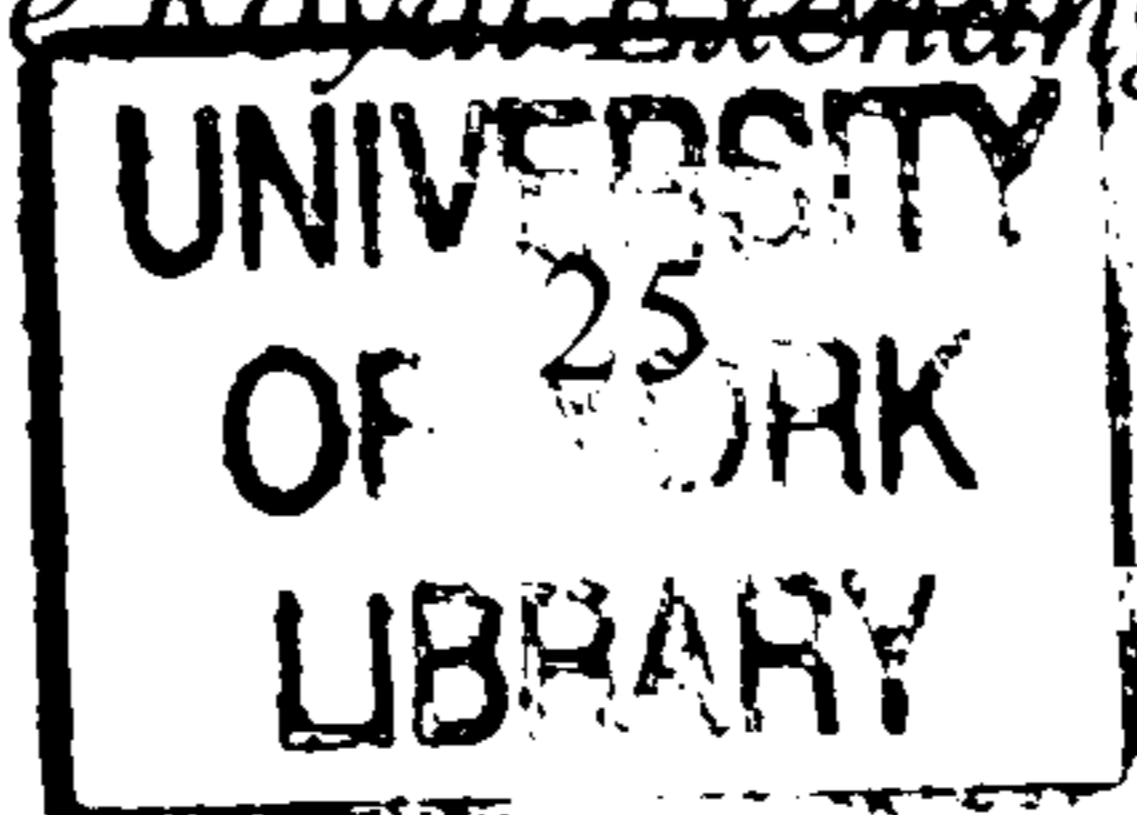
Many prints were also available to buy from general booksellers alongside pamphlets, books and corantos; there were well-known havens for the bibliophile in the innumerable stalls set up in St Paul's Churchyard and the environs of the Royal Exchange, which also functioned as centres of news and 'information'.⁵² In an anti-Papist polemic of 1624 the Spanish ambassador Gondomar is imagined making it his

⁴⁹On the publishing activities of Cock see Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymous Cock, Printmaker and Publisher* (New York and London, 1977); on Goltzius, Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "Hendrick Goltzius: Engraver, Designer and Publisher, 1582-1600", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 42-43 (1991-92), 159-218.

⁵⁰ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.190.

⁵¹ Ilja M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production* (Rotterdam, 2001), pp.243-251.

⁵² Peter W. M. Blayney, "The Bookshops in Paul's Cross Churchyard", *Occasional Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, No. 5 (1990); Michael Harris, "Exchanging Information: Print and Business at the Royal Exchange in the Late Seventeenth Century" in Ann Saunders (ed.), *The Royal Exchange* (London, 1997), pp.188-197.



business “to walke the common and most frequented places of the Citty of London, as St. Paules Church, the Exchange, now and then among the Ordinaries, to learne the common newes, out of which many times I picked good matter...”⁵³ It is significant then, that during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries these centres of information were also evolving into important locations for the development and dissemination of graphic culture. Pieter van de Keere, the principal seller of Dutch English-language corantos, sold these first news pamphlets in Amsterdam from his print shop in the Kalverstraat, a shop stocked with maps and engravings, before shifting to London and founding the trade in English corantos from a shop in Pope’s Head Alley.⁵⁴ One witty delineation of Captain Thomas Gainsford, a professional news ‘gatherer’ employed by the coranto publisher Nathaniel Butter during the 1620s, describes

Captain Pamphlets horse and foot, that sally
Upon th’Exchange, still, out of Popes Head Alley...⁵⁵

emphasising further this close relationship between news mongers, coranto sellers, print publishers and map-makers, close in both geographic and economic terms. Neither was this pattern of connections between images and texts, between books, pamphlets and prints confined exclusively to the capital; an inventory of 1616 listing the goods of the York bookseller John Foster lists over a thousand separate titles as well as “12 small Mappes...1 mapp of Yorkeshire...13 pictures...4 borders of Kings and others [and] 6 other pictures.”⁵⁶

IV

The intimate links between cultures of news, political information and printed ephemera created highly auspicious circumstances for the production and consumption of the political print. The emergence of a significant, politically interested, audience for such material has been the subject of much recent scholarly debate, with the influential

⁵³ Thomas Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (London, 1624), p.19.

⁵⁴ Folke Dahl, “Amsterdam – Cradle of English Newspapers”, *The Library*, 5th ser., 4 (1949), p.167.

⁵⁵ Ben Jonson, *Ben Jonson’s Execration Against Vulcan. With Diverse Epigrams by the Same Author to Severall Noble Personages in the Kingdome* (London, 1640), sig.B2v. See also Mark Eccles, “Thomas Gainsford, ‘Captain Pamphlet’”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 45 (1982), 259-70.

⁵⁶ Robert Davies, *A Memoir of the York Press, With Notices of Authors, Printers, and Stationers, in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1868), p.370.

model of Jürgen Habermas regarding the ‘public sphere’ and popular political opinion, being challenged by a number of early modern historians. According to Habermas, the growing presence of a network of outlets for political debate, such as the independent press, and the increasingly ubiquitous coffee-house, led to the emergence in England of such a sphere during the 1690s.⁵⁷ Critical readings of this Habermasian theory have been inclined to antedate its inception to the early years of the Restoration, and the beginnings of the coffee-house phenomenon; however, as Joad Raymond has convincingly argued, the roots of popular political debate, and the emergence of a politically interested public sphere, reach far further back into the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ Raymond’s own understanding of the phenomenon centres around the increasing availability of textual sources of information, primarily the newsbooks and corantos which circulated in increasing numbers from the early 1620s. It is clear however, that texts were not the only form of printed ephemera to influence and incite debate in this manner; pictorial lampoons and satirical prints were themselves being integrated into a ‘public sphere’ of political culture.

The seventeenth-century understanding of the term ‘satire’ was chiefly considered in textual and literary terms: “a nipping and scoffing verse” is its definition in one 1604 dictionary.⁵⁹ ‘Nipping and scoffing’ suggests a significant measure of wit and humour. Certainly political graphic satire during this period had far less in common with the classical verse satire of Donne and Marston, than with the writings of sharp-eyed (and sharp-tongued) pot poets such as John Taylor, and the acerbic dramatists of city life such as Dekker and Middleton. The themes of satirical prints reflected those of the scurrilous verses and epigrams penned about and against newsworthy personalities from week to week, found posted up outside St Paul’s or circulated in manuscript and jotted down in commonplace books.⁶⁰ The circulation and consumption of the libel, pasquil

⁵⁷ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: an Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge MA, 1989).

⁵⁸ Joad Raymond, “The Newspaper, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century” in Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), pp.109-140; Steven Pincus, “‘Coffee Politicians Does Create’: Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture”, *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), 807-34; Peter Lake and Michael Questier, “Puritans, Papists and the ‘Public Sphere’ in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context”, *Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000), 587-627.

⁵⁹ Robert Cawdrey, *A Table Alphabeticall Conteyning and Teaching the True Writing and Understanding of Hard Usual English Wordes* (London, 1604), sig.H4v.

⁶⁰ Croft, “Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion”; Fox, “Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion”.

and scurrilous verses have been presented by recent scholars as an illuminating, and until recently much neglected, facet of political culture in early modern England; in terms of textual libels, present scholarship has valuably challenged circumscribed notions of the ‘political nation’, revealing the spread and depth of political awareness amongst the English public. Of pictorial libels however, we know very little. That they circulated, in common with written libels, to a wide and varied audience is certain. In a letter to William Laud, the Earl of Strafford recalled such an insult, with “my Lord Treasurer that was, and myself, painted upon gibbets, our names underwrit with a great deal of poetry besides...”⁶¹ Individuals outside of the court milieu were similarly targeted. Adam Fox cites a libel literally ‘drawn up’ against one George Hawkins in 1605, with verses accompanied by ‘three sevrall pictures or images’ representing Hawkins, a whore, and their bastard child. Whilst having a negligible effect on events at Westminster, this would certainly have influenced the day-to-day politics of Hawkins’ Worcestershire village.⁶²

Whether implicating the Earl of Strafford or George Hawkins, such libels share common ground in bringing together of text and picture in order to have the maximum impact upon a wide audience, whose own levels of literacy and understanding could be varied. The development of graphic satire as a form of commentary and expression in early modern England occurred at an important stage in the shift from a primarily oral to literate culture. As Michael Camille has noted in a discussion of the St. Albans Psalter, during the medieval period the majority of didactic artefacts were subject to the dominance of image over text.⁶³ In contrast, seventeenth-century graphic satire reveals a far more complex symbiotic relationship between the two, reflecting the many levels of literacy present in society and offering many layers of interpretation within a single piece of commentary. That an often-quoted seventy percent of men and ninety percent of women in mid seventeenth-century England could not write their own names, does not automatically mean that there was a high level of illiteracy across the country.⁶⁴ Rather, research into literacy in early modern England has delineated a complex picture

⁶¹ Alastair Bellany, “Libels in Action: Ritual, Subversion and the English Literary Underground, 1603-42” in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (New York, 2001), p.99.

⁶² Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, pp.302-304.

⁶³ Michael Camille, “Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy”, *Art History*, 8 (1985), 26-49.

⁶⁴ David Cressy, “Literacy in Context: Meaning and Measurement in Early Modern England” in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1993), p.305.

of understanding and ability; according to David Cressy, it should be imagined “as a spectrum or curve, in which even the narrow definition as ‘reading and writing’ shades into an extensive range of competencies.”⁶⁵ Reading ability, itself judged across a wide range of aptitude, was itself far more common in the seventeenth-century population than writing skills. Tessa Watt’s research into the prevalence of didactic texts in domestic interiors, churches and alehouses, that is inscriptions of a Biblical or proverbial nature used in decorative contexts, provides one example of the extent to which the written word permeated many levels of society.⁶⁶ Juliet Fleming’s recent study of graffiti in early modern England has similarly suggested that although the proportion of the population which could write was relatively small, those who could understand written, inscribed and scribbled texts was significantly greater.⁶⁷ That in Watt’s words, “the most influential media [of this period] were those which combined print with non-literate forms”, highlights the cultural importance and impact of political graphic satire upon seventeenth-century English culture. As this thesis will demonstrate, the satirical print is commonly a framework within which text and image interact; this fusion of literate and non-literate forms prompted a variety of levels of interpretation, which correspond neatly with Cressy’s ‘spectrum or curve’ of literacy. As such, the neglect of this pervasive media within discussions of political culture and its consumption, demands redress.

As much as ability, the issue of availability is a further key factor in understanding the circulation and consumption of graphic satire in early modern England. Whilst print publishers’ advertisements, the Terms Catalogues, and contemporary annotations such as that of Narcissus Luttrell, give us some indication as to the retail prices of prints during the latter half of seventeenth century, earlier evidence is both limited and scattered.⁶⁸ The cheapest price of an engraved print prior to 1650 has been estimated at about 6d, with more sophisticated compositions costing at least one shilling, whilst ballads and broadsides with woodcut illustrations commonly retailed at a penny or

⁶⁵ Cressy, “Literacy in Context”, p.311. Other important studies include Keith Thomas, “The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England” in Gerd Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford, 1986), pp.97-132; Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980).

⁶⁶ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, ch.6.

⁶⁷ Juliet Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2001).

⁶⁸ Antony Griffiths, “A Check-list of Catalogues of English Print Publishers c.1650-1830”, *Print Quarterly*, 1 (1984), 4-22; Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709*, 3 vols. (London, 1903-1906); F.C. Francis (ed.), *Narcissus Luttrell’s Popish Plot Catalogues* (Oxford, 1956).

less.⁶⁹ Illustrated books were relatively expensive purchases, with retail prices often double those of their non-illustrated equivalents. Seven shillings and ninepence was the price paid for an unbound, yet copiously illustrated, 1635 edition of George Wither's *Emblemes*, for example.⁷⁰ Average wages in London, the principal centre for the English print trade, and most immediate site for its dissemination, have themselves been estimated as 18d per day for craftsmen at the beginning of the seventeenth century, rising to 30d per day by the 1650s; labourers' wages rose from 12d to 18d during the same period.⁷¹ A satirical engraving would therefore have represented a significant purchase for a city labourer, an illustrated ballad or pamphlet less so. Access to such media, however, was not always subject to matters of economics. As J. Nevinson has conjectured, Thomas Trevilian's access to an extraordinary range of graphic material may well have been assisted by the display of prints in shops; as Chapter Three will demonstrate, illustrated broadsides could be found pasted up on the walls of alehouses, inviting the attention of a variety of patrons. Nor should we presuppose that the price and medium of printed ephemera always had a corresponding relationship with its subject matter and audience; one black-letter ballad with woodcut illustration, now preserved in the Pepys Ballad Collection, deals not with a tale of lovers, knights or folk heroes, but rather recounts 'how the Goddess Diana, transformed Actaeon into the shape of a Hart'.⁷² The example of this classical subject matter, combined with the cheapest mass-produced media, highlights our often inaccurate modern presumptions towards the intellectual and cultural consciousness of audiences for cheap print.

Indeed, contemporary comments about pictorial satire frequently reveal little differentiation between their physical forms such as woodcut or engraving. As the case study in Chapter Four of the visual lampooning of the Archbishop of Canterbury emphasises, the symbolic and didactic features of such media share a fluid relationship with their aesthetic qualities and status; in the case of Archbishop Laud the mass-produced woodcut for example, engages with the iconography of elite portraiture. The

⁶⁹ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p.142, p.12. These prices should be considered solely as estimates: Antony Griffiths describes the price of one shilling, which Narcissus Luttrell paid in 1680 for the large engraving of *The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade* as "very high", its listed price being only 6d; Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.287.

⁷⁰ F. R. Johnson, "Notes on English Retail Book Prices", *The Library*, 5th ser., 5 (1950), p.112.

⁷¹ Jeremy Boulton, "Wage Labour in Seventeenth-Century London", *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., 49 (1996), p.279.

⁷² Helen Weinstein, *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge*, vol.II, pt.i, 480.

impact of the early seventeenth-century political print stemmed not only from the creative skills of its producers, but equally from the ability of its iconography to reflect, complement and integrate with other forms of political media and aesthetic forms. As such, its previous ‘pigeonholing’ by scholars as an illustrative rather than interpretive tool, should be dismissed.

V

The scope of this thesis addresses the engagement of graphic culture with politics from c.1600 to c.1650. Both this time scale and the term ‘political print’ are fluid rather than fixed. Within the context of this study, politics encompasses matters religious and secular, foreign and domestic, moral and social; in the words of Barry Reay, “Our own neat division between religion, politics, and society would have made little sense to the majority of the women and men of the seventeenth century, and it is better to think in terms of overlap and interaction.”⁷³ This blurring of divisions and boundaries continues with regard to the time scale of my study, not least since a key observation throughout my thesis concerns the appropriation of earlier models and templates, which move across chronological as well as thematic boundaries.

The opening chapter of this study addresses the multiplicity of meanings which the satirical print frequently offered its audience, taking as a case study a complex Jacobean engraving which transcends the thematic categories imposed upon it by modern scholars. Chapters Two and Three engage with material from the 1620s, highlighting the extent to which such prints exploit earlier imagery, both foreign and native, in order to inform audiences of the dangers of the papist and the monopolist respectively; this technique of adaptation is one which, as both chapters demonstrate, continues seamlessly into the supposed ‘watershed’ decade of the 1640s. The common suggestion that the 1640s were the decade in which political graphic satire originated in England, is strongly compromised by both the richness of material discussed in these first three chapters, and the continuing sense of adaptation and appropriation which runs through later sections.

The undermining of the Church of England under Laud is discussed in Chapter Four, through an analysis of a variety of graphic sources which draw collectively upon

⁷³ Barry Reay, “Radicalism and Religion in the English Revolution: an Introduction” in J. F. McGregor and Barry Reay (eds.), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984), p.3.

specific themes to lampoon Laud and his Episcopal associates. Chapter Five examines the understanding by puritan polemicists and audiences of ‘popular’ satirical techniques, as highlighted through the comparative critiquing of the cavalier and roundhead; the final chapter explores the reworking of established themes, and the processes of editing and appropriation prevalent in pictorial satire, as post-1645 debates steer political concerns towards the theme of religious diversification.

Whilst my work makes claims to be both innovative and important, it does not purport to be exhaustive. Many of the prints addressed in this study are highly complex in their rendering of multiple meanings, certain of which have inevitably been left obscured by the passing of time. Furthermore, whilst the satirical prints of this period may constitute a limited number, in comparison to those surviving examples of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I have chosen to consider a range that is representative rather than complete. To comprehensively engage with them all would constitute an infinite task, and as such is far beyond the scope of this study.

I

Two recent publications by early modern historians have given particular prominence to one Jacobean satirical print (fig.3). Catalogued during the nineteenth century by F. G. Stephens under the title of *The Nation and its Riotous Governors*, this animated engraving pictures a motley crew of individuals simultaneously attempting to mount a protesting donkey, whilst the single figure of Mr. Justice soberly declines its owner's invitation to ride.¹

It features on the jacket cover to Michael J. Braddick's *State Formation in Early Modern England*, and David Underdown's *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660*.² Both authors, or alternatively their editors, have used this image in a distinctly symbolic manner: Underdown to show something of popular forms and rebellion in early modern England, Braddick to capture his emphasis on government as a negotiation between rulers and the ruled. However, given that neither author refers to this print within their respective studies, the tendency to illustrate rather than analyse is once again evident. A more detailed examination of this, and related prints, reveals a multiplicity of meanings within much graphic satire from the Jacobean period, offering a number of alternative readings which continued to engage with audiences throughout the seventeenth century.

This engraving was first entered as 'A picture of the Ridinge of the Asse' into the registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers in March 1607 for one Henry Roberts. Roberts remains an obscure figure; a member of the Company under the same name had a shop near St. Botolph's Church without Aldgate by 1612, and works recorded as sold by this stationer include a sermon and a single-sheet ballad.³ Situated outside the city walls, the relatively poor parish of St. Boltoph's was some distance from St. Paul's Churchyard, London's principal bookselling venue, and from Cornhill,

¹ F. G. Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Satirical and Personal Subjects*, [hereafter *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*] vols. I and II (London, 1870-73), I, p.30.

² Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge, 2000); David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603-1660* (Oxford, 1987).

³ *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, edited by Edward Arber, 5 vols. (London, 1875), III, 150. See also Jones, "Engraved Works Recorded in the Stationers' Registers, 1562-1656", p.24.

standing in the shadow of the Royal Exchange, where the majority of such broadsides could be purchased.⁴ However, the two extant copies of *The Ridinge of the Asse* bear no contemporary printseller's imprint and it is possible that Roberts, as a member of the Company of Stationers, was registering the engraving on behalf of an associate.⁵

Although unsigned, it has been proposed that this print was the work of the prolific Reynold Elstrack, who was active in London between 1598 and 1625.⁶ Elstrack was employed chiefly a portraitist, producing small-scale engravings of the upper echelons of society. His work includes a number of portraits from the *Baziliwlogia, or Book of the Kings*, a successful series of engravings of the monarchs of England printed for and sold by Henry and Compton Holland in 1618. The Hollands employed a number of talented engravers for their project, including Frances Delaram and Simon de Passe, as well as Elstrack himself. That an engraver of this calibre was also producing prints such as *The Ridinge of the Asse* demonstrates the potential of graphic satire, not only as a popular type of visual humour, but also as a visually sophisticated vehicle for social and pictorial commentary, geared to an equally sophisticated audience.

The most immediate reading offered by *The Ridinge of the Asse* is that of a morality tale, exposing human follies and weaknesses endemic in society. The universality of folly was a well-recognised phenomena reflected in both image and text; the title to Thomas Middleton's 1608 play *A Mad World My Masters* reflects its widespread acknowledgement by the authors of dramatic comedy. The prologue to Robert Burton's encyclopaedic *Anatomy of Melancholy*, first published in 1621, similarly recognises this universality and goes on to note the dissemination of folly through a visual as well as dramatic vocabulary:

“...thou shalt soone perceive all the world is madde, that is melancholy, dotes: that it is (which *Epichthonius Cosmopolites* expressed not many yeeres since in a Mapped made like a Fooles head, with that motto) *Caput Heleboro dignum*, a crased head, and needs to be reformed.”⁷

⁴ Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge, 1991), pp.188-89.

⁵ Copies of *The Ridinge of the Asse* are held by the British Museum's Department of Prints and Drawings, and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

⁶ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.146.

⁷ Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy What It Is* (London, 1621), p.14.

Several continental versions of this fool's cap 'mappe' are known, one of the earliest being a woodcut published in Paris during the 1570s.⁸ That which Burton was familiar with is an engraved, coloured map dated variously between 1580 and 1609 (fig.4), probably published in Antwerp. Burton, writing in Oxford, had a detailed and first-hand knowledge of this print; its inventor 'Epichthonius Cosmopolites', or everyman, is identified in the cartouche to the left of the cap itself. A small copper plate bearing a remarkably similar design (fig.5) was bought from the engraver and publisher Jacques de Gheyn II by the Leiden Chamber of Rhetoric in 1596, along with another of the Chamber's coat of arms. Three hundred impressions of each plate were initially printed, with the same fool's head map also illustrating a text published seventeen years later concerning the Chamber's meetings.⁹ Given this scale of production, coupled with Burton's highly specific reference to Epichthonius Cosmopolites' map, it is sensible to conclude that at least one version of this symbol of universal folly had established itself in an English visual vocabulary by the early 1620s.

The theme of folly was also one readily associated with the ass, a creature with its own established visual iconography. Pieter Bruegel's 1556 drawing of *The Ass at School* (fig.6) is typical in its emphasis of the beast's stupidity. In spite of its best efforts, and even the assistance of eye-glasses, it is not destined to be a creature of intelligence; as the proverb at the foot of the drawing confirms, even if you send an ass to school, it will remain an ass, and not return a horse. Such iconography was also commercially appealing; a year later the printseller Hieronymous Cock had the drawing engraved by Peter van der Heyden for his Amsterdam shop, and the comical adage proved popular, running through several states and inspiring a number of copies.¹⁰

The casting of the ass as fool or half-wit was also prevalent in the Jacobean city comedy: "...laugh at me, call me foole, proclaime, let all the world take knowledge I am an Asse." declares Gostanzo in George Chapman's 1605 play, *Al Fooles*, whilst Maybery concludes that "If a Player talke like a mad-man, or a foole, or an Asse, and knowes not what hee talkes, then Ime one..." in Dekker and Webster's *North-ward Hoe*

⁸ Rodney W. Shirley, "Epichthonius Cosmopolites: Who Was He?", *The Map Collector*, March 1982, pp.39-40.

⁹ Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "Jaques de Gheyn II: Engraver, Designer and Publisher – I", *Print Quarterly*, 7 (1990), p.263; I. Q. Van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations*, 3 vols. (London and the Hague, 1983), II, no.229.

¹⁰ Ayers Bagley, "Bruegel's 'The Ass at School'", *Pedagogica Historica*, 24 (1984), p.357; Nadine M. Orenstein (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Drawings and Prints*, exh.cat (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), pp.142-44.

of 1607.¹¹ Conversely, the ass was also considered to have positive attributes, possessing the characteristics of patience, loyalty, and stoicism, as rooted in Biblical imagery. “For as the oxe doth know his owner, so the Asse doth take notice of his maisters cribbe: although he be dull, yet his sence can serve him, to observe those things which make for the filling of his paunch.” preached George Abbot to an Oxford congregation in 1600.¹² These more positive attributes underline the depth of human folly encountered in Elstrack’s print.

Malcolm Jones has recently shown that the composition of *The Ridinge of the Asse* is based on an early sixteenth-century German woodcut. (fig.7).¹³ Dr. Jones notes, however, that although their pictorial compositions share a common ground, the wording to Elstrack’s engraving is far from a simple translation of the German verses.¹⁴ Similarly, rather than literally translate the content of one image into another, Elstrack has taken care to delineate the characteristics of a number of early seventeenth-century English stereotypes: Dame Punke the prostitute, for example, and the ridiculously attired gallant Fether who intends to ride ‘to the Pirats knott’ in order to drink and gamble. The earlier print is thus a template upon which Elstrack and the anonymous contributor of the verses projected their own vision of society in Jacobean London. Variants on these protagonists can be found in visual and textual imagery circulating before and after the publication of *The Ridinge of the Asse*. The appearance of ‘Fether’, the elaborately hatted gallant, stood towards the ass’s tail, echoes those individuals who, according to Philip Stubbes’ invective, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, “are content with no kind of Hat, without a great bunch of feathers of divers and sundrie colours, peaking on top of their heades...as sternes of Pride, and Ensignes of vanitie...”¹⁵ Don Gull, meanwhile, his foot in the stirrup, is fortunate enough to have had an entire instruction manual, *The Gull’s Hornbook* of 1609, written for his guidance and convenience; within it the pamphleteer and dramatist, Thomas Dekker, advises on matters of fashion and conduct so that “...all men may point at thee, and make thee famous by that glorious

¹¹ George Chapman, *Al Fooles a Comedy, Presented at the Black Fryers, and Lately Before His Majestie* (London, 1605), sig.G2; Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *Northward Hoe* (London, 1607), sig.B2.

¹² George Abbot, *An Exposition Upon the Prophet Jonah Contained in Certaine Sermons* (London, 1600), p.470.

¹³ Jones, “English Broadsides”, pp.149-52.

¹⁴ Jones, “English Broadsides”, p.152.

¹⁵ Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses: Containing a Discoverie, or Briefe Summarie of Such Notable Vices and Corruptions, as Nowe Raigne in Many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde* (London, 1595), p.22.

name of malcontent...”¹⁶ Dame Punke, meanwhile, is representative of the city’s whores, the word ‘punke’ a well known term for a prostitute. Her belligerence in male company accords with popular perceptions of such women; as the character of Captain Jenkins advises Maybery in *North-ward Hoe*,

lug you sir, shee is a punke, she shifts her lovers (as Captaines and *Welsh* Gentlemen and such) as she does her Trenchers when she has well fed upon’t, and that there is left nothing but pare bones, shee calls for a cleane one, and scrapes away the first.¹⁷

Her namesake, Dame Punke, attempts to seize control of the ass with a similar combination of ruthlessness, aggression and enthusiasm: ‘This shameless wanton makes my neck to crack’, complains another of the ‘riders’.

This collection of individuals and the futility of their endeavours (only Mr. Justice understands that ‘alone, he may not ride, and have the Asse his owne’) can be read as an extension of the tradition of the ‘Four Alls’. Popular in an English, as well as European iconography during the early modern period, four, or more commonly in England, five individuals representative of society, are pictured in competition with each other; variant characters include a king, parson, lawyer, soldier and farmer. All however, are ultimately defeated in their contest by the figure of Death.¹⁸ One example of 1580 (fig.8) includes both the harlot and the clown in its company, each in a similar manner to those attempting to ride, and each being thwarted in their efforts to gain pre-eminence. Like *The Ridinge of the Asse*, the Four Alls retained their popularity throughout the seventeenth century; in an almanac of 1693 the character of Poor Robin describes one such image, with eight individuals carried down to Hell.¹⁹ *The Ridinge of the Asse*’s own moral point is clearly emphasised in the closing couplets of its accompanying verses:

For, yf you chance to kill the valiant Beast
Your severall Soules, before they knowe their rest,

¹⁶ Thomas Dekker, *The Gull’s Hornbook* (1609) edited by R. B. McKerrow (London, 1904), p.28. It is interesting to note that Dekker is aware of certain connotations attached to the figure of the donkey; he begins this work by referring to his eponymous readership as “my most worthy Mæcen-asses...”

¹⁷ Dekker and Webster, *North-ward Hoe*, sig.H3v.

¹⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p.163; M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature to 1792: A Study of Opinion and Propaganda*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1959), I, 9. Examples of the ‘Four Alls’ were copied down by Thomas Trevilian; see *The Great Book of Thomas Trevilian*, II, nos.313-15.

¹⁹ *Poor Robin 1693, an Almanack of the Old and New Fashion* (London, 1693), sig.E2v.

Must by the Doctrine of Pithagoras
Passe through the body of the quickned Asse.

These lines, with their cautionary theme of potential retribution, complete the print's transition from scene of comic chaos to moral message. It is a message with a distinct longevity. The British Museum's copy of *The Ridinge of the Asse* bears the address of John Garrett, a successful printseller in business towards the end of the seventeenth century. Garrett appears to have acquired the plate for this print from the stock of Thomas Jenner, who died in 1673. Whilst *The Ridinge of the Asse* is listed in a 1662 advertisement of Jenner's holdings, Jenner's own printselling activities commenced around 1618, and it is highly possible that the engraving was a popular staple of his business for over fifty years.²⁰ Reissued from the same plate over a significant time period, this engraving's particular observations regarding Jacobean society and recognisable stereotypes within it, eventually gave way to more generic themes concerning folly and over-ambition.

This flexibility of content is tellingly exposed through a survey of modern approaches towards *The Ridinge of the Asse*, which have attempted to impose alternative readings upon its imagery. Several scholars have endeavoured to tease out further interpretations of the print, with limited success: Arthur M. Hind's catalogue entry for the print remains the fullest treatment of it, yet Hind's own commentary is tantalisingly vague:

The print is described by F. G. Stephens in the British Museum Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires as print number 60 under the title of 'the Nation and its Riotous Governors'. No explanation is offered, but it would seem from Stephens' title that he implied some reference to the struggle for office, and to the place-hunter and his inevitable fall.²¹

Without further commenting on Stephens' reasoning, Hind goes on to suggest that this engraving can be more convincingly associated with "the habit of great men of the time [of] riding richly caparisoned mules." However, this proposition itself remains tenuous.²² Braddick and Underdown's respective use of *The Ridinge of the Asse*

²⁰ 'Books printed and sold by Thomas Jenner, at the South Entrance to the Royal Exchange, London' in *A Book of the Names of All Parishes* (London, 1662), pp.200-201.

²¹ Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: A Descriptive Catalogue with Introductions*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1952-64), I, 292.

²² Hind's own suggestion is based upon his proposal that "in any case, the beast in the print looks more like a mule than an ass or a donkey...", dismissing entirely the text which accompanies the print, which specifically describes the animal as an ass.

similarly suggest narrowly defined messages behind the print's symbolism, with little understanding of its longevity as an image with a more universal moral message.

Much of our uncertainty regarding such prints stems from the habit of much early seventeenth-century graphic satire, addressing concerns regarding English politics, the court, and the morality of society in general, to shift easily between the specific and the generic. A further example of this fluidity of theme and intent is the undated broadsheet *Dr. Panurgus* (fig.9), probably first published during the early to mid-1620s. As this chapter will go on to demonstrate, its many components pertain to earlier as well as contemporary ideas, and address political as well as more generic, moral themes. Through our modern tendency to pigeonhole such prints as either 'political' or 'religious' or 'moral' images, our reading of their content is inevitably compromised; in what follows, therefore, this approach will be discarded. Taking *Dr. Panurgus* as a case study, this chapter will examine how a number of print satires dating from the early seventeenth century straddle this thematic gap between the specific and the generic, complicating our understanding of how visual material of both a political and polemical nature engaged with the public sphere.

II

Dr. Panurgus is the work of Martin Droeshout (1601-after 1639), a London-based engraver whose family had left the Low Countries for England during the 1570s. Like the majority of engravers in early seventeenth-century London, Droeshout specialised in small-scale portrait prints rather than broadsheet satires; his best-known work is the likeness of William Shakespeare which illustrates the *First Folio* of 1623.²³ At sometime around that date he diversified from portraiture, producing this high-quality satire upon human behaviour.²⁴ In contrast to the compositionally uniform images of the eminent and infamous, *Dr Panurgus* is a spectacularly intricate engraving.

The action of the print centres upon a scene of medical activity. Against a background of medicinal bottles, jars and boxes typical of the seventeenth-century

²³ Christiaan Schuckman, "The Engraver of the First Folio Portrait of William Shakespeare", *Print Quarterly*, 8 (1991), 40-43. Brief biographies of the Droeshout family of engravers can be found in Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, 341 and Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.106.

²⁴ As well as *Dr. Panurgus*, Droeshout is known to have executed *The Spiritual Warfare*, a further broadside of a satirical or allegorical nature of 1623; see Jones, "English Broadside", pp.153-54.

apothecary's shop, Panurgus treats his patients using a variety of remedies.²⁵ However, whilst such shops usually separated the customer from the dispenser by means of a counter, Panurgus' treatments extend to the administering of 'cures'. His patients in the foreground are subjected to purging and steaming, two common elements of early modern medical treatment for a variety of complaints, whilst two further visitors await their own consultations.²⁶ Their ailments, however, are far from standard examples of seventeenth-century illness; as verses accompanying the image declare,

...by his waters drugs, conserves and potions
He purgeth fancies, follies, idle motions.

Whilst this indicates an allegorical rather than faithful representation of early seventeenth-century medical or pharmaceutical practice, scholarly observations concerning *Dr. Panurgus* have failed to decipher its intricate composition; as a result, the complexity of its allusive content has been either ignored or misunderstood. Antony Griffiths' catalogue entry for the engraving in *The Print in Stuart Britain* makes much of its continental origins, but very little of its subject matter, whilst Alexander Globe's brief reference to "a general satire on physic, quackery and black magic, possibly alluding to the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury" is far from satisfactory.²⁷ M. Dorothy George omits the print altogether from her *English Political Caricature*, whereas it is included, but only cursorily commented upon, as an illustration to David Lindley's recent study of the court-centred Overbury murder case of 1616, an inclusion which intimates a political as well as moral content.²⁸ Such readings succinctly express the difficulty experienced by much modern scholarship on early seventeenth-century graphic satire, with its fluid and shifting meanings.

Dr. Panurgus is an adaptation of several Continental images, including the French print, *Le Medecin Guarissant Phantasie Purgeant par Drogues la Folie* and the German *Dr. Wurmbbrandt*, or 'wormburner' (fig.10).²⁹ Whilst elements of these compositions are

²⁵ On the layout and content of the apothecary's shop during this period see Patrick Wallis, *Medicines for London: the Trade, Regulation and Lifecycle of London Apothecaries, c.1610-c.1670* (D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 2002), pp.289-309.

²⁶ Such remedies are discussed in Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge, 2000).

²⁷ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.146-48; Globe, *Peter Stent*, p.126.

²⁸ George, *English Political Caricature*. David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London, 1993).

²⁹ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.146-47. On *Dr. Wurmbbrandt* see William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Baden

prominently integrated into *Dr. Panurgus*, Droeshout has carefully adapted and elaborated the image, tailoring it specifically to the topical interests and concerns of an English audience, as with Elstrack's treatment of *The Ridinge of the Asse*. Like *Dr. Wurmbbrandt*, Panurgus administers 'Wisdom' and 'Understanding' to a 'rude Rusticall' who graphically defecates into a close stool; another patient, more city gull than rustic, is placed in the foreground with his head in a furnace, the habits and vices which have corrupted him being literally steamed out of his brain. In the background, Droeshout has inserted a fashionably-dressed gentleman and lady. Furthermore, unlike its continental counterparts, as well as accompanying verses at the foot of the print, a significant amount of text is incorporated into *Dr. Panurgus*. On differing levels the inclusion of this text at once clarifies and makes more complex the print's composition.

Contrary to the views of some early print scholars, *Dr. Panurgus* is not directly linked to the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, a court-centred scandal which reached its height by 1616.³⁰ That year Frances Howard and her second husband, the Earl of Somerset, were convicted of the poisoning of Overbury, the Earl's former friend and a vocal opponent of their marriage; the scandal provoked much criticism and commentary in both private correspondence and printed ephemera. However, components of this complex engraving undoubtedly address broader concerns regarding the behaviour of the court, raised during the trial of Howard and her associates. In *Dr. Panurgus* and a number of related prints, public awareness of courtly immorality, recently outlined in Alastair Bellany's study of the Overbury scandal, reflected concerns over sins such as pride and lust, which if unchecked pose a threat to the stability of society.³¹

Such moral concerns are expressed in *Dr. Panurgus* through medical metaphors. Analogies of this kind were not uncommon; according to the prolific preacher, Thomas Adams, in a sermon of 1616, "The sicknesse of this world is Epidemicall, and hath with the invisible poison of a general pestilence infected it to the heart. For Vice in manners,

Baden, 1967). The iconography of the doctor in later French prints is discussed in William H. Helfand, "Pharmacy in L'Imagerie Populaire", *Pharmacy in History*, 29 (1987), 116-24.

³⁰ An unknown, probably nineteenth-century hand has annotated one of only two extant copies of *Dr. Panurgus*, now in the British Museum, with the following inscription: 'Earl of Essex with his Lady, afterwards Ctss of Somerset, with the Earl of Somerset, etc.' The other copy is held by the library of the Wellcome Institute in London; I am grateful to Malcolm Jones for this additional information.

³¹ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*.

as Heresie in doctrine, distilleth insensible contagion into the fountaine of Life.”³² Fellow preacher, Robert Wright, linked the causes of a virulent outbreak of the plague in 1625 to moral decay, exposing “its true cause [as] the corruption of manners that corrupts our bodies, and rottennesse in sinne that brings rottennesse in the flesh.”³³ A visit to Panurgus however, with his ostensibly simple cures of ‘Pietie’, ‘Honestie’ and ‘Reason’ arranged in an orderly fashion in the background of the print, is suggestive of a solution dependent on financial rather than emotional factors, to the diseases of the sinful and corrupt.

Religion, social stability, medicine and morality all combine within *Dr. Panurgus* to produce a powerful critique of Jacobean society with heavy political overtones. The concept of medical neglect as a reflection of the flaws of political and church government was not unfamiliar; in a recent article on John Webster’s *The Duchess of Malfi*, William Kerwin highlights the connection made by Webster “between rituals of physic and aristocratic misrule [and] the connection between bad medicine and bad government.”³⁴ Both drama and court politics share the same sense of performance-orientated emphasis as the seventeenth-century doctor or apothecary’s consultation, especially of the kind acted out by Panurgus. The spectacular ‘cure’ prescribed to the gallant with his steaming brains, and the graphic comedy of the defecating rustic, allude to dramatic set-pieces in their arrangement across the front of the composition; such inferences appear to have influenced print scholars such as Arthur M. Hind, who refers to several of the print’s protagonists as “the two chief actors.”³⁵

The significance of these ‘players’ and the roles they assume can be seen to fluctuate according to their audience. During the early seventeenth century quite specific messages were communicated through *Dr. Panurgus*’ dramatic personae and their personal failings, weaving together universal truths and topical observations. However, that one of only two extant copies of *Dr. Panurgus* was printed from Droeshout’s engraved plate during the early 1670s indicates a thematic longevity which shifts its status from political satire to moral commentary, a phenomenon which, as this chapter will demonstrate, is common to a number of prints from the Jacobean and early Caroline periods. Their own relationship with this complex engraving reveals a

³² Thomas Adams, *Diseases of the Soule: a Discourse Divine, Morall, and Physicall* (London, 1616), p.1. See also Adams, *Englands Sicknes, Comparatively Conferred with Israels* (London, 1615).

³³ Robert Wright, *A Receyt to Stay the Plague* (London, 1625), p.15.

³⁴ William Kerwin, “‘Physicians are like Kings’: Medical Politics and ‘The Duchess of Malfi’”, *English Literary Renaissance*, 28 (1998), p.97.

³⁵ Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, 363.

sophisticated visual vocabulary of both moral and political satire, which has until now been in want of scholarly attention.

III

The ‘fancies, follies, and idle motions’ which Panurgus is said to cure so effectively, embrace a number of shortcomings and distractions familiar to an early seventeenth-century audience. These include moral failings such as frivolous fashions or giddy pastimes, frowned upon by the more godly sections of society, whilst religious concerns are also directly addressed.

A small panel at the foot of the engraving isolates a scene of surreal activity (fig.11). This ‘picture within a picture’ reveals two men carrying churches upon their backs, admonished by a rhyming couplet: ‘Who bore two Churches and complained of none, Nowe being purged findes too much of one.’ Both text and image refer to religious pluralism, that is, the practice of holding more than one ecclesiastical benefice, or office, at once. The verses below the panel, both integral to the wider text and isolated by the panel device itself, through stressing the growing dishonesty practised by “The cheating tradesman...Th’ingrossing Marchant...[and] the Grimme Usurer”, weave by association the activities of the pluralist into a wider arena of corruption and mendacity. This distinctive motif and the criticisms linked to it were repeated several decades later, with a similar, church-laden figure, appearing upon the title page of the 1642 pamphlet *A Purge for Pluralities*, a satire against greedy ecclesiastics growing rich on more than one living (fig.12). This adaptation of the earlier source shows the recycling of an earlier iconography of pluralism, which included *Dr. Panurgus*. It also suggests that *Dr. Panurgus* was being periodically reprinted before the plate came into the possession of John Overton during the 1670s; its route to Overton came via the stock of Peter Stent, himself active in printselling c.1643-1667, whose name can be found on the earlier state of the two extant copies of the print. As later chapters of this thesis will go on to discuss, the long-term roots of motifs such as the church-laden character can be found far further back than within the language of conflict of the early 1640s, indicative of the mnemonic influence of the printed image.³⁶

It is clear that images such as *The Ridinge of the Asse* and *Dr. Panurgus* possess a complexity and ambivalence of meaning extending far beyond their initial reception in

³⁶ See Chapter Four for further discussion of the earlier origins of much 1640s iconography.

early seventeenth-century England. This reflects the literary observation that the ‘meaning’ of a text is not fixed by its initial intention or moment of creation; rather, readers make it anew, and furthermore, a later edition may convey a very different significance.

Another indication of the fluidity between general and particular, moral and political concerns, centres around the figure of the woman whom Droeshout has inserted into *Dr. Panurgus* (fig.13). The similarities between this individual, with her ‘manly humors’, and contemporary portraits of the notorious Frances Howard, have led a number of scholars to link *Dr. Panurgus*, whether tenuously or more directly, with the Overbury murder trial. As several recent studies have demonstrated, the trial of Howard, her husband Robert Carr and their associates generated a significant corpus of critical and satirical comment in the form of verse libels, pamphlets and broadsides.³⁷ Whether *Dr. Panurgus* forms part of this corpus however, is debatable, and caution should be exercised in reading any such allusions into the engraving. Although Martin Droeshout is not known to have executed any portrait of Howard, this hatted figure is strikingly similar to one of two representations of the Countess (fig.14) by Simon de Passe, a Dutch engraver working in London between 1616 and 1621 for Compton Holland, and rival publishers Sudbury and Humble. Due to the physiognomic similarities between Howard and this female patient, the man beside her has been perceived as her second husband Robert Carr, and the figure in the furnace her first husband the Earl of Essex; Panurgus is translated into the disreputable Dr. Simon Forman, the magician and alchemist reputed to have aided Howard in her designs. Contemporary portraiture however, does not support these latter conjectures, and from this reading the link between Howard and the print remains tenuous, if tantalising.

However, additional support for Howard’s supposed presence is offered by the treatment which this female figure awaits, the same as the gallant before her: since “now your manly humors boil so highe, That you must in the Gallants Furnace lye.” In early modern England, the Galenic theory that women’s bodies were inherently ‘colder’ than those of men, whose superior attributes sprung from a superfluity of heat, still prevailed; according to contemporary thought, “...within mankind the man is more perfect than the woman, and the reason for his perfection is his excess of heat, for heat is Nature’s primary instrument.”³⁸ During the later seventeenth century such opinions

³⁷ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*; Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*.

³⁸ Quoted in Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge MA, 1990), p.28.

continued to proliferate, Jane Sharp noting in her 1671 midwifery manual *The Midwives Book* how “a woman is not so perfect as a Man, because her heat is weaker...”³⁹ Such heat not only explained the superiority of man, but also his active and assertive nature, in contrast to the natural submissiveness of the female sex, governed by cooler humours. This phenomenon had particular connotations for Frances Howard, whose own murderous actions were considered extraordinary given the expected submissiveness of the ‘cooler’ female body. Her deadly behaviour was easily interpreted as arising from unnatural excesses of heat which, like the ‘manly humours’ of Panurgus’ female patient, demanded a purgative; although associations between the print and the scandal are never made specific, the idea remains highly suggestive, and the likeness between the two women undeniable. As *Dr. Panurgus*’ engraver Martin Droeshout was born in 1601, it is highly unlikely that this complex print was published during the period of the Overbury scandal, which reached its apex during 1615-16 with the trials of those implicated in Sir Thomas’ murder. Simon de Passe’s two portraits of Frances Howard are similarly undated; however, the second state depicts Howard with cropped hair and a broad-brimmed hat, both highly fashionable during the early 1620s.⁴⁰ Although published five or six years after the height of her notoriety, portraits of Howard were still considered commercially viable, and certainly available for engravers such as Droeshout to consult. However, the portrait has shifted over time from the likeness of a notorious individual, to a symbol of immorality. Whilst the countess herself is not directly implicated in the activity of *Dr. Panurgus*, her portrait has certainly been used as a recognisable model, upon which to base the character of a morally dubious woman.

Indeed as Alastair Bellany has demonstrated, the reputations of Howard and her cohorts were long-lived. Libels about the scandal circulated in manuscript form until the 1630s, whilst post-1625 allegations in ephemera that James I had been poisoned by his favourite Buckingham, recalled the earlier fate of Thomas Overbury.⁴¹ Bellany’s wider argument that the events of 1615-16 continued to inform and influence perceptions of the court and its culture right up to the Civil War, makes Howard’s indirect presence within *Dr. Panurgus* a highly plausible, and indeed powerful one.⁴² Our patient retains the visual character of the Countess, whilst assuming the more fluid, symbolic role of an

³⁹ Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book, or the Whole Art of Midwifery* (London, 1671), p.41

⁴⁰ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, p.161.

⁴¹ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, pp.251-52.

⁴² Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, pp.248-78.

‘everywoman’, representative of the negative traits of the dominant female with which Howard herself had become closely linked.

The theme of the aggressive woman at odds with nature, ran through the visual and literary culture of the early seventeenth century; with her threatening humours, painted face and gaudy fashions, this femme fatale was a popular target for criticism and lampoons. Much has been written, particularly by feminist historians, of the supposed explosion of court-inspired ‘transvestite fashions’ during the early 1620s, with censure loaded upon women dressing in imitation of men, and allegedly adopting mannish, forceful personalities. Scholarly interest in publications such as the *Hic-Mulier* and *Haec-Vir* pamphlets, which critiqued these sartorial styles, have all too often focussed upon the issues of cross-dressing and gender rather than upon the lampooning of flamboyant fashions evident in *Dr. Panurgus*.⁴³ It can be argued that such moral dangers were a continuous problem with regard to female attire, highlighted by writers such as Phillip Stubbes and Joseph Swetnam long before the supposed gender ‘crisis’ of 1620. The publication that year of *Hic-Mulier* and *Haec-Vir*, combined with King James’ famous summons that January to the Bishop of London, ordering his clergy

to inveigh vehemently and bitterly in theyre sermons against the insolencie of our women, and theyre wearing of brode brimd hats, pointed dublets, theyre haire cut short or shorne, and some stillettaes or pointards, and other such trinkets of like moment...⁴⁴

has led many scholars to see 1620 as the apex of concerns over female predilections for masculine and transvestite fashions. However, as Susan Vincent has convincingly demonstrated, *Hic-Mulier* and *Haec-Vir* can be read as critiques not of cross-dressing, but of the flamboyance of current fashion trends.⁴⁵ In a similar example of the deeper roots of anti-fashion, Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones have argued that the

⁴³ See for example, R. Valerie Lucas, “‘Hic Mulier’: The Female Transvestite in Early Modern England”, *Renaissance and Reformation*, 24 (1988); Sandra Clarke, “‘Hic Mulier’, ‘Haec Vir’ and the Controversy Over Masculine Women”, *Studies in Philology*, 82 (1985), 157-83; Mary Beth Rose, “Women in Men’s Clothing: Apparel and Social Stability in ‘The Roaring Girl’”, *English Literary Renaissance*, 14 (1984), 367-91.

⁴⁴ John Chamberlain, *Letters* (1597-1626) edited by N. E. McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939), II, 286; Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* Joseph Swetnam, *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward, and Unconstant Women: or the Vanitie of Them, Choose You Whether* (London, 1615).

⁴⁵ Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England* (Oxford and New York, 2003), pp.167-76.

popularity of the yellow starched band permeated far further into the sartorial habits of the early seventeenth-century middle and upper classes than its association with Anne Turner, a confidante of Frances Howard executed in 1615 for her part in the Overbury murder. Turner's preference for starched yellow bands was seized upon as an unnecessary frivolity and a sign of her inherent wickedness, Sir Simonds d'Ewes being one of many to record how "Mrs Turner had first brought up that vain and foolish use of yellow starch."⁴⁶ Yet in spite of these very specific associations between Turner and yellow starch, which remained in the public consciousness long after 1615, the yellow band had for many years been considered a symbol of moral corruption permeating to the very heart of the court.⁴⁷

Much was made of Anne Turner's own sartorial style, particularly in terms of her repentance at her execution. The symbolic language of dress had become a highly-charged one, with allusions and associations woven quite literally into the fabric of fashion: one version of Turner's speech at the scaffold has her praying for the opportunity to "change my bloody garments, for a roabe of Immortality."⁴⁸ Fashion's corrupting powers are succinctly illustrated by the 1615 broadsheet *Mistris Turners Farewell to all Women* (fig.15), a further pictorial record of her appearance on the scaffold. In this instance, high fashion becomes a clear metaphor for Turner's previous misdemeanours, her repentance symbolically sealed by the exchange of her yellow bands for more modest attire. Wickedness is visually equated with the elaborate feathers and bare décolletage of Turner's alter-ego Lady Pride, whilst penitence is a sober black gown and plain starched collar. Lady Pride carries much of the blame for Turner's transgressions; in Richard Niccol's contemporary pamphlet *Sir Thomas Overburies Vision*, the ghost of Turner explains how

First pride aray'd me in her loose attires,
 Fed my fond fancie fat with vaine desires...
 ...that phantasticke ugly fall and ruffe,
 Daub'd o're with that base starch of yellow stuffe...⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Sir Simonds d'Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, edited by J. O. Halliwell, 2 vols. (London, 1845), I, 79.

⁴⁷ Jones and Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, pp.59-86. See also Alastair Bellany, "Mistress Turner's Deadly Sins: Sartorial Transgression, Court Scandal and Politics in Early Stuart England", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1996), 179-210.

⁴⁸ *The Bloody Downfall of Adultery, Murder, Ambition* (London, 1615), sig.D4.

⁴⁹ Richard Niccols, *Sir Thomas Overburies Vision* (London, 1616), p.31.

Yet Lady Pride was herself, like the yellow starched band, a construction entirely independent of Anne Turner and the Overbury scandal, with her appearance in *Mistris Turners Farewell* based on an established iconography. A similar female character, bare-breasted and bedecked with feathers, appears in Thomas Trevilian's *Great Book* of 1616 as one of a collection of allegorical figures, whilst an earlier incarnation features as the woodcut illustration to Richard Tarlton's 1592 ballad *The Crowe Sits Upon the Wall* (fig.16).⁵⁰ The transfer of Pride's negative traits onto Turner's character demonstrates the fluidity with which symbols of moral transgression shift from generic to specific instances and back again.

Moral concerns over fashion, especially styles originating at court, appear therefore to have been both constant and particular; as clear allusion to Frances Howard the female patient in *Dr. Panurgus* reflects both a general disapproval at feminine forwardness, and concerns over a number of contemporary and near-contemporary Jacobean scandals. Howard's case was one of a number of such scandals outlined in a recent paper by David Underdown, involving primarily aristocratic women "who destroyed themselves or their families by rejecting the role appropriate to the submissive or virtuous wife."⁵¹ Although parallels between the overall composition of *Dr. Panurgus* and the Overbury murder have been read as tenuous, this female protagonist recalls Frances Howard and her own particular 'manly humours', whilst appealing to a broad audience and a market for moralising pictorial polemic.

IV

In Jacobean drama, such challenges to a patriarchal society by subversive women, are frequently interpreted into tragic ends, such as that of the eponymous Duchess of Malfi, or Beatrice-Joanna in Thomas Middleton's *The Changeling*. In visual terms, however, the often literal taming of the shrew takes on an altogether more comic aspect. Panurgus' somewhat bizarre prescription for his female patient is but one of a number of surreal responses to, and chastisements of, the insubordinate rather than submissive wife.

⁵⁰ *The Great Book of Thomas Trevilian*, II, no.321. A similar figure features on the frontispiece to Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen* (London, 1595).

⁵¹ David Underdown, "Yellow Ruffs and Poisoned Possets: Placing Women in Early Stuart Political Debate", in Susan D. Amussen and Adele Seeffe (eds.), *Attending to Early Modern Women* (Newark and London, 1998), p.233.

This section of *Dr. Panurgus* can be read as part of a wider pictorial campaign treating female forwardness with measures of both chastisement and humour. Contemporary engravings such as Thomas Cecil's *A New Yeares Gift for Shrews* (fig.17), and Reynold Elstrack's fantastical *Bulchin and Thingut* (fig.18), both published around 1620, situate the theme of gender relations within a world which seamlessly shifts between the familiar and the strange; in the case of both Cecil and Elstrack's works, scenes of archetypal rural recreation are overrun by monsters and pitchfork-wielding devils, who contribute both comedy and aggression to the theme of quarrelling husbands and wives. Elstrack's depiction of the flesh-eating monsters *Bulchin and Thingut*, emphasises this theme of inversion: whilst the robust Bulchin (who eats only good men) gorges itself upon the hordes of cuckolded husbands who would rather face their end than endure their headstrong and domineering wives, Thingut, as its name suggests, starves through its preference for that rarest of meals, a good woman.

Bulchin and Thingut is a further English satire to have evolved from a popular Continental tradition.⁵² The iconography of these monsters has a complex ancestry; Thingut, in the guise of 'Chicheface' is mentioned by Chaucer in the *Canterbury Tales*, whilst the tale of *Bycorne and Chichevache* was penned by the fifteenth-century English poet, John Lydgate.⁵³ Lydgate's verses were purportedly commissioned by a London citizen as the theme for a painted cloth, presumably picturing the creatures themselves as well as their description. Whilst the cloth does not survive, it intimates that Bulchin and Thingut had a distinctly English, as well as European visual iconography prior to their appearance during the seventeenth century. Elstrack's engraving however, is indebted to a pair of French woodcuts, *Histoire Faceieuse de la Bigorne...Et de la Chiche-face* first published in Lyons around 1537. Although these two prints were later reproduced as pendant pieces by both German and Dutch engravers, Elstrack was one of the first engravers to unite the two in a single image with accompanying text; the resulting engraving was entered in the Stationers Company Register on 10 July 1620 as

⁵² The origins and development of the iconography of these monsters is discussed in Malcolm Jones, "Monsters of Misogyny: Bigorne and Chicheface – Suite et Fin?" in Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (eds.), *Marvels, Monsters and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations* (Kalamazoo, 2002) pp.203-21, which has provided much of the chronological information for the following section. See also Sheila O'Connell, "The Peel Collection in New York", *Print Quarterly*, 15 (1998), 66-67.

⁵³ Chaucer's *Clerk* obligingly warns "O noble wyves...Ne lat no clerk have cause or diligence/To write of yow a storie of swich mervaille/As of Grisildis pacient and kynde,/Lest Chichevache yow swelwe in hire entraille!"; Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Clerk's Tale*, lines 1183-88; on Lydgate's verses see Jones, "Monsters of Misogyny".

‘A picture of the fat monster and the leane, the one called Bulchim, and the other Thingul’.⁵⁴

It is plausible that the French woodcuts, as well as engraved versions published in Amsterdam by David de Meyn and Claes Janz. Visscher, were well-known in England by this date, and that the cultural motifs of the fat and thin monsters were as familiar as they had been in Lydgate’s time. Their iconography however, was again an adaptable rather than fixed one, tailored here to an English audience through their names. That of Bulchin, given in Elstrack’s engraving to the character of Bigorne, derives from the word ‘bull-calf’; by the early seventeenth century it also seems to have been associated with the idea of portliness. In one 1602 comedy, the character Prodigalitie goads Money with the lines “Come on, my bulchin, come on, my fat fatox...”, whilst in Dekker’s *The Whore of Babylon* a prodigious new-born baby is declared “A notable fat double-chind bulchin.”⁵⁵ Thingut’s name is similarly appropriate, more self-explanatory than that of its precedent, Chichevache.

1620 also saw the publication of a woodcut copy, the broadside of *Fill Gut & Pinch Belly* (fig.19). The appearance of the woodcut attests to the potential popularity of the engraving, its simpler form, shorter accompanying verses and the more durable woodcut form suggest a copy intended for mass reproduction and a wider circulation. Its printer Edward Allde, specialised in the printing of crudely illustrated ballads and sensationalist literature, for booksellers such as John Trundle and Henry Gosson.⁵⁶ The publication date of 1620 coincides with that of the ‘cross-dressing pamphlets’ *Hic Mulier* and *Haec Vir*, both sold by the entrepreneurial John Trundle, as well as with the anxious instructions of James I to the Bishop of London. This suggests a peak in contemporary debates over the dress, habits and behaviour of women, as well as a shrewd business decision upon the part of printers and booksellers such as Allde and Trundle to take financial advantage of the situation. However, as the products of an established iconography both in England and Europe, both *Bulchin and Thingut* and *Fill Gut & Pinch Belly* emphasise both the specific and generic aspects of such print satires.

In the case of both *A New Yeares Gift* and the *Fill Gut & Pinch Belly* images, the satirical print can be considered as a space in which the ordinary is overlaid by the

⁵⁴ Arber, *Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, III, 676.

⁵⁵ *A Pleasant Comedie, Shewing the Contention Betweene Liberalitie and Prodigality* (London, 1602), V, i, 1; Thomas Dekker, *The Whore of Babylon* (London, 1607), sig.K3v.

⁵⁶ Sheila O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England, 1550-1850* (London, 1999), p.47. G. D. Johnson, “John Trundle and the Book Trade 1603-26”, *Studies in Bibliography*, 39 (1986), 177-99.

extraordinary, in order to create an arresting and memorable effect. Here the unthinkable spectacle of women enthusiastically pursuing and beating their husbands with cudgels, as fantastic beasts roam the countryside around them, is all the more striking when set against a backdrop of rolling hills and sleepy village churches. This compound of real and unreal, at once plausible, then firmly placed within the realms of fiction, is a common tool in the construction of pictorial satire and social comment. It is similarly reminiscent of the carefully controlled space of the carnival or fair, or the household scenes of contained chaos common in the genre paintings of Dutch artists such as Jan Steen, wherein similar acts of unacceptable behaviour are briefly permitted. Yet even in this print, the bold actions and behaviour of women are frowned upon rather than accepted; Bulchin, or Fill-gut is bolster-like due to his diet of *good* men, the general consensus of the image being that good women are few and far between. The lone female seized by Thingut, or Pinch-belly, struggles painfully and unwillingly towards her fate, in contrast to the men who flock to a quick and easy death in the jaws of Fill-gut, one pleading ‘I pray ye, make haste’ as he escapes the sharper tongue of his wife.

Whilst we might initially seize on such images in terms of their 1620 date of publication, as part of a specific gender crisis, their moral and political commentary is far more complex. Within the controlled and acceptable carnivalesque space of the engraved sheet it is accepted that certain women do beat and cuckold their husbands; combined with the presence of these fantastical beasts, and a significant element of broad ‘humour’, images such as those of *Bulchin and Thingut* are part of a wider culture engaging with the constant danger of the forward and unruly female. The established history, and visual adaptation from earlier, continental sources, again attests to the universality of the theme, and the ease with which ideas concerning morality and social stability can be appropriated.

V

Another victim of the various ‘crises’ concerned with fashion and gender is Panurgus’ patient ‘good Sir Briske, spruce master Cityzsinne’; his presence within *Dr. Panurgus* can be read as a lampoon on immoderation in dress, being the image of a citizen dressing like a fashionable gentleman. Such immoderation in dress was considered by many a dangerous force, in economic as well as moral terms, and a danger faced by men as much as women. During the late sixteenth and early

seventeenth centuries, Barnabe Rich despaired that “It was a merry world, when seven or eight yards of velvet would have made a gowne for a Lady of honour; now eighteen will not suffice for her that is scarce worthy to be a good *Ladies Laundresse*...” just as Philip Stubbes highlighted the consequences of men transgressing against their own social codes of apparel:

Every peasant hath his stately Bandes and Monstrous Ruffes, how costly soever they be...And whether they have Argent to maintaine this geare withal or not, it is not greatly materiall, for they will have it by one meane or another, or else thei will sell or morgage their landes (as they have good store) on Suters hill, and Stangate hole, with loss of their lives at Tiburne in a rope.⁵⁷

Financial irresponsibility sparked by the slavish following of fashion was a well documented phenomenon in pamphlet literature of the period.⁵⁸ One of the more striking visual representations of this irresponsibility is that of the *pompe funère de la mode*, a rare English version of which can be found in the Douce Collection of the Bodleian Library.⁵⁹ *The Funeral Obsequies of Sir All-In-New-Fashions* (fig.20) can be dated to c.1625-30, given the activities of Thomas Geele, the printseller whose name appears upon this extant impression.⁶⁰ The funeral cortège of the eponymous knight snakes across the print, the various trappings of his taste carried before his body “instead of Flagges”, with the various architects of these trappings following behind. The the folly of economic irresponsibility is succinctly revealed:

Those men who Lived by him are, all amorte;
Lived by him said I; noe, I am mistooke,
He Lived by them: his names in each mans Booke...
...His Credit (with His Lyfe) being ended Here
tis thought hes gone, in Hell to Domyner.

This unfortunate aristocrat was not alone in his sartorial extravagance, with a further example put forward by Rich as the case of

“...that old hagge Sinne herselfe...[who] hath bin notoriously knowne to be a most infamous strumpet common to all, yet now within these very few

⁵⁷ Barnabe Rich, *My Ladies Looking Glasse* (London, 1616), p.19; Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, pp.23-24.

⁵⁸ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, pp.157-62.

⁵⁹ F. P. Wilson, “The Funeral Obsequies of Sir All-In-New-Fashions”, *Shakespeare Survey*, 11 (1958), p.98.

⁶⁰ Pollard, Redgrave and Panzer, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books*, III, 68.

yeares one of these poore thread-bare knights *Sir Nicholas New-fashions* by name, that had so wasted and consumed himselfe in foolish pride and prodigality, that he was not worth the clothes that was belonging to his owne backe; hoping by her means to support his vaine glorious pride, hath taken her to be his wife, and hath made her a lady.”⁶¹

In pictorial form, English precedents for *All-in-New-Fashions* similarly utilise a vocabulary of wealth, status and conspicuous consumption, but to very different ends. The print certainly parodies visual records of the pomp and ceremony of processions such as the cortège of the state funeral, reserved for individuals of the very highest status. The obsequies of Sir Philip Sidney for example, killed whilst fighting Catholic forces in the Netherlands in 1586, were set down in notable fashion by Thomas Lant and Theodore de Bry. *Lant's Roll*, as the series of thirty engraved sheets were known, measures some ten metres in length when arranged in sequence, and depicts in considerable detail Sidney's funeral procession through the streets of London, culminating in his interment in old St. Paul's Cathedral (fig.21).⁶² An undertaking such as this was extremely ambitious, in both artistic and economic terms; however, it seems that Lant's roll was circulated widely and proved a popular souvenir-spectacle long after the event, as John Aubrey's own encounter with the roll during his 1630s childhood attests:

When I was a boy nine years old, I was with my father at one Mr Singleton's, an Alderman and Wollen-Draper in Gloucester, who had in his parlour over the Chimney, the whole description of the Funerall [of Sir Philip Sidney] engraved and printed on papers pasted together, which at length was I beleeeve the whole length of the room at least...⁶³

Sidney's funeral procession provides an ideal visual source for parody by *Sir All-In-New-Fashions*. The magnitude and extravagance of the ceremonial procession was unparalleled outside those of senior royals, however, great, albeit posthumous importance was placed not upon his role as military hero, but rather as the definitive courtier. Scholars have noted this emphasis, J. F. R. Day surmising that “Sidney's obsequies primarily were meant to honour a man who epitomised the best that aristocracy could produce, an aristocracy which theoretically rooted its privileges in

⁶¹ Rich, *My Ladies Looking Glasse*, p.11.

⁶² Sanders Bos, “Sidney's Funeral Portrayed” in Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker Smith and Arthur F. Kinney (eds.), *Sir Philip Sidney: 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden, 1986), pp.38-62. See also Hind, *Engraving in England*, I, 132-37.

⁶³ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (1680) edited by John Buchanan Brown (London, 2000), p.306.

virtue and was keenly aware of its role in society at large.”⁶⁴ In contrast, *Sir All-In-New-Fashions*, much in the manner of Sir Nicholas New-fashions, has squandered his wealth in the pursuit of fashion and idle pleasures, his own obsequies a reminder of the transient nature of both sartorial style, and life itself.

Although contemporary audiences would recognise the topical resonances contrasting the virtuous aristocratic gentleman with the spendthrift habits of newly-dubbed knights, the composition of *Sir All-In-New-Fashions* is again a Continental one. The anti-hero is noted for his “Long Coate, Capeles Cloake, Ruffes, fallinge Bands,/All fashions Lately brought from foreyne Lands...”; similarly, his own funeral is based upon a German print, *Allmodo, unnd seiner Daemen Leich begengnuß mit beygefügem Traurigem Grabgesange* (fig.22) dating from the late 1620s. In France and Germany, a plethora of prints satirising the character of *Allamodo*, the fashionable fool, appeared between 1628 and 1630, with his funeral cortège proving a popular standard type.⁶⁵ On the Continent, sumptuary laws regulating extravagant styles of clothing were enforced far longer, and with far greater severity than in England; these foreign *Allamodo* prints can be seen as reacting to such laws on several levels. They seek to enforce these sartorial policies through the lampooning of fashionable excess, whilst also reflecting upon the ‘death’ of fashion itself, a victim of rules and regulations whose demise has serious implications for tradesmen such as mercers and haberdashers. In contrast, whilst sumptuary laws were enforced in England between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, all such regulations were repealed by James I in 1604.⁶⁶ Later attempts to curb what the monarch termed in 1610 as an “excesse of Apparel” were to prove ineffective, with a final bill ‘Concerning apparel’ given a single reading before the House of Commons in 1628.⁶⁷ Visual sources such as *Sir All-in-New-Fashions* therefore tell us much about the shifting associations, moral, social, and economic, fixed to such excesses in early seventeenth-century England.

Although Briske is introduced as a ‘Cittyzane’, he is also given the title of ‘Sir’, blurring the boundaries between the citizen and gentleman of aristocratic rank. An

⁶⁴ J. F. R. Day, “Death Be Very Proud: Sidney, Subversion and Elizabethan Heraldic Funerals” in Dale Hoak (ed.), *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995), p.181.

⁶⁵ Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet*, I, 99-111; Ger Luijten, “Frills and Furbelows: Satires on Fashion and Pride Around 1600”, *Simiolus*, 24 (1996), pp.148-50.

⁶⁶ N. B. Harte, “State Control of Dress and Social Change in Pre-Industrial England” in D. C. Coleman and A. H. John (eds.), *Trade, Government and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher* (London, 1976), 132-65; Vincent, *Dressing the Elite*, pp.117-152.

⁶⁷ *Stuart Royal Proclamations 1603-25*, edited by J. F. Larkin and P. L. Hughes (Oxford, 1973), no.113.

alternative reading of Sir Briske's character understands him to be the pictorial epitome of the fawning sycophants who populated a luxurious and corrupt court. A general antipathy was directed towards those members of the court whose presence and advancement was due to their dealings in trade and offices rather than an ancestral status. Briske clearly belongs to the former, his material excesses the result of 'Crownes revenewes spent in gaudy pride' as opposed to an hereditary wealth.⁶⁸ Acquired rather than ancestral status was also associated with two of James I's most notorious favourites, Robert Carr and George Villiers, both of whom rose from relative obscurity to positions of significant power and influence through the careful employment of their looks and charm.⁶⁹ Briske's 'gaudy pride' is immediately evident in his own appearance: lavishly attired with a surfeit of material, beard and moustache fashionably coiffed. According to Panurgus however, 'Religion Truth plaine dealing Honestie' will provide an effective cure for his afflictions of 'proud Humors and Sly deceits', evident attributes of the successful courtier.

Following the repeal of sumptuary laws in 1604, the financial and economic implications of sartorial excess began to seriously rival moral and social concerns.⁷⁰ Yet the language of morality and of folly continued to inform attitudes towards such excess; tendering a Bill of 1624 aimed at curbing the use of gold and silver thread in garments, one Mr Brooke proposed "that all such wearers should be accounted a vain idle Fellow, &c. a Fool by Acts of Parliament", whilst a similar, unsuccessful Bill of 1628 'concerning apparel' stated that "every one that offends herein shall be accounted a vain and wasteful person."⁷¹ Such sentiments echo the behaviour of Sir Briske and his fashionable attire, paid for by a surfeit of the 'Crownes revenewes'.

These words directly implicate the generosity of the crown in clothing and cosseting its newly-dubbed knights. The monarch was traditionally seen as both bountiful and generous; James I in particular supposed such generosity to be 'virtuous', in return

⁶⁸ David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), p.22.

⁶⁹ Linda Levy Peck, "Monopolizing Favour: Structures of Power in the Early Seventeenth-Century English Court" in J. H. Elliott and Lawrence W. B. Brockliss (eds.), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp.54-70.

⁷⁰ Joan Kent, "Attitudes of Members of the House of Commons to the Regulation of 'Personal Conduct' in Late Elizabethan and Early Stuart England", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 46 (1973), p.45.

⁷¹ *Journals of the House of Commons* (1803), I, 464; R. C. Johnson, M. F. Keeler, M. J. Cole and W. B. Bidwell (eds.), *Proceedings in Parliament 1628*, 5 vols. (New Haven, 1977-83), IV, 86.

guaranteeing the loyalty and love of his subjects.⁷² However, court patronage systems were regarded by both contemporary and modern observers as at times excessive in their liberality during the Jacobean period. This was the age of the great favourites, in particular Carr and Buckingham, both elevated from relatively lowly beginnings to positions of wealth, great favour and in the case of Buckingham especially, significant political power and influence. Part of the favourite's 'rewards' under James was the administration of patents and monopolies; one of the courtly sycophants criticized in *Dr. Panurgus*' verses is 'The Patten begger, beggiring Common-weale.' Is it possible then, to see Briske, on another level, as an allusion to Carr or to Buckingham? Like his pendant female patient, Briske is certainly representative of ills in society which pertain to specific persons as well as generic characters and stereotypes. His personification of liberal spending, sartorial excess and corruption would become standard and popular critiques of courtly behaviour as *Dr. Panurgus* was reprinted throughout the seventeenth century.

VI

The most visually engaging patient being attended to by Panurgus is the young gallant having his brains dramatically treated 'by force of fire.' The various 'chimaera crotchets' which fly upwards from the steaming furnace identify this individual as a further character struck down by the universal disease of folly; the causes of his condition however, have been adapted to incorporate the delights and distractions of an urban gull. The act of purging these diversions from the head using heat and steam is not only a striking pictorial effect, but also accords with contemporary attitudes towards this sort of ailment. "'Tis not amiss to bore the skull with an instrument, to let out the fuliginous vapours..." wrote Robert Burton in his meticulous study into the causes and treatment of melancholy; reflecting the nature of the gull's 'crotchets', he further warns sagely that "The ordinary rocks upon which such [melancholic] men do impinge and precipitate themselves, are Cards, Dice, Hawks and Hounds."⁷³ Thomas Adams similarly observed how such distractions could prefigure both a physical and spiritual sickness:

⁷² Linda Levy Peck. "'For a King Not to be Bountiful Were a Fault': Perspectives on Court Patronage in Early Stuart England", *Journal of British Studies*, 25 (1986), p.37.

⁷³ Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, pp.157-58.

“There is a disease in the Soule not unlike [a headache], and they that labour of it, we call Braine-sicke men. They may have some pretty understanding in part of their heads, but the other part is strangely sicke of crotchets, singularities, and toyish inventions, wherein because they frolicke themselves, they thinke all the world fooles that admire them not.”⁷⁴

The crotchets of Panurgus’ patient allude to a sickness striking not only the foolish young man, but also penetrating to the heart of political matters and manoeuvrings. The vice of gambling for example, symbolised in *Dr. Panurgus* by cards, dice and backgammon, provided a succinct metaphor for such dealings; according to one widely-circulated manuscript verse of 1628,

“Our state’s a Game at cards, the councill deals
The Lawyers shuffle & the clergie cutt
The King wynnes, from the loosing publique weale
The duke keepes stakes, the courtiers plot & putt...”⁷⁵

A dozen surviving variants of this verse are known, suggesting a significant awareness of this analogy between card-play and courtly activities.⁷⁶ A further, visual representation of politically-motivated card-play, first appeared in an English context in an engraving of 1609, Thomas Cockson’s *The Revells of Christendome* (fig.23). This animated scene was clearly adapted by Cockson, a relatively prolific engraver of small-scale portraits, from a later sixteenth-century Dutch print by Pieter van der Heyden (fig.24); this appropriation is a further reminder of the frequency with which satirical imagery found itself exchanged between England and the continent. The revels in question are backgammon, cards and dice; seated at a long table within an elegantly colonnaded hall, the leaders of Great Britain, France and Denmark each triumph in their gaming over the Pope and his companions, as Prince Maurice of the United Provinces looks on. The allegiances of this print are firmly of a protestant nature. This allegory of the so-called Twelve Years’ Truce between Spain and the United Provinces, sold within the bookselling environs of Westminster Hall, is clear in its casting of papist powers as inept and overpowered by the skilful dealings of James and his associates, in spite of gambling’s often more negative associations.

The allusions between political manoeuvrings and the complexities of cards, game-play and suchlike were well-recognised. Thomas Middleton’s *A Game at Chess* of 1624

⁷⁴ Adams, *Diseases of the Soule*, p.3.

⁷⁵ British Library Additional MS 29492, fol.56.

⁷⁶ McRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, p.144.

plots Anglo-Spanish relations across the stage using the structure of a chess board; similarly William Cartwright's 1643 pamphlet *The Game at Chesse, a Metaphorical Discourse Shewing the Present Estate of this Kingdome* adopts the chess board as a political analogy, since "it is...the most excellent and ingenious of all games, being far superior to cards or tables, which depend as much on the uncertaine disposition of chance, as upon the gamesters skill or cunning."⁷⁷ 'Cards and tables' were not entirely dismissed however; the Dutch engraving of *'t Wonderlik Verkeer-spel* (The Strange Game of Backgammon) of 1652, pictures Cromwell, having beaten Charles I, now challenging his Dutch opponents to the same. Similarly, the game-play of Cromwell and his cohorts at cards takes up the central theme of the contemporary satirical pamphlet of *The Royall and Delightfull Game of Picquet*.⁷⁸ *The Revells of Christendome* was itself adapted by an anonymous hand during the early reign of Charles I and re-issued, this time without an imprint, as *The Royall Gamesters* (fig.25). This reversed reproduction of the original print, presumably copied directly from Cockson's engraving, was altered accordingly, with a portrait of the new monarch replacing that of King James, and the various European leaders originally depicted, substituted for their successors.

Whilst one early print scholar detected a measure of negativity within *The Revells of Christendome*'s with "neither [Britain or France] acting without private motives and selfish hesitations of its own...", *The Royall Gamesters* can itself be read as a subtle critique of princely manners and morals during the later 1620s.⁷⁹ As a now unsigned satire, it appears that its creator, unlike Thomas Cockson and *The Revells of Christendome*'s vendor in Westminster Hall, Mary Oliver, wished to remain cautiously anonymous. Certainly by the later 1620s this later reworking appears to reflect the less positive meanings attached to gambling and card-play in its representation of political dealings. Gambling was considered generally the sport of foolish young men rather than kings, and certain to end in both financial and moral ruin. It is likely that the Ipswich preacher Samuel Ward for example, would have considered an image of his king sat opposite the Pope at a gaming table, a highly offensive composition. The self-designed frontispiece to his 1622 tract *Woe to Drunkards* (fig.26) pictures cards and dice framed

⁷⁷ William Cartwright, *The Game at Chesse, a Metaphorical Discourse Shewing the Present Estate of this Kingdome* (London, 1643), sig.A2.

⁷⁸ *The Royall and Delightfull Game of Picquet* (London, 1651); Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, pp.245-46. On *'t Wonderlik Verkeer-spel* see C. E. Staffell, *Lion and Dog Fights: Images of the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the Seventeenth Century* (Ph.D thesis, University of Cambridge, 2002), pp.20-21.

⁷⁹ Sidney Colvin, *Early Engraving and Engravers in England, 1545-1695* (London, 1915), p.61.

by alcohol, tobacco and fashionable foppery, distractions of a 'modern age' replacing study, industry and valour. This later engraving of *The Royall Gamesters* is reflective of sentiments voiced by individuals such as Ward, and directed at the English court by critical manuscript verses delineating the state as 'a Game at cards.'

Returning to *Dr. Panurgus*, as well as recognizable symbols of moral irresponsibility, such as drinking, duelling and whoring, Samuel Ward's distaste would plausibly extend to the symbolic church flying out of Panurgus' furnace. Immediately recognisable as the old cathedral of St. Paul's in the City of London, it is supplemented by a youth seeming to plummet from its central tower. Its inclusion as a 'chimera crotchett' is not as questionable as it might seem; during the early seventeenth century St. Paul's was renowned as a centre for the gathering of disreputable characters and the exchange of information, as much as a place of worship. Pamphlets, newssheets and libels circulated about the nave, commonly known as Paul's Walk, along with tradesmen, lawyers, pickpockets and gallants; in the words of the poetical Bishop Richard Corbett, St Paul's was home to "the walke, where all our Brittish sinners sweare and talke."⁸⁰ It was a space for commerce, advertisement and trade with dangerous echoes of the Biblical 'den of thieves' berated by Jesus at the temple in Jerusalem. It was also a particularly popular meeting place for the idle man-about-town, with Thomas Dekker devoting an entire chapter of his mock-etiquette book *The Gull's Hornbook*, to the practice of congregating in Paul's walk. Touring about the Cathedral was an integral part of the young gallant's activities; Dekker's advice extends to forewarning his readers of the kind of behaviour pictured in *Dr. Panurgus*:

"...cast not an eye to the Si Quis doore, (pasted and plaistered up with serving-mens supplications) before you have paid tribute to the top of Paules steeple with a single penny: and when you are mounted there, take heede how you looke downe into the yard; for the railes are as rotten as your great-Grand-father; and thereupon it will not be amisse if you enquire how Kit Woodroffe durst vault over, and what reason he had for it, to put his necke in hazard of repartations..."⁸¹

Such activities not only emphasise the frivolity of many visitors to St Paul's, but also a growing neglect of the fabric of the Cathedral itself, with its walls pasted up with

⁸⁰ L. W. Cowie, "Paul's Walk", *History Today*, 24 (1974), 41-49; Richard Corbett, *Certain Elegant Poems, Written by Dr. Corbet, Bishop of Norwich* (London, 1647), p.17. On Burnett see Andrew McRae, "Satire and Sycophancy: Richard Corbett and Early Stuart Royalism", *Review of English Studies*, 54 (2003), 336-64.

⁸¹ Dekker, *The Gull's Hornbook*, pp.37-38.

advertisements and its dangerous ‘rotten railes’. By the later years of James’ reign St Paul’s was in a somewhat dilapidated state; the spire for example had fallen in, having been struck by lightning in 1561. A particularly dedicated campaigner for the cathedral’s restoration, Henry Farley, petitioned the king repeatedly, yet no scheme for repairs was fully initiated prior to William Laud’s instalment as Bishop of London in 1628.⁸² The physical condition of the Cathedral, as well as the more insalubrious uses of its environs, reflects succinctly the kind of moral decay within society being critiqued in *Dr. Panurgus*.

VII

A close reading of *Dr. Panurgus* has unpacked many of the messages and meanings contained within its complex imagery. Any direct allusion to the Overbrury murder is debunked; however, the particular iconography of the scandal is shown to have been manipulated and projected onto wider concerns. Furthermore, the engraving engages with issues such as fashion and femininity, complementing a contemporary corpus of moralising texts and images.

Little attention in this reading, however, has been paid to the eponymous Panurgus; his is a character as intriguing as those of his patients. It is debatable whether Panurgus should be considered as a mountebank or quack doctor. His physical appearance is suggestive of sage-like, rather than charlatan qualities, with a far richer sense of lampoon and critique to be drawn from a closer examination of certain of his patients. The rows of jars, bottles and drawers which form the highly specific background to the composition, are based upon the interior of an apothecary’s shop, implying Panurgus’ strong links to that profession. The term apothecary was a fluid one during the early modern period: it could refer both to an individual who made up prescriptions and sold medicines to the public, as well those who diagnosed illness and administered remedies.⁸³ Distinctions are clearly made between the apothecary and the physician in the title-page of the 1657 compendium *The Expert Doctors Dispensatory* (fig.27), wherein their working practices are contrasted. The physician diagnoses his female

⁸² James Robertson, “Stuart London and the Idea of a Royal Capital City”, *Renaissance Studies*, 15 (2001), pp.42-44. On Farley see Robert Somerville, “St Paul’s Cathedral Repairs: The Propaganda of Henry Farley”, *London Topographical Record*, 25 (1985), 163-75.

⁸³ Helen M. Dingwall, “Making Up the Medicine: Apothecaries in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh”, *Caduceus*, 10 (1994), p.122; Wallis, *Medicines for London*.

patient's complaints by examining a urine sample, against a backdrop of medical volumes; the apothecary is engaged in the distilling of medicines and making up prescriptions, his own walls lined not with books but with jars and boxes. Distinctions between these practices were not always so clear, as an early seventeenth-century German print demonstrates (fig.28). In remarkably similar attire to that of Panurgus, this individual distils a remedy from his substantial collection of compounds and simples; however in common with the physician his examination of a flask, and the shelves of books in the background, suggest an approach rooted in theory and in diagnosis as well as pharmacy. Panurgus' own status similarly appears to combine aspects of both occupations, the prefix of 'Doctor' as slippery a term as those of apothecary and physician.

Indeed Panurgus' name reflects the nature of the print itself, which offers audiences a number of readings of its multi-faceted imagery. Whilst phonetically the name 'Panurgus' implies connections with the treatment of purging, it also has more complex associations recognisable to the more learned sections of a seventeenth-century audience. Panurge, coming from the Greek *pan-ourgos*, meaning one capable of anything, is a character in François Rabelais' sixteenth-century adventures of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*; like Droeshout's doctor this Panurge has some useful medical knowledge, at one point reuniting the head and shoulders of one of his companions using a mixture of wine, ointment and 'quack dungpowder', following a skirmish with a band of giants.⁸⁴ Our admiration at Panurge's success in this operation is somewhat tempered by the Galenic origins of his name, with *panourgia* also being a term used by Galen to describe medicines which are bogus or impure.⁸⁵ These allusions to quackery are similarly at odds with the apparent success of Droeshout's Panurgus, whose own accomplishments are clearly stated:

To this grave doctor millions doe resorte,
Both from the country, citty and the court.
Whence though they com as thicke as raine can fall,
Such is his skill as hee can cure them all.

Further aspersions are cast over this doctor's character by his unusual name. Both in *Gargantua*, and in subsequent, seventeenth-century thought, the names Panurge and

⁸⁴ *The Complete Works of François Rabelais*, translated by Donald M. Frame (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), pp.230-31.

⁸⁵ Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven and London, 1998), p.86.

Panurgus are associated with deceitfulness and guile; prior to the first English translation of Rabelais' work in 1653, Panurgus makes a number of less than flattering literary appearances.⁸⁶ In Alexander Craig's *Poeticall Recreations* of 1623 for example, he is imagined as an intrusive and meddling individual:

Panurgus pryres in high and low Effaires;
Hee talkes of Foraine, and our Civill State:
But for his owne hee neyther countes nor cares;
That hee refers to Fortune, and his Fate.⁸⁷

The character Panurgus' appearance in Nathaniel Ingelo's 1660 prose romance *Bentivolio and Urania* as "one who hath a crafty wit apt for any Design" continues this theme of deviousness and cunning, whilst returning to the Greek origins of the name.⁸⁸ Dr. Panurgus' ultimate identity is a shifting one, constructed from a number of references, associations and allusions. A measure each of guile, intrusiveness and deception, combined with a hint of quackery, ensure that his character should be treated with as much caution as his morally suspect patients.

An understanding of the slippery nature of Panurgus' name, and the associations it carries, challenge any reading of *Dr. Panurgus* as a conventional morality tale. Such moralising meanings become ironic, or at least destabilised, by the shifting status of the apothecary-physician. These variant readings of the activity within *Dr. Panurgus*, and the shifting significances of its protagonists, combine to create a satirical print whose 'meaning' it is impossible to comprehensively pin down. Rather, this engraving exposes our own difficulties in engaging with graphic satires of this period, and in particular our propensity to pigeonhole and label such media with a highly unhelpful precision. Just as seemingly topical prints share iconographic roots with older traditions, so too the categories of 'religion', 'politics' and 'morality' are here based upon fluid, rather than fixed topics and themes.

⁸⁶ Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais*, pp.86-102.

⁸⁷ Alexander Craig, *The Poetical Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig, of Rose-Craig, Scoto Britan* (Aberdeen, 1623), p.18. Craig's sentiments were also published in London in 1640 as part of the verse collection *Witts Recreations*.

⁸⁸ Nathaniel Ingelo, *Bentivolio and Urania in Four Bookes* (London, 1660), sig.Jjjj.

Chapter Two

‘Unseemly Pictures’: Graphic Satire and the Threat of Popery

I

“...wee art jested at, derided, disgraced, by verses and unseemly pictures, especially of late dayes, from Holland, France and England...”¹ If the fictional words of the Duke of Braganza in Thomas Scott’s anti-Catholic text, *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), are to be believed, then during the 1620s the Spanish were encountering hostilities in the form of visual satires. Furthermore, the source of many such satires seemed to be England, with whom they shared an ambivalent political relationship.² Many of Scott’s readers believed this imaginary report of surreptitious Spanish attempts to convert England back to the old faith to be a true account of Catholic activities and subterfuge.³ During the early 1620s political manoeuvrings on the part of both countries to broker a marriage between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta fuelled fears of such a conversion, prompting a wave of aggressive polemic spearheaded by Scott, a Norwich preacher. Readers of *The Second Part of Vox Populi* would recognise a topical resonance in the indignation of Count Gondomar, former ambassador to the English court, as he took up Braganza’s theme of ‘unseemly pictures’ within the text. In 1621 Gondomar had taken particular offence at an engraving ‘invented’ by Samuel Ward, another English preacher, his umbrage resulting in imprisonment for the Englishman. “Ward of Ipswich escaped not safely for his lewd and profane picture of 88 and their powder Treason”, Gondomar declared, before recommending that all priests and Jesuits in England “give us notice of all scandalous Bookes, Pictures, Invectives, Pasquills, &c. that shall be printed against us” as well as advising that “whensoever any Booke or

¹ Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, p.5.

² The political relationship between England and Spain in the early 1620s is discussed in detail in Glyn Redworth, *The Prince and the Infanta: The Cultural Politics of the Spanish Match* (New Haven and London, 2003) and Thomas Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution: English Politics and the Coming of War, 1621-1624* (Cambridge, 1989). On Scott’s own ‘relationship’ with the Spanish and his polemical activities see Peter Lake, “Constitutional Consensus and Puritan Opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish Match”, *The Historical Journal*, 25 (1982), 805-25. Brendan C. Pursell, “James I, Gondomar, and the Dissolution of the Parliament of 1621”, *History*, 85 (2000), 428-45 examines James I’s diplomatic political policies during this period.

³ Charles H. Carter, “Gondomar: Ambassador to James I”, *The Historical Journal*, 7 (1964), p.191.

Picture comes out to our prejudice, set some freinds to buy them all up, though you burne them forthwith...”⁴

This fictional concern on the part of the Spanish might be considered surprising; if the conclusions of certain scholars of the early modern period are to be accepted, then the visual arts of Protestant England were not only underdeveloped in comparison with those of their Continental neighbours, but also strongly disadvantaged by the nation’s deep suspicion and hostility towards imagery, both religious and secular.⁵ It has been proposed that the cultural constraints inflicted by the Reformation in England were such that “by 1600 to be in possession of a picture (almost any picture) was to be a suspected papist.”⁶ Yet as the introduction to this thesis has outlined, the effectiveness of such ‘iconophobia’ has been strongly challenged by recent studies, most notably that of Tessa Watt, which delineates a flourishing trade in popular broadsides and ‘godly’ ballads in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁷ Revisionist historians such as Kevin Sharpe have similarly begun to explore the ways in which images positively informed and engaged with political debate during this period, most notably in the construction of identities of authority.⁸

Yet even if post-Reformation audiences experienced something of a complicated relationship with visual culture, contemporary evidence supports Scott’s suggestion that the image could prove a powerful tool in the art of persuasion. During the 1640s the Puritan pamphleteer Henry Burton recalled showing his young daughter a copy of his anti-Catholic tract *The Bayting of the Popes Bull* (1627), the frontispiece of which depicts Charles I tipping the papal crown from the Pope’s head using the point of his sword (fig.29). Upon seeing the picture the child declared, much to Burton’s satisfaction, ‘O Father, Our King shall cut off the Popes head: It must be so, it must be so...’, the image appearing to confirm the action of a much longed-for assault by Charles upon the forces of the Catholic Church.⁹ Similarly John Rous’ opinion of the Duke of Buckingham’s ill-fated assault upon the Ile de Rhé in 1628, was coloured by

⁴ Scott, *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, p.52, p.57.

⁵ Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia* and *ibid*, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, pp.115-121.

⁶ Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p.118.

⁷ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*.

⁸ Sharpe, “‘So Hard a Text?’”; Joad Raymond, “Popular Representations of Charles I” in Thomas Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (New York, 1999), pp.47-73; Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print, 1645-1661* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁹ Henry Burton, *The Sounding of the Two Last Trumpets the Sixt and Seventh* (London, 1641), p.42.

his possession of a recently-published map setting out the defences of the island; in conversation with one Mr Paine of Riddlesworth who had been told on authority that

...the forte [at Rhé] was not to be wonne but by storming; and that it was many times victualled, &c., this said Mr Paine was *oculatus testis*, &c., and when I went about to tell him of the mappe I sawe of the forte, and what was delivered in it, especially about the ships riding against the forte, and of the provision made by masters for the staging of boates that should victuall it, he would not heare it by any meanes; but fell in general to speake distainfully of the voyage.”¹⁰

Even Prince Charles makes an interesting allusion to the influence of the printed picture in a letter to Ambassador Gondomar, claiming of the Spanish Infanta that he has “both seene her picture and hard the report of her vertus by a number of whom I trust, so as her Idea is ingraven in my hart...”¹¹

The concerns of the Spanish as exposed by Thomas Scott, then, appear less benign than we might initially anticipate. Scott’s antagonistic writings are littered with references to pictures, pasquils, verses and squibs, including an intriguing lost engraving of James I holding the Pope’s nose to a grindstone, and to the networks, both secret and explicit, through which these instruments of agitation could be circulated.¹² Having fled from England to the Low Countries in 1621, following the publication of the equally aggressive first part of *Vox Populi*, Scott himself was well aware of such networks as he continued to write from the relative safety of Utrecht. The Norwich preacher clearly intended his readership to recognise, and perhaps also to take advantage of the disconcerting effect a barrage of ‘unseemly pictures’ could unleash upon ideologically and religiously hostile opponents such as Spain and the Church of Rome.

Yet little scholarly attention has been paid to the aggressive, anti-Catholic visual culture outlined by Scott, which engaged with the politics as much as the practices of religion in post-Reformation England. The contribution and impact of the engraved image as anti-Papist, political polemic during the early seventeenth century has been generally dismissed or misunderstood. Whilst acknowledging its presence, Tessa Watt

¹⁰ *The Diary of John Rous*, edited by M. A. E. Green (Camden Society, 1st ser., 66, London, 1856), p.11.

¹¹ Biblioteca de Palacio MS II 2191, fol.10, reproduced in full in Glyn Redworth, “Of Pimps and Princes: Three Unpublished Letters From James I and the Prince of Wales Relating to the Spanish Match”, *The Historical Journal*, 37 (1994), p.408.

¹² Thomas Scott, *Boanerges. Or the Humble Supplication of the Ministers of Scotland, to the High Court of Parliament in England* (London, 1624), p.25.

cites its relative expense and unavailability to a wide audience as primary obstacles; any kind of ‘popular’ anti-Catholic campaign in the vein of Continental printed propaganda such as that of Lutheran Germany was simply not viable.¹³ Alternatively, Kevin Sharpe’s reference to “satiric cartoons lampooning the court in the 1620s and 1630s” assumes incorrectly that the energies of engravers and satirists were primarily focussed during this period upon entirely different targets.¹⁴ The closest analysis of these aspects of the print culture of the period can be found in Alexandra Walsham’s study of the iconography of providence, which locates many anti-Catholic prints within a genre of mnemonic prints, directed at the patriotic sensibilities of the Protestant householder.¹⁵ Although revealing, Walsham’s thesis tends to marginalise the topical, political impact of such images, focussing instead upon their qualities as ‘remembrancers’ and their role in the celebration of key events in the history of Protestant ascendancy. In particular, her analysis of the *Double Deliverance*, the ‘lewd and profane picture’ designed by Samuel Ward and detested by Ambassador Gondomar, concentrates upon its appropriation and continuation of certain motifs and their appeal to Protestant aesthetic sensibilities, rather than its aggressive messages directed at Spain and at Rome. The appearance of the *Double Deliverance* in 1621, during a politically-sensitive period of Anglo-Spanish relations, is dismissed by Walsham as an unlucky coincidence rather than as a deliberate statement of agitation and intent.¹⁶

This chapter will suggest that although recent studies, such as those of Walsham and Watt, have provided valuable insights into the place and reception of religious imagery during this period, they do not convey the entire story. Whilst Scott’s beliefs, communicated via a particularly antagonistic series of pamphlets, were as much about stirring up trouble as about conveying the truth, his observations regarding images, fictional or otherwise, should not be dismissed. In offering an alternative, as well as complementary reading of the *Double Deliverance*, along with an analysis of certain, lesser-studied examples of anti-Catholic graphic satire, I will suggest that such prints were created and circulated with a political agenda very much in mind, whereby the practices and personalities of the Catholic church were attacked in the most insulting of terms. Since its invention the *Double Deliverance* has attracted a significant amount of scholarly attention; it has, however, been considered somewhat in isolation from the

¹³ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p.159. The pioneering study of print propaganda in Lutheran Germany remains Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*.

¹⁴ Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, p.230.

¹⁵ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.250-66.

¹⁶ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p.255.

corpus of anti-Catholic satire in circulation in the years immediately following its publication, satire far less bound to the apparent political and diplomatic constraints of 1621.¹⁷ Such images possessed a far more aggressive streak than has been previously suggested, engaging as much with the politics as with the practices of religion. As we will see, if Ambassador Gondomar found himself and his country offended by the efforts of Samuel Ward, there was worse to follow.

II

The ‘lewd and profane picture of 88 and their powder Treason’, hereafter referred to as the *Double Deliverance*, was first printed in Amsterdam in 1621 (fig.30). An aesthetically sophisticated print of Dutch origins, it is likely to have been the work of a highly skilled continental engraver.¹⁸ Its significance to a thesis concerned with English graphic culture comes not only from its subject matter, but also from its ‘author’: an inscription claims it to be ‘Invented by Samuell Ward preacher of Ipswich’, a claim later confirmed by Ward himself, when he informed the Privy Council that “this embleme was by him composed, the English verses excepted, and some other addicion of the printers...”¹⁹ However, it is highly doubtful that the plate itself was worked upon to any great extent by the preacher; Ward was primarily the impetus behind it, and ultimately the bearer of its consequences.

The *Double Deliverance* commemorates England’s miraculous delivery from two recent designs of Catholic overthrow: to the left, divine winds direct a solitary fire-ship towards the crescent of the Spanish Armada launched against Queen Elizabeth in 1588, watched by allied forces gathered at Tilbury; to the right an eye contained within a shaft of light (a visual representation of God acceptable to Protestant thought) beams down upon Guy Fawkes, anticipating his discovery as he steals towards the Houses of Parliament in November 1605. Linking these two conspiracies against the Protestant faith is a more literal plotting at the heart of the image. Beneath a canopy studded with demonic faces the Pope sits in counsel with his allies: a Jesuit, several monks, a

¹⁷ Following on from its celebrity on the pages of contemporary correspondence from men such as John Chamberlain and Joseph Mead, Ward’s print has been discussed at some length; see John Bruce, “The Caricatures of Samuel Ward of Ipswich”, *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. 1 (1868), 1-2; Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, 393-94; Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.152-54; Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.250-66.

¹⁸ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.153.

¹⁹ Public Record Office, State Papers 15/42/76.

cardinal, a Spaniard and, at the centre of this counsel as well as of the print itself, the Devil. Their business, the accompanying verses declare, is that “GREAT BRYTANES STATE ruinate should bee.”

Although printed in Amsterdam, the *Double Deliverance* soon began to circulate in London. An advertisement for the print at the end of the second edition of Ward’s *The Life of Faith*, states that “These Monuments are to be sold where these Books are sould in Saint Dunstones Church-yard and Pauls Ally”, and is dated 24 January 1621. News of the print and the furore surrounding Gondomar’s reaction to it rapidly spread to the country: a letter of 25 February that year sent from Cambridgeshire to Suffolk reveals how “Mr Ward of Ipswich had of late designed and putt forth a picture of ’88 and of the powder treason, for which he was put up for by a pursuivant, upon Don Gondomar’s complaint and suit, who says His Master was dishonoured and abused by those pictures. It is said he is in the Fleet...”²⁰ This was accurate news; having been brought before the Privy Council, Ward was imprisoned for a short period, being released in 1622 following his petitioning of the Council with some sycophancy.

This episode, with its incendiary combination of anti-Catholic agitation, imprisonment and censorship centred around an allegedly innocent, commemorative engraving raises key questions about the print’s intentions, and the persuasive qualities of images during this period. Was Ward, as a diligent preacher merely celebrating two occasions of Protestant ascendancy, or were his intentions deliberately more aggressive and antagonistic in the face of a potential onslaught by the Catholic faith upon his country? Alexandra Walsham’s analysis of the *Double Deliverance* has tended to side with the former position, emphasising the engraving’s function as a ‘visual remembrancer’ commemorating incidences of Divine Providence, rather than as an instrument of political agitation. With the engraving in circulation as Anglo-Spanish relations attempted a tentative alliance, Walsham generously suggests that Samuel Ward was guilty merely of “a tactless display of artistic talent.”²¹ This at least, seems to have been the preacher’s defence. In a petition to the King and the Privy Council as he languished in prison, the preacher obsequiously pleaded his innocence,

Humblie shewing that this embleme was by him composed, the english verses excepted, and some other addicion of the Printers, five yeeres since, in imitation of auncient rites gratefully preserving the memories of

²⁰ Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 25 Feb 1621; British Library Harley MS 389, fol.15v.

²¹ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p.255.

extraordinaire favors and deliverances in Coines, Arches, and such like monuments, sent nigh a yeere since to the printers, coupling the two grand blessings of God to this nation, which Divines daylie ioyne in their thanksgivings publique, without anie other sinister intencion, especiallie of meddling in any of your Majesties secret affaires...²²

Ward may well have been telling the truth in dating the print's composition to c.1616 or earlier. His assurances concerning this dating were repeated by John Chamberlain in a letter of March 1621, mentioning the preacher as "having a picture of the Spanish fleet in 88 with the gun-powder treason, and some other additions of his owne invention and hand (having some delight and skill in limming) which his friends say had lien by him at least seven or eight yeares, and not looked into till now."²³

Yet rather than confirming Ward's ignorance and innocence as to the potentially politically damaging contents of the print, this admission brings his true intentions into sharper focus; if the print had been prepared for publication at least five years earlier, and only sent to be printed during the previous year, why had it lain dormant for so long, only to be issued at this particular, politically sensitive point in time? Indeed why, if Ward regarded the *Double Deliverance* as merely a commemorative emblem, or 'monument' as it was advertised, had he felt it necessary for it to be printed at Amsterdam rather than London, outside of the many restrictions within which the English print trade operated? In choosing Amsterdam, it could be argued that Ward was aware of the relative aesthetic sophistication of continental prints and their engravers in comparison to their English counterparts; London, however, was far from a cultural backwater in terms of print production, with first and second generations of Protestant refugees from northern Europe contributing appreciably to its artistic circles.²⁴ The elaborate and sizeable print *The Powder Treason*, for example, was produced in London during the early 1620s by the skilled Anglo-Dutch engraver, Michael Droeshout, from the directions of one Richard Smith (fig.31). With similar anti-Catholic intentions, it

²² PRO SP 15/42/76. Ward's petition is also reproduced in full in Bruce, "The Caricatures of Samuel Ward of Ipswich", 1-2.

²³ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 10 March 1621; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 350.

²⁴ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.13-14; Lionel Cust, "Foreign Artists of the Reformed Religion Working in London", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 7 (1903), 45-83. On tensions between native and foreign artists in Tudor and Stuart London see Susan Foister, "Foreigners at Court: Holbein, Van Dyck and the London Painter-Stainers Company" in David Howarth (ed.), *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts: Essays in Honour of Sir Oliver Millar* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.32-50.

appears to have been conceived and commissioned by one individual, then executed by another in much the same manner as Ward's design.²⁵

The iconography of Droeshout's print is analogous to much of Ward's, and it is easy to understand why scholars such as Walsham have sided with the preacher in his defence of a commemorative image, 'without anie other sinister intencion'. The composition of the *Double Deliverance* divides roughly into three parts, the left and right sections corresponding to visually established scenes of Spanish defeat and popish deception; the sweeping arc of the Armada blighted by English fire ships, and the uncovering of a furtive Fawkes, stealing towards the Houses of Parliament, appear observational rather than overtly critical, and form part of an established anti-Catholic iconography.²⁶ However, the central section is an innovative, and highly aggressive motif on the part of Ward, which transforms the engraving from a commemorative piece to a provocative statement. This scene of Catholic intrigue and plotting, depicting the Pope, a cardinal and a Jesuit amongst others, in league with the devil, parallels the scene of a meeting of the Spanish parliament, complete with demonic attendant, inserted by Thomas Scott into *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (fig.32). The *Double Deliverance*'s composition appears to have influenced later 'infernal' gatherings such as that presided over by Oliver Cromwell and the Devil in the anonymous *The Devils Cabinet-Councell Discovered, or The Mistery and Iniquity of the Good Old Cause* of 1660 (fig.33). Scott himself was well-practiced in stirring up anti-Catholic agitation, and his adaptation of part of Ward's broadside attests to its aggressive stance. Rather than innocently designing a celebratory 'remembrancer' in the vein of previous, less inflammatory engravings such as that of Droeshout, it would appear that Ward had fully understood the suggestions and implications of his print and, as the fears of himself and his puritan peers over the Spanish match escalated, exploited them to their full potential.

Contemporary reactions to the *Double Deliverance* give further indications that this print was intended to fulfil a different purpose from that of its less aggressive predecessors. The rare advertisement for the engraving at the end of one edition of Ward's *The Life of Faith*, published in 1621, states that

...Master Ward, hath lately published a most Remarkable Monument, of the Invincible Navie of 88 and the unmatched Powder Treason 1605.

²⁵ *The Powder Treason* is reproduced and briefly discussed in Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.154-55.

²⁶ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, p.257.

Necessary to be had in the House of every good Christian, to shew Gods loving and wonderfull providence, over this kingdome...²⁷

Possibly composed in anticipation of trouble to come, this description of the *Double Deliverance* aligns its use and purpose with images intended to hang prominently in the houses of pious and God-fearing Protestants; it complements Walsham's thesis and pre-empt's Thomas Scott's own retrospective styling of it as a 'facete and befitting' picture.²⁸ Yet Scott's references to the engraving as anathema to the Spanish in *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, and more broadly to the disquieting effect such images were having on the Spanish parliament, can only increase the ambiguity surrounding its status as an innocent celebration of Protestant deliverance and ascendancy.

Privately though, individuals were not slow to recognise the aggressive undercurrents of the image and to discuss the print in more antagonistic terms; when in March 1621 John Chamberlain, for example, referred to the seemingly unfortunate timing of the *Double Deliverance*'s publication and of Gondomar's reaction towards it, he concluded that it was "not good rubbing on that sore."²⁹

Finally, and perhaps most suggestively, a more detailed commentary on the *Double Deliverance*, one which points to its political significance and supports its status as a provocative as well as commemorative work, can be found amongst the correspondence between the theologian Joseph Mead and Sir Martin Stuteville of Dalham in Suffolk. Like a number of such seventeenth-century correspondences between articulate and politically interested gentlemen, Mead's letters to Stuteville appear to have operated as a personal 'news service', with Mead signing off in one instance as "your never failing Nouvellante."³⁰ It was a regular communication of information which originated in the capital, with Mead receiving his news, in the form of both corantos and personal letters, from the professional London newsletter writer Dr. Meddus, via a carrier every Saturday.³¹ Now preserved in the British Library, this corpus of letters forms a revealing

²⁷ Samuel Ward, *The Life of Faith*, 2nd edn. (London, 1621), p.117.

²⁸ Scott, *Boanerges*, p.25.

²⁹ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 10 March 1621; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 349.

³⁰ Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 24 March 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.41v. The Mead-Stuteville correspondence is briefly discussed in Fritz Levy, "Staging the News" in Arthur F. Marotti and Michael Bristol (eds.), *Print, Manuscript, Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Ohio, 2000), pp.264-65; for an extended study of the propagation of news during this period see Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England".

³¹ Michael Frearson, "The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s" in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Serials and their Readers 1620-1914* (Winchester, 1993), p.9.

and wide-ranging correspondence embracing political gossip, news and events, both domestic and Europe-wide. One such topic focuses upon the artistic activities of Samuel Ward, raising interesting questions about how his engraving was received by its audience; it also suggests ways in which sophisticated, high-quality prints of this kind were being circulated and consumed by politically informed individuals as well as Ward's pious householders. Although briefly noted by several scholars, this section of the Mead-Stuteville correspondence has not been previously analysed in any detail, despite its rare and valuable observations upon a topical, political print, all the more valuable given the inclusion by Mead of his own 'textual sketch' of the print itself.³²

The first reference to the *Double Deliverance* in this correspondence is in a letter of 9 February 1621, in which Mead mentions that he has already sent Stuteville "by Mr Thomas a description of Mr Wards table or picture. I heare he is but in the pursuivant's house."³³ This description, presumably already received by Sir Martin is a separate leaf which has been preserved with the correspondence. One side of this leaf forms a detailed description of the print (fig.34), with each distinctive image substituted by a lengthy written explanation, (it would seem that Mead was no artist) along with further instructions on its reverse as to the corresponding order of the verses which accompany the illustration.³⁴ 'Reproductions' of this kind would not have been considered unusual inclusions with such news letters, given especially the proscribed status of Ward's print; according to Richard Cust, "Books and pamphlets which were prohibited or in short supply...were frequently copied by hand and then made available through the channels used for distributing 'separates'."³⁵ Although itself neither a 'separate' or pamphlet, Mead clearly considered the *Double Deliverance* and its imagery a topical and significant enough piece of news to duplicate in textual form for Stuteville. This reproduction suggests much about the literal 'reading' of images during this period. In the manuscript sketch pictorial components are seamlessly exchanged for textual ones,

³² Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.152; Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, 394.

³³ Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 9 February 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.12.

³⁴ Arthur M. Hind believed that this leaf was in fact the work of Samuel Ward, being the design instructions to the engraver concerning the print itself, "rather than notes after the engraving." (Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, 394); This conjecture however is highly unlikely, given not only the strong similarities between the handwriting used and that in Mead's other letters, but also the fact that the 'design' is identical in composition to Ward's print, rather than rendered in reverse for translation to an engraved plate.

³⁵ Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England", p.64. Later examples of such duplicates can be found in George Thomason's extensive collection of Civil War tracts and pamphlets. About eighty subversive or 'illicitly obtained' texts can be found within the collection in manuscript form; Lois Spencer, "The Politics of George Thomason", *The Library*, 5th ser., 14 (1959), p.26.

resulting in an inextricable text-image fusion. Mead's translation of the image makes it extremely unclear as to whether he considers Ward's broadside in aesthetic, pictorial terms, or as one of many variations of political ephemera wherein the significance of form is superseded by that of content. His concise directions to Stuteville as to how to 'read' his own version, suggests a highly indistinct dividing line being drawn between the two. This text-image fluidity appears not to have troubled the seventeenth-century mindset. Juliet Fleming's recent study of graffiti and wall-writing in early modern England, for example, suggests that sixteenth and seventeenth-century people perceived of certain forms of writing as both decorative and informative; texts, as commonly as images, could be found pasted up or painted onto the walls of alehouses and domestic interiors.³⁶ Interpreted by Joseph Mead, the *Double Deliverance* assumes a similar duality of purpose and intention.

The *Double Deliverance's* pictorial status is complicated further by the dissemination of the image into alternative forms such as the cushion cover stitched by Dame Dorothy Selby and the funerary monument carved for Selby which bears the same image.³⁷ In this instance the 'remembrancer' is translated into a personal display of religious and political affiliation by Dame Dorothy, whose own anti-Catholic convictions are confirmed in her stitching of a further image of Protestant ascendancy, Droeshout's *The Powder Treason*.³⁸ Certain visual representations appear to have been conceived of not purely in a pictorial sense, but rather as more complex form of media: inspirational, commemorative and propagandist, and in the case of many instances of graphic satire, and as demonstrated by Joseph Mead, forging an indistinct middle way between text and image.

Returning to the Mead-Stuteville correspondence, a second letter expands upon the circumstances of the *Double Deliverance's* notoriety and Ward's imprisonment, and explains the finer details of the image. It appears however, a print not as familiar to Mead as may have been initially anticipated from the comprehensive and thorough nature of his sketch. Indeed he confesses that "...I had almost seene the picture and sent it to you..." Going on to describe the image in further, although not entirely accurate, detail, Mead then reaffirms his own unfamiliarity with the print itself, adding that

³⁶ Fleming, *Graffiti and the Writing Arts of Early Modern England*.

³⁷ Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, pp.261-62. See also Walsham, "Impolitic Pictures: Providence, History, and the Iconography of Protestant Nationhood in Early Stuart England", *Studies in Church History*, 33 (1997), 307-28.

³⁸ Katharine A. Esdaile, "Gunpowder Plot in Needlework: Dame Dorothy Selby, 'Whose Arte Disclos'd that Plot'", *Country Life*, 93 (1943), 1094-96.

“...this much I had from one that saw it.”³⁹ However, it appears that in swift pursuit of its celebrity, the actual print reached Cambridge and beyond; two weeks later Stuteville received a further letter and with it the news that “...I sent you a description of Mr Ward’s picture; now since having gotten the picture itself you shall receive it by this bearer. I heare by same, that he was released on Monday last but silenced for preaching any more at Ipswich.”⁴⁰ No further mention is made of the *Double Deliverance* in Joseph Mead’s letters, and it is not known whether a copy of the print ever came into Stuteville’s possession as promised; the scandal surrounding the engraving seems to have disappeared as quickly as it had arrived, with Ward, for some time at least, returning to relative obscurity. Yet this enthusiastic exchange of information between two keen followers of political activity once again brings into question the print’s self-declared status as merely ‘a most Remarkable Monument...Necessary to be had in the House of every good Christian.’

It also highlights the ease with which even proscribed ideas and imagery were disseminated through networks of communication. Whilst the principal activities of the English print trade were firmly based in London, geography appears to have been no obstacle to the further distribution of prints outside of the capital.⁴¹ Indeed this print’s notoriety and the fate of its inventor appear to have hastened rather than checked its circulation. The bookseller’s advertisement for the *Double Deliverance* at the end of *The Life of Faith* stating where the print can be bought is dated 24 January 1621; although Mead was not able to provide Stuteville with a copy of the print itself until almost a month later, it took just two weeks or less for a detailed, and relatively accurate description of it to travel from London to Suffolk via Cambridge in what appears to have been a series of artistic Chinese whispers. As well as confirming the proscribed status and topical value of the *Double Deliverance*, the speedy production and circulation of the print in this particular way suggests that less value was placed by Mead upon the material itself, the supposedly ‘facete and befitting picture’, than on the subversive messages and ideas contained within it. A copy ‘drawn’ out in words becomes a sufficient substitute for the actual print and its imagery, furthermore it is a copy produced without Mead himself having yet seen the image he is describing, relying instead upon second-hand, and again possibly written information. When appropriated by individuals with interests political as well as pious, Ward’s

³⁹ Mead to Stuteville, 10 February 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.15v.

⁴⁰ Mead to Stuteville, 25 February 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.22v.

⁴¹ The circulation of printed images from London to the provinces is briefly discussed in Watt, “Publisher, Pedlar, Pot-poet”.

‘monument’, despite its original claims, takes on a very different status. Previous readings of the *Double Deliverance* have focussed upon its pictorial elements, and their subsequent iconic status as they are adapted and recycled in a variety of later, polemical forms. Mead’s textual interpretation of the print however, presents it as an example of prohibited propaganda designed to be quite literally read and interpreted as an inventive piece of political agitation, as well as its more innocent status as a visual record of Divine Providence, adorning a wall in ‘the House of every good Christian.’

III

Given its notoriety and longevity, as well as the number of contemporary references to it, it is not surprising that a significant amount of scholarly attention has been focussed upon the *Double Deliverance* and its legacy. Whilst this all-too rare foray into the world of early modern English engravings is to be welcomed, it is important to consider Samuel Ward’s invention as part of a wider creative movement rather than as an, isolated instance of English anti-Catholic print satire. As Adam Fox has demonstrated, between the late sixteenth and mid seventeenth centuries religious satire, in the form of verses, ballads, songs and plays as well as ‘unseemly pictures’, was woven into the cultural fabric of every English town.⁴² Even if a widespread programme of anti-Papist print propaganda mirroring that of Lutheran Germany was never fully realised, the English could still boast a recent history of artistic antagonism against Rome which left the *Double Deliverance*’s central motif of plotting devils and Spaniards inoffensive in comparison.

Indeed a closer examination of such propaganda reveals that early English graphic satire was indebted to the belligerent imagery which mocked and derided the Catholic Church across Northern Europe. The complex history of *The Lamb Speaketh* (c.1555), a violent allegory of Protestant martyrdom and sacrifice at the hands of a Papist wolf (fig.35), can be traced back to a German engraving with Latin wording, later reproduced with an English text.⁴³ The dangerous and bestial qualities of the Pope, synonymous with the serpent who caused Man’s fall from grace, are exposed in *The Popes*

⁴² Adam Fox, “Religious Satire in English Towns, 1570-1640” in Patrick Collinson and John Craig (eds.), *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640* (London, 1998), pp.221-40.

⁴³ Rowena J. Smith, “The Lambe Speaketh...: An English Protestant Satire”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 61 (1998), 261-77; Malcolm Jones, “The Lambe Speaketh...An Addendum”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 287-94.

Pyramides (fig.36), sold in London by Richard Shoreleyker sometime during the early 1620s.⁴⁴ This image of a nest of serpents was adapted from a continental broadsheet, the *Piramide Papistique* published in 1599 with verses in both Dutch and French. Meanwhile, a sixteenth-century print by the Flemish Pieter van der Heyden (fig.26) was reworked by the English engraver Thomas Cockson as *The Revells of Christendome* (fig.25), an allegory of diplomatic relations between the Catholic and Protestant powers of Europe as the Twelve Year Truce was drawn up between Spain and the United Provinces in 1609.⁴⁵ This complex game of cards and dice depicts the Pope and his cohorts in the most critical of terms; the Papal tiara is reduced to a mere stake in a dangerous game, and Cardinal Ferdinand is delineated as a violent man of arms gesturing aggressively at a victorious James I. His companions fare no better in comparison to the composed and gentlemanly Protestant rulers. The comical lack of restraint and beastly behaviour displayed in the small dog urinating upon the foot of one of the monks, is echoed in the figure of the Pope, lunging with greed and self-indulgence at the riches he has gambled away. Elsewhere, a goblet crashes to the table from the hands of another cleric whilst a third has literally gambled, and lost, the shirt from his back.

The imagery of *The Revels of Christendome* is typical in its criticism of the powers of Rome. An absence of restraint and bodily control was an offence frequently levelled at the clerics of the Catholic Church. They were also strongly associated with another lack of decorum, an insatiable and inappropriate sexual desire. Lusty friars and compliant nuns were stock characters, regularly delineated in compromising positions; the untraced sheets of the *Fryer Whipping the Nun* and the *Friar and Nun* stocked by Peter Stent in the 1650s give some indication of the popularity and endurance of the theme.⁴⁶ A further broadsheet sold by Richard Shoreleyker, *Which of These Fower That Here You See* (fig.37), adapts a traditional riddle to expose such lascivious leanings; a pair of solemn-looking cats eyeing their prey with interest are tellingly paralleled by the predicament of a maid caught between two friars. The question posed, ‘Which of these fower, that here you see,/In greatest daunger you thinke to be’ is intended to be answered with a knowing certainty. Book illustrations accompanying anti-Papist polemic incorporated similar designs. ‘Lecherie’, one of the seven sins described by

⁴⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p.154.

⁴⁵ Malcolm Jones, “The English Print c.1550-c.1650” in Michael Hattaway (ed.), *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture* (London, 2000), p.359; Colvin, *Early Engraving and Engravers in England*, p.61.

⁴⁶ Globe, *Peter Stent*, p.18.

Stephen Bateman in *A Christall Glasse of Christian Reformation* (1569), is illustrated by the scene of a friar and nun caressing in the presence of a devil (fig.38), whilst the frontispiece to Thomas Robinson's account of *The Anatomie of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugall* of 1623 paints a similarly lurid picture as to the out-of-hours activities of its members, signalling the sensationalist content of the account itself. Such lascivious representations appear to have permeated to the very fabric of the church itself, given William Dowsing's record of destroying "about a hundred superstitious pictures; and seven fryers hugging a nun" in a Suffolk church in 1644.⁴⁷

Another facet of this association of the Catholic Church with a breakdown of decorum and restraint, is reflected in the levelling of scatological satire at Catholic clerics.⁴⁸ Such attacks had a long history; in an analysis of anti-Catholic imagery in the work of Milton, for example, John N. King has traced associations between friars and "the arse of the Devil or Antichrist" in English texts back to Chaucer and Wycliffe. King shows how this theme was reprised during the seventeenth century by authors such as Milton; in the third book of *Paradise Lost* friars are swept into the Paradise of Fools across 'the backside of the world', by gusts of wind heavy with allusions to flatulence.⁴⁹ Pictorial attacks also appear to have been popular. Abraham Holland's 1625 pamphlet critique of printed ephemera draws attention to gaudy pictures such as that of "a Frier blowing wind into the taile, Of a Babboone, or an Ape Drinking Ale..."⁵⁰ A further, particularly graphic, variation on these scatological themes, can be found in the candidly titled *A Pass For the Romish Rabble to the Pope of Rome Through the Devils Arse of Peak*, also first published c.1624 (fig.39). This animated engraving, bearing the Amsterdam imprint of the engraver and print publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher, presents the Pope and a band of terrified friars kneeling in terror before a monstrous devil, who sets about devouring their number.⁵¹ In a graphic twist, the

⁴⁷ Trevor Cooper (ed.), *The Journal of William Dowsing: Iconoclasm in East Anglia During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2001), p.214.

⁴⁸ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.146. Anti-Catholic, scatological print satires in Lutheran Germany are discussed in Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, pp.81-86. See also Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, 1987), pp.277-300.

⁴⁹ John N. King, "Milton's Paradise of Fools: Ecclesiastical Satire in 'Paradise Lost'" in Arthur F. Marotti (ed.), *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts* (Basingstoke, 1999), p.206.

⁵⁰ Abraham Holland, "A Continued Inquisition Against Paper-Persecutors" in *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* (London, 1625), sig.A2v.

⁵¹ It has been suggested that in spite of carrying his address, this print is not in the style of Visscher or his workshop, but rather the product of a separately acquired plate: Christiaan Schuckman and D. De Hoop Scheffer (eds.), *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish*

friars pass straight through the devil's body, are excreted out, and transformed into a variety of soldiers.

A Pass For the Romish Rabble works upon several levels as a slur upon the Catholic church. The blatant defecation of the devil, and the uncomfortable passage of the friars expelled from him, are simple yet effective comic devices with their roots in ideas of shame and embarrassment. The Bahktinian view of defecation presents it as an ambivalent action, bound up not only with ideas of waste and spent matter, but also of reproduction and birth.⁵² Here defecation is associated distinctly with the latter, the 'rebirth' of the friars as soldiers, drawing upon notion of inversion in both physical and spiritual senses. The emergence of friars from between the devil's buttocks parodies the act of childbirth, whilst the transformation of clerics into militia suggests a social and perhaps moral inversion, with churchmen having mutated into an armed band of fighters.

The powerful motif of a devouring and excreting devil at the centre of this image, has a continental precedent. It is lifted directly from a German broadside of c.1590, *Pfuh Tevfel Friss Pfaffen Scheiss Landtsknecht*, literally 'the devil eats clerics and shits out soldiers' (fig.40). In reproducing the imagery of *Pfuh Tevfel Friss Pfaffen Scheiss Landtsknecht*, analogies are drawn between the friar-soldiers of *A Pass For the Romish Rabble* and the Lansquenets, mercenary soldiers active in Germany and the Low Countries considered ruthless and of low social standing; one text contemporary with the 1624 engraving reports that they even eat children.⁵³

Yet other aspects of this work suggest that the engraver was given a set of specific directions to work from, and that *A Pass For The Romish Rabble* should not be thought of as a copy; despite its Amsterdam imprint, and adaptation of an earlier German broadside, its engraver has produced an autonomous and highly topical image consciously intended for an early seventeenth-century English audience.

The 'devil's arse of peak' of the title refers to Peak Cavern, commonly known as the Devil's Arse, a series of limestone caves near the village of Castleton in the Peak District, long associated with superstition and mythical tradition.⁵⁴ Peak Cavern had

Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c.1450-1700, Claes Janz. Visscher to Claes Claesz Visscher II, vol.38 (1991), p.179.

⁵² M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, translated by Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, 1984), pp.175-76.

⁵³ Guillame de Vair, *The True Way to Vertue and Happiness*, translated by Andrew Court, 3 vols. (London, 1623), I, 8; Scribner, *For The Sake of Simple Folk*, p.81, n.81.

⁵⁴ Andy Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict: The Peak Country, 1520-1770* (Cambridge, 1999), p.192.

strong associations with the scene of frenzied consumption and excretion pictured in *A Pass For the Romish Rabble*. By the seventeenth century the tale of an annual gathering of beggars and tinkers in the caves, culminating in celebrations and feasting and presided over by one Cock Laurel, the ‘last king of the beggars’, had passed into folkloric tradition. These gatherings are the subject of the Ben Jonson verses *From the Famous Peacke of Darby*, taken from the 1621 masque *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, where the company dine on “Bacon, rindes of Walnuts, Shells of Cockels, and of Smalnuts...”⁵⁵ Further lines from *The Gypsies Metamorphosed*, later reworked into ballad form, relate the tale of an altogether more sinister assembly (fig.41).⁵⁶ According to this ballad, *A Strange Banquet; or, the Divells Entertainment*, on one such occasion Cock Laurel invited the devil himself to dine at the Peak, where he was treated to a magnificent array of dishes; they included ‘Six pickled taylors sliced and cut...A fair large pasty of a Midwifes hot...With a couple of hinsh-boys boyl’d to a jelly’ alongside ‘a Puritan poacht’, ‘Two roasted sheriffes’ and a London cuckold whose head was bitten off in an instant. In this case the devil’s meal was digested rather than excreted, and with the aid of a generous ‘draught of Darby call’

Then from the Table he gave a start,
Where banquet and wine was not to seek,
All which he blew away with a fart,
From whence it is cal’d the devils arse a Peak.

The breaking of wind which concludes the ballad serves to explain the origins of Peak Cavern’s more colloquial nickname, and to further establish the site as one not only with satanic associations but also with the ideas of consumption and cannibalism reflected in *A Pass For the Romish Rabble*, and the social inversion intimated by feasting beggars and tinkers. The ballad proved popular, and remained in publication at the end of the seventeenth century; it was additionally circulated in manuscript form.⁵⁷ Popular awareness of the Devil’s Arse and its scatological connections is evident in its further adoption as a motif at the Restoration by critics of the Cromwellian regime. In broadsides such as the mock-drama *The Life and Death of Mrs Rump. And the Fatal*

⁵⁵ Ben Jonson, “From the Famous Peacke of Darby”, *The Workes of Benjamin Jonson* (London, 1640), p.51; Jonson, *Works*, edited by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, 11 vols. (Oxford, 1925-52), VII, 569.

⁵⁶ Jonson, *Works*, VII, 601-603.

⁵⁷ *A Strange Banquet, or, the Devils Entertainment by Cook Laurel at the Peak in Devonshire with a True Relation of the Severall Dishes* (London, 1678); *A Feast for the Devill, at the Divells Arse ith’ Peake*, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 465, fols. 85-85v.

End of her Base-Born Brat of Destruction, with her own First Hatching and Bringing Forth from the Devils Arse a Peake, (1660) and *A Proper New Ballad of the Divels Arse a Peake, or, Satans Beastly Place, or, in Plain Terms of the Posteriors and Fag-End of a Long Parliament* (1660) these connections are aligned with the ousted Rump parliament and exploited accordingly.⁵⁸

Back in the 1620s, however, the Devil's Arse was being put to a different use. The satanic and anti-Catholic imagery of *A Pass For the Romish Rabble* is given a highly topical significance by the wording wrapped around the broken column, on the right of the composition.⁵⁹ It is a somewhat colloquial version of a proclamation issued by James I on 6 May 1624, demanding the expulsion of all Jesuits and seminary priests from the country by 14 June that year, due to their "boldnesse and insolencie in seducing and withdrawing his Majesties Subjects".⁶⁰ Anxieties about the influence and activities of such Catholic clerics, and their potential seduction of loyal subjects are further underlined in the transformation of the leering devil of *Pfuh Tevfel Friss Pfaffen* into a creature of altogether more leonine features in *A Pass For the Romish Rabble*; this physiognomic transformation accords well with the Biblical advice, 'Be sober, be vigilant: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeing whom he may devour. Whom resist stedfast in the faith, knowing that the same afflictions are accomplished in your brethren that are in the world'⁶¹

If there were any place where the Protestant faithful needed to remain sober and vigilant in case of Catholic usurpation, it appeared to be within the Peak District. Although records show that in reality the majority of Peak District villages were home to only one or two Catholic households during the early seventeenth century, the presence of a large community of Catholic recusants in the Derbyshire village of Hathersage, about five miles from Castleton and the Devil's Arse, may have done much to fuel fears of a hotbed of Popery within the area. In 1592 for example, the Peak was singled out for attention as "...that part of the country being most frequented by

⁵⁸ Further instances of scatological satire at the Restoration are discussed in Mark S. R. Jenner, "The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England", *Past and Present*, 177 (2002), 84-120.

⁵⁹ Malcolm Jones has suggested that the broken column stands as an attribute of Fortitude, "here symbolizing Strong Rule." Jones, "The English Print", Plate 4.

⁶⁰ *A Proclamation Charging all Jesuites, Seminaries, &c. to Depart the Land* (London, 1624); *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, no.252.

⁶¹ 1 Peter 5:8.

recusants”, a conviction which seems to have taken hold of the Protestant imagination once again as anxieties about their activities culminated in James’ 1624 proclamation.⁶²

In light of the reputation of the Peak as a place of gorging, feasting and cannibalism, linked to social inversions in the temporary elevation of beggars and vagrants, and tied to the devil and to recusant activity, the reworking of *Pfuh Tevfel Friss Pfaffen* into *A Pass For the Romish Rabble*, and its relocation to the Peak, is an effective one. The linkage of earlier imagery, popular perceptions, ballad literature and folklore comes successfully to fruition in a single, visually aggressive engraving challenging the morality of the Catholic church.

Certain telling comparisons can be drawn between this print and Samuel Ward’s *Double Deliverance*. Both carry an Amsterdam imprint, yet in their content both appear to be aimed directly at an English audience, attacking the Catholic church in highly insulting terms. Both carry a name or signature alluding to engraver or inventor, yet here the similarities end. If the *Double Deliverance* encountered notoriety as well as celebrity in 1621, *A Pass For the Romish Rabble* appears to have been accepted as part of the material political culture of the mid-1620s with little or no protest. That it passed from Amsterdam to London, and was in circulation about the capital and beyond, is evident in the way that it is alluded to by Ben Jonson in his *An Execration Upon Vulcan*. Jonson wrote *An Execration* following a fire in 1623 which devastated his personal library; at one point within its verses he asks of the Roman god of fire,

Would you have kept your Forge, at Ætna still,
And there made Swords, Bills, Gloves and Armes your fill...
...or stay’d but where the Fryar, and you first met,
Who from the Divels-Arse did Guns beget...⁶³

One scholar has recently, and tentatively identified the ‘Fryar’ of these lines as either Roger Bacon or Berthold Schwartz, both Catholic clerics to whom the invention of gunpowder has been attributed.⁶⁴ A reference to *A Pass From the Romish Rabble* far more accurately reflects the lively imagery of both poem and print. Jonson’s image of the armed friar at the Devil’s Arse clearly recalls the content of the satirical print, and suggests that the poet was familiar with, if not in possession of, a copy of the engraving.

⁶² Wood, *The Politics of Social Conflict*, p.193. Additional information kindly supplied by Andy Wood.

⁶³ Jonson, *Ben Jonson’s Execration Against Vulcan*, sig.C1.

⁶⁴ Lillian Schanfield, “Ben Jonson’s ‘An Execration Upon Vulcan’: No Joking Matter”, *Ben Jonson Journal*, 7 (2000), p.360.

Yet there is no evidence that its potent mix of scatology and cannibalism sparked any kind of formal protest from the Spanish, or otherwise. The political landscape had altered significantly following the return of Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham from Spain in the autumn of 1623, minus any marriage settlement with the Spanish crown.⁶⁵ Whilst the *Double Deliverance* caused Samuel Ward to be confined in the Fleet prison, and whilst Thomas Scott had been forced to flee the country in 1621 in order to escape similar punishment, the anti-Catholic sentiments they had expressed were now being aired loudly and at length, often using stark and shocking ideas and images to criticise religious practices both abroad and at home.

IV

Comparable in intentions and targets to *A Pass For the Romish Rabble*, is an unsigned broadsheet, *The Travels of Time* (fig.42), whose complex visual and textual polemic has until now been neglected; the only detailed reference to it is in a catalogue entry by the Victorian antiquarian Robert Lemon.⁶⁶ As such, its close relationship with contemporary diatribes against Spain and Rome has remained unexplored, and the identity of one of its protagonists unexplained.

At first glance, the visual language of this sheet seems to draw upon a standard vocabulary of anti-Catholic expression, combined with the familiar emblematic motifs of Time and his daughter Truth.⁶⁷ The potent combination of Truth and Time were renowned for their unmasking of dark and malevolent forces; the typical emblem *Veritas temporis filia* (Truth, the daughter of Time) found in Geoffrey Whitney's influential *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices* (1586) shows Truth defeating the combined efforts of Envy, Strife and Slander at the command of her father (fig.43).⁶⁸ They were also a popular adversary of a further force of darkness, Popery, here in *The*

⁶⁵ Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*.

⁶⁶ Robert Lemon, *Catalogue of a Collection of Printed Broadsides in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of London* (London, 1866), pp.67-68.

⁶⁷ The familiarity of Father Time to Jacobean audiences is discussed in Frederick Kiefer, "The Iconography of Time in 'The Winter's Tale'", *Renaissance and Reformation*, 23 (1999), 49-64.

⁶⁸ This particular emblem is discussed in D. J. Gordon, "Veritas Filia Temporis: Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney", in Stephen Orgel (ed.), *The Renaissance Imagination: Essays and Lectures* (Berkeley, 1975), pp.220-32.

Travels of Time delineated in suitably derogatory and grotesque terms.⁶⁹ The Pope is hauled unceremoniously onto the shoulders of Father Time, who carries him away, like the locusts and caterpillars which have nested in the tree of true religion, ‘from Great Britaine to Rome’. These parasites, fleeing from the conflagration at the foot of the tree sparked by Truth, who shines ‘the light of the gospel’ through her glass, are in fact hybrid creatures with popish heads attached to parasitical bodies. Visually, such hybrids can be traced to earlier texts such as George Gilpin’s *The Bee Hive of the Romish Church*, a translation of the Dutch *De Byencorf der H. Roomsche Kercke* first published in 1579; its analysis of the structure and hierarchy of the Catholic Church is underlined by a striking woodcut illustrating life around a popish hive with priest-bees, monk-bees and Jesuit-bees attending to their business under the direction of a tiara-crowned Pope-bee (fig.44).⁷⁰ In creating analogies between the Church of Rome and a swarm of insects, both Gilpin’s work and *The Travels of Time* draw upon a much-favoured term employed to describe the omnipresent threat of a popish onslaught upon the country; its suggestion of a parasitic, engulfing mass is further buoyed by the recollection of Old Testament swarms of deadly proportions, inflicted on the people of Egypt.⁷¹

The language of the swarm abounded in public polemic and private correspondence during the 1620s. “Our Priests and Jesuits for their unpleasant clamorous and obstreperous sound, not unjustly resembling Frogs and Locusts, have of late dayes beene croaking and throtling out this harsh note and noyse to every Protestant passenger, Where was your Church before Luther?” claimed George Webbe in 1624; his sentiments were predictably reflected by Thomas Scott, railing against “...those Locusts of Rome...” and the words of Ignatius Loyola in Thomas Middleton’s play *A Game at Chess*, searching for the Jesuits who “Covered the earth’s face and made dark the land/Like the Egyptian grasshoppers.”⁷² In a letter of May the same year, written to

⁶⁹ On the earlier usage of Truth and Time as religious polemic in English art see Fritz Saxl, “Veritas Filia Temporis” in R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton (eds.), *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernest Cassirer* (Oxford, 1936), pp.202-10.

⁷⁰ Gilpin’s work, and later usage of swarm imagery in Civil War England are discussed in Kristen Poole, “Dissecting Sectarianism: Liberty of Conscience, the Swarm, and Thomas Edwards’s ‘Gangraena’” in Amy Boesky and Mary Thomas Crane (eds.), *Form and Reform in Renaissance England* (Newark and London, 2000), pp.45-69.

⁷¹ Michael Questier, “‘Like Locusts Over All The World’: Conversion, Indoctrination and the Society of Jesus in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean England” in Thomas M McCoog (ed.), *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp.265-66.

⁷² George Webbe, *Catalogus Protestantium, or the Protestants Kalender* (London, 1624), sig.g1-g1v; Thomas Scott, *Englands Joy, For Suppressing the Papists, and*

William Trumbull in Brussels, John Castle refers to the expulsion of Jesuits and seminaries from the country as "...banishinge the swarme of Locusts which thereupon you are like to have come to you [in Brussels] in whole legions."⁷³ This particular 'swarme of Locusts' to which Castle refers are directly linked to the hybrid parasites fleeing Truth's light in *The Travels of Time*; like *A Pass For the Romish Rabble* the print specifically celebrates the consequences of James' proclamation of May 1624 and can be dated accordingly. Two copies of James' statement, one for England and the other for Ireland, hang conspicuously from the bundle of firewood carried by Father Time, as the seated figure of 'politick' or 'policie' in the background remarks with some trepidation, 'The fourteenth day of June is full of feare./For then a Proclamation doth take force,/To Hang us all.'

Who then is this figure of Politick, or Policie, as the illustration is labelled, seated in a curious manner upon a basket of eggs and candidly exposing his buttocks in the process? The identity of this interesting individual has never been the subject of discussion or conjecture, with previous discussion of *The Travels of Time* being limited to a brief catalogue entry written during the nineteenth century. Yet Policie himself played a key part in the political furore which gave rise to this striking image, at least within the public's imagination, in the role of Spanish ambassador.

As the 1620s progressed, Ambassador Gondomar's unpopularity with the English public reached extreme heights. Another of Thomas Scott's anti-Catholic polemics, the earlier *Vox Populi* of 1620, had criticised the Spaniard in such personal terms that he was forced to place a guard on his London home from fear of attack, and was jeered at in the streets.⁷⁴ Even his return to Spain in 1622 could not check the strength of public feeling against him; if anything, the venom increased, as his actual presence was substituted for a satirised caricature.

One aspect of Gondomar's vilification concerned his affliction with a painful physical ailment. The ambassador suffered from an anal fistula, an unfortunate condition for a gentleman-diplomat moving in courtly circles, where a code of control and restraint of the body played a key role in defining the status of the elite.⁷⁵ Andrew

Banishing the Priests and Jesuits (London, 1624), p.11; Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, (1624), edited by T. H. Howard-Hill (Manchester, 1993), The Induction, 7-8.

⁷³ John Castle to William Trumbull, 14 May 1624; British Library MS Add.72276, fol.89.

⁷⁴ Simonds d'Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, I, 159-60.

⁷⁵ On the formal relationship between social and bodily conduct in early modern England see Anna Bryson, "The Rhetoric of Status: Gesture, Demeanour and the Image of the Gentleman in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England" in Lucy Gent and

McRae has noted how the ailment was considered not only physically discomfiting, but also symbolic of the subterfuge many suspected the ambassador guilty of: “a sign of corruption not only hidden from the observer’s view, but also reaching malevolently into the interior of the body.”⁷⁶ Gondomar’s fistula was therefore exploited viciously by his many critics. In Middleton’s *A Game at Chaes* (1624) the character of the Black Knight, a part purportedly performed in a suit of Gondomar’s own clothes, is referred to as “the fistula of Europe”; on another occasion the Black Knight draws attention to his “leaking bottom” in a thinly veiled nautical analogy.⁷⁷ If a passage from Jonson’s *The Staple of Newes* (1626), is to be believed, the ambassador’s equally scatological response to this character slight was remarkably different to his reaction towards the *Double Deliverance*:

Lickfinger: What newes of Gondomar?
Thomas: A second *Fistula*,
 Or an execration (at the least)
 For putting the poore English-play, was writ of him,
 To such a sordid use, as (is said) he did,
 Of cleansing his posterior’s...⁷⁸

Further references to Gondomar’s affliction spring from one of the props used by the Black Knight in *A Game at Chess*, a padded close stool or *chaise percée* which appears on stage as his “chair of ease”.⁷⁹ This aspect to Gondomar’s stage presence is immortalised in visual form as the frontispiece to Scott’s *The Second Part of Vox Populi* (1624), where a formal full-length portrait of the ambassador fittingly introduces the disparaging text through the inclusion of the close stool (fig.45).

These scatological associations strongly tie Gondomar to the figure of Policie in *The Travels of Time*, his much-ridiculed buttocks placed on display, and rather curiously upon a basket of eggs. But why depict the Spaniard with these particular props, rather than with the more practical *chaise percée*? This seated pose certainly underlines the delicacy and care with which the ambassador would be required to sit, unless relieved

Nigel Llewelyn (eds.), *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture c.1540-1660* (London, 1990), pp.136-53.

⁷⁶ MacRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State*, p.62.

⁷⁷ Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, II, iv, 46; *A Game at Chess*, II, i, 172. Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 578.

⁷⁸ Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News* (1626), edited by Anthony Parr (Manchester, 1988), III, ii, 208-13.

⁷⁹ *A Game at Chess*, IV, ii, 3. On the *chaise percée* see Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1978), p.324.

by his notorious ‘chair of ease’; the aphorism ‘to walk on eggs’ was recognised as advice to tread extremely carefully.⁸⁰ The inventor of *The Travels of Time* appears also to have been familiar with an earlier Dutch engraving, again celebrating Protestant ascendancy over Catholic weaknesses, that of *Queen Elizabeth as Diana, Seated in Judgement Upon the Pope* (fig.46).⁸¹ In this inventive reworking of Titian’s painting of *Diana and Calisto*, the English Queen is transformed into the hunter-goddess, whilst the Pope is a substitute for Calisto whose ‘pregnancy’ is revealed by Elizabeth’s attendants, Truth and Time as a nest of eggs hatching into monstrous cockatrices. The Pope’s hatching of eggs is mirrored by the activities of Policie in *The Travels of Time*, who reveals how

All times and seasons I with care have watcht,
 And sate on Egges, in hope they would be hatcht,
 Which had they taken life, had been a brood
 Of Cockatrices (for our Gen’rall good)
 They were my serves, my engines, and my trickes,
 Surpassing Machivilian Politicks...

Such scheming could only be attributed to the man described by Thomas Scott as “appearing in the likenes of Matchiavell in a Spanish parliament...”: none other than former ambassador Gondomar, whose ‘attempts’ to introduce Catholicism to England by surreptitious means filled the pages of many of Scott’s diatribes.⁸² Two years later Scott himself imagined the Spaniard upon leaving England and his diplomatic post, heading “back to Madrill, where what contention grew betwixt him and his old acquainted mischieves, how every minute hee produced new and unnatural Cocks-egges, brooded them from the heat of his malice, hatcht them with the devilishness of his Policie, and brought forth Serpents able to poyson all Europe...”⁸³ Middleton too seems to have been aware of the joke as he penned *A Game at Chess*; as the final scene

⁸⁰ Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p.184.

⁸¹ This is the title given to the engraving by F. G. Stephens in the *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*.

⁸² The full title to *The Second Part of Vox Populi* includes the subtitle ‘or Gondomar appearing in the likenes of Matchiauell in a Spanish parliament.’ Both ‘policy’ and ‘politic’ were terms connected with ideas of Machiavelli in sixteenth and early seventeenth-century thought; see Napoleone Orsine, “‘Policy’ or the Language of Elizabethan Machiavellianism”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 9 (1946), 122-34.

⁸³ Thomas Scott, *Sir Walter Raleigh’s Ghost, or Englands Forewarner* ([London], 1626), p.6.

concludes with the defeated black chess pieces being thrown into a bag, (“the bag’s mouth, like hell”) by their white opponents, the White Knight observes that there is even “Room for the mightiest Machiavel-politician/That e’er the devil hatched of a nun’s egg.”⁸⁴ Indeed, closer associations are drawn between the print and the play as the opening verses to *The Travels of Time* declare

A Happy winde those *Locusts* hence doth blow,
That would out Church and Common-wealth o’re-throw
Who all (so *ill*) did play their parts so well,
Stout *Actors*, and true *Factors* unto Hell...

Such texts certainly cast the Spaniard in the role defined for Politick by Truth, ‘a trusty serviceable *Don*,/A Vassall to the *Beast of Babylon*,/Who doth his best and worst, where he doth come/To make all Kingdomes subject unto *Rome*.’ Yet the former ambassador’s notoriety reached further than the pens of Scott and Middleton, both of whom appear to have influenced, or indeed been influenced by *The Travels of Time*. That Policie is indeed Gondomar is confirmed in verses satirising individuals involved in the ill-fated Spanish match, noted down in the commonplace book of the Cheshire M.P. Sir William Davenport:

...Gondomore, whose breech was sore,
he rydes besidis the saddel:
He longe tyme hath bene hatchinge egges;
Which nowe maye all prove addle.⁸⁵

That Sir William was part of a wide network of individuals jotting down these lines, is confirmed by their appearance in another independent manuscript collection of contemporary verses and libels, housed today in the British Library.⁸⁶ Indeed, the inclusion of this highly specific image of Gondomar found in manuscript form strongly suggests that the engraving and its themes were being circulated and translated into not only public, dramatic forms but also privately-circulated collections of verse with heavy political overtones. It also suggests that certain visual motifs were being assimilated into what Thomas Cogswell has termed a ‘popular political awareness’; this awareness was

⁸⁴ *A Game at Chess*, V, iii, 204-205.

⁸⁵ *The Commonplace Book of William Davenport*; Cheshire Record Office MS ZCR63/2/19, fol.32v.

⁸⁶ From *Song on Prince Charles his going to Spaine*; British Library Additional MS 5832, fol.200v.

nurtured through such manuscript circulation, disseminating ideas both inside and outside the boundaries of acceptability governed by censorship.⁸⁷

Further evidence supports the suggestion that that *The Travels of Time* experienced some degree of celebrity and was the focus of political discussion; its vivid central motif of the figures of Time and the pope was isolated and reworked as an etching by Wenceslaus Hollar published in c.1641 (fig.47). Although the religious and political significance of this image has been correctly linked to the collapse of the Laudian (and allegedly Popish) church during the early 1640s, its associations with *The Travels of Time* and the early to mid 1620s have not.⁸⁸ The Laudian links are cleverly intimated by the substitution of James' proclamations with a cardinal's cap; Archbishop Laud himself had allegedly been offered such a position in a bizarre move by the Pope on the day of his installation.⁸⁹ Yet the visual debt of Hollar's etching to the original engraving is clear, and made clearer by the verses written around the later work; they reproduce part of Time's speech to Truth in the earlier image. Richard Pennington has proposed that whilst Hollar etched the stanza above the figures, another hand was behind the lower verses.⁹⁰ This second text is intriguing in that whilst the first twelve lines duplicate those of *The Travels of Time* exactly, the final stanza has been conspicuously altered, incorporating parts of later lines spoken not by Time, but by Politick/Policie and Popery: 'This Burden backe to Rome, I'le beare againe:/From thence it came, there let it still remaine.' has been replaced by 'And therefore am I hence in post thus riding/To Rome againe, for here there is no abiding.' It is possible that the writer of these lines was making a pointed comment about the perceived allegiances of the Anglican church in recent years: the threat of Catholicism had seemed a very real one in the early 1640s whilst unimaginable following events in 1624, when Time had visibly pledged to return the Pope to Rome for once and for all.

V

The early decades of the seventeenth century provide an intriguing period of expansion and change with regard to the dissemination of politically-charged ideas,

⁸⁷ Thomas Cogswell, "Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture" in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds.), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), p.281.

⁸⁸ King, "Milton's Paradise of Fools", p.203.

⁸⁹ William Laud, *The works of...William Laud...Archbishop of Canterbury*, edited by W. Scott and J. Bliss, 7 vols. (Oxford, 1847-60), III, p.239.

⁹⁰ Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.72.

polemic, information and news, a period and a phenomenon now given greater clarity due to recent scholarly examination and scrutiny.⁹¹ Furthermore the manner, and indeed the media through which such information was being consumed was itself undergoing significant changes. The survival of newsletters reporting on topical political concerns of both national and European interest markedly increases after 1620, with the appearance of professionally produced corantos alongside handwritten separates emphasising a keen demand for news in a politically changeable climate. This was a demand which spilled over into drama, polemic, imagery and verse, forms which in turn fed off and complemented each other. According to Richard Cust, interested parties “who relied primarily on oral sources were being offered a broader and richer range of material, often supplemented from the written news.”⁹² This observation is true in a pictorial, as well as textual sense; the range of news, reports and polemic reporting from Europe, and concerning European events such as the Thirty Years’ War, was bolstered by a series of images with continental origins, widening native visual consciousness, and simultaneously linking English political concerns with European ones. Whilst early modern England’s graphic and artistic output, particularly when understood in these propagandist, political terms, could not compare with that of nations such as Germany or France, it is vital not to perceive of England as culturally and pictorially isolated. Rather, the influence of continental imagery upon its pictorial polemic during the 1620s suggests a symbiotic cultural relationship between England and its European neighbours.

It was also an intriguing period in terms of toleration and censorship; the cultural cleavage between 1621 and 1624 initially appears stark; yet its consequences were less than straightforward. The punishment of Samuel Ward at the behest of Ambassador Gondomar seems to come in sharp contrast to the later intervention of the king over *A Game at Chess*. Although the play was eventually halted, it was after an unprecedented run of nine days; although Middleton and his players were hauled up before the Privy

⁹¹ These themes have been discussed and debated in Bellany, “‘Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse’”; Cogswell, “Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture”; Croft, “Libels, Popular Literacy and Public Opinion”; Andrew McRae, “The Verse Libel: Popular Satire in Early Modern England” in Dermot Kavanagh and Tim Kirk (eds.), *Subversion and Scurrility: Popular Discourse in Europe from 1500 to the Present* (Aldershot, 2000), 50-73.

⁹² Cust, “News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England”, p.69. On the emergence of the coranto in England see Michael Frearson, “The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s” in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Serials and their Readers 1620-1914* (Winchester, 1993); Folke Dahl, *A Bibliography of English Corantos and Periodical Newsbooks* (London, 1952).

Council and Middleton briefly imprisoned for his transgressions, it was not before the king, Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham were allegedly “all loth to have [the play] forbidden and by reporte laught hartely at it.”⁹³ The picturing of friars as lascivious beasts, as political relations with Spain foundered and then failed, suggests a far more liberal attitude towards such polemic on the part of the Crown. However, Ward’s ‘censored’ print was to prove just as enduring. Thomas Scott’s claim that its plate was “cut in peeces, and the sellers imprisoned” is clearly a stretch of the imagination, given that the ‘Gunpouder Treason & 88’ was being stocked and sold by Peter Stent some forty years later, whilst its copies and derivatives were numerous and diverse.⁹⁴

Political graphic satire appears to have formed an integral part of part of the corpus of material which fed a keen public interest in political events, available both through ‘underground’ networks of information and more overt, commercial sources, coexisting alongside a royal censor at times unusually tolerant and slow to react. Topical concerns and contemporary references were fused with established imagery, often adapting continental templates which had successfully satirised the omnipresent dangers of Popery across northern Europe. ‘...verses and unseemly pictures, especially of late dayes, from Holland, France and England...’ could indeed be understood as a cohesive and unified threat to both the church of Rome and the Spanish crown. The visual language of anti-popery which permeated the public’s consciousness during the early 1620s possessed both a debt to the continent and to the past, and a sense of endurance and longevity, which suggests that it should not be considered in isolation but as part of a much wider history of political and religious polemic. Whilst the words of Thomas Scott should be read with an understanding of his personal attitude towards Spain, Rome and Gondomar, his focus upon the workings of visual propaganda, and upon the aggressive qualities of graphic satire in evidence in early modern England should be not be underestimated.

⁹³ Cogswell, *The Blessed Revolution*, p.306.

⁹⁴ Scott, *Boanerges*, p.25; Globe, *Peter Stent*, pp. 135-36; see for example, British Museum Satires 13, 42, 43, 45, and 98.

Chapter Three

‘Exposed to the Hatred of All Men’¹: Mocking the Monopolists

I

The anti-Catholic sentiments of Samuel Ward and Thomas Scott were not the only source of political diversion and artistic inspiration during the early months of 1621; whilst Ward was being flung into prison and Scott was hastily departing for self-inflicted exile at Utrecht, a certain commissioner-turned-fugitive was heading for France, in similar fear of his life. This was Sir Giles Mompesson, a distant relation through marriage to George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham and notorious royal favourite.²

Mompesson’s crime was his intimate involvement in, and abuse of, the controversial economic system of monopolies, financial privileges widely conceived to be run by greedy courtiers solely for personal profit. In 1616 Mompesson had suggested to Buckingham the establishment of a monopoly on public houses and inns, with landlords obliged to purchase licences in order to operate their businesses. Such arrangements were a common feature of James’ reign, as they had been with his predecessors; although highly unpopular with the public they were both financially beneficial to the crown, and an attractive reward for loyal courtiers.³ With no fixed fees for such licences, the potential for profiteering on the part of patentees was great, and the monopoly on alehouses no exception. Unlike the innkeepers, Mompesson, newly knighted and invested as chief commissioner for the patent on inns, grew rich, with one-fifth of the payment for each licence lining his pockets and those of his deputies. His greed, however, which extended to further lucrative licences for the manufacture of gold thread and of charcoal, ultimately proved to be his undoing. By February 1621 his behaviour – demanding inflated fees for licences, recklessly reopening rowdy public houses for his own gain, and generally terrorising respectable landlords into payment –

¹ *The Last Discourse Betwixt Master Abel and Master Richard Kilvert* (n.p., 1641), p.3.

² The most detailed biographical information on Giles Mompesson remains that in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, although it is anticipated that the forthcoming *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* will redress this situation.

³ On the impact of English monopolies and patents prior to the Mompesson scandal see David Harris Sacks, “The Greed of Judas: Avarice, Monopoly and the Modern Economy in England, c.1300-c.1600”, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28 (1998), 263-307.

had come to the attention of the newly-recalled parliament; an investigation was opened into the monopoly system, with Mompesson bearing the brunt of its censure. As accusations flew and the evidence against him gathered, he was placed under a rather ineffective house-arrest, as a letter by John Chamberlain illustrates:

Touching the parlement they are very busie about Sir Giles Mompesson...[who] fearing himself, yesterday was sevenight at night under colour of finding certain papers about his wifes closet escaped from the sergeant who had him in custodie, and hath shewed a faire paire of heeles...⁴

Mompesson's heels took him as far as France, where he remained until 1623. He had good reason; the Crown promptly issued a proclamation demanding the apprehension and confinement of the errant knight in the Tower, and the Lord Chief Justice announced on 27 March that upon his arrest he should be fined, stripped of his knighthood and imprisoned for life.⁵ Both parliament and the crown suspected that Mompesson was unlikely to reappear voluntarily in order to receive such a highly degrading punishment, and three days later a further proclamation was issued; the King now found it necessary "to adde this further punishment, in detestation of his offences, utterly to banish and expell the said Giles Mompesson out of his Realmes of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all other of his Majesties dominions", making reference to the absent monopolist with the conspicuous absence of his previous title of 'knight'.⁶

Historians have primarily discussed the Mompesson scandal in terms of its place in the history of the relationship between the crown, the court and parliament during the early 1620s.⁷ They have thus neglected the dissemination of such parliamentary matters into the public sphere, and the resulting characterisation of the monopolist as villain in verses, pasquils and broadsides. Giles Mompesson and his antics were the subject of gossipy newsletters, epigrammatic wordplay and onomastic rhymes; they inspired Philip Massinger to create the character of the greedy Sir Giles Overreach for his play *A New*

⁴ Chamberlain to Carleton, 10 March 1621; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 350-51. See also *Commons Journals*, I, 535-36 on Mompesson's escape.

⁵ *A Proclamation For the Finding Out and Apprehending of Sir Giles Mompesson, Knight* (London, 1621); D'Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, I, 176.

⁶ *A Proclamation for the Banishing of Giles Mompesson* (London, 1621).

⁷ Conrad Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621-1629* (Oxford, 1979), pp.105-108; Robert Zaller, *The Parliament of 1621: A Study in Constitutional Conflict* (Berkeley, 1971), pp.57-63.

Way to Pay Old Debts.⁸ The disgraced knight also takes centre stage in an anonymous engraving, likely to have been swiftly issued following Mompesson's flight to France (fig.48). *The Description of Giles Mompesson, Late Knight Censured by Parliament* has been disparagingly characterised by M. Dorothy George as 'less spectacular' than Samuel Ward's contemporary *Double Deliverance*; George's comments are all too familiar in their brief appraisal of an intriguing engraved image. As with so many such images it has been frustratingly employed by historians in a purely illustrative capacity, dismissed by an early critic as "not satirically aggressive, like that of modern caricaturing..." and erroneously described by one modern academic as simply "a woodcut".⁹

Through a close reading of this broadsheet, this chapter will examine the creative response which the crimes of Mompesson and his associates provoked, and the audiences which it informed. Unlike many of the prints discussed in the previous chapter, which are closely related to continental imagery, this lampoon of the monopolist reveals a developing, native visual and cultural vocabulary, whose influence will similarly be examined. The re-emergence of the monopolist as a figure of derision during the early 1640s prompted a further wave of hostile textual and visual propaganda; this chapter will go on to consider this later treatment of the monopolist in the light of earlier precedents, and as an example of the use and interpretation of the satirical image in its own right.

II

⁸ As well as Chamberlain, Letters, II, 347-51, see also Mead to Stuteville, BL Harley MS 389; "Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords During 1621", *Camden Society*, ser.3, vol.42 (London, 1929); W. Notestein, F. H. Relf, and H. Simpson, *Commons Debates 1621*, 7 vols. (New Haven and London, 1935); Martin Butler, "The Outsider as Insider" in David L. Smith, Richard Strier and David Benington (eds.), *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London, 1576-1649* (Cambridge, 1995), p.202; Margot Heinemann, "Drama and Opposition in the 1620s: Middleton and Massinger" in J. R. Mulryne and M. Shewring (eds.), *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.255-61; R. H. Ball, *The Amazing Career of Sir Giles Overreach* (Princeton and London, 1939).

⁹ George, *English Political Caricature*, p.17; 'Sylvanus Urban', "A Political Caricature, Temp. Charles the First", *Gentlemen's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, 40, July-September 1853, p.25; Chris R. Kyle, "Parliament and the Palace of Westminster: An Exploration of Public Space in the Early Seventeenth Century". *Parliamentary History*, 21 (2002), p.93.

The Description of Giles Mompesson combines text and image within the framework of a skilfully executed engraving to produce both a sophisticated and aesthetically appealing print, and a telling critique on topical political activity. The quality of this print has led scholars to suggest that in common with the *Double Deliverance*, it was engraved in the Low Countries.¹⁰ Like the *Double Deliverance* it is highly specific in terms of dates, with ‘The 17th of March Anno 1620’ prominently inscribed; this particular date translates in the modern calendar to 27 March 1621, the occasion of the passing of sentence upon the errant and absent former knight. Although this date refers clearly to the event rather than the image which commemorates it, it is highly likely that the engraving was commissioned, created and in circulation as soon after this date as possible, in order to take advantage of Sir Giles’ topicality and notoriety. As well as fulfilling a commemorative role, the addition of this date also creates a fixed point in an image which moves fluidly between the misdeeds of the past and near-past, and the uncertainties of the future.

The narrative begins in the left-hand portion of the engraving with a scene of confrontation. The setting is the exterior of a tavern, bearing both a sign-board, here of the Bell, and the red lattice window which commonly identified drinking establishments; in the second part of Shakespeare’s *Henry IV*, for example, Falstaff’s page reveals that his master has been calling for him through a red lattice, from where Falstaff has been spied engaged in amorous activities with an ale-wife.¹¹ There is no such love lost between the two protagonists in this section of the engraving. The female proprietor of the Bell is pictured fiercely defending her establishment from the similarly threatening stance of a well-dressed gentleman – Mompesson himself – as well as from the demon emerging from his patents-case like a sinister jack-in-the-box. Whether this is a physiognomically accurate depiction of Mompesson is uncertain, since no portrait of the former knight survives. The only clue to his appearance appears in a contemporary letter describing the monopolist as “a little man of black swart complexion with a little black beard.”¹² Yet his identification is clearly confirmed through his actions towards the ale-wife: the words, ‘your signe shall downe for this’, which spill from the monopolist’s mouth, indicate that he intends to abuse his position and close down the Bell for some minor or imagined misdemeanour. It has been

¹⁰ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.152.

¹¹ William Shakespeare, *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth* (1600), edited by Michael Hattaway (Cambridge, 1991), II, ii, 60-63. See also Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London, 1983), p.68.

¹² Ball, *The Amazing Career of Sir Giles Overreach*, p.8.

suggested that the monopolist's posture is a highly iconic one, a gesture of *declamatio* intimating an authority higher than Mompesson himself.¹³ If his stance is to be read in this manner, as a symbolic reminder of the Crown's own, ultimate authority over even the most despotic of its servants, it is at this early point in the narrative that Mompesson's own circumstances begin to unravel.

Certainly the juxtaposition of this supposed figure of authority with the defensive ale-wife is an interesting one in terms of hierarchies and the consequences of their abuse. The ale-house played a central part in the culture of towns and villages in early modern England, not only in a recreational sense, but also through its contribution towards the local economy and the well-being of villagers; ale was viewed as a nutritional staple of the average layman's diet, and such establishments commonly provided a valuable income for the poor and vulnerable in society, often being run by widows.¹⁴ Mompesson's mission to close down the Bell Tavern constitutes an attack upon such a vulnerable individual, threatening not only to take away her livelihood, but also to imbalance the social structure of a community, enhancing the monopolist's own villainy and desire for personal gain at the expense of others.

Yet many negative connotations also surrounded the figure of the ale-wife. Just as Falstaff is spied sporting amongst the skirts of one particular individual, popular representations of alewives pictured them as immoral, tempting and sexually available; conversely, they were on occasions imagined as debauched and repulsive harridans in the vein of John Skelton's famously filthy creation of the sixteenth century, Elynour Rummin.¹⁵ The title page to the 1624 edition of *Elynour Rummin, the Famous Ale-Wife of England*, depicts a hideous, porcine female grasping two large flagons of ale (fig.49); Skelton's poetical description of her is equally damning:

Her lothly leere is nothing cleere,
But ugly of cheere, droupy and drowsie,

¹³ Katherine O. Acheson, *The Visual and Verbal Rhetoric of a Political Broadside of 1621, 'The description of Giles Mompesson, late Knight censured by Parliament'*, unpublished conference paper delivered at 'Text and Image: England 1500-1750': The Fifth International Literature and History Conference at the University of Reading, July 2002. I am grateful to Professor Acheson for allowing me to consult a copy of her paper.

¹⁴ Keith Wrightson, "Alehouses, Order and Reformation in Rural England, 1590-1660" in Eileen Yeo and Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict, 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Brighton, 1981), p.2. See also Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300-1600* (Oxford, 1996).

¹⁵ Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, p.128.

Scurvy and lowsie, her face all bowsie;
Comely cryncled, wondrously wrinkled,
Like a roast Pigges eare, bristled with haire...¹⁶

A later counterpart to Elynour Rummin can be found in the figure of ‘Mother Louse’, a famous Oxfordshire ale-wife whose portrait was candidly engraved by David Loggan during the 1650s (fig.50). The accompanying verses, supposedly worded by Mother Louse herself, draw direct attention to her ‘loveing Chin and Snout...[her] mouth so like a Cony-burrough...’, again imagining the ale-wife as a creature of less than appealing features, recalling and reinforcing the unappealing traits of the apocryphal Mistress Rummin.

These negative conceptions of the ale-wife are neatly balanced in *The Description of Giles Mompesson* by the clear potential of the Bell’s proprietor to be a heroine rather than a harridan; encountering the villainous monopolist, she is transformed into an image of strength and stout defence. Her protective pose, spit thrust forward like a pike, appears modelled on the military drill exercises pictured in instructive texts such as Jacob de Gheyn’s *The Exercise of Armes for Calivres, Muskettes, and Pikes*, first published in English at The Hague in 1608. One of its series of engraved positions of a pike-man (fig.51) anticipates perfectly the stance of the ale-wife, whilst the central section of her body has a masculine edge to it, clearly suggestive of the armoured breast-plate of a soldier. It is certainly plausible that an engraver, in England or on the Continent, would have had access to this source when producing *The Description...* Furthermore, a second, and doubtless cheaper edition of de Gheyn’s manual was published in Zutphen in 1619, with an accompanying text in French, Dutch, German and English, and de Gheyn’s engravings substituted for woodcut copies (fig.52), increasing its availability and accessibility across Europe. Through this fusion of ale-wife and soldier, Mompesson’s personal weaknesses are exposed when set against the inner strength of a blameless and heroic individual; moreover, his sheer incapacity to carry out his work appropriately is damningly and comically emphasised through the temporary inversion of popular gender stereotypes.

The central section and its accompanying verses detail Mompesson’s flight from the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, with the demon now at liberty too, wisely urging him to ‘shift for thyselfe’. The scene in the background describes and confirms

¹⁶ John Skelton, *Elynour Rummin, the Famous Ale-Wife of England* (London, 1624), sig.A4.

Chamberlain's report of the knight's rather ignominious escape from his wife's closet, as a figure is pictured clambering from an open window to freedom. It also contains more subtle allusions to delusions of grandeur and a fall from grace: the tiny figure charging on horseback across the distant landscape doubles as a Don Quixote-figure, stampeding furiously towards the windmill he has mistaken for a giant. Such insinuations could be recognised by contemporary English audiences: an English translation of *Don Quixote* was first published by Edward Blount in 1612, with a second edition following in 1620. Its illustrated frontispiece (fig.53) pictures a pastoral scene with obligatory windmill pre-empting that inserted into *The Description...*, with Quixote and his companion Sancho Panza embarking on their own expedition towards ignominy and humiliation. Such a fictional narrative accords well with Mompesson's journey to France, his aspirations crushed through his thoughtless ambitions, his title and his dignity as absent as Quixote's common sense.

The final section sees the anti-hero now in exile in France. Lame, penniless, and devoid of his knightly spurs, he is invited to join two similar, notoriously corrupt politicians from the previous century, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley as they fruitlessly wander the countryside. Empson and Dudley were executed in 1510 on charges of treason, having recovered taxes and penalties from offenders to the crown in an over-zealous manner; parallels between their unpopularity and that of Mompesson were strong.¹⁷

No reason for Mompesson's lameness is offered either in the print or in official records of the period; there is no mention of an accident befalling the errant knight during his adventures, for example. Rather Mompesson's body conveys symbolic meaning. This is not a literal lameness, as becomes clear if the print is read alongside contemporary insults about the former knight's character, gibes which would have been familiar to followers of political events.

We do not know whether Joseph Mead supplied Martin Stuteville with a 'hand-written' copy of *The Description of Giles Mompesson* as he did with the *Double Deliverance*; certainly there is no specific mention of the print in his letters. Given the universal condemnation of Mompesson and his patents by parliament, it is unlikely that this print, or related critiques, held the proscribed status of Samuel Ward's engraving. However, the activities of, and furore surrounding Mompesson and his deputies, are a common point of discussion in Mead's correspondence during the spring and summer

¹⁷ Sacks, "The Greed of Judas"; M. R. Horowitz, "Richard Empson, Minister of Henry VII", *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 55 (1982), 35-49.

of 1621. At one point he details some verses passed on to him by a friend, which he claims “though worth little yet may please or delight in the country.”

Lame Giles untruly doth the proverb say;
Had Giles beene lame, he had not run away;
But Giles thought fitt, no longer to abide,
For feare he by St Giles the Church should ride.
The earth is glad, the Heaven it also smiles
There’s no respect of Persons; Mum Sr Giles.”¹⁸

Next to the reference to ‘St Giles the Church’, Mead has added the words ‘the way to Tyburn’; this annotation mistakenly suggests that if Mompesson had been sent to the gallows, his final journey would have taken him past the Church of St Giles Cripplegate rather than the actual route via St Giles in the Fields.¹⁹ As for ‘Lame Giles untruly’, the proverb ‘As lame as St. Giles Cripple-gate’ was explained by Thomas Fuller in 1662 as being “spoken rather merrily then mournfully of such, who for some light hurt, lag behind, and sometimes is applied to those, who out of Lazinesse (none so lame as they that will not go) counterfeit Infirmitie.”²⁰ This implies both dishonesty and idleness, both key failings in Mompesson’s pursuit of wealth and success. In any case, ‘Lame Giles’ was very much an appropriate namesake for a guilty and dispirited man broken by his misdeeds.

This fate for the monopolist at the end of a rope, echoes a subtle inscription found upon the signboard hanging outside the Bell tavern in *The Description*: ‘Fye Sir Giles my bell doe not disgrace, Pluck’m not down except you take his place.’ Indeed, the possibility of Mompesson’s execution had been alluded to in parliament. John Pym noted how “Concerninge the Judgement against Sir Gyles Mompesson, the Lords were in one mynd to inflict the highest punishment that any Precedent for the like offences would Match. And because his faults had been compared to those of Empson and Dudley, they had perused both their cases.”²¹ Mompesson’s guilt was eventually pronounced to be greater than that of his predecessors; according to Sir Edward Coke, “Empson and Dudley [were] not comparable to this Man’s Offence. They went about, by Words, to alien the People’s Hearts from the King...this Man hath done it by Deeds...”, whilst another succinctly pronounced “the Kings Justice wronged, more than

¹⁸ Mead to Stuteville, 24 March 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.41v.

¹⁹ Ben Weinreb and Christopher Hibbert (eds.), *The London Encyclopaedia* (London, 1985), p.731.

²⁰ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London, 1662). p.200.

²¹ *Commons Debates 1621*, IV, 205.

ever by Empson and Dudley.”²² Now it is a lame Sir Giles who is pictured in *The Description...* as limping pathetically towards Empson and Dudley, ghosts of corruption from the previous century.

His connection to these two much-maligned characters was not limited to similar experiences of exploitation and corruption. Parallels were drawn through epigrammatic wordplay and the practice of re-ordering of Mompesson’s unusual surname, as found in the last two lines of Mead’s verses: ‘Persons; Mum Sr Giles’, he explained, when rearranged spelled out the miscreant’s name. This epigrammatic practice is further taken up in the verses accompanying *The Description...*: ‘His name Mo-empsons annagramme doth make, And Empsons courses also did hee take...’ The epithet of Mo-empson was a common one. “Conveniunt nomina rebus”, wrote John Smyth in his parliamentary diary, “as Mompesson anagramed is said to be Mo-empson, Alludynge to the fall of Empson and Dudley”.²³

Such lexical subtleties contrast with the relative simplicity of the visual narrative of this engraving. The monopolist’s adventures are recounted in a simple left to right sequence, using the vivid gestures and postures of its characters, such as the protesting alewife and the aggressive then lame Sir Giles to relate the story, rather than relying upon the accompanying texts for explanation. The theatricality of these poses also suggest an ‘acting out’ of Mompesson’s story, its dynamic narrative of gestures being both read out and re-enacted to a wide and perhaps largely illiterate audience. The ale-house itself, the origin of Mompesson’s downfall, could easily assume the role of a stage for such re-enactments, as well as a space in which printed ephemera such as *The Description...* served as decoration. Printed pictures, painted cloths, maps and ballads were commonly found fixed upon ale-house walls, in rural as well as larger, upmarket city establishments.²⁴ The subtitle of Henry Vaughan’s 1646 poem *A Rhapsodie* gives an idea of how far such ale-house decoration could be taken; the verses are set within “a chamber painted over head with a cloudy sky and some few dispersed stars and on the sides with land-scapes, hills, shepherds, and sheep”, found not in an aristocratic pile but a room at the Globe Tavern in London’s Fleet Street.²⁵ Given the direct relevance of *The Description...* to the ale-house, it is possible to imagine its narrative being acted-out

²² *Journals of the House of Commons* (London, 1803), I, 546; I, 540.

²³ *Commons Debates 1621*, V, 258.

²⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, pp.193-96; Clark, *The English Alehouse*, p.67.

²⁵ Henry Vaughan, “A Rhapsodie” in *Poems, With the Tenth Satyre of Juvenal Englished* (London, 1646).

in situ in such interiors, the print prominently pinned or pasted up alongside the performance for maximum visual impact.

The potential variety of ale-house patrons witnessing these performances, with corresponding mixed levels of both visual and textual literacy, helps us to better understand the obvious cleavages between simplicity and complexity within this engraving. Although attractive to the poor, such establishments were not solely their preserve, and an engraving such as *The Description...* pinned to an ale-house wall is likely to have been encountered by an audience with a diverse understanding of both its textual and visual content, and the political situation which had provided its motivation.²⁶ Accordingly, this print's appeal is wide, excluding neither a broadly illiterate majority or a politically and intellectually aware minority. Its immediate and striking narrative directs it towards an audience far more at ease with information conveyed through images than through words. The pictorial narrative primarily and unequivocally identifies a villain, before charting his inevitable downfall to a satisfying conclusion. Simultaneously, the texts which accompany *The Description...* embellish rather than explain, and as Katherine Acheson has demonstrated, say far more about the general processes of good governance and the ultimate responsibilities of both parliament and Crown, than the sequence of images they appear alongside.²⁷ Less prominent visual details such as the figures of Empson and Dudley, the disappearance of Mompesson's spurs, the appearance of Don Quixote, and the highly emblematic stump of a blighted oak tree in the foreground, further imply an intellectual unpacking and deciphering of the engraving with an entirely different viewer in mind. As such the wide appeal of this engraving ensures its status as a potent and highly effective piece of political propaganda, designed to vilify its protagonist in the broadest and most far-reaching terms as possible. Furthermore, this comprehensive appeal raises interesting issues not only about its consumption and understanding as a political critique during the early months of 1621, but also the longevity and efficiency of its various components in defining the character of the monopolist in the decades to come.

III

²⁶ Theodore B. Leinwand's "Spongy Plebs, Mighty Lords, and the Dynamics of the Alehouse", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 20 (1989), 159-84, gives an idea of the social diversity of ale-house patrons in early modern England.

²⁷ Acheson, *The Visual and Verbal Rhetoric of a Political Broadside of 1621*.

In spite of his very public denigration, it is important to understand that Mompesson was not paraded exclusively as a scapegoat, either by the parliament of 1621 or by the printers, balladeers and scriveners who reported on and re-interpreted its activities. A number of individuals shared his fall from grace. Sir Francis Bacon, one of the more prominent referees to originally approve Mompesson's patents, was stripped of the office of Lord Chancellor in May 1621 following charges of bribery, his fate no doubt accelerated through his association with Mompesson and his notorious monopolies. Bacon's formal powers having been removed, he similarly became a target for the authors of scurrilous verses, many of which focussed upon his supposed sexual preferences; according to Sir Simonds d'Ewes the occasion "caused some bold and forward man to write these verses following in a whole sheete of paper, & to cast it down in some part of Yorkehouse in the strand, where Viscount St. Alban [Bacon] yet lay: Within this sty a hogg doth ly, that must be hang'd for Sodomy."²⁸

Another much maligned individual held up for censure by parliament and the public, similarly and inextricably linked to Giles Mompesson, was Sir Francis Michell. As well as the alehouse monopoly, Mompesson had also held, and upon investigation by parliament subsequently lost, lucrative patents, including those for the manufacture of charcoal, and gold and silver thread. He was assisted in the administration of the latter by Michell, whose own particular fate in the wake of Mompesson's arrest can again be found detailed in the newsletters of Joseph Mead. On 26 February 1621, Mead recorded not only the detention of, but also sensational rumours in circulation concerning Mompesson's deputy:

"Sr Francis Michel, alias Justice Michel was by the Lower House committed to the Tower on Friday last...Hereupon there are such base speeches of him, as is not fit for me to write. They say he kept more whores than the great Mogul and some kept him..."²⁹

Another letter seems to confirm the existence of insalubrious texts concerning Michell and others, circulating surreptitiously in manuscript form; "I would have written you the Coppies of Certayn Lybles against Sir francis michell who is yet in the towne, Sir francis bacon who is in his sty, at york House and Sir gills mompesson who is I know not wheer..." wrote Samuel Albyn to his friend John Rawson that same

²⁸ British Library Harley MS 646, fol.59v; this candid reference to Bacon's sexual preferences was omitted by J. O. Halliwell in his nineteenth-century edition of D'Ewes' *Autobiography and Correspondence*.

²⁹ Mead to Stuteville, 26 February 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.19v.

month, suggesting that the activities of the monopolists and their associates were the common currency of pamphleteers, separate- and letter-writers alike.³⁰

Michell was to suffer much more than malicious gossip about his private life. He languished in prison at Finsbury until June 1621, when he was summoned before the King's Bench at Westminster Hall; there he was ceremoniously degraded of his knighthood, emerging from the ritual in John Chamberlain's words as "no more Sir Fraunces Michell knight, but a person infamous and a knave, and so he was sent away like a *pauvre diable*."³¹ This humiliating episode was compounded by his conveyance "from Westminster to London with his face to the Horse-tail", a further ritual of degradation which had also been sentenced upon the absent Mompesson.³²

Michell's publicly orchestrated fall from grace was recounted not only in the letters of politically interested gentlemen, but also in a ballad, describing *The Deserved Downfall of a Corrupted Conscience. Degraded from all Authority and Titles of Knighthood, Censured in the High Court of Parliament, and Executed at the Kings Bench Barre Upon the 20 day of June Last, 1621, in the Presence of Foure Great Peeres of this Kingdom* (fig.54). This illustrated sheet, now preserved in the Pepys Ballads Collection, bears the name of the industrious printer George Eld. Like his contemporary Edward Allde, Eld produced ephemeral pamphlets and broadsheets for a large clientele in the capital; it is therefore highly likely that this particular ballad was sold by hawkers and balladeers both about the streets of London and in Westminster Hall itself, the scene of Michell's own degradation, further compounding his shame. During the early modern period the Palace of Westminster and the City operated not only as a centre for official political activity, but also accommodated and supported a diverse urban community; with stalls set out within its walls, Westminster Hall proved a particularly popular venue for the vending of books, prints and pamphlets, especially those of a political nature.³³

³⁰ Samuel Albyn to John Rawson, 28 March 1621; BL Harley 383 fol. 14; quoted in *Commons Debates 1621*, VII, 591. See also the lengthy 'confessional' manuscript verse *Sir Fraunces Michells Apologie For Himselfe* found in British Library Harley MS 158, fols.219-62 and Andrew MacRae, "The Literary Culture of Early Stuart Libelling", *Modern Philology*, 97 (2000), 364-92.

³¹ Chamberlain to Carleton, 23 June 1621; Chamberlain, *Letters*, II, 383. See also Mead to Stuteville, 22 June 1621; BL Harley 389, fol.96v.

³² John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State, Weighty Matters in Law, Remarkable Proceedings in Five Parliaments* (London, 1659), p.28.

³³ Kyle, "Parliament and the Palace of Westminster", pp.87-88. See also H. R. Plomer, "Westminster Hall and its Booksellers", *The Library*, new series, 6 (1905), 380-90.

In aesthetic terms this sheet is very different from *The Description...*; however its anticipated audience was similarly wide. *The Deserved Downfall*, with its report of a sensational account of ritual humiliation, was topical and scandalous enough to be of interest to such a significant cross-section of society, whilst in parts subtle enough to appeal to those politically interested individuals willing to read between the lines. Although the date in the title of the ballad connects it implicitly with Michell, the knight in question is quite deliberately never named; rather its verses recount a tale that is at once vague and deliciously specific. The fact that the degraded individual is described in the ballad verse as “a knight/and Justice by degree” further implicates Michell – ‘Sr Frances Michel, alias Justice Michel’ according to Joseph Mead – and the subsequent driving away of “This plague of pence,/that stood with open hand” strongly implies that his crimes are linked to the loathed financial phenomena of the monopoly. As such the ballad suggests several things: the general, prevailing attitude towards highly unpopular monopolies and patents, parliament’s subsequent punishment of their chief perpetrators, and, more subtly, the humiliating downfall of one such individual.

This conscious (non) identification of Frances Michell raises interesting points about political critiques and their potential influence in the wake of the more notorious *Double Deliverance*’s circulation and suppression, exposing concerns which clearly extended from the inventors of complex, and commonly anonymous political satires right down to the pedlars of ostensibly simple ballad sheets. Certain lines of the ballad: “I am afeard/to adde unto his name/but let that rest/within my brest/And so be free from blame...” imply that to name Michell outright as the eponymous ‘corrupted conscience’ would be unwise. Similarly whilst *The Description of Giles Mompesson* is far more precise in the identification of its anti-hero, it is likely to have been engraved and printed abroad, outside of strict publishing restrictions prevalent in England. Furthermore, neither engraving nor ballad bear the name of any publisher, vendor, engraver or ‘inventor’. This caution and anonymity on the part of both ballad and engraving, appearing in the wake of Samuel Ward’s arrest and punishment for his own seemingly seditious print, suggest that Ward’s fate was initially taken extremely seriously by satirists, print-sellers and balladeers. Whilst the scandal surrounding Mompesson and Michell initially reflects badly on the offenders themselves rather than on the crown, it was inevitable that the negative fallout from the entire episode would extend far further up the chain of political authority. An implicit awareness of this fact may begin to explain why the exiled Mompesson and the imprisoned and humiliated Michell were the subject of these more public displays of criticism and censure.

The individual chiefly behind the distribution of monopolies during James' reign was his court favourite, George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham. Putting the monarch's favourite in charge of these lucrative licences was a common practice; it demonstrated preferment, and rewarded loyalty which was expected to disseminate down the hierarchy of power.³⁴ Buckingham's rewards extended unsurprisingly to his family, with both his brother and half-brother involved in various monopolies, including that granted to his relative-through-marriage, Mompesson.³⁵ The 1621 parliament's investigations into the abuse of monopolies had the potential to bring the king's less-than-popular favourite into disrepute. As Conrad Russell has commented, Giles Mompesson was "only the tip of an iceberg"; it seemed certain that the scandal and embarrassment fuelled by his activities would eventually implicate the Duke.³⁶

Even though Buckingham did much to distance himself from the Mompesson scandal, the political fallout from parliament's investigations left few linked to the monopolies debacle untainted.³⁷ The Duke's swift and seamless rise from minor courtier to court favourite marked him out for widespread suspicion and distrust; his close associations with Mompesson could only compound feelings that Buckingham's own motivations involved a similar measure of personal gain at the expense of the public. Although the visual narrative acted out in *The Description...* squarely portrays Giles Mompesson as the villain of the piece, an accompanying text which anticipates an all-encompassing justice meted out by the king himself, seems also to envisage a dramatic checking of Buckingham's own meteoric rise: 'By rendringe Justice, unto great and small, The smale ones trippe & great ones downe right fall...' Whilst the Duke's own reputation and involvement in the monopolies debacle is never made implicit in the engraving, these subtle references to justice, blame and retribution at the highest of levels, add another layer of meaning to an already complex example of visual media.

Not that Buckingham's reputation was immune to direct criticism; throughout his 'reign' as the favourite of first James and then Charles, libellous verses circulated

³⁴ Linda Levy Peck, "Monopolizing Favour: Structures of Power in the Early Seventeenth-Century English Court" in J. H. Elliott and L. W. Brockliss (eds.), *The World of the Favourite* (New Haven and London, 1999), p.61.

³⁵ Roger Lockyer, *Buckingham: the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham 1592-1628* (London and New York, 1981), p.90.

³⁶ Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics*, p.108.

³⁷ Lockyer, *Buckingham*, p.92.

characterising the Duke as a corrupt and dangerous, sexual and political miscreant.³⁸ Such texts were easily disseminated. In an urban context they were commonly pinned up in traditional locations such as St. Paul's Cathedral or the Royal Exchange in London; they simultaneously circulated alongside separates in the correspondence of the politically interested, or were transmitted through word of mouth, their rhymes recounted and sung in the streets. In manuscript form, verse libels travelled just as freely cross-country with hand-written newsletters and separates, safe from the intrusions of censorship.³⁹ However, official and courtly portraiture aside, very little visual material concerning the Duke is known, even less pictorial critiques of his character and actions. Only during Buckingham's disastrous campaign to secure the French Protestant stronghold of Rhé do we encounter any direct reference to negative images linked to Villiers. In the autumn of 1628, as English forces were obliged to return from France with little to show for their attempts but heavy casualties, news reached John Rous in Suffolk "that the duke was in the Tower, and strange rimes and songs came abroad before the time..."⁴⁰ These rhymes and songs were accompanied by an intriguing image, as Rous recorded

that, ere Bartholomew fayer was done, there was a picture sold (to which much running), wherein was drawn a naked young woman, and besides her, or before her, one riding on the backe of an ougly ould woman, and thus under it:

"All you that will goe with me,
I'le carry you naked to ye ile of Re."⁴¹

Sensational as this untraced image seems, its connections to the Duke are implied rather than overt; neither his name or his person feature in its composition. Even Buckingham's death inspired little reaction in pictorial terms; an animated portrait of his assassin John Felton, knife in hand, now preserved in the Sutherland Collection at the Ashmolean Museum, seems to have been commissioned in condemnation rather

³⁸ Bellany, "Raylinge Rymes and Vaunting Verse", especially pp.296-310; James Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger: Class Struggle in the English Revolution* (London and New York, 2000), ch.5; Cogswell, "Underground Verse", pp.277-300; Underdown, *A Freeborn People*, pp.33-39; Frederick W. Fairholt, *Poems and Songs Relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham: and his Assassination by John Felton* (London, 1850).

³⁹ Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal*, ch.2.

⁴⁰ *The Diary of John Rous*, p.14.

⁴¹ *The Diary of John Rous*, p.31.

than celebration of Felton's actions, as the frontispiece to a collection of poems celebrating the Duke and his life.⁴²

This evident lack of pictorial criticism of a much-maligned public figure raises the issue of state control over politically sensitive material. During the majority of Charles I's 'personal rule', certain forms of politically motivated ephemera and propaganda appear to have been the subject of a strict censorship, such controls being particularly evident in the case of printed material. The question of censorship during this period has recently been engaged with by scholars from the fields of history, literature and bibliography who ultimately remain divided over the validity of the concept of an all-embracing and absolute suppression of the press during the late 1620s and 1630s. Sheila Lambert has proposed that strict licensing laws regulated by the Stationers' Company were set in place in order to safeguard the Company's members rather than to suppress publications subversive to the Church or Crown; alternatively, Richard Cust and Thomas Cogswell have highlighted a significant public interest in wider political events such as the Thirty Years War, coexisting alongside a Royalist censor at times unusually tolerant and slow to react to certain material, Thomas Middleton's *Game at Chess* being a case in point.⁴³

However, the idea that there was a relatively liberal system of regulation has not met with universal approval. Anthony R. Thompson has argued that whilst the studies of Cust, Cogswell, and Lambert account for the presence of certain critical voices during Charles' personal rule, the depiction of a censor "more concerned with regulating trade than suppressing dissident" is highly inaccurate.⁴⁴ Anthony Milton has argued that religious works were subject to a system treading a 'middle path' somewhere between "the all-embracing east European-style censorship depicted by Christopher Hill...[and]

⁴² Holstun, *Ehud's Dagger*, p.145 n.6.

⁴³ Sheila Lambert, "State Control of the Press in Theory and in Practice: The Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640" in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600-1910* (Winchester, 1992), pp.1-32 and "Printers and the Government 1604-1640" in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Aspects of Printing From 1600* (Oxford, 1987), pp.1-29; Cust, "News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England"; Cogswell, "Underground Verse" and *ibid*, "The Politics of Propaganda: Charles I and the People in the 1620s", *Journal of British Studies*, 29 (1990), 187-215. See also Blair Worden, "Literature and Political Censorship in Early Modern England" in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tomse (eds.), *Too Mighty to be Free: Censorship and the Press in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen, 1987), pp.45-62.

⁴⁴ Anthony R. Thompson, "Licensing the Press: The Career of G. R. Weckherlin During the Personal Rule of Charles I", *The Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp.655-56.

the essentially weak and permissive government line presented by other historians.”⁴⁵ In the field of literary and dramatic studies scholars have similarly begun to question and debate the validity of a creative consensus dedicated to the obsequious flattery of Charles, his court, and his affairs of state, reading instead into poetry and performance a subversive element working both with and without the consent of the Crown.⁴⁶

Yet whilst our understanding of how texts and performance were affected by regulations and censorship during the personal rule has been subject to a lively and often contentious debate, less certainty, and indeed conversation has informed our awareness of how this censorship relates to images. In legal terms, “every person or persons that shall hereafter print, or cause to be printed, any Bookes, Ballads, Charts, Portraiture, or any other thing” was required to add to it their name, and that of its author or maker as an imprint, according to the Star Chamber statute of 1637.⁴⁷ This re-emphasised the place of images alongside printed texts within the same regulatory system, and it is not unreasonable to analyse visual, in particular graphic material during this period as simply an extension of books and pamphlets. A letter written nine years earlier to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers Company by the King, reminds the Stationers “that his Majesties express will and pleasure is that hereafter none doe presume to print or publish any matters of newes, relations, histories, or other things, in prose or in verse, that have reference to matters and affaires of state without the view, approbation, and license of my secretarie Weckherlin, who is to acquaint me of such things as he shall find cause.”⁴⁸ With both prose and verse frequently implicit components of graphic satire, it seems sensible to surmise that the restrictions of the Royal censor applied to illustrated, as well as non-illustrated texts.

⁴⁵Anthony Milton, “Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England”, *The Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), p.650. See also Mark Bland, “Invisible Dangers: Censorship and the Subversion of Authority in Early Modern England”, *Proceedings of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 90 (1996), 151-93. On Hill see “Censorship and English Literature” in *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill*, 2 vols. (Brighton, 1985), I, 32-71.

⁴⁶Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987); Martin Butler, “Early Stuart Court Culture, Compliment or Criticism?”, *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), 425-35; Annabel Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison, 1984).

⁴⁷*A Decree of Starre-Chamber, Concerning Printing Made the Eleventh day of July Last Past* (London, 1637), sig.C4v-sig.D1.

⁴⁸Charles I to the Warden and Masters of the Stationers’ Company, 5 February 1628 (copy); British Library Additional MS 72439, fol.4.

The problem of addressing the censorship, and indeed, manipulation, of images is further exacerbated by the fact that evidence of potentially seditious, subversive visual material dating from the personal rule is particularly rare. This in itself raises a number of questions: is this absence a reflection of poor rates of survival, or were Charles' censors doing their job expressly well, strongly compromising the arguments of historians such as Sharpe and Cogswell? Or was this type of visual, political polemic simply not being produced at all? It is clear that certain instances of visual satire were in circulation at the beginning of Charles' reign, whether found between the pages of a book, or more openly, as in the case of the picture described by John Rous; by the 1630s however, evidence of satirical images, aimed overtly and aggressively at the court, is extremely rare.⁴⁹ Neither do we know of any individual being heavily punished by the Caroline judiciary system for the production or dissemination of politically offensive prints in the manner of Samuel Ward, or the later, Exclusion Crisis-era example of Stephen College.⁵⁰ Poor survival rates are unlikely, given the existence of a range of portrait engravings, printed fashion plates and sets of allegorical figures, all contemporary with this absence of political polemic.⁵¹

It appears that the type of subversive material critiquing home politics and policies during this period, whether subtly veiled in dramatic or literary performance, or circulated through rumour, word of mouth or the difficult-to-trace manuscript form, simply did not translate into an easily distributable pictorial form. In practical terms, lines of scurrilous verse could be privately produced and duplicated, whilst a sophisticated satirical print in the manner of *The Description of Sir Giles Mompesson* was subject to a far greater number of conditions from its conception to circulation including suitable artisans, surreptitious (or overseas) printing presses, and limited print runs, in the face of growing official interest in printed ephemera with regard to

⁴⁹ One conspicuous exception is that of *The Kingly Cocke*, a clear lampoon on the English king and court by Crispijn de Passe the younger. However, its Dutch and English letterpress, combined with its foreign imprint, make it highly unlikely to have been conceived of for an exclusively English audience. See Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny*, pp.346-49.

⁵⁰ Although Henry Gosson was sent briefly to Bridewell in 1632 for printing a ballad "wherein all the histories of the bible were scurrilously abused...", it can be strongly conjectured that this was a financially, rather than politically motivated offence; Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp.43-44; Thompson, "Licensing the Press", p.664. On the trial and execution of Stephen College see B. J. Rahn, "A Ra-ree Show - A Rare Cartoon: Revolution and Propaganda in the Treason Trial of Stephen College" in Paul J. Korshin (ed.), *Studies in Change and Revolution: Aspects of English Intellectual History, 1640-1800* (London, 1972), pp.77-98.

⁵¹ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, pp.105-32.

ensorship and control. A combination of these factors appears to have compromised the development of political graphic satire during Charles' eleven year personal rule; however, the advent of more auspicious conditions for the production of printed political ephemera were soon to arrive.

IV

Symbolic and ritual humiliation continued to shadow Giles Mompesson following the events of 1621. Philip Massinger's 1625 play *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* brought something of the exile back to London, its villainous central character Sir Giles Overreach being a finely drawn parody of Mompesson, a greedy city merchant and social climber, hungry for money, power and social status. It has been suggested that by the time of Massinger's play, Mompesson's name was synonymous with, and had come to stand for all abuses of monopolies and patents; furthermore, Sir Giles' inextricable connections with George Villiers were all too suggestive of a corrupt favouritism working at the very highest levels of society.⁵² Despite the sentence of perpetual banishment passed upon him, Mompesson had returned to England on a permanent basis by 1630. Not surprisingly, he soon aroused controversy. In April 1631 he was in the Forest of Dean, enclosing and 'improving' an area of land purportedly granted to his kinsman, Sir Edward Villiers, by James I, by erecting fences and digging for coals. This appropriation of the land led to a riot amongst the local people, who pulled down the fences and retaliated with a striking display of contempt, "by sound of drum and ensigns in most rebellious manner, carrying a picture or statue apparelled like Mompesson and with great noise and clamour threw it into the coalpits which the said Sir Giles had digged."⁵³

Once again, Mompesson's misdemeanours find themselves translated into visual form. This treatment of an image or effigy as a suitable surrogate for the man himself, underlines the emphasis placed upon the symbolic elements of the visual image, as well

⁵² Margot Heinemann, "Drama and Opposition in the 1620s: Middleton and Massinger" in J. R. Mulryne and M. Shewring (eds.), *Theatre and Government Under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.256-57.

⁵³ *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper*, 3 vols. (London, 1888-89), I, 429-30, quoted in Ingram, "Ridings, Rough Music and the 'Reform of Popular Culture'", p.91. See also Buchanan Sharp, *In Contempt of All Authority: Rural Artisans and Riot in the West of England, 1586-1660* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980), pp.95-96.

as its aesthetic value, by a seventeenth-century audience. It echoes attitudes towards painted portraits of William Prynne, produced during his passing through Chester en route to exile in North Wales in 1637. The authorities in the city seized the portraits and ordered them to be publicly defaced and burned; their destruction however, was mistakenly carried out in private, with the public ritual of burning then carried out on all that was left of them: their frames.⁵⁴ The distinction between Prynne's portrait, and the frame which housed it is negligible, both being considered suitable substitutes for the exiled author. This focus upon the symbolic rather than aesthetic rendering of an individual is underlined by the representation of Mompesson which is dominated not by the medium of portraiture, but through the use of emblematic, recognisable motifs and ideas; his is an identity with roots in traditions, stereotypes and proverbs as well as texts, drama and imagery. What we might term the aesthetic appeal of such examples of graphic satire, was matched by symbolic elements. As we will now go on to examine, such ideas and motifs were easily recycled and reworked into later debates, concerning the monopolist's place and worth in the seventeenth-century political sphere.

Although the quixotic figure of Giles Mompesson had fled to an enforced exile in France, the monopolies scandal which had dogged him refused to go away. It is therefore unsurprising that the name of Sir Giles Mompesson was to be further redeployed as a derogatory term, as new scandals linked to the financial dealings of the crown surfaced in the early 1640s. The suppression of monopolies appeared to have been secured under James I, with his condemnation of the phenomena in 1621 following the Mompesson debacle, and the official reintroduction of a bill against monopolies during the 1624 parliament.⁵⁵ However, a financially beneficial loophole for the crown stated that the bill did not apply to chartered companies and corporations. As such, during the eleven years of Charles I's 'personal' rule, between 1629 and 1640, the crown was legally entitled to grant monopolies to such companies, itself in consequence reaping significant financial rewards, allowing the king to govern without

⁵⁴ David Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford, 2000), pp.226-29. Similar incidences of symbolic violence involving the image of Elizabeth I, are discussed in Louis A. Montrose, "Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I", *Representations*, 68 (1999), 108-61.

⁵⁵ This declaration of illegality is discussed in Elizabeth R. Foster, "The Procedure of the House of Commons against Patents and Monopolies, 1621-1624" in William Appleton Aiken and Basil Duke Henning, (eds.), *Conflict in Stuart England* (London, 1960), pp.57-85; Chris R. Kyle, "'But a New Button to an Old Coat': the Enactment of the Statute of Monopolies, 21 James I cap.3", *Journal of Legal History*, 19 (1998), 203-23.

the need to recall parliament and request funds.⁵⁶ For the public, as monopolies extended to everyday items such as soap, coal and wine, the business of the crown began to impinge upon the money in their pockets. During the opening sessions of the Long Parliament in November 1640, these growing grievances provoked as much discord as during the parliamentary debates of 1621 and their condemnation by the general population was unanimous. According to one anonymous pamphleteer reporting on parliament's proceedings, those patents "that were pretended for the common good, but aimed at particular mens profits, as the Patents for Cards, Dice, Pins, Soap, Leather, and such like were utterly damned."⁵⁷

If monopolies and patents were a reviled phenomena in 1640s London, then those involving the Vintners' Company were considered by many as their very nadir. During the late 1630s the Company entered into such an agreement with the crown, with distinct financial benefits attractive to both parties.⁵⁸ A monopoly on wine was set up under the responsibility of William Abell, an Alderman of the City and member of the Vintners' Company, with Richard Kilvert, an ecclesiastical lawyer, acting as an agent and intermediary on behalf of the crown. In return for paying forty shillings per tun duty on wine imported from the Continent, a monopoly was granted which gave the vintners exclusive rights: to buy and sell wine, to add up to two pence per quart to their prices, and to manage the forty shillings duty in the form of a customs farm. In return for a fixed lump sum of £30,000 paid annually to the crown the Company would be able to collect the duty themselves, a variable amount dependent on the amount of wine coming into the country. The wine project was not a success; by 1640 the raised prices of wine, beer and tobacco, combined with rumours about the great profits being enjoyed by the group of customs farmers who were meeting the £30,000 fee to the Crown, in particular Alderman Abell, prompted a chorus of disapproval from the pamphlet press. According to one broadside, the city wits and poets had as a result been driven from the taverns

⁵⁶ Roger Lockyer, *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603-1642*, 2nd edn. (London and New York, 1999), pp.134-35. On the relationship between the crown and the city companies during this period see Robert Aston, *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* (Cambridge, 1979); Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution* (Oxford, 1961).

⁵⁷ *Old Newes Newly Reviv'd* (London, 1641), sig.A2.

⁵⁸ The complex business of the wine monopoly paraphrased above is described in greater detail in André Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade in England*, 3 vols. (London, 1906), III, 42-63 and Ann Crawford, *A History of the Vintners' Company* (London, 1977), pp.113-127; Crawford's study is in parts heavily indebted to Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, pp.289-91.

and their usual distractions, and forced instead to compose their own, alternative entertainment:

The wittie Poets dare scarcely adventure into a Taverne...for feare of being arraigned at the Barre for the odd two pences arising upon each severall Pottle: and therefore instead of Encominiums on the excellence of virtuall Canary, they all write nipping Satyres against the base extortion of this ravenous Citie Member, who makes himselfe merry with other mens misery...

claimed *An Exact Legendary Compendiously Containing the Whole Life of Alderman Abel*.⁵⁹ The poets were indeed industrious with their ‘nipping satyres’ and much more: an order was issued by the king demanding the suppression of *The Whore New Vamped*, a drama staged by the players of the Red Bull, which contained explicit, satirical references to the wine monopolists.⁶⁰ “Kilvert and Abell petitioned of late, that they might make buttons for the whole state...” was the refrain being sung up and down the City streets, whilst one broadsheet noted of Abel with some irony, how “every man limnes his Picture, and scarce any Stationer in Towne, but has some Pamphlet, Sonnet or Ballet in his praise.”⁶¹

Wenceslaus Hollar was one such man who limned Abel’s picture, his etching of a small-scale, head and shoulder portrait testimony to the celebrity and the notoriety being experienced by the alderman (fig.55). Hollar’s portrait works on several levels. On one hand it is a specific and accurately-drawn likeness of a newsworthy individual; on the other, it forms a sharply satirical critique of Abel’s activities as a monopolist. The barrels of wine at his shoulder are self-explanatory attributes in themselves, as is the smaller keg under his arm. Above his head however, the tavern sign of the Bell next to the letter A, accompanied by an ivy bush, are slightly more subtle in their observations. Just as the letters of Giles Mompesson’s name had been twisted and rearranged for satire and sport in the early 1620s, so too Abel found his own name turning to mock and deride him. Mompesson’s lexical links with Empson and Dudley suggested a fitting fate at the end of a rope; Abel’s end was similarly longed for, as expressed in one pamphlet dialogue between a butcher and a brewer:

⁵⁹ *An Exact Legendary Compendiously Containing the Whole Life of Alderman Abel, the Maine Projecter and Patentee for the Raising of Wines* (n.p., 1641).

⁶⁰ Simon, *The History of the Wine Trade*, p.46.

⁶¹ British Library Harley MS 4931 fol.85; *An Exact Legendary Compendiously Containing the Whole Life of Alderman Abel*.

Kilcalfe: ...There is A-Bell (and one of the greatest in the Town) lately falne from Aldermanry Church, and some say it is burst all in peeces.

Hop: Well Sir what can this hurt you or me, but say this Bell be broke, it may be new cast and hanged and all will be well again...⁶²

The combination of the tavern and its signboard in Hollar's portrait echo the familiar structure of the gallows, again intimating the popular belief that if the Alderman was hanged, all would indeed 'be well again.' This visual hint, like the 'hanging' sign of the Bell in *The Description of Giles Mompesson* appears more subtle and teasing than certain images encountered by the Earl of Strafford several years earlier. Writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury in the summer of 1637 he recalled certain experiences in York: "I was libelled all over that part of the kingdom...my Lord Treasurer that was, and myself, painted upon gibbets, our names underwrit with a great deal of poetry besides..."⁶³

Whilst the ivy bush was understood in an emblematic sense as the sign of the vintner, its outward association with the vintner's merchandise was not always a positive one. The phrase above Abel's head warning that 'Good wine needs no bush', was a similarly established sentiment, echoing an adage recorded by Richard Taverner over a century earlier:

Wyne that is saleable and good nedeth no bushe or garland of yuye to be hanged before...so all good thynges need no commendation of any outward badge or token. Good merchaundyse and also pure and substanciall thynges of that kynd so ever they be, do prayse themselves.⁶⁴

Taverner's observations, translated from an earlier, Erasmian proverb, were duly noted by Henry Hutton, and set down for an early seventeenth-century readership in his *Follie's Anatomie* of 1619: "'Tis an olde proverbe, Good wine needes no bushe...To praise good works 'twere shame, indigne, and vile, For none but counterfeits do prayse their stile."⁶⁵ Similarly, the epilogue to Shakespeare's *As You Like It* self-deprecatingly notes, that "If it be true that good wine needs no bush, 'tis true that a good play needs no

⁶² *The Lamentable Complaints of Hop the Brewer and Kilcalfe the Butcher* (n.p., 1641), sig.A2-sig.A2v. As in Giles Mompesson's case, the execution of the monopolists was widely anticipated; "A penny to 'em from each pint of Sacke, If money helpe them not, their neckes must cracke..." runs a verse in the 1641 pamphlet *Old Newes Newly Reviv'd*.

⁶³ Bellany, "Libels in Action", p.99.

⁶⁴ Richard Taverner, *Proverbes or Adagies* (London, 1539), fol.42v.

⁶⁵ Henry Hutton, *Follie's Anatomie, or Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams* (London, 1619), n.pag.

epilogue.”⁶⁶ In Hollar’s portrait these sentiments are exploited to damning effect: the outward signifiers of Abel’s name and trade – the letter A, the bell and the bush – need to be hung before him to identify him; his wine therefore, is not saleable and his business no good. Alderman Abel had indeed kept a successful tavern in the city, not the Bell, but at the sign of the Ship; in fictional exchanges he now rues the transformation of both his establishment and his reputation, as illustrated in Hollar’s portrait:

Abel: I would I had kept my Tavern still in old Fish-Street, for then I was counted an honest man.

Kilv: Yea, to have tooke a way the signe of the Ship, and to have had a Bel hang’d in the roome of it.

Abel: Thou hast bin mine undoing...⁶⁷

The visual motif of the Bell tavern, with its vintner’s bush and the identifying letter A, were to become as intrinsically linked with Alderman Abel as his ill-judged partnership with Richard Kilvert, as pamphleteers and broadsheet polemicists appropriated this play on words and images.⁶⁸ Others went further: the frontispiece to *The Copie of a Letter Sent From the Roaring Boyes in Elizium* (1641) directly translates Hollar’s portrait of the Alderman with all its witty details, into woodcut, along with a pendant image of his counterpart Kilvert (fig.56). No etching by Hollar of Kilvert is known, and it is quite possible that none was ever executed; Kilvert’s own woodcut portrait appears generalised and ill-proportioned in comparison to the accurately copied and more finely detailed depiction of Abel. The alderman bore the brunt of the printing presses’ censure, his name attracting lexical as well as visual attention, in the manner of his notorious predecessor Mompesson, or ‘moe-empson’. The name of Abel as much as that of Cain had become imbued with an unnatural villainy, as one of Thomas Heywood’s pamphlets mused:

*Abel and Cain were shepherds (the Text saies)
But which is strange, turnd Vintners in these days.*

⁶⁶ William Shakespeare, *As You Like It* (1600) edited by Michael Hattaway (Cambridge, 2000), epilogue.

⁶⁷ Thomas Heywood, *A Dialogue or Accidental Discourse Betwixt Mr Alderman Abell and Richard Kilvert the Two Maine Projectors for Wine and Also Alderman Abels Wife, &c.* (London, 1641), p.8.

⁶⁸ See for example, *An Exact Legendary Compendiously Containing the Whole Life of Alderman Abel*; Heywood, *A Dialogue or Accidental Discourse*; *Old Newes Newly Reviv’d*.

The wicked *Caine* his brother *Abel* slew:
Which in these brother Vintners proves not true.
For unto this day, *Caine* keepes up his signe,
But *Abel* lyes drownd in his *Medium* wine.⁶⁹

Such sentiments are echoed further by Kilvert himself, in another exchange declaring “Indeed, we read that in old time Caine kild Abel, but now Abell kils Caine...”⁷⁰ Alderman Abel’s guilt is confirmed and underlined through the significance of his name, just as Mompesson’s lexical links to Richard Empson condemned him in the eyes of both parliament and public.

Another key factor in the imagined downfall of both Mompesson and Abell involves their interaction with women, in particular the consequences of such women getting the upper hand. In *The Description of Giles Mompesson Former Knight*, Mompesson’s authority initially comes into question as he encounters a feisty ale-wife; in a striking parallel, Abell’s supposed relationship with his wife is brought into play as a metaphor for his own ineptitude and greed. The purportedly biographical *Exact Legendary Compendiously Containing the Whole Life of Alderman Abel* of 1641 introduces the character of Isabel Abell. At the point of her husband realising the financial implications of his wine patent Isabel, pictured busy with domestic chores, is possessed of a similar greed (fig.57). ‘I hope my Mate will raise my state’, she muses expectantly as she toils, her pose with spit in hand echoing something of the aggressive stance adopted by the ale-wife in the earlier *Description of Giles Mompesson*. In a neat reiteration of Mompesson’s flaws, Abel the later monopolist is also portrayed as a weak man, his avarice bolstered here by the growing demands of his overbearing spouse. Such behaviour is repeated in the pamphlet dialogue *The Last Discourse Betwixt Master Abel and Master Richard Kilvert* (1640). Here the ubiquitous pair are joined by the mysterious figure of “an ancient and angry Gentlewoman who...was conceived by [the narrator] to be a certaine friend of Mr Abels”. This woman appears familiar in the guise of a keen social climber, albeit one suffering the consequences of Abel and Kilvert’s fall from grace, as her irate speech reveals:

Shall I who was companion for the best City Ladies, who had my coach and my horses to carry me when and where I pleased, be contented now to sit at the lower end of the table, as if I was little better forsooth then one of

⁶⁹ Thomas Heywood, *Reader Here You’ll Plainly See Judgement Perverted by These Three: a Priest, a Judge, a Patentee* (n.p., 1641), p.6.

⁷⁰ Heywood, *A Dialogue or Accidental Discourse*, p.8.

the scullery...must I indure that my velvet and my damaske Gownes should bee diswardrob'd into some red Peticote or Wastecoate, or some worse Polony Jumpe; I marry! what will the people say? here is a fine jumpe indeed, from honour to infamy, from wealth to want, from bravery to rags...⁷¹

Her 'friend' Mr Abel seems very much the cuckold as he advises Kilvert in the light of her words, "She had always an high and perilous spirit, I pray beare with her Master Kilvert."⁷² Just as Giles Mompesson is upstaged by a feisty ale-wife in *The Description...*, so too Mistress Abel is portrayed as taking the upper hand with her husband in a contentious and belligerent fashion. The title page woodcut to *The Last Discourse* (fig.58) makes this behaviour clear in the plainest of pictorial terms: the alderman's female companion neatly divides Abel and Kilvert with a gesture of aggression and protest, her outstretched arms visually driving a barrier between the pair.

This notion of female dominance and role reversal is further alluded to in another pamphlet satire, Thomas Heywood's *A Dialogue or Accidental Discourse Betwixt Mr Alderman Abell and Richard Kilvert* of 1641. At the close of their fictional and apparently clandestine exchange, Abel and Kilvert are confronted by an angry mob and swiftly depart, the text concluding that "their next meeting is to bee expected either at the Barre where they are to be arraigned, or the place appointed for their punishment", before adding a woodcut illustrating "The manner and forme how Projectors and Patentees have rode a Tylling in a Parliament time."⁷³ This ceremony (fig.59) deliberately recalls the ritual punishment meted out to Francis Michell, and in absence to Giles Mompesson, who in 1621 would have faced a humiliating journey ridden through the London streets with his face to a horse's tail, had he not escaped to France. It is a scene which also evokes the spirit of the *charivari* or skimmington ride, a community-centred form of castigation practiced in early modern England. This ritual shaming was commonly employed to punish a cuckolded husband and his domineering wife; effigies of, or the spouses themselves were ridden backwards through a clamorous and boisterous crowd, an assembly armed with drums, bells, pots and pans. Such crowds were often bolstered by groups of men armed with real, or improvised weapons such as pitchforks and cudgels, the entire assembly giving rise to a dissonant and

⁷¹ *The Last Discourse Betwixt Master Abel and Master Richard Kilvert*, p.1.

⁷² *The Last Discourse Betwixt Master Abel and Master Richard Kilvert*, p.2.

⁷³ Heywood, *A Dialogue or Accidental Discourse*, p.8.

cacophonous din known as ‘rough music’.⁷⁴ These details correspond to the woodcut illustrating *A Dialogue or Accidental Discourse*, which pictures an armed crowd mocking and jeering, the leading figure beating a drum, and the rider carrying a banner displaying the lyrics of a simple rhyme or song. It represents not the punishment of a patentee but an actual or idealised skimmington ride; this image of the *charivari* has then been inserted into Heywood’s text, both adding visual interest and appeal, and subtly referring to the parallel castigation of the monopolist. The *charivari* represented a highly visual and dramatic form of social inversion. It derided and humiliated individuals, the cuckolded husband for example, whose behaviour undermined the acceptable hierarchical relationship between man and wife, using vivid motifs of chaos and disorder: the clamorous music, the throwing of mud and filth, and so on. The *charivari* served to sharply contrast this behaviour with the concord achieved through a more traditional marital relationship, and through a sanctioned and temporary ritual promoted the idea of good governance and social stability within the entire community. This temporary form of inversion is itself in contrast with that seemingly experienced by Alderman Abel and his wife; through dominating and cuckolding her husband, and attempting to rise above her own social station, Isabel Abel fuels and furthers his ambitions for personal rather than public gain. This unacceptable reversal of the correct order of society comes at a high price, initially for a public forced to pay over the odds for their sack and canary wine, but ultimately for Alderman Abel himself. An albeit fictional *charivari* goes some way to redressing the imbalance prompted by Abel’s weakness and greed.

The treatment of Abel and Kilvert by the pamphleteers of the early 1640s demonstrates both a thematic and visual dependence upon earlier precedents. The spectre of Mompesson, as well as those of Empson and Dudley are clearly recalled in the construction of the wine monopolists as public enemies, using a descriptive language with origins in tradition, inversion, custom and ceremony. Just as Wenceslaus Hollar’s etching of *Time Carrying the Pope to Rome* (fig.47) expresses religious concerns upon the eve of the Civil War, through the isolation of a motif from a broadsheet of 1624, so too the critiquing of Abel and Kilvert looks to previous decades,

⁷⁴ Martin Ingram, “Ridings, Rough Music and the ‘Reform of Popular Culture’ in Early Modern England”, *Past and Present*, 105 (1984), p.86. On the *charivari* see also Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England, 1550-1750* (London and New York, 1998), pp.155-61; David Underdown, “The Taming of the Shrew: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England” in A. Fletcher and J. Stephenson (eds.), *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp.116-36; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1987), pp.97-123.

not least to the model of Giles Mompesson. That this pictorial vocabulary of political satire emerging during the early 1640s has clear roots in the visual culture of the 1620s, is of great historiographical significance. Scholarly debates concerning the causes and origins of the political and religious dissatisfactions which led to the English civil war have long divided historians. Ultimately, to pinpoint definitive reasons why the early 1640s saw a series of ideological upheavals, culminating in civil war, is a reductive exercise. However, the fact that graphic observations on such upheavals draw upon these earlier precedents, gives weight to the theories of certain historians regarding these contentious ‘origins’. The use of an earlier visual vocabulary by satirists and polemicists to comment upon these unfolding events, additionally reinforces the longer-term roots of graphic culture in early modern England; the academic isolation of the 1640s as a significant watershed in the development of the English print, is again compromised.

V

The revival of the ‘plague of pence’ during the 1630s was not confined to the trade in alcohol alone. With the granting of monopolies impinging upon the public’s coffers and confidence, monopolists in a far broader sense found themselves open to censure, by poets and pamphleteers as well as politicians. As the Long Parliament opened, the Suffolk rector John Rous noted down some topical verses in his diary, the first few lines indicating the speed and enthusiasm with which a creative and critical response to matters in Westminster and Whitehall was being mustered and circulated:

You crafty projectors why hang you your heads
Promoted informed what are you all dead?
Or will you beyond sea to frolike and playe
With Sr Giles Montpeston who led you the way?
If Simson (sic) and dudley have left you the lotte
A twist readie spun God have mercy good Scotte...⁷⁵

These verses were evidently popular, their survival in a number of copies suggesting their being widely disseminated and read in manuscript form by keen information gatherers such as Rous.⁷⁶ However, this re-emergence of the projector as a vilified

⁷⁵ *The Diary of John Rous*, pp.110-111.

⁷⁶ See for example, British Library Harley MS 4931, fols. 165-168v and SP16/472/65 for extant copies of these verses.

character was by no means limited to privately disseminated material; he inspired in print a copious collection of pamphlet texts, inflammatory broadsides and dramatic exchanges, each revealing a loathed persona more intent than ever on bringing down the financial and hierarchical structure of the country from within. Thomas Brugis' *The Discovery of a Projector* (1641) is typical in its character assassination:

...verily hee is the very Corne-cutter of the age where he lives, and hath a notable fault in the unsteadinesse of his hand, by reason whereof he doth often thrust his knife into the tender parts of a Common-wealth, to the very quicke, and never leaves until he have brought out the very Coare of their purses: he imployes all his time, labour, study and experience onely to search out the abuses of every Place, Profession, and mystery whatsoever, next his greatest study is to propose the faire outside of a Reformation, and this he begins with a Petition to his Majestie, with such mighty pretences of enriching the Kingdome, that he dares more impudently to affirme that it shall bring to his Majestie, his Heires and Successors for even many thousands yearly...⁷⁷

Reiterating the character of Sir Giles Mompesson, the projector has once again assumed an identity exactly at odds with the image of a loyal and honest servant of both crown and country. These are sentiments further echoed in the visual representation of the projector as the parody of an established motif of discretion, diligence and trust, as pictured in *The Complaint of M.Tenter-hooke the Projector, and Sir Thomas Dodger the Patentee* of 1640 (fig.60). This illustrated broadside with verses composed by John Taylor, represents the projector Tenter-hooke as a peculiar composite creature made up of the pins, soap, cards, coals and so on which by 1640 were the subject of so much controversy; the long hooks of his name act as substitute fingers, used to pull the sacks of money which will fill Sir Thomas Dodger's chest and line his pockets. Taylor's text introduces the pair using the familiar language of an unnatural greed and insatiable hunger:

If any aske, what things these Monsters be,
Tis a Projector, and a Patentee:
Such, as like Vermine or'e this Land did crawle,
And grew so rich, they gain'd the Devill and all...

Such verminous monsters were the immediate offspring of "one Sir *Giles Mompesson*, a Moderne Caterpillar and poler of the Common Wealth" and "one Sir

⁷⁷ Thomas Brugis, *The Discovery of a Projector* (London, 1641), sig.B2-B2v. Such sentiments are paraphrased in Thomas Heywood, *Hogs Character of a Projector* (London, 1642), p.2.

Francis Mitchell, a jolly Iustice of Peace for *Middlesex* in the Suburbes of *London*, another notable Cankerworme...”⁷⁸ They were imagined as voracious swarms of locusts, and denounced in parliament as “These Blood-suckers of the Kingdom, and Vipers of the Commonwealth, which have misled the King.”⁷⁹ Certain authors were less sympathetic in their connection of the crown with this predatory behaviour; according to Thomas Heywood, a vocal opponent of the monopoly system, “the bravest Projectors...in short time may bee dignified with the title of Knight of the Post, or Canker Generall of the Commonwealth...”, recalling in his criticism of current practices the preferments freely handed out by King James via Buckingham to men such as Mompesson and Michell.⁸⁰

In *The Complaint of M.Tenter-hooke* the name of Sir Thomas, who claims that he and Tenter-hooke have similarly been brought ‘to ruine by a Parliament...’, alludes once again to a monopoly system bound up with the gentry and aristocratic favouritism, personified most notoriously by Buckingham and his associates. This implicit connection between class aspiration and corruption is reflected in the choice of illustration accompanying a pamphlet satire of 1642, *The Projectors Downfall: or, Times Changeling* (fig.61). Framed by cautionary verses, this ‘monopolist’ and ‘patentee’ are in fact the stock characters of a gentleman and lady, taken from woodblocks used to embellish ballad romances, here inserted into the text to add visual interest. In this instance however, their gaudy and elaborate costumes serve to emphasise the correlation between the monopolist and personal wealth and gain, rather than exaggerating the fantasy status of the ballad hero and his beautiful lover.

In contrast, the unusual and highly individualised figure of Tenter-hooke in *The Complaint of M.Tenter-hooke* suggests a more direct relevance between image and text. This composite creature rendered in woodcut appears to have been copied directly from a contemporary etching by Wenceslaus Hollar of *The Picture of a Pattenty* (fig.62): the accompanying verses to this sheet similarly denote the patentee as a creature of insatiable appetites, a ‘Wolfe like devourer of the Common wealth’, exposed by parliament. This patentee is again composed of the elements of his dissolute existence: pins, salt, soap and coals. His ‘Hogs-head’ along with a flagon of wine in particular

⁷⁸ *The Priviledges and Practice of Parliaments in England* (London, 1640), p.25.

⁷⁹ Heywood, *Reader Here You’l Plainly See*, p.4; *Commons Journals*, I, 539. See also Leeds University Library, Brotherton MS Lt 28, fol.4v for verses on the subject of the ‘verminous’ monopolist.

⁸⁰ Thomas Heywood, *Machiavels Ghost, as he Lately Appeared to his Deare Sons, the Moderne Projectors Divulged for the Pretended Good of the kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1641), sig.B4.

stress his involvement in one of the most contentious and vocally disparaged of the monopolies, that involving the Vintners' Company.

Hollar's own model for this patentee's unusual appearance can be further traced to a series of engravings, *Litis Abusus*, attributed to the Dutch engraver Hendrick Goltzius. Dated to 1597, this allegorical series features the curious character of 'Lis', that is quarrel or litigation, with familiar porcine features, hooks for hands and screws for feet, being led astray by his insatiable greed.⁸¹ In one such print (fig.63), Lis' intentions are confirmed by a biblical quotation inscribed below, stating that 'Avarice is the root of all evil; it is through this craving that some have wandered away from the faith.'⁸² Such temptations were easily ascribed to the universally reviled character of the patentee.

Goltzius' work would have been familiar to certain audiences in seventeenth-century London; in 1634 Henry Peacham advised the readers of *The Compleat Gentleman* that his engravings could be found in the print shops of Pope's Head Alley, and it is possible that copies of *Litis Abusus* formed part of this oeuvre.⁸³ His designs were certainly being appropriated and revised by English artists prior to Peacham's advice; a Goltzius engraving of a pike bearer published in 1582 for example, forms the basis of a miniature of c.1590 by Nicholas Hilliard, depicting George Clifford, the third Earl of Cumberland.⁸⁴ It is interesting to note Hollar's own usage of Goltzius, as he clearly adapts the central character of *Litis Abusus*, in the same way that his *Time and the Pope* discussed in Chapter Two isolates a motif from an earlier engraving. These 'borrowings' imply a particular, commercial demand on the part of audiences during the early 1640s, for political and satirical images produced swiftly in response to topical events; based upon striking and relevant iconography, such prints are in absolute opposition to the creative and aesthetic individualism which studies of Hollar's oeuvre have demonstrated him to be capable of.

In addition to the character of Lis, the composite motif of Tenter-hooke and *The Pattenty* also alludes to, and in this instance parodies a further image, the emblem of *The Trusty Servant*. In March 1577 a printed image was entered into the Stationers' Registers as 'The pourtraiture of A trusty servant'; although the print itself is now lost,

⁸¹ This series and their relevance to Hollar's etching is discussed in some detail in Jones, "English Broadsides", pp.160-63; they are also attributed to Goltzius in Walter L. Strauss, *Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617: The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*, 2 vols. (New York, 1977), II, 642.

⁸² Timothy 6:10.

⁸³ Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, p.128.

⁸⁴ Susan Doran (ed.), *Elizabeth: the Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*, exh.cat (London, National Maritime Museum, 2003), p.96.

we can gauge its appearance from a wall painting dating from the 1580s located at Winchester College, which may itself have been an adaptation of the print.⁸⁵ The painting, last reworked during the early nineteenth century by William Cave, depicts this character, or ‘hircocervus’ as a combination of human and animal parts; the feet of a hind ensure speed in carrying out duties, the ears of an ass signify one who listens well, the snout of a hog effectively seeks what work is needed to be done, and so on (fig.64). This composite figure, a well-understood emblem of hard and honest work, also mentioned in numerous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts, stands in absolute opposition to Hollar’s parodic *Pattenty*, which abuses its position as a servant and instrument of the crown, and labours only for its own gain.⁸⁶

The iconography of *The Trusty Servant* is not an exclusively English one, with analogous versions also known on the continent.⁸⁷ An Italian etching of 1569 (fig.65) portrays a more specific member of the domestic household, *Instruments of Human Sustenance: Cooking*, formed by a series of pans, pots, cutlery and so on, which is likely to have formed a pendant to the portrait of a female cook now known only in sketched form (fig.66). Such anthropometric portraits could claim a recent European tradition, made popular through the composite heads of Guiseppe Arcimboldo, painter at the Hapsburg court of Rudolf II at Prague between 1562 and 1593.⁸⁸ Whilst scholars continue to contest the extent to which Arcimboldo’s portraits represent mere pictorial fancies, it is clear that this anthropomorphic technique was a successful allegorical tool. A German broadsheet of 1577 (fig.67) pictures a portrait in profile constructed from the instruments of Catholic faith and worship, an arresting image with highly sinister and menacing characteristics. This ‘Gorgoneum Caput’ entered the imagination of the English public in 1581 with the publication of Stephen Batman’s apocalyptic text *The Doome*, which whilst condensing the German woodcut into a small-scale illustration (fig.68), does little to lessen the ominous effect of the composite portrait. In contrast to the more fanciful, and visually playful representations of household servants, images

⁸⁵ Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, II, 138. Later printed examples of the ‘Trusty Servant’ composite are discussed in O’Connell, *The Popular Print in England*.

⁸⁶ Mark Thornton Burnett, “The ‘Trusty Servant’: A Sixteenth-Century English Emblem”, *Emblematica*, 6 (1992), 237-53.

⁸⁷ Giles Waterfield, Anne French and Matthew Craske, *Below Stairs: Four Hundred Years of Servants’ Portraits*, exh.cat (London, National Portrait Gallery, 2003), p.9.

⁸⁸ On Guiseppe Arcimboldo see Karl Hulten (ed.), *The Arcimboldo Effect: Transformations of the Face from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, exh.cat (Venice, Palazzo Grassi, 1987); Giancarlo Maiorino, *The Portrait of Eccentricity. Arcimboldo and the Mannerist Grottesque* (University Park, 1991).

such as this sinister Catholic composite reinforce the monstrous and threatening qualities of the anthropomorphic figure, anticipating and influencing the characters of *Lis*, *Tenter-hooke* and *The Pattenty*.

This visual construction of the figure of the monopolist demonstrates a clear exchange and interplay between European and English sources. As with the contemporary lampooning of Abel and Kilvert, the roots of this graphic satire can be found far further back than the early 1640s. In the light of this evidence, M. Dorothy George's influential assertion that "If the symbolism of the Middle Ages and the Reformation was the seed-bed of the English cartoon, its nursery was the Great Rebellion, when many of the perennial devices of the political caricaturist made a seemingly first appearance", appears compromised.⁸⁹ Certainly, the decades prior to the English Civil War saw political graphic satire laying important foundations for the development of later pictorial polemic; however, much politically-infused imagery of the early 1640s had first appeared in mature, rather than embryonic form during these decades, their re-integration into political debate testimony to their influence and longevity. Furthermore, in this instance the pictorial origins of the monopolist are taken from a fusion of continental and native imagery and tradition, which has passed down from the previous century. The seamless translation of a number of established sources into a highly specific polemical motif suggests an awareness and understanding of these earlier examples highly at odds with post-Reformation audiences suffering from Patrick Collinson's supposed 'iconophobia', or the lack of visual consciousness diagnosed by Antony Griffiths.⁹⁰ It also highlights the extremely close relationship between London's printsellers and their equivalents in continental centres of the print trade such as Amsterdam and Paris. Recent studies by Anthony Well-Cole and Michael Bath have demonstrated the extent to which continental prints influenced interior decoration in both England and Scotland. However, their significant contribution towards visual culture during this period should not be limited to their translation into tapestry, wood carvings and wall paintings, but extended to expressions of political dissatisfaction.⁹¹ The notion of England as a country culturally isolated from the rest of Europe needs to be reassessed as our understanding of how the graphic arts, and in particular the graphic satire of this country engaged with a variety of outside influences, continues to develop.

⁸⁹ George, *English Political Caricature*, I, 14.

⁹⁰ Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.15.

⁹¹ Wells-Cole, *Art and Decoration in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*; Michael Bath, *Renaissance Decorative Painting in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2003).

Chapter Four

Loathing Laud: Anti-Episcopacy and Graphic Satire, 1640-1645

I

As the introduction to this thesis has suggested, historians and art historians have commonly discussed the politics of art and visual culture in early modern England in relatively narrow terms. Their focus has been upon the relationships between rulers and subjects fostered by the elite tastes of the court, citing the coded messages of hierarchy and authority communicated through the spectacle of the masque and the pageant, the formal royal portrait and courtly architecture. However, recent, revealing studies into the influence and effect of the pictorial images of both Charles I and Oliver Cromwell have begun to shift this emphasis away from the elite sphere of the court to consider more ‘popular’ forms of visual media as propaganda, the notion of mass-produced pictorial political ephemera circulating outside of the limits of the court has been widely assumed to be a late seventeenth, and eighteenth-century phenomenon.¹ A perceived gulf exists between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture during this earlier period; however, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, graphic satire worked as a highly effective vehicle for the interplay between such categories of visual representation.

This was particularly evident in the satirical print’s relationship with portraiture. The elite, official portrait, frequently operated as a marker of power, influence and wealth.² As such, the assimilation of its study into that of seventeenth-century court culture has been a seamless one. Yet art, politics and power formed an interdependent triumvirate whose influence spread far wider than the establishment of authority, and the representation of rule and kingship. By contrast, some of the more interesting instances of this influence occur when authority has been usurped, and the weaknesses of individuals are acerbically exploited in pictorial form. One notorious example is that of the ill-fated Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573-1645), who during the early 1640s found his official, portrait image subjected to an enthusiastic lampooning in broadsheets, ballads and pamphlets. Laud was all too aware of such hostile treatment, complaining of ‘base pictures of me; putting me in a cage, and fastning me to a post by

¹ Tim Harris’ *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* provides an excellent survey of such material during the later seventeenth century.

² John Peacock, “The Politics of Portraiture” in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp.199-228.

a chain at my shoulder, and the like.’³ Yet these base pictures were far more than crude assaults on the archbishop’s character; as this chapter will suggest, the pictorial treatment of Laud and his bishops formed an integral part of a multifaceted propaganda campaign against the Laudian church which attests to the underlying complexity of political ephemera in early modern England.

William Laud occupies an uncertain position within the religious and political history of early modern England. Despite recent calls for a reappraisal of both his character and career, the ill-fated archbishop remains a traditionally much-maligned figure, who paid the ultimate price for both his religious convictions and his status as one of Charles I’s chief advisors. Appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, Laud’s ecclesiastical regime and his attempts to enforce uniformity of worship upon congregations were to prove unpopular.⁴ Whilst the extent to which Laud personally attempted to steer the Church of England away from a broad and moderate Calvinism towards Arminianism remains contentious, his archbishopric saw the introduction of many controversial innovations which his opponents equated with a return to Catholicism.⁵ Moves such as the railing-off and elevation of the communion table, and the improvement of the visual fabric of the church interior, were generally viewed with suspicion by a majority of worshippers.⁶ Similarly, a particular emphasis on the importance of bishops within the hierarchical structure of the church, appeared ominously closer to the practices of the Church of Rome than the Church of England. According to one peculiar event recorded in Laud’s diary, even the Pope himself may have been uncertain as to the prelate’s religious leanings. A mysterious stranger approached Laud at Greenwich on the morning of his installation as Archbishop of Canterbury and offered to make him a

³ William Laud, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of that Reverend Father in God Archbishop Laud* (London, 1695), pp.179-80.

⁴ Nicholas Tyacke, “Archbishop Laud” in Kenneth Fincham (ed.), *The Early Stuart Church* (Basingstoke, 1993), pp.51-70. See also Kevin Sharpe, “Archbishop Laud” in Margo Todd (ed.), *Reformation to Revolution: Politics and Religion in Early Modern England* (London and New York, 1995), pp.71-77. The two ‘standard’ biographies of the prelate are Hugh Trevor-Roper’s *Archbishop Laud* (London, 1940) and Charles Carlton’s *Archbishop William Laud* (London, 1987).

⁵ Laud’s ecclesiastical regime has been the subject of much scholarly debate; for its recent historiography see Alexandra Walsham, “The Parochial Roots of Laudianism Revisited: Catholics, Anti-Calvinists and ‘Parish Anglicans’ in Early Stuart England”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49 (1998), pp.620-51.

⁶ On Laud’s programme of change within the actual fabric of the Anglican Church see Kenneth Fincham, “The Restoration of Altars in the 1630s”, *The Historical Journal*, 44 (2001), 919-940.

cardinal, an apparently serious offer which, despite Laud's protestations, was repeated again three days later.⁷

During the 1630s, opposition towards the Laudian regime and its practices was dealt with harshly, as exemplified by the treatment meted out to the Puritan pamphleteers Henry Burton, John Bastwick and William Prynne.⁸ Their criticisms of Episcopal policies in no way endeared them to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who viewed their work as the product of 'a Pen that is made of a sick and loathsome Quill...'⁹ Burton, Bastwick and Prynne were severely punished by the Star Chamber for openly airing their critiques of the ecclesiastical establishment: in addition to large fines, banishment and imprisonment, all three men had their ears cropped as they stood in the pillory at Westminster in 1637. Prynne, who had already lost part of his ears in 1633 following the publishing of his lengthy anti-theatrical tirade, *Histrionomastix*, had the stumps of his ears further sawn down. He was also branded on the cheek with the initials 'S.L.' – seditious libeller.

Laud's recognition of the threat posed by the publication of such critical opinions is reflected in the decisive steps which were taken to stifle the power of the printing press during the early years of his archbishopric.¹⁰ Controls tightened; the Star Chamber ruled in 1637 that the number of the printers in the country be limited to twenty-three, with harsh penalties meted out to those found in possession of illegal presses.¹¹ A Laudian imprimatur (or statement of authorisation) had also been established three years earlier, but would reap only limited rewards; just 14% of books printed in London in 1634 carried the imprimatur, a figure rising to only 35% by 1640.¹² Yet even with Burton,

⁷ Laud, *The Works of... William Laud* [hereafter referred to as Laud, *Works*], III, p.239.

⁸ An understandably sympathetic account of the trial and punishment of Burton, Bastwick and Prynne can be found in one of Prynne's many tracts against Archbishop Laud, *A New Discovery of the Prelats Tyranny* (London, 1641). See also John Leonard, "Trembling Ears: The Historical Moment of Lycidas", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 21 (1991), 59-81; William M. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne* (London and Toronto, 1963).

⁹ William Laud, *A Speech Delivered in the Starr-Chamber, on Wednesday, the XIVth of June, MDCXXXVII. at the Censure, of John Bastwick, Henry Burton, & William Prinn* (London, 1637), p.2.

¹⁰ Tyacke, "Archbishop Laud", p.69.

¹¹ Nigel Wheale, *Writing and Society: Literacy, Print and Politics in Britain 1590-1660* (London and New York, 1999), p.144.

¹² Franklin B. Williams, "The Laudian Imprimatur", *The Library*, 5th ser., 29 (1960), pp. 96-104; On Laud's attempts to stamp his authority on the printing presses see also N. W. Bawcutt, "A Crisis of Laudian Censorship: Nicholas and John Okes and the Publication of Sales's 'An Introduction to a Devout Life'", *The Library*, 7th ser., 1 (2000), pp.403-438; Milton, "Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy".

Bastwick and Prynne set out publicly as painful examples, hostile opinions of Laud and the church he presided over could only be stifled for so long. The collapse of the Star Chamber in 1640 and with it (at least temporarily) the relatively strict censorship laws concerning what could and could not be printed for public consumption, released a flood of potentially seditious material for general perusal; as a consequence, previously suppressed criticisms regarding the Crown, the government and the Church began to proliferate.¹³ Between 1640 and about 1643 the English market for printed ephemera, including four or five page pamphlets with eye-catching woodcut frontispieces, illustrated single sheet ballads, and more elaborate broadsides and engravings, exploded, and with it a proliferation of predominantly hostile opinions, a significant number of which were directed squarely at the Archbishop of Canterbury and the unpopular Laudian regime. When the strictures of censorship began to loosen, the printing presses which Laud had tried to muzzle turned upon him. In time, they would tear him apart.

II

One valuable historical source pertaining to Laud and his times is his diary; although at moments maddeningly brief, it does reveal something of the growing confusion and bewilderment which began to envelop the archbishop as his unpopularity grew. On 27th October 1640, he recorded a particularly worrying incident:

Tuesday, Simon and Jude's eve, I went into my upper study, to see some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford. In that study hung my picture, taken by the life. And coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor. The string being broken, by which it hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in parliament. God grant this be no omen...¹⁴

What is especially interesting about this diary entry is the specific connection made by the archbishop between the desecration of his painted image, the official, Episcopal portrait which had fallen to the floor, and a downturn in his personal fortunes. It seems

¹³ Michael Mendle, "De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority: Press and Parliament, 1640-1643", *The Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), pp.151-177, provides a useful summary of the breakdown of press censorship and its consequences during this period.

¹⁴ Laud, *Works*, III, p.237. Laud experienced and recorded a variety of omens, portents and nightmares; see Charles Carlton, "The Dream Life of Archbishop Laud", *History Today*, 36 (1986), 9-14.

he was right to suspect the incident as a bad omen. Less than two months later Laud was impeached, arrested and detained at the Tower of London, a lengthy incarceration which only came to an end with his execution for treason in January 1645.

Following his arrest in December 1640 Laud's image, as well as his circumstances, underwent a dramatic change. With the archbishop behind bars, the image of authority promoted by the Episcopal portrait was usurped by an array of new and different visual identities; pictorial representations began to circulate of Laud variously dining on the ears of his enemies, conversing with ghosts, and vomiting up canons and orders passed during his office, with his eventual fate pre-empted by depictions of the prelate arriving at a grisly end on the scaffold.

Although Giles Mompesson and Ambassador Gondomar in the 1620s, and more recently the notorious monopolists Abell and Kilvert, had suffered similar satirical assaults in graphic form, the Archbishop was the first individual to experience such an extensive personal campaign of vitriol against him; the range of media through which this occurred was diverse, with satire and polemic, poetry and drama embracing Laud's metamorphosis from primate to prisoner.¹⁵ Pictorially, engraved sheets, broadsides, illustrated pamphlets and ballads all capitalised on the archbishop's fall from grace, with his likeness recorded in various guises and situations by both anonymous artisans, and established engravers and etchers such as William Marshall and Wenceslaus Hollar.¹⁶ Continuing his diary during his confinement in the Tower, Laud complained bitterly of 'libels and ballads against me', which 'made men sport in taverns and alehouses; where too many were as drunk with malice, as with the liquor they sucked in.'¹⁷ Complaint however, was futile; these attacks would follow him all the way to the grave.

¹⁵ For an analysis of the role of drama in the lampooning of Laud see Martin Butler's *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642* (Cambridge, 1984), especially pp.235-50. Laud's treatment at the hands of pamphleteers is briefly discussed in Freist's *Governed by Opinion*, pp.131-143, whilst Cogswell, "Underground Verse", analyses the prelate's presence in privately circulated manuscript verse satire.

¹⁶ The manipulation of the Archbishop's likeness, in particular that of the formal, Episcopal image, may have set a precedent for later Continental satires: in James A. Ganz's "Robert Nanteuil's Doctored Bishop", *Print Quarterly*, 11 (1994), 292-97, a portrait of the Bishop of Le Mans as engraved by Nanteuil is transformed into that of a quack doctor, the transformed plate operating as both a popular and commercially viable subject (the quack), and an attack upon a figure of authority. According to Ganz, this 'doctoring' of Nanteuil's 1660s portrait of the Bishop "may be unprecedented in the history of French printed portraits."

¹⁷ Laud, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal*, pp.179-80.

The ‘picture, taken by the life’ which hung in Laud’s study at Lambeth Palace and which caused him such concern when he found it, face-down upon the floor, is likely to have been one of the two known portraits of the archbishop painted during his career. He sat to Daniel Mytens in about 1631, during his time as Bishop of London, and was painted again in about 1636 by Anthony van Dyck (fig.69).¹⁸ Sitting to Van Dyck as a privileged member of the King’s close circle appears not to have particularly impressed Laud, who failed to mention the event in either his diary, or in any of his lengthy, informal letters to the Earl of Strafford; his acknowledgement of the foremost portraitist in England at the time is a somewhat disparaging remark made to Strafford about the artist’s over-inflated prices.¹⁹ Laud appears to have regarded such portraits as both an obligation and an extravagance. A cursory acknowledgement in his will – ‘As for the pictures in the gallery at Lambeth, I leave them to succession; as well as those I found there, as those which I have added.’ – although stressing the institutional continuity of the Episcopal image, indicates no particular personal attachment on Laud’s part to the collection at Lambeth Palace.²⁰ A similar disregard for the portraits was demonstrated by the keeper of the Palace, in his 1644 account of the goods of the by-then imprisoned Archbishop: “The pictuers remaine in the gallerie unprised because it is conceived they will give but a littell and I attend the states order...”²¹

Scholars have praised Van Dyck’s painting of Laud as a dynamic advance in the field of Episcopal portraiture.²² Unlike the images of his predecessors hung in the gallery at Lambeth, who are uniformly depicted as flat, stiffly-posed prelates, accompanied by Bibles and coats of arms, Laud stands devoid of props and accessories.

¹⁸ For the Mytens portrait see John Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait 1559-1835* (London, 1981). On the portrait by Van Dyck see Millar, *Van Dyck in England*, p.54; Michael Jaffé, “Van Dyck Studies I: The Portrait of Archbishop Laud”, *The Burlington Magazine*, 124 (1982), pp.600-607; Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait*, pp.17-21, 265-272; David Piper, *Catalogue of the Seventeenth-Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery* (Cambridge, 1963), pp.193-95.

¹⁹ In a letter of November 1636 to Strafford, Laud remarks of a picture the Earl had seen at St John’s College in Oxford, ‘What a pity it is that Sir A Vandicke’s hand was not to the curious picture you so admire! But tis no matter, for it had been valued at so high a rate, it had neither been mine nor theirs.’ Laud, *Works*, VII, p.295. For the Laud-Strafford correspondence see volume six of Laud’s *Works* and *The Earl of Strafforde’s Letters and Dispatches, With an Essay Towards his Life by Sir George Radcliffe* edited by William Knowler, 2 vols. (London, 1739). Documentary evidence concerning the portrait is scarce; an examination of the Archbishop’s household accounts (London, PRO E 101/547/5) between 1635 and 1641 reveals no reference to payments for works of art.

²⁰ Laud, *Works*, IV, p.488.

²¹ British Library Additional MS 25460, fol.311.

²² Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait*, p.18.

He is pictured instead with an arm resting against the pedestal of a solid, plain Doric column, a gold and burgundy drape the only other indication of the space in which he stands. Michael Jaffé has demonstrated how Van Dyck was influenced in his portrayal of Laud by the composition of an earlier painting, his full-length portrait of Cesare Scaglia, an arrangement which he himself had reworked from sketches of works by Titian.²³ Unfortunately, this choice of archetype in his portrayal of Laud does not appear to have worked to the Archbishop's advantage; unlike the elegant Scaglia, a Savoyard diplomat and occasional spy, Laud was well known for his rather ill-proportioned and diminutive frame. The relaxed, nonchalant attitude of Scaglia, the epitome of the courtly ideal of *sprezzatura*, is instead replaced by the piercing gaze and abrupt, confrontational stance of a 'little, low, red-faced man' as one contemporary unkindly, if accurately described the archbishop.²⁴

Yet in spite of these compositional deficiencies, the Van Dyck portrait is successful in its presentation of the Episcopal image as an authoritative one. The plain backdrop concentrates the eyes of the viewer fully upon the now dominant figure of the diminutive archbishop, a figure defined by an intriguing combination of professional attributes - his convocational robes - and the defiant impenetrability of his expression. Laud himself stands symbolically for the authority of the Church of England, rather than the Bibles and heraldry adopted in previous Episcopal portraits.

This singular message of ecclesiastical authority was one communicated to an audience wider than those willing or able to peruse the long line of paintings hung in the gallery at Lambeth. Painted reproductions were readily available, either from artists working as assistants in Van Dyck's studio, or from independent, professional copyists. This process was far from unusual, as a contemporary letter from Lady Sussex, herself unhappy with her Van Dyck portrait, to her husband illustrates:

I am glade you have got hom my pictuer, but i doubt he hath nether made it lener nor farer, but to rich in ihuels [jewels] i am suer, but it tis no great mater for another age to thinke me richer then i was. i see you have imployede on to coppe it, which if you have, i must have that your father hade before, which i wish could be mendede in the fase, for it tis very ugly. i beseech you see whether that man that copes out Vandicks coulde not mende the fase of that – if he can any way do it, i pray get him and i will pay him for it. it cannot bee worse then it tis – and sende me worde what the

²³ Jaffé, "Van Dyck Studies I", p.600. For Van Dyck's portrait of the Abbé Scaglia see Brown, *Van Dyck, 1599-1641*, pp.272-74.

²⁴ D'Ewes, *Autobiography and Correspondence*, II, p.100.

man must have for copinge the pictuer, if he do it will, you shall get him to doo another for me.²⁵

We do not know whether Laud was pleased with his portrait, or which, if any improvements he would have directed a copyist to make. However, like Lady Sussex he recognised the importance of preserving a particular likeness, in Laud's case authoritative rather than wealthy, for future as well as present audiences to observe. As such, the original was reproduced for a number of important locations. One was sent to Laud's *alma mater*, St John's College in Oxford, presumably to complement the college's bronze bust of the archbishop, sculpted by Hubert le Sueur in 1635; another was sent to his great friend the Earl of Strafford. Certain of the further fifty-three copies of the Van Dyck portrait identified by John Ingamells, are likely to have 'reflected Laud's many preferments and the loyalty of his fellow bishops.'²⁶ While six of these are contemporary studio copies, later posthumous versions are also common, with Laud's popularity, at least in portrait form, proving resilient. Two versions were listed in the possession of the portraitist, Peter Lely, when he died in 1680.²⁷

As well as painted copies, Laud's image was exposed to an even wider audience through the production and dissemination of etchings and engravings. The small-scale engraved portrait was a highly popular form of graphic art during the seventeenth century, and once Laud himself had become an exposed figure of controversy and debate in the public eye, his reproducible image became highly sought after.²⁸ Twenty different seventeenth-century etchings and engravings after the Van Dyck portrait are

²⁵ Frances Parthenope Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family During the Civil War*, 4 vols. (London, 1892), I, p.258.

²⁶ Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait*, p.18. A list of pictures made by the second Earl of Strafford in 1695 mentions the portrait of 'Arch Bishop Laud by Vandicke to the Knees'; see Oliver Millar, "Strafford and Van Dyck" in Richard Ollard and Pamela Tudor-Craig (eds.), *For Veronica Wedgwood These: Studies in Seventeenth-Century History* (London, 1986), pp.109-23. For the le Sueur bust see Millar, *The Age of Charles I*, p.126. On Laud's architectural contributions to St John's College see Howard M. Colvin's *The Canterbury Quadrangle: St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1988).

²⁷ Piper, *Catalogue of the Seventeenth-Century Portraits*, p.194.

²⁸ On the popularity of the small-scale engraved portrait during this period see Harold Barkley, *Likenesses in Line: an Anthology of Tudor and Stuart Engraved Portraits* (London, 1982); Globe, *Peter Stent*.

held at the British Museum alone, with at least a further eleven eighteenth- and nineteenth-century versions all deriving from Van Dyck's original portrait of c.1636.²⁹

Wenceslaus Hollar appears to have been the first artist commissioned to reproduce a likeness of the archbishop, with his initial etching of the Van Dyck portrait being issued in 1640 (fig.70).³⁰ Hollar's etching, a reversed copy lacking the column and textured backdrop of the painting appears to have been executed swiftly, with emphasis upon a reproducible likeness of the archbishop rather than the complete composition and subtle physiognomic details of the original portrait. It has been conjectured that the appearance of this etching would have coincided in business-like fashion with Laud's increasingly controversial presence within the political arena, particularly with the passing of a series of divisive ecclesiastical canons in May 1640, including the contentious, so-called 'et-cetera oath'. Hollar is known to have forged commercial links with the London print trade from about 1639, and appears to have been approached to produce an etching of Laud by the entrepreneurial and ubiquitous print-seller Peter Stent, who could expect a healthy financial return for circulating an image of a controversial public figure.³¹ The number of different states which have survived of this particular image indicate that it was popular in the stock of the commercially adept Stent, who on a later occasion refused to pay Hollar for an etched plate of Thomas Hobbes, doubting its subject's potential as a profitable print.³² As we can now go on to explore, the popularity of the Laud etching is further attested to in its appropriation, not only by other engravers and etchers, but also by woodblock workers and pamphlet illustrators.

Burton, Bastwick and Prynne were not the only vocal critics of Laudian regime. Gradually appearing in the late 1630s, even in the face of publishing restrictions, a host of hostile pamphlets and tracts were being anonymously written, published and circulated in opposition to the policies and the person of the archbishop. Laud had been aware for some time of such criticism; in July and August of 1637 a number of his own diary entries record a rash of libels portraying the prelate as 'the Arch-Wolf of Canterbury', purportedly letting out the Cathedral of St Paul's to the devil, and describing 'the Government of the Church of England [as] a candle in the snuff, going out in a stench.' In a reversal of fortune the archbishop learnt of one of his speeches

²⁹ Freeman O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, (6 vols., London, 1908-1925), III, pp.19-21.

³⁰ Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.252.

³¹ According to Richard Pennington, a copy of Hollar's 1640 etching survives with Peter Stent's imprint; see Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.252.

³² Globe, *Peter Stent*, p.133.

being set up and ridiculed in a pillory, like those unfortunate individuals he had himself prosecuted for sedition.³³ Writing that month to the Earl of Strafford he suggested, somewhat optimistically, that ‘a little more quickness in the government would cure this itch of libelling.’³⁴ With his impeachment and imprisonment in the Tower by December 1640 however, the itch which so irritated Laud intensified.

Yet he was not without his supporters. In 1641 a London ballad-writer named Thomas Herbert composed a sharp reply to one such hostile pamphlet, the anonymous *Mercuries Message*. Herbert’s work, *An Answer to the Most Envious, Scandalous, and Libellous Pamphlet, Entituled Mercuries Message* itself then came under fire, as a riposte was swiftly issued: *Mercuries Message Defended*. One particularly interesting aspect of this again anonymous reply is its criticism, not only of the text of Herbert’s pamphlet, but of the illustrations which accompany it. Herbert’s work is supplemented by two images – a frontispiece picturing a hand grasping a down-turned knife (fig.71), and a woodcut portrait of the prelate (fig.72). The knife is seized upon first as a means to agitate Herbert and lampoon his work: ‘...perhaps you set it there as a direction to your friends to be in readinesse to cut the rope when you were catcht in a twist for your fancy poetry...’³⁵ But it is the conventional image of Laud dressed in ruff collar and rochet, based upon the Episcopal iconography as set down by Van Dyck and Hollar, which is inverted into a figure of ridicule and fun:

Turne over, behold and wonder, Ha – what’s here? a flat cap, narrow ruffe, and lawne sleeves, sure it stands for the Bishop of *Canterbury*; but I hope his sorrows have not so strangely metamorphos’d him; Do’s he learne to tumble in a hoope tro? perhaps he intends to shew tricks in *Bartholomew Faire*; I remember there was a sight last yeer called, the decollation of *John the baptist*, wherein a boyes head was cut off through a table...³⁶

This evaluation of the simple yet conventional likeness of Laud, for all its inquisitive tone, is unequivocally damning. Imagining the archbishop tumbling through the frame of the portrait, or associating him with a sideshow attraction at Bartholomew Fair, would certainly not enamour any of Laud’s antagonists towards him, highly suspicious as they already were of his religious orientation and supposedly popish tendencies; Bartholomew Fair, one contemporary pamphlet warned, was frequented by ‘all sorts of

³³ Laud, *Works*, III, pp.228-229.

³⁴ Laud, *Works*, VI, p.497.

³⁵ *Mercuries Message Defended, Against the Vain, Foolish, Simple, and Absurd Cavils of Thomas Herbert a Ridiculous Ballad-maker* (London, 1641), p.8.

³⁶ *Mercuries Message Defended*, p.9.

people...of all sects, Papists, Atheists, Anabaptists, and Brownists...’, with the entrance to the Fair ‘hung so full of pictures, that you would take that place or rather mistake it for *Saint Peters in Rome...*’³⁷ As John Rous had discovered, it was also a location in which graphic lampoons featuring gesturing, naked women, could be bought. A curious place, then, to be patronised by the head of the Anglican Church. The suggestion furthermore, that such ‘tricks’ at the Fair could involve the process of cutting off the archbishop’s head in imitation of ‘the decollation of John the Baptist’, hints all too clearly at the potential, and expected fate of the prisoner now in the Tower.

III

When Hollar’s etching of Laud after Van Dyck was first issued in 1640, its appearance was almost certainly calculated to coincide with the passing of the archbishop’s controversial canons in May of that year.³⁸ The canons were seventeen ecclesiastical laws, set in place for the guidance and direction of the Church government and its clergy. They touched on a number of contentious topical issues, such as the continual dangers of unlicensed presses distributing seditious material, and the raising and railing off of the Church communion table. It was canon number six however, which caused the most objections. The ‘et-cetera’ oath, as it became known, required all members of the clergy to swear their allegiance to ‘the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England...[nor] ever give...consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, deans and Arch-Deacons, &c. as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand.’³⁹ The open-ended nature of the oath signified by that single, vague ‘&c’ led many clergy to question exactly what it was they were swearing an allegiance to. Others were disturbed at the thought of giving their word to the support and upholding of a church government and hierarchy seemingly popish in its structure and formation. Such concerns were aired openly, as well as privately; one author deriding the oath as ‘a vile Misshapen

³⁷ *Bartholomew Faire or Variety of Fancies, Where You May Find a Faire of Wares, and All to Please Your Mind* (London, 1641), p.1.

³⁸ On the canons of 1640 see Esther S. Cope, “The Bishops and Parliamentary Politics in Early Stuart England”, *Parliamentary History*, 9 (1990), pp.1-13 and “The Short Parliament of 1640 and Convocation”, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25 (1974), pp.167-84; Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1993), pp.887-894.

³⁹ *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (London, 1640), sig.E2.

monster...a Limbe of the Devill...'⁴⁰ In a speech to Parliament concerning the canons Sir John Wray, although in principle sympathetic towards the Episcopal government, was himself forced to concede that 'we must also be Actors in the preservation of Religious Concordance which will never be safe nor well at quiet, until these heavy drossy Canons with all their base mettell be melted and desolved, let us then dismount them and distroy them...'⁴¹

Wray was not the only one to describe the convocational laws as dangerous and cumbersome weapons employed by the Church, canons in the guise of 'cannons' as it were. This wordplay was a popular device with the writers and illustrators of political polemic, keen to attack the Archbishop of Canterbury and the increasingly controversial ecclesiastical policies over which he presided. In their eyes, if the controversial convocation laws were indeed cannons aimed at irrecoverably damaging the post-Reformation church, then it was the archbishop who was firing them.

This at least, is how it was pictured by Hollar, commissioned to produce a very different image of Laud to that of his initial portrait after Van Dyck. In *Archbishop Laud Discharging a Cannon* (fig.73) the prelate is pictured in far more active circumstances: he fires a large cannon from which flies a cannon-ball and an oath, their ferocity causing the gun itself to explode and break up, literally backfiring in the face of Laud and the three figures standing across from him. This trio were identified by F. G. Stephens in the nineteenth century as the Bishops of York, Durham and Ely, a rather tentative identification given that they are essentially facing away from us, whilst three further bystanders view the spectacle silently from the other side. These three were named by Stephens as those familiar nemeses of Laud, Burton, Bastwick and Prynne, who had been released from imprisonment and exile by the government in 1640; however, as Stephens has rightly noted, physically 'they bear no resemblance to those personages', and otherwise seem to serve no active, significant purpose within the image.⁴² A strange identification, too, given the fact that Hollar himself produced a series of etched portraits of Burton, Bastwick, Prynne and their associates at about the same time as this image of the canon was issued.⁴³ It would seem odd that an obviously proficient artist like Hollar did not provide their faces with a little more individuality,

⁴⁰ Samoth Yarb, *The Anatomy of Et Caetera, or, the Unfolding of that Dangerous Oath in the Close of the Sixth Canon* (London, 1641), sig.A3. Other texts published against the convocation of 1640 include the anonymous *Englands Complaint to Jesus Christ, Against the Bishops Canons* (Amsterdam, 1640).

⁴¹ Sir John Wray, *Three Speeches, Made by Sir John Wray* (London, 1641), p.8.

⁴² Stephens, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, p.111.

⁴³ Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp.226-27.

given that he had recently reproduced their likenesses for another project, leaving him with accurate visual sources to work from.

Rather, this trio appear to represent two anonymous members of the Church: possibly, given their sober dress - a pair of puritan divines, or simply Anglican ministers, along with an unidentifiable figure in the guise of a scholarly theologian. Their role within the image, alongside the slightly more alarmed and active bishops, appears to be to bear witness to the danger and destruction symbolically heaped upon the Church by Laud and his canons, or possibly, if these men are indeed intended for Puritans, to emphasise divisions already present before this dramatic detonation.

One figure whose identity can be in no doubt however, is Archbishop Laud. Hollar's formal portrait of Laud has here been cleverly manipulated; although the prelate is immediately recognisable, the situation in which he is depicted casts a shadow of ridiculousness and surreal humour across his character. The fixed defiance of his expression as first captured by Van Dyck, is here amusingly employed in an unflattering reflection of ignorance, the self-inflicted damage being wreaked by the archbishop upon the cannon, the bishops, the Church, and ultimately himself.

Aesthetically, *Archbishop Laud Discharging A Cannon* is one of the most eloquent attacks on episcopacy published during the 1640s. The idea of a clever play on words communicated through a visual pun however, was a sentiment not lost on those who could not afford to purchase a Hollar print. *Laud Discharging A Cannon* appears to have been one of a number of creative reactions to the unpopularity of the convocation laws, and the (back)firing of Laud's canons a commonly-exploited witticism. The satirical pamphlet *Old Newes Newly Reviv'd* (1641) similarly draws attention to these cumbersome 'weapons', with the character of Intelligencer commenting of the newly impeached prelate that "if [Laud] ever come into his metropolitan house againe, and sit there his Majesties High Commissioner, discharging the new Canons, he will goe neere to blow up the little Levite that wrote *Lambeth Faire*."⁴⁴ Intelligencer's lively speech demonstrates the pervasive influence of a rapidly expanding pamphlet market on a public hungry for 'information', dropping in an oblique reference to *Lambeth Faire*, a further current satirical, anti-Episcopal pamphlet, and hinting strongly at an insulting representation of Archbishop Laud recognizable to a wide audience.

When Thomas Stirry conceived of his mock-emblem book *A Rot Amongst the Bishops* in 1641, he similarly made sure to impress upon the reader the extent to which

⁴⁴ *Old Newes Newly Reviv'd* (London, 1641), sig.A2v.

criticisms of Laud and his bishops had begun to flood the London book market; in his preface Stirry explains how

It is not unknowne to all (Judicious Reader) how many imps of ingenious witts, upon this subject, have issued forth into publicke view, so that he would seem to powre forth water into the Ocean...that should attempt to adde any thing to what is already published.⁴⁵

Stirry persevered with his own publication however, making sure to include the motif of the archbishop's canons within it as a familiar symbol of destruction. Emblem one of *A Rot Amongst the Bishops* (fig.74) pictures 'the Church and Commonwealth of England' as a ship sailing ominously towards the mouth of Hell, steered by Laud and his companions: Bishop Wren of Norwich who was one of Laud's closest supporters and adherents, Arthur Duck, chancellor of the diocese of Bath and Wells, and 'Dr Lamb', most likely Sir John Lambe, one of Laud's most loyal deputies. Whilst the et-cetera oath flies out of one of the ship's cannons, another discharges a noose, 'A good strong Halter...'; its presence within such a narrative predicts the archbishop's own imprisonment and execution and suggests a very personal cause-and-effect connection between the contentious oath and its architect.

In *A Rot Amongst the Bishops*, Stirry draws upon a wide range of familiar imagery in order to make his point about the dangerous and self-destructive position in which he finds the Anglican Church. Established motifs with roots in vernacular art – the gateway to Hell as the jaws of a monster, the Church imagined as a great ship, the dark she-devil accompanying Bishop Wren – are fused with topical images such as the cannons, and a flag raised by Laud tied to a papal staff, which point to, and raise concerns about current, contentious issues.⁴⁶ The lengthy verse explanation to the emblem adds further depth and complexity to a critical tract deceptively simple in its presentation, yet in its conception as ambitious as Hollar's aesthetically sophisticated etching. These two examples of anti-Laudian imagery, although visually very different, draw upon the same pressing concerns and voice them in a manner that is both shrewdly perceptive and humorous. If not intended specifically for an identical audience and readership, then both appear to form part of a wider graphic culture involving etchings, engravings,

⁴⁵ Thomas Stirry, *A Rot Amongst the Bishops* (London, 1641), n.pag.

⁴⁶ Devils, in both male and female form, feature in a number of contemporary pamphlet woodcuts, such as John Taylor, *A Reply as True as Steele to a Rusty, Rayling, Ridiculous, Lying Libell* (London, 1641) and the anonymous *A Prophecie of the Life, Reigne, and Death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1644).

woodcut frontispieces illustrating numerous types of text – pamphlets, playlets, ballads, broadsides and broadsheets all produced with the specific purpose of discrediting the current ecclesiastical government and its leaders with Laud, unsurprisingly, taking centre-stage.

IV

Some of the most striking examples of the manipulation of Laud's image occur when the archbishop, at least in character form, takes to the stage. Recent work, in particular that of Martin Butler, has revealed drama as a powerful form of political critique, at court, in the city and in the London suburbs, in the years leading up to the closure of the theatres in 1642.⁴⁷ An interesting dichotomy then emerges, with the growing boldness of the printing press and the collapse of Star Chamber censorship coinciding with the subsequent decline of Caroline drama, as theatres closed firstly in 1641 following an outbreak of the plague, and then finally the following year, with licensed public performances held in limbo until the Restoration. Yet rather than sounding a death-knell for drama, these conditions plausibly explain the growing presence and popularity of dramatic playlets, debating all manner of current and contentious issues within the framework of the London pamphlet market. At their most basic these were illustrated broadsheets which carried simple dialogues, addressing topical political concerns through a fictional exchange between two characters, much as more overt graphic satires frequently engaged with contentious issues through images set in an imagined space of suspended reality; according to Susan Wiseman, "Such texts were simultaneously a "play" or playlet and a sub-genre of news, occupying a similar market to other genres which attempted to influence the political ferment."⁴⁸

Laud features heavily in such dramatic dialogues, in what is perhaps a comment on the archbishop's confined status in the Tower, where he communicated solely through occasional letters to sympathisers and friends. The ghosts of the Earl of Strafford, Cardinal Wolsey and the executed apprentice Thomas Bensted, as well as a physician, and a scrivener, all indulge in such fictional speeches or conversations with the

⁴⁷ Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, and *ibid*, "A Case Study in Caroline Political Theatre: Braithwait's 'Mercurius Britannicus' (1641)", *The Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), pp.947-53. See also S. J. Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1998).

⁴⁸ S. J. Wiseman, "Pamphlet Plays in the Civil War News Market: Genre, Politics and 'Context'" in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999), p.69.

Archbishop.⁴⁹ Many of these encounters are accompanied by bold woodcut illustrations. In the 1641 pamphlet *Canterburies Dreame* (fig.75), the image of Laud surprised by the spectre of Wolsey is general rather than physiognomically specific, and is likely to have been a standard woodcut used to illustrate other ‘apparition’ stories; here however, it is used here as an eye-catching visualisation of the dialogue acted out within the pamphlet, and a useful aid to the reader’s imagination. It is uncertain whether these simple exchanges were intended to be performed, or indeed taken from private performances or interludes; however such accompanying illustrations give the sense of each dialogue being an animated visual performance, perhaps acted out and brought to life (and even wider circulation) in the alehouses and taverns where such texts, in Laud’s words, ‘made men sport’.

Further evidence hints even more strongly that such dramatic performances were taking place, in private or indeed public houses, performances in which Laud’s conduct as archbishop was placed under severe scrutiny. *The Bishops Potion, or, a Dialogue Between the Bishop of Canterbury and his Phisitian* (1641) is an example of both a growing hostility towards the now-imprisoned prelate and the increased freedom of expression enjoyed by the creators of political satire, both textual and graphic. The frontispiece to this dramatic dialogue (fig.76) provides further evidence of the manipulation of the Laudian image; the formal portrait, this time taken from an engraving by William Marshall, would convey exactly the gravity and officious solemnity expected of the head of the Anglican Church, but for the chain which has been added at his shoulder.⁵⁰ Although in itself a direct reference to the archbishop’s recent imprisonment and loss of liberty, its treatment of the formal Episcopal image appears lenient in contrast to the physical degradations to which Laud’s body is subjected within the text itself.

⁴⁹ *Canterburies Dreame* (London, 1641); *Canterburies Amazement: or, the Ghost of the Yong Fellow Thomas Bensted* (London, 1641); *The Bishops Potion* (London, 1641); *Canterbury’s Will* (London, 1641); *The Discontented Conference Betwixt the Two Great Associates, Thomas Late Earl of Strafford, and William, Arch-bishop of Canterbury* (London, 1641); *The Deputies Ghost* (London, 1641).

⁵⁰ This formal image of Laud manipulated by the addition of a chain at his shoulder, has later echoes in the treatment of Cardinal Mazarin, portraits of whom with “a cord ‘as big as your little finger’...threaded through two holes on a level with his neck” were hung up on Parisian street corners in 1650; Christian Jouhaud, “Readability and persuasion: political handbills” in Roger Chartier (ed.), *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1989), p.237.

Recalling the consultations between Dr. Panurgus and his patients, *The Bishops Potion* consists of a dialogue between Laud and his physician, the archbishop having found himself ‘diseased in all parts...[with] a great desire to take Physick.’⁵¹ Again, like Stirry’s ‘good strong Halter’, clearly suggestive of the fate many believed was inevitable for the imprisoned prelate, a seemingly innocuous conversation on medicinal remedies is cleverly channelled into a discussion of Laud’s potential execution:

Cant. I approve your learned skill good M. Doctor, in having respect to the Constellations, for I of opinion (which the Brethren forsooth call superstition) if I be let blood in the necke, when the signe is in *Taurus*, I shall certainly bleed to death.

Doct. That may very well be, unlesse your Chirurgion have a more saving skill than my Lord Deputies had...⁵²

The Earl of Strafford, the so-called ‘Deputy of the Tower’, had been executed in May 1641. Yet rather than subject the archbishop to such severe blood-letting, the physician has an alternative and at least temporary cure for Laud. He induces a vigorous purging of Laud’s body which results in the prelate’s vomiting up of various objects associated with his downfall: a patent for tobacco (the archbishop’s popularity had suffered further thanks to his links to universally hated patents and monopolies), the contentious *Book of Sports*, the Star Chamber order originally issued against Burton, Bastwick and Prynne, the much-maligned canons, and finally, most painfully, a bishop’s mitre. The physical act of ‘Laud’ vomiting up these items before an audience would appear both familiar and curiously strange; as Butler has noted, the dramatic purging of a character had both sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century precedents, as well as far more recent examples, particularly of monopolists throwing up the sheer matter of their patents.⁵³ The Anglican Church itself was also imagined as a sickly patient in dire need of cleansing from inside; in *Rare Physick for the Church Sick of an Ague* (1642), the female personification of the church is attended to by ‘true and skilfull Physitians’, who

...thought it most expedient to give her next a sound purge, which made so many impediments all excrements of papisticall adherents be evacuated from her, that shee began to waxe stronger and stronger: Thus the Church

⁵¹ *The Bishops Potion*, p.3.

⁵² *The Bishops Potion*, pp.1-2.

⁵³ Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, p.242.

was delivered out of the utmost incurable disease of popery and superstition, and so flourished a while...⁵⁴

Yet the farcical sight of the former leader of the Church of England losing all bodily conduct and control in the course of a potentially public entertainment, demonstrates just how far the creators of political polemic had advanced in their disdain and derision of Laud. The powerful nature of this theme, a loss of bodily control, proved a highly popular form of ridicule. Indeed, a contemporary engraving of the vomiting prelate has been described by Butler as deriving from the text of *The Bishops Potion*, and as having in all likelihood been directly inspired by a performance of the playlet.⁵⁵

This engraving (fig.77) depicts a prelate: although unidentified he is clearly intended to be recognised as Archbishop Laud, in his familiar square cap and convocational robes, with the carefully trimmed beard and moustache of the man recognisable not only from Van Dyck's portrait, but now an assortment of circulating imitations and interpretations. Here the stern face is twisted in a grimace of pain as the archbishop throws up book after book, tumbling down his voluminous robes to his feet as he cries out to his companion, 'O Mr Burton, I am sick at Heart.' That the figure at Laud's shoulder is clearly identified in this way as the anti-Laudian preacher and pamphleteer Henry Burton, rather than simply a physician, casts doubts over Martin Butler's claim that the engraving derives directly from the pamphlet-play; Burton appears only briefly in *The Bishops Potion*, mentioned in passing in the Star Chamber order thrown up by Laud. A closer reading of the engraving reveals a far more complex interplay of sources within the image, incorporating a wider range of ideas and symbolic devices than those found in the dramatic text, and strongly questioning Butler's logo-centric approach.

Physiognomically, Burton's features appear detailed rather than general, and, like those of his companion intended to reflect a particular likeness. Indeed, this Henry Burton bears a striking resemblance to the head-and-shoulders portrait of the preacher etched by Hollar in 1640, and published to coincide with his release from imprisonment and exile (fig.78). Here the artist appears to be playing with this more formal image, adjusting Burton's ears to that they bleed onto his collar, just as Laud's portrait has been seen to be appropriated and manipulated at will. With his identity (complete with the

⁵⁴ *Rare Physick for the Church Sick of an Ague* (London, 1642), sig.A3v. See also *The True Character of an Untrue Bishop, with a Recipe at the End, How to Recover a Bishop if Hee Were Lost* (London, 1641).

⁵⁵ Butler, *Theatre and Crisis*, p.244.

martyr-like wounds to his ears) thus confirmed, unlike his role in *The Bishops Potion*, Burton's part in this graphic performance is a major one: 'And so yow will till Head from Body part' he thunders in response to Laud's cry, a premonition echoed in the couplet above their heads:

Great was surnamed GREGORIE of Rome
Our LITTLE by GREGORIE comes short Home.

Whereas in *The Bishops Potion* Laud had been wary of blood-letting in the neck, lest it kill him, in the engraving his execution is thus positively encouraged – Gregory being the name of the executioner of the Tower and 'little' Laud well known for his diminutive height.⁵⁶ The closing verses at the pair's feet similarly indicate that this engraving is concerned just as much with Burton and his experiences as those of the archbishop:

Raw-meats, o Bishop bredd sharp Crudities
Eares from the Pillory? Other Cruelties
As Prisonments, by your high Inquisition
That makes your vomits have no intermission.

The established motif of vomiting and purging is taken and melded to a situation with far greater satirical and humorous impact than an encounter between Laud and his physician. Whilst it is true that the image adopts certain elements of *The Bishops Potion*, it reworks and develops them rather than simply reproducing the action of the playlet. To argue that the dramatic text inspired the engraving, or indeed that the image provided the impetus for the playlet, is thus a reductive exercise. Rather, the significance of each source becomes clearer if they are considered in conjunction with each other, forming part of a wider corpus of material critical of the actions and policies of Laud and his associates the bishops, voicing these criticisms in a particularly visceral manner.

Another contemporary playlet, *A New Play Called Canterburie his Change of Diot* (1641), combines the farcical, at times extremely physical action of *The bishops potion* with the kind of striking imagery captured in the engraving of the vomiting archbishop. The action of this playlet is sparked by Laud's insatiable hunger, a hunger which cannot be satisfied by the variety of dishes brought before him by three recognisable

⁵⁶ The reference to Gregory the executioner may well have been recognised and understood by a wide audience; 'On my conscience young Gregory is the most famous man in England', claims the *Intelligencer* in *Old Newes Newly Revived*, sig.A2v.

characters: ‘A Doctor of Physicke, a Lawyer, and a Divine’, in other words Burton, Bastwick and Prynne. It appears that the only meal the Archbishop desires is the ears of these three servants, who are duly brought before him and mutilated, with their ears subsequently being devoured. Laud’s cruel actions are quickly punished; the archbishop encounters a carpenter who ties his nose to a grindstone (fig.79), before placing him in a giant birdcage along with a Jesuit who has come to his aid, washing his bloody face with holy water, whilst the final act sees the captive pair suitably mocked by the King’s jester.⁵⁷

This pamphlet appears to have been a widely circulated one; the woodcut of a caged Laud alongside the Queen’s confessor Father Phillips (fig.80) which illustrates one of the scenes is almost certainly one of the ‘base pictures putting me in a cage’ which the archbishop complained of in his diary, and which he had gained access to, or some knowledge of, from his confinement in the Tower. *Canterburie his Change of Diot* is a further example of anti-Laudian satire immersed in ideas of eating, consuming and gorging, with physically harsh and humiliating consequences emphasising the sheer loss of status experienced by the archbishop. Similarly it once more concerns the severe punishment of Burton, Bastwick and Prynne, concluding with suitable punishments being meted out to Laud for his own excessively cruel behaviour, following the pattern of *The bishops potion* and the engraving of Laud and Henry Burton. Thematically, all three sources appear to draw on the same ideas and images, and come to the same conclusions about the archbishop, in spite of their obvious visual differences, just as the distinctions between the various commentaries on Laud’s cannons are expressive and aesthetic, whilst centred on a common body of imagery.

V

This developing visual language of political and religious critique proved popular with both public and pamphleteers alike. Writing from the Tower in 1642 to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, an impassioned Laud protested:

⁵⁷ This image of Laud tied to the grindstone is strongly reminiscent of the ‘lost’ engraving described by Thomas Scott in 1624, as ‘of the Kings holding the Popes nose to a grind-stone, with the two Archbishops turning the same...’; Scott, *Boanerges*, p.25. It is also repeated in a Parliamentarian broadside of 1650, *Old Sayings and Predictions Verified and Fulfilled Touching the Young King of Scotland and his Gued Subjects*, illustrated with an image of ‘The Scots holding their young kings nose to ye grindstone.’

...never man hath had so many scandalous abuses cast upon him; none ever (considering my calling) having been made so notorious a subject for ridiculous pamphlets and ballads...⁵⁸

Yet whilst Laud's claims to be the most ill-used and parodied prelate of his day are certainly justifiable, he was by no means the first, or the only member of the Anglican church to come up against such criticism.⁵⁹ Indeed, during Laud's early career at Oxford the Church of England had faced similar 'abuses' as those levelled at the Archbishop, most notably in the form of the Marprelate tracts. Published between October 1588 and September 1589 by a secret press, and written by an unknown author under the pseudonym of 'Martin Marprelate', the seven texts known collectively as the Marprelate tracts audaciously attacked the Episcopal hierarchy of the Elizabethan Church in a form and literary style accessible to a wide public audience.⁶⁰

Whilst by no means a literal transposition of anti-Episcopal satire from one generation to another, with their popular appeal and underlying complexity the Marprelate tracts appear to have set an important precedent for the onslaught of subversive material which so troubled Laud and his bishops. Their relevance to this chapter is reflected in the fact that two of the tracts, *Reformation No Enemie* and *Hay Any Worke for Cooper* were reissued in 1641 and 1642 respectively, coinciding neatly with a fervent debate, both in parliament and in print, over the place and consequence of bishops within the Church of England.⁶¹

Like many of the 'ridiculous pamphlets' which so troubled Laud, the Marprelate tracts are short texts communicating their anti-Episcopal message to a potentially wide audience through their use of a deceptively simple and informal address. The language of the tracts is rich in colloquialisms, taking the form of a conversational voice openly

⁵⁸ Laud, *Works*, VI, p.597.

⁵⁹ Thomas Cogswell suggests that Laud may have 'stretched the truth a little' in his self-deprecation, citing Robert Cecil and the Duke of Buckingham as similarly worthy candidates for the title of 'the most abused' individual in Stuart England; Cogswell, "Underground verse" p.293.

⁶⁰ For recent work on the Marprelate tracts see Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, pp.27-52; Peter Lake, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp.509-20; Joseph Black, "The Rhetoric of Reaction: the Martin Marprelate tracts (1588-89), Anti-Martinism, and the Uses of Print in Early Modern England", *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 28 (1997), pp.707-725.

⁶¹ On the reprinting of these tracts and the influence of Marprelate on 'radical' literature during the 1640s see Christopher Hill, 'From Marprelate to the Levellers' in *The collected essays of Christopher Hill*, I, 75-95.

declaring its own idiomatic and intellectual limitations: 'I am plain,' claims Marprelate in one tract, 'I must needs call a Spade a Spade, a Pope a Pope.'; on another occasion he turns his self-deprecating humour into an incisive weapon as he explains how he is unable to successfully read a tome by the Dean of Sarum concerning the Anglican Church unless, like its author, he 'should be sometimes tediously dunsicall and absurd.'⁶²

'Dunsical and absurd' are words which similarly well describe the peculiar situations in which pamphleteers now imagined Archbishop Laud; such comparisons on the parts of self-declared 'fools' have similar echoes in the relationship between Laud and the King's jester, Archie Armstrong, who had been banished from court in 1638 following complaints from Laud over remarks made by the jester in a Westminster tavern. Referring to current disastrous attempts supported by the archbishop, to impose an Anglican prayer book on the Scots, Armstrong declared the archbishop to be 'a monk, a rogue and a traitor' before asking the rest of the tavern, 'Who's the fool now?'⁶³ The postscript to *Archy's Dream*, an anti-Laudian satire purportedly penned by the jester following his banishment, continues this theme of exchanged identities as outlined by both himself and Marprelate in an ominous prediction:

Changes of times surely cannot be small
When Jesters rise and Archbishops fall.⁶⁴

This popular 'world upside-down' motif, reflective of political and religious upheaval, appeared to be reaching a peculiar pinnacle in its treatment of Laud, once a figure of authority, and now subject to the most degrading and humiliating of punishments. Yet the pervasive nature of the pamphleteers and polemicists was reaching much further than the archbishop alone. One such tract, *The Recantation of the Prelate of Canterbury*, presented itself as an open letter from Laud to his bishops, detailing amongst other things his treatment at the hands of the pamphleteers, and warning of troubles to come:

Thus I am tossed and made the scorne of time, they hold it good service
to the present age, and posterity, to limne me in an hideous hue, and contend

⁶² 'Martin Marprelate', *Oh Read Over D. John Bridges [The Epitome]*, (n.p., 1588), p.2; *ibid.*, *Oh Read Over D. John Bridges [The Epistle]*, (n.p., 1588), p.2.

⁶³ Quoted in Carlton, *Archbishop Laud*, pp.154-55.

⁶⁴ *Archy's Dream, Sometimes Jester to his Majestie, But Exiled the Court by Canterburies Malice* (London, 1641), sig.A4v.

whose pen shall be most pungent, and victorious in the Pasquill... These same Palmes are springing and ripening for you, if yee continue to incense the impetuous people, now in a dangerous agitation...⁶⁵

Palms were indeed springing up, and to paraphrase the words of Archie Armstrong, the bishops too were tumbling from their positions of authority at an alarming rate, as the frontispiece to Alexander Leighton's *A Decade of Grievances... Against the Hierarchy or Government of the Lord Bishops* (1641) succinctly illustrates (fig.81). The image of these plummeting prelates and the accompanying couplet had first been issued in 1629, engraved in Amsterdam and inserted into another of Leighton's anti-Episcopal texts, *Sion's Plea Against the Prelacie*, the first six pages of which had now been expanded into *A Decade of Grievances* (fig.82). Twelve years earlier Leighton's work had faced stiff opposition from the government; the author had been committed to Newgate, and the offending book 'said to be sold in secret for twenty shillings a piece, and to contain such vile matter, as some think may go near, if not altogether, to cost him his life, if he be proved to be the author.'⁶⁶ Indeed Leighton, like Burton, Bastwick and Prynne, had gone on to be physically mutilated in the 1630s for writing and publishing apparently seditious works; some satisfaction must have been subsequently felt at his work, in a visual as well as literary sense, now being freely reworked and reissued in the ridicule and derision of Episcopacy. Within the 1641 frontispiece, the woodcut emerges not simply as a convenient method of reproduction and imitation, but as a distinctive creative form in its own right. Leighton's original image has been re-interpreted to give the 'tottering Prelates', as the verse below describes them, a dominant role within the composition; they are now boldly arranged across, rather than assigned a proportional space within the image, their identities developed and underlined in their adoption of characteristic ecclesiastical dress, and bolstered by the various accoutrements of their profession such as the mitre and the cross. Indeed the inclusion of a crosier, and what appears to be a rosary being grasped by one of the prelates, hints strongly at the popish tendencies many pamphleteers suspected Laud and his bishops to be guilty of. Although the basic premise of the original image remains the same, through a number of simple visual and compositional alterations, the message it conveys is given a heightened relevance. Just as the idiosyncratic literary techniques employed in the Marprelate tracts find themselves appropriated in the style and language of anti-Episcopal texts of the

⁶⁵ *The Recantation of the Prelate of Canterbury, Being His Last Advice to His Brethren* (London, 1641), pp.22-23.

⁶⁶ Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, 27 February 1629/30; BL Harley 390, fol.498v.

early 1640s, so too here the deliberate reworking of the distinctive image of the tumbling bishops is a very clear example of the longer-term roots of anti-Episcopal imagery, which survive through the harshest periods of press censorship. Furthermore, the pictorial development of these bishops into clearly defined ecclesiastical figures, imagined even with popish paraphernalia, emphasises the extent to which such censorship and publishing restrictions had been overcome within the relatively short period of twelve years between Leighton's publications.

Although the lampooning of William Laud stands out as a thorough and exhaustive persecution of an individual, it has become clear that his bishops were also being targeted by the vitriolic pens of the pamphleteers or the voices singing provocative ballads up and down the streets.⁶⁷ Following Laud's imprisonment his bishops still held their offices in spite of an increasing animosity towards their presence and privileges, yet they too were soon to endure similarly unhappy circumstances. As hostilities towards them grew, angry mobs began to prevent the bishops from reaching parliament and sitting in the upper house. Led by the Archbishop of York, John Williams, all twelve bishops signed a petition demanding their presence in parliament, since in their eyes all proceedings conducted in their absence were void. Parliament reacted by arresting them all in December 1641, and detaining ten of them in the Tower.

Extremely unpopular, and now imprisoned, the bishops were the subject of numerous hostile and satirical lampoons; in the words of Ambrose Philips, one of Williams' early biographers, "Never sure were any Pack of the blackest Villains so servily treated, and so abus'd, as were the Bishops at this Time. Whole Reams of Paper were wasted in Scurrility and Scandal upon them, adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar."⁶⁸ These attacks were at once comparable to the treatment Laud experienced, and yet also quite different. To a certain degree, unlike the personalised figure of Laud, the bishops possessed a homogeneous identity in the eyes of the public. They did not sit to prominent court artists in the manner of the Archbishop of Canterbury nor, with the exception of his near-equal the Archbishop of York, have their portraits engraved for general consumption and commercial gain. Consequently, illustrations to anti-Episcopal texts frequently presented the bishops in standard ecclesiastical dress: square caps, black robes, lawn sleeves, with little or no attempt to pictorially differentiate between individuals. The same simple woodcuts were reused over and over to refer to different

⁶⁷ Cogswell, "Underground verse", p.290.

⁶⁸ Ambrose Philips, *The Life of John Williams, Ld. Keeper of the Great Seal, Bp. of Lincoln, and Abp. of York* (Cambridge, 1700), p.279.

prelates; thus *Bishop Wrens Petition to Parliament* (1642) includes a familiar image of Wren, then Bishop of Ely, familiar in that it had previously been used by Thomas Herbert in his pamphlet defence of Laud and also employed periodically as a portrait of the Archbishop of York.⁶⁹

With no individualised portraits to adapt and satirise, critics of the bishops came to rely on alternative forms of lampoon. Just as Laud had been derided in libels as the ‘Arch-Wolf of Canterbury’, so too these prelates are frequently imagined as beasts, or grotesque hybrid creatures. The very title of a further contemporary pamphlet, *The Bishops Downefall, or the Prelats Snare* (1642) presents them as pests, or vermin requiring a mass culling; vermin were considered as crafty, cunning parasites, a threat to society in their greed for food destined for the dinner table, and it is this parasitical theme of personal gain which is continued in the narration of the text:

Like Sampson’s foxes they have rais’d a fire
That will our state consume...
...Our choicest plants these locusts doe annoy,
These Catter-pillars doe our Fruits destroy...⁷⁰

This emphasis on the bestial qualities of the bishops appears often to rest on the ecclesiastical robes of their profession and status. In one text the Archbishop of York is cast in the role of the ‘decoy-duck’ with ‘his black and white wings pinioned’, a clear reference to the black robes and white sleeves of the archbishop’s ecclesiastical dress.⁷¹ Similarly, according to the anonymous *The Bishops Last Vote in Parliament* (1641), these prelates ‘stunke of an Otter, Beaver, or Soyle, viz. of a strange sundred Hocus Pocus, Hodge Podge, incongruous, ridiculous, monstrous exorbitancie, and now let us first by leave examine your Lincie Wolsey habit; that is Mag-pie like white and blacke...’, just as the caged Laud and Father Philips had been mocked as “Cormorants...A Black-bird, and a Canary-bird” in *Canterbury His Change of Diot*.⁷² These avian metaphors were suggestive of both the bishops’ appearance, and their

⁶⁹ Stephens, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, I, 132.

⁷⁰ Edmund Elys, *The Bishops Downefall or, the Prelats Snare* (London, 1642), pp.2-3. See also Mary Fissell, “Imagining Vermin in Early Modern England”, *History Workshop Journal*, 47 (1999), pp.1-29.

⁷¹ *The Decoy-duck, Together With the Discovery of the Knot in the Dragons Tayle Called &c.* (London, 1642), sig.A1v.

⁷² *The Bishops Last Vote in Parliament, or, Their Supersedeas From Both Houses in February* (London, 1641), sig.A3; *A New Play Called Canterbury*, sig.A4.

apparent solidarity in opposition to the parliament; as one contemporary manuscript verse runs:

...the pretty pert wren,
The magpies, black-birds, jack-dawes and rookes,
That build in Cathedralls and spoile church bookes,
...though not of a feather
They are all of a flock, and musterr together...⁷³

These connections, particularly with birds, were further underlined in the pamphleteers' treatment of the Bishop of Norwich, Matthew Wren. Wren shared with the Lord Keeper Sir John Finch a surname seized upon by pamphleteers with much enthusiasm. Finch, involved in the contentious, and ultimately disastrous business of Ship Money, fled to France in 1640, an incident duly recorded in the broadsheet ballad *On Wings of Feare Finch Flies Away* (fig.83); Finch is transformed into a strange man-bird hybrid, an image repeated in the frontispiece to *Old Newes Newly Reviv'd*, which also suggests the abilities of Bishop Wren to flee upon wings at the sign of trouble (fig.84). One of the more rigorous and loyal followers of Laud's ecclesiastical regime, a combination of notoriety as one of Laud's closest adherents, and the wealth of creative possibilities presented by his name, which ensured that Matthew Wren was frequently, and unusually singled out from the rest of the bishops for a thorough and individualised lampooning.

Wren's avian surname was turned against him, with his Norwich diocese declared 'too good a nest for such a shamefull uncleane bird...'⁷⁴ The ruining of Wren's nest was a theme further continued and exploited in *The Wren's Nest Defil'd* (1640), which relates how "In Norwich he did build his Nest, and laid his Egges there, but he so much defil'd it, that Chickens were never hatched, but utterly destroyed..."⁷⁵ The frontispiece to the text pictures Wren, rather surprisingly not as a bird but mocked by a bird, accompanied by a Jesuit who together 'defile' the symbolic house of his diocese (fig.85).

Another prelate singled out was Laud's nearest counterpart, John Williams, the former Bishop of Lincoln, and by 1641 Archbishop of York. Williams was no particular

⁷³ British Library, Harley MS 4931, fol.85v.

⁷⁴ *Wren's Anatomy, Discovering his Notorious Pranks, and Shamefull Wickednesse* (London, 1640), p.8.

⁷⁵ *The Wrens Nest Defil'd, or Bishop Wren Anatomiz'd, his Life and Actions Dissected and Laid Open* (London, 1640), p.2.

ally of Canterbury, and had been committed to the Tower himself until 1640 for his vocal criticism of Laudian policies. His attempts to placate a generally anti-Episcopal government in 1641 with his proposition of a more moderate form of Church hierarchy were rejected, and he was sent once more to the Tower that December along with his bishops.⁷⁶

In a continuation of the popular, avian metaphor, Williams is cast in the role of equivocator in the allusive fable of *The Decoy-duck*, published in 1642. This pamphlet introduces ‘a Lincoln-shire Duck’, who “was highly fed at Budgen, and thought fit to have taken his flight of late to Cawood, but stormes arising, and the wind being contrary, took wing for Westminster &c.”⁷⁷ Here he creates mischief, seducing a flock of eleven younger ducks into pledging allegiance to him in exchange for more well-appointed surroundings, with the promise of such delights as wine, pancakes and fritters; the bargain inevitably concludes in the ruin of the entire flock, who are betrayed into captivity. The narrative is itself captured and condensed in an animated title page (fig.86), where in a display of coerced solidarity, Williams and his fellow bishops sign their petition of protest directed at parliament, before taking flight to the Archbishop’s residence at Cawood Palace in Yorkshire, in the guise of the fabular ducks.

The Decoy-duck is primarily a personal critique of the Archbishop of York, rather than a broader anti-Episcopal attack upon the bishops of the Anglican church. Williams was unpopular with both Parliament and the followers of Laud, and although the remaining bishops, the ‘ducks’ of the fable, are rendered in the text as weak and naïve, *The Decoy-duck* is very different in its target and intentions to those satires lampooning Laud and his supporters. Its lively title page did not go unnoticed. Laud’s biographer Peter Heylyn, who like Laud had been censured in print by Archbishop Williams, appears to have taken great pleasure in relating the prelate’s visual vilification in pictorial form, citing several examples:

The Archbishop of York was now so much declined in favour, that he stood in as bad termes with the Common People, as the other did. His Picture cut in Brass, attired in his Episcopal Robes, with his square Cap in upon his head, and Bandileers about his Neck, shouldring a Musket upon one of his shoulders in one hand, and a Rest in the other... Together with

⁷⁶ There is at present no modern biography of Williams, the most recent being B. Dew Roberts, *Mitre & Musket: John Williams, Lord Keeper, Archbishop of York, 1582-1650* (Oxford, 1938). For more contemporary, if partisan records of the Archbishop, see John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata: a Memorial Offer'd to the Great Deservings of John Williams...* (London, 1693).

⁷⁷ *The Decoy-duck*, sig.A1v.

which a book was Printed, in which he was Resembled to the Decoy-Duck, (alluding to the Decoyes in Lincoln-shire where he had been Bishop) restored to Liberty on design, that he might bring more Company with him at his coming back, and a device Ingraven for the Front of the Book, which represented the conceit; and that not unhappily. Certain I am that our Archbishop [of Canterbury] in the midst of those sorrows seemed much pleased with the Fancy, whither out of his great Love to wit, or some other self-satisfaction which he found therein...⁷⁸

The 'Picture cut in Brass' which Heylyn refers to, and which Laud found so amusing, is a portrait of Williams in military garb, again etched by Wenceslaus Hollar (fig.87).⁷⁹ This incongruous image of an archbishop exchanging his mitre for a musket refers to an incident in 1642 when Williams took up arms in order to defend Conwy Castle in North Wales from the king's forces, not through parliamentarian sympathies, but because the castle itself was Williams' property at the time. Conwy Castle can be seen in the background of the etching, which pictures the archbishop in a curious combination of Episcopal and military uniforms, a combination highly inappropriate for a man of Williams' position within the Anglican Church. This very clear criticism may well explain the false inscription at the foot of the etching: 'R.S. exc. Amstelodami.' There was no 'R.S', only Wenceslaus Hollar, who had previously taken no care to fabricate a similar inscription for his etching of Laud and his canons. Williams however, was no permanent resident of the Tower; no matter how bad his terms now were with the 'common people', he remained a man of significant influence, and not to be crossed by a mere etcher whose own personal circumstances were at that time somewhat precarious.⁸⁰ This particular image of the armed archbishop was evidently popular, since it was not only brought to the notice of Laud but also imitated; it is repeated in a similar print, a triptych of portraits picturing Williams and two further agitators of parliament, Thomas Mallet and Thomas Lunsford (fig.88), accompanied by verses which satirise their apparent motives in fighting for financial rather than ideological rewards.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Peter Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus, or the History of the Life and Death of William Laud* (London, 1671), p.461.

⁷⁹ Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.284.

⁸⁰ Anthony Griffiths notes from the early 1640s how "Hollar's position in England must have been steadily deteriorating... We can also deduce from his prints both his Royalist sympathies, and the financial stringency that forced him on occasion to work anonymously on propaganda sheets on behalf of the King's enemies." Griffiths and Kesnerová, *Wenceslaus Hollar: Prints and Drawings*, p.43.

⁸¹ Stephens, *Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, I, 246.

This treatment of Archbishop Williams, whilst by no means equal to, certainly echoes the exhaustive manipulation and lampooning of Laud's formal image. Like his counterpart, Williams was painted a number of times, sitting to professional, prolific artists such as Cornelius Johnson and Gilbert Jackson. Although by no means comparable in terms of reputation to Mytens or Van Dyck, the work of Johnson and Jackson was circulated following a similar pattern to the formal portraiture of Laud, with copies of his likeness distributed preferentially, and engravings reproduced after these paintings. Williams' engraved image is known to have been sold by both George Humble and Thomas Jenner, two of the more successful specialists in prints and engravings in early Stuart London, and although such a fact is no indication of the Archbishop's popularity, it certainly suggests that his portrait was in popular circulation prior to his fall from grace.⁸² If already well known, the particular lampooning of Williams' likeness in this manner would have been particularly effective.

Heylyn's comments on the satirising of Archbishop Williams' image are both valuable and interesting for several reasons. Firstly, Laud's somewhat satisfied reaction towards an etching and a frontispiece ridiculing his opponent, suggests that such material was, like the 'base pictures' of Laud in a cage, being circulated widely, reaching even Laud in his confinement in the Tower of London. Secondly, his assessment of two visually dissimilar forms of graphic satire – Hollar's etching and the *Decoy-duck* frontispiece – implies little differentiation being made between what we would consider today, at least aesthetically, two very dissimilar forms of political polemic: one simple, one sophisticated, yet in the words of Heylyn understood rather as comparable satirical attacks on an individual, and pleasing Laud collectively as a 'Fancy'. It raises again the same question of form and content; two sources which modern day scholars would almost certainly differentiate between through using labels of 'high' and 'popular' culture, are collectively evaluated and understood in their own time simply as two facets of a general critique consumed by a potentially wide and varied audience.

VI

⁸² Ingamells, *The English Episcopal Portrait*, pp.414-17; Hind, *Engraving in England*, II, p.231. For the work of Cornelius Johnson see Chapter Eight of Hearn (ed.), *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England*.

The satirical treatment in graphic form of Laud, and to a lesser extent his bishops, raises important issues regarding the place and use of imagery within a wider corpus of material openly questioning and criticising the Laudian regime. It is clear that rather than circulating as separate entities, targeted at audiences with differing aesthetic sensibilities, the broadsheet ballad, pamphlet frontispiece and the engraved sheet all shared complementary, co-existing roles in the furthering of a set of ideas, and indeed images. Furthermore, this corpus of anti-Episcopal ideas is found to draw upon and embrace a range of creative forms – visual, literary, and dramatic, utilising established patterns and motifs and re-working them into a topical political and religious commentary. In many cases, ‘straight’ and ‘satirical’ genres combine, both working with and reacting against each other, the Episcopal portrait of Laud being one example, or the emblem book used as the framework for a religious skit, in order to express certain opinions and reassess other, more long-held conceptions from a different angle.

In considering the authority of the image in early modern England, Kevin Sharpe has argued that

...the image of the Virgin Queen and the cult of Charles the martyr were popular in a way that cannot simply be explained by elaborate propaganda machines (which anyway did not exist) or officially prescribed scripts. That they existed alongside other, less sacralized and more satirical images – even in the same mind – does not negate their importance, but does perhaps question the stark choices recent historiography has asked us to make between a consensus and conflict model of early modern political culture.⁸³

The anti-Episcopal campaigners certainly understood this subtle middle-way between consensus and conflict. It is true that they demystified and even dehumanised the bishops, picturing them as monsters in the guise of men, or exposing their apparent insatiable greed as something other, something unnatural. Yet at the same time they made sure to retain in the bishops’ depictions and descriptions something of the ‘officially prescribed scripts’, the ceremonial robes and familiar dress, the dignified expression of the formal portrait. It is important not to forget that these were images being consumed alongside the standard, official portraiture of the Anglican Church. The popularity of Van Dyck’s portrait of Laud, in both painted and printed form, is testimony to the constant presence of an authorised source, a source to react against.

⁸³ Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, pp.417-418.

As well as exploiting and manipulating these supposedly opposing modes of expression, the straight and the satirical, the creators of political polemic appear not to have been concerned with placing their work within the limits of prescribed genres. Whereas many modern scholars tend to research the visual arts, literary modes, and dramatic expression of this period as quite separate entities, this 'creative collective' of the early 1640s adopts a refreshingly interdisciplinary approach to the task in hand. William Laud's delight at a derogatory pamphlet and satirical engraving lampooning one of his many detractors, and his own discontent upon learning of 'base pictures' and pasquils limning him in 'an hideous hue' are a reminder of the presence of the pictorial within the culture of information, a presence which research has tended to marginalize in favour of textual sources and genres. A closer reading of the visual elements to such material can only enrich our understanding of the consumption and reception of ephemeral news, propaganda and 'information' in early modern England.

Chapter Five

‘Painters and Poets Dare Anything’¹: Civil War and the Picturing of Conflict

I

On the morning of the 10th of June 1642, an engraved sheet was brought to Westminster and set before the House of Commons for inspection. Whilst no copies of the engraving are known to have survived, a contemporary account records its appearance in some detail.² The House was presented with an equestrian portrait of the governor of Hull Sir John Hotham, depicted astride his mount in full military garb, and with the walled fortress-town in the background. Hotham, however, was not alone: in a bold move the king was pictured, bare-headed at the horse’s feet, his submissive presence making the image sensational and scandalous. The House immediately ordered that the picture

...be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman presently, in the Palace Yard; and the Vent or further Publishing of them strictly forbidden and prohibited...The Members are straightly charged to deliver all of these Pictures that they have, to the hands of the Serjeant, that they may be burnt. It is further Ordered, that the Serjeant shall seize all the Pictures he can meet with in Westminster Hall: And that the Master and Wardens of the Company of Stationers be required to seize, in all Places, all such Pictures as they shall meet with; and bring them to the Bailiff of Westminster to be immediately burnt.³

It was a prudent response towards a sensitive piece of propaganda; six weeks earlier Hotham, closely following the directions of parliament, had refused the king entry to the strategic garrison port of Hull; by closing the city gates to his monarch, Hotham had generated an embarrassing and frustrating situation for Charles.⁴ The engraving presented to the Commons, with its portrait of parliamentarian pre-eminence and royal

¹ *Mercurius Britannicus*, 3rd – 10th February (London, 1645), p.540.

² *Diurnall Occurrences in Parliament from the Sixth of June, to the Thirteenth* (London, 1642), pp.5-6.

³ *Commons Journals*, II, 617, 622. There is no record of the print in the Stationers’ registers, an absence further which underlines its controversial subject matter.

⁴ On Hotham and the siege of Hull see Andrew J. Hopper, “‘Fitted For Desperation’: Honour and Treachery in Parliament’s Yorkshire Command, 1642-1643”, *History*, 86 (2001), 138-54; Barbara English, “Sir John Hotham and the English Civil War”. *Archives*, 20 (1992), 217-24.

submission, appeared intent on exacerbating this situation, posing an unwanted distraction from delicate political manoeuvrings.

The House's instructions demonstrate the potential influence of a particularly-styled picture, and the anticipated wide circulation of such dangerous material: amongst members of the House, about the bookstalls of Westminster Hall, and, most alarmingly, out into the city and beyond. It seems that the notoriety of the print extended to, and influenced the fate of other, more innocent images of Hotham. The plate of a further equestrian engraving of the governor set against the walls of Hull was altered at some point during 1642 by the printseller Peter Stent, metamorphosing into the Earl of Stamford. Alexander Globe has suggested that the alteration of the plate was due to Hotham's relatively brief and minor standing in the political milieu, claiming that "Obscure figures often had a short life in copper."⁵ It is far more likely however, that the furore surrounding the engraving of Hotham and Charles prompted Stent to replace the governor's face with that of a less contentious individual. This action would ensure far less attention from the authorities, than apparently seizing pictures, towards Stent's shop and stock.

However, if the House believed that their decisive actions had effectively quashed this notorious engraving, they were mistaken. Memories of the print were revived several years later when Sir John, having swapped sides and political allegiances several times since the incident at Hull, was executed in December 1644 on charges of treason.⁶ Reporting on the event, the royalist newssheet *Mercurius Aulicus* recalled the seditious print, indignantly observing how it "hath been since commonly sold at London" despite its alleged suppression by the Commons.⁷ The loquacious reply of *Aulicus'* parliamentary nemesis, *Mercurius Britanicus*, reveals much about attitudes towards politically-charged pictorial satire by the mid 1640s:

[Aulicus] tells, that the picture of sir John Hotham riding on horsebacke in his warlike habit, and the KING standing bare-headed at his horses feet, was openly sold in London. Why, thou know'st Aulicus, - *Pictoribus atque Poetis*; Painters and Poets dare anything...⁸

That painters and poets are seamlessly associated here with the product of a graphic culture, underlines the interdisciplinary cross-currents at work within the political

⁵ Globe, *Peter Stent*, p.9.

⁶ English, "Sir John Hotham", p.218.

⁷ *Mercurius Aulicus*, 12th – 19th January ([Oxford], 1645), p.1343.

⁸ *Mercurius Britanicus*, 3rd – 10th February (London, 1645), p.540.

ephemera of the period. Furthermore, *Britanicus*' casual remark that both painters and poets had something of a free rein to interpret the political events of the day, is revealing in the light of debates about the role of visual culture in the 1640s. The old tradition of print scholars such as M. Dorothy George argues for the 'true beginnings' of a visual political polemic in England during this decade, with the two distinct political personalities of 'cavalier' and 'roundhead' fashioned through "crude broadsides which each side flung at each other."⁹ On the other hand, the more recent work of Antony Griffiths suggests that

the collapse of censorship of the written word at the beginning of the Civil War in 1641-2 released a flood of pamphlets, and there was nothing to prevent the same happening with prints. The fact that only a few such prints appeared shows how little visual consciousness there was among the general political public.¹⁰

According to Griffiths, the relative absence of engravings from this period is particularly striking, and clear evidence of a disinterest in pictorial political forms. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, pictorial evidence suggests that this was frequently not the case.

There has been little sustained work on the pictorial polemic of the Civil War era.¹¹ Ironically, far more research has focussed on the destruction of images rather than their creation, with the episodes of parliament-sanctioned iconoclasm which punctuated the 1640s shaping our view of the decade as one evidently hostile to imagery.¹² However, as the Hotham engraving suggests, the image could prove a highly effective form of provocation. Furthermore, the hasty reaction of the Commons towards the engraving, and the decisive actions taken to prevent its spread and circulation, anticipates a keen visual awareness on the part of the public; several years later, as sections of the contemporary press quick to note, this was a public whose appetite painters and poets were keen to satiate. *Britanicus*' comments also suggest that there was a growing

⁹ George, *English Political Caricature*, I, 11.

¹⁰ Griffiths, *Print in Stuart Britain*, p.15.

¹¹ Tamsyn Williams' *Polemical Prints of the English Revolution 1640-1660* (Ph.D thesis, Courtauld Institute, 1987) is a rare exception, upon whose foundations very little has been built.

¹² John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley, 1973); Cooper (ed.), *The Journal of William Dowsing*; Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, 1: Laws Against Images* (Oxford, 1988); Julie Spraggon, *Puritan Iconoclasm During the English Civil War* (Woodbridge, 2003); Joel Budd, "Rethinking Iconoclasm in Early Modern England: The Case of Cheapside Cross", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 4 (2000), 379-404; Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, pp.234-50.

audacity on the part of graphic satire and its creators by 1645. Contrary to Griffiths' observations, they highlight the importance of visual, as well as textual, vocabularies in the establishment of political allegiance and polarisation during the first half of the 1640s. Whilst much recent scholarly attention has been paid to the construction of parliamentary and royalist identities during the Civil War period, such research has concentrated on the textual 'self-fashioning' of these identities.¹³ Less understanding has been afforded to the polemical and hostile use of images, focussing less on individuals such as Archbishop Laud, than of the 'types' of cavalier and roundhead.

This chapter argues that the role of graphic satire in the 'paper war' of the early 1640s, and its contribution towards political polarisation, has been both underestimated and misinterpreted. Whilst taking into consideration the contentious status of the political print during this period, variously considered both an important emerging genre, and, a minor form of political expression, this chapter puts forward a third interpretation. It proposes that the Civil War period should be considered as neither visually deficient, or as an epochal period in the development of English graphic satire; rather, the iconography of conflict which developed during the 1640s used ideas and imagery which were drawn from a number of key sources from earlier decades. Moreover, the potential of visual material was most thoroughly explored by those we might expect to have regarded it with suspicion.

II

Further to her description of a 'paper war' between 1640s printmakers, M. Dorothy George notes that "Parliament and the Puritans have the best of it; Royalist prints are rare and generally cautious."¹⁴ This statement raises several important questions: should parliament and the puritans be considered as synonymous, and, if so, how could the supposedly iconophobic and humourless puritan be able to produce effective satirical material?

¹³ Recent literary studies include David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge, 1999); James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: the Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke, 1997); Thomas N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue: English Political Literature, 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1992); Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 1989); Michael Wilding, *Dragons' Teeth: Literature in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1987).

¹⁴ George, *English Political Caricature*, I, 17.

Present uncertainties over the religious characteristics of parliament's supporters to some extent mirror attitudes of the early 1640s, wherein defining the relationship between puritanism and parliament's supporters proved just as problematic.¹⁵ The record of Lucy Hutchinson, the wife of the parliamentarian officer Colonel John Hutchinson, provides some insight into the melding together of these identities within a mid seventeenth-century mindset:

When Puritanisme grew into a faction, the zealots distinguish themselves, both men and women, by severall affectations of habitt, lookes and words...Amongst other affected habitts few of the Puritanes, what degree soever they were of, wore their haire long enough to cover their eares, and the ministers and many others cut it close round their heads, with so many little peakes as was something ridiculous to behold...From this custome of wearing their haire, that name of roundhead became the scornfull terme given to the whole Parliament party; whose Army indeed marcht out so, but as if they had only bene sent out till their haire was growne: two or three yeares after, any stranger that had seene them would have enquired the reason of that name...¹⁶

As Hutchinson's words emphasise, the actions of a godly few were frequently imposed upon a wider corpus of parliamentary supporters, and often to confusing effect. This was an observation noted by a number of contemporary pamphlets: "...your semy-separate, puritan, and Round-head, are computable 3 objects comprehended in one subject, being all made of one and the selfsame matter..." declared one text of 1642, with puritans and roundheads being "*termini æquivalentes*" in the words of another.¹⁷ Others contradicted this viewpoint, seeking to draw distinctions between "the colder, and more remise sorte of Protestants, by the name of Puritans: And that other sorte who for their hypocrisie may be termed Anti-Puritans, or Roundheads."¹⁸ As this chapter will go on to argue, the identities of the puritan and parliamentarian, and indeed royalist, as constructed by the pamphlet press, were commonly forged and maintained through

¹⁵ Modern approaches to the term 'puritan' are set out in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales, "The Puritan Ethos, 1560-1700" in Christopher Durston and Jacqueline Eales (eds.), *The Culture of English Puritanism, 1560-1700* (Basingstoke, 1996), pp.1-32.

¹⁶ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, edited by N. H. Keeble (London, 1995), pp.86-87.

¹⁷ *An Exact Description of a Roundhead, and a Long-headed Shag-Poll* (London, 1642), pp.3-4; *A Puritane Set Forth in his Lively Colours* (London, 1642), p.5.

¹⁸ *The Roundhead Uncovered. Being a Moderate Triall of his Spirit* (London, 1642), p.5.

stereotype and categorisation, rather than reflective of far more slippery, if genuine, political allegiances.

If the stereotypical puritan and parliamentarian were frequently considered as a single entity, then the parliamentarian's attitude towards pictorial propaganda, which George claims they had 'the best of', is a problematic one. As the example of the Hotham engraving demonstrates, parliament clearly understood the print's potential power and propagandist status. Furthermore, whilst parliament could not be seen to openly condone such an image, attempts to suppress Hotham's portrait fell noticeably short, and this pictorial expression of anti-royalism was still in circulation several years later. This understanding and appreciation of a print represents a striking development in puritan attitudes towards visual material, in the light of Patrick Collinson's views regarding 'iconophobia' at the beginning of the century, and later instances of iconoclasm. John Morrill, for example, refers to the iconoclast William Dowsing as "the model of puritan vandalism in the Civil War era.", intimating a hostility towards the visual intimately bound up with godly beliefs.¹⁹ However, Dowsing's status as an exemplary campaigner in the service of organised puritan iconoclasm, is tempered by Morrill's own admission that Dowsing's work was of a seemingly unique nature, with "no evidence of any other person or group of persons undertaking a similar task."²⁰ Perhaps the importance of William Dowsing's actions, and certain 'iconoclastic' incidents such as the pulling down of London's Cheapside Cross in 1643, have been overemphasised within the wider context of the visual consciousness of 1640s audiences.²¹ Certainly the examples of William Dowsing and the Hotham engraving demonstrate a puritan sensitivity, if not all-encompassing antagonism, towards images. Furthermore, as Peter Lake has revealed in recent research, puritans commonly adapted many kinds of 'popular' genres in order to advance their cause.²² This employment of the popular idiom was especially true during the 1640s, when the traditionally godly, in alliance with other strands of popular energy, were able to harness a Marprelate-type wit which, as we have seen and will see, made significant use of graphic culture. That

¹⁹ John Morrill, "William Dowsing and the Administration of Iconoclasm in the Puritan Revolution" in Cooper (ed.), *The Journal of William Dowsing*, p.1.

²⁰ Morrill, "William Dowsing", p.15.

²¹ Budd, "Rethinking Iconoclasm in Early Modern England"; Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, pp.234-50.

²² Lake, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat* (New Haven and London, 2002); *ibid*, "Popular Form, Puritan Content? Two Puritan Appropriations of the Murder Pamphlet From Mid Seventeenth-Century London" in Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (eds.), *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honour of Patrick Collinson* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.313-34.

puritan polemicists were seemingly gaining the upper hand in pictorial exchanges with their antagonists, similarly suggests that negative attitudes towards images which have informed our own understanding of puritan culture, require re-evaluation.

The associations drawn both by contemporaries and modern scholars between the parliamentarian and the puritan, therefore set up an interesting relationship between their creative, polemical output, and our own presumptions regarding it. The notion of a parliamentarian or puritan creativity, combined with the acerbic wit and often coarse, carnivalesque or scatological humour associated with visual satire, creates a curious oxymoron. The parliamentarians were not renowned for their sense of humour, as one mocking address to *Mercurius Britanicus* demonstrates:

“...now your party for which you are hired for a Mercurian angell a weeke to write, are as I take it a kinde of rigid, heavy, phlegmaticke or melancholy, not witty, but dull complexioned creatures, creatures full of fears, full of jealousies, full of darke plots, and invisible conspiracies, of Close-Committees, of orders and speeches, and such serious follies, full of anything else but wit...”²³

Neither were such sentiments confined to the vocabulary of criticism. In a scathing riposte to one royalist tract, an anonymous writer, presumably of puritan leanings, was himself at pains to contrast royalist and parliamentarian approaches to creative and literary expression: “As for your learning and wits, for which you study long to little purpose, we affect it not, neither any way disparage. Wee resolve rather to embrace with sincerity of affection, what blessings shall be conferred upon us, through divine inspiration, that we may speak when the spirit moves...”²⁴ Even the provocative and belligerent Marchamont Nedham, writing as the parliamentarian *Mercurius Britanicus*, appears miscast as the curious weapon of what Blair Worden has defined as “a cause generally hostile to, or ill at ease with wit and with merriment...[where] the cultural division between [royalist and puritan] could be profound.”²⁵ Nedham’s writings however, echo in their idiomatic and conversational style, the efforts of that earlier, well-known puritan humorist, Martin Marprelate. As has already been demonstrated, Marprelate’s late Elizabethan satires against the established church and its bishops were

²³ *Britanicus Vapulans: or the Whipping of Poore British Mercurie* (London, 1643), pp.11-12.

²⁴ *An Answer to the Rattle-heads Concerning Their Fictionate Resolution of the Round-heads* (London, 1641), sig.A3.

²⁵ Blair Worden, “‘Wit in a Roundhead’: The Dilemma of Marchamont Nedham” in Amussen and Kishlansky, *Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, p.308.

revived, both literally and thematically, during the anti-Episcopal attacks of the early 1640s, demonstrating again a capacity for wit and humour working for, rather than against puritan philosophies. As Nigel Smith has noted, it certainly seems that “there was some consolation for the godly in laughter.”²⁶

Given the possibility of ‘consolation in laughter’, the likelihood of a puritan engagement with humorous cultural forms, appears credible, if not wholly auspicious. George’s observation that parliamentarian, and as such puritan, prints dominated the output of political graphic satire during the early Civil War period, therefore demands closer attention. As such, a survey of both the royalist and parliamentarian output of graphic satire and political imagery during this period, is necessary.

III

The precipitous events of the early 1640s provoked what has been described by David Cressy as “a whirlwind of cultural and political confusion.”²⁷ Such confusion was particularly evident in the case of printed ephemera, the output of which exploded given the temporary relaxation of publishing laws and print censorship. This phenomenon gave rise, to coin Sharon Achinstein’s phrase, to the ‘politics of Babel’: the sharp increase in printed polemic and propaganda between 1640 and 1660 found itself reflected in the emergence of a previously unfamiliar diversity of voices, opinions and ideas.²⁸ Any attempt to define, and in turn critique, royalist and parliamentarian archetypes, meant encountering the competing voices which constitute this ‘Babel effect’; it is therefore not surprising that such identities were often highly unstable.

In contrast, our modern conceptions of political allegiances during the Civil War period generally revolve around the contrasting characters of the roundhead and cavalier. The woodcut frontispiece to a typically bellicose pamphlet satire of 1643, *A Dialogue, or Rather a Parley Between Prince Ruperts Dogge Whose Name is Puddle, and Tobies Dog Whose Name is Pepper &c.* (fig.89) highlights a visual disparity between the two which has informed such conceptions. It sharply contrasts the fashions (or indeed anti-fashions) of royalist and parliamentarian through the simple language of

²⁶ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London, 1994), p.298.

²⁷ Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, p.251. See also Cressy’s recent article, “Revolutionary England 1640-1642”, *Past and Present*, 181 (2003), 35-72.

²⁸ Sharon Achinstein, “The Politics of Babel in the English Revolution” in James Holstun (ed.), *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (London, 1992), pp.14-44.

presence and absence, of boots, spurs, sashes, and so on, distinctions which extend for comic value to their dogs, the shaggily coiffed Puddle, and the more reservedly clipped Pepper. However, Pepper and his owner Tobie, form one of a number of conflicting rather than cohesive visual elements of parliamentarian allegiance, the sum total of which is highly difficult to pin down; the roundhead 'archetype' acquiesced to a series of fluid, often contradictory character traits. This fluidity is highlighted by the experiences of the cuckolded husband in the 1642 pamphlet *Cornu-copia, or, Roome for a Ram-head*. Though sporting the horns of a cuckold, the husband finds they can be of some advantage to him; in fact, the horns are

so serviceable and usefull that no man almost can live without them...when my head was round, I could neither pass along the street nor sit in my shop without receiving a jeer from one knave or other, some calling me a troublesome fellow, some saying I was a despiser of government, others telling me I was an enemy to the Bishops and the discipline of the Church. If I had a head full of wit, I should be called, or at least suspect me to be either a projector, or a crafty knave: Should I weare long locks, I should be esteemed a roaring boy or a swaggerer, and all this laid upon me, though I were innocent of them all.²⁹

Pamphlets such as *Cornu-copia* underline the complexities and instabilities which often underpin visual archetypes. The closely-cropped hair of the puritan zealot, as described by Lucy Hutchinson, is a further example of an ambivalent marker of allegiance, being elevated via royalist polemic to a symbol of parliamentarian support. The instability of such terms was soon noted; the 1642 pamphlet *Heads of all Fashions* shapes its political polemic around a poetical allegory of 'sundry sorts of heads, Butting, Jetting, or pointing at vulgar opinion' with a description of a 'Round-head' as "Infallible, beyond the vaine compare/Of ord'nary men, what ere they are."³⁰ Its frontispiece (fig.90) with its selection of curiously-shaped visages, provides a stark metaphor for the growing variety of religious worship seemingly tolerated by parliament, and of great concern to their royalist opposition.

The pigeonholing of 'sundry sorts of heads' into one defined category could prove problematic; the term roundhead could be manipulated to favour those it originally criticised, as in the 1642 broadside of the *Sound-Head, Round-Head, and Rattle-Head* (fig.91). Here the divisions and differences between the 'true church' and that of Rome are set out in a chain of mistaken identities and double-dealings. At the heart of this

²⁹ *Cornu-copia, or, Roome for a Ram-head* (London, 1642), sig.A2-sig.A2v.

³⁰ *Heads of all Fashions* (London, 1642), p.4.

trouble is the rattle-head or malignant, a bisected figure composed half of English prelate, half of Jesuit, with the suspected Catholic yearnings of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his supporters as he rejects the Bible clasped by the sound-head, and reaches instead for the crucifix held out by the true round-head, the 'Bald-Pate Fryer'. As well as assigning the label of roundhead to the friar, the broadsheet also works the hostility behind such labels to its own advantage:

The Orthodox, Sound & Religious Man,
Atheists call Round-Head (late) a Puritan:
Because Hee (roundly) Rattle-Heads, Truths foes...³¹

Positive, as well as negative associations are recognised here in the rounded, balding visage. In other instances the roundhead's archetypal lack of hair is reversed, with cropped hair referring to the appearance of the de-wigged royalist. One parliamentary pamphlet poses the question

What is lighter then a feather?
What is heavier then Leade?
A brainles Perriwigged Cavalier,
That is a true Roundhead.³²

The term roundhead was frequently turned on its head by textural and pictorial ephemera, reflecting to some extent the realities of disorder, confusion and dislocation prevalent in the politics of the early 1640s. Not all roundheads had cropped hair, just as not all cavaliers were swaggering libertines; according to Hutchinson the name of roundhead "was very ill applied" to her parliamentary husband, "who having a very fine thickset head of hair, kept it clean and handsome without any affectation, so that it was a great ornament to him."³³ It is well known that a significant number of parliamentarians came from long-established aristocratic families; similarly, parliamentary propaganda lampooning the Cornish 'rebels' who came out overwhelmingly for the King between 1642 and 1643, focuses not on the implied

³¹ The term 'Atheists' in the context of this engraving refers broadly to the followers of the Laudian church.

³² *The Soundheads Description of the Roundhead* (London, 1642), p.9.

³³ Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p.87.

excesses of cavalier fashions, but rather ranges from accusations of a general rustic ignorance to an all-out hatred of an apparently heathen, degenerate and bestial people.³⁴

Given the difficulties encountered in defining the parliamentarian archetype, some of the more striking visual interpretations of the roundhead's characteristics come from the projection of his negative traits onto a diverse selection of identities, creating a wider and more pervasive sense of disruption and disorder.

The new course being set by parliament and the questions it raised regarding the formerly unimpeachable institutions of church and crown, enabled its critics to play upon fears of an all-out subversion of discipline and order; the 'politics of confusion' could lead only to anarchy.³⁵ The religious and political allegiances of the parliamentarians were seized upon as a threat to order and stability, hastening towards self-destruction. These are the consequences emphasised by the title page to the staunchly royalist John Taylor's 1642 pamphlet *An Humble Desired Union Between Prerogative and Priviledge*. This 'woefull emblem of a troubled state' (fig.92) pictures a mythical two-headed snake known as the Amphisbæna. By pulling in two different directions it tears itself apart, a succinct metaphor for the fate which in Taylor's words is the ultimate reward of "some selfewill'd, some ignorant, some Ambitious, some Presumptuous, and some malicious Turbulent Spirits [which] have drawne the Church and State several wayes."³⁶ This was to prove a memorable analogy; writing six years later, the newssheet *Mercurius Pacificus* repeated the Water Poet's sentiments in describing continued religious and political antagonism as "Heads divided in opinions, like those of the Serpent Amphibena."³⁷

Whilst its allegory of opposing ideologies was recalled by *Mercurius Pacificus*, it was also adapted by Wenceslaus Hollar in his small-scale etching of *Civilis Seditio* (literally civil or political discord), of 1643 (fig.93). Hollar's more refined depiction of the snake places the creature in a desert setting, against a backdrop of pyramids and a sphinx head. However, this scenic device is more than mere aesthetic fancy, alluding to the consequences of religious diversity. The Egyptian details echo an image found in one of Henry Peacham's manuscript emblem books, the *Emblemata Varia*, now

³⁴ R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (London, 1999), pp.100-101; M. J. Stoye, "Pagans or Paragons? Images of the Cornish During the English Civil War", *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), 299-323.

³⁵ Smuts, *Culture and Power*, p.111.

³⁶ John Taylor, *An Humble Desired Union Between Prerogative and Priviledge* (London, 1642), p.4.

³⁷ *Mercurius Pacificus, His Lectures of Concord Seasonably Read to our Destructive Discords* (London, 1648), p.2.

preserved in the Folger Shakespeare Library (fig.94).³⁸ Its accompanying motto reads, ‘A long time ago, a man of Memphis venerated the Sphynx as his deity, to which a half-woman lion had given its shape. Let your inhabitants, O Nile, believe all masters to be god, but it is not thanks to this maiden and lion that they gather their harvests’. Believed to have been produced during the early 1620s, the *Emblemata Varia* has been described as “a quite new and independent composition on Peacham’s part”, bearing little in common with his earlier manuscript emblem books, or his published *Minerva Britanna*.³⁹ Unlike these earlier works the majority of emblems within the *Emblemata Varia* have no clear source, and it is unlikely that Hollar ever came contact with the manuscript, which was dedicated to, and deposited in, the library of Sir Julius Caesar. Whilst it is impossible to forge a clear link between Hollar’s print and Peacham’s manuscript, the twinning of this emblem’s sentiments with the etching of *Civilis Seditio* is a highly effective one; the existence of a now-lost source common to both drawing and etching should not be discounted.

Hollar’s fusion of an emblematic warning against the worshipping of false gods, with a symbol of parliament-initiated discord between church and state, creates an etching with strong anti-parliamentarian sentiments. For Hollar such times may well have been particularly uncertain. In 1643 he not only produced this metaphor for roundhead dissonance, but he also etched one of the key parliamentarian documents of the English Civil War, the *Solemn League and Covenant* agreed with the Scots in exchange for military assistance.⁴⁰ Hollar has been cast by certain biographers as a royalist sympathiser; however, as Chapter Four has demonstrated, he is known to have etched portraits of both royalists and parliamentarians, as well as opposing expressions of political affinity such as the *Solemn League and Covenant*.⁴¹ That the Czech printmaker, in the opinion of Richard Pennington “was more concerned to earn his living than to take sides in a foreign civil war” again suggests an enforced apolitical viewpoint brought on by financial necessity.⁴² Hollar’s business-like attitude towards both his patrons and the subjects of his prints, hints at the absence, at least in terms of graphic culture, of a ‘paper war’ fought between two distinct, organised political

³⁸ Folger MS v.b.45, fol.5v.

³⁹ Alan R. Young (ed.), *Henry Peacham’s Manuscript Emblem Books* (Toronto, 1988), xx.

⁴⁰ Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp.69-70.

⁴¹ Godfrey, *Wenceslaus Hollar: A Bohemian Artist in England*, pp.16-17; Parry, *Hollar’s England*, p.19.

⁴² Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, p.70.

machines; it points rather to a more complex exchange rooted partly in financial and economical constraints and conditions.

A mythical two-headed snake was not the only zoomorphic metaphor used to suggest disorder and subversion arising for emerging political regimes and religious diversification. A complex engraved broadside of 1642, *Heraclitus Dream* (fig.95), similarly exploits these themes within the framework of a suspended reality. As with many Civil War broadsides, the iconography of *Heraclitus Dream* questions an inhibited and disinterested attitude towards pictorial propaganda. The creative undertaking of this large and complex sheet anticipates a politically and pictorially interested audience, willing not only to interpret the print's imagery, but equally to purchase it in the first place. The engraved illustration by William Marshall accompanies a lengthy explanatory verse dissecting the image's various aspects; there are also further meditations upon the scene, 'The Authors Intent and Meaning by this Dream', which indicate a profound engagement with text and image on the part of audiences if the complex whole is to be fully appreciated.

The engraving poses an unusual premise. Heraclitus, the ancient Greek philosopher renowned for his weeping at the folly and frailty of human life, dreams of a shepherd whose flock, under the influence of poisonous herbs, turns upon him and shears him of his hair and beard. The pessimistic Heraclitus was not an unfamiliar character to seventeenth-century audiences; English translations of Pierre du Moulin's *Heraclitus: or Meditations Upon the Vanity and Misery of Humane Life* had gone through several versions and editions by the 1640s, whilst the pairing of Heraclitus with his laughing counterpart Democritus inspired texts and images, such as the anonymous *Riddles of Heraclitus and Democritus* of 1595.⁴³ His appearance in a political broadside of the 1640s underlines the folly and failings of human nature he famously weeps at. Analogies between the philosopher's 'dream' and more topical concerns are thinly disguised in the action of the engraving where, through the strangeness and incongruity of the dream, the present religious and political situation is pointedly mirrored.

The action of the scene originates from, and focuses upon the central figure of a shepherd, being set upon by his flock; his hair and beard are both clipped by the sheep, wielding pairs of shears, whilst a collection of further animals, shepherds, and even

⁴³ Pierre du Moulin, *Heraclitus: or Meditations Upon the Vanity and Misery of Humane Life* (Oxford, 1609); *The Riddles of Heraclitus and Democritus* (London, 1595); see also Andrew Calder, "From Epic and Tragic to Comic and Satiric: Reversed Perspectives in Painting and Writing from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century", *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 21 (1999), 261-275.

satyrs look on. According to the rubric at the foot of the broadside, ‘The Shepherd polled, signifieth Ministers clipped of their good Nature, Fame, and Means by rude people, without Authority, Law or Reason.’ The common beliefs of these ‘rude people’ are subtly indicated in the course of its accompanying verses; the shepherd’s abusers, ‘being shorn once a yeer, could finde no reason, But he might be poll’d too in a hot Season’, exposing their desire to manipulate their master’s appearance into that of the crop-haired, roundhead archetype.

This portrayal of the shepherd turned upon and abused by his flock draws heavily and deliberately upon Biblical allegories of the church, its ministers and its congregation. In turn, the polling of the shepherd by his flock clearly alludes to the purported treatment of the Anglican Church by the parliamentarians; just as the cavaliers were being vilified in political ephemera as a menagerie of malignants, so too the roundheads were subject to a beastly metamorphosis. “Is it not pitie (I say) that an eminent English Church after this long prosperitie, should (like a faire ship at Sea) be overwhelmed by a shole of Herrings: a swarme of buzzing *Round-heads*; a flock of stragled sheep, who...do thus leap and friske all after each other, with their lawfull bounds into unknown dangers...” declared the author of the 1642 pamphlet *The Round-head Uncovered*.⁴⁴ Similar sentiments are expressed in *Heraclitus Dream*, with parliament’s supporters defined as an unruly flock, recklessly turning upon the institution of the Church.

The content and composition of *Heraclitus Dream* points strongly to a politically literate, visually sensitive audience, appreciative of the broadside’s pro-Episcopalian sentiments, as well as its novel twist upon more conventional perceptions of the roundhead’s appearance and beliefs. Its defence of the church and attack upon parliamentarian actions certainly references a wide range of ideas and beliefs, many reserved for the highly literate levels of society. In common with the amphisbæna, *Heraclitus Dream*’s use of pagan and mythological characters, such as ‘Pan, the shepherds god’ and ‘Sylvanus, Satyres, wilde beasts of the Wood’, in a critique of the present state of the Anglican church, can be read as a highly antagonistic and satirical gesture. However, the weaving together elements of the pagan and Christian, bestial analogies and topical references, through the framework of a dream narrative more commonly encountered in medieval literature, is an ambitious undertaking. Given the sharp increase in the output of political ephemera during the 1640s, the visual

⁴⁴ *The Round-head Uncovered: Being a Moderate Triall of His Spirit* (London, 1642), p.7.

complexity and layers of meaning encountered in earlier satirical prints found itself in competition with other approaches to graphic satire. As such, *Heraclitus Dream*'s compositional and thematic ambition narrows its prospective audience. The engraved illustration itself is problematic, having been produced by the well-known engraver William Marshall following the directions of 'B.S.', presumably as part of a specific commission. As we will go on to see, this contrasts sharply with the majority of parliamentarian broadside satires, which were produced either in the cheaper medium of the woodcut, or through the recycling of older, engraved plates. Given the size and prominence of the engraving, it is likely that *Heraclitus Dream* was both a costly commission and purchase, again compromising its appeal to a wider audience.

The royalist manipulation of pictorial forms created a highly unstable roundhead archetype. A more prominent theme of royalist graphic satire developed an iconography of internecine conflict, rather than of distinction and othering. The parliamentarian response to such material, which we will now survey, adopted a very different approach. But was its impact upon audiences of the early 1640s any more successful?

IV

One of the earliest, and most comprehensive graphic satires lampooning the cavaliers is an engraved sheet which dates from 1641: *The Sucklington Faction: or [Sucklings] Roaring Boyes* (fig.96). A detailed written critique of this 'faction' frames the central image of two dissolute young men, set within a shady and subterranean interior. A zig-zag of trapdoors and open windows, the heavily curtained bed and the empty seat, lead the viewer's eye through to further, tantalising possibilities. The cavaliers, meanwhile, drink, smoke and gamble away their dissolute existences, one lighting his pipe upon a candle as it slowly melts down, the other exhaling smoke as he throws back his head in sheer abandon. Their actions and appearances echo the sentiments of one contemporary pamphlet, deriding the conventional cavalier's hat which "sits hollow like a bee-pot to receive the foggie vapours of bottle Ale and Tobacco."⁴⁵

Although the title of this broadsheet alludes to a particularly flamboyant defender of the king, Sir John Suckling, the iconography of its illustration suggests that continental influences had some bearing upon its picturing of a cavalier archetype. Tamsyn Williams has proposed that the interior image is of Dutch rather than English origins;

⁴⁵ *An Answer to the Rattleheads Concerning their Fictionate Resolution of the Roundheads* (London, 1641), sig.A3.

my own reading of the composition places it more specifically within the tradition of the Prodigal Son narrative, itself a prevalent theme in Dutch genre prints of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁶ These tavern scenes, picturing the eponymous son squandering his inheritance on dissolute distractions, have a duality of purpose as both lively pictorial narrative and cautionary moral commentary. A keen market for such didactic genre pieces provided a living for numerous Dutch artists and engravers of the period, with moralising renderings of the dangers of alcohol and tobacco proving particularly popular with middle-class consumers.⁴⁷ These concerns are transferred to the heart of *The Sucklington Faction* through its prominent illustration; the original engraving, in all likelihood a product of the regular overlap between the English and Dutch print markets, is manipulated and integrated into a politically-motivated diatribe. The verses directly beneath the image similarly indicate an earlier adaptation of its iconography, being cautionary comments on table manners and temperance, rather than the more specific critique of the cavaliers contained in the framing, and presumably later letterpress.

However, whilst the integration of text and image is less than seamless, the assimilation of a moral commentary into a political satire is an effective one. The social habits of these louche young men succinctly captures contemporary perceptions of the broadsheet's royalist namesake, Sir John Suckling. The poet and would-be soldier had initially come to the attention of the press following his accompaniment of the King to the Scottish border in May 1639. Suckling was not alone, bringing with him "a troupe of one hundred very handsome young proper men, whom he clad in white doublets and scarlett breeches, and scarlet coates, hatts and feathers..." according to an admiring John Aubrey.⁴⁸ Other observers were not quite so obsequious; one critique of the ultimately abortive mission recalled the arrival of "divers Carpet Knights to the Camp, onely for fashion, not for fighting whose cheifest attendants are either Poets or

⁴⁶ Tamsyn Williams, "Magnetic Figures: Polemical Prints of the English Revolution" in Gent and Llewelyn (eds.), *Renaissance Bodies*, p.90. Dutch genre prints based on the story of the Prodigal Son are discussed in Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands, 1550- 1700*, translated by Michael Hoyle, exh.cat (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1997), pp.118-23.

⁴⁷ Ivan Gaskell, "Tobacco, Social Deviance and Dutch Art" in Wayne E. Franits (ed.), *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.68-77; de Jongh and Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life*, pp.118-23. On attitudes towards alcohol and tobacco in seventeenth-century Holland see also Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London, 1987), pp.188-220.

⁴⁸ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (1680) edited by John Buchanan Brown (London, 2000), p.299.

Players...if it had once come to knocks, then you must have expected a Tragedie instead of a Commedie...”⁴⁹ The greatest tragedy for Suckling it seems, was the seizing of his coach at Newbourne and with it his collection of flamboyant fashions. The Scots were much amused; “wee thank you, wee received from you far more than you intended to give,” the Scottish General Leslie purportedly wrote, “...furnishing us with such a Wardrobe, as if you proposed to doe a work of charity, in covering your naked Enemy.”⁵⁰

This image of the soldier as nonchalant young man, with more enthusiasm for fashion than for fighting, recalls the character of *Sir All-In-New-Fashions* encountered in Chapter One. The continental origins of such individuals was again drawn upon during the early 1640s by tracts such as *The Birth, life, death, wil, and epitaph of Jack Puffe gentleman*. In this cautionary tale the excesses of Jack’s life are recounted: his growing wardrobe and spiralling list of creditors, his adventures in France, from which he returns ‘all frenchifide’ in manners and dress, and his subsequent death from a combination of melancholy at his debts and the notorious ‘French disease.’ “...no gallant should not ought suppose/That Prayers and glory doth consist in cloathes...” notes the pamphlet’s narrator sagely.⁵¹

However, if during the 1620s Jack Puffe’s forebears had been appropriated from continental broadsheet imagery, as both broad satirical critiques and more politically motivated lampoons, their interpretation now as symbols of allegiance to the royalist cause is clearly expressed: “What shall I pay/My money to a Roundhead” exclaims Puffe, “Ile see the rogues first damd...”⁵² No longer mere figures of fun, these young men represent a far more serious threat to the temperance and sobriety of the respectable. In the words of *The Sucklington Faction*’s letterpress, each of Suckling’s ‘roaring boyes’ follows “the proud, apish, anticke and disguised fashions of the times, to present himself a painted Puppet of the stage of vanity”; a pointed reference to the poet-dramatist Suckling no doubt, but also echoing the sentiments of William Prynne’s famously lengthy anti-theatrical tirade *Histrion-mastix*. Such theatricality, Prynne had written, implied a certain religious orientation. In his opinion, “the most of our present English Actors (as I am credibly informed) [are] professed Papists”, with all Catholics,

⁴⁹ *Vox Borealis, or the Northerne Discoverie* (np., 1641), sig.C2. See also “Upon Sir John Sucklings Most Warlike Preparations for the Scottish Warre” in *Musarum Deliciae, or the Muses Recreation*, 2nd edn. (London, 1656), pp.82-83.

⁵⁰ *A Copy of Generall Lesley’s Letter to Sir John Suckling* (np., 1641), p.4.

⁵¹ *The Birth, Life, Death, Wil, and Epitaph of Jack Puffe Gentleman* (London, 1642), p.4.

⁵² *The Birth, Life, Death, Wil, and Epitaph of Jack Puffe*, p.2.

in addition, being dangerously addicted to the practice of theatre-going.⁵³ Prynne would have held Suckling in low regard; the soldier-dramatist was himself a former Catholic who renounced his faith in 1641, having fled to France following a failed plot to free the Earl of Strafford. Sensationally, this was a conversion purportedly insisted upon by his lover, a Protestant noblewoman. Even his attempts at a more devout and virtuous existence, residing ‘piously and religiously’ in The Hague, were tainted by news reports with an air of scandal and impropriety.⁵⁴

The Sucklington Faction thus constructs an incendiary image of the cavaliers: crypto-Catholic drinkers and gamblers, stage-players and ‘painted puppets’ with their roots in a dissipated iconography; real-life individuals of dubious and flamboyant repute were fused with established stereotypes of lasciviousness and sartorial excess. In contrast to the instability of the roundhead archetype, the iconography of *The Sucklington Faction* informs a whole host of cavalier images, the broad-brimmed, feathered hats, spurred boots and lace-trimmed breeches broached the public’s consciousness through a thorough sweep of hostile pamphlet illustrations and more elaborate engraved broadsheets.⁵⁵

A criticism rapidly fostered by many anti-royalist texts and images is strongly hinted at in the seedy subterranean setting of *The Sucklington Faction* and the curtained bed in the background: an overstated display of masculine virility and an excess of sexual licentiousness, in turn shaped by critics into expressions of over-indulgence, and ultimately failure. Sensational stories circulated reporting numerous vile and rapacious crimes committed by lust-driven cavaliers, frequently and miraculously struck down in the act.⁵⁶ Oxford, home to Charles’ court for four years following his departure from London in 1642, was reviled by parliamentarians as a new Sodom, the seat of lust and sexual impropriety. According to one newssheet the city had “now become a sinke of

⁵³ William Prynne, *Histrion-mastix. The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie* (London, 1633), p.142, p.12.

⁵⁴ *Newes From Sir John Sucklin Being a Relation of his Conversion from a Papist to a Protestant* (London, 1641).

⁵⁵ See for example, I.W., *The Bloody Prince, or a Declaration of the Most Cruell Practices of Prince Rupert* (London, 1643); *A Copie of the Kings Message Sent by the Duke of Lenox* (London, 1644); *The Catholickes Petition to Prince Rupert* (London, 1644); *The Mercenary Soldier* (London, 1646), BL Shelf-mark 669.f.10(49).

⁵⁶ For example, *A Blazing Starre Scene in the West at Totneis in Devonshire Wherein is Manifested How Master Ralph Ashley, a Deboyst Calvalier, Attempted to Ravish a Young Virgin* (London, 1642); *An Exact and True Relation of a Most Cruell Murther Comitted by one of the Cavaliers on a Woman in Leicester* (London, 1642).

sin...there are so many lascivious Strumpets tollerated there, that a man can scarce goe by the street without some intisement unto lust by them.”⁵⁷

The implication that the energies of the cavaliers were spent in whoring rather than fighting, is explored in a broadsheet of 1646, *The Picture of an English Antick, With a List of his Ridiculous Habits, and Apish Gestures* (fig.97). The viewer is presented with a raffish figure whose pose and demeanour strongly allude to the portraits of prominent, gorgeously attired royalists, produced for the Oxford court by William Dobson during the early 1640s. That of *Sir William Compton* for example (fig.98), suggestively prefigures the antick's stance; Compton was a model of devotion to the king and the royalist cause, in Malcolm Rogers' words personifying “the type of the youthful, idealistic and unquenchably courageous officer.”⁵⁸ His pose merges easily into that of the *English Antick*, the satirical image playing effectively off that of the elite portrait. The interplay between the two is enhanced further by Dobson's choice of model for Compton, Daniel Myten's 1628 portrait of Charles I (fig.99). Echoing the treatment of Archbishop Laud, the elite or authorised portrait and its sitter are again manipulated by their antagonists, producing a satirical print which engages audiences on a number of levels.

The Picture of an English Antick was in circulation by the winter of 1646, five months after the parliamentarian capture of Oxford, the departure of the cavaliers and the flight of the king.⁵⁹ This pictorial transformation of the royalist image, from the noble yet flamboyant figures which graced Dobson's canvases, to a distorted exaggeration of sartorial excesses, is tellingly pronounced. ‘Maids, where are your hearts become? Look you what is here!’ implores the accompanying text. The antick's presence however, turns out to be as flaccid and disappointing as the feather flopping conspicuously from his hatband, further denigrated by ‘His breeches unhooked, ready to drop off...His shirt hanging out...His codpiece open...His sword swapping betweene his legs like a Monkeys taile...’ The cavalier's implied impotence, alluded to by his

⁵⁷ *The True Informer*, 11th-17th July (London, 1644), p.576.

⁵⁸ Malcolm Rogers, *William Dobson, 1611-46*, exh.cat (London, National Portrait Gallery, 1983), p.50. Rogers' catalogue remains the most recent study of Dobson's *oeuvre*, although Waldemar Januszczak attempts to relocate Dobson as a major talent within the history of English painting in “The First Great British Painter?”, *Tate*, 17 (Spring 1999), 58-63.

⁵⁹ George Thomason annotated his copy of the *English Antick* with the date of 18 November; BL shelf-mark 669.f.10(72). The extent to which Thomason annotated his pamphlets with the date of purchase as opposed to that of the event referred to, or its publication, is debatable; nevertheless, in a market for ephemera with a rapid turnover, it is sensible to presume that dates of publication and acquisition were essentially close.

drooping feather and limp, dishevelled attire, is in ironic contrast not only to a more positive ideal of masculine virility and strength, but also the more lascivious associations suggested by the 'Monkeys taile' inbetween his legs. This fusion of impotence and lust suggests that whilst this particular 'antick' possesses a lascivious desire, he lacks the ability to complete the act; such frustrating sexual inability, in telling contrast to the cavalier's more customary role as lascivious libertine, becomes a conspicuous mirror for both manly and military failings.

Indeed, great emphasis is placed upon his beastly, as opposed to manly qualities. Animal metaphors such as the 'apish gestures' and the simian sword conform to a close and comic association between man and beast which formed a standard tool in the denigration of both royalists and parliamentarians. Man's civility and demeanour was considered key to his pre-eminence over the bestial world; to emphasise his bestial qualities was therefore to clearly undermine his status.⁶⁰ Having previously transformed the Episcopal hierarchy into a much-maligned menagerie, such metaphors were now being used to illustrate political divisions with similar enthusiasm. The very unnatural quality of these divisions and the prospect of civil war were easily expressed in a language of zoomorphic allusions:

...it is I say a thing most horrible that we should engage our self in a war with one another, and with our own venom gnaw and consume ourself. It is strange to see a flock of birds as it were all away in the air of one kind to fight and tear another; and such fights hath been seen to prognosticate the events that should follow...

wrote Sir Henry Slingsby, as initial ideological arguments fractured from debate into military action.⁶¹ Ideas of gnawing and consuming are drawn upon in the lampooning of the cavaliers' outward appearance: "...shag pole locusts that weare hair like women...faces like men, and teeth like a Lyon, all the deformed monsters, as well inside as outside, exceedingly bad and vile..." according to one pamphleteer, their "fortune being the Jackdawes, who envied the Peacocks for having such feathers as he wanted..." in the words of another.⁶² Such associations were strengthened by the

⁶⁰ Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998), pp.84-86; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London, 1983), ch.1.

⁶¹ *The Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby*, edited by Daniel Parsons (London, 1836), p.11.

⁶² *A Short, Compendious, and True Description of the Roundheads, and the Longheads...or an Answer to...The Devil Turn'd Roundhead* (n.p., 1642), pp.5-6; *An*

existence of a 'mini-menagerie' amongst the effects of Charles' nephew Prince Rupert, himself a convincing embodiment of the cavalier. Rupert's famous dog, Boy, appeared to violate the boundaries between the human and the bestial; he was rumoured to be the offspring of a witch, or the witch herself taken up in the shape of her familiar, conversant in many languages and in possession of supernatural powers.⁶³

No less a celebrity was Rupert's 'she-monkey', a lewd and probably apocryphal curiosity whose appearance in pamphlet literature skilfully wove together the accusations of debauchery and sexual licentiousness levelled at the cavaliers with more serious charges of bestiality, again blurring the boundaries between man and animal. In one sensationalist text the creature conforms to its role as a symbol of lechery by wedding, bedding, then cuckolding her cavalier husband with an Oxford scholar, an episode recounted in such bawdy and scatological terms as to both shock and amuse.⁶⁴ The frontispiece to this tract (fig.100) celebrates the sheer absurdity of the situation: a pipe-smoking monkey, semi-clothed and carrying a sword, brusquely dismisses her royalist newly-wed. Such an incongruous scene implies a 'world upside-down' mentality, in this instance threatening the order and stability of the everyday; both the superiority of man over beast, and the unacceptable nature of sexual relations between the two, are reversed to an initially comic, yet ultimately disturbing effect.

Prince Rupert's close associations with these bestial delinquents anticipate his own transformation into a hideous man-beast hybrid. In a reversed copy of *The Picture of an English Antick* these animal implications come full circle: *Englands Wolfe with Eagles Clawes* (1646) takes the cavalier's flamboyantly frilled fashions and fits them to a monster, the clawed talons emerging incongruously from his breeches, a lupine face framed by delicately-ribboned love-locks (fig.101). This startling image is framed by a lengthy list of atrocities inflicted across the country by the royalist army, 'under the Command of that inhumane Prince Rupert, Digby, and the rest', the suggestion being

Answer to the Rattleheads Concerning their Fictionate Resolution of the Roundheads (London, 1641), sig.A3.

⁶³ *Observations upon Prince Ruperts White Dog called Boy* (London, 1642); *A Dialogue, or Rather a Parley Between Prince Ruperts Dogge Whose Name is Puddle, and Tobies Dog Whose Name is Pepper &c.* (London, 1643), sig.A2; *A Dogs Elegy, or Ruperts Tears* (London, 1644).

⁶⁴ *The Humerous Tricks and Conceits of Prince Roberts (sic) Malignant She-Monkey, Discovered to the World Before Her Marriage* (London, 1643). For a similar image linking the monkey with both lecherous and female habits, see the supposed portrait of Thomas Killigrew etched by Hollar (1642), in which the figure of a melancholy womaniser is accompanied by a similarly introspective monkey, dressed in a woman's cap and shawl; BL shelf-mark 669.f.4(90).

that this particularly monstrous specimen is the true likeness of Rupert himself. It is interesting that, bar the title, the text of this broadsheet has no direct bearing upon the illustration; like the prodigal son image of *The Sucklington Factor* this engraving appears to have been appropriated from a separate plate, to which text has been less-than-seamlessly added. However, the immediate visual impact of the hybrid creature, with its familiar fusion of bestial and human associations, itself speaks volumes.

The monster metaphor was one keenly employed in polemical terms by both royalists and parliamentarians. The 1643 broadsheet *A Strange Sight to be Seen at Westminster* likens the parliament, in absence of its king, to “Such a Monster as hath not been... a round body without a head...”⁶⁵ Similarly, the 1648 pamphlet play *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed* dramatises the political and religious diversity of the present parliament through the symbolic birth of a further, headless monster with ‘bloody hands’ and a sinister, ‘devouring panch.’⁶⁶ It was an analogy most fully exploited however, by the parliamentarians. “Why was a Parliament called at Oxford?” enquired one newssheet in 1644. “To beget a Monster, with two bodies to one head...” came the reply.⁶⁷ The portrayal of the royalist power base as a monstrous amalgamation of multiple body parts, is dramatically realised in the 1643 broadsheet *The Kingdomes Monster Uncloaked From Heaven* (fig.102). With its arresting woodcut image, it capitalises upon the concerns of a London population already unsettled by recent threats and near-misses of royalist plotting. By 1643 such subterfuge had reached its apex with the uncovering of what was to be known as ‘Waller’s Plot’.⁶⁸ A plan had been hatched by certain royalists to simultaneously take command of a number of strategic locations within the city, by then a predominantly parliamentary stronghold, in order to secure the capital for the king. These designs were uncovered, the main protagonists swiftly arrested and several executed, and the affair committed safely to memory through the publication of a number of commemorative texts, narratives and execution speeches.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *A Strange Sight to be Seen at Westminster* (Oxford, 1643); BL shelf-mark 669.f.8(8); see also *The Second Part of the Westminster Monster* (np., 1648).

⁶⁶ *Mistris Parliament Brought to Bed of a Monstrous Childe of Reformation* (London, 1648), p.8.

⁶⁷ *A New Mercury Called Mercurius Problematicus* (London, 1644), sig.A2.

⁶⁸ The name ‘Waller’s plot’ came about since it was the poet and some-time parliamentarian Edmund Waller who acted as a ‘go-between’ for the royalists in Oxford and the plot’s supporters in London. On the background to the plot see Ian Roy. “‘This Proud Unthankfull City’: A Cavalier View of London in the Civil War” in Stephen Porter (ed.), *London and the Civil War* (London, 1996), pp.160-62.

⁶⁹ Such texts include *A Brief Narrative of the Late Treacherous and Horrid Designe* (London, 1643); John Pym, *The Discovery of the Great Plot for the Utter Ruine of the*

One of the more interesting visual responses to Waller's Plot is that of *The Kingdomes Monster*. Its satirical dehumanisation of the royalist stereotype combines and plays upon a number of anxieties, the physical appearance of the eponymous monster being the most immediate. Here it further obscures the boundaries between the human and non-human, already explored in the fusion of man and animal in depictions of royalist individuals and stereotypes. Here however, its particular manipulation of the physical form, rather than instigating a man-beast hybrid, turns even more disturbingly in on itself. *The Kingdomes Monster* echoes the curious deformities of the human form known as 'monstrous births', regarded in early modern England both as premonitions and punishments, signs and consequences of sin and transgressions against God and nature.⁷⁰ During the politically and religiously turbulent 1640s, such occurrences took on an even deeper significance: in 1646 a child was reportedly born to Catholic parents in Lancashire without a head, its face emerging instead from its chest, "after the mother had wished rather to bear a Childe without a head than a Roundhead."⁷¹ A similar report came from Scotland in 1647 of a two-headed, six limbed creature born following its mother's desire "to see the utter ruine and subversion of all Church and State Government..."⁷² *The Kingdomes Monster* is a further example of such transgressions against both parliament and the Protestant faith, a triple-headed beast brandishing blades, a fiery torch, and most sinister of all, a rosary and 'popish pardon'.

The image of this popish hydra is not an isolated one; the publishing of *The Kingdomes Monster* is contemporary with that of a further illustrated broadsheet, depicting a many-headed monster of Catholic origins. The engraving of *Romes Monster, on his Monstrous Beast*, with Dutch and English captions, accompanied by explanatory verses added independently by the parliamentarian sympathiser John Vicars, similarly dates from 1643 (fig.103). This depiction of a destructive Beast of Babylon encapsulates anti-Catholic sentiments prevalent across both England and northern

City of London and the Parliament (London, 1643); *Mr Challenor his Confession and Speech Made Upon the Ladder Before his Execution on the Fifth of July, 1643* (London, 1643).

⁷⁰ Kathryn M. Brammall, "Monstrous Metamorphosis: Nature, Morality and the Rhetoric of Monstrosity in Tudor England", *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 27 (1996), pp.3-21; Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions*, pp.29-50; Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England", *Past and Present*, 92 (1981), 20-54.

⁷¹ *A Declaration of a Strange and Wonderfull Monster Born in Kirkham Parish in Lancashire* (London, 1646).

⁷² *Strange Newes From Scotland, or, a Strange Relation of a Terrible and Prodigious Monster Borne to the Amazement of All Those That Were Spectators* (London, 1647), p.4.

Europe since the Reformation. Its combination of scatology and demonic motifs, components of polemical images discussed in Chapter Two, place it visually as a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century work, likely to have been first published in a continental centre of graphic production such as Amsterdam. It is possible however that earlier copies minus Vicars' verses had been in circulation in London during the 1620s, capitalising on anti-Catholic fervour. William Peake, whose name and shop near Holborn conduit appear upon the imprint, was the son of Robert Peake the elder, Sergeant Painter to James I; Peake the elder had supplemented his artistic employment through dealing in paintings by masters such as Titian and Van Dyck, as well as engravings, from his shop on Snow Hill.⁷³ A high-quality, continental print such as that of the Pope astride 'his monstrous beast' may well have found a place within the earlier stock of either of the Peakes. Now issued with a letterpress of provocative anti-papist verses by Vicars, the engraving forms part of a 1640s print culture, which commonly twinned Catholicism with royalism. Interestingly, the Peake family's allegiances were notably with the crown; William's brother Robert, described by one scholar as "staunchly royalist", was involved in the notorious siege at Basing House in 1645, and knighted the same year by the king at Oxford.⁷⁴ Given the printseller's clear familial connections to the royalist cause, the appearance of his name and address on the imprint to *Romes Monster* initially appears curious. Whilst no direct reference to the king's forces or their ideologies is mentioned in the text of this print, the closely coinciding dates of publication of this and *The Kingdomes Monster*, coupled with their complementary subject matter, suggests a clear connection between the two.⁷⁵ Although Peake may have been fully aware of a distinct anti-royalist symbolism developing around the hydra motif, in economically uncertain times the printseller, in the manner of Wenceslaus Hollar, seems to have been willing to sacrifice a certain measure of his personal political allegiances for financial gains.

The connection between royalism and the popish hydra was one expressed and understood in several forms. A many-headed Beast of Babylon wearing ecclesiastical headwear graced several emblematical banners carried into battle on the parliamentarian side, variously attacked by armed men, and the Lamb of God (fig.104); such symbolism

⁷³ Rostenberg, *English Publishers in the Graphic Arts*, p.20.

⁷⁴ Mary Edmond, "Limners and Picturemakers: New Light on the Lives of Miniaturists and Large-Scale Portrait Painters Working in London in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries". *Walpole Society*, 47 (1980), p.133.

⁷⁵ The annotated copies of both broadsides found in the Thomason Tracts are separated in date by just eleven days.

again captures succinctly the parliamentarian casting of their opposition as dangerous adherents to the Church of Rome.⁷⁶

Reflecting these hydra images, the ‘Popish Conspirators’, ‘Bloudy Irish’ and ‘Malignant plotters’ of *The Kingdomes Monster* are united as a single force conspiring secretly once more to oust the Protestant church for that of Rome. The popish plot narrative was not an unfamiliar one. With fears of a Catholic rebellion in Ireland spilling over into a divided England, and with the twin threats of royalism and Catholicism inextricably fused in the pages of parliamentarian pamphlet polemic, old fears and anxieties experienced during former decades were reworked into new, yet highly derivative texts and images; other material underwent a timely reprinting. Francis Herring’s *Mischeefes Myserie: or Treasons Masterpeece, the Powder-plot*, first translated from the Latin by John Vicars in 1617, was published again in 1641 under the title of *The Quintessence of Cruelty, or Masterpiece of Treachery*. The inclusion of a new illustration (fig.105), picturing Guy Fawkes approaching the Houses of Parliament, owes clear debts to the imagery of the *Double Deliverance* of 1621 and its later derivatives. By adapting this motif, the illustration of Fawkes cleverly engages an established motif of popish plotting with topical fears and concerns of invasion and conversion.

So too does *Novembris Monstrum, or, Rome Brought to Bed in England*, a further pamphlet published in 1641 with heavy debts to the plot imagery of the 1620s. It includes an illustration (fig.106) which focuses similarly upon Fawkes and his business with Parliament: here observed by three distinct representations of God, and urged on by a sinister trio of devil, Jesuit and Pope. This imagery clearly anticipates that of *The Kingdomes Monster*, with its appropriation of the Parliament motif and the holy hands of Heaven; additionally, one sinister triumvirate is seamlessly exchanged for another as the monster sets about lighting his own trail of gunpowder. Whilst *Novembris Monstrum*’s title derives from the Latin ‘monstrare’, to show or to demonstrate, it subtly alludes to both the title and theme of *The Kingdomes Monster*. Further shared elements are revealed as the opening lines of *Novembris Monstrum* imagine the Catholic threat towards England once posed by the gunpowder plot in highly specific terms:

And see; the Pope hath travail’d once againe
With a new Affrick Monster, worse than came

⁷⁶ British Library Harley MS 1377 fol.3; British Library Additional MS 12447 fol.23v; Alan R. Young (ed.), *The English Emblem Tradition: Emblematic Flag Devices of the English Civil War* (Toronto, 1995), p.257.

From their she-popedome, when a woman prov'd
The Churches head & all the body mov'd...

before going on to describe the birth of the plot/monster itself as “a strange delivery.”⁷⁷ *Novembris Monstrum* should not be cited as the sole source and inspiration for *The Kingdomes Monster*; it does however, point to the subtle, and sometimes not so subtle appropriation and reworking of older, established imagery, here the *Double Deliverance* material of the 1620s, in order to provoke and persuade opinion. That the monster’s ‘Spanish Ruffe, and Jacket shew him here/To be halfe Papish, and halfe Cavalier’ is indicative of long-standing prejudices transformed once again into propaganda, having been kept alive by a well-nurtured textual and visual polemic.

Once again the language of conflict of the 1640s, in both visual and textual terms, looks to the 1620s and earlier for its inspiration. A survey of anti-royalist graphic satire reveals its debt not only to common fears and concerns such as plots, monsters, and the omnipresent fear of popery, but also to a pictorial vocabulary with established roots, whether in elite portraiture or graphic celebrations of providence. The association of the royalist cause with recognisable motifs of hostility, antagonism and moral decay, appears to have been an effective tactic in the rallying of parliamentary support.

An analysis of parliamentary graphic satire, and an understanding of the themes it manipulated, indicates much truth in M. Dorothy George’s suggestion that they ‘had the best of it’. Any royalist ‘campaign’ of pictorial propaganda appears ill-defined and ill-judged in comparison to the powerful output of pro-parliamentary presses. However, the concept of an effective polemical campaign, engaging with the pictorial yet rooted in puritan ideologies, remains a curious one. To understand why this relationship between the pictorial and the puritan was enabled, requires an overview of a number of complex factors: geographical, economical and political.

V

Returning to the incendiary image of Hotham and the king, and to *Mercurius Britanicus*’ lofty claims raises an important question: did painters and poets indeed ‘dare anything’ in their contribution to a conflict played out as much upon the written page for a visually, and textually literate audience, as within the confines of Westminster and the battlefield? The issue of these creative responses is a complex one,

⁷⁷ *Novembris Monstrum, or, Rome Brought to Bed in England* (London, 1641), p.1.

with no clear answer. It has been demonstrated that visual polemic could provide an effective vehicle for political expression; however, as the royalist grasp of the graphic medium has revealed, this remained true only up to a point. Furthermore, even with the strictures of censorship neglected, if not abandoned, certain subjects remained problematic and best avoided.

That the royal image features rarely in visual political critiques of the early 1640s is indicative not only of the continued reverence associated with the king's person by both royalists and parliamentarians, but also of general attitudes towards the monarchical image itself: a carefully constructed and controlled persona and unimpeachable symbol, and a seamless extension of the king. The Commons' condemnation of the engraving of Hotham and Charles is representative of a general unwillingness on the part of parliament to sanction any public lampoon on the King's character or conduct, an unwillingness which remained largely in place throughout the decade.⁷⁸ Whilst the figure of the monarch was subject to criticism by the provocative popular press, it was a criticism frequently couched in allusive terms, with direct denigrations of the person of the King unusual.⁷⁹ Even the publication in 1645 of *The King's Cabinet Opened*, a collection of Charles' private correspondence seized by parliamentarian troops following the Battle of Naseby, in many respects backfired on those who perceived the capture of the King's letters as a political coup and propagandist weapon.⁸⁰ Whilst the royalist press at Oxford turned out impassioned rebukes and defences, Marchamont Nedham, author of the parliamentarian *Mercurius Britannicus*, was himself admonished by the House of Lords for his acerbic comments on the correspondence, and was forced to issue a public apology; his continually hostile observations upon the King, such as his recurring stammer, went on to earn Nedham a spell of time in the Fleet, and (albeit temporarily), the loss of his job.⁸¹ Only following the king's execution did the

⁷⁸ See for example Robert Zaller, "The Figure of the Tyrant in English Revolutionary Thought", *Journal of the History of European Ideas*, 10 (1989), 641-655, on the reluctance of parliament during the 1640s to consider Charles using the thorny, and indeed to a point treasonable label of tyrant.

⁷⁹ Raymond, "Popular Representations of Charles I", pp.47-73.

⁸⁰ *The Kings Cabinet Opened: or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters & Papers, Written with the Kings Own Hand, and Taken in his Cabinet at Nasby-Field* (London, 1645).

⁸¹ *A Satyr Occasioned by the Author's Survey of a Scandalous Pamphlet Intituled The Kings Cabanet Opened* (Oxford, 1645); *Some Observations Upon Occasion of the Publishing of Their Majesties Letters* (Oxford, 1645); on the royalist reaction to *The Kings Cabinet Opened* see also Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil War*, pp.129-38; Worden, "Wit in a Roundhead", pp.315-16.

defacement of his public image reach significant levels; the episode recounted by Sir John Gibson whereby

“On August the 10, 1650 the Kings statue in the Royal Exchange in London was broken and defaced, with these words written over the head, *Exit Tyrannus Regum Ultimus Anno Libertatis Anglia Restituta Primo, Anno 1648, Jan:30*. That is, The Last Tyrant King (or Ruler) goes out, on the 30th day of January, 1648, in the first year of liberty restored to England.”

reads just as much a statement of intent regarding the erasure of the old institution of kingship as any posthumous display of disrespect.⁸² The legacy of the Hotham engraving was evidently shortlived.

What the painters and poets (and engravers) did dare do, and indeed did rather well, was to manipulate many of the negative stereotypes of certain stock characters – the fop, the papist, the monster – who had been sketched and fleshed out by the political and religious satire of previous decades. The ‘cavalier’ archetype born out of these ideas is at once familiar, yet strange enough to instil suspicion and antagonism, as such weighed down by these hostile associations. In creative terms, the exaggerated flamboyance of the cavalier stereotype possesses a far more powerful visual resonance than that of the sober, cropped and restrained roundhead, who finds his own character frequently projected for the trade in broadsides and engravings onto altogether more interesting identities – or not at all. Numerous tracts and pamphlets claim to accurately describe the character of a roundhead, his appearance, faults and flaws, yet few construct a definitive pictorial image of their subject. Visually speaking at least, the puritans and parliamentarians turned the tables on their purportedly creative and astute opponents in their adaptation of the pictorial as propaganda.

The reasons behind the parliamentarians’ successful exploitation of visual propaganda are both complex and debatable. As has already been discussed, the creative and aesthetic sensibilities of the puritans were acknowledged as somewhat underdeveloped. It is true that during the Civil War London was a parliamentary stronghold, with many puritans holding key posts within its administration. The godly Isaac Pennington for example, Lord Mayor between 1642 and 1643 has been described

⁸² Commonplace book of Sir John Gibson, 1655-60; British Library Additional MS 37719, fol.198v. See also *Mercurius Politicus*, 15 – 22 August (London, 1650), p.162.

as “a man of first importance in the Puritan movement.”⁸³ Furthermore, a significant proportion of its citizens, if moderate rather than revolutionary in their puritanism, were strongly sympathetic towards the return of a pre-Laudian style of worship. They were hostile towards the lavish, purportedly popish church decoration introduced under the former Archbishop, with its emphasis upon aestheticism and visual spectacle; indeed one of the most notable episodes of iconoclasm within the capital, the assault in January 1642 upon Cheapside Cross, was viewed by contemporary pamphleteers as “a symbolic statement about the allegiance of London to the reformed cause.”⁸⁴ An aversion towards religious imagery however, should not be regarded as a comprehensive mistrust of visual material, and caution should be exercised when thinking about the capital, centre of both the print trade and political activity as entirely ‘iconophobic’. John Vicars, author of the verses which accompany the engraved, anti-papist polemic of *Romes Monster, on his Monstrous Beast*, held particularly vehement attitudes towards church decoration and religious imagery. However, David Cressy’s recent description of Vicars, as “militant in calling for the immediate elimination of images, by violence if necessary” sits uneasily with Vicar’s involvement with the engraving of *Romes Monster*, or works such as his heavily illustrated 1646 text *A Sight of ye Trans-actions of These Latter Yeares Emblemized with Ingraven Plats*.⁸⁵

The hasty suppression of the Hotham engraving further suggests an appetite in the capital for challenging and thought-provoking imagery. Such an appetite echoes a further oxymoron, the puritan ‘murder pamphlets’ of early modern London discussed by Peter Lake, who refers to “an on-going dialogue between the puritan and the popular”, in which certain ‘godly authors’ “could dip into the repertoire of cheap print and the canons of popular taste to get their case across to ‘the people.’”⁸⁶ Our present understanding of puritan attitudes towards the pictorial, still heavily influenced by the complexities of religious art and zealous iconoclasm, demands a significant degree of reappraisal.

Another method of reasoning this proportional bias of parliamentarian over royalist pictorial propaganda can be through examining rates of survival. The key source for the study of such material during this period is the Thomason Tracts, an extensive

⁸³ Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution*, p.179.

⁸⁴ Joel Budd, “Rethinking Iconoclasm in Early Modern England”, p.398.

⁸⁵ David Cressy, “Different Kinds of Speaking: Symbolic Violence and Secular Iconoclasm in Early Modern England” in Muriel C. McClendon, Joseph P. Ward and Michael MacDonald (eds.), *Protestant Identities; Religion, Society and Self-Fashioning in Post-Reformation England* (Stanford, 1999), p.33.

⁸⁶ Lake, “Popular Form, Puritan Content?”, p.333.

collection of pamphlets, tracts and broadsides published during the years of the Civil War and Interregnum, collected by the London bookseller George Thomason and now preserved in the British Library. During the early part of the conflict Thomason considered himself a parliamentarian, or at least held strong parliamentarian sympathies, which raises questions over a potential propensity towards pro-roundhead, anti-cavalier tracts and broadsides with regard to Thomason's collecting habits.⁸⁷ Yet part of the scholarly value of Thomason's collection lies in its very thoroughness and impartiality: Thomason was keen to acquire copies of both *Mercurius Britannicus* and its royalist adversary *Mercurius Aulicus*, happy to purchase both the scathing assaults upon William Laud, and impassioned defences of the Archbishop. It is unlikely that he failed to acquire certain tracts or broadsides simply because he did not agree with their content from a political or religious point of view.

Rather the chief argument against the perception of the Thomason Tracts as an accurate mirror of mid-seventeenth-century publishing habits and trends is concerned not with its thoroughness but with its completeness; a number of tracts, newssheets, and most frequently illustrated broadsides, survive uniquely in the collection. However, as D. F. MacKenzie has demonstrated, in 1644 Thomason acquired only 699 of the 1,113 tracts listed in Wing, a collection rate of only 63%, whilst Joad Raymond has calculated an average collection rate of 59.7% of all extant publications by Thomason for the period 1641-50.⁸⁸ It is possible that certain types of material, pro-royalist propaganda even, were available for sale and consumption on the streets of London, purchased not by collectors like Thomason, but as political, potentially dangerous ephemera, which have simply not survived.

Yet a more plausible and convincing explanation for the prevalence of parliamentarian graphic satire within the Thomason Tracts, and within the Civil War print trade in general, is a geographical one. London was both the central seat of government, a parliamentarian stronghold, and the country's established centre for print production. The popularity of and market for royalist tracts and royalist imagery, given the capital's albeit broad political orientation is questionable. Whilst individuals such as Hollar remained for some time in the capital in spite of their political convictions, we

⁸⁷ Spencer, "The Politics of George Thomason".

⁸⁸ D.F. Mackenzie, "The London Book Trade in 1644", in J. Horden (ed.), *Bibliographia: Lectures, 1975-88* (Oxford, 1992), p.144; Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), p.193. See also Stephen J. Greenberg, "Dating Civil War Pamphlets, 1641-1644", *Albion*, 20 (1988), 387-401 on problems with employing the Thomason Tracts as an accurate reflection of historical event and publishing activity.

also know that certain creative types with strong pro-royalist inclinations left London in pursuit of the king at Oxford, for ideological as well as financial reasons. John Taylor for example, having fled the capital in 1643, turned up at the makeshift royal court where he fulfilled official duties as a Yeoman of the Guard and water-bailiff for the city, whilst also finding time to fire off satirical salvos at the parliamentarians and produce a steady stream of Royalist pamphlets.⁸⁹ Others displayed their convictions in a more direct manner, with Inigo Jones, William Faithorne and engraver and print-seller Robert Peake the younger reportedly taking up arms for the king at the siege of Basing House in 1645, itself described by Ian Roy as “a refuge for displaced actors...artists, print-sellers and other members of the cultivated elite of the capital.”⁹⁰ Wenceslaus Hollar is also imagined at Basing House by George Vertue and other early biographers, an unlikely caprice since there is no contemporary evidence to support his presence there; conversely, as Richard Pennington states, Hollar’s name is found in the Register of the Guild of St Luke at Atwerp for the year 1644-45, strongly indicative of the etcher’s abandonment of England for less volatile, and more financially rewarding shores.⁹¹ These examples are telling in themselves; whilst the setting up of printing presses at Oxford ensured the production and circulation of royalist texts such as those of John Taylor, as well as the royalist newssheet *Mercurius Aulicus*, using presses already present within the university town, the establishment of the more specialist trade of the engraver was a far trickier matter. Were Robert Peake and his compatriots caught up at Basing House not only through an unadulterated desire to fight for their king, but also due to the fact that London no longer provided a secure living for their various talents and trades, with the unstable Oxford court a poor substitute for established trade networks and consumers? Peake may have been unwilling to remain in London creating and selling the kind of pro-parliamentarian material Wenceslaus Hollar appears to have been financially obligated to produce. However, it does not seem improbable to imagine a number of engravers, woodblock workers and print-sellers in similar circumstances to that of the Czech, choosing to forgo any political convictions in order to remain employed, hence a greater output of anti-royalist material. *Mercurius Britannicus*’ painters and poets might dare anything, but only since the economic and geographical conditions of the situation allowed them to do so.

⁸⁹ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford, 1994), pp.150-52.

⁹⁰ Roy, “A Cavalier View of London”, p.156.

⁹¹ George Vertue, “Notebooks”, in *Walpole Society*, 6 vols. (London, 1930-47), I, 140; Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, xxx.

Chapter Six

‘Religion is a Circle’: Presbyterianism, Independency and Identity

I

As previous chapters have demonstrated, the visual language of political controversy was reconfigured rather than invented *de novo* during the early 1640s. In the creation of visual polemic, graphic satire was dependent on a native and a European pictorial vocabulary, often with heavy debts to imagery of the 1620s and earlier. Religious disputes over the structure of the Anglican Church were similarly expressed by the adaptation of existing models, such as the Marprelate tracts in the critiquing of Episcopacy, and the reprinting of earlier texts, including those of Marprelate and Alexander Leighton. By the time of William Laud’s execution in 1645, the focus of both religious and political debate was shifting. The fate of Episcopacy and what should replace it, and antagonistic exchanges between supporters of the king and those of parliament, were gradually being overtaken by new concerns; these matters centred on both a growing awareness of, and antipathy towards, the consequences of religious diversification.

The established Church now constituted an increasingly multipartite spectrum of worshippers. As well as many prayer book loyalists, it included a broad, rather than orthodox Presbyterian majority in favour of a compulsory national church, and a number of Independent sects seeking ‘liberty of conscience’, that is freedom of worship and toleration for their often less than conventional beliefs and practices.¹ The changing focus of post-1645 religious debate had significant consequences for the development of pictorial polemic and satirical commentary. Moreover, such changes potentially offered the emergence of new and unfamiliar political iconographies.

This chapter demonstrates that whilst new concerns were addressed, as the language of politics and religion was transformed by these debates, the reflecting imagery of graphic satire during the later 1640s was less ‘original’ than we might suppose. Its

¹ On the background to the religious diversification and divisions of the later 1640s see Ann Hughes, “‘Popular’ Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s: the Cases of Thomas Edwards and Thomas Hall” in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *England’s Long Reformation, 1500-1800* (London, 1998), pp.235-59 and *ibid*, “The Frustrations of the Godly” in John Morrill (ed.), *Revolution and Restoration: England in the 1650s* (London, 1992), pp.70-90; John Morrill, “The Church in England, 1642-9” in John Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War 1642-1649* (Basingstoke, 1982), pp.89-114; MacGregor and Reay (eds.), *Radical Religion in the English Revolution*.

impact, however, was no less effective; as we will go on to see, the editing and adapting of existing material was a common, and powerful, polemical tool. The first section considers the treatment of one motif of liberty of conscience, adapted and manipulated by both Independent and Presbyterian polemicists. These multiple appropriations reveal both the propagandists' need to claim certain images as their own, and their detractors' need to undermine the impact of such images, and subvert their prior meaning. As with the antagonistic royalist and parliamentarian discussed in the previous chapter, a consistent dialogue between two opponents is far too simple a model to employ; however, this chapter will demonstrate at times a burgeoning sense of debate and exchange between polemicists with opposing ideologies. We will then go on to examine further instances of appropriation and repetition in the configuration of a series of identities, both fictional and fact-based, during the later 1640s. As we will see, this recourse to earlier models and themes is a highly creative one, not only through its conscious selection and manipulation, but also through the introduction of new influences and ideas.

II

The vociferous market for information, debate and polemic in Civil War London resulted in the rapid production and dissemination of tracts and pamphlets; given this quick and continual consumption, new material was less common than the reworking of existing texts and ideas.² The nature of censorship was somewhat arbitrary during the mid to late 1640s, erratic in spite of the introduction of a new printing ordinance in March 1643; such sporadic licensing, combined with the absence of any 'copyright' system, further exposed such texts to the dangers of plagiarism and reinterpretation.³ In an analysis of Milton's divorce tracts Lucasta Miller has highlighted the potential weakness of the pamphlet form during this period, being "vulnerable to appropriation, deconstruction, and reconstruction by rival texts...capable of generating unintended

² On the workings of the London pamphlet market during this period see Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003); Friest, *Governed by Opinion*; Michael Mendle, "Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England" in Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (eds.), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp.201-16.

³ The printing ordinance of 1643 and its effectiveness are discussed by Mendle in "De Facto Freedom, De Facto Authority".

fictions...”⁴ The pamphlet was not unique in this respect. Given the mnemonic qualities attached to eye-catching images, it is unsurprising that pictorial ephemera similarly found itself prey to ‘unintended fictions’.

George Thomason annotated his copy of the broadsheet *Dictated Thoughts* with the date ‘14 April 1646’.⁵ It is the earliest of a number of Presbyterian and Independent diatribes which develop to form an intriguing visual exchange. It is made up of a lengthy textural critique of Presbyterianism and hierarchical church governments, and a small engraving with heavy visual debts to the emblem book (fig.107). Through this illustration’s imagery, Presbyterianism is equated with the twin dangers of (an albeit recently defunct) Episcopacy and the omnipresent threat of popery: a sinister triumvirate of Pope, prelate and ‘Antichristian Presbiter’, clutching copies of the Latin mass, liturgy, and Westminster Directory respectively, stab at the winged heart of ‘Tender Conscience’. From this heart issue biblical verses advocating forbearance in the face of adversity.

The winged and smoking heart was a much-adapted motif of the period. It makes an earlier appearance in an English iconography through George Wither’s *Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635), as a symbol of the virtuous soul’s desire for ‘Heavenly-knowledge’ (fig.108). As the verses accompanying Wither’s emblem observe,

The Winged-heart betokens those Desires,
By which, the Reasonable-soule, aspires
Above the Creature; and attempts to clime,
To Mysteries, and Knowledge, more sublime...

Similar sentiments are expressed in another emblem-rich text, Christopher Harvey’s *Schola Cordis, or, The Heart of It Selfe, Gone Away From God*, first published in 1647. Harvey adapted his work from an earlier continental source of Catholic origins, Benedictus van Haeften’s 1629 emblem book of the same name.⁶ Emblem 38 (fig.109) imagines the heart’s ascent ‘with speedy flight tow’rds the celestiall spheares’, as in Wither’s emblem aided by the addition of divinely-appointed wings. By 1647 however,

⁴ Lucasta Miller, “The Shattered Violl: Print and Textuality in the 1640s”. *Essays and Studies*, new ser., 46 (1993), p.27.

⁵ BL Shelf-mark 669.f.10(48).

⁶ Bernhard F. Scholz, “Emblematic Word-Image Relations in Benedictus van Haeften’s ‘Schola Cordis’ (Antwerpen, 1629) and Christopher Harvey’s ‘School of the Heart’ (London, 1647/1664)” in Bart Westerweel (ed.), *Anglo-Dutch Relations in the Field of the Emblem* (Leiden, 1997), pp.149-76.

as the *Schola Cordis* extended its influence to English-speaking audiences, the significance of such heart imagery was shifting from van Haeften's original intentions. Indeed Harvey's work, an adaptation, rather than a direct translation of van Haeften, shifts from the didactic and rational voice to what Bernhard. F. Scholz has termed 'the inward turn', expressing an almost meditative self-examination and reflection characteristic of much nonconformist worship.⁷ The winged heart's relation to tolerance and conscience can be shown to be clearer. Nigel Smith has noted the prominent illustrative role played by the heart in the writings of a further nonconformist, the Dutchman Hendrik Niclaes, sixteenth-century leader of the separatist Family of Love.⁸ The republishing of much of Niclaes' work in England during the late 1640s and 1650s is said to have held a broad appeal for those worshipping outside the established church, as well as those largely disparate groups who considered themselves as Familists. This Familist interest in the heart again sits coherently with *Dictated Thoughts*' use of such imagery, given the censure which this much-derided sect was subjected to by the Presbyterian majority. In Niclaes' writings the heart is central in the picturing of a union between man and God, a union obtainable here through his teachings. A series of illustrations to *A Figure of the True and Spiritual Tabernacle* (1655) for example, culminate in such a merger (fig.110): the words 'God and man' are inscribed about the open artery of a heart, through which this higher love flows, and is reflected in the flashes of light which radiate from it. The heart symbolises not only the uniting locus of a relationship between man and God, but also a union realised through practices and teachings outside and independent of a national, Presbyterian church.

The ascending heart of *Dictated Thoughts*, with its prominent label of 'Tender Conscience', reflects and develops this sectarian language; it casts the heart as a symbol of religious self-awareness set upon by its natural enemies, popery, prelacy and Presbyterianism. The inclusion of this illustration demonstrates a clear desire to associate Presbyterian aggression with the negative associations of popery and Episcopacy.⁹ Indeed, its subsequent effectiveness as a political and religious emblem is

⁷ Scholz, "Emblematic Word-Image Relations", p.165.

⁸ Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640-1660* (Oxford, 1989), pp.162-68. On familists in early modern England see Christopher W. Marsh, *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550-1630* (Cambridge, 1994); Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion From Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000).

⁹ A variation on this iconographic theme dominates the title page to John Spittlehouse's *Rome Ruin'd by Whitehall, or, the Papall Crown Demolisht* (London, 1649), with its triple-headed Pope flanked and supported by the prelate and the presbyter.

demonstrated through its recurrence in several contemporary, nonconformist polemics, its appearance again broadly symbolic as opposed to illustrative. The emblem itself first reappears upon the title page of *The Tender Conscience Religiously Affected*, a pamphlet decrying the Westminster Assembly annotated by George Thomason with the date of 9 May 1646, and again illustrating a further anti-Presbyterian broadside, *Severall Votes of Tender Conscience*, itself in Thomason's hands by 23 July.¹⁰

It seems either that the illustrations to a number of printed works were being pulled using the same engraved plate by the same, anonymous publisher, or that the plate was being circulated around a group of publishers with similar religious and political beliefs. London publishers and sellers of radical ephemera during this period formed a relatively small and geographically intimate group, with these networks a highly active, contributing factor towards the shaping of popular political opinion.¹¹ Pope's Head Alley, for example, long-associated with the sale and circulation of prints and engravings, had by the late 1640s come to be known as a centre for the production of sectarian pamphlet literature, counting the radical publishers Henry Overton and Henry Cripps amongst its inhabitants.¹² An organised assault on the visual consciousness of the broadsheet-buying public of 1646, mobilised by such a group, is not implausible.

A Presbyterian response to these attacks followed. However, the iconography of pope, prelate and presbyter was not simply rebuffed; rather the motif formed the very weapon with which a counter-attack was launched. *A Reply to Dictated Thoughtes by a More Proper Emblem* (fig.111), its very title acknowledging the visual roots of its template, can be dated to November 1646, some eight months after the appearance of its original pictorial source.¹³ This response to the original broadside manipulates its source accordingly: the Presbyter is replaced by a double-headed curiosity, the 'Profane Libertin', in league with popery and Episcopacy as he stabs at the winged heart of the virtuous soul. This substitution is highly significant. The two faces of the 'Libertin' recall the Janus-face and split personality of the Rattle-head encountered in Chapter Five, a part prelate, part priest symbolic of an Episcopal regime which could not sustain itself under Archbishop Laud. The figure also anticipates the two-faced figure of hypocrisy who, along with 'Libertines' and 'Ante-Sabatarians', flees from the wrath and

¹⁰ BL Shelfmarks E.337(4) and 669.f.10(68).

¹¹ John Bernard, "London Publishing, 1640-1660: Crisis, Continuity and Innovation", *Publishing History*, 4 (2001), 1-16; Maureen Bell, "Hannah Allan and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-1651", *Publishing History*, 26 (1989), 5-66.

¹² Bell, "Hannah Allan", p.7.

¹³ BL Shelfmark 669.f.10(102).

swords of 'Warr' and 'Pestilence' in *An Embleme of the Times* (fig.112), an anti-Sectarian broadside of January 1647.

Further additions to *A Reply to Dictated Thoughts* emphasise both the visual consciousness of the consuming public, and, the extent to which such visual polemic circulated about this public. The two remaining protagonists of the piece are supported their own additions: the Bishop is supplemented by an hourglass and a skull, indicative no doubt of the fate of Episcopacy, whilst the Pope is now accompanied by a monstrous beast, with heavy claws and smoke billowing from its nostrils. An examination of the origins of this monster underlines the magpie-like appropriation of imagery undertaken in 1640s London.

This distinctive creature appears to have been freely adapted from an Independent broadside published three months earlier, *The Watchmans Warning Peece* (fig.113). Purportedly 'An Emblem of this Age' and heavy with religious symbolism, the *Warning Peece* pictures 'a plain, just, downright man indeed' protectively guiding a lamb through a dark and rocky landscape. His actions are threatened by the attentions of a dragon, leopard and snake, each ominously marked with the telling initial letter P.¹⁴ Deciphering this emblem, the text nominates these sinister creatures as representatives of popery, prelacy and Presbytery respectively, further arguing that if parliament chooses to govern without the support of the (primarily Independent) army, it will inevitably fall prey to these enemies.

The Watchmans Warning Peece is itself a study in plagiarism and appropriation. Its immediate source can be found in a series of emblems engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar, collectively published under the title of *Emblemata Nova* during the early 1640s (fig.114). Hollar used as his own source a Flemish emblem book, Otto van Veen's *Q. Horatii Flacci Emblemata*, first published in Antwerp in 1607. Prior to 1646, the plates of the *Emblemata Nova* were in the hands of Peter Stent, having first been the property of Robert Walton. Under Stent's entrepreneurial ownership, certain of the plates were either sold, or lent out to illustrate other projects.¹⁵ The illustration to the motto

¹⁴ This marking of the beasts with the letter P may have earlier, satirical echoes in "an alliterative sixteenth-century conceit of the four, or three Ps", such as the 'Poets, Pipers and Players' attacked by Stephen Gosson in the *Schoole of Abuses* or the 'Printers, Players and Preachers' highlighted by John Foxe; Collinson, *Birthpangs of Protestant England*, p.114.

¹⁵ Alan R. Young, "Wenceslaus Hollar, the London Book Trade, and Two Unidentified English Emblem Books" in Peter M. Daly (ed.), *The English Emblem and the Continental Tradition* (New York, 1988), pp.161-65; Pennington, *A Descriptive Catalogue*, pp.66-67.

‘Innocentia ubique tuta’ (innocence is safe everywhere) found itself incorporated into *The Watchmans Warning Peece*, its subject matter stressing the supposedly protective assistance offered to the city of London by a standing army. The plate had again changed hands by 1651, either via Stent or the printer of *The Watchmans Warning Peece*. In its next incarnation, ‘Innocence’ becomes one of the illustrations to the first English translation of Thomas Hobbes’ *De Cive, or Philosophicall Rudiments Concerning Government and Society* (fig.115), one conspicuous alteration being the transformation of the face of the ‘plain, just, downright man’ into a posthumous likeness of Charles I.¹⁶ The emblem scholar Alan R. Young has proposed that these illustrations contribute little to the content of *De Cive*, their purpose being to “serve only as visual attractions for the reader, suitably serious in their moral tenor.”¹⁷ It is true that their direct relevance to both text and author is debatable, with Hobbes’ own involvement in this translation unclear. At the time of its publication he remained in a self-imposed exile in Paris, and responsibility for the text’s illustrations, highly involved as Hobbes was in the case of *Leviathan*, fell to its English publisher Richard Royston.¹⁸ Royston held strong royalist sympathies, and was a publisher of the handbook of royal duty and loyalty, the *Eikon Basilike*. As such the casting of Charles I, his neck bearing the marks of recent execution, into the emblematic role of innocence, undoubtedly converts a mere ‘visual attraction’ into a highly-charged political image. As a London publisher and bookseller well practiced in the publication of political polemic, Royston would clearly have understood and appreciated the implications of manipulating this particular plate, with its previous pictorial links to an Independent, fiercely anti-royalist army.

Previously integrated into both the *Emblemata Nova* and *The Watchmans Warning Peece*, this much adapted illustration also came to the attention of the creator of *A Reply to Dictated Thoughts* as he incorporated both dragon and leopard into his own design. It is possible that he worked directly from a copy of the *Emblemata Nova*, adapting a particular element of a visually busy emblem in the same way that he might use a pattern book. Alternatively, the more politically-charged *Warning Peece* may have

¹⁶ On Hollar’s plates and Hobbes see Noel Malcolm, “Charles Cotton, Translator of Hobbes’ ‘De Cive’”, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 61 (1998), 259-87; M. M. Goldsmith, “Hobbes’s Ambiguous Politics”, *History of Political Thought*, 11 (1990), 639-73 and *ibid*, “Picturing Hobbes’ Politics? The Illustrations to ‘Philosophicall Rudiments’”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 44 (1981), 323-27.

¹⁷ Young, “Wenceslaus Hollar”, p.165.

¹⁸ On Hobbes’ involvement in the conception of the *Leviathan* title-page see Keith Brown, “The Artist of the ‘Leviathan’ Title-page”, *British Library Journal*, 4 (1978), 24-36.

provided the template, its Independent sentiments and support no bar to the creature's reappearance in an anti-sectarian broadside. Indeed, this subtle adaptation can again be seen to threaten the integrity of the original source, undermining its previous sentiments.

This appropriation of imagery reveals much about the consumption of pictorial polemic during this period. The recycling of a sectarian graphic satire into an attack on the 'Profane Libertin', and the metamorphosis of a symbol of parliamentary protection into that of royal martyr, both emphasise the readiness of polemicists and satirists constantly to subvert the ideas and expressions of their enemies, whilst conversely establishing their own repertoire of heroes and anti-heroes. This phenomenon also suggests a degree of inclusiveness in the reading and viewing habits of mid seventeenth-century audiences. In this recycling context, the greatest impact of both words and images comes from knowledge of their metamorphosis from their original sources; such an understanding not only questions the authority of this original source, but also highlights the audacity of rival authors and illustrators in their borrowings and reworkings. The nature of the Thomason Collection at the British Library for example, reflects the inclusiveness required to fully appreciate such ephemera, with George Thomason demonstrating a highly non-partisan attitude in his accumulation of pamphlets, tracts and broadsides with a variety of political and religious viewpoints.¹⁹ That much political ephemera of the period relies on these recycling techniques for their impact, strongly suggests that Thomason's approach to London's pamphlet culture was far more widely adopted than has previously been noted. 'Preaching to the converted', had become only part of political ephemera's complex role in seventeenth-century culture. Its consumption by a wider, politically aware if not partisan audience, is a phenomenon which must not be underestimated.

III

The recycling of pictorial motifs for satirical or critical ends mirrors styles adopted by the writers of political and religious polemic. Animadversion, responding to a tract or pamphlet by reproducing all or part of that text, was a popular literary technique; as well as challenging the authority of the original text by changing its context, animadversion also compromised its financial potential as a marketable work.²⁰ The

¹⁹ Spencer, "The Politics of George Thomason".

²⁰ Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, p.211.

letterpress of one Presbyterian broadsheet of 1646, *Popular Persecution, or the Sandy Foundation of a General Toleration*, which again appropriates the emblematic illustration of *Dictated Thoughts*, consists of extensive quotations from certain Independent pamphlets. In particular, excerpts from the ‘Marpriest’ tracts of Richard Overton are duplicated. The fictional character of Marpriest is himself a model of appropriation and reworking; through Marpriest’s persona, Overton develops the vein of anti-Episcopal satire first established by the Marprelate tracts of the late 1580s, and more recently in anti-Laudian propaganda. Marpriest is introduced as the son of Martin Marprelate; a generation on, his religious position has shifted. However, his satirical targets are markedly similar. His quarrels are no longer with the bishops of the late-Elizabethan church, but with the Presbyterians and their own preference for a hierarchical church government.²¹ With these preferences come further contentious issues raised by Marpriest: the broadly Presbyterian majority within the Westminster Assembly of Divines, the body charged with reconstructing the post-Laudian church; the Westminster Directory detailing the doctrine of this new institution; the payment of tithes to the ministry.²² Rather than respond to Marpriest’s claims and criticisms directly, claims made using the familiar and irreverent style and vocabulary of Marprelate, the Presbyterian author of *Proper Persecution* instead reproduces widely and at some length the text of many of Marpriest’s arguments and concerns. Nigel Smith has suggested that this rather reserved, and non-creative Presbyterian response to Marpriest, using critical repetition rather than a reply, is the logical product of ideological constraints. According to Smith, it was impossible to answer Marpriest using the same idiomatic irreverence: “Martinist language for the Presbyterians was forbidden because it was profane.”²³ This account of Presbyterian restraint in such matters is itself questionable. It is true that in common with puritanism before it, the term ‘popular’ Presbyterianism is at first hand something of an oxymoron; yet equally

²¹ On Marpriest see Nigel Smith, “Richard Overton’s Marpriest Tracts: Towards a History of Leveller Style”, *Prose Studies*, 9 (1986), 39-66 and *ibid*, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640-1660* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp.297-304; Benne Klaase Faber, *The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism: Popular Satire, c.1640-c.1649* (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1991).

²² On the fortunes of the Westminster Assembly and Directory see Chad B. Van Dixhoorn, “Unity and Disunity in the Westminster Assembly (1643-1649): A Commemorative Essay”, *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 79 (2001), 103-17; R. D. Bradley, “The Failure of Accommodation: Religious Conflict Between Presbyterians and Independents in the Westminster Assembly, 1643-1646”, *Journal of Religious History*, 12 (1982), 23-47.

²³ Smith, “Richard Overton’s Marpriest Tracts”, p.60.

in common with certain puritan writers and pamphleteers, a number of orthodox Presbyterians were similarly aware of, and receptive to, the popular idiom. Countering Smith's claims, Ann Hughes' recent work on the Presbyterian authors Thomas Edwards and Thomas Hall has noted how

Both men adopted populist literary strategies and techniques which are rarely credited to mainstream orthodox Puritans or Presbyterians... popular literary practices have been variously credited to royalist journalists such as John Taylor or Sir John Birkenhead and to radical pamphleteers, notably Richard Overton. But Presbyterians also could be seen as the heirs of a popularising and radical Puritan tradition, exemplified by the Martin Marprelate tracts, or by popular anti-popish writing.²⁴

Pictorial evidence supports Hughes' findings. A shift towards the popular idiom can be seen in the broadsheet, *Reall Persecution, or the Foundation of a General Toleration*, published in 1647 (fig.116). Whilst following *Proper Persecution's* model of extensive quotation set around a bold image, this sheet expresses pictorially a sense of lively irreverence and subversion more readily associated with Marpriest and the Marprelate tradition than with Presbyterian orthodoxy.

Its striking illustration pictures 'a Foole Ridden Anti-Presbyterian Sectary', possibly intended for Marpriest/Overton himself, lamenting his 'cursed speeches against Presbytery' as a jester-figure straddles his back in a comical reversal of hierarchy and status. As well as Marpriest himself, this lamentable figure has been alternatively (and equally tentatively) identified by Nigel Smith as John Lilburne, at one time suspected by some to be the Marpriest author.²⁵ This conjecture is not implausible; however, one key error made by Smith is his reading of the jester-figure as a symbol of Presbyterianism. This identification is far less credible, not least since it compromises Smith's own views on Presbyterian responses to Marpriest's irreverence and 'profanity'.²⁶ Polemicists who felt that the Martinist vocabulary was a profane one, would hardly choose to represent themselves in such an irreverent manner. It is far more productive to read this colourful critique of Independency as subjecting 'profane' Martinist language, and the irreverent qualities of charivari and misrule, to the conditions of Presbyterian polemic, whilst simultaneously exploiting the popular idiom. The text in the sectary's hand, clearly a copy of the Marpriest tract *Martins Eccho*

²⁴ Hughes, "'Popular' Presbyterianism in the 1640s and 1650s", p.243.

²⁵ Smith, "Richard Overton's Marpriest Tracts", p.60.

²⁶ Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, p.300 and *ibid*, "Richard Overton's Marpriest Tracts", p.60.

(1645) is tellingly lowered to the level of the jester's feet, whilst his tongue (and speech) fall under the restraint of the reins in the rider's hand. The humorous, sardonic tones of Marpriest do not simply ape the voice of the fool in their irreverence; rather, they become the voice of the fool.

Reall Persecution's effectiveness is achieved through the direct association of Martin Marpriest with the 'Foole Ridden Ante Presbyterian Sectary', with the wit and humour in Overton's writings directly translated into asinine folly. Its animated illustration is central to understanding these anti-sectarian sentiments; without this striking image the animadversion of the broadsheet is considerably weakened through the sheer volume of excerpts from Independent texts.

Nevertheless, there is a distinct instability between text and image which indicates an emerging, and developing, approach to the popular idiom by this Presbyterian polemicist, rather than the confidence of nonconformist satirists such as Overton. *Reall Persecution's* opening Biblical quote from Isaiah for example, which precedes the 'wicked and abusive language' employed by certain sectaries, declares 'Now therefore be ye not mockers'. Whilst this reprimand could be directed at Overton and his cohorts, it sits uneasily with the scene of *charivari* which dominates and forms the central tenet to the entire broadsheet.

Reall Persecution's vivid depiction of subversion, the symbolic transformation of man into animal and the triumph of the fool over the sectary, owes much to one of the Marpriest tracts it quotes and critiques, *A Sacred Decretall* of 1645. In this pamphlet satire a further role-reversal is immediately evident. Overton the author assumes the narrative voice, not of Marpriest, but of Sir Simon Synod, fictional father to Sir John Presbyter. The bumptious Sir Simon is used as a vehicle with which to expose the faults and failings of Presbyterianism, as he rails against the wily Marpriest and calls for his apprehension. Its lively frontispiece (fig.117) pictures a bull, or more accurately a bull with an additional, and human, hand, seated at a desk in the process of writing; simultaneously, an unfortunate individual is tossed by the bull's horns towards a fiery fate, and an ordinance for tithes is crushed beneath its hooves. The meaning of this dramatic scene becomes clearer in the reading of the text itself, as Sir Simon bemoans how Marpriest has taken on a disguise in order to evade the wrath of the Presbyterians: "the cunning Vartlet's shift into a Bulls-hide."²⁷ Furthermore, this bull has characteristically violent intentions, "tossing Sir John [Presbyter] upon his hornes, and

²⁷ [Richard Overton], *A Sacred Decretall* (n.p., 1645), p.4.

stamping the blessed Ordinance for Tythes under his cloven feet.”²⁸ Roles and identities themselves assume a further fluidity as Sir Simon’s solution to this uproar is to call on his fellow Presbyterians to take on bovine characteristics, to “bellow and roare like the mad Bulls of Bashon, and toss him (if you can find him) upon your hornes, till yee shake him out of his Bulls Hide.”²⁹ The ‘Bulls of Bashon’, a biblical herd famed for their appetite, are adopted by Overton on several occasions as a metaphor for greedy, tithe-hungry Presbyterian ministers.³⁰ Their integration into the iconography of *A Sacred Decretall*, however, is intriguing. Is Overton suggesting that Marpriest’s intelligence and wit is such that he has disguised himself as the one thing he would never be suspected as: another bullish Presbyterian? Whilst the text of *A Sacred Decretall* intimates such aptitude, the visually striking frontispiece suggests Marpriest’s strengths in a more palpable sense: physically, in his assault upon Sir John, and in stamping upon the controversial ordinance for tithes, and intellectually, both in the row of books set above the writing desk, and the paper which Marpriest is penning. It is also telling, then, that the visual impact of the Presbyterian *Reall Persecution* lies in a neat reversal of this imagery, with its depiction of a man-beast-hybrid follower of Marpriest, tract in hand, reduced to the status of a donkey by a fool.

The delineation of Sir John Presbyter being tossed upon Marpriest’s horns forms a rare, and highly unconventional, visual portrait, of a character clearly delineated through a number of narrative devices. A flurry of satirical pamphlets and broadsheets concerning Sir John were published during the late 1640s, some the work of Overton, others using the Marpriest tracts as a template and framework; in total, an entire life of Sir John is assembled. They variously detail his genealogy, birth, physical appearance, and his coat of arms, before his death and will precede his eventual appearance in spectral form.³¹ Sir John is in part constructed by the Independent presses as an anti-hero through the medium of parody. Their manipulation of various familiar, official and

²⁸ *A Sacred Decretall*, p.2.

²⁹ *A Sacred Decretall*, p.3.

³⁰ Psalm 22: 12-13 states how “Many bulls have compassed me: stray bulls of Bashon have beset me round. They gaped upon me with their mouths, as a ravening and a roaring lion.” On Overton’s use of the bulls as metaphor see also *The Baiting of the Great Bull of Bashan* (n.p., 1649) and *A New Bull Bayting: or, a Match Play’d at the Town-Bull of Ely* (n.p., 1649).

³¹ *The Infamous History of Sir Simon Synod, and his Sonne Sir John Presbyter* (n.p., 1647); [Richard Overton] *The Nativity of Sir John Presbyter* (n.p., 1645); *The Hue and Cry After Sir John Presbyter* (n.p., 1649); *The Atchievment of Sir John Presbiter* (n.p., n.d); *The Last Will and Testament of Sir John Presbiter* (n.p., 1647); *The Ghost of Sir John Presbiter* (n.p., 1647).

non-official documents, such as the will, the horoscope chart, and the heraldic achievement, subverts what Benne Faber has referred to as the “significant elements of a just and ordered society”, further questioning the place of Sir John within such a society.³² In *The Atchievment of Sir John Presbiter* (fig.118) for example, an established symbol of gentlemanly rank and status is inverted into a comical critique of religious orientation.

The coat of arms and heraldic devices offered the satirist rich visual possibilities in terms of symbols and allusions. In a recent essay Ian Gentles has drawn attention to the highly symbolic banners carried into battle during the English Civil War, incorporating often complex emblems and personal mottos into signifiers of identity and affiliation.³³ Such banners recall the emblematic shields and badges of the tournament and tilt; their stress upon chivalry and civility was in turn to find itself appropriated by the Caroline court, in what J. S. A. Adamson has termed “a redefining of the ideal of the knight... as the guardian of the Caroline peace.”³⁴ By the mid-1640s, however, this peace had been comprehensively shattered, and with it the construction of the ‘ideal knight’. His resurrection here in the guise of Sir John Presbyter is both a satirical subversion of such principles, and a telling reminder of the social and hierarchical, as well as religious upheaval which characterises the decade.

Fantastic coats of arms such as *The Atchitevment of Sir John Presbyter* were not uncommon. *The Pourtraitures at Large of Nine Moderne Worthies of the World*, first published in 1622 and sold by Compton Holland, consists of a series of sheets engraved by Robert Vaughan, with full length portraits of individuals such as Mahomet and the Black Prince accompanied by elaborately blazoned, yet entirely fictional shields.³⁵ Conventional representations such as the *Nine Moderne Worthies* co-existed alongside comic alternatives and parodies. Heraldic terms are adapted by Ben Jonson to humorous effect in the introduction to *Bartholomew Fair*, delineating a curious blazon as the audience is promised “A wise Justice of Peace *meditant*, instead of a juggler with an

³² Faber, *The Poetics of Subversion and Conservatism*, p.213.

³³ Ian Gentles, “The Iconography of Revolution: England 1642-1649” in Ian Gentles, John Morrill and Blair Worden (eds.), *Soldiers, Writers and Statesmen of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.91-113. See also Alan R. Young (ed.), *Emblematic Flag Devices of the English Civil Wars, 1642-1660* (Toronto and London, 1995).

³⁴ J. S. A. Adamson, “Chivalry and Political Culture in Caroline England” in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds.), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994), p.170.

³⁵ *The Pourtraitures at Large of Nine Moderne Worthies of the World with a Short Relation of Theire Lives and Deaths* (London, 1622). See Hind, *Engraving in England*, III, 89-91 for descriptions of all nine ‘worthies’.

ape. A civil cutpurse *searchant*. A sweet singer of new ballads *allurant*, and as fresh an hypocrite as ever was broached *rampant*.”³⁶ *The Armes of the Tobachonists* (fig.119), a rare broadsheet of 1630, similarly subverts the heraldic tradition as it lampoons the sellers and consumers of tobacco, transforming the heraldic blazon into a critique of the ‘heathen weed’.³⁷ Its visual impact is contained in a blend of foreign stereotyping such as the Bacchus-like crest of ‘a Mores head’ and two supporting ‘French Babounes’ together with a blatant scatological humour.

Descriptions of satirical arms were also circulated in manuscript form; a number of fictional blazons have found their way into commonplace books of the period, centred around a series of arms intended for a list of stock individuals: namely the ‘Puritan, Jesuit, Usurer, Pedant and Ignoramus’.³⁸ Their humour is of a caustic accuracy, again playing heavily upon popular generalisations and contemporary allusions. The Jesuit “beareth two Pistolls in Sallier charged, a box of Poyson, A Barrell of Gunpowder, a Role of match lighted, a Garnett Pendant in point sinister...”, all clear references to the gunpowder and treason of 1605; in another copy the puritan’s crest is described as “a steeple reeverst without bells his supporters a Citizens wife and an Apprentice with this motto: Revera in a secretary hand the Roman hee cannot endure.”³⁹ I have been unable to trace any pictorial interpretations of these blazons, which appear to survive only in written form. A printed exception can be found in a mock-almanac of 1661 by ‘Montelion, Knight of the Oracle’, wherein a satirical coat of arms representing the Protectorate (fig.120) is pictured alongside its blazon, describing “for their crest, an Helmet of Impudence opened with confidence, a Wreath of Anabaptanism, and Quakerism...” and so on.⁴⁰

Such texts relate to the subtle visual comedy realised in *The Atchievment of Sir John Presbiter*, with its crest a hand clutching a torn and tattered copy of the Solemn League and Covenant, and its blunt, if resolute motto *Aut hoc aut nihil* (either this or nothing) at

³⁶ Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), edited by Suzanne Gossett (Manchester, 2000), ‘The Induction on the Stage’, 126-30.

³⁷ BL Shelfmark c.20.f.2(5). On attitudes towards tobacco in early modern England see David Harley, “The Beginnings of the Tobacco Controversy: Puritanism, James I, and the Royal Physicians”, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 67 (1993), 28-50.

³⁸ My research at the British Library alone has uncovered a number of examples of satirical blazons set down in manuscript form: BL Add MS 25303 fol.188v-fol.189; BL Add MS 34218, fol.163v; BL Egerton MS 2026, fol.14v; BL Lansdowne MS 489, fol.138; BL Stowe MS 371, fol.74.

³⁹ BL Lansdowne MS 489, fol.138; BL Stowe MS 371, fol.74.

⁴⁰ [John Phillips], *Montelion, 1661. Or, the Prophetical Almanack* (London, 1661), n.pag.

odds with the idea of liberty of conscience. *The Atchievment of Sir John Presbiter* builds upon an established fusion of text and image, and pre-empts the heraldic blazon's appearance as Restoration comedy. The survival of a number of near-identical manuscript transcriptions of such fictional arms suggests that seventeenth-century audiences would clearly recognise *The Atchievment of Sir John Presbiter* as part of a continuum of the subversion and parody of a marker of hierarchy.

Whilst the fictional construction of Sir John Presbyter developed as a result of the religious upheaval of the 1640s, his roots, in common with the content of much contemporary graphic satire, go far deeper. His is a further, 'new', identity reliant on, and emerging out of established, familiar forms, much in the manner of his antagonist Martin Marpriest. Both Marpriest and Sir John are understood as symbolic constructions rather than believable characters, with identities developed and actions played out across the pages of political ephemera. John Cleveland's description of Sir John Presbyter, "With Hair in Characters and Lugs in text" emphasises his status as a product of these ephemeral exchanges, tied to the manuscript or the printed page.⁴¹ Further instances of pictorial satire and polemic however, are less clear in their distinctions between fiction and reality.

IV

Although Presbyterianism, like puritanism before it, existed as a concept on many finely differentiated levels of belief, personal conduct, and so on, its 'character' was effectively encapsulated by its detractors in the single figure of Sir John Presbyter. The infinite possibilities suggested by the various sects whose beliefs lay outside the established church, and collectively constituted Independency, ensured that an equivalent character to that of Sir John, was never so successfully delineated.⁴² Rather, the polemical assault upon nonconformist worship adopted a number of tactics, and although attempts were made to construct an antithesis, the greater impact resulting from anti-sectarian polemic and satire, lay in the critiquing of its more multifarious cast.

Prevailing perceptions of religious dissenters frequently concentrated on their unacceptable behaviour in terms of personal conduct. In choosing to worship outside the structure and framework of the Presbyterian church, sectaries were also judged to have rejected the tenets of a polite and civil society; as the work of Tamsyn Williams has

⁴¹ John Cleveland, *Poems by J.C., With Additions* (np., 1651), p.13.

⁴² A rare example is *The Last Will and Testament of Sir James Independent* (n.p., 1647).

demonstrated, nakedness, lewd behaviour and drunkenness, in women as well as men, were common themes running through anti-sectarian pamphlet literature and across the woodcut frontispieces which decorated them.⁴³

However, if one successful technique in constructing the characters of various sectaries was to emphasise their otherness, then a further, more threatening option was to stress their dangerous prevalence in society. Kristen Poole has noted how many pamphleteers during the 1640s tended towards representing sects as a kind of indiscriminate mass or swarm, their various and individual beliefs and practices passed over in favour of a confused and disorderly body of dissent.⁴⁴ Such texts echo the imagining of Jesuits as a parasitic, engulfing swarm in the popular imagination of the 1620s, as discussed in Chapter Two. Even Thomas Edwards, whose encyclopaedic tome *Gangraena* sets out in Poole's words, "to make sense and distinctions out of perceived nonsense and chaos", perceives of the many facets of Independency as a hideous amalgamation, recalling the kind of monstrous creations penned and pictured as the deformed results of royalism:

all these errors and more too sometimes meeting in the same persons, strange monsters, having their heads of Enthusiasme, their bodies of Antinomianisme, their thighs of Familisme, their leggs and feet of Anabaptisme, their hands of Arminianisme, and Libertinisme, as the great vein going thorow the whole...⁴⁵

Such grotesque imagery complements the phenomenon of the monstrous birth routinely reported in pamphlets and broadsides, again stressing the consequences of worshipping outside the established church, and further utilising themes common to popular journalism and cheap print. In general, though, Thomas Edwards' quantitative and organisational approach in *Gangraena* towards cataloguing and delineating those who sought freedom of worship, had much in common with a specific type of visual representation of nonconformists which was beginning to circulate. *A Catalogue of the Severall Sects and Opinions in England and Other Nations*, a broadside of 1647 (fig.121), reflects Edwards' taxonomic text in its representation of twelve sectaries, each

⁴³ Williams, "Magnetic Figures".

⁴⁴ Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion From Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.104-23.

⁴⁵ Poole, *Radical Religion From Shakespeare to Milton*, p.116; Thomas Edwards, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena, or, A Catalogue and Discovery of Many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and Pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this Time* (London, 1646), p.14.

labelled and compartmentalised alongside a text detailing their various idiosyncrasies. The frontispiece to the third edition of Ephraim Pagitt's *Heresiography, or a Description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of These Latter Times* (1647) applies a similar, compartmentalising approach towards its subjects (fig.122), whilst William Marshall's engraved title page to Daniel Featly's tirade against Anabaptists, *The Dipper Dipt* (1645) sees a relatively innocuous series of portraits of dissenters framing the suggestive central image of naked sectaries undertaking baptism (fig.123).⁴⁶ In such images, new influences, here the catalogue and its organisational approach, are introduced into a vocabulary of pictorial polemic.

The striking frontispiece to Featley's text was not ignored by those who encountered it. *The Dipper Dipt* inspired a vigorous response from Samuel Richardson, whose *Some Brief Considerations on Dr Featley his Book* (1645) devotes a considerable amount of text to this striking, antagonistic image. The various components of the frontispiece are systematically dissected, with Richardson ultimately turning its derisive imagery regarding the Anabaptists and other dissenters to his own advantage, by intimating the ignorance of Featley:

“Upon consideration of the frontispiece of the Doctors book; there is the picture of a Serpent, which is very remarkable, and yet he hath said nothing in his book to unfold the mysterie thereof: also considering he contradicts the substance of his pictures, which is, as he decides, to signifie 14 sorts of Anabaptists, yet sayes in p.24 there is but 3 sorts in all, so according to his own confession, his explanation thereof cannot be true, nor hang together...”⁴⁷

The importance and attention placed by Richardson upon this imagery, stresses the significance of the visual within *The Dipper Dipt*: what Richardson 'reads' in the frontispiece, he expects to be developed both sufficiently and accurately within the course of the text. Through a specific critique of the image, he also assumes a high degree of visual literacy on the part of an audience, who through an analogous reading of both text and image, will come to similarly recognise Featley's failings, and identify with Richardson's criticisms.

⁴⁶ On Pagitt, and related authors' approaches to their subject see Kei Nasu, *Heresiography and the Idea of 'Heresy' in Mid Seventeenth-Century English Religious Culture* (Ph.D thesis, University of York, 2000).

⁴⁷ Samuel Richardson, *Some Brief Considerations on Dr Featley his Book, Intituled The Dipper Dipt* (London, 1645), p.18.

The overwhelming effect of the compartmentalisation encountered in such works is to typologise each sectary; this categorisation is furthered by details of clothing, actions, distinct physiognomic features and so on, which combine to construct a distinct identity. If the collective ‘invention’ of Sir John Presbyter draws heavily on subversion and parody, through a series of fantastical documents and situations, then conversely the intention here is to create a series of real, familiar, and therefore dangerous identities. One major criticism of many Independent sects lay in their plebeian nature, with laymen setting down the tools of their trade in order to preach the Word of God, or continuing to work in tandem with their calling. To many this was an unacceptable encroachment reaching across the levels of society and the given roles of individuals within it; in the words of John Taylor

A Preachers work is not to gelde a Sowe,
Unseemly ‘tis a Judge should milke a Cowe:
A Cobler to a Pulpit should not mount,
Nor can an Asse cast up a true account.⁴⁸

Aspects of work, trade and religion were closely related. With its hierarchical systems of office and organisation, the character of London Presbyterianism during the later 1640s has been presented as one offering to the City’s merchants and tradesman, a measure of economic stability, in theoretical if not real terms.⁴⁹ In contrast, the perceived character of nonconformist sects frequently centred upon a chaotic lack of structure and order. Furthermore, the activities of certain sectarian laymen, compromising their trades as outlined by Taylor, appeared to pose serious threats to both religious and economic stability. These anxieties over the fluid nature of status, occupation and social hierarchy were neatly encapsulated and played upon in the ‘wanted poster’ style of the *These Trades Men are Preachers in and About the City of London* (fig.124). This 1647 broadsheet seamlessly fuses together the individualising technique of *A Catalogue of the Severall Sects* with a popular category of engraved sheet, that of the London Cries. Such sheets, series of images depicting hawkers and street vendors crying their wares, were an established genre of print dating back to the

⁴⁸ John Taylor, *A Swarme of Sectaries, and Schismatiques* (n.p., 1641), p.2.

⁴⁹ Michael Mahoney, “Presbyterianism in the City of London, 1645-1647”, *The Historical Journal*, 22 (1979), p.93.

late sixteenth century.⁵⁰ It is possible that the set of images used in *These Trades Men are Preachers* were directly taken or adapted from a now lost series of London Cries. Like the heraldic blazon, the Cries were adapted and appropriated by the authors and inventors of religious and political propaganda. In the royalist satire *The Cryes of Westminster* for example, the vendor calls ‘Who buyes any Parliament Priviledges?’, offering for sale the houses and goods of the bishops, the proposals of the army, and an assortment of orders and ordinances odious, all issued in the brisk and spirited style of the familiar street trader.⁵¹ In *These Trades Men are Preachers* however, the genre is not subverted or made to take on elements of a fantastical satire; rather the familiarity of the Cries and their subjects as recognisable characters at large are exploited to a significant degree. As in *A Catalogue of the Severall Sects*, the London Cries individualise rather than homogenise, and are suggestive of genuine persons.⁵² The ‘reality’ of *These Tradesmen Are Preachers* as a document delineating current social and religious concerns is itself furthered by the contents of *Tub-preachers Overturned* (1647), a Presbyterian pamphlet defence of Thomas Edwards. In a cautionary manner it lists on its title page the names of twenty such traders and their occupations, amongst them all twelve of the professions illustrated in *These Trades Men are Preachers* (fig.125). Whether there is a direct link between the names in this text and the faces in the broadsheet is uncertain. However, it is evident that both broadsheet and pamphlet were intended to be considered collectively, with text and image each feeding off the information proffered by the other to suggest a reality and immediacy about those carefully delineated characters. Through consuming print and picture in this collective manner, the reader is placed at the very heart of an exchange of propagandist information, and persuaded of the dangerous proximity of such sectaries, penetrating deep into the structure of familiar London life.

Real and fictional characters are here fused into an indistinct whole to sinister effect. Whilst the method of categorisation and taxonomy employed in imagining the sectary might appear a new element of the political print, the sectary’s sinister roots in allusions to familiarity, are multiplied through the adaptation of an established print genre celebrating albeit idealised scenes of everyday urban life. In turn, this taxonomy feeds

⁵⁰ Sean Shesgreen, *Images of the Outcast: the Urban Poor in the Cries of London* (Manchester, 2002), ch.1. See also F. P. Wilson, “Illustrations of Social Life III: Street Cries”, *Shakespeare Survey*, 13 (1960), 106-10.

⁵¹ *The Cryes of Westminster* (Oxford, 1648), BL Shelf-mark 669.f.11(128).

⁵² Sean Shesgreen, “The Manner of Crying Things in London: Style, Authorship, Chalcography and History”. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 59 (1996), pp.410-411.

upon fears and concerns proliferated in texts such as those of Pagitt and Featley, their own title pages making reference to the familiar act of visual categorisation. However, whilst this method of representation was successfully employed in order to delineate a series of stereotypical characters, the picturing of actual rather than constructed individuals by the creators of graphic satire was very different.

V

The portrait provides a highly effective vehicle for graphic satire. Certain lampoons of Archbishop Laud, for example, or the monopolist, William Abel, were achieved through the manipulation of the straight, authorised image. The debasement, and destabilisation of such imagery, has a strong comic effect. Earlier sections of this chapter, however, have discussed visual material whose sentiments are decidedly more polemical than satirical, being essentially of a more argumentative than humorous nature. The heart imagery which pertains to debates over liberty of conscience for example, is incorporated into graphic culture through emblematic allusions, an approach more suggestive of meditated thought and debate than of broad humour. To a certain extent, this accords with Richard Godfrey's otherwise dismissive observation that

...the earliest English satires are usually more of antiquarian than visual interest, and reflect the poverty of early English print history. Influenced by the convoluted imagery of emblem books they reveal little of the idiosyncrasies of individual appearances, and even less in humour.⁵³

However, much of the material considered throughout this thesis straddles both the polemical and satirical; this is particularly evident in developments in the treatment of the portrait. Caricature was not yet a distinctive feature of print satire, itself emerging towards the end of the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ The manipulation of the portrait form during the 1640s however, is a clear precursor to the genre of caricature. As the treatment of Archbishop Laud, and to a lesser extent Alderman Abel has demonstrated, the impact of these portrait images comes not from facial distortion, but from the employment of symbolic elements and accompaniments; the later 1640s sees both continuation and development with the emergence of a distinct vocabulary of anti-sectarian lampoon and critique engaging with this portrait form.

⁵³ Godfrey, *English Caricature: 1620 to the Present*, p.11.

⁵⁴ George, *English Political Caricature*, I, 12.

Our starting point with regard to the development of satiric portraiture is with the strongly anti-sectarian London minister, John Vicars. Vicars' own relationship with, and attitudes towards the pictorial are interesting in their ambivalence, with his convictions as a religious iconoclast often overshadowing his manipulation of imagery for propagandist means, and causing modern scholars to miscast him in the role of iconophobe. As the author of *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness, of Having or Making the Picture of Christs Humanity*, his visual awareness accords neatly with aspects of post-Reformation doctrine concerning religious imagery.⁵⁵ As we have seen, however, Vicars similarly understood and exploited the propagandist possibilities offered by the pictorial, in adding verses to the startling engraving of *Romes Monster, on his Monstrous Beast*, for example. His manipulation of the pictorial embraced internal, as well as foreign, threats: the subtitle to his anti-sectarian critique of 1646, *The Schismatick Sifted*, promises 'the Picture of Independents, Freshly and Fairly Washt-over Again. Wherein, the Sectaries of these Times...are with their own proper Pensils, and Self-mixed colours, most lively set forth...' A swift riposte however by one T. C., refutes this artistic endeavour as *The Chaffe, the Froth, and the Scumme of Mr John Vicars, his Siftings and Paintings Prove Him to be a Lame Draughts-man, a Smeare Washer, his Colours Falsly Mixt, and his Pencill as Course as his Colours*.

If Vicars himself was something of a 'lame draughtsman', his directions to the illustrators of his work were often altogether more effective. Certain of Vicars' tirades against sectarianism centred upon John Goodwin, the Independent minister of the London church of St Stephen, Coleman Street. The Coleman Street parish was closely associated with sectarian activity during the mid seventeenth-century and its nonconformist church had grown from modest origins in small, private meetings to "one of the most important [churches] in London."⁵⁶ Goodwin's own beliefs developed during the 1640s from a broadly Calvinist outlook to an embracing of Arminianism and its tenets, the rejection of predestination in favour of free will, and the promotion of religious toleration.⁵⁷ His philosophies by no means endeared him to vocal Presbyterians such as Thomas Edwards, who enthusiastically rendered Goodwin as "a

⁵⁵ John Vicars, *The Sinfulness and Unlawfulness, of Having or Making the Picture of Christs Humanity Set Forth in a Succint and Plain Discourse* (London, 1641).

⁵⁶ Ellen S. More, "Congregationalism and the Social Order: John Goodwin's Gathered Church, 1640-60", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), p.212. See also Murray Tolmie, *The Triumph of the Saints: the Separate Churches of London, 1616-1649* (Cambridge, 1977).

⁵⁷ Ellen S. More, "John Goodwin and the Origins of the New Arminianism", *Journal of British Studies*, 22 (1982), 50-70.

man who expresses so much pride, arrogancie, malice, wrath, jearing, and scoffing.”⁵⁸ A further antagonist was Vicars, whose diatribe *Coleman-Street Conclave Visited* was published in 1648. This virulent personal attack on Goodwin is prefaced by a portrait of the Independent minister, adapted from the engraved frontispiece to several of Goodwin’s own writings (fig.126). Vicars’ reasoning behind the inclusion of this image, and the manipulation of its original source, is heavy with the ambiguity which characterises Vicars’ attitudes towards the pictorial:

...in thus prefixing Mr Goodwin’s picture to this my Treatise: I answer... That when I considered the excessive Pride of the man, to be so shamelessly (Narcissus-like) in love with his own picture, as to have it (or suffer it to be) prefixed before, at least, three or foure of his formerly published hereticall and most poysonous Pamphlets, I therefore resolved so far to indulge his own humour and tumour of Pride, as to set his forth in his proper posture...⁵⁹

Goodwin is censured by Vicars for the excessively ‘proud’ action of fixing an authorial portrait to his work; Vicars however, welcomes the opportunity to both include and subvert to the image in his own work, and for his own ends. The ‘proper posture’ is a clear reworking of the conventional portrait of Goodwin which prefaces a number of his writings, the earliest being his *Imputatio Fidei* of 1642 (fig.127). As Vicars continues,

As for the Embleme over his head, of the Winde-Mill and Weather-Cock; Certainly, Tis no more than his Vanity and Vitiosity of minde having justly merited... the motto out of his mouth, tis but his own fraudulent and fallacious Engine...⁶⁰

In this clever manipulation, Vicars undermines Goodwin’s status both as religious teacher and orator, through the ‘fraudulent and fallacious Engine’ which spills from his mouth, and also as writer. Beneath the auspices of error and pride, Goodwin holds a copy of his 1647 text *Hagiomastix*, a vindication of congregationalism and religious toleration; in a purported display of such error, his right hand dismisses a copy of *Moro-Mastix*, a belligerent riposte announcing ‘Mr John Goodwin whipt with his own rod.’⁶¹

⁵⁸ Edwards, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena*, p.24.

⁵⁹ John Vicars, *Coleman-street Conclave Visited* (London, 1648), ‘To the Reader’.

⁶⁰ Vicars, *Coleman-street Conclave Visited*, ‘To the Reader’.

⁶¹ John Goodwin, *Hagiomastix, or the Scourge of the Saints Displayed in his Colours of Ignorance & Blood* (London, 1647); *Moro-mastix: Mr John Goodwin Whipt with his own Rod* (London, 1647).

The distinctive motifs of the windmill and the weather cock, most immediately indicate that this is a satirical subversion of Goodwin's original portrait. Coupled with the act of oration, their own antecedent is undoubtedly the posthumous print of Goodwin's spiritual mentor, Jacobus Arminius, engraved in Amsterdam in 1641 (fig.128). The addition of an English inscription indicates its subsequent circulation in London and beyond. This dissemination can be dated to roughly the same year, given the verses' clear message to the Crown regarding religious threats to both church and state. Furthermore, such concerns were current with the collapse of the Laudian regime, with its own perceived roots in the teachings of Arminius. The emblematic iconography of this print plays again on the idea of acceptance and rejection, here not of texts but of heresy, with her seven-headed hydra a familiar allusion to Popery, over truth. Building on this allusion, more direct influences are indicated by a crouching, whispering Jesuit, and the attempts of a monk, identified textually as the monk Pelagius, an early advocate of the doctrine of man's free will, to blow 'Cozening tricks' into his ears. The significance here of the prominent windmill may be linked to Arminius' Dutch origins. However the windmill was also recognised as a symbol of foolishness and an over-active mind, by no means limited to the escapades of Don Quixote: "Mee Lor, be all mad, le braine crowe, and run whirabout like de windmill saile..." exclaims the Italianate Angelo in Dekker's comedy *The Wonder of a Kingdome*, whilst the opinions of the English Jesuit Robert Parsons were dismissed by one critic as "his windmil-like discourse."⁶² This is in turn reflected by the highlighting of Arminius' own 'grinding pate with wether-cocks turnd braine.'

This highly specific iconography of nonconformist worship was to be developed and adapted in decades to come. The Independent minister and regicide, Hugh Peters, who was executed at the Restoration, was one individual satirised using, amongst other things, the windmill device. Crude portraits of Peters grace a number of critical pamphlets and broadsides published following his death in 1660, several of them acknowledging the earlier representations of fellow 'threats' to the established church, Arminius and John Goodwin; in the broadside *Don Pedro de Quixot, or in English the Right Reverend Hugh Peters*, and the title-page to *The Tales and Jestes of Mr. Hugh Peters*, the minister is pictured with a devil at his shoulder, and, a windmill balanced

⁶² Thomas Dekker, *The Wonder of a Kingdome* (London, 1636), sig.E2v; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Subversion of Robert Parsons his Confused and Worthlesse Worke* (London, 1606), p.132.

upon his crown (fig.129).⁶³ The windmill's previous associations not only with an over-energetic mind, but also sectarian preachers, are strongly alluded to.

The association of the windmill with nonconformist preaching was to continue into the 1670s. The portrait of Quaker Thomas Wynne, which prefaces William Jones' 1679 polemic *Work For a Cooper* (fig.130), reflects the earlier image of Peters in its inclusion of a prominent windmill, devil, and, the act of oration. A single sheet version of this portrait is also known, the sitter being mistakenly identified by several scholars as the Presbyterian scribe, Adoniram Byfield, (fig.131); a pendant portrait features a female Quaker being advised by a whispering devil (fig.132).⁶⁴ This pair of images form part of a wider iconography of Quaker worship which developed during the 1670s, primarily through the paintings and printed copies of Quaker meetings, popularised in England by the Dutch artist Egbert van Heemskerck.⁶⁵ Whilst further research is required to more fully analyse these pendant, Restoration-era lampoons, it is clear that elements of a 1640s vocabulary of dangerous sectarianism resonate through this particular satirical representation of an emerging, nonconformist group.

A single motif, the windmill, can be steadily traced across several decades of changing political allegiances and religious attitudes. Although its visual origins can be read as European, it is seamlessly adapted into an English vocabulary of lampoon and satire; furthermore, it goes on to contribute to an alternative reading of sectarian behaviour to that introduced from the continent. We can see that appropriation does not amount here to simple repetition. Rather, the recycling aspect to satirical imagery combines familiar and established elements with emerging iconographies of representation to powerful effect. The positive influence of earlier imagery upon the print culture of the later seventeenth century should not be underestimated; the shifting focus of post-1645 political debate prompted a reflecting vocabulary shaped and suited to adaptation and change.

⁶³ *Don Pedro de Quixot, or in English the Right Reverend Hugh Peters* (London, 1660); *The Tales and Jestes of Mr Hugh Peter, Collected Into One Volume* (London, 1660). See also the picturing of Peters in BM Sat 968, a copy of William Faithorne's title page to Sir John Birkenhead's *The Assembly Man* published in 1681, with a whispering devil added in at Peters' shoulder.

⁶⁴ Stephens, *Catalogue of Political and Political Satires*, I, 274 and I, 118; John Miller, *Religion in the Popular Prints, 1600-1832* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.86-87.

⁶⁵ Robert Raines, "Notes on Egbert van Heemskerck and the English Taste for Genre", *Walpole Society*, 53 (1987), 119-42. See also Harry Mount, "Egbert van Heemskerck's Quaker Meetings Revisited", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 56 (1993), 209-28; Fritz Saxl, "The Quaker's Meeting", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 214-16.

VI

In 1643 Abraham Cowley's verse satire *The Puritan and the Papist* was published in Oxford. Its observations upon the similarities between these eponymous characters, in spite of their antagonism towards each other, would have particular resonance as the decade progressed. Cowley's description of their parallel idiosyncrasies would prove apt with regard to the development of pictorial satire during the later 1640s:

So two rude *waves*, by stormes together throwne,
Roare at each other, fight, and then grow *one*.
Religion is a *Circle*; men contend,
And runne the round in dispute without end.
Now in a *Circle* who goe contrary,
Must at the last *meet* of necessity.⁶⁶

In common with the beliefs of the puritan and the papist, whilst appearing to 'run the round' of religion in opposite directions, the pictorial polemic of the Independent and Presbyterian frequently cross and throw up a number of shared iconographies. The political graphic satire of the later 1640s, however, is characterised not by reiteration, but by innovation. The changing targets of such satire prompted both the incorporation of new sources, and, the manipulation of established ones. The language of the swarm, for example, previously associated with Catholic, and in particular Jesuit, indoctrination, is here reintroduced as a reflection of the purportedly parasitic nature of London's sects. This understanding of their behaviour, however, is revised through the introduction of cataloguing devices which visually organise, and control, such threats.

Proliferation, therefore, is a key characteristic not only of post-1645 religious attitudes, but also of the visual techniques which were adopted to comment upon them. It is clear that the language of conflict and division expressed in the political and graphic ephemera of the 1640s, whilst centred on emerging concerns, could claim long-term roots which are only presently coming to light. Its innovative nature ensured that it was similarly forward looking.

⁶⁶ Abraham Cowley, *A Satyre. The Puritan and the Papist* (Oxford, 1643), sig.A2.

Conclusion

I

On the evening of the 2nd of May 1649, Doctor Issac Dorislaus was lodging at the Witte Zwaane inn in The Hague. Although a Dutchman by birth, Dorislaus was in The Hague on a diplomatic mission for the English government; Cromwell was keen to garner allies in Europe, and eager to counter royalist attempts to raise funds and support from foreign sources. Diplomacy, however, was swept aside, when a gang of men burst into the Witte Zwaane, and, having identified their victim, beat and stabbed the doctor to death.¹

Dorislaus' fate was not entirely unexpected. Dispatching a republican agent to a city considered "a hornet's nest of outraged royalist exiles" carried obvious risks; that Dorislaus had been involved in drawing up parliament's charges against Charles I the previous year, only multiplied these threats.² Indeed, Dorislaus was one of a number of republican agents and ambassadors dispatched on missions to the Continent, upon whom assassinations were attempted or carried out following Charles' execution.

The murder of the ambassador provoked several differing reactions. Dorislaus' body was returned to London and buried in Westminster Abbey with conspicuous pomp and ceremony.³ A flurry of hostile pamphlets and broadsides offered an alternative reading of the diplomat's character, based upon his role in the regicide; "This Alien reprobate", was one text's damning description of the Dutchman, with a spate of Dutch ephemera similarly deriding the "Blood-Dog Isaak Dorislaar."⁴

Yet the spectre of Issac Dorislaus was to return to haunt his detractors. Several years later, in the summer of 1652 as war broke out between England and Holland, George Thomason acquired an extraordinary engraved broadside, critiquing various crimes

¹ P. A. Maccioni and M. Mostert, "Issac Dorislaus (1595-1649): The Career of a Dutch Scholar in England", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographic Society*, 8 (1984), pp.338-40.

² Jason T. Peacey, "Order and Disorder in Europe: Parliamentary Agents and Royalist Thugs 1649-1650", *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), p.955.

³ Maccioni and Mostert, "Issac Dorislaus", p.443.

⁴ *A Salt Teare: or the Weeping Onion, at the Lamentable Funeral of Dr. Dorislaus* (n.p., 1649); *Gruwel van Verwoesting, Toegeworpen tot een Graaf-Schrift den Helschen Tyran, Moorder, Beul, Bloed-dogh Isaak Dorisaar* (n.p., 1649). An appendix of English and Dutch pamphlets and broadsides concerning Dorislaus' death and funeral is given in Maccioni and Mostert, "Issac Dorislaus", pp.462-69.

carried out by the Dutch against their English neighbours.⁵ *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost, Presented by Time to Unmask the Vizards of the Hollanders* is a work of thematic complexity, comprised of an engraved illustration (fig.133) and dense letterpress. The engraving's collage-like composition incorporates a series of clearly labelled Dutch misdemeanours, culminating in the presentation by Time of his daughter, Truth, to an unnamed Dutch ambassador. Truth, a caption below explains, is an allegorical representation of the recently murdered Dorislaus, a curious, and rather provocative, translation of commonwealth martyr into classical nude; his spectral task is to reveal to the viewer the extent of his country's purportedly lengthy campaign of antagonism against the English. These principal characters are accompanied by a variety of props, including animals, masks, and a familiar *chaise percée*, whilst further examples of Dutch cruelty, treachery and double-dealing are played out around and behind them.

This ambitious work is a rare example of an English print produced during this period which inspired, rather than drew upon, foreign engravings; both the British Library and the Atlas van Stolk in Rotterdam possess copies after *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost* with Dutch translations of its English captions (fig.134).⁶ Continuing the theme of appropriation and reworking, *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost* is itself the product of the conscious recycling and editing of an earlier, aggressive, political imagery.

The most direct appropriation is the small, central group of figures labelled 'A', representing "The murthers, massacres, and cruelties of the Dutch upon the English at Amboyna." In 1623, the Dutch governor of the island of Amboyna in the East Indies, Harman van Spuelt, ordered the execution of ten English merchants. Their crime was allegedly plotting the death of van Spuelt and the overthrowing of the island's Dutch garrison; both the planned coup and van Spuelt's reaction held the potential to upset diplomacy both between England and Holland, and the already strained Anglo-Dutch relations within the trading centre of the East Indies.⁷ However, the 'Amboyna massacre', as it came to be known, was handled with characteristic diplomacy by James I. As news of the incident reached England, aggressive reactions to the executions were

⁵ BL Shelfmark 669.f.16(51). For corresponding Dutch graphic satires against the English during the early 1650s see Elizabeth Staffell, "The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch Wars", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 63 (2000), 169-86.

⁶ BL Shelfmark 669.f.16(56); Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk no.1978. See also Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.282, n.1.

⁷ Karen Chancey, "The Amboyna Massacre in English Politics, 1624-1632", *Albion*, 30 (1998), 583-98; David K. Bassett, "The Amboyna Massacre of 1623", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1 (1960), 1-19.

curbed and tempered by diplomacy, as one contemporary letter demonstrates in its description

of a play or representation of all the busines of Amboyna redy to be acted: and of a large picture made for our east India Companie describing the whole action in manner and forme whereupon the counsaile gave order the picture shold be supprest, and the play forbidden...⁸

The suppression of material concerned with the Amboyna massacre was not universal, and sensational ephemera informed the public of the sufferings endured by the English merchants and the cruelty of their Dutch tormentors. The title page to *A True Relation of the Unjust, Cruell, and Barbarous Proceedings Against the English at Amboyna*, a purported eyewitness account of the incident published in 1624, vividly pictures a scene of water torture and decapitation (fig.135), whilst an identical scene is incorporated into the contemporary ballad *News Out of East India* (fig.136). Not surprisingly, memories of the Amboyna massacre were revived during the 1650s as hostilities flared between the English and the Dutch. *The Second Part of the Tragedy of Amboyne: or, a True Relation of a most Bloody, Treacherous and Cruel Design of the Dutch in the New Netherlands*, published in 1653, used the 1624 incident as a model for the reporting of alleged atrocities being carried out by the Dutch in America. The massacre was further recalled through the re-publication of *A True Relation...* in 1651, and through the direct incorporation of its title page into *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost*.

The scene of torture at Amboyna is one of a number of pictorial motifs worked into *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost* which have clear antecedents in the 1620s and earlier. In *The Travels of Time* of 1624, for example, Time and Truth reveal Spanish and Catholic, rather than Dutch double-dealings (fig.42); the thematic re-use of this pair in *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost* suggests a continuing reading of Time and Truth as providential allies to England's fortunes. Whilst the engraver of this later print has made use of a wider visual vocabulary, incorporating a sensual nude and Triton-esque male figure, rather than directly referencing *Travels of Time*, the act of revelation and sense of providence previously encountered in anti-Catholic propaganda remain. A more explicit, visual, link back to the anti-Catholic imagery of the 1620s, is found in *Dr. Dorislaws Ghost's* Dutch ambassador. This individual's likeness and pose are closely modelled upon the full-length portrait of the Spanish ambassador Gondomar which dominates the title page

⁸ John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 26 February 1625; Chamberlain, *Letters*. II, 602.

to Thomas Scott's *The Second Part of Vox Populi*, published in 1624 (fig.45). This identity is confirmed by the clutch of eggs which nestle inside the Dutchman's *chaise percée*, a clear allusion to Gondomar and his anal fistula.

Anti-Spanish sentiments are further alluded to in the background of *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost*. Above the scene of the Amboyna massacre, the shadowy 'Hollanders wretched confutations, and actings against the English in the Indies', faintly labelled 'B', echoes the motif of the plotting Pope, devil and Spaniards in the central section of Samuel Ward's 1621 engraving of the *Double Deliverance* (fig.30). Ward's print is further alluded to, with the eye of God which reveals the crimes of Guy Fawkes now exposing the treachery of the Dutch, whilst the assault upon English trading ships in *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost* appropriates both Ward's, and earlier representations of the Spanish Armada.

Further political imagery is similarly, if less implicitly, incorporated into *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost's* collage of references and associations. The chameleon which rests upon the Dutch ambassador's arm shares a common iconography as a symbol of mutability in Wenceslaus Hollar's *The World is Ruled and Governed by Opinion* (fig.1), first discussed in the introduction to this thesis, and which dates from the early 1640s. The masks which similarly adorn the ambassador's outstretched arm can be seen as a reference to the inconstancy which characterises opinion in Hollar's etching; furthermore, they cleverly underline the wider nature of the engraving itself, with its shifting meanings and allusions, and variant readings. One possible source for the inclusion of these masks is the figure of 'Envious Hypocresie' which appears on the title page to the 1646 pamphlet *The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads* (fig.137), the many visages of this individual testimony to his duplicitous dealings with Church and State.

Such double-dealings are now transferred to the Dutch, along with the many crimes, errors and villainous characteristics once levelled at the Spanish. This can be understood on the one hand as the manipulation of a fixed set of stereotypes, finely tuned to the vicissitudes of public opinion. England's attitude towards its European neighbours was notoriously changeable; as Steven Pincus has demonstrated, anti-Dutch sentiments soon gave way to hostilities against the French, and critiques of the Hollanders were rapidly replaced by lampoons of all things 'frenchified'.⁹ Alternatively, this reworking of earlier iconographies can be read as a creative appropriation which deliberately presents the

⁹ Steven C. A. Pincus, "From Butterboxes to Wooden Shoes: The Shift in English Popular Sentiment From Anti-Dutch to Anti-French in the 1670s", *The Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 333-61.

viewer with a multiplicity of meanings. *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost's* visual adaptation of these established characteristics is a practice employed to varying extents across the range of material addressed in this thesis; it is also a highly effective one. In this engraving the Dutch now assume the mantle previously assigned to Gondomar and his countrymen; furthermore, the mirroring of plotting and underhand activity revealed in *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost* alludes to a further possibility: that the Dutch and Spanish are in league with each other. A third, powerful reading offered by the print combines the previous representation of Catholic villainy with the present misdeeds of a haven for royalist exiles, exposed by the ghost of a martyr of the English commonwealth. Multiple readings thus engage the viewer in a highly sophisticated dialogue between text, image and memory which both feed upon old fears, and project such fears onto new concerns. It is a multiplicity which, as this thesis has demonstrated, characterises the impact and effectiveness of graphic satire during the first half of the seventeenth century.

II

The purpose of this study has been to address a number of key issues significant to our understanding of graphic satire as a form of political ephemera in early modern England. Furthermore, it has done so through the analysis of a significant corpus of pre-Restoration satirical prints, which until now have merited little attention from scholars of either history or art history.

To begin, this study opened by noting the extent to which early modern graphic satires have been employed by historians as illustrative devices, rather than as a focus for further research. Although a handful of academics, including Kevin Sharpe, Tessa Watt, and Alexandra Walsham, have laid important foundations for the integration of the pictorial into wider historical debates, visual sources still remain the 'poor relation' to their textual equivalents. However, it has been demonstrated throughout this study that graphic satire must be approached in an interdisciplinary manner, in order to more fully understand its contribution towards political culture during the early modern period. The relation of the pictorial to the pamphlets, newssheets, and manuscript verses which have been the focus of much recent historical research, needs to be interpreted, rather than merely illustrated.

The art historical response to the early modern political print has been similarly hampered by a combination of misguided preconceptions. For too long, such material has been considered of limited interest to both contemporary audiences and modern art

historians. This assumption further underestimates the print's active role within the mélange of textual political ephemera with which historical scholarship has recently begun to engage, and underlines the need for an interdisciplinary approach to early modern visual culture which, until now, has been little employed.

Another facet of this misunderstanding on the part of art historians has been the tendency to consider early seventeenth-century graphic satire as part of an output of prints pre-empting the 'start proper' of English graphic culture during the 1640s and 1650s. This notion is strongly compromised by the corpus of satirical prints analysed in this thesis whose imagery straddles the Civil War 'watershed' imposed by certain print scholars. The reliance of post-1640 political satires on earlier iconographies, as succinctly demonstrated by *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost*, is a common phenomenon which raises significant questions regarding wider historiographical issues, pertaining to memory and the much-contested 'origins' of mid seventeenth-century political upheaval.

This common recourse to earlier material highlights the modern scholar's often problematic relationship with early seventeenth-century visual culture. The 'picture' is a categorical model which sits uneasily with much of the material analysed within this study. The frequent integration of word and image, whether through the marriage of title-page and pamphlet text, intricate engraving and explanatory captions, or the literal 'drawing out' of an image through words as practiced by Joseph Mead (fig.34), compromises the modern boundaries established between the literary and the aesthetic. Graphic satire's particularly fluid relationship between the two, combined with its wider exchanges with a range of forms, such as elite portraiture and underground verse, further contributes to its complexity and distances it from a post-Romantic understanding of the 'picture' as an independent cultural category. Essentially, to isolate the picture as an example of creative or aesthetic undertaking during this period is a highly unhelpful exercise.

Furthermore, to examine the graphic satire of the early seventeenth century through conventional aesthetic filters, is to dismiss its collage-like, highly inclusive elements, which draw, often quite directly, upon a range of influences. The components which make up *Dr. Dorislaw's Ghost*, combine to produce a print which to modern eyes cannot be said to be 'original'; however, the concept of originality to the seventeenth-century mindset, was one as redundant as that of the picture. In modern terms, originality frequently implies a kind of creative and aesthetic superiority which does not accord with early modern approaches to artistic production. Shakespeare and Van Dyck,

two individuals held in high esteem within artistic and literary canons, both frequently produced works which constituted reworkings or retellings, whether historical dramas or poses adapted from Titian or Rubens; as this thesis has demonstrated, theirs was a common practice. However, historians and art historians alike are only just beginning to appreciate how little originality in art was of concern to early modern patrons and audiences; rather, the reiteration of themes, ideas and imagery were key elements in the impact and effectiveness of seventeenth-century visual culture.¹⁰ As David Howarth lyrically observes, “For art to be at the centre of public affairs [during the early seventeenth century] as indeed before then, it had to set up resonances, to pluck strings already strung.”¹¹ In the case of political satire, reaching backwards from *Dr. Dorislaw’s Ghost* right through to the allusive jigsaw that is *Dr. Panurgus*, the plucking of such strings is commonplace.

The very act of reiteration is a powerful one. Through editing, appropriating, and juxtapositioning a selection of motifs, keyed to established sentiments of both conflict and comedy, an engraving such as *Dr. Dorislaw’s Ghost* is further enhanced by layers of meaning. It is a technique which keenly resonates, not only in terms of earlier iconographies, but of future ones as well; satirical engravings produced during the Exclusion Crisis of the late 1670s and early 1680s, incorporate visual and thematic references from the 1640s, in order to impose a sense of potential political disarray.¹² The elements of recycling, of collage and of conspicuous editing which characterise the political satire of the early seventeenth century, dominate the ‘medley prints’ published in early eighteenth-century London.¹³ A closer analysis of Interregnum and Restoration graphic satire, and the extent to which its imagery loops back to earlier, satirical iconographies, is one promising avenue for further research opened up by this study; a rich corpus of visual and cultural material from the 1650s and 1660s as yet unexplored by scholars, invites a detailed consideration.

As such, it is anticipated that this thesis will provide a significant starting point for further study into early modern graphic culture in England, and its integration into political debate. Moreover, it is hoped that my work will not only inform, but also invoke debate, and, engage both historians and art historians in fruitful, interdisciplinary

¹⁰ Howarth, *Images of Rule*; Sharpe, *Remapping Early Modern England*, p.454. Peacock, *The Politics of Portraiture*, pp.199-200.

¹¹ Howarth, *Images of Rule*, p.2.

¹² Griffiths, *The Print in Stuart Britain*, p.286-87.

¹³ See Mark Hallett, “The Medley Print in Early Eighteenth-Century London”. *Art History*, 20 (1997), 214-37.

discussion. Only then can we move towards a greater appreciation and understanding of the early modern political print.

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