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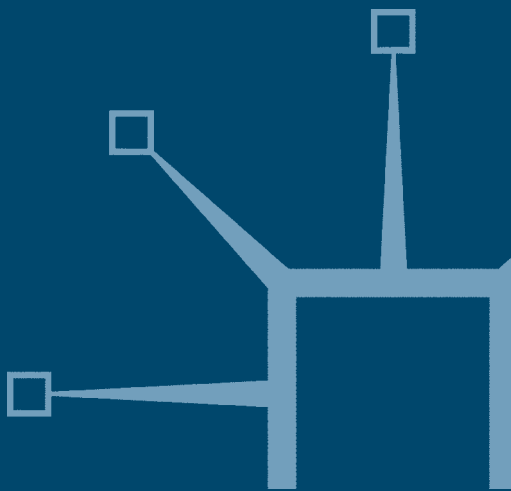
Royalist Identities

Jerome de Groot



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Early Modern Literature in History
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First published 2004 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world

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ISBN 1–4039–1900–3

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

De Groot, Jerome, 1975–
Royalist identities / Jerome de Groot.
p. cm. – (Early modern literature in history)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 1–4039–1900–3 (cloth)
1. Great Britain – History – Civil War, 1642–1649 – Historiography. 2. Great Britain – History – Civil War, 1642–1649 – Literature and the war. 3. Literature and history – Great Britain – History – 17th century. 4. Royalists – Great Britain – History – 17th century. 5. Great Britain – Intellectual life – 17th century. 6. Great Britain – History – Civil War, 1642–1649. 7. Royalists in literature. I. Title. II. Early modern literature in history (Palgrave Macmillan (Firm))

DA413.D44 2005
973.3'14 – dc22

2004051681

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06 05 04

Printed and bound in Great Britain by
Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham and Eastbourne

For my family

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Contents

Acknowledgements

This book would not have been written without the support of several funding bodies, for which I am extremely grateful. The initial research was funded by the AHRB and Newcastle University; the Bibliographical Society granted me a Falconer Madan library fellowship to spend some time in Oxford archives. I have also received research grants from the University of Huddersfield and University College, Dublin. Much of the manuscript research was undertaken while the recipient of short-term research grants at the Folger Shakespeare Library in 2001, the UCLA Clark Library and the Houghton Library, Harvard University, during 2002.

Furthermore, as much of this book has been written on the hoof and all over the place I would like to thank the staff of the following libraries for their help and patience: the Beinecke Library, Yale University; the Henry E. Huntington Library; the Brotherton Library, Leeds University; the Public Records Office; the British Library; the National Library of Wales; the National Library of Scotland; Keele University Library; Oxford City Archives; the Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge; the Cambridge University Library; the Bodleian Library, Oxford University; Bangor Library, UWB; UCD Library; UCL Library; Lincoln College Archives; Christ Church Archives; the John Rylands Library, Manchester University; Nottinghamshire Record Office.

A number of academics have lent their time, expertise and critical eye to this project. Lois Potter and Tom Cain were perceptive and generous readers of my original thesis. Others with whom I have had profitable discussions are Sharon Achinstein, Edward Burns, Vincent Carey, Dermot Cavanagh, Janet Clare, Stephen Clucas, Tom Corns, Martin Dzelzainis, Ewan Fernie, Margaret Healy, Thomas Healy, Barbara Kreps, David Norbrook, Andrew MacRae, Nick McDowell, Jenny Richards, Phil Shaw, Ceri Sullivan, Susan Wiseman. The idea, the studying, the book would never have happened without the late Jeremy Maule, much missed. I have had the good fortune to work with James Knowles, friend and teacher, whose influence on this book is huge and to whom I owe many thanks and a big hug. Many thanks to Emily Rosser and Paula Kennedy at Palgrave Macmillan for making the process as painless as possible, and to Robert Wilcher and three anonymous readers who have helped to sculpt the book into shape.

Without whoms – in no particular order: Clare McManus, James Cannon, Andrew Gordon, James Daybell, Gabriel Heaton, Dee McNamara, Vittoria DiPalma, Marika Keblusek, Tim Amos, Karen Britland, Jim McKay, Matthew Gerry, Sarah Veysey, Will Fisher, Alan Stewart, Richard Kaye, Hannah, Jo and Molly, Marie-Louise Coolahan, Ellie Herrington, Matthew Creasy, Julie Sanders, Mark Greif, Rhian Lloyd, Travis Glasson, Nick and Claudia Smith, Mel, Alex and Kiva, Andrew Cummins, Chris Higham, Conleth Buckley, James Kidd, Jim Byrne, Tom Hampson, Janice Allan, Simon Bainbridge, Dale Watson, Fred Botting, Danielle Clarke, James Loxley, Helen Freshwater, Sean McKenzie, Richard Ball, Ann McGruer. In particular Andrew Moor, Adam Smyth and Sue Chaplin developed my good ideas, discarded the more baroque and generally kept me truckin'.

This book would not have been written without the love, help and support of Sharon Ruston. It is for her and my family.

Jerome de Groot

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CSPD	*Calender of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I*
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
Madan	Numbers referring to the bibliographical entry for Proclamations and Declarations in Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books a Bibliography of Printed Works relating to the University and City of Oxford*, vol. 2 *Oxford Literature 1450–1640, and 1641–1650* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912). Proclamations and Declarations are one sheet long and not paginated.
PRO	Public Record Office
Rogers	Catalogue numbers for the works of William Dobson taken from Malcolm Rogers, *William Dobson, 1611–46* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1983)

Primary texts are dated old style with new style date in square brackets if necessary.

Introduction

Every war has a particular personality. Each is unique in itself, even if there are similar armaments, rifles, machines guns, airplanes or tanks.[1]

The opening chapters of this book were written in Washington, DC during August and September 2001. Sitting in the Folger Shakespeare Library writing about warfare and identity, I was not expecting a complex conflict to erupt a few miles down the road. The emerging situation taught me many things about the intricate set of relationships between self and state during a traumatic time. In the strange days after the attacks on the Pentagon and New York City, the American establishment repeatedly attempted to comprehend their enemy. Secretary of State General Colin Powell spoke candidly to reporters:

> 'I was raised a soldier,' Powell said yesterday. 'And you're trained [to think] there is the enemy occupying a piece of ground. We can define it in time, space, and other dimensions, and you can assemble forces and go after it. This is different,' he continued. 'The enemy is in many places. The enemy is not looking to be found. The enemy is hidden. The enemy is, very often, right here within our own country.'[2]

For days this contrast between the unglimpsed, undefined enemy and the nation's need to see their challenger unbalanced the media coverage of what was soon termed an atrocity, leading to a number of attacks on Muslim businesses and communities. Powell's phrasing reveals much about the need to be able to construct an enemy within a familiar context, to understand, define, and therefore to be able to fight. He speaks of the need to place the enemy other within recognizable dimensions of time and space, to be able to create a locus for the challenger. The sense of violation and invasion was coupled with a very physical sense of fragmentation. The enemy is the state of fluidity, and truth and virtue are defined through fixed and set categories. In the weeks after the attacks the government and media attempted to define and construct the enemy, setting up a polarized relationship between us and them, true and false, terror and justice. The discourse became one of west against the east, Christian against Muslim, civilized against barbarous. These paradigms and models of identity, produced in an atmos-

phere of grief and terrible horror, showed me anew the continually shifting relief of identity formation and construction. Powell's quote seemed to encapsulate the terrible anxiety and distress of any nation in a time of challenge and crisis: forced to redefine and reconfigure notions of the self and the state; needing to describe and distinguish an enemy; seeking to know one's own civic and national identity through polarized contrast with a recognizable and definable other.

There is a fundamental confusion here, however. Powell's words clearly assert that the enemy is also to be recognized as something living and generated within the state, and the attempts at creating an enemy other to define oneself against and to fight become mapped onto an anxious discourse of internal recognition and rejection. This anxiety is even more explicitly the case in a time of civil war, where the enemy is all too recognizable. As Richard Ward argued in his tract *The Character of Warre*, civil discord is much worse than normal war. It destabilizes and disrupts. The headings answering the question 'What are the miseries of Civil war?' are:

1. Civill war is not easily appeased, nor quickly quieted, but once begun continues long;
2. Civill war is the wasting of the subject, and brings the Inhabitants of the land into a consumption;
3. Civill war exhausts the exchequer, or brings the Treasure or riches of the land into an Hectique Fever;
4. Civill war is the overthrow of all Estates and Monarchies;
5. Civill wars beget corruption of manners, and makes wicked men and deceivers grow daily;
6. It begetteth a change of Lawes;
7. Civill war exposes or layes a Land open unto the rage and fury of others;
8. Civill war begets want of reverence towards God, for the madnesse and outrage thereof is such and so great, that it profanes and pollutes every holy thing and place;
9. Civill war makes that King who undertakes unjust wars against his subjects to repent him of his victory, when he truly sees what he hath done;
10. Civill war maketh many poore;
11. Civill war brings good and bad into misery, or the sword of civill warre wounds, yea murders both the innocent and guilty.[3]

The emergence of a sustained opposition to monarchical structures of authority during the 1640s necessitated a wholesale redefinition of self

and the nation. This period is therefore of paramount importance in the study of early modern identity, as the civil war marks a decisive shift in the discourse of self and the notion of the subject within nation. The war period opened up a space of modernity, presenting a shift from the subject toward the individual, a movement in the definition of identity from a feudal, pastoral society toward a capitalist, individuated discourse of self. It is the first major internecine war to be defined as such, the first civil conflict of the century, at that point the most wide-reaching war on British soil, the most disruptive battle fought by the common, unpaid soldier, the most administratively, governmentally, bodily, materially and physically traumatic encounter in living or printed memory.

From the official opening of hostilities provoked by the raising of the King's standard at Nottingham in 1642, through his delivery to Parliament by the Scottish army in 1647, to his eventual execution in 1649, the King was supported by a wide and varied range of his population with a multiplicity of agendas and motivations. Buoyed by a robust propaganda campaign focused through the newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus*, loyalists defended their King – whichever version of him they chose to see, be he absolute, divinely appointed, part of the estate, in partnership with Parliament or simply their monarch – bodily and in print. The enemy was, simply, lying:

> But I intend to wipe off these (such were His words) with a spunge of Truth. It shall be my Taske, at spare houres (and many such it seemes, My Parliament will admit Me) to undeceive My People; and to rectifie their misguided judgements, who are not led away by the spirit of Errour.[4]

The 'Parliamentary' enemy was seen to have transgressed existing definitions of the law, social identity, religion and models of authority. The monarchist reaction to this was vitriolic, for it seemed that for the first time accepted and mainstream structures of society were under serious threat. In poems, sermons, speeches, newsbooks and manuscripts of the period Parliament is presented as destabilizing and disestablishing authority and identity. Parliament's programme was seen to be subversive and destructive; it questioned the fundamental legitimacy of monarchy, government and nation.

In Virilio's blunt terms, the 'personality' of the 1642–9 conflict exhibits a fundamental confusion and anxiety, a lack of assurance of normality and a disconcerting normative quality. It is random and trau-

matic: 'both parts doe destroy and are destroyed, and both sides doe endammage and are endammaged' (Ward, *The Character of Warre*, p. 9). All conflicts are disruptive, yet the internal division of the 1640s had a central, fundamental fragmentation of its own. This book considers how the King and his supporters reacted to the challenge presented by this war, and how they set about recognizing and ejecting difference from the body politic. In particular I trace the emergence of a complex discourse of loyalty, defined through legal, textual and cultural practices designed to subjectify and control the nation. The texts I analyse show how this 'Royalism' was concerned with the construction of a set of binary roles and behavioural models designed to perpetuate a certain paradigm of social stability. It attempted to impose a structure of social identity that rejected the transgressions of Parliament and was premised upon obedience and a hierarchy of 'normality'. It was perceived that violation of these codes led to instability, social inversion, anarchy and dissolution. The conflict challenged and questioned the structure of society and politics. 'Royalism' desired a social order dependent on preordained and fixed roles for the obedient subject and for the reader. The play of identities and the questioning of role involved in the Parliamentarian dispute threatened this order and structure.

Quest. 7. What is the nature of Civill war?
Answ. 1. It is a misery of miseries, for when wars arise in a Commonwealth, great calamities do invade that place, both publikely and privately: war being like a swelling and overflowing streame and tide, which scatters, wasts, overturnes and beates down all things before it; much more Civill wars, wherein one part of the Land wars upon, or against another, as it is now in Ireland and begun in England. In Civill wars nothing but misery can be expected, for if the worst part prevaile, their mercies are cruell, and if the better side get the better, yet it cannot be without much losse and blood-shed of the Inhabitants of the Land: And therefore Civill (or uncivill) wars is a misery of miseries.

Richard Ward, *The Character of Warre or the miseries thereof Dissected and Laid open from Scripture and Experience* (London, 1643), pp. 9–11

Charles I was a Cavalier King and therefore had a small pointed beard, long flowing curls, a large, flat, flowing hat and gay attire. The Roundheads on the other hand, were clean-shaven and wore tall, conical hats, white ties and sombre garments. Under these circumstances a Civil War was inevitable.

W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman, *1066 and All That* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1931), pp. 63–4

1
Royalisms? Constructing and disrupting Royalist identity

Is it reasonable to talk of 'Royalist' identity or identities? The word itself was coined by the definitely anti-monarchist William Prynne: 'his Majesty and all Royalists must necessarily yeeld'.[1] Apart from the odd usage as a term of abuse by polemicists such as Prynne, the term is used very rarely throughout the civil conflict. 'Royalism' was an amorphous collection of attitudes, complex and indistinct – in much the same way that 'puritan', 'Parliamentary' or 'rebel' all meant vague and complicated things. As a phrase, then, 'Royalism' is often ahistorically used in the context of critical investigation into the Civil War period. Contemporaneously, the equally unclear and equally rigid term 'loyal' was applied by both sides to discuss the partisan identity associated with those that supported the King. Historiographically, Royalism is part of a Royalist/Roundhead binary that is inscribed into the representation of the conflict in the 1640s and increasingly during the 1650s. Our use of the word indicates an investment in a historical approach that privileges those binaries constructed during the war, a positivist teleological version of the conflict.

What this book discusses, then, is the interplay of a variety of discourses which accrue into a form I am crudely terming 'Royalism' and which appear at the nexus of definitions of social, cultural, political and sexual identity. It is clear that some kind of dogmatic loyalist collective existed – people fought for the King, irrespective of their specific loyal, personal, familial, religious or sexual identities, and this puts them into a particularized behavioural matrix.[2] As Robert Wilcher argues, 'the term "royalist", in fact, was not needed until the governing class polarized into parties engaged in an ideological and military contest over the locus of supreme power in the state.'[3] There were texts that defended the King, and those that attacked him. There was a delineated loyal

court, removed from London to Oxford.[4] There was a ruling junta of monarchists who were fighting a common enemy – yet still these definitions of identity and models of behaviour owe much more to our contemporary need to think of dialectic and individualized historical phenomena rather than the actual normative complexities of early modern political and social discourse. Religious difference, political difference, social and cultural differences – all these issues are at once in play in defining Royalist identity and also ignored in the face of the Parliamentary or Army challenge.

One of the purposes of this book is to analyse just how the fragmentation and complexity of war is placed within a narrative – legal, textual, generic, religious, emblematic, cultural, gender and sexual – and to highlight how these narratives are continually buckling. I am inscribing and discerning a loyalist discourse, and describing the intersecting nexus with a legally and institutionally defined R/Loyalism. Therefore, the book opens with a contextualization of 'Royalist' political, legal and social theory, before considering how this model of identity was challenged and interrogated, compromised and fragmented. While, in many ways, our understanding of Royalist *v*. Roundhead rests on oppositions that did exist during the war period, it also perpetuates a simplistic model of identity and behaviour that does not allow for the complexities and differences found during the period. Indeed, such an uninflected interpretation simply reinscribes the attempts of Civil War propagandists to present a clear distinction between right and wrong, either/or, black and white. As I argue throughout the book, this attempt to categorize is crucially compromised. It is important not to deploy the terms 'Parliamentary' and 'Royalist' unreflexively or unthinkingly; we must have a sense that these terms are historically and politically contingent. Yet they are terms that necessarily are used, albeit with silent quotation marks, because the war was fought by two opposing sides striving for dominance. The meanings of 'Royalist', in my construction of the term, are the loose affiliation of those who supported the King and who condemned his enemies. They were first and foremost monarchists, before any ambiguity of internal debate regarding the relationship with the parliament. 'Royalism' is not a monolithic structure, however, and it teemed with debate and faction. I trace a variety of discourses of loyalism in the first three chapters, before turning to spaces of dissidence and disruption.

What the ambiguity inherent in the phrase 'Royalism' demonstrates is the complexity and the shifting dynamic of identity formation. Loyalty during the period was demonstrably important, highly con-

tested, and clearly categorized. However, our understanding of the discourse is prey to problematic ambiguities. The years of the Civil War and Interregnum have produced some of the most exciting scholarship of recent years. Since 1989 alone David Norbrook, Thomas Corns, Nigel Smith, Lois Potter, James Loxley, Sharon Achinstein, Robert Wilcher, and Susan Wiseman have published challenging and groundbreaking monographs exploring the partisan literature and culture of this period, in addition to the collection edited by Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday plus that by Ted-Larry Pebworth and Claude J. Summers.[5] However, much of this work has concentrated upon Parliamentary literature, and there has been little sustained work on loyalism as a cultural or social phenomenon. We have no historical study or body of work considering the issue, and this absence has hampered an understanding of the Civil War in general. Those critics who have addressed Parliamentarian languages of authority, disobedience and notions of the public during the period have defined them in opposition to a discourse we still know little about. Loyalist culture and thought is still a relatively unmapped area.

Other works in this field have asked the question 'what was Royalism?'[6] This book shifts the emphasis, asking 'What did Royalism want to be?' Rather than analysing the historical actualities of the period – as much recent work has shown, loyalty was an extremely elastic concept during the war – this book considers how the King and his party reacted to the challenge presented by war. I map the connections, contradictions and tensions between '*R*oyalism', which has sometimes been taken to mean a dogmatic system of ideals, and loyalism (or perhaps '*r*oyalism'), a less defined set of principles and values. The representation of political identity during the war, as opposed to the physical experience of life on the ground, was far less concerned with the ambivalence of loyalty than with using polemically informed definitions of behaviour to exclude and attack perceived enemies.

This book therefore analyses the reaction of the mainstream to the subversive challenges of 'Parliament', illustrating how orthodoxy attempts to legitimate itself once it is under stress and perceived serious threat. In order to understand loyalist identity further it is crucial that we analyse the paradigms of identity and behaviour presented in contemporary texts. I examine several models of identity, from simplistic representational notions of 'difference' and otherness, through institutional and state-led constructions of legal subjectivity, toward more complex and normative notions of the relationship between self, text and state, concluding with an examination of dissident and different

identities within the loyalist party as a whole. Throughout I consider the ambivalence and anxiety inherent in constructions of identity during a period of civil war, with particular reference to the engagement with the Parliamentary other. The conclusion ends by considering Royalist responses to the death of the King and the refraction of loyalist ideology into a set of more contingent and problematic 'Royalisms'. The complicating and dissonant trajectory of these fractured models of identity mean that we leave the action in the aftermath of the death of the King; analysis of 'Royalisms' such as they are during the 1650s would fill another book, and, despite good work in this field, is still a neglected subject.[7]

The fundamental difference between rebellious identities and 'Cavalier' identities, it was claimed by Royalists, was attitude to the state:

> Hee [an agitator] is an universall Enemy to all Order, and Government, both in Church and State. Hee will have, and acknowledge, no King, Parliament, Majestrate, or Superiour Power in the State but himselfe . . . and ere long will deny there is any God at all either in Heaven or Earth to controle or prescribe any Lawes or Rules unto them.[8]

This anatomization defines troublemaking and rebellion as anti-social, a mode of defying the power of the institutions of State to order society, define, and construct identity. 'Agitators' were those radicals who emerged from the New Model Army, particularly during the aftermath of the King's defeat and the Putney debates of 1647.[9] They represented, to loyalists, extremist politics and religious views (they had close links with the Leveller movement), and were demonstrative of an unchecked antisocial madness that attempted to deny the authority of the King. Furthermore, they presented the Army gone mad, revelling in its savage power (rioting in Parliament, marching on London), and undermining the order of the country.

To an 'Agitator' the ultimate guarantor of meaning and signification, of identity construction, is not King, Parliament, Magistrate, or God, but 'himselfe'. This self-definition leads to a challenging of state apparatuses and controls, a disruption or interrogation of society that is distressing and transgressive and refuses the power of God to 'controle or prescribe any Lawes or Rules'. It is an interrogation that might expose the logocentric, phallocentric nature of the nation and lead to any number of excesses. This desire for self-definition, the individuation of society into units of identity rather than masses to be controlled, figures

a crisis in the traditional discourse of power. It is a humanistic movement toward individualized capitalist modernity away from the collective consciousness of state. There is a shift in the discourse of subjectivity from repressive constructionism towards some sense of self-fashioning.

In contrast to this fragmenting of 'Order', Charles and his loyal cohorts stand as a thin red line preserving the physical fabric of nation from destruction by the forces of disorder who question harmony and encourage transgression. Charles is the guarantee of stability, the validation of security. He becomes the central definition of order, the guarantor of security, the centre. In his essay 'Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences' Jacques Derrida begins to account for what he sees as the formation of a structure of meaning and being in Western philosophy and society. He considers the artificial imposition of a centre to the 'structure', a centre which legitimates, mediates and guarantees meaning, but is not part of or within the structure: 'The concept of centred structure is in fact the concept of a play based on a fundamental ground, a play constituted on the basis of a fundamental immobility and a reassuring certitude, which itself is beyond the reach of play'.[10] Derrida's point is that what he calls 'certitude' is artificially imposed or constructed in order to put off anxiety, distress, or instability: 'on the basis of this certitude anxiety can be mastered, for anxiety is invariably the result of a certain mode of being implicated in the game, of being caught by the game' (Derrida, *Writing and Difference*, p. 279):

> The function of this centre was not only to orient, balance, and organise the structure – one cannot in fact conceive of an unorganised structure – but above all to make sure that the organising principle of the structure would limit what we might call the *play* of the structure. By orienting and organising the coherence of the system, the centre of a structure permits the play of its elements inside the total form. And even today the notion of a structure lacking any centre represents the unthinkable itself. (Ibid., p. 352)

The Parliamentarian denial of the fundamental authority of the King led to an unmeaning, a decentring. This challenge to the structured models of language was mapped onto all facets of society: sexual identity, religious practice, education, gender organization. Parliament challenged the King's role as legislator of social hierarchy. Their interrogation of social roles and political identities led to a conservative

backlash, as texts and writers attempted to reinvest social models and paradigms with power, to reimpose structures of identity and behaviour. Royalism was desperately trying to confirm the centrality of a divine or royal presence. It is clear that anxiety was directly linked to the loss of authority or the challenge to the King. The monarch was the guarantee of meaning; his loss was represented as the disruption of normality, the rupturing of order.

Despite the apparent trauma of the war, many high-profile Royalists were reported by Parliamentary newsbooks to be having a wonderful time:

> Prince *Rupert* accompanied with some Lords and other Cavaliers, danced through the streetes openly with musick before them, to one of the Colledges, where they had stayed about halfe a houre, they returned back againe dancing with the same musick before them.[11]

The entire court had moved to Oxford after the first few months of the war, and had occupied the city. This report of hedonistic life at the new court needs to be understood in the context of the London construction of Royalism as a foppish, unauthentic masquerade whose main proponents were licentious and hedonistic foreigners imposing their alien identities onto England's traditional hierarchies and institutions. However, the secondary effect of this passage is to emphasize how dissimilar the proceedings are to the Whitehall masques and entertainments. The structure echoes that of the 'running' masques, seemingly highlighting progressive continuity but in this instance emphasizing a curtailed and limited circular movement. Rupert and his companions newly map the masquing process onto a strange and relatively unknown college-based town. A town, moreover, with its own distinct hierarchies and traditions, which highlight the differences in location and situation. In the same month another Parliamentary newsletter, *Mercurius Rusticus*, crowed that 'the Queen will not have so many Masks this Christmas and Shrovetide this yeare as she was wont to have other yeeres heretofore; because *Inigo Jones* cannot conveniently make such Heavens and Paradises at *Oxford* as he did at WhiteHall'.[12] The change in physical situation enforces a profound conceptual change in the understanding of form, trope and structure. The circumstances of the war and the necessitated movement of the court to Oxford force a reassessment and a reconstruction of cultural loyalism mediated by the changed ideological battle and the new location. This is a notion that underlines the literal dislocation of the Royalist court and party from

London; for a King to whom the physicality of a court was important (witness the plans for the Whitehall Court, the Banqueting House), the nomadic nature of the early months of the war figure both a physical dislocation and conceptual movement that became expressed generically and institutionally. This displacement is part of the dissonance found in the loyalist social and cultural discourse of the period, a physical disruption of normality leading to a desire for stability.

The anxiety inherent in loyalist work of the period due to the challenges of the war is demonstrated in the loyalist Jaspar Mayne's reaction to the Queen's leaving for France in 1644:

> Having lost the Harmonye,
> Which combined us in one knot,
> Concord, Rule, and Lawes forgot
> Every Thing did loose its Name,
> A People a wild Rout became.[13]

The exile of the Queen and the sundering of the family unit allows the entirety of the nation to be reduced to chaos. The loss of language and the destruction of the bodily stability of the nation are foregrounded by the poem as the most destructive consequences of this exile, far more important than civic peace or legal clarity. Linguistic confusion follows the loss of national harmony, and this leads to civil unrest and the debasing of the country. There a terrible confusion involved in the loss of nomenclature; Adam named the world for God in Eden, and this divinely ordered linguistic system has been undone. Naming is also the first step in ruling – Adam's status as outside of named language allows him to be the ruler and lawgiver. There is fear of the instability of language which is revealed by the transgressive and fragmenting challenge of the Parliament – the pun of 'loose' may be a mere quirk of spelling, but it presents us with a pleasing motif of the anxiety underpinning Royalist texts of this period. Naming fixes meaning and defines language as stable and categorizing. The war has loosened the defining hold of language, leading to legal, civic and identity confusion, an unravelling of the knot of nation into thousands of dissonant strands. The breaking of bodily, property and gender boundaries presented loyalists with the horror of complexity and unmeaning – the central paradox of the war being that it was at once a binary of them/us and at the same time an amorphous mass of you/me/them/us/other, a 'wild Rout'. Civil war defied boundarization and categorization, destroying the fragile 'Harmony' which binds the nation together. Nascent nationalism in

Wales, Scotland and Ireland and the increasing independence of the English cities and counties in political and administrative terms combined with the innate fragmentation and confusion of war to diffuse the identity of the subject and the country. Royalist discourse attempted to put the country together again, but it becomes clear that definitions of loyalty and identity deployed and disseminated by loyalists quickly become compromised. Mayne's anxiety illustrates the inherent paradox faced by loyalist writers. They had to construct an identity as loyalists, rejecting the transgressions of the Parliament. Yet this loyalty was based on unstable ground, as the space of nation and subject was continually fragmented and broken apart.

Parliamentary writers articulated positions of resistance predicated on an ascending theory of society. The populace held the power, which they delegated upwards: as Henry Parker argued, 'Power is originally inherent in the people.'[14] This discursive and dialogic model of commonwealth is at odds with the clean lines of loyalist political thought which strove for definition and boundarization. Parliamentary writers argued that the authority of Kings and magistrates is ceded by the people, their representatives elected or contracted through a covenant:

> and it [power] is nothing else but that might and vigour [of the people] which such or such a societe of men containes in it selfe, and when by such or such a Law of common consent and agreement it is derived into such and such hands, God confirmes that Law: and so man is the free and voluntary Author, the Law is the Instrument, and God is the establisher of both. And we see, not that Prince which is the most potent over his subjects, but that Prince which is most Potent in his subject. (Parker, *Observations*, pp. 1–2)

This version of constitutional relations was expressed institutionally in the Grand Remonstrance of late 1641 which made Parliament's position explicit. Princes were only 'intrusted with their Kingdoms'.[15] Parker argued that members of Parliament mediated the people's power and advised the King: 'Two things especially are aymed at in Parliaments, not to be attayned to by other meanes. First that the interest of the people might be satisfied; secondly that Kings might be better counsaild' (ibid., p. 5). The 'interest' of the people was not served by anyone other than the Parliament, and, subsidiary to them, the King: 'The King may safely leave his highest rights to Parliament, for none knowes better, or affects more the sweetnesse of this so well-ballanced a Monar-

chy than they do' (ibid., p. 20). The Court's attempt to replace these elected representatives as primary advisors to Charles has brought the country only trouble: 'wee have had almost forty yeeres experience, that the Court way of preferment has beene by doing publike ill Offices, and we can nominate what Dukes, what Earles, what Lords, what Knights, have been made great and rich by base disservices to the State' (ibid., p. 11). Prynne attacked 'illiterate flattering Court-Doctors, Theologasters, Lawyers, Statists', who 'without any shadow of Truth or Reason' argue against the sovereignty of Parliament 'not so much to flatter or seduce their Princes, as to advance themselves.'[16] Parker argued that Kings were entrusted with power, and their primary duty was to the subject: 'The word Trust is frequent in the Kings Papers, and therefore I conceive the King does admit that his interest in the Crowne is not absolute, or by a meere donation of the people, but in part conditionate and fiduciary.'[17] The 'ascending' model allowed Parliamentarian writers to justify their theories of resistance as loyal and defensive: 'For him [Charles], say we; for we will never yeeld, that wee resist the King: we will maintaine a lawfull resistance, which god blesseth: and abhor the contrary, which God curseth'.[18] Parliament was fighting a defensive war against a misguided and unfortunately tyrannical monarch who, through the agency of self-serving courtiers and prelates, pretended to an absolute power independent of the people.

Royalist political theories scorned claims that Parliament was fighting a reluctant war in the interests of the people: 'for His Majesty had not granted one commission to raise a man, when they began their *defensive* warre'.[19] Instead, they saw the King as the aggrieved party. His concessions during the early 1640s were proof of his lack of aggression. Charles was God's anointed, and not dependent on the whim of the people's support. Tracts concentrated upon defence of the established institutional and constitutional life of the nation by deploying theories of Order. Polemicists such as Ussher and Bramhall emphasized that hegemonic or hierarchical monarchical order was the only true model endowed by God. Royalist tract writers and theorists interpreted the fifth commandment in a general way, arguing that the King was political father to the nation and therefore any challenge to his authority was blasphemous. The use of a traditional familial model predicated upon patriarchal infallibility is a common trope for royalist theories of society, and, as we will see, particularly important in royalist constructions of gender roles. A manuscript poem 'Anagrames of ye PARLIAMENT 1642' emphasized the familial transgressions of the House: 'Am il Parent/ I part al men.'[20]

Dudley Digges recognized the populist appeal of Parliamentary theories of accountability and the innate authority of the people:

> He that will endeavour to make the yoke of government more easie, by setting a people loose from the restraints of positive lawes, upon pretence, they may justly use their native liberty, and resume their originall power, if civill constitutions, which were agreed upon for their good, be not effectual to that end, but prove disadvantageous to them, Shall be sure to meet with many favourable readers. (Digges, 1643, p. 1)

Digges understood the temptation of specious freedom. Civilized society depends upon the structure of laws and institutional restraint of the individual and collective will. Digges' formulation polemically categorizes the readership of a text. Yet there is a space of dissidence here. In the rush to define an either/or, a model of identity based on difference, Royalism compromised itself. War is a dialogue, a crucial intermingling and interaction of body, concept and identity. Materially it involves actual meetings and destructive fragmentation in order to provide an outcome, or an ending. Even the construction of identity through difference involves a notion of dynamic and tension, of dialectic. Yet throughout the 1640s writers strove to present war as a clean narrative with clear sides and no ambiguities of allegiance or identity. This inflexible model was under increasing strain, until the execution of the King presented Royalists with a clear sundering of their narrative models of history and warfare. The anxiety inherent in such attempts at presenting a clear view of war – particularly of civil war – is what underpins Colin Powell's words, and what leads loyalist writers to deploy uncertain and conflicting metaphors of invasion, sickness and disease. Roundheads were somehow simultaneously an internal virus and excrement to be purged. The binary of loyalist identity is not something that can be imposed easily; models of behaviour are more discursive and dynamic than that. This problematizes Royalist writing, leaving it crucially compromised.

Charles I, it seems, recognized the demand for a more discursive, dialectic model of subjectivity. In December 1642 a London edition of two speeches by the Earl of Bristol and Edward Sackville appeared. Bristol argues passionately in favour of the war, Sackville pragmatically for accommodation.[21] These speeches were intended to influence the ongoing peace negotiations of 1642–3 and underline the differences of opinion held by various factions in the King's court.[22] Two days later a

different publisher produced the King's answer, creating a three-way dialogue in print. That these speeches were intended solely for a London market used to such a means of political expression is likely, as there is little or no bibliographical evidence of the Oxford versions. However, equally important to their appeal is the notion that these speeches were first given at the Council in Oxford and are reprints of Lichfield's originals. The King's speech complements the two others; he ends by favouring accommodation but is pleased that the debate has taken place:

> It is no new thing among so many wise men to have severall and farre different conceptions; yet none unrepugnant to reason, or dissentions from truth; as in the severall parts and dimensions of the body the limbs move severall wayes, but all to one end.[23]

Behind this viewpoint lies a keen sense of audience and the changing political situation. Bristol's speech had asserted the divine nature of monarchy: 'Is it fit for a King to beg peace of his Subjects? For the regall authority, the immediate figure of heaven and the Deity on earth, to descend from its supreme height' (*Two Speeches Spoken at the Councell-Table at Oxford*, pp. 4–5). Charles steers clear of such bombast and seemingly ratifies the advisory role of a Parliament. The debate the King describes as taking place between 'wise men' reconstitutes a humanist discursive trope, absorbing such debate into institutional court culture. The polis or forum is replaced by the court. In many ways, this had actually happened; the court physically occupied the Oxford university spaces formerly dedicated to discussion and declamation (the Academic Schools themselves were used to store grain and cloth). The healthy and necessary discussions of his subjects are firmly placed within the configuration ordained by the King, who re-emphasizes his role as the chair and head of the body of debate – whether Parliamentary, courtly, or nation-wide. The speeches also highlight the institutionalization of the culture of criticism that Kevin Sharpe identified in the court of the 1630s.[24] Debate and panegyric is controlled and mediated within a public, or published, space. The ambiguity that Sharpe and also Annabel Patterson find inherent in Royalist expression has been replaced by rhetorical discursive tropes and panegyric declamation, by the logical and clean lines of political debate. What is important here is the issue of control; the speeches are inflected by that of the King. In many ways the breakdown of relations with Parliament was due to their perceived refusal to allow Charles this power any longer.

By introducing an anatomical metaphor, moreover, the King subtly reasserts and reconfigures the hierarchical model of the body, emphasizing the servitude of the limbs and organs to the heart and mind. He does so on the authority of William Harvey's dedication to *De Motu Cordis*, in which the King's Physician wrote of how the heart's operation was 'a divine example of his own actions.'[25] The body of state was being reordered. The speeches of the King articulate a version of paternal monarchy that is concerned about but firm with his wayward subjects. He advises Prince Rupert that 'Tyrants shed blood for pleasure, Kings for necessity', making it clear that his influence is not superadded but pervasive:

> Were it against a forraigne enemy, We should permit you to use your owne discretion, but being, as it were, against Our selfe, Our children (all subjects ought to be so to their King, as he is *Pater Patriæ*) blame Us not if We be tender of their receiving the least wound; when the head is sensible of any paine in the inferiour members, wee must necessarily feele what ever is inflicted on him.[26]

Utilizing a refined anatomical metaphor, the King counsels mercy and presents himself as the indulgent head of a unified corporeal state rather than a tyrant out of touch with his people. He conflates two metaphors of state: the nation as body and as family. Both models see the King as the 'head' of a hierarchically controlled space; the family metaphor also emphasizes the patriarchal nature of authority. The family space is subject to the patriarchal authority of the father-King.

Moreover, the King is sensitive to any wound of the 'inferiour members' of the body of state; this body has a physical and material nature as well as a metaphorical aspect. The state is both the concept of a nation-space and is physically defined in the bodies of the people; both are ruled, interpolated, and constructed by the authority of the monarch. Charles's new court at Oxford was 'almost in the heart of my Kingdome; and it brings more comfort unto me, that I am now in the hearts of my subiects'.[27] Conflating anatomical image with cartographic reality, the King emphasizes that he is ever present, circulating, an integral part of language, society, culture and the physical body of his subjects. Charles makes clear that he is continually watching and categorizing his subjects, that they cannot escape his eye. He defends their liberty of movement, while simultaneously constraining them within a legally defining body-space of nation. Charles' omniscience

leads to a model similar to Foucault's panopticism: the effect being 'to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power'; Charles' surveillance and possession of his subjects furthers his power through a scientific metaphor of subjection.[28] While Foucault distinguishes between disciplinary and sovereign power, his model holds for the example of Charles, a figure crucially liminal in the movement between both models of surveillance and subjection. The strategies deployed by Charles throughout the war suggest an anxiety regarding the movement from sovereign to disciplinary power, the decisive shift in subjectivity and subjectification that the nation is undergoing.

By emphasizing the temporal and in some ways marginalizing the divine nature of the body of state, Charles physically reassigned his role at the head. His influence is enveloping. He lives in the bodies of his subjects, and defines their corporeal and physical space. Royalist political theory during the war continued to deploy the hierarchical head-down model of the body politic, but Charles shrewdly allowed his rhetoric to become less exact and seemingly more open, gesturing towards notions of a mixed or self-limiting monarchy. His reconfiguration of this motif, wittingly or not, undermined the concept of a divinely attributed, centralizing power. He was conversant with the central tenets of Harvey's work, and worked hard to map them onto his own model of nationhood. In his speech acknowledging the welcome of Oxford University, he declared that 'The heart of a Prince is kept warm by the blood of his subjects: the blood of the subjects being not to be preserved, were it not loyally entertained into the heart of the Prince' (*The Kings Maiesties Speech*, p. 5). Debate may take place but under the auspices of the King, thus dispelling any tendency toward republican theorizing. Oxford had proffered a Laudian version of Copernican thought during the 1630s, which, linked with Harvey's work, created an astronomical and physiological context for the inherently hierarchical systems of monarchical rule.[29] Furthermore, Charles' rhetoric of inclusion still asserts a model of space which sees the body of state as circumscribed and total; it is 'absolute' and definite, and controlled by the heart. The influence of blood on the body is more pervasive, invasive and inclusive than standard hierarchical structures deployed by political theorists. The limbs work independently but to one overriding purpose, the service of the crown. Charles had continuously emphasized the political importance of reverence to the state of the King's body; during the war he had to use different forms to mediate

and deliver his message. This reassessment of the King's relationship with his subjects seemingly rejects the head–body model used by Royalist political theorists in favour of a mutually beneficial relationship, almost gesturing toward the theory of a 'contract' between monarch and people. However, the model is still predicated upon a hierarchical interpretation of recent scientific writing and therefore the notion of the state it presents is that of an inclusive body ruled by the heart rather than the head, as Harvey had proved was physiologically correct. The relationship the King posits is warmer and seemingly less exclusive but the rhetoric conceals a firm notion of bodily authority. The country was still dependent upon his will and subject to his whim; he was the delineator and creator of the space of nation.

Despite the King's assurances that he was still in control of the body of state, much loyalist discourse betrays an anxiety about corporeality:

> Lastly, adde hereunto that the King must needes be reputed part of the Parliament, which by supposition was in the beginning waved, but a thing alwayes to be acknowledged for truth; then if the Parliament without the King make the representative body, the King is the reall head to that body of the Kingdom; and it were as absurd as monstrous to exclude the head from acting any thing that should generally concerne the body, since from the head the spirits are derived, which give both sence and motion to the whole body; and that body which will separate it selfe from the head, may please it selfe with the fancy of independency; but the conclusion will leave it a dead, uselesse, and neglected trunke.[30]

The grotesque image of a headless nation-body belies an actual fear of the physical sundering of state from monarch. Denial of the King's authority is 'absurd' and 'monstrous', an act against reason and sense. Charles gives the state 'sence and motion', endowing it with a concept of vitality which is a superadded principle imposed by the divinely appointed head. However, there is a crucial bodily anxiety. The body of state is interfered with, complicated, interrogated, and finally violated. We find a tension between war as dialogue – meeting and interaction – and war as definite either/or, not a mingling. The logic of the pamphlet suggests that the body has something of a parasitic relationship to the King, needing his influence to live.

The use of anatomical figures was increasingly complicated in the light of Cartesian theory and Harvey's work. Thomas Warmstry articulated a new Harveian model of the state:

> But besides this weaknesse that adheres unto the meere division, of which this action wholly consists, There is a fountaine of bloud, even a bloudy issue opened hereby in this great body; whereat the very spirits and vitall powers thereof doe as it were continually evaporate and flie out: The very Heart-veyne, yea the Arteries, and very channells of life are hereby in danger to be dissected, and the Orifices still to grow wider and wider, whereby it is like to become meagre & languid, and unable to performe the Actions of life; for as in the body naturall the bloud is *thesaurus naturæ*, so in the body politick the bloud of a nation is such a treasure, that the lavishing away thereof by any prodigall waste, must needs bring it low, and render it faint and feeble. And when it is once lost it is not so easily repaired. Indeed wee confesse, that Phlebotomy may be usefull, in some cases unto both, not onely to the naturall body, but unto that of a Common-wealth. And they may both gather strength by the expence of that bloud which is corrupt; but then this is to be done by waight and measure: with the carefull and skilfull hand of a Physician or Surgeon, and that *cum delectu* too, not at all adventure and hazard, and with due regard had unto what the body can beare; this is charily, and warily to be done, not to be committed to the rude hand of the multitude; and great caution be had, that the good bloud may be retained; and this too in case of some urgent necessity, where other milder remedies will not prevaile: but to leave this to a tumultuary performance, as in this case of Civill war, it must needs endanger the very being and consistency of this Common-wealth.[31]

Warmstry's account of the country draws on medical literature of the period, and in particular Harvey's theories. He specifically refers to the 'bloud of a nation', and maps the body onto England. The state has been wounded and must be healed. As Diane Purkiss has argued, the metaphors of dismemberment deployed by Royalist writers throughout the war period have a conceptual and a material resonance.[32] The passage illustrates this, explicitly conflating the 'body politick' with the corporeal body, and showing how the 'bloud of a nation' must be let in order to purge political impurities. The civil war has opened unnatural wounds and resulted in invasive and unnecessary surgery. Warmstry sees the space of the nation being invaded and its integrity being destroyed. The 'very being and consistency of this Common-wealth' is attacked. Similarly, Martin Lluelyn saw the continuing attacks on the King as poisoning the body of state: 'By fraile Advantages, still find it good,/ To keepe th' Infection high ith' Peoples Bloud'.[33] Warmstry's account figures

the King's role as that of the skilful surgeon, bleeding the nation to rid it of illness. This is the action of government, and it is to be used only by highly qualified people, 'not to be committed to the rude hand of the multitude'; the interaction of the people within this process will lead to further infection and bodily violation. The war itself is the blood-letting necessary to heal the nation, but the worry is that the virus will take hold or the purgation will not be effective enough to retain all the pure blood; the death of many good soldiers will be the price of health. While the integrity of the body may be restored, there is still an anxiety about the very 'being' of the body, the commonwealth, the nation. All three concepts are elided together, and we see the fluidity of Royalist notions of space; easily shifting between material space and a conceptual or metaphorical notion of spatial dynamics. Warmstry's ultimate worry is that the space of the nation, the absolute space defined and constructed by the King, has somehow been violated, necessitating a violent and destructive reaction.

Warmstry's tract presents the central concerns of Royalist writing, demonstrating key anxieties about war, trauma, invasion and interrogation, bodily completeness, transgression and health. His deployment of an anatomical trope to describe the sick nation and the consequent anxiety about the invasion of the body illustrates the characteristic ambivalence of loyalist writing. War is good and bad, destructive and healing; the enemy is both outside and internal, 'bad blood' and the sword of combat. The body of nation is sickly from external disease and internal corruption. John Taylor, explicitly figuring England as a sick body ('as it is with the Body of Man, so in the Body Politique of the Kingdome') defines the main problem as that of law and property.[34] The problem will not be solved until the Parliament gives the King 'his own againe, which you have proditoriously and perficiously taken' (*The Causes of the Diseases*, p. 10). He has no cure for the condition he discovers, other than the law: 'I suppose that nothing can cure her but the Law well applied' (ibid.). This is consonant with Royalist discourses of property, invasion and illegality. However the piece has a characteristic ambivalence in its presentation of the ambiguities of nation: 'Thus have I truly shewed the Causes of the Kingdomes griefes, to be at first a Melancholy madness, then it was hydropically puft up (in many places) with Ambition, Malice, Revenge, Avarice, Sects, Schismes, and Fantasticall Sathanicall Innovations and perturbations' (ibid.). The body of the nation is sick but this is a result of internal problems, nothing externally added. The body is devouring itself. Taylor's tract concludes with a plea that is non-polemic: 'O haples England! 'tis thy only good,/ To

Purge well, and give over letting Blood' (ibid.). While this comes at the end of a polemic tract, the anxious distress encapsulated in the presentation of the war and the invasive fragmentation involved in the conflict undermines notions of innate and clear cut identity definition.

The key to understanding this anxiety is the figure of the Roundhead, the enemy, the other which is continually rejected and simultaneously embraced. For the postcolonial critic Homi Bhabha, colonialism is all about facing the colonial other and subjugating it, controlling it. Discourses are deployed in order to control, constrain and subject the other – to define it on European or colonial terms. As we have seen, this type of definition is crucial to Royalism – and to all forms of authoritarian discourses. The reason I use Bhabha, a postcolonial theorist, is that his notion of 'recognition' seem to me crucial and even more tortured during a civil war. As Bhabha argues, 'colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other'.[35] Yet inscribed within this need for a recognizable other is the downfall of the system, as it introduces a key ambivalence that constantly undermines the carefully delineated structures of identity. The relationship between the defining Royalist discourse and the defined Roundhead is ultimately doomed to failure. The key concept for Bhabha is the phrase 'almost the same, *but not quite*' ('Of Mimicry and Man', p. 381). This is his concept of 'slippage' – that the other cannot be moulded or coherently defined through discourse. This leads to an uncertainty – an ambivalence that undermines the certainty of discourse, leading to 'resemblance and menace'. Resemblance is a good thing, a recognizable other – but one that similarly menaces by showing the slippage and uncertainty of the defining discourse, the instability of the project. Bhabha uses Foucault to think about how 'the look of surveillance returns the displacing gaze of the disciplined, where the observer becomes the observed and "partial" representation rearticulates the whole notion of *identity* and alienates it from essence' (ibid., pp. 383–4). This deconstructive notion – that power relations, and particularly strategies of representation, simultaneously construct and form the subject while also undermining themselves – is apparent in Bhabha's analysis:

> It is as if the very emergence of the 'colonial' is dependent for its representation upon some strategic limitation or appropriation *within* the authoritative discourse itself. The success of colonial appropriation depends on a proliferation of inappropriate objects that ensure its strategic failure, so that mimicry is at once resemblance and menace. (Ibid., p. 382)

The project of colonialism is self-limiting and tends ultimately to failure – Bhabha's point here is that fixed within the entire phenomenon is an unacknowledged instability that leads to breakdown. As we shall see in the following chapter, Royalism's attempt at definition through a set of binary oppositions – in this case, male/female, but in other cases cavalier/roundhead – is flawed and undermined. It assumes a fixed and stable language system, that there is meaning in the sign defined as 'roundhead'. Royalists *desire* stability and meaning, and the menace of the roundhead is that they are not the same, that they defy stable definition. This highlights the instability of language and meaning. The roundhead is *not the same*, but Royalists want to be able to define it. They look the same, walk the same, almost represent the same things, but are not the same; they are other, strange weird, different, uncategorized, uncivilized, and undefined. For Royalists, one of the main sites of dissonance was the concept of an internal invasion, the notion that the cancer of rebellion and the disease of war were somehow from within the nation:

> Thou [England] whose pious wombe (like a rich mine)
> Teem'd Christ's first Ensigne-bearer, Constantine,
> The eldest Christian Caesar, should'st now lie
> Impregnated with this curst progeny
> Of Vipers; most true Vipers, that do knaw
> Their way to life through their poor Mothers maw:
> Nay, base unnaturall wormes, when borne, these suckt
> Her brest Heart-bloud out; left not till they pluckt
> Their Mothers Head off.[36]

While they are 'curst progeny', they are still children of England – recognizable but horrific, related but exiled. This constant slippage between resemblance and difference, mimicry and menace, is the essence of Bhabha's point about the ambivalence that lies in the heart of colonialism, and particularly colonial representation: 'The question of the representation of difference is therefore always also a problem of authority' ('Of Mimicry and Man', p. 384). Bhabha analyses the 'slippage of difference and desire' inherent in recognition and mimicry – at once rejecting the different other, at once anxiously embracing it in order to give meaning to language: 'mimicry rearticulates presence in terms of its "otherness", that which it disavows' (ibid.). Royalist writing, loyalist discourse, texts of the civil war period – all betray this slippage and this anxious need for definition. Just as Colin Powell desired an

enemy to recognize but distance, so Royalist identity is ill-defined through a series of traumatic encounters and anxious interrogations. Royalism attempts narrative and completion, presenting models of behaviour, legal classifications of subjectivity, textual interpolation, social analyses of self and hierarchical definitions of gender and sexuality. However, the central encounter with the enemy other splinters these assurances and finally, literally, shatteringly, leaves the body of state a 'dead, uselesse, and neglected trunke'.

2
'. . . but the Picture, but the signe of a King': the legal space of self and nation

The space of the subject and the voice of law

During a 1642 parliamentary debate about the printing of the common law, William Prynne answered a claim that publication was an inherent prerogative of 'the king, supreme governor and lawgiver' by arguing that 'not the king alone, but the King and parliament are the sole law makers'.[1] Prynne distinguishes between the tyrannical 'giver' and a communal 'maker' of the law, consonant with Parliamentary investment in more inclusive forms of government. The King and Parliament produce the law; the King's attempt to be 'supreme lawgiver' is illegal. Yet, loyalists asked, how could what the King desired be illegal? The disagreement over the nature and scope of Charles' legislative status was fundamentally important to the conflict between the monarch and his Parliament. Royalism, for all its factional self-interrogation at times, sought to confirm the King's divinely appointed role as the lawgiver and, therefore, beyond the law, whereas Parliament was concerned with limiting his rights and emphasizing his status as subject to, and circumscribed by, the law. Furthermore, the entire point of the 1642 debate – that the common law be textualized and therefore open to intrusive interpretation – figures the conflict between a King who desired to establish his unequivocal and unassailable position as guarantor of meaning, and a Parliament keen to open previously closed discourses to public debate and invasive scrutiny. If the law was publicly debatable then the King's position could also be interrogated, read, argued – it was no longer innate and inviolate, but normative and contingent, subject to qualification and discussion.

The war explicitly addressed the legal configuration of the nation and subject. The conflict was concerned with the role of the King, with establishing or denying his executive role as ultimate civic and religious

lawgiver. Parliament challenged his legal prerogative, claiming that he was subject to the law rather than outside of the law – part of the linguistic system of law and society rather than the guarantor of legal meaning. As Prynne wrote in 1643, Kings and Emperors 'were and are subordinate, accountable for their actions to them [Parliament].'[2] For the purposes of our discussion of identity construction, the law is an important aspect of the discourses of Royalism. The law inscribes the relationship between the body of the subject and the textual construction of the subject. Therefore, an analysis of the relationship between the law, the lawgiver and the subject constructed textually and bodily by this law allows us an insight into the circulation of various discourses of power during the civil war. Discourses of legality are important in allowing for categorization and inscription of the subject. Illegality produces what Foucault terms 'delinquency', making it possible for the power nexus to 'differentiate, accommodate, and supervise'.[3] A consideration of Royalist lawmaking allows us to understand how an identity of obedience and loyalism was inscribed upon the subject, who was to be constructed through a variety of powerful discourses that sought to configure the political technology of the body. The King was the lawgiver, the bulwark against the proliferation of meaning and delinquency, and the final authority. His status as father of his people gave the nation a centre and a meaning. The law merely underlined and emphasized the nature of subjection to his power. We can see in this period the violence inherent in the rule of law. The law was bound up in the conflict, explicitly organized as an instrument of political domination. Royalists sought to deploy legal and institutional discourses as a legitimating task force prepared to inscribe the status of the subject within the hierarchy of meaning and nation. The reaction to the Parliamentary challenge demonstrates Foucault's formulation of the relationship between law and power.

Cavalier writings on Roundheads continually emphasized their lawlessness and the illegality of their cause. The disruption of social rules and roles was represented as a challenge to the authority of the law. For Royalists, rebellion consisted in challenging the order of the state, and refusing lawgiving institutions. Consequently, it consisted of rejecting control, prescription, and categorization. It was a refutation of social control, an attempt to construct a non-institutionally defined self: this emphasis on the individual, Royalists argued, would lead to disorder and chaos. Royalist texts emphasized the positive elements of 'natural' bonds and structures: 'for when the foundation of publique order is subverted, we may soone expect the fractions of families and friends,

(bonds sacred in all ages)'.[4] Through attacking the public good Parliament subverts the social discourses and institutions that tie people together and construct 'normal' identity.

Royalist constructions of Parliamentary rebellion as a plague attacking the health of the body of nation have extensive implications in relation to the law and formulations of the subject:

> This enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed space, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted work of writing links the centre and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead – all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism. The plague is met by order; its function is to sort out every possible confusion: that of the disease, which is increased when fear and death overcome prohibitions. It lays down for each individual his place, his body, his disease and his death, his well-being, by means of an omnipresent and omniscient power that subdivides itself in a regular, uninterrupted way even to the ultimate determination of the individual, of what characterises him, of what belongs to him, of what happens to him. Against the plague, which is a mixture, discipline brings into play its power, which is one of analysis. (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, p. 197)

As will be seen, Royalist texts, laws and institutions were concerned with and about constructing this society of surveillance, the 'enclosed, segmented space . . . in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed space'. This space is conceptual but constructed through law, institutional technologies and textual inscriptions of identity. Royalist discourse presented itself, and attempted to construct itself, as the 'omnipresent and omniscient power' which is interested in 'the ultimate determination of the individual, of what characterises him, of what belongs to him, of what happens to him'.

Postmodern theorists and cultural geographers date the integration of contemporary ideas of space to the revival of classical philosophy and geometry during the European Renaissance. The articulators of what commentators have termed 'absolute space' were Copernicus, Newton, Kant and Descartes. They themselves were theorizing a concept that had been in part created by the 'emerging space-economy of capitalism':

'capitalist social relations in Europe brought a very specific set of social and political shifts that established absolute space as the premise of hegemonic social practices'.[5] What is termed 'absolute space' is a concept that underpins the construction of a hegemonic or hierarchically structured society. This particular notion of 'absolute space' is inextricably linked to Renaissance interpretations of Greek ideas, mainly Platonic, of absolute or ultimate truth and ideal forms. 'Absolute space', defined during the early seventeenth-century, is the 'conception of space as a field, container, a co-ordinate system of discrete and mutually exclusive locations' (Smith and Katz, 'Grounding Metaphor', p. 75). All space can be measured and defined. This is particularly expressed in the geometry of Euclid; importantly for Royalist definitions of 'absolute space' during the 1640s, Fournier's *Elementa Euclidis* was republished in Oxford in 1644. This text exemplifies and illustrates Euclid's splitting of space into 35 definable and measurable *definitions*. Royalist 'absolute space' constructs, corrupts, and boundarizes absolutely, imposing hegemony and structured hierarchy upon the nation state.

Royalists defended an outmoded definition of monarchy that was predicated upon hierarchical and hegemonic social and spatial structures. Charles and his court deployed several institutional methods in order to control and maintain the social superstructures maintained by the Church, the State and the Universities. Charles' Proclamations attempted to construct a space of nation, of 'Our Kingdom' as defined by the King and configured or mediated through his ordained institutions. Charles created through his declarations and pardons an image of fragmented, county-led England focused into nationhood through allegiance to the King. The King was an overriding presence in the construction of a county identity; allegiance to Charles was to be the prime motivation of the local areas. Within this hierarchically constructed absolute space the subject was constrained, configured and categorized according to the intentions of the King. Parliament seemed to challenge this notion of absolute space, rupturing the guidelines, introducing a more fluid, negotiable, permeable concept of nation. They initiated spatial fragmentation, highlighting the previously hidden nexus of spatial power and causing a need for reconfiguration. Royalists deployed space as a controlling discourse for nationhood. This became overt in reaction to Parliament's denial of absolute structures and spaces, their interrogation of fixed notions of textuality and authority. Royalists refuted these challenges, constructing Parliament's fluidity as monstrous and other: 'Noe bound controules th'unwearied space; but Hell,/ Endlesse as those dire paines which in it dwell'.[6] Hell is the state of being

undefined, outside of bounds and controls. For Cowley and his cohorts identity is constructed by boundaries, controls, laws, structures; without these there is only a horrific nothingness.

In particular, loyalists deployed legal definitions to construct and configure the spatial representation of nationhood and identity. Proclamations emphasized the otherness of lawbreakers, constructing illegal acts as those outside of society:

> That whosoever shall henceforward by Money, Plate, or otherwise assist the said Rebellion, shall take Armes by vertue of any pretended Ordinance, or shall enter into any Oath of association against Us, or without Our Consent, shall be esteemed by Us as an Enemy to the publique Peace, a Person disaffected by Us, the Religion and Law of the Kingdom, and shall accordingly receive condigne punishment; of which We give them timely notice, that they may proceed accordingly at their perills.[7]

Loyalism used the law to define and configure a loyalist identity of inclusion, a space of nation and subjection. It emphasized the importance of institutions in the definitions of self, constructing a subject within the complex nexus of relationships between self, monarch and state. These laws reacted to the physical invasion and metaphorical plague of Parliament by invoking a model of 'true' roles, bodies, names, places. The Parliamentary disease created the anxiety of disorder and the Royalist reaction was the attempted imposition of textual and legal models of discipline and order.

Charles was the paternal lawgiver, the guarantor of meaning and identity. He was the father of the nation, the prescriptive constructor of self. Power, identity and authority rested solely in the King:

> And though these persons have gone about subtilly to distinguish betwixt Our Person and Our Authority, as if, Because Our Authority may be where Our Person is not, that therefore, Our Person may be where Our Authority is not; We require all Our good subjects to take notice of the Law (which is in Print and full Force) That their Allegiance is due unto the naturall Person of their Prince, and not to His Crown or kingdom distinct from His naturall Capacitie. And that by the Oath of Ligeance at the Common Law (which all persons above the age of twelve yeers are, or ought to be sworn unto) they are bound to be true and faithfull, not to the king onely as king, but to Our Person as king Charles, and to bear Us truth and faith of Life and

> Member, and earthly Honour; and that they shall neither know nor hear of any ill or damage intended to Us that they shall not defend.[8]

In this model allegiance is an active duty requiring the subject to be 'true and faithfull' and to protect the King from both physical and conceptual slander. Those who do not obey the laws enacted to guarantee this will be punished, as the reference to the 'Oath of Ligeance' makes clear. Subjects are 'bound' to the King, branded by him. His word is truth, and his image 'Authority', whether his Person is present or not. This is not negotiable, and its incarnation in print is non-interpretable. Identity is predicated upon a complex relationship with the defining rule of the King. If subjects dissent they risk fine and imprisonment.

As Foucault argues, the imposition of punishment is not necessarily to reduce crime but to construct the individual subject. Law is not punitive and repressive; it can be positive and constructive, a productive mechanism of power. Jerry Leonard's analysis of Foucault argues, 'law may be (re)understood as a discourse of power/knowledge: a complex apparatus or mechanism of power which in a myriad of ways produces (and is produced by) the hegemonizing knowledge and truth necessary for the existing order of power'.[9] Royalist versions of the law were punitive, but they depended ultimately on this complex interaction of subject and state. Rather than admit this, it was key that the King's authority be asserted whatever the reality; the establishment of legal identity works through a process of negation, of 'rejection, repudiation, repression, exclusion, and renunciation'.[10] The legal construction of 'Royalism' depends on a series of productions and configurations, and it is these concepts that will be explored in the remainder of this chapter, which concentrates upon the role of the law in the mediation and formation of identity.

Defining allegiance and authority: proclamations

In his public works Charles regularly referred to the Oath of Allegiance, part of a revision of Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy of 1534. This oath had gone through various revisions under Elizabeth, James and Charles, but essentially ratified the Monarch's divine right to be head of state and church. It was also an Act for the suppression of religious difference, and was often used for the arraignment and punishment of recusants. It included two oaths, one of Supremacy and one of Allegiance. The Oath of Supremacy enforced the unique authority of the King: 'I . . . doe utterly testifie and declare in my Conscience, that the Kings

Highnesse is the onely Supreame Governour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall.'[11] The Oath of Allegiance similarly emphasized the active duty of the subject to protect their King: 'I . . . will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against His or their [his heirs] Persons, their Crowne and Dignitie' (*Englands oaths*, Sig. A3r). Royalism was predicated upon this relationship between the subject and monarch, unmediated by any Parliamentary control. The King accepted the loyalty and virtue of his subjects and in return bound himself to self-limiting rule, shunning tyranny for an unequal partnership. Of course, this *relationship* suggested that the King was in part dependent on his subject's protection. Such ambiguity in the Oath might suggest that the limitations proposed by the Parliament were simply extensions to a mutually fluid legal association; it was not seen by the King in this light.[12] This ambiguity highlights the uneasy intersection between legal discourses of Royalism and a less clearly demarcated, discursive model of loyalty. The tension between these two types of *r*oyalism is felt throughout the legal debates of the war period.

The ancient and sustaining connection between head and body, monarch and subject, was challenged by Parliament's Nineteen Propositions of 1642. The Propositions included suggestions for a greater degree of Parliamentary involvement in monarchical government, in particular announcing that 'such Matters as concern the Publick, and are proper for the high Court of Parliament, which is your Majesties great and supreme Councell, may be Debated, Resolved and Transacted onely in Parliament'.[13] They called for increased public accountability for 'the great Affairs of the Kingdome', and augmented Parliamentary management of the militia, royal education, the judiciary, foreign policy, and revenue. The Propositions presented the combined Lords and Commons as Charles' main advisor, an equal partner in the government of the country rather than an adjunct to divinely held executive power. Charles was free to make certain appointments and decisions 'with the approbation of your Parliament' (*Nineteen Propositions . . . with his Majesties answer*, p. 4). In his published answer to the Parliamentary text, often seen as a 'classic text in the history of Constitutional Royalism', Charles modified his position to the extent that he seemingly abandoned the theory of the estate for a commitment to a theory of mixed government (Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, p. 91). Charles would, in effect, become dissolved into the running of the state as part of the executive, rather than ruling through his Parliament. In

contrast to most of the official publications of this period, the *Answer* was the work of Culpepper and Falkland rather than Hyde, and the constitutional fudging it presented demonstrates the constant battle going on in the background over the direction of the King's public expressions of political philosophy. Royalist political expression, albeit focused through the King, was, at this point, bitterly divided.[14]

In many ways the *Answer* does not take a doctrinaire position, preferring to attack the basis for any challenge to the King by suggesting that it would damage the fragile balance of power in the country. Charles drew attention to the transformation that the Propositions would effect:

> a new Power hath been assumed to interpret & declare Laws without Us by extemporary Votes, without any Case judicially before either House (which is in effect the same thing as to make Laws without Us) Orders and Ordinances made onely by both Houses (tending to pure arbitrary power) were pressed upon the people as Laws, and their obedience required to them. (*Nineteen Propositions . . . with his Majesties answer*, p. 2)

This counteraccusation of Parliamentary tyranny highlighted the loss of the King's authority in the Propositions. Royalists accused Parliament of attempting to constitute a state in which the King was a link in the chain of government rather than a centre guaranteeing the law and configuring the identity of the subject. The King's answer is 'the official expression of that commitment to the rule of law' (*Constitutional Royalism*, p. 91). The answer argued that the Propositions would disestablish both mixed and personal monarchy, leading to the erosion of law and a destruction of the historically important organic relationship between King and Parliament (ibid., pp. 90–1). This would lead, in the words of an earlier Proclamation, to the 'Law and Liberty of the Subject being in apparent hazard to be subjected to an Arbitrary Lawlesse Power of a few Schismaticall, Factious and Ambitious persons'.[15] This emphasis on the legal nature of the conflict is key to Royalist political thinking at this juncture.

Charles refuted the Propositions in terms which reveal an anxiety about the stability of language and of his status: if the propositions were accepted, 'We should remain but the outside, but the Picture, but the signe of a King' (*Nineteen Propositions . . . with his Majesties answer*, p. 7). He worries that Parliament will impose a disjunction between representation and power, making him merely a sign in a chain of signifiers

rather than a guarantor of meaning. He will become a mere representation, inhabiting the unstable region of language rather than having an actualizing presence.

Charles defined those who followed Parliamentary law as rebels challenging the civic peace:

> This [an Act of Parliament for settling customs] We thought would not have found obedience from the Merchant, who understood what his owne benefit was thereby, and could not be ignorant how penall it was in him to breake this Law; especially when he found he paid his Custome for support of an unnaturall Warr against his Prince, and to foment an intestine and Civill dissention which hath already, and may in the future produce so many Evills upon this poore People.[16]

The subject is constructed through concurrence with the law. Following a particular set of rules defines the subject as other, evil, and an unnatural dissident. Complicity with the legal discourse of the enemy defines the subject as unnatural and disruptive; loyalty is lawful obedience, and legal difference is rebellion. The relationship between the law, self and nation was defined by Royalists in spatial terms in an attempt to constrain the individual within a circumscribing, categorizing and defining legal discourse. The King repeatedly guaranteed the structured space of the nation, emphasizing the 'liberty of the subject' while imposing legal constrictions upon the identity and definition of the subject:

> persons of divers Our loving Subjects, (as well Our own servants, as others) and their Horses, provisions, and other Goods, at severall places in the ways towards York, (which hath peradventure hapned elsewhere) have been stopped, examined, searched, stayed and molested, onely upon causeless suspition, to their great vexation, disturbance and hindrance contrary to the wonted liberty and freedom of the Subject, and the established Law of the Land.[17]

The vocabulary of the proclamation illustrates the disruption inherent in the Parliamentary challenge: 'disturbance', 'molested', 'stayed', 'contrary'. This interference with the body of the subject undermined Royalist notions of fixed hierarchies and the space of nation. The proclamation also shows the complex interface between subjection and law. The subject is allowed 'liberty and freedom' according to the 'estab-

lished Law of the Land', emphasizing the constructive role of legal discourse in configuring the identity and status of the individual within society. The law defines and categorizes freedom, constraining the subject to a particular site or locus of apparent liberty. This passage emphasizes then how the 'subject can only acquire an identity in the intersubjective realm circumscribed by constitutional discourse'.[18]

Throughout the war period Charles governed by proclamation. James had clashed with his judges in 1610 over the legislative power of the proclamation, and since then they had been largely advisory. During the war period, however, Charles revived the concept that the King's word was law and that his proclamations were binding. The very text of the proclamation, the printed words, took on his authority. Charles effectively governed by statute. The number of proclamations issued by Charles throughout his peacetime rule varied for the first 15 years, the yearly number moving between a low of eight in 1633 to a high of 36 in 1625, his first year as King. In fact, he issued comparatively few during the period of the personal rule. There was a decisive shift in the 1640s, and between 1642 and 1646 Charles issued substantially more than had previously been the case. Further, they were used to rule, rather than to advise. During the first four years of the war, while he was establishing himself at Oxford and distinguishing himself from Parliament, Charles issued nearly half as many Proclamations as he had deployed in the 17 previous years. Between 1625 and 1642 he issued 346; between 1642 and 1646, 169. This represents a profound shift both in the manner of governing and of the involvement of the King in the lives of his subjects. It signals a return to a personal style of Henrician government, a reconfiguring of the role of government through a reversion to more Tudor notions of government and the representation of the King. Charles used the traditional local government system of Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace, but also introduced King's County Commissioners, agents of the court and representatives of the King.[19]

It is reasonably clear that the proclamations had little material effect other than to confuse the country further. However, what they meant in cultural and representational terms is more important at this juncture. The intentions of the proclamations in terms of representing loyalism are clear, if complex. Charles' proclamations continually stressed the illegal actions of Parliament in denying his prerogative and authority: 'All which and all other waies of imposing upon our People, to whatsoever intent or purpose, without Our Royall assent, are clearly unlawfull, and unwarrantable.'[20] The King saw the proclamations as decrees, an extension of his prerogative rule. He did not consult his

Oxford Parliament, but raised money and arms through these independent demands. Loyalty to the King was defined by compliance with Royal proclamation: subjects must 'yeeld due obedience and observance to this His Proclamation, as they will answer to the contrary at their Perills'.[21] The documents legally constructed a loyal populace of Royalist sympathizers bound to act according to the wishes of the King. The war proclamations deploy politicized language to emphasize the social consequences of ignoring the King's law: 'this odious and unnaturall Rebellion' leads to '[Parliamentary horsemen] runne up and downe into severall Counties pillaging and plundring Our good Subjects with unheard of Rapine, Insolence, and inhumanity'.[22] Proclamations used the style and rhetoric of broadside tracts combined with an emphasis upon the legal nature of the King's position:

> Wee have made so many Declarations of Our Royall Intentions concerning the preserving of the Religion and Lawes of this Land, That Wee think it not fit often to repeat, Though by Gods grace We seriously intend never to decline or depart from the same. But this seems most strange unto Us, that whil'st (especially at, and about London) Our just and legall Commands are not obeyed, other Orders and Ordinances (for which there is no legall foundation) which not only discountenance, but overthrow the Lawes of the Land that settle Religion, and were the fences of the Subjects property, are submitted unto and obeyed by many of Our weaker Subjects.[23]

The war was being fought to protect private property, the legal unity of the nation, and true religion. To curtail the erosion of his authority represented by the new laws passed by Parliament, Charles was forced to redefine the institutional character of the nation. The legally binding language of the proclamations was conflated by the King with polemically inflected definitions of Parliamentary action: 'Whereas, an actuall and open Rebellion being raised against Us . . . for the destruction of Us and Our Posterity, and the subversion of the Religion, Lawes and Liberties of this Our Kingdom'; or, 'Whereas we have been long since driven by Force and Violence from Our Palace at Westminster.'[24]

The proclamations were extensively published in a variety of forms: 'Our expresse pleasure is, That this Our Declaration be Published in all Churches and Chappels within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, by the Parsons, Vicars or Curates of the same'.[25] Many proclamations were distributed in this public manner. The British Library copy of a declaration calling for volunteers bears the manuscript inscription

'This on Satterday last was proclaimed in seuerall streets in Oxon.'[26] The Parliamentarian John Whistler complained to William Lenthall how 'On Saturday last this printed paper enclosed was with trumpets and other solemnity in divers parts of the City of Oxford publicly proclaimed and pasted up in several places of the city'.[27] A later declaration forbidding those with the King's Evil to approach the court until Michaelmas was posted 'on the Court gates, and all the ports and passages into the Citie', physically protecting the King and his entourage (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 25 March 1643). A copy of a proclamation regarding the regulation of the army began 'Theis our Comaunds Wee require forthwth to be published at the head of every Regimt. of our Army and to be fully observed by all both officers & souldiers of our Army, as they & every of them will avoid our high displeasure for their neglects of all or any part of them.'[28] The proclamations were occasionally reprinted in the royalist newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus*, and regularly referred to in tracts and speeches.[29] Texts were published in other ways that emphasized the control of church and state: read out before sermons, declaimed by the town crier, or fixed to public spaces and boundaries of particular importance.[30] They mediated the physical space of towns and cities, and constructed the space of the subject. They became the printed heralds for the King. Royalist textuality, as the following chapter will argue, was predicated upon the authority of the King's words and language. Proclamations worked in this fashion; irrespective of who was speaking or performing the words, the King's authority was innate and vested. Of course, this is another fissure in the edifice of Royalist government, as the use of proclamations rather than presenting a solid authority in fact enacted a polyvocal cacophony, a heteroglossia of royalty. Yet their purpose was to present a concerted version of Royalist behaviour.

Royal proclamations and ordinances were reprinted and distributed in a range of places including Shrewsbury, York and Bristol. Various means of distribution were used, especially to smuggle the books into London: carriers, bargemen, and private letters. While the Court maintained some control over the postal system, this was used, and such texts would have been covered by the March 1644 Order of the Oxford Parliament that any Declaration or Book published by the King be distributed and read by the Sheriffs and Constables amongst their locales.[31] The structures of the institutional government of the nation were enlisted to facilitate the dissemination of Charles' proclamations. The various methods by which they were 'published' – announced in church, read aloud to troops, posted on walls – would guarantee a large

unlettered audience for the King's proclamations. They also helped to physically define Royalist boundaries and material spaces. Proclamations and declarations were reprinted (sometimes solely printed) in *Mercurius Aulicus*, indicating their importance as news but also in generating an image of the Royalist legislation mediated through this populist newsbook. Between 850 and 1,200 copies of the proclamations tended to be printed, a huge physical effort (a popular newsbook would struggle to achieve a significantly greater circulation). In particular, the continuing instructions 'That this Our Proclamation be read in all Churches and Chappells within this Our Kingdome' meant that the structured model of nationally constructed Royalism would reach a far wider audience than any other printed text.[32] The audience for the proclamations was unique; Charles could address a vast non-elite and uneducated domain.[33] The clergy gave his words credence and status as religious and socially important texts:

> And Whereas diverse of Our Clergy eminent for their Piety and Learning, because they publish Our lawfull and just Commands and Declarations, and will not, against the known Lawes of the Land and their own Consciences, submit to Contributions, nor publiquely pray against Us and Our Assistants, but conforme themselves to the Book of Common-Prayer established by Law, and Preach Gods Word according to the purity thereof, and in their Sermons will not teach Sedition, nor will publish illegal Commands, and Orders for fomenting the unnaturall Warre levied against Us, are some of them driven from their Cures and Habitations, and others Silenced and discharged from the Exercise of their Cures, and Persecuted, and their Curates, if Orthodox, displaced, some others who are Factious and Schismaticall intruded and put in, to sow Sedition and seduce Our good Subjects from their obedience expresly contrary to the word of God, and the Lawes of the Land.[34]

The proclamation deploys the rhetoric of polemic propaganda disguised as authoritative instruction and monarchical truth. Obedience and loyalty is expressly defined as a binding religious and legal concept. 'Subjects' are constructed as those in thrall to the 'word of God, and the Lawes of the Land'. The subjects have been seduced from their obedience by the persuasion of factious preachers who promulgate the 'illegal Commands and Orders' which foster the 'unnaturall Warre levied against Us'. The passage also illustrates how the conflict was text-based, albeit (again), text dependent upon voicing by an amorphous middle-

man. Loyal clergymen 'publish Our lawfull and just Commands and Declarations', tying the authority of the Royal text to that of the religious by reading proclamations and decrees out during liturgical ceremonies. They transmit the word of the King, acting as heralds to his wishes. Parliament attempts to subvert this process by publishing 'illegal Commands and Orders.'

The massive effort undertaken to distribute centralized information reflected the importance of the law to the Royalist construction of the conflict, and an understanding of the importance of transmitting legal concepts to the populace. Charles' proclamations reconfigured the corporate and institutional identity of the nation. The tracts attempted to discredit Parliament and underline Charles' position. The King decreed that: 'in truth their [Parliament's] Actions have been the greatest scornes of Our Authority, and their Petitions the greatest reproaches and challenges of Us, which any age have produced'.[35] The proclamations and petitions published by the Royalist side throughout the early years of the war were intended to buttress 'Our Authority' and to answer the 'greatest reproaches and challenges of Us' by defining allegiance and loyalty; in short, to enforce institutionally a legally induced return to normality and to protect 'Peace and Order'.

Institutional Royalism

It is something of a historical commonplace that documentary evidence for the Royalist government during their occupation of Oxford during the civil war is frustratingly lacking.[36] On 15 May, with Fairfax bombarding the city, the records of the Oxford Parliament were deliberately burnt, and it is probable that much else was destroyed at this time as well.[37] However, it is possible to sketch the institutional proceedings of the Oxford court. The first recorded meeting of the Privy Council in Oxford was in August 1643, although it is probable, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence, that meetings took place before this.[38] As an institutional body, the Privy Council became superseded by the Council of War in terms of running the daily business of the conflict, and was reduced to discussing domestic matters regarding the sanitation of the city or the trade in the county. That said, much of the business discussed pertained to the execution of court business and liaising between the King and the city council. The Privy Council executed the King's wishes within Oxford. The Council shared much of the same personnel as that of the Council of War and the King's Household Government.[39]

These institutions became streamlined into the Council of Oxford, an organization that largely replaced the Privy Council after 1645. On 8 May 1645 the Commission for the Council of Oxford was inaugurated under the Great Seal,

> with ample instructions and authority for fortifying, sequestrating, levying contributions, raising forces of horse & foot, impresting horses, carts, and carriages, deciding controversies, suppressing confederacies, and issuing moneys out of the Exchequer by warrants signed by them, for the King's service.[40]

In total 26 were invested with these sweeping powers.[41] The commission set taxation and exchange rates and proclaimed on several issues; they also aided Charles in his peace negotiations at Uxbridge and Oxford. They supervised the running of the newly minted Royalist state apparatus. The King literally prioritized his court by placing them at the centre of legislative power. Bulstrode Whitelocke complains that although Parliament's Commissioners to Oxford were allowed 'a free debate' with the King, 'his unhappines was to trust others judgement more then his own':

> He had commonly waiting on him when he treated with the Com[missione]rs, Prince Rupert, the L[ord] Keeper Littleton, the E[arle] of Southampton, & the L[ord] chiefe Justice Bankes, & severall other Lords of his Councell, who never debated any matter with the Com[missione]rs, butt gave their opinions to the King, when he asked them, & sometimes putt him in mind of some things, otherwise they did not speake att all.[42]

Proximity to the King was still the most important route to political power and influence. Membership of the Council of War or Council of Oxford led to sweeping powers and far more influence than had previously been the case.[43] Members were literally the King's representatives, institutionally and conceptually.

In late 1643 Charles convened Parliament in Oxford, attempting to invalidate that sitting at Westminster. Many loyal members who had eschewed the Westminster house travelled to Oxford. The Commons occupied the Great Convocation House and the Lords the Upper Schools. The King opened Parliament by emphasizing that the sitting members would have very little real power: 'I have therefore called you

together to be witnesses of my Actions, and privy to My Intentions.'[44] Charles pays lip-service to the concept of an equal and advisory Parliament, yet at root his speech reconfirms that the central tenet of centrist Royalist thinking in the early to mid-1640s was the privileging of the King's person.

A fragment of a diary kept by an unknown MP, now Huntington Library MS HA 8060, records the ritual and institutional procedures of the Oxford Parliament. The diary covers a period of about three weeks from Charles' official opening of Parliament: 'Munday morning (Jan. 22) a note uppon ye divinitie schole ye entrance into ye Regent house, designed for ye lower house. That all such as come thither parliamt men should repaire to Christchurch hall at 2 a clock.'[45] The publishing of the note on a door recalls *Mercurius Aulicus*' accounts of proclamations being posted on gates and passageways.[46] The practice shows how Royal proclamation and publication defines spaces. Within Oxford official texts set boundaries through content, being an extension of Charles' wishes, but also their physical positioning in the city.[47] Before the parliament had sat and had a chance to form an identity independent of the King, this text (and the speech in which he defines their role) had established the dynamics of this assembly. This is an instance of an official text actually creating institutional space, defining limits and mediating information.

The diary is principally concerned with court business and jockeying for position; news of the war is recounted, and various pieces of parliamentary gossip. Little of importance is debated apart from local issues such as where best to accommodate the members. At the first meeting 'theire appeared 105 of the lower house, and every day they increase'; this number rises to 137 within the week. The document highlights the legislative impotence of the Oxford Parliament. The war takes place despite their efforts, and the atmosphere is one of confusion. What information is received is mediated through the King.[48] At best the house is concerned with symbolic defiance: 'This Friday all ye Scotts yt enter wth hostilitie into England by ye upper house are voted Traitors.' When the Parliament entered recess in April of 1644, the King complimented them on their service and reiterated their importance as his messengers. Their purpose is to carry his message and be at his service:

> I think most (if not all) of you are engaged in my service, either in a Civile or a Martiall way . . . But chiefly, and with al possible care to informe all my Subjects of the barbaritie and odiousnesse of this

> Rebellion, how sollicitous I have bin for Peace, and how insolently, and scornfully rejected; assuring them, that my Armes are raysed and kept only for the defence of their *Religion*, *Lawes* and Libertie.[49]

Legislatively, the Parliament made no impact. They debated few issues of importance, and passed judgement on even less.[50] More important in terms of legislation, especially during the summer months when Charles was campaigning and the Parliament was in recess, were the King's Commissioners. The Parliament became a constitutional adjunct, an exercise in propaganda.

The King's dismissal of the Oxford Parliament highlights the fragmented nature of the Royalist war effort; Charles' admonition that his MPs go to their various areas of the country to spread his message reflects the county-centric nature that underpinned constructions of Royalism. Charles' diffusion of his representatives into the counties was an attempt to modulate the fragmentation the country was experiencing, to refocus or redefine loyalties and hierarchies. Charles attempted to reconfigure allegiance by creating a network of representatives and establishing new institutional bodies in Oxford that would frame a national identity focused through the King. This was an attempt to reverse the increasing populist involvement in political discourse and institutional life, to re-establish his role as head of the state, administratively and spiritually. Charles had continuously emphasized the political importance of reverence to the state of the King's body; during the war he had to use different forms to mediate and deliver his message.

In 1644 Wenceslaus Hollar's 'Quartermaster' maps were published in London.[51] Intended for widespread popular usage, the engravings were divided into six easily digestible sections of landscape, mapping the conflict in 'English Myles' onto the physical body of the country.[52] They reflect the fragmentary nature of the war, and are importantly Parliamentarian insofar as they do not overtly acknowledge the King's presence in their precise visualization of the country.[53] They constructed a nationhood united through a common land but divided into regional identity; a nation, furthermore, with little need for a centralized notion of a King but rather a Parliament that 'blended together the overlapping and ambiguous notions of "the country", ranging from neighbourhood to commonwealth' (Hughes, 1997a, p. 265). It seems clear that the King was in many ways addressing such fragmentary concerns in his official documents. Attempting to reverse the decentralization process, Charles created through his declarations and pardons an image

of fragmented, county-led England focused into nationhood through allegiance to the King – the body of the nation anatomized and then healed. In contrast with Hollar's maps, the King was always an overriding presence in the construction of a county identity. Allegiance to Charles was to be the prime motivation of the local areas.

Ann Hughes has identified the importance of England's 'uniform legal system, crucially dependent at many points on local implementation' in her argument which emphasizes 'the close and complex integration of central and local interests within a national culture and a national administrative and political structure' (1997a, p. 262). In many ways the reconfiguring of a constitutional identity undertaken by Charles through 1643 and 1644 was an attempt to impose once again this kind of flexible homogeneity on to the counties under his control. His county proclamations began with pardons and widened into declarations of thanks for support and, most importantly, directions for 'the better Government' of certain areas.[54] It is not just counties that Charles concentrates on, but important local areas and cities also; the city of Lincoln and the county of Lincolnshire are specifically differentiated, for instance (Madan no. 1184). They acknowledge the importance of local difference and issues but stress allegiance to the central figure of the King:

> We do hereby publish and declare, That We are graciously pleased to attribute the Crimes and Offences of Our said Subjects of that County to the power and Faction of their seducers, Who, We beleeve by Threats, Menaces, and false Informations compelled and led them into these actions of undutifulnesse and disloyalty towards Us; And we doe therefore hereby offer Our free and gracious Pardon to all the Inhabitants.[55]

Charles' attempt to create a national identity bound together through the allegiance to the King failed mainly because of a national inflexibility rather than local factors. As can also be seen by the consideration of local case-studies, it was because urban loyalties were far more complex than could be resolved through the creation of a national myth and identity. The nation fragmented and forsook the lens of the King.

In addition to the configuring of the body of state, Royalist propaganda addressed the nation newly created in London. Tracts continually emphasized that the enemy was breaking the law, and refused to recognize Parliament's institutions. Judicial and legal language and concepts were deployed by Royalist theorists in denying the authority of

Parliament. *Mercurius Aulicus* joked about the Parliamentary neglect of the proper legal procedures, especially with regard to issues of privacy and censorship: 'So that it was unlawfull to breake open the Packets till it was done, and after it was done, 'twas very fit and according to the Law' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 16 January 1643). This sense of surveillance and the fluidity of legal procedures pervades Royalist writings about the opposition. Parliamentary attempts to reconfigure society have led to disruption of normality. *Aulicus* highlights the spatial inversion implicit in Parliamentary legal changes:

> And for the Lords, they ordered on Saturday, that if any Officer of any of the *English* Courts, should either send down the Records thereof to *Oxford*, or goe thither in person, (notwithstanding both be to be done by the Proclamation) he shall be held an enemie to the Commonwealth. The Terme for all this holds in *Oxford* for the Courts afore-said, the Lord *Keeper* sitting in the Chancery; and others of the lesser luminaries moving and shining after their proportions in their severall spheres. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 25 January 1643)

The cosmographical metaphor situates proper legal practice within the hierarchical Copernican solar system, constituted around the King. Like most subjects under the Chancellorship of Laud, astronomy in Oxford during the 1630s had had a certain Royalist cachet. The truth of the Copernican system, with its connotations of a centralized sun-King, had been widely acknowledged; and in 1640 Laud's deputy licensed the Oxford printing of the first English defence of Copernicus, John Wilkins' *Discourse Concerning a New Planet*. *Mercurius Aulicus* situates the new legal institutions at Oxford within the fixed astronomical and geometric space of absolutism.

Use of the hierarchical interpretation of Copernicus' work was common in Oxford University verse from the late 1630s onwards.[56] Oxford had proffered a Laudian version of Copernican thought during the 1630s, which, linked with William Harvey's early work, created an astronomical and physiological context for the inherently hierarchical systems of monarchical rule. In 1638 *Encyclopaedia sen Orbis Literarum*, a diagram of the Copernican astronomical system, was bound with the abridged version of the University Statutes intended for student use, so 'we can say, with pardonable exaggeration, that from the late 1630's every Oxford Undergraduate carried a Copernican system in his pocket'.[57] The Savilian Professor of Astronomy throughout the war was John Greaves, a prominent academic Royalist. Greaves' remaining

papers, mainly academic notes, survive at Bod. Savile MS 47 and Bod. Savile MS 37 & 41 (bound together). Written in Latin and Greek, they indicate that he was still researching, and maybe teaching, throughout the war period.[58] He was mainly concentrating on astronomy: the manuscripts include notes on Copernicus, Scaliger and Hales, and an astronomical table ascribed on verso as 'Observacoes S. nouaru stellaru circa 4 mouentiu P Ant: de Rhito 5 Jan: 1643'.[59] Much Royalist propaganda deployed a heliocentric and hierarchical interpretation of the Copernican view of the universe, and Greaves' notes suggest an intellectual atmosphere in which such Copernican ideas were discussed and theories dispersed. Savile MS 37 & 41 is a collection of separates which includes Greaves' astronomical notes; there is a possibility that they were circulated (there is more than one hand), and his membership of Merton, a distinctly scientific college and also the residence of the Queen, would provide his research with an influential and informed audience. Henrietta Maria was interested in scientific and practical theories, particularly those which pertained to her image (from theatrical machinery to enamelling processes).

In November 1642 the House of Commons issued an ordinance to assess first London and then the rest of the country for contributions to the war effort. Charles replied immediately, denying the legality of such a move.[60] In the same week he also issued proclamations prohibiting the payment and receipt of Customs and Duties (Madan no. 1129) and Tonnage and Poundage (Madan no. 1130). These proclamations were repeated at varying intervals over the next four years. What the Parliamentary ordinance effected, however, was the pressing need to create an institutional identity contrary to that of Westminster, and to move the machinery of the court to Oxford. The King's first act was to adjourn the legal terms, but this was only in anticipation of his returning to preside over a smoothly running legislature.[61] As the war progressed it became necessary to emphasize the importance of Oxford and to reconstitute the institutional identity of the nation.

Charles moved to firmly establish his government at Oxford and deny the legality of any courts and institutions in London, thus focusing the government of the Kingdom on the seat of his power. The attempt to impose a closed and absolute institutional model was part of the campaign to centre governmental power on the person of the King and to establish a Royalist cultural identity. The official documents published at Oxford present versions of the institutions of the monarchy, from the court of the Exchequer to the religious behaviour of the army. Charles' declarations institutionally inscribe the refusal of Parliament to com-

promise with him.[62] He claims that he only took up arms defensively, and promises protection and remuneration to the families of all those that 'shall have the hard fortune to dye in this Service'.[63] Proclamations were used to deny various accusations, especially of papal influence in the army, and to modify the King's stance on various matters.[64] Even church ceremonies became in thrall to the war effort as the King ordered a formal collection to be made every Sunday on behalf of the wounded. Charles ordered fasts and allowed for slaughter during Lent, corrupting and reconstituting religious practice to his own necessity (Madan no. 1466). Proclamations related to dress, the church calendar and religious life, swearing, loyalty to the King, paying rent. Subjects were not to assist the Parliamentary Rebels with 'Men, Mony, Armes, Victualls, or Intelligence, to stop any His Majesties Messengers, or Pacqets, or to offer violence to any His Majesties Souldiers'.[65] The extensive economic and judicial reforms undertaken by the court at Oxford were intended to bypass the Parliament and to create a financial and social context for civil war Royalism. They conflated legal and loyalist definitions of the nation state, and mediated individual allegiance without the interference of Parliament; this was an affirmation of Charles' reasons for establishing prerogative rule in 1629. The shifting of the financial and legal legislature, for instance, was not overly successful. However, what the institutional shift meant practically is very different to its significance in terms of cultural identity.

In July 1643 Charles forbade trade with London (Madan no. 1414), and eventually all towns 'in rebellion', specifically Gloucester, Coventry, Hull, Warwick, Northampton, Portsmouth, Southampton, Poole and Lyme Regis (Madan no. 1480). Two weeks later Charles once again adjourned the legal terms, specifically the proceedings at the Westminster courts of the Kings Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer, but this time commanded that the Chancery and Exchequer, along with the courts of the Duchy of Lancaster, Wards, Liveries and Requests, be removed to Oxford.[66] In retaliation Parliament gave orders 'against removing the courts of law to Oxford' (21 January 1643) and passed a Resolution that 'neither the King's Bench nor any other court shall have any jurisdiction over persons committed by Parliament' on 9 February 1643.[67] The invocation of definitions of jurisdiction emphasizes how important to the war these reforms were. The legal domain of the nation was being fought for. Identity and allegiance was to be judicially defined; individuals were either included or excluded within differing versions of legal space.

Institutionally, the entire government of the nation was moved to Oxford. The entirety of the Exchequer was brought to the city, and the King stated that 'No payments or compositions made at Westminster are valid.'[68] Custom and Duty was also to be paid at the Oxford.[69] In time the Prerogative court was eventually moved. Despite the reforms and accompanying proclamations, income was scarce: the Exchequer attempted to continue as normal, but the effect of the war was to create a much smaller pot of money with far larger demands being made upon it.[70] The movement of the machinery of court to Oxford led mostly to confusion and dissent. John Taylor's ballad *Mad Verse, Sad Verse* expresses his money problems when arriving in Oxford. Despite the conceptual credit gained by meeting the King, ('I rather had lost all I had then missed it'), he finds himself financially on the wrong side: 'My purse was turn'd a Brownist or a Round-head,/ For all the Crosses in it, were confounded,/ To some Imployment I my selfe must settle.'[71] Many petitioners had their wills proved twice for safety, and Charles found it increasingly difficult to ensure that everyone used his courts. In late 1644 he voided letters of Marque or Reprisal made before 1 July 1642, imposing retrospective punishment upon those who had not subsequently used the courts in Oxford (Madan no. 1699). Charles leant heavily on the colleges to help him through, and when their resources became exhausted he then applied pressure on college members. He regularly called for the donation of arms, horse and plate, but still the Exchequer gained at most 10 per cent of what it had been accustomed to receive. British Library, Add MS. 18980 contains a short treatise entitled 'The Difficulties that obstruct the Aduance of Moneys in these Parts' that lists 'The not sending down the Privie Seales' and the problems with obtaining excise and rents as the primary cause of the financial imbalance.[72] Other sources of revenue were tried: the King created 67 Baronets between 1642 and 1645, who paid him £1,095 apiece. New taxes were levied (on 'foreign clothiers' for example).[73] He also muddied the financial waters by allowing certain foreign currency, mostly Irish and French, to become legal tender.[74] There was also 'official' Royalist money coined at the Oxford mint in New Hall Inn, which in 1644 started to distinguish gold coins with an 'OX' mark.[75] Economic exchange became a loyalist activity, and the King was cast as the guarantor of symbolic and financial value.

In 1643 Charles authorized the production of new Great Seals, physically realigning the state legislature.[76] In this way, the King appropriated the icons of national identity and refounded them in Oxford; the seals

represented the ancient legal administration of the Kingdom. When Parliament ordered another 'Counterfeit' Seal to be 'traitorously' cast the King declared it High Treason and made it illegal to act under it:

> That a presumptuous Attempt hath been made by the Major part of the remaining part of the House of Commons to make Our Greate Seale of England, the Making of which by the expresse Letter of the Law is High Treason, and would subvert the ancient and fundamentall Administration of Justice.[77]

Sir John Berkenhead's poem in the panegyric volume *Musarum Oxoniensum Serenissimæ* expresses Royalist disdain for the equivalent Parliamentary attempts to create a national identity through institutional reform:

> Let them give Thanks, Lye, Fast, and Vow,
> Make a New Seale, New-England too,
> Here's That will stop their wild Career,
> The KING.[78]

Writers in Oxford saw the new seal as just the start of Parliament's attempts to replace the King: 'You counterfeite His Seale, why not His Hand?' asked Martin Lluellyn.[79] In Northamptonshire Mildmay Fane mocked the conflation of Parliamentary military and civil lawmaking: 'now thy great army and Generall/ Doe seek to giue thee & ye Kingdome ye Law'.[80] The attempted simulation and forgery of the King's authority cut no ice with Royalists, who gleefully highlighted the false basis of such government. Parliamentary truth or law was fundamentally flawed. Charles himself explicitly forbade his subjects to obey 'any order or ordinance of one or both Houses of Parliament, or to submitt unto any power derived from them'.[81]

Parliament was vainglorious and self-seeking, dedicated only to nepotism and profiteering, interested only in stealing and breaking down hierarchies of ownership:

> Having told you last weeke of the Rebels progresse against the gentry of this Kingdome, in imprisoning their Persons, pillaging their Houses, cutting downe their woods, and at last unturfing the very earth it selfe (the lowest they can goe, till they come into their place) We must acquaint you that these insatiate Rebels having devoured all the profit, are now grasping at the severall Honours belonging to

> these Revenues. For which purpose they passed an Ordinance on Monday last, that Stewards of the Courts may be forthwith appointed in such Lordships and Manners as belong unto Delinquents, that hereafter all Courts may be kept in their Names, who by Ordinance of Parliament enjoy the Sequestrations. So, it is not sufficient to seize your estate, and take your life, unlesse also your name be expunged, that none may know hereafter that any such men lived in the world. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 7 July 1644)

The Rebels here prove their criminality by destroying even the earth of the estate, 'devouring' and stealing all they can. Ancient rights of property and landholding are upset. This model of material covetousness became mapped onto political life and the body of the nation. As well as destroying the metaphorical space of the nation, Parliament sought to inscribe itself on the material property of the subjects through destroying and remaking the country. They want to alter the word of law, deconstruct the nation and interfere with traditional property rights. They take not only the estate but the textual representation and reputation – the name. One no longer exists in history. The Royalist poet Alexander Brome was concerned for the integrity of his property and his family in the face of such covetousness:

> Now our lives,
> Children, wives,
> And estate,
> Are prey to the lust and plunder.[82]

Their appetites are insatiable, intemperate and dangerous. Parliamentary illegality is presented as a combination of rape and robbery; child murder is part of the framework of their new model of state.

In direct contrast to this perceived breaking of traditional property and feudal relationships, the Royalist institutional reconstruction attempted to define the way the individual subject related to the state. The reconstruction constituted a renewed definition of the subject in response to the challenges of Parliament, a polemically inflected legal identity. To this end, Charles' legal pronouncements continually emphasized punishment through the deployment of vague but ominous threats: 'to the perpetuall shame of the Actors and Abettors thereof, For which in due time they must expect their just reward'.[83] While the King talked of mercy and pardon, he had little time for those who refused his advances and carried on fighting:

> [they] shall not only loose all Wages, Fees, and other Allowances due unto them by their offices and places, but be put forth, and excluded Our service, and other persons setled in the same, and such farther punishments be inflicted upon them, so refusing Our Grace, or disobeying Our Commands, as the greatnesse of their Crimes shall deserve, of which we intend to take a speedy, and streight accompt.[84]

This proclamation expresses a model of legal otherness. The language is that of mistake and prohibition, the denial of allegiance: 'refusing', 'disobeying', 'excluded'. Charles promises to inflict swift punishment. By stepping outside of the boundaries set down by law and particularly the newly configured Royalist law, by disrupting the legal space of subjection, the subject becomes bodily available to the King and therefore the state can inscribe meaning upon them. Beforehand, the subject is defined by the state through discourse and law; afterwards, by the state through its inscriptions of punishment and torture. Through legal transgression the subject is defined as other, sacrificing liberty. Yet they are still in thrall to the law of the King, and this is inescapable: the legal space of the subject is continually defined through the relationship to the King.

The proclamations and newly configured institutions therefore worked to a great extent through negation. Royalist identity consisted in not being implicated in the accusations, in being loyal and virtuous. Royalists paid their taxes to the King, fought for him when he needed them to, donated plate and rations, did not trade with London. Being a Royalist consisted of being what a Rebel was *not*, in refuting the traitorous challenge of the Parliament. It was a negative image, an implied notion of subjection. Parliamentarians sought the death of the King, inverting and negating all notions of order and stability in their quest to deny the authority of the lawgiver. Royalists embraced the King, understanding his paternal relation to them and their inability to escape from his configuration.

The body imprisoned and violated

Loyalist conceptions of the legal relationship between the King and Subject are reflected in many poems from the war, and particularly in prison texts. In 1642 Montague Bertie, the Earl of Lindsay, was captured at Edgehill protecting his father. The symbolic value of his imprisonment – sacrificing his liberty by defending his father both literally and metaphorically (his father-King) – was important to Royalists, and the

justification of his siding with the King he wrote from Warwick Castle was published several times. This text emphasized the claim of Royalists that Parliamentary laws were not binding: 'the more close my body is restrained, the more enlarged and noble is my mind'.[85] Freedom is relative. This refiguring of a stoic trope politicized the imprisonment of the body. Prison became a form of resistance, a refusal to acknowledge the power or authority of Parliament, particularly after the capture of the King in 1647:

> Then lock my leggs & armes in chaines
> And I will thanke you for yr paines
> I care not what becomes of me
> Soe yt King Charles our King may be.[86]

Mercurius Aulicus celebrated Londoners who refused to pay taxes and therefore allow themselves to be institutionally defined by Parliament. Imprisonment and legal dissidence is a sign of their truth and virtue, a martyrdom that became even more pointed after the imprisonment of the King. As the 'committed linnet' Richard Lovelace argued, 'Stone walls do not a prison make,/ Nor iron bars a cage' – physical constraint is, for 'Minds innocent' a 'hermitage'.[87] Allegiance to the King confers a prelapsarian state of grace and, paradoxically, a strictly defined freedom to the loyal prisoner.

Furthermore, Royalist attitudes to imprisonment elucidate the relationship between subject and state. The institutions of government cannot truly imprison Bertie, and he is free, bound only by physical fetters. Only the King has the authority to truly control and categorize the subject:

> That which the world miscalls a Jaile,
> A private Closet is to mee;
> Whilst a good Consceince is my bayle;
> And innocence my liberty.[88]

Parliament merely constricts the body whereas the laws of the King and his government bind the mind too. Thomas Weaver reflected upon imprisonment:

> I am no Captiue, I, I find
> My soule still free & unconfin'd
> And though my body haue ye doome

> To be cag'd vp in a close roome,
> Yet since my minde is guiltlesse, this
> No Bondage nor no Thraldome is.[89]

Only the King, 'in whom alone the chiefe power doth consist' can allow the liberty of the subject, and guarantee 'Justice, Prudence, and Moderation unto all'.[90] The King controls, allows and administers the legal space of the subject, determining the boundaries of individual liberty. This nuances the Royalist model of identity formation. While institutional configuration is important in sustaining identity, the role of the King in constructing the legal space of identity and subjection is paramount. He legitimizes the institutions of government, and in turn these construct and confirm the individual within specific modalities of power. The King is the guarantor of meaning and identity, the final authority. Foucault's model of punishment is important here. He argues that public justice, such as executions, established a physical hold on the body that was lost after the seventeenth century. The writers of these prison texts defiantly reject this model of governance – that the body is held in thrall by the nexus of power – yet simultaneously yield to the bodily control of the King, claiming physical martyrdom in his service. They reject the Parliamentary model of power as fake, an illusion that mimics the true model of power and authority of the King.

Inscribing textual loyalty: Royalist censorship

It was not just the Royalist body that was defined and limited by the laws of the King. The production and consumption of text was similarly controlled. The concluding section of this chapter analyses how the composition of Royalist texts was undertaken within a culture of centralized censorship. Textual space was closely controlled, and the integrity of the text became of paramount importance. This was in part due to a defence of traditional models of hierarchy and authority. In particular, the King and his court were concerned with validating only certain forms of discourse. This was achieved by both institutional censorship and textual self-censorship or construction of the reader.

The combination of Royalist hierarchical theory of language and strict control of the means of production established work of the war period published from Oxford as working within and creating a particular Royalist textual space. Both the conceptual building blocks (the words) and the material renderings (the texts) were controlled and inflected by the

authority of the monarch. Edward Walker records the punishment meted out to texts that pretended to supplant Charles's authority:

> His Matie haueing taken notice of a Pamphlett pretended to haue been printed at Oxford, Intitled (His Mat declaracon and finall resolution concerning the petion of the hoble Citty of London to the Lords of the privy Councell, wherein is sett downe his Mate determinacon by way of an absolute answer to the said peticon) Hath thought fitt not only to declare the said Pamphlett to bee false scandalous and not his Mat but an act of the highest and greatest presumption of such Libeller to make use of his Mats name and . . . to deceive and abuse his people and hath therefore caused the same to bee publikly burnt by the hand of the Hangman.[91]

Such a draconian measure was rarely used, but it highlights the importance to the crown of controlling public discourse. Unauthorized texts were to be cast out of civilized society, consigned to a very physical and destructive form of censorship. Their physical space was to be consumed by fire, punished by the hangman as if they were themselves criminals. This spatial model of textuality invokes Royalist notions of the printed space but also highlights the Royalist approach to such unauthorized and uncontrolled loci: complete destruction and exclusion.

Throughout the 1630s Charles' administration had sought to impose a strict programme of censorship upon printed and manuscript texts. In the Star Chamber decree of 1637 can be seen the impetus to control and contain the flow of information. The number of approved printers was restricted, and the decree was intended to prohibit 'seditious, schismatical or offensive books'.[92] The order was designed to prevent the publication of such works as Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix* and the growing number of increasingly political religious works by introducing stricter arrangements for the licensing of works. It buttressed the monopolies of discourse enjoyed by the Church, Court and University. Laud's exertions in the mid-1630s to control the scope of Oxford's press supported his work on the 1637 decree: the means of production were to be well regulated, and would produce texts that would contribute towards the vision of state uniformity articulated in the University statutes.[93] The Stationers' Company, who were to execute the Star Chamber's instructions, were supportive of the King and had actually requested many of the changes, not least the limitations on the number of working presses in London.[94] The effectiveness of censorship and print control is difficult to define and measure; they were not materially efficient during the

1630s. However, Annabel Patterson has argued that the hermeneutic value of censorship communicated itself to authors and printers; texts collaborated with the censor and evolved strategies with which to avoid official censure.[95] Generally, critics have seen the *collapse* of censorship as a decisive moment in early modern print culture, suggesting that the restrictions upon print had been an important aspect of the monarchical regime. The great deal of critical work in this area testifies to this also. Control of the presses was of particular importance to Charles's notions of government. The lower orders could hear his words in proclamations read at Church or in the streets but they should not have an uninflected, free access to just any kind of text. Censorship was an attempt to suppress publication and therefore to end the transmission and reception of texts. It was in particular a need to curtail and control the involvement of the 'lower orders' with political and textual discourse. As such it was an attempt to define the space of subjection, to create a Royalist reader who was allowed only to read or hear work that had been first mediated by the King or his government.

An unlicensed and freer print marketplace evolved in London after the collapse of the Star Chamber broke the monopolies of discourse that had been enjoyed by the Crown, the Church and the Universities. These institutions depended upon a notion of hierarchy and structure that was now being undermined. Their power was being slowly eroded through the questioning and discursive models of space and nation expressed in the burgeoning print marketplace. The expression and practical application of such freedoms were assimilated into Royalist political theory as 'rebellion of the tongue', second most important aspect of the progressive nature of rebellion after 'heart' and before 'hand':

> a malitious defaming of the person, actions, parts, and government of those Soveraigne Princes to which the Lord hath made us subject, of purpose to disgrace them amongst their people, to render them odious and contemptible . . . many times this and the other of the heart, are but the ground and preparations to the Rebellion of the hand, or actual Rebellion, as they call it commonly.[96]

These concepts were a direct challenge to the model of nation that Royalism propounded. The proliferation of Parliamentary tracts and dialogues, the polyvocal evidence of the new revolution, were dismissed as a cacophonous multitude corrupting the reader. Yet it was not simply a freer print culture that facilitated the proliferation of discourse. The uncontrolled streets of the city similarly allowed people access to un-

categorized, free and therefore seditious discussion: 'As I about the Towne doe walke,/ I heare ye people how they talke,/ Of the braue Parliament'.[97] Royalism attempted to circumscribe both textual and public discourse, to control and limit. The loss of boundaries led to an anxiety about status, class and hierarchy.

In contrast to London, the ideological creation or textual construction of a Royalist identity by printed works emanating from Oxford was very strongly controlled – more so than had been the case in the 1630s. Two printers, Leonard Lichfield and Henry Hall, working in tandem with the officials of the court, printed everything to emerge from Oxford. Loyal men undertook that which was reprinted in the localities.[98] London reprints were likewise controlled, although this aspect of Royalist print circulation is more complex.[99] This was not a crude form of censorship and licensing, but near-total control of the printed word. In contrast to the 1630s, therefore, censorship up to 1646 was incisive and effective. In many ways, the definition of a 'Royalist' writer during this period is publication at Oxford. Using the presses within the city gave a text polemical resonance no matter how ambivalent the matter discussed. Those seemingly royalist writers who published from London often did so because of constraint (James Howell, for instance), political ambivalence (the Cambridge poet Thomas Phillipot), or financial expediency (Wenceslaus Hollar). Often the Oxford imprint lent texts a renewed or intentionally politicized inflection.

The smaller size of Oxford as a city-court allowed Charles far greater control over print media. Works were licensed, and the entire Royalist print industry was in thrall to the King. The content of the texts published from Oxford was monitored. Therefore, those works *not* published at Oxford, unless they had a good excuse, were not loyalist or Royalist; they were tainted with the corruption of the London presses, or a lack of engagement that sprang from ambivalence or lack of commitment to duty. Leonard Lichfield's poem 'THE PRINTERS CONCLUSION To Her MAJESTIE', which closes *Musarum Oxoniensum Serenissimæ*, is unequivocal about the important role of the press in the conflict: 'Presses of Old, as Pens, did but incite/ Others to Valour, this It Selfe did fight:/ In Ranks and Files these Letters Marshall'd stood' (ll. 5–7). The poem opens by figuring the printing press as a loyal fountain:

> That Traytrous and Vnletterd Crew
> Who fight 'gainst Heaven, Their Soveraigne, and You,
> Have not yet stain'd my Hallowed FOUNTS, The spring
> Must needs be Cleare that issues from the King. (ll. 1–4)

The press is seen as an integral part of the war, and is a conduit for the King's words to spread throughout the Kingdom. During the 1640s, the crown attempted as far as it was able to control the dissemination of the printed word. That which was not part of Royalism was, therefore, against it and excluded from it. In this way, the controlling censorship deployed at Oxford fits into Judith Butler's concept that censorship is productive rather than repressive; the mechanism of censorship is 'actively engaged in the production of subjects, but also in circumscribing the social parameters of speakable discourse, of what will and will not be admissible in public discourse'.[100] Control of the presses was creative insofar as it brought into being a particular discourse of Royalism. It validated one model of the text and a particular identity for the reading subject who deployed the language of the King: 'Censorship is a productive form of power: it is not merely privative, but formative as well . . . To become a subject means to be subjected to a set of implicit and explicit norms that govern the kind of speech that will be legible as the speech of a subject' (Butler, 1997, p. 133).

The common characteristic of all the texts printed and published in Oxford is that they were published under the censorious eye of an official licenser. Lois Potter (1989, p. 8) emphasizes that 'printing in Oxford was actually under tighter control during this period than it had been even during Laud's chancellorship'. The King and his court were concerned with validating only certain forms of discourse, and this was to be achieved by both institutional censorship and textual self-censorship or construction of the reader. As will be seen, the role of the censor at Oxford was far more creative than models of 1640s textuality have suggested. Bod., Add. MS C. 209, the autograph draft of John Taylor's *Causes of the diseases and distempers of this Kingdom*, is annotated 'Imprimatur J Berkenhead Octob. 5 1645'.[101] Berkenhead had been part of Laud's licensing committee in Lambeth prior to the war, and took on the role of official court censor in Oxford.[102] He was at Oxford as part of the circle congregating around Brian Duppa when war broke out, and his eagerness to serve led him to be appointed first Heylin's scribal assistant on the newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus*, and soon afterwards to take control of it himself. Berkenhead had become very close to the more extreme followers of Laud, and his subsequent involvement, along with Heylin, in the editorship of *Mercurius Aulicus* meant that Royalist propaganda was inextricably linked to the former Archbishop. Berkenhead's influence over the press meant that printing was regulated, and maintained Laudian control over the allocation of cultural space.[103] Thus, along with the King's travelling press, Royalist print culture was tightly managed.

Censorship was as integral a part of Royalist self-presentation as the polemic information and propaganda contained in the official newsbook.

The manuscript which bears John Berkenhead's imprint is an important example of the Royalist censorship-propaganda process at work, showing how writers were complicit in the production of texts that sustained certain aspects of Royalism. The text includes various suggestions and marginal comments by the 'censor' which suggest that the relationship between the licenser and the work was fluid and far from combative; quite literally, the censor influenced and directed the tenor and tone of the work.[104] Berkenhead's comments were then published as marginal notes to the text, in a manner more reminiscent of scholarly glosses or academic reference. The physical conjunction between the official propaganda machine and the polemic artistry of Taylor's work which can be traced on the pages of this manuscript is a paradigm for Royalist cultural expression; informed, rather than ruled or destroyed, by consideration of official opinion. Writers colluded with the institutional procedures for censorship. James Loxley (1997, p. 3), discussing the work of Lois Potter and Nigel Smith, writes 'this kind of work insists that we look on a contextualised literature as a knowing agent of the cultural processes to which it is also, at another level in thrall . . . The practice of writing which they describe is both shared and self-conscious, a participant in the broad and equally collective – if inequitable – business of cultural production.' The works published at Oxford conform to Loxley's paradigm. They are produced within, influence, and are influenced by, the overarching discourse of Royalism as created and patrolled by the official censor.

Berkenhead's additions are generally extensions of Taylor's thought, in particular attacking John Knox's religious innovations as being merely superficial, and expanding the polemic identity politics of the piece. John Knox is 'a moderne *patriarch* who brought calders and little ruffs in fashion in *Scotland*'; his countryman Mr Henderson 'Another moderne *Patriarch*, who handed short hayre to Dr *Knoxes* Reformation'.[105] This emphasis on the hermeneutically superficial nature of religious reform is a recurring motif of the Royalist portrayal of Parliamentarian religious sympathisers. It also foregrounds appearance and clothing as indexes of allegiance, explicitly linking particular hair and garments to religious ideologues (this caricaturing is explored further in Chapter 4). At one point Taylor writes of Prynne: 'And if it be true that the people do make Kings, (as yo^{r} Apostle Prin sayes) therefore they may unmake them, if they please: then by the same Rule, may

we not say we will haue no more *Knightes*, Cittizens and *Burgesses*, for if not the people make them? yea Verily, truly and truly verilye'.[106] Berkenhead annotates 'Prin' thus: 'the first Apostle that euer lost his eares twice for libelling'. Prynne's seditious political theory is implied to be malicious libel rather than reasoned debate. In 1634 Prynne's body had been the physical topos on which the establishment had inscribed its conception of the purposes and limits of expression. Hermeneutically, it is instructive that Prynne lost his ears rather than his tongue: the nature of his crime was libel, but the importance was that it was a published libel. Symbolically, then, the action of publishing is not an oral but an aural phenomenon, and public space is in many ways constructed by the spoken word as much as the printed. The King himself commented on the printing of the Grand Remonstrance that 'we are many times amazd to consider by what eyes these things are seen, and by what ears they are heard', highlighting both the importance of visual and aural elements in the creation or addressing of a public space, especially with reference to low or non-elite culture.[107] In mocking Prynne, Berkenhead reaches back into the 1630s to defend his King, reusing and revitalizing tropes of censorship and violence in order to emphasize the importance of literary and literal obedience.

Furthermore, the emphasis on the nature of Prynne's crime is unusual. Attacks on Prynne were in the main concerned with his zealous religious proclamations and especially his appearance. Annabel Patterson conflates the physical punishment meted out to Prynne in 1634 with an understanding of the hermeneutics of censorship. Berkenhead's note emphasizes the importance of subjective truth (that being perverted by the crime of libel) and also the defence of an established hierarchy through physical and violent symbolic actions, be they censorship, auricular divestment, or battle. Patterson sees the physical signs of censorship imposed onto Prynne as representing 'a breakdown of the communicative strategies and conventions' that characterized the relationship between establishment and artist.[108] Berkenhead's note seems to confirm that these communicative strategies were now in thrall to the King and his purposes. With them the court in Oxford would try to create a new language of England, focused through allegiance to the King.

Taylor's manuscript highlights the mutually creative nature of the institutional control of publishing during the early 1640s. The Oxford works are unique as a corpus because they were produced within this atmosphere of control. As Potter has suggested, this censorship is not the work of a paranoid state mechanism but in the main self-imposed

and integral to a Royalist concept of the role of the presses: 'Royalists never embraced freedom of the press as a doctrine; rather, their argument was that the established authority, Parliament, was not a true authority. It is likely that unauthorised publication, as they practised it, was a carefully managed affair' (Potter, 1989, p. 7). Berkenhead's marginal intervention into Taylor's text establishes that censorship was often a mutually constructive and creative practice. Poets and pamphleteers in the first Civil War were conscious of their role as ambassadors and print-soldiers for Charles, and their collaboration with licensing and print control emerges as much from an acknowledgement of public duty to the King as any sense of ideological subjection. Their submission to the authoritative control of the court was a natural extension of their obedience and loyalty to the King. The presses in London, 'Released from the bonds of censorship', were looked on with horror by Royalist writers who condemned the monstrous progeny of such unauthorized printing houses.[109] Works produced by the presses at Oxford, as Lichfield's poem attests, were the King's subjects, foot soldiers in the ongoing battle against the seditious inversions and radical social experimentation of the Parliament. They had a corporate reality and martial function. The following chapter will analyse how these texts attempted to inscribe particular types of identity and behaviour by configuring and constructing the experience of reading.

3
The Royalist reader

Royal language

This chapter pursues the textual strategies deployed by Royalists in their attempts to control the actualization of a text, having already controlled through censorship the composition of it. Analysis of the effects of censorship and reading practices is notoriously difficult, and this chapter presents a necessarily generalized account. In the same way that identity is multiple and complex, reading is something that is equally difficult to conceive of at a distance. We run the risk of imposing paradigms that simply obfuscate. However, the idea that specific types of reading were possible, and that the text was something that fundamentally contributed to religious, educational and social identity formation was a contemporary issue. Recent studies, particularly using the work of Jürgen Habermas, have considered the fundamental importance of texts and the 'uses of books' to the conflict.[1] The dissemination and interpretation of information is fundamental to the approaches of Parliamentary thinkers like John Hall, John Milton and Samuel Hartlib.[2] In particular, the educational writings of these thinkers insisted upon the influence of reading upon the formation of the reasoning mind, and thence the improvement of the state. Reading was to be interrogative and constructive, leading to a highly developed mind and a closer affinity to God. The educational and textual freedoms being produced in England had the possibility of transforming the country. The levelling effect of liberated reason could only be to the 'publick advantage' (Hall, 1649, p. 17). The importance of the new marketplace of print was not lost on Parliamentary or Royalist theorists alike.

In contrast to the flexible arena of reason proposed by such thinkers, Royalist textual space was closely controlled, and the integrity of the

text became of paramount importance. This was in part due to a defence of traditional models of hierarchy and authority. Royalist definitions of private space and public text are analysed with particular reference to the letter-genre. Developing the idea of Lois Potter, that there was a wider 'implied reader' for Royalist texts, I look at how these texts attempted to impugn and construct this readership (Potter, 1989, p. 26). I then move to look at how texts assumed and attempted to create a particular type of audience, an 'intended reader'. Tracts and pamphlets constructed a readership through dedications and polarized argument. Royalist writing attempted as far as was possible to control the reception of texts by configuring and constructing the experience of reading. I argue that Royalist authors denied their audience access to the multivalent readings that were an integral part of Parliamentary texts. Investment in this model of textuality implied a passivity or submissive subjectivity, contained by the discourse and language of the King within a loyal space of nation. Parliament's attempts at disrupting this space, breaking the boundaries set down by language, were to be refuted and dismissed through loyal acts of reading.

In *The Loyall Subiect's Retiring-Roome, Opened in a Sermon at St Maries* (1645) Richard Harwood figures the text as a peaceful space in which the reader can reflect and find diversion from the war and attendant troubles:

> To a Person, alwayes Employed in the numerous perplexities of a troubled State . . . a With-drawing Chamber may be as Welcome, as a Haven to the Mariner, after a Rough sea. Please your Honour to step into it, you shall find it ready furnished for your entertainment, not with the vaine trimmings of art, but those more reall ornaments of a noble mind, Prudence, and Patience.[3]

Such metaphors of space are regularly deployed by Royalist texts throughout the war, and these tropes relate to loyalist concepts of reception and the construction of the reading subject. Harwood's conceptualization highlights the dual significance of Royalist 'space' during the period. The text is presented as a metaphorical space, a conceptual location of retirement from the world. It is also a physical space, an area with set limits and specified decoration. Harwood figures the quarto volume as a closet into which the loyal courtly reader can withdraw to find peace. The text is a space which can be controlled, a safe haven from the 'numerous perplexities of a troubled State'. The space of the nation state itself has been upset and distended by the multivalent

ambiguities and unstable parameters of the conflict. Harwood figures the reader as drawn into a text which has a physical integrity and location. It is a room, a closet into which the interlocutor may step. Royalist definitions of such spaces were inextricably linked to questions of identity and this present example shows how by entering or engaging with a particular textual space a reader confirms and enacts their loyalty.

Harwood's construction of the text as a ready-furnished space which the loyal reader enters presupposes that a text has a spatial quality which cannot be tampered with; it is definite and *a priori*, a room with physical walls and specific dimensions. Royalist reception theory was predicated upon the idea that the text was a metaphorical and material space. This space is tightly controlled, and therefore the 'Royalist reader' engaged with the text in a particularly structured and organized fashion. This analysis of the spatiotemporal aspect of texts invokes the work of Roger Chartier and Michel de Certeau, whose notions of reception, actualization and *espaces lisibles* point to the links between cultural, textual and material space which are the basis of this chapter. Chartier defines *espaces lisibles* as 'texts in their discursive and material forms' as opposed to texts being actualized by a reading.[4] Royalist print culture constructed a particular *espace lisible* that was not concerned with the active reception or actualization of the text and in fact found reader interaction or interrogation with a text problematic. The interpretative community or constituency of Royalism was not allowed to do much interpreting. This is clear if we consider Robert Herrick's poem 'When he would have his verses read', a verse which insists that his poetry is attended by social and religious behaviour of a decidedly polarized nature:

> In Sober mornings, doe not then reherse
> The holy incantation of a verse;
> But when that men have both well drunke, and fed,
> Let my Enchantments then be sung, or read.[5]

Herrick's text creates an 'intended' reader who will approach his verse with particular care and enact various partisan modes of behaviour in order to define their polemic identity. Herrick takes a standard trope from Martial and reinvigorates it in the light of contemporary political events and theorizations of reading.[6] The audience is constructed and controlled by their engagement with the verse. Their reception of the poems is mediated by the intentions of the poet who controls the consumption and understanding of his verse.

Leonard Lichfield's poem 'THE PRINTERS CONCLUSION To Her MAJESTIE' that ends *Musarum Oxoniensum* indicates that the King had become interested in the public and propaganda value of print during the first months of skirmishing:

> That Traytrous and Unletterd Crew
> Who fight 'gainst Heaven, Their Soveraigne, and You,
> Have not yet stain'd my Hallowed FOUNTS, The spring
> Must needs be Cleare that issues from the King.
> Presses of Old, as Pens, did but incite
> Others to Valour, this It Selfe did fight:
> In Ranks and Files these Letters Marshall'd stood
> On Dismall Edg-Hill-day, yet 'twas not blood
> They boaded by their Black, for Peace they sought,
> And Teem'd with Pardons while the Rebells fought. (ll. 1–10)

The Pardons referred to are probably *His Majesties Offer of Pardon to the Rebells now in Armes against Him*, and *His Majesties gratious Proclamation to the Cittyes of London and Westminster*, both published by Lichfield on the march from Edgehill to Oxford. The mere presence of an official press with the King indicates an understanding for the need to publicize proclamations to the wide audience attained by print. Ideological transmission depends on control of a press, and this in turn is crucial to the maintenance of monarchical power. The premise of the previous chapter, that all works emanating from Lichfield's press are in part ideologically in thrall or service to the King, is demonstrated here: 'The spring/ Must needs be Cleare that issues from the King'. The press has a 'Hallowed' function in voicing the opinions and commands of the monarch. The ignorant enemy will be corrected through material published by the printer to an ancient and eminent, as well as pious, university. Lichfield identifies himself as the King's 'spring' or fountain, facilitating the issue of loyal and hallowed texts, but importantly suggesting that Charles is their source. Texts published by Lichfield would be official Commissioners for the King, mediating and representing his thoughts and decisions. This then would inflect all work published by Lichfield; the fact that this poem ends a volume of poetry suggests that all Royalist expression mediated through Lichfield's official press bore to a greater or lesser extent the imprint of the King and his establishment. In extension it could be argued, that, as proclamations and warrants published from court were representatives of the King, being his words and commands, so in some ways all Royalist texts were repre-

senting Charles. The printing press replaced the Heralds in voicing Charles. While Lichfield repeats standard publisher's tropes, the newly dynamic print context of the early 1640s situates his poem as demonstrative of Royalist strategies attempting to control the flow of information.

Lichfield's poem draws attention to the function of the printed volume as a piece of courtly propaganda; in service to the King as much as a 'Pardon' or 'Commission of Array' (ll. 12). They use his language, his type, and are expressions of loyalty and praise. Letters, the physical signs of language, become resoundingly loyal, arranging themselves to fight for the King at Edgehill. Language itself is conscripted and becomes political and combative. In line with Royalist discourse the proof of Parliament's 'Traytrous' nature is their lack of education. They are an 'Unletterd Crew', an ill-educated mass who presume to rebel against divine law and hierarchical structure. They also lack a language, are materially 'Unlettered', since the only true linguistic system is that of loyalty and obedience to the monarch. Parliamentarian attempts to reconfigure the state are expressed linguistically: for instance, the 'monstrous Creature' that is clerk to the Parliamentarian Committee that imprisons the anonymous author of *The Cambridge Royallist Imprisoned* is described as a 'Mooneling' who inhabits a 'Mad Wildernesse of Non-sence'.[7] He is a lunatic secretary, and his role as Parliamentarian licenser inflects all documents printed in London with his madness. In Lichfield's poem, such destruction is expressed in line 19, 'More confused Nonsense', which has no rhyme and creates an odd number of lines. This is securely fastened within the firmly rhymed poem which opens and closes with the same couplet rhyme ('Crew/ You'). The lack of a chime for 'Nonsense' emphasizes that London's print culture is at odds with normality, an anomaly that has challenged by the smooth lines of obedience. Second, such works that are published from London can find no natural reflection or echo.

Lichfield notes a shift in the purpose of printed material; where presses 'of Old' merely encouraged noble acts, this engages with and battles the King's enemies for him. The public domain becomes an important nexus for conflict and engagement. The poet emphasizes the physicality of print, dwelling on the black border reserved for elegies or sermons, and the physical arrangement of the type 'In Ranks and Files' which makes up the hierarchical and structured Royalist language. Print inhabits both metaphorical and material space. On the page the type is 'boarded by Black', arranged into loyal sentences. Yet it also has a metaphorical presence and value in combat or on the battlefield. Both

these spaces are mediated by the press, and so ultimately, the King. Pamphlets, proclamations and poems are the new infantry, confounding the 'Nonsense' issued by 'That Babel London' (11. 18–19). The productions of the press consciously strove to create a structured public space for obedience.

Lichfield's verse articulates the active role of the printing presses in constructing and expressing a Royalist identity. The close relationship between the censor and the author, and the official control of the material means of publication, meant that texts produced from the Oxford court became expressions of an officially sanctioned Royalism which was predicated upon hierarchical structures of identity and loyalty. These hierarchies were in turn based upon hegemonic notions of authority and the absolute space of monarchy which had been established by Charles and his court through political writings and institutional documents. The texts analysed in this chapter illustrate in microcosm the cultural reaction to and poetic reception of this polemically constructed identity. They participated in the construction of a Royalist reader, a subject governed by particular concepts of identity and action.

As has been argued throughout this book, for Royalists meaning was dependent upon the reader sharing a set of conventions with the text; an understanding of a text implies the awareness of a specific language. Texts demand and expect a 'fit' or 'informed' reader who interprets meaning by responding to the systematic deployment of recognisable signs. At the more extreme end this is manifested in an assumption that the truths are so self-evident that the constructed reader must understand them:

> In the designes we see the end aimed at: In the pretences, the way by which they have travail'd towards the end: And in their proceedings, their progress in that way. We shall decline that exact method used in handling every Discipline; because what are præorgnita to them (as all designes are to the contrivers) are post regnita to us. We can deduce them but by way of inference, and therefore having laid downe the other, as the two prentices, we shall draw these into the conclusion.[8]

This tract deploys a legal language to define correct methods of reading, interpreting and understanding, all mediated through loyalty to the King and an understanding of the wrongness of the Parliament. The House of Commons is presented as being interested in circulating

untruth, perverting language in order to disrupt society. This is anathema to Royalist conceptions of the order of things. By continually questioning the hierarchical truths of society, by interrogating and interrupting, Parliament problematized textual discourse and language. Loyalist texts reacted to this perceived threat by establishing and emphasizing a model of textuality and reading that assumed a passive, uninterrogative reader. Texts attempted to create or construct their readership, assuming a shared ideological sympathy inherent in the very language. Dedications ignored and expelled those who thought differently, creating a spatial metaphor for society which rested upon inclusion and exclusion, the respecting of barriers. Writers conceived of a particularly Royalist and hierarchical system of language and expression. The text was a space that constructed and represented a particular identity; interaction with the public or published domain was controlled. The conceptual and cultural space of Royalism was heavily mediated and censored.

Royalist reading refuted humanist notions of education and reasoned discussion, proffering modes that emphasized the didactic authority of a single truth. Charles noted that

> It is no new thing among so many wise men to have severall and farre different conceptions; yet none unrepugnant to reason, or dissentions from truth; as in the severall parts and dimensions of the body the limbs move severall wayes, but all to one end.[9]

The body of state, the spatial extent of Charles' dominions, is multidiscoursed and full of a variety of opinion. However, this is subjugated and subject to the 'one end', the government and authority of the monarch. Royalist pamphlets took elements of dialogic works and were fundamentally dialectic, but manipulated these forms to create a closed debate. Loyalist polemic style tended to use a hectoring, answering style. Opposition text was appropriated and rejected. This technique was borrowed from religious pamphlets of the 1620s and 1630s, a polemic style deployed to demonstrate or explain a text. The tracts provide interpretations that have the tone and style of religious exegesis. They demonstrated the problems inherent in the arguments of specific pamphlets, a polemic struggle with a unique and specified interlocutor. This manner of reading opposition text was predicated upon a concept of an absolute truth. Parliamentary fact was seen to be merely subjective, a consistently biased interpretation of events which intentionally ignored reality. This was the basic premise of both sides in the propaganda war,

but for the Royalists it had more profound implications, especially for concepts of interrogating texts. Parliamentary theory argued that the King was badly advised and had misinterpreted the Bible; Royalism attacked the Parliamentary project for being wrong and incorrect, a monstrous aberration attacking the foundations of justice and order.

Royalist readings

Royalist writings presuppose a passive theory of reading. The text has authority, predicated upon the language of the monarch. The Royalist political theorist Dudley Digges, in a section discussed earlier, framed political analysis in terms of textual transmission:

> He that will endeavour to make the yoke of government more easie, by setting a people loose from the restraints of positive lawes, upon pretence, they may justly use their native liberty, and resume their originall power, if civill constitutions, which were agreed upon for their good, be not effectual to that end, but prove disadvantageous to them, Shall be sure to meet with many favourable readers. (Digges, 1643, p. 1)

Digges understood the temptation of 'freedom' figured, crucially, as a relationship between text and reader. For him, civilized society depended upon the structure of laws and institutional restraint of the individual and collective will. Popularist notions that empower the nation must be addressed but refuted; the reader, the subject, the individual, all these entities must be controlled through a hierarchical ordering. Digges' formulation polemically categorizes the readership of a text. Digges' words imply that the text will only be positively constructed by the reader who is predisposed to agree already. Readers 'meet' with a text, a physical encounter which takes place in a material space. This space, for Royalists, was controlled and mediated through the authority of the King and his language. The notion of other 'favourable readers' being swayed by false persuasion indicates a crucial complexity that Royalist writing attempted to occlude. Yet even in Digges' brief formulation we can see the hierarchy of Royalist reading – the primacy of the author, the passivity of the reader. The material space of the text, for Royalists, was controlled and mediated through the authority of the King and his language. Digges' conception of reading allows his public to be multivalent in their loyalties, but his point rests on the fact that they are a community wrongly led rather than actively misinterpreting.

The texts, rather than their responses, rouse them to wrongful action. The remainder of this chapter analyses the measures, both material and conceptual, deployed by Royalist texts to impose or implement this theory of reception and to construct an idealized or 'Royalist' reader.

Humanist theories of textual engagement encouraged a certain interaction, although crucially they also insist on the sanctity of the text as an authority.[10] This book is not primarily concerned with the physical action of reading as delineated by Kevin Sharpe or William Sherman.[11] Instead it addresses intentionality and attempts to control readerships and construct interpretative communities. The manipulation of the material and paratextual tools of reception – constructions of printed space, dedications, censorship and licensing – during the 1640s implies a concern with constructing a readership. As Sharon Achinstein has argued, 'many pamphlet writers made rhetorical constructions of their audiences as reading publics . . . they created the idea of a revolutionary public'.[12] Royalist writers and cultural producers reacted against this newly enfranchised audience and worked to re-establish older hierarchical notions of readership. The authority of the text was redefined in the 1640s by Royalist writers keen to suppress multivalent texts and polyvocal readings. They themselves 'created' a non-revolutionary public, a 'Royalist reader'.

To take a Parliamentarian tract near enough at random – *Powers to be Resisted* presents itself as a 'Dialogue', a humanistic debate through which the common reader can come to understanding.[13] The features of this dialogue form implied an interaction with the text and an intervention in public life. Another, a Parliamentarian tract denouncing Prince Rupert, ends with 'An answer to an objection that might bee made against this prevoueus Discourse.'[14] Such confidence in, and enfranchisement of, the popular reader is anathema to Royalist writers. Where Prynne dedicates his *Soveraigne Power of Parliaments* to the reader using the language of patronage ('Courteous Reader, I Here present thee') and Joseph Boden composes *An Alarme Beat up in Sion* at the request of the Committee of the County of Kent ('Your approbation, and request (which is command enough) encouraged me to, and in the publication'), Henry Ferne addresses his *Conscience Satisfied* to a specific and controllable group: 'To the Conscientious Readers among the People.'[15] Susan Wiseman illustrates the critical consensus surrounding the opening up of the print marketplace when she argues for the liberating generic renegotiations of the print market in London: 'Readers, also consumers, were addressed as individuals and invited to participate in public debate.'[16] However, the overwhelming tenor of Royalist genres

is of a controlled dialogue; the freedoms celebrated elsewhere were for Royalist writers, thinkers and readers problematic. To suggest that texts had multiple readings was a politically biased innovation:

> Arrested Packets are ript up and read
> All backwards. A. perhaps must now be Z.
> Or in their Analyticks C. is D.
> And this must meane dreadfull State Mystery.
> Dove houses must be searcht, least they bring home
> Some other winges, and pennes besides their owne.
> The innocent white Paper they suspect
> As soil'd with guilty Letters, as infect
> With Onyons, Lemmons, or salt Ammonick
> Milke, Egges, or Allum, some such Magick trick
> To charme the eyes of Saints.[17]

This poem ridicules Parliamentary notions of textual interpretation, suggesting that there is only one meaning to a text – all others are overreadings, unclean, unchristian polemic interpolations rather than honest, straightforward understandings. Language is innate and determined, not multiple and complex. An 'A' is an 'A', unless you wish to read it as something else, to impute the purity of the text and to break the concrete boundaries of the written to create an *interpretation* based on a crucial misreading.

For Royalists, the authority of the text was in part established by the innately monarchical nature of the English language. This can be shown through a discussion of the anonymous linguistic treatise *Vindex Anglicus*, printed in 1644.[18] Where it has been discussed, this pamphlet has been dismissed because it plagiarizes R[ichard] C[arew]'s contribution to Camden's *Remaines concerning Britaine*.[19] The perceived plagiarism is an important part of the work's purpose; the fact that the text finds its roots in an earlier text is consonant with its emphasis on continuity and tradition in language and expression. It is also part and parcel of a critical anxiety within the text over intertextuality and authority. The writer attacks the importation of vulgar foreign phrases, claiming that English is 'golden' and cannot be further refined: 'I believe the most renowned of other Nations, to have laid the very *Elixir* of their Tongue's Perfections in Trust with our Island' (*Vindex Anglicus*, pp. 36–7). England is the apogee of all lesser countries, taking what is beautiful and suborning it to a greater purpose: 'Our Language hath long been in the Ascendant, together with our Monarchy' (ibid., p. 36). The piece constructs

an idealistic and even imperialistic version of nation that is intricately tied to language; however, there is an innate anxiety about the encounter with linguistic otherness, that language is a mosaic of competing discourses transmitted in complex and ambiguous ways.

The tract conflates the power and perfection of language with the King. Those 'intruding' writers who would violate the linguistic conventions of the state attack the authority of the King when they use his language to any other purpose than the apotheosis of the monarch and his nation. Similarly, the tract rejects new, 'foreign' constructions and neologisms. They are attempts at creating a language that is not controlled by the King:

> I can but foil those unnatural Domesticks, who degenerately do either with a certain fond affected Idolatry adore the Language of other Nations, contemning their own; or else imperiously (as if Censors in this Particular) do add, detect, mangle and transform her, according to their weak Fancies; vainly spoiling the best of vulgar Languages. (Ibid., p. 33)

The author identifies an element of disunity and treasonous intent within those who seek to change the language from its golden perfection, who wish to destroy the idol constructed through centuries of linguistic abstraction. This reading is confirmed when the writer asks:

> What matchless and incomparable Pieces of Eloquence hath this Time of Civil War afforded? Came there ever from a Prince's Pen such exact Pieces as are his Majesty's Declarations? Were there ever Speeches, uttered in better Language, or sweeter Expressions, than these of the noble and learned Lord Digby, and some other worthy Personages? Did ever Nation expose choicer, more honourable or eloquent Discourses, than ours hath done in our Sovereign's Behalf, since these unhappy Divisions? There is no sort of Verse either Ancient or Modern, which we are not able to equal by Imitation; We have our English Virgil, Seneca, Lucan, Juvenal, Martial, and Catullus: In the Earl of Surry, Daniel, Johnson, Spenser, Don, Shakespear, and the Glory of the rest Sandys and Sydney. (Ibid., p. 35)

The anonymous writer portrays Royalist discourse of the early 1640s as the very ultimate in eloquence. Royalist works of the war period are hailed as 'matchless and incomparable', the height of expression and eloquence. The model of Englishness that is suggested through the invo-

cation of great national writers emphasizes the King's cultural and linguistic importance. The King's Declarations are identified as the primary output of this golden age of language, the apex of a language with a rich poetic heritage. These exact and precise statutes are the index of all linguistic expression, and from them develops a model of Royalist identity based on language: from formal speeches to the basest propaganda, anything taking its lead from the King's mode of expression (and beyond that, the policies and theories expounded in the declarations) is worthy of the highest praise. The structure of this passage illustrates the hierarchical model of Royalist discourse, moving from the King's words through the learned nobility, to the faceless masses sharing in a vague discourse of loyalty. The polemical significance of Digby is that his published speeches related to the Earl of Strafford in the main, and his *Apologie* was little more than an extended attack on the House of Commons. 'Don George Digby that old Incendiary' also figured large in the imagination of the Parliamentarian newsletter writers as part of the Oxford junta that controlled the King.[20] He represented published and acknowledged Royalist defiance through his connection with the newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus*. It is significant, also, that the anonymous writer chooses to emphasize the King's declarations and Digby's speeches as the most important elements of Royalist discourse. The former created institutional stability and harmony, while the latter (and their generic counterparts) established a cultural identity for the nation.

The King is the originator, the lawgiver and guarantor of meaning. This model also accounts for the reception of Royalism in the texts we are considering. In this hierarchical model the King sets the tone of discourse, his Declarations shaping and influencing other texts. As Judith Butler has argued, language is itself an instrument of censorship or control, as the rules of grammar ' "decided" prior to any individual decision, are precisely the constraining conditions which make possible any given decision . . . The speaking subject makes his or her decision only in the context of an already circumscribed field of linguistic possibilities.'[21] The order of language which confines and defines identity is configured and constructed through the mediation of the King. Royalist theory of language meant that as an interpretive community, everyone was subject to the linguistic rules and authoritative space of the monarch. Language created an identity which was fundamentally and implicitly monarchical and *Royalist*. The fundamental lack subsequently at the centre of identity was confirmed, and this alienating lack of self-definition was fundamental to loyalists. Such a repressive aspect of expression was addressed by Parliamentarian intellectuals such as John

Wilkins and Samuel Hartlib, who throughout the 1640s 'seriously considered the development of a truly open, dogmatically neutral means of (written) communication', a universal language free from monarchical hierarchies and structures.[22] The efforts of Hartlib and his circle illustrate that the Parliamentary intelligentsia was constructing radical new strategies to avoid complicity with or mediation by the monarch by establishing a language of knowledge exchange. Royalist language was prescriptive of identity, dissident grammars were interested in developing the contingencies and interrogations of everyday material usage.

The written language is a set of rules and boundaries that delineate and establish a particular discursive space. Involvement within this space, for the Royalists, meant an ongoing dialogue with the absolute space of monarchy. The space is inflected and created by the authority of the King. If language is the only means of mediation with the physical world, and this language is innately hierarchically structured as part of absolute space, all texts using this language will be subject to the hierarchical impulses of those whom control the language; the authority in this case being the King. Language itself is a controlled space, doubly so when rendered in print. As the tract states, the works produced in support of the King are part of a superior and ultimate expression of loyalty: 'Did ever Nation expose choicer, more honourable or eloquent Discourses, than ours hath done in our Sovereign's Behalf, since these unhappy Divisions?'. Those works not 'in our Sovereign's Behalf' are negligible, disloyal irrelevancies not worthy of comment. The Parliament was mocked for attempting to address this issue in an anonymous 1642 ballad, '1642. A Song of y^{e} Parliamentarian Occurents of the tyme', which mocks the House for attempting 'To quitt [quiet] Digby & Deering, whome they don't understand:/ to frame, not new Lawes, but new Words, (if well skann'd).'[23] The loyal works published from Oxford were inflected and controlled by the King's language. Parliament is mocked and attacked for trying to create a new language.

'. . . not altogether publique': print, manuscript, and the ownership of the text

In early 1645 Sir Robert Stapleton consigned his translation of *Musæus* nervously to publication with the conditional preface:

> I held it my safest course, rather to venture upon the Printers pardonable errours, then to runne the hazzard of grosse mistakes in ignorant Transcribers. Yet, as I could not make it altogether private,

> so I resolved it should not be altogether publique, and have therefore suffered no more to be printed, then the just number promised; which coming into friends hands I cannot feare any rigid censure.[24]

This passage allows us to argue that coterie manuscript publication of intellectual or scholarly works was still prevalent at Oxford during the war. Stapleton's seeming confidence in the control he would be able to exert over printed versions of his text suggests an introverted circle desirous of privacy; not actually part of the war effort, simply indulging their scholastic interests. He trusts to the relative safety of print rather than the instability of manuscript. This preface highlights the fact that the Oxford court still retained a lively if necessarily slimmed down internal culture. It furthermore articulates the worry of many authors that manuscript transcription and transmission of their texts would permit 'ignorant' intermediary scribes to make 'grosse mistakes'; to disrupt and fracture their work. Stapleton has a conception of his text as an entity which has a fixed status and corporal nature. Indeed, the passage implies a shift in the status of print; it has become something authoritative, slightly safer than manuscript. Rather than being something that once 'Released from the bonds of censorship' would produce radical and challenging debate, Royalist writers conceived that the realm of print allowed much more control in comparison with manuscript.[25]

Royalists are presented as finding the opening up of the public sphere a problematic issue, but many Royalist writers nervously embraced it – certainly, the 'rush to print' of the mid-1640s, and Humphrey Moseley's success as a publisher suggest that the (controlled and censored) press gave an inviolate legitimacy to utterance, allowed for assumptive authority and reading. This implies a subtle shift, too, of notions of reading and of authorship, which the following section will analyse by discussing the status of Royalist manuscript publication and circulation during the war period.

The manuscript commonplace miscellany of the 1620s and 1630s had emphasized a multivalency of context and content. During the 1640s the drive toward single-author editions or printed edited collections masquerading as miscellanies was based in part on a model of the text that emphasized the power of the author and the responsibility of the printer to create a clean and perfect text.[26] The reader has no agency in creation of meaning; this is inherent in the volume already. It is no coincidence that the publisher most responsible for producing single-author volumes was the Royalist Humphrey Moseley. In the preface to his *Musæus* Stapleton moves away from the coterie distribution of miscel-

lanies, from the fragmentation and uncertainty of manuscript, to the assurance and control of print.

An example of the unfettered potential for error and misinterpretation inherent in manuscript culture is John Denham's elegy for Strafford, a much anthologized poem.[27] In Bod., Douce MS 357 it is followed on the same page by a parody:

[*'original' text*] Upon my Lo Straford
Great Strafford worthy of that name though all
Of him could be forgotten but his fall
How greate thy ruine when no lesse a weight
Could serve to crush thee then three kingdoms hate;
Yet single they accounted thee (although
Each had an army) as an equall foe.
Thy wisdome such, at once it did appeare
Three kingdomes wonder, and three kingdomes feare,
Joyned with an eloquence so great to make
Us heere with greater passion then he spake;

[*parody*] Wentworth's fatall fall
Poore Strafford worthy of no Name att all
Amongst the Liueing; who forgetts his fall
How just his Ruine when No Less a weight
could press him Down; then Charles & three
Kingdom's hate
for Single he Esteem'd himselfe all tho
Each had an Army, as an Equall foe
his wisdome such att Last it did appeare
Three Kingdomes Scorn and not three kingdoms feare
his Eloquence was great indeed to make
his hearers passionate when once he speake[28]

The poems are paired by their format, and the parody uses the same metrical system and rhymes as Denham's original text. They share phrases and extensive vocabulary. The author uses Denham's words to inflect the parody and to disrupt the apologist discourse which produced the first poem. The manuscript collection as a whole is overly concerned with mirroring and the relationship between texts; the con-

tents include answer poems and echo poems. There is a sense of dialogue, interrogation and fragmentation. Following the Denham poem and its parody are 'Dr Pryns also St Piyms verses on the Ld Strafford' (fol. 11v), Cleveland's 'Epitaph on ye Earle of Strafford Beheaded on Tower-Hill May 12-i64i' (fol. 12r), and 'Ode upon ye Ld Strafford and Answer', a two-part answer poem in columns (fol. 12r). Manuscript is a space for dialogue, debate and fragmentation, where poems and texts have little or no innate integrity. The discourse of loyalism and monarchical right during the war – Royalism – argued that state and the body of the subject was a text; this interpenetrative practice was anathema to such concepts.

What is notable about the war period is that loyalist poets who had previously been more extensively circulated in manuscript began to publish: Edmund Waller in 1645, Martin Lluellyn in 1646, John Cleveland in 1647, Mildmay Fane, Robert Herrick and Richard Fanshawe in 1648, Richard Lovelace in 1649.[29] The Royalist poets Thomas Carew and Sir John Suckling were published posthumously during the 1640s. These poets had between them written a majority of the newly composed verse found in *manuscript* during the 1630s and 1640s. Their move to print was remarkable for its speed and polemic focus. Herrick's dedication to *Hesperides* expressly tied the emergence of his work into the public domain to a royalist motive: 'Well may my Book come forth like Publique Day,/ When such a Light as You are leads the way'.[30] Poets wished the assurance of controlling their texts:

> This parcell of exquisit Poems, have pass'd up and downe through many hands amongst persons of the best quallity, in loose imperfect Manuscripts, and there is lately obtruded to the world an adulterate Copy, surruptitiously and illegally imprinted, to the derogation of the Author, and the abuse of the Buyer. But in this Booke they appeare in their pure originals and true genuine colours.[31]

The motivation for printing Waller is to provide a 'true', unadulterated and 'pure' text that is quantified and mediated by the controlling medium of print; Herrick's *Hesperides* was so concerned about such issues that the first edition included a list of errata. Previously, Waller had happily circulated his verse in scribally published form to 'persons of the best quallity'. Some of these manuscript texts had mimicked the physical attributes of print: catch-words, title-pages, contents and page numbers.[32] Waller's move to print suggests a worry about the sanctity of manuscript; it is a belated attempt to control texts. This suggests that

the authoritarian (and authorial) censorship governing the creation of texts was not simply institutional; writers themselves attempted stricter control of their works than had previously been the case.

The ideology underpinning such a rigid definition of the text is particularly conservative and based in rights of property and therefore resists the invasive transgressions of the interrogative reader. The control of text is an expression of ownership. The text has a spatial or material dimension and the boundaries are heavily guarded lest the Parliamentarian reader storm the barricades and deny the authority of the author. Not all writers were comfortable with publication; the Royalist distrust of print is expressed by Dudley, Lord North who reluctantly submitted to the 'prostitution of the Presse' when publishing his *Forest of Varieties* in 1645.[33] However, Dudley's very metaphor betrays a conception of the text which is corporate and spatial; he fears the physical violation of his property and the possibility of misreading. His reasons for publication are the worries attendant upon owning textual property in 'this plundering age'.[34]

The integrity of the text became paramount, and in itself an expression of Royalist models of controlled space and meaning. Parliament was the party of error and inaccuracy, of treasonous sophistry and poisonous confusion, of rupture and destruction. Their views and facts lacked credence, and they denied true authority. An example of the kind of investigative and interpretative reader Royalist texts were attempting to exclude is witnessed in the marginalia of the British Library copy of Henry Parker's *Observations*.[35] As well as highlighting many passages the annotator debates and attacks some of the text's defences of the King: the annotation 'this comparison may bee allowed, but not ye inference' highlights perceived flaws in Strafford's application of the Law of Prerogative, and the reader shows his Parliamentarian colours by deploying the rhetoric of defensive theory to comment upon a passage excusing Charles' actions 'nor doe wee find in ye Parlt wch first began these warrs yt they would have inured the King or people till ye Maiority were excluded by force'.[36]

Stapleton's appeal to a fit and particular audience is part of a general tendency within Royalist literature of the Oxford period to attempt to control and construct their audience. The undertone of courtly disunity is made abeyant by Stapleton's deployment of the Royalist rhetoric of inclusion and exclusion and the control of audience. His distinction of an audience which is 'not altogether publique', a collection of those who think similarly and will not censor or censure his work, is a working definition of the Royalist reader, or at least the interpretative commu-

nity of audience writers appeared to be addressing. Stapleton uses his dedication to define the domain in which his work will be read and received. This location was greatly important to Royalist definitions of textual authority and property.

The court could not deny the existence of Parliamentary tracts and texts, and it was difficult to limit the influx of works produced in London to the city. Often Parliamentary proclamations and tracts were reprinted by Leonard Lichfield at his press in Oxford as a way of mediating and inflecting the reception of such texts. For instance *The Late Letters From both Houses of Parliament* publicly reprints the correspondence and debate regarding the petition, the petition itself, and concludes with the King's answer; Parliamentarian discourse is controlled and presented in a safely sanitized version.[37] However, there is evidence that puritan tracts were readily available in Oxford itself. Booksellers in the city had them in their stock, and the Bodleian purchased various Parliamentarian tracts in 1644 and 1645.[38] There is a material record of Royalist engagement with Parliamentarian text in the extensive collection of 1644 London newsbooks collected by John Harrington of Kelston, a Colonel in the King's army (BL Add. MS 46375). While this type of compilation of texts in some ways entails interrogative disruption of the 'original', there is no marginalia and only a few portraits pasted in to disturb the linear progress of the newsbooks. The collection suggests an unfragmented approach to reading and compilation; that said, it also demonstrates how actual readers were more interrogative and awkwardly uninterpolated than loyalist writers might desire. Royalist control over textual production and constructions of an 'intended reader' had to engage with the material and physical nature of the opposition. They had to conceptualize the subversions inherent in the marketplace of print and find some way of negating them. The remainder of this chapter examines their strategies for doing this.

The King's Cabinet Opened

The greatest textual challenge to these concepts faced before the end of the first civil war was the publication of Charles' private letters seized at Naseby as *The King's Cabinet Opened* in 1645.[39] The reaction to this volume illustrates how notions of public space, privacy and text intersected in Royalist thought. The editors claimed that they were simply presenting a text which would allow readers to come to truth: 'we affirm nothing necessary to be beleeved, but what the printed papers will themselves utter in their own language' (*The King's Cabinet Opened*, Sig.

A4r). This sarcastic nod to the supposed authority of the King's words and Royalist expressions of textuality ignored the material changes made by the annotation and republication of letters which had been intended for a very different audience. The comment supposes that each printed text has an individual language, a unique mode of expression. The volume is not fact or dogmatic myth 'necessary to be beleeved', but one of many conflicting discourses. The King's words have become just another text which can be edited, inflected, typographically refashioned. The physical authority of the King's expression is ruptured.

Even the title of the tract invokes transgression of boundaries and invasion of once personal space. The 'cabinet' is both the chest or closet which was seized at Naseby, and the private rooms of state inhabited by the King. The publication of the letters implied that the people demanded Royal privacy be opened to public scrutiny; that they be privy to Charles's innermost diplomatic thoughts, brought into his council chamber, given access to his unguarded moments. They gain proximity to the King and through this political power. The triumphant rupturing and invasion of the spaces of political power echoes the worries of Royalist theorists who saw popular enfranchisement as a physical invasion. The authority of the King and the mythology of Royalism depended on the sanctity of particular spaces; on locations defined by exclusion and inclusion.

An index of the significance of *The King's Cabinet Opened* is the great number of publications refuting, denying or attacking it. It was a test case for Royalist concepts of the public, an insult that could not be ignored or tolerated. Various strategies were used to attack the volume. One allegedly Parliamentarian response to the publication worried that:

> for though discoveries of this nature have upon the persons they concerne somewhat in them of a ridiculous infelicity, yet withall they have very much of advantage too, because they deepely worke into all wise men an exceeding strong beleife of those things which were let fall in so great secrecy. So that it should have beene well weighed before such Bookes had beene made publicke, whether, though they conteine some truths that make for our turne, they are not withall a full proofe of some others which are downe-right destructive to us.[40]

Other pamphlets decried the outrage of printing private letters, of invading the personal space of the monarch and rupturing the sanctity of his image. The textual foundations and representations on which Royalism had built itself were threatened by this volume.

Martin Lluellyn published a verse defence of the King which opened by decrying the times in terms that echoed Royalist political theorists: 'When Lawes and Princes are despis'd, & cheape'.[41] Lluellyn deplored the invasion of the private space of the monarch, emphasizing the sacrosanct divide between public and private:

> Nature gave Reason power to finde a way,
> Which none but these could venture to betray.
> Two close safe Paths she did bequeath to men,
> In Presence, Whisper; and at Distance Penne.
> Publicke Decrees and Thoughts were else the same,
> Nor were it to Converse, but to Proclaime.
> Conceipts were else Records, but by this care
> Our Thoughts no Commons, but Inclosures are:
> What bold Intruders then are who assaile,
> To cut their Prince's Hedge, and breake His Pale?
> That so Unmanly gaze, and dare be seene
> Ev'n then, when He converses with His Queene? (ll. 31–42)

The publication of the King's words has betrayed nature and reason; it is an insult to both. Lluellyn's verse explicitly figures the exclusivity of private, mediated space as the natural inverse of the vulgar and uncontrolled Commons. Privacy is accorded a financial status; just as access to political power through Parliament was predicated upon ownership of land, access to this idealized private space is through property and the exclusion of the poor (and, by conceptual extension, the savage Irish). Lluellyn's use of a language which evokes the structures and expressions of the court ('Presence'; 'Converse'; 'Proclaime') emphasizes that the space of privacy and meditation is the court or the private house whereas the space of the public is an uncontrolled common ground, unenclosed and open. The vocabulary illustrates how interlinked notions of physical property and textual freedom were to the Royalists. The violation of the King's words is perhaps the most important example of the transgressive and interrogative readings of the Parliamentarians. The interpolation of comment and sarcastic aside ruptured the respect due to the commands issued by the body of state, blasphemously challenging and questioning the private comments of the monarch.

Lluellyn assumes that modes of public and private are based on status and property. The publication of the King's letters and the concomitant inclusion of the people within the domain of government are expressed

as a violent invasion, a trespass which destroys possessions and private land. Physical limits and boundaries – hedges, fences – are destroyed and bypassed in order to gain unsolicited presence and petty voyeurism. The material space of government and monarchy is violated. Traditional spatial models, which established structure and order onto society – the space of absolute monarchy and hierarchical subjection to property and rank – are destroyed by the increasing public involvement in government and a method of reading that allows an audience to debate and query the monarchical text. It becomes clear that Royalist theories of reading and the immanence of the text are deployed to suppress the innovative and destructive discourses and spaces of the Parliament. The authority and inviolability of Royalist textual space is a metaphor for the authorial structures of the nation and as such is used by Lluellyn to express a material desire to prevent actual debate and questioning of the King's authority, expressed on the battlefield and in the House of Commons.

The anonymous tract *Some Observations upon Occasion of the Publishing their Majesties Letters* claimed that the manner of the publication was the most problematic issue about the volume, highlighting the sanctity of the text: 'he is neither Papist nor Jesuit that dares say, If there be not forgery in some part of the King's Letters, (for a word or two varied, or omitted, may make a new matter) yet the inferences on them, are neither perspicuous, nor modest'.[42] This nuanced model of reception and reaction postulates an imagined audience which is not religiously extreme but 'normal' and mainstream. The reader deplores the invasive strategies deployed by the editors of the letters, who inferred and implied a subjective meaning that was not lucid but false and lying. The Parliamentarian model of reading implied by the editing of the volume is of a questioning, debating and intervening nature. A normal or unbiased reading would apprehend that the text has an immanent meaning and authority; this is ruptured and turned into falsehood by the method of presentation. Text has an objective meaning which is made problematic by the annotations and interventions. This is particularly true of the King's words; they have an innate power or value which may not be disrupted. This passage figures the publication of the letters as the final act of Parliamentarian inversion. By changing and interpolating the words of the monarch they disrupt and subvert the structures of society and normality. They interfere with his textual presence and authority; conceptually, by questioning and interrogating his meaning, and physically, by changing the material nature of his text. The conceptual space of authority inhabited by the King's words has

been invaded and inverted. The use of the word 'forgery' implies the creation of something physically new and crucially false.

In some ways Charles himself could not complain about the publication of his letters. His presses had printed various intercepted correspondence, interfering with the boundary between private and public epistle.[43] 'Official' letters were fair game in the propaganda wars. However, Royalist printings of intercepted texts tended to respect their status; what makes *The King's Cabinet Opened* unusual is the interpolation and interpretation of the King's words which distinguishes the volume. The authority of Charles' words has been queried and the absolute space which they created subverted and questioned. He has been revealed without his assent or control. *The King's Cabinet Opened* had itself utilized a theatrical image: 'the traverse Curtain is drawn, and the King writing to Ormond, and the Queen, what they must not disclose, is presented upon the stage' (*The King's Cabinet Opened*, Sig. A4v). The text articulates the difference between Royalist and Parliamen tarian modes of writing and theories of reception. Whereas Royalists denied access to truth and mediated their message through hierarchical structures of debate, Parliamentary tracts attempted to allow full disclosure by allowing less restricted access and interaction with a public theatre. Parliamentary reading emphasized the transactive nature of texts, a theatre that reveals the truth and allows participation within the innermost corridors of power.

Charles' only semi-official response came in a letter addressed to Sir Edward Nicholas, published as one of a pair of Royal letters.[44] The material nature of this publication itself raises issues of privacy and veracity, forcing the reader to consider different levels of discourse. As a private letter the piece is addressed to Nicholas, but as a public text the implied readership is far greater. Charles' words are italicized, implying that they are verbatim rather than simply a reprint of the primary source. The letters in *The King's Cabinet Opened* had also been printed italicized, with editorial notes added in normal typeface. Charles comments upon the nature of the public print forum by complaining about the invasion of his privacy:

> *and though I could have wished that their paines had been spared, yet I will neither denie that those things are mine which they have set out in my Name (onely some words here and there mistaken, and some Commas misplaced, but not much materiall), nor as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers: indeed, as a discreet man I will not justifie my Selfe, and yet I would faine know him who would be willing,*

> *that the freedome of all his private Letters were publikely seen as mine have now been.* (*Two Letters Of His Sacred Maiesty*, pp. 5–6)

The ambiguous status of this text as published comments upon the issues of privacy discussed by the King. It is a letter designed for public consumption because it concerns matters of state; furthermore, at a more implicit level, the important characteristic about the information contained in this letter is that it can be controlled. Charles claims that his letters to Henrietta Maria were never intended for anything other than an intimate correspondence, and therefore that they need not be apologized for. He links privacy with a certain unlicensed 'freedom' which should not be looked upon by censorious eyes. The passage shows that the King conceived of a very distinct boundary between personal and private texts. Charles' '*private Letters*' have been '*seen*' and brought to public inspection. They were never for consumption by any other than him and those he saw fit to include within his private space. Charles' words indicate a Royalist distinction between private space and public life. That which is brought into the public domain is mediated; the process of preparing work for public consumption implies this movement to control the image portrayed to the wider audience. Private individuals have their own unique coterie space, based upon property, economic status and traditional sociological models of hierarchy and inheritance. Their intervention in public life is predicated upon these hegemonic structures; the invasion and disruption of this model threatens the very fabric of the state as conceived of by Charles, and refutes the myths of loyalty and identity that he and his court had been fashioning throughout the war period.

Inclusion and exclusion: the letter as genre, dedications, and the intended reader

As has been seen, throughout the war Royalist writers addressed issues of private and public textuality. They explored the relationship between the two domains or modes, especially after the publication of *The King's Cabinet Opened*. This section considers the Royalist letter-genre, in order to analyse Royalist attitudes and representations of this interaction between print culture and public space. It ends with an analysis of Royalist dedications. The section shows how both genre and paratextual trope contributed to the construction of an intended or implied interlocutor whose relationship with the text was structured upon hierarchical and feudal notions of subjection to authority. Letters assumed

a readership in dialogue with a debate which was undertaken in private spaces – studies, chambers and rich houses. Invitation to this conversation was strictly controlled. Dedications attempted to create an image of a reader as passive and accepting, subjected to the authority of the text. Royalist notions of public debate were, therefore, highly complex; predicated upon controlled entry to specific spaces and the unproblematic acceptance of the authority of statement. The modes analysed in this section illustrate the difficulties that Royalist texts had with a notion of 'audience'.

During the first civil war the Royalist presses at Oxford printed many texts purporting to be letters from scholars and courtiers in the city, normally addressed to MPs or Lords in London. These texts emphasized their status as private epistles addressing a specific reader. The titles confirm that the 'original' documents were sent from Oxford. They open 'Sir' or 'Dear Brother', and refer to earlier parts of a fictional correspondence.[45] These openings vary slightly but the pretence is always kept up. They knowingly comment upon their own metatext, rejoicing for instance that the King has allowed carriers to deliver letters to London for Oxford.[46] There is poignancy in the personalizing of the texts: 'we may soone expect the factions of families and friends, (bonds sacred in all ages) the late strangenesse betweene us arising from our different wayes in the present distractions is one instance'.[47] This elision of the private and the public illustrates how the genre consciously crosses the barriers between discourses.

The texts are standard polemic tracts, expanding or refuting points and delineating positions. Sometimes they are given a grander title on their first page such as 'A Letter of Loyalty'.[48] The 'intended' recipients were mainly staunch Parliamentarians, or stock figures in need of advice or persuasion. Royalist supporters were used to transmitting information and political debate in letters, and so the letter-format gives the tract an individual character. Rather than being an amorphous collection of arguments, they have a point and a personal resonance. They are speciously straightforward. They emphasize a closed, controlled discussion between civilized correspondents. Much like the catechism-style rhetoric of newsbook and pamphlets, they suggested textual freedom and debate while deploying a closed, ordered form.

The letter-genre illustrates the profound formal difference in polemic approach between London and Oxford. Susan Wiseman's work has illustrated how the Parliamentarian pamphlet-play genre commodifies news, and encourages participation in political debate.[49] An instance of this strategy is the Parliamentarian text *Plaine Truth*, 'Being a Dialogue

between Mr. Thrivewell a Citizen, and Mr. Sharpwit a Schollar, upon the Road between Oxford and London.'[50] The protagonists debate in a liminal space that emphasizes the mutual relationship and connection between the two cities. They meet in a non-urban, uncivilized and uncontrolled environment, their only landmarks the twin poles of allegiance. Their dialogue is extensive and transcribed as a play text, concluding with Thrivewell's decision: 'I am converted an will henceforward practice to be an instrument of Reformation . . . [and] joyn with the Parliament in the defence of Religion' (*Plaine Truth*, p. 6). Their names recall the casts of Caroline city-comedies, and their debate is rendered in dramatic terms. The scholar is used as a mouthpiece for Parliamentarian ideas, persuading his acquaintance to turn from the King's side. The subtitle, *Being a Case of Conscience tryed at Oxford*, enables the tract to incorporate the drier arguments of other texts that had argued about the legality of the current situation.[51] The playlet is full of questioning ambiguities from the vague location to the inconclusive ending.

In contrast, the Royalist piece *A Letter from a Scholler in Oxfordshire to his Unkle a Merchant in Broadstreet* allows the figure being persuaded only a brief note at the end explaining his conversion delineated in the title: 'Sent to the Presse by the Merchant, who confesseth himselfe converted by it'.[52] There is no debate, rather a one-sided argument on behalf of the King which ends with the physical publication of the text. The scholar persuades his somewhat duller merchant uncle that his contact with members of the court gives his words authority: 'I am confident, I am so well inform'd, that what I shall say is come to mee by very good Conduit pipes, though I had it not from the Spring head' (*A Letter from a Scholler*, p. 3). The framing narrative of the Royalist letter-genre means that even in texts where there is a dialogue, debate is rendered as reported speech. Discussion and interaction is therefore physically mediated and controlled by the material structure of the tract, the textual boundaries of the piece. In *A Letter*, a response to the publication of *The King's Cabinet Opened*, the pseudo-Parliamentarian writer worries about the publication of the letters. He consults with a Royalist friend of his, and their dialogue is reproduced more as Socratic dialogue than dramatic interchange, ending:

> And truly, Sir, I must confesse to you that he left me in a great perplexity; for I know him a most honest man, and I find it to be true, that reason then gaines extreamely in the weight, when it hath once

> passed through such a furnace. I assure you he hath much troubled me, I would not say converted me, but I cannot divine how my Conscience will hold out, for this appears to me so much reason that if you have not somewhat to satisfy me with, Believe me, I am much afraid how long I shall continue a friend to our present Cause.[53]

This pamphlet is theatrical insofar as the author is a caricatured cipher, his debate with both his Royalist friend and his parliamentarian correspondent a dramatized piece of rhetorical and generic manipulation. These 'dialogues' are closely controlled; far from Wiseman's conception of a widened public interest in political debate, the specious theatricality of the letter-genre refuses to enfranchise the reader or audience. They gesture toward a spoken performance, with attendant ambiguity, interrogation and interaction – yet this dramatization is boundarized and unitary.

Wiseman sees Parliamentarian tracts as inviting interaction and response, a public theatre which enfranchised the audience and encouraged participation in government and debate. The purpose of this model of expression was to shape an imagined readership and encourage the creation and dissemination of opinion: 'Ultimately, the circulation of political debate in the pamphlet play consists in the texts imagining of a reader, a political subject, which it seeks to create and manipulate (Wiseman, 1998, p. 79). Wiseman's formulation of a 'political subject' suggests an audience with an active role in public debate. This is echoed by the work of Sharon Achinstein in analysing the creation of the reader as a political entity. Royalist tracts, conversely, emphasized the hierarchical relationship between authoritative speaker and passive reader. Royalist literary and political theory criticized the way that Parliamentary readers interpolated their own meanings onto and into texts, engaging and intervening within their textual discourse. This sundering of the exclusive boundaries between authority and subject was anathema to the Royalist propaganda project. *Mercurius Aulicus* highlighted the misreading inherent in this activity by analysing the reception of a particular text:

> There was lately printed at *London*, a booke called *The Reading of* Robert Holborne *of Lincolnes Inne Esquire, on the Statute of Treason*; which booke the most charitable Reader must at least thinke to be broken and imperfect notes taken by one who was (it seemes) no competent Auditor; for therein are many things false, most mistaken,

> and all imperfect, much dissonant from the sense of the learned Author, who will not acknowledge this for his owne. (18 February 1643)

Royalist writers were keen to situate and locate their readership, to culturally encode and identify them with the King's cause. Their texts emphasized certain modes of behaviour, expressions of loyalty, religious convictions and codes of obedience. Broadsides and tracts caricatured and anatomized the opposition while laying down a set of rules for loyalist actions.

We can draw together these various strategies of reception briefly through considering Abraham Cowley's poem *The Puritan and the Papist*. The poem was popular in print and manuscript, copied and reprinted regularly.[54] Cowley utilizes the lecture form to create a controlled one-sided drama which lists the faults of the puritans and satirizes their principles:

> They blind obedience and blind duty teach;
> You blind Rebellion and blind faction preach.
> Nor can I blame you much, that yee advance
> That which can onely save yee, Ignorance. (ll. 107–10)

The piece is direct and confrontational, establishing a dialectic with a silent puritan interlocutor. It utilizes various rhetoric strategies of the political oration, establishing a dialectic relationship with a puritan interlocutor and/or a reading audience in order to give weight to its polemic expressions. Listing the destructive qualities of religious or social extreme highlights the validity and normality of Royalism.

The poem particularly attacks the textual or print constructions of Parliamentarian institutional and cultural identity:

> Not all the Legends of the Saints of old,
> Not vast Baronius, nor sly Surius hold
> Such plenty of apparent Lies, as are
> In your one Author, Jo. Browne Cleric. Par.
> Besides what your small Poets have said, or writ,
> Brookes, Strode, and the Baron of the Saw-pit: (ll. 29–34)

Official Parliamentary textual expression is mocked and controlled as Cowley mimics the contraction of the licenser's name and title, forcing them into a hierarchical rhyme-structure. Rather than use John

Browne's full name Cowley physically appropriates the abbreviated version given on the title-page of licensed and officially commanded volumes. This is a verse equivalent to the Oxford printings of Parliamentary texts: published within a firmly Royalist system of expression and structure of ideological transmission. Parliamentary discourse is controlled and belittled at the same time. Their official expressions and licensed print work are dismissed as 'apparent Lies', obvious falsehoods. The Parliamentary textual universe is held together by 'one Author', a lower-class clerk, who cannot define or guarantee meaning as his texts are based on untruth.

In much the same fashion as the Royalist letter-genre constructed a passive interlocutor, dedications to Royalist texts assume a particular reader. Dedications to texts assumed and implied a certain interlocutor, and their cultural encodings worked to create an 'intended reader'. In dedicating their work writers immediately constructed a status and a readership for their text. While a dedication to a general readership had been a staple of works during the century, constructions of a public audience became more polarized and politically motivated in the light of Parliamentary appropriation of popular discourse. Dedications to Parliamentarian tracts tend to privilege the general reader, using diction more familiar to a relationship based on patronage: 'all I shall adde is onely this request, courteously to accept my weake labours: And how ever you please to censure, I wish you a contented life, and an honourable death.'[55] The unknown reader has an active role in constructing and judging the text; the audience participates in the discussions and arguments. Royalist publications were more interested in control. Often texts were dedicated to a specific patron *and* the general reader. For instance, Edward Symmons's *A Militarie Sermon*, is dedicated 'To the Honourable Sir Michael Woodhouse, Governour of Ludlow, and Colonell to the Life-guard of the Prince of Wales' and 'To the Readers'.[56] Symmons privileges his aristocratic and military reader over the generalized audience. While they did often address a public audience, the language of such dedications contrasts with that of personalized dedications: 'And good Readers (if you be true Christians, and right borne Englishmen) I beseech you, let us all strive together with God by our teares for the softening of these mens hearts (if it be possible).'[57]

Royalist dedications show an awareness of how print culture can affect and change the opinions of the population: 'It is a time, wherein many are become rather wilfully rather than really ignorant, and more conceitedly then truly desirous of Peace with Truth, to rectifie (if not satisfie) whom, this little treatise is communicated unto publique

view.'[58] Royalist pamphlets constructed a notion of a fit audience; they were 'true Christians, and right borne Englishmen', included within a specific community that excluded those who would attempt to interpret or subvert the meaning of a text. The textual space that the reader is invited to enter is one of fixed boundaries; of set social rules and practices, of hierarchical rituals and structures. Tracts address a particular audience while attempting to construct and define that readership.[59] Dedications of tracts and treatises illustrate how they worked to educate or change their readership. There is an element of the instructive treatise about their purpose and drive. The pieces are printed to definite educational purpose:

> Forasmuch as I was at this Sermon among other auditors, who judged it very divine like for the matter and the manner of handling of it, and afterward understood that divers which heard it preached, and more which did onely heare of it by the reports of others, were very desirous to have the view either written, or rather printed: therefore having obtained a copy of it for mine own use, I thought it expedient to commit it to the presse, for the publick good of all such as will vouchsafe to read it with patience and judge of it by the rule of charity.[60]

This passage shows a keen sense of the increased importance of print. It emphasizes the physical moment of the sermon's delivery, and considers how the significance of the piece changes in its different formats. The anonymous writer acknowledges the sermon's multivalent status as oral/aural religious demonstration, private devotional manuscript, and instructive public text.

Areopagitica and the Banquet of Mice: consumption and the marketplace

Therefore, construction of the 'Royalist reader' or the 'intended reader' is based upon notions of how these readers interacted with texts, and the imagined spaces in which this occurred. In order to illustrate Royalist notions of the marketplace of print and its reconfigured characteristics, this section concludes by comparing two very different tracts. Both John Milton's *Areopagitica* and John Taylor's *A Preter-Pluperfect* figure the text as a physical entity and discuss the ramifications of a more open print market and the consequences for public discussion and interaction within a physically defined textual sphere. The two tracts

have profound consequences for analysis of the construction of the public and models of society. They differ considerably in their approach and conclusions. Milton conceives that his readers are intellectually enfranchised and able to interact with their texts. He has a utopian concept of reception in which readers participate in public political debate – an ideal which reflects his practice of collaborative composition and publication.[61] In contrast to this radical new theorization, Taylor's tract shows the problematic assimilation of the newly democratized sphere of public textuality into Royalist thinking. Royalism had a fluid notion of public space as an entity that moved continually between the textual, physical, material and metaphorical. Taylor's work highlights this, and gestures towards some of the consequences this model had for Royalist concepts of text and the construction of identity. He also attempts to account for some of the complications and ambiguities inherent in Royalist versioning of the public domain.

Parliament and Parliamentary writers were not totally enthusiastic about the end of licensing: the Commons reimposed censorship in 1643, after lobbying by the Stationer's Company. Even Milton has been found to evince some worries over an inability to control the meaning of one's text once it has been published.[62] However, his 1644 speech-text *Areopagitica* was a direct response to this reintroduction of strict licensing. As such, it articulates the position of those who attacked the monopolies of discourse. The Licensing Order of June 1643 was in addition to 'divers good Orders' made by both Houses 'for suppressing the great late abuses and frequent disorders in Printing many false forged, scandalous, seditious, libellous, and unlicensed Papers, Pamphlets, and Books to the great defamation of Religion and government'.[63] While aware of the potential dangers of unlicensed printing, Milton argues that imprints and licensing destroy reasoned debate and provide stability for the traditional hegemonic structures of the nation.

As Sharon Achinstein and others have shown, this widening of the print franchise was a major factor in the conduct of the war, and enabled the production of the 'revolutionary reader'. The repressively ideological function of state-controlled information had come under increasing attack by a number of leading Parliamentarian intellectuals, notably Samuel Hartlib and John Dury. Their espousal of a free trade of information, an 'uncensored flow of ideas', granted information value as a commodity while attacking traditional hegemonies, and was a radical expression of economic and political autonomy: 'such an ideology requires the rewriting of older notions of the state in which information was hierarchically distributed and controlled'.[64] Deploying such

ideas, Milton writes within a humanist tradition of educational debate and reasoned oration. Open discussion will lead to greater freedoms and reforms:

> Wherof what better witness can ye expect I should produce, then one of your own now sitting in Parlament, the chief of learned men reputed in this Land, Mr Selden, whose volume of naturall & national laws proves, not only by great autorities brought together, but by exquisite reasons and theorems almost mathematically demonstrative, that all opinions, yea errors, known, read, and collated, are of main service & assistance toward the speedy attainment of what is truest.[65]

A Parliamentary exemplar shows how the circulation of information leads to understanding through a rigorous quasi-legal sifting of evidence and opinion. Even thoughts which err can be included in this polyvocal debate.

There is ambivalence, however, in the word 'truest'. As Christopher Hill comments of *Areopagitica*, '[it] starts from the assumption that, given freedom of debate, the reason which is common to all men is likely to lead them to recognise the same truths'.[66] Milton does not pretend to authoritative knowledge through debate, but merely a better and more enlightened conception. He emphasizes the material value of text, and articulates a theory of controlled reception:

> For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay they do perserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand unlesse warinesse be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image; but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God, as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life. (*Areopagitica*, Sig. A3v)

Books can attain a life of their own, quite separate from that which was intended for them. However, Milton also conceives that texts carry 'the

purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them'. This expresses a notion of realized immanence, and the image of the text as an instrument being played reinforces the agency of the single authorial figure. Milton's elegant analysis synthesizes authorial intention and audience actualization, granting both interlocutors a role in the interpretation and meaning of a text which itself has innate power. Such a conception was extremely different from that held by those in the Royalist camp. Milton's discussion of the public nature of printed books is situated within a Ciceronian discourse of advice and reasoned persuasion. The forum for debate has a literal and conceptual pertinence; books have a concrete and material status as carriers of thought and opinion, and they inhabit and create a particular space. Milton's conception of the power of this space, the forum for reasoned debate which will encourage a movement to right government and the perfection of the species, is predicated upon a humanist notion that all books are good and that reason is paramount. It rests on a notion of free market economics which emphasizes that the marketplace will settle according to the demand of informed and intelligent consumers.

Royalist writers were not as certain about the importance of debate. They figured the domain in which books were, quite literally, consumed as subject to problematic economic and cultural imperatives not gestured at by Milton's idealistic speech. John Taylor's satirical mock-newsbook *A Preter-Pluperfect, Spick and Span New Nocturnall* includes a sequence describing the shop of the Oxford bookseller George Chambers, 'who since these distracted Troubles hath bought and sold many Pamphlets of divers and contrary subjects'.[67] Taylor eschews the humanist intellectual or Ciceronian discourses deployed by Parliamentary apologists for the marketplace of print in favour of broad allegory and fable. The text articulates the confused nature of the print marketplace. Chambers' stock is presented as a 'Chaos of Confusion':

> some of them being of His Majesties part, and printed at Yorke, and at Oxford; many of them were of the Parliament partie, and printed at London, so that there remained unsold in the said Shop of such sorts (as were stale and past sale) to the number of 160, or thereabouts; these small Trifles were laid one upon another confusedly (like a pack of Cardes shuffled together) so these Books were intermingled together, friends and foes, Truthes and Lyes, all in a heape, one amongst another, tied in a bundle with a pack-thred, the Owner intending to have every sort of them bound by themselves afterwards. All these Divisions being thus accorded with a cord, (or parcell

> of Hempe, which will end all Divisions) were laid upon a shelfe in the Shop. (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 2)

The passage shows how important topicality was for pamphlets, tracts and newsbooks; anything old is 'stale' and unmarketable. Taylor emphasizes the importance of situating expression firmly within the contemporary political moment. The sheer number of these cast-offs is testament to the sudden explosion in print culture during the early part of the war. The shop falsely creates a confused '*Babel*', the marketplace mixing together loyalist and rebellious texts (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 2). Babel is an important image in the ideological as well as cultural and religious conflicts of the 1640s, for both revolutionary pamphleteers and Royalist apologists. Royalists saw the proliferation of unauthorized texts as creating a monstrous variety of opinion and instrumental in mounting a subversive attack upon the authority of the King. They attacked the creation of what they termed a new Babel, defending traditional models of discourse and publication.

The print market throws foes together, but the discerning mice from the shop only consume Parliamentarian work. This loyalist preference is their downfall. The mice make the mistake of eating three of Pym's treasonous speeches: 'no Rats-bane could be more poysonous . . . [it] choaked them' (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, pp. 4–5). The message is clear: ingesting Parliamentary texts, while maybe superficially more tasty or appealing, will make you physically sick and may even kill you. They taste 'as sweet as *Sugar* Carrion' but now carry a government health warning (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 5). The mice are figured as the populace of the nation, poisoned by the saccharine words and sophistry of the Parliamentary usurpers. The body of state is diseased and corrupted by the unauthorized publication and uncontrolled consumption of these seditious texts. Parliamentary words invade and bodily destroy from within. The theory of reception articulated here makes it clear that consumption of texts is a physical and mechanic action. While the reaction of the audience to the volume is unstable (sickness and death), the text is inviolate, a powerful entity. Readers do not intervene with the text or interrogate it, they quite literally swallow it whole. Texts have a physical presence and their content a material nature; it is enough to poison creatures, to work a physiological effect upon a corporeal body.

The use of animals to represent human caricatures and arguments was not unusual during the war. Prince Rupert's dog, particularly, was the subject of various tracts and a poem by John Cleveland. This transmutation serves to give the debate or textual exchange a certain metaphoric

quality; the space inhabited by the mice as they interact with the books is simultaneously material and conceptual. They are at once actual mice devouring the pages of texts, and symbolically representative creatures reacting to poisoned volumes. The tract considers that involvement with the London print marketplace involves a transgressive action which tends to dehumanize the participants. The domain or sphere in which the mice ingest these tracts is a physically capitalist space. Interaction within this demand-led marketplace is destructive and the unauthoritative texts made available affect society conceptually and materially. Taylor uses the feast to satirize the cacophonous multitude of Parliamentary works:

> they fell upon Remonstrances, Letters, Messages, Passages, Treatises, Animadversions, Exprobations, Exclamations, Objections, Questions, Answers, Replies, Replications, Reduplications, Quadruplications, Detractions, Distractions, Rebellions, Intelligences, Observations, Decrees, Orders, Lyes, Libels, Diurnals, Execrations, Resolves, Proofes, Disproofes, Extravagancies, Delinquencies, Cases, Causes, Clauses, Articles . . . Briefes, Breviates, Approbations, Amplifications, Transcriptions, Massacres, Petitions, Repetitions, Supplications, Reservations, Degradations, Iustifications, Manifestations, Declarations, Molestations, Condemnations, Advertisements, Remembrances, Pamphlets, Sermons, Seditions, Fights, Battailes, Skirmishes, Suspicions, Submissions, Triumphs, Firings, Plunderings, Advices, Intelligences, Newes, Expositions, Propositions, Impositions, Transpositions, Acquisitions, Despositions, Suppositions, Compositions, Inquisitions, Commissions, and the Devill and all. (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, pp. 3–4)

The product of the Parliament is disordered and confused whereas the work printed for Charles is homogenous and loyal. Parliamentary texts are multitudinous and cacophonous, their dissonant number including 'Lyes', 'Libels', 'Distractions', 'Questions, Answers', 'Molestations' and 'Seditions' among the more recognizable genres. The work of the King is steadier and briefer: 'there were many printed Bookes, wherein His Majestie had Declared his Gracious intention to all His loving Subjects, as Expressions, Declarations, Exhortations, Admonitions, Protestations, Imprecations, Proclamations, Demonstrations' (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 3). None of these genres are mentioned in the Parliamentary list; the King has his own unique models of expression. His works have a didactic, imperative quality where the Parliamentary texts have a monstrous

variety and multiplicity of meaning. The works are the King's words and express his authority; they contrast profoundly with the unauthored chaos produced by 'these villanous scandalous Pamphlet mongers' (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 4).

The opening up of the print marketplace and the interrogation of models of property, law and identity has led to an ungodly proliferation of texts, a literal Babel. The mice eat their way through what is described as a city, figuring the urban space as the location of unauthorized debate: 'they entered the papyreall Suburbs, and never left undermining till they had made way, tyrannically tearing through the Territories of that Babel, gnawing and eating their passage with their sharpe fanges' (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 2). The pun on 'passage' emphasizes the physical ingestion involved in reading and consuming a text. The texts create a material urban topography, a modern capitalist city through which the mice rampage, consuming and destroying simultaneously. They are situated within a newly created absolute space of capitalist hegemony, cleansed only by the aggressive intervention of Royalist readers who physically 'undermine' and erode the boundaries and limits of these new territories.

The shop highlights the uncharted and uncontrolled nature of the creeping marketplace. The relative freedom of the presses and the mercantile importance of London foreground the movement away from a Copernican model of society, focused on the person of the King, towards a freer, capitalist space. It is the replacing of one spatial orthodoxy with another equally structured model for society. The proto-capitalist space of England was highly contested, and, as Taylor's tract shows, for the first years of the war the Royalist camp attempted to configure it to their own specifications. The print marketplace in London fed a rapacious demand for news and debate which figured an increasing bourgeois involvement and investment in the government of the nation. This freer printing was anathema to Royalist concepts of subjection and authority. Taylor's pamphlet articulates a Royalist worry about the power and purpose of the newly inclusive and interrogative spaces. The demand-led economics of the market as figured by London led to the printing of tracts which disseminated falsehood and dissented from traditional models of subjection by encouraging and enfranchising an active reading public, politically aware individuals debating the space of their subjection. The proliferation and confusion of discourse figured by the bookshop leads to the fragmentation of identity, the questioning of boundaries, the poisoning of the body of subject and state.

Taylor's passage highlights how polarized texts were; there is no common ground but right and wrong, 'Truthes and Lyes'. It is impossible to distinguish friend from foe, a fear that motivates much Royalist reception theory. As Digges argued, the populace were easily led to wrong, and the confusing intermingling of discourse would dissipate the true message and possibly encourage some to rebel. Rather than allow the readers to exercise their reason to attain truth, as Milton would have it, Royalist writers would prefer their audience not to have the option of reading seditious or revolutionary works for fear they might be tempted. Censorship and propaganda control and regiment a society; freedom of the presses just leads to the social chaos figured in the state of the shop. Disturbingly, this economically led confusion can strike at the heart of the city-court; Chambers' shop is situated 'within a quoytes cast of *Carfax*', the exact centre of Oxford (*A Preter-Pluperfect*, p. 2). Yet Taylor makes no claim that this canker in the midst of the courtly body should be actively cast out. Indeed, his work shows the anxious nature of Royalist engagement with the new mechanics and economics of publication. There is ambivalence in the intermingling of discourses and the problematizing of identity formation. In Taylor's tract the bookshop is figured as a metaphor for the arguments and debates of the state. Arguments blend 'confusedly', there is no apparent right or wrong. Truth and lies are 'intermingled together, friends and foes'. There is a terrible confusion of identity, the anxiety of civil war where friend and foe intermingle without clear boundaries or differences. 'Royalism' as a demarcated textual space and behavioural model is interpenetrated by the fragmenting discourse of Parliamentary interrogation. Royalist attempts at controlling and assuaging this fissuring are explored in the next chapter.

4
'The late strangenesse betweene us': invasion, excrement and recognition

Cavalier v. Roundhead

So far, then, this book has analysed the construction of a loyalist identity, a Royalist reader or controlled subject defined and constructed by various textual, social, cultural, behavioural, religious and political discourses. What this chapter and those following it consider are some of the complications, dissentions and problems described, represented, interrogated and encountered by the overarching discourse of 'Royalism', and some of the textual strategies deployed (often ineffectually or vainly) to attempt to answer or control them.

In recent years the categorization of the participants in the war as 'Roundhead' and 'Cavalier' or 'Royalist' and 'Parliamentarian' has been challenged. As models for historical or literary interpretation these are flawed caricatures. Historians of the period have come to see that such simplistic binary labelling is itself part of a contemporary representation of the conflict. Thomas Corns, Joyce Lee Malcolm and Graham Roebuck have questioned the construction of the 'Cavalier' stereotype by radical writers.[1] Roebuck (1999, p. 14) argues that 'Roundhead' was a word specifically coined in December 1641 in response to mob petitions, and quickly spread through the country as a form of polemic shorthand unrelated to actuality. Contemporary tracts mocked the empty name-calling: 'The Puritan, which now he a Round head call:/ A terme by which he thinks to overthrow,/ And beat all goodness from the earth below', continuing describing how the 'Long head' thinks 'by this title Round head to set all good at stand'.[2] As has been discussed in Chapter 1, 'Royalist' is a historically contingent phrase. Loyalty and behaviour are notoriously difficult and slippery to pin down during the 1640s and 1650s, and polarized modes of allegiance and identity have

been questioned. For instance, Lucy Hutchinson, wife of a regicide and trenchant critic of Royalism, copied poems by Royalist poets John Denham and John Cleveland, as well as extracts from Nicholas Caussin's courtly love text *The Holy Court*, into her commonplace book.[3]

Allegiances, loyalty, ideology, identity, were complex and nuanced issues during the war period. It seems, however, that in order to understand further the politics of this period it is necessary to analyse the very construction of these political caricatures, to explore how and why certain parties sought to present their enemies in such an extreme light. In this chapter, therefore, I analyse the discourses and caricatures through which Royalism attempted to construct the binary opposition and relationship that constructed 'Cavalier' and 'Roundhead' identities, or 'Loyalist' and 'Rebel'. Notwithstanding how materially relevant these practices are, it is important to analyse how Royalist writing attempted to polarize behaviour, representing the 'Roundhead' as the negative of harmonious normality, and the inverse to patriotic virtue.

During the 1640s the caricature of the Roundhead gave legitimacy to Royalism by providing it with a reason to assert certain models of power. By analysing the construction of the Roundhead caricature we can trace the paradigms of identity crucial to Royalism. This chapter, therefore, follows in many ways the principles of genealogical identity study as articulated by Judith Butler: 'genealogy investigates the political stakes in designating as an *origin* and *cause* those identity categories that are in fact the *effects* of institutions, practices, discourses with multiple and diffuse points of origin.[4] These texts are a reaction to a questioning and querying of the role of the subject and the definition of the self. By presenting the reader with these images of disruption Royalist writers are inviting them to gaze on an external enemy other, attempting to create a power relationship constructed through an ability to define and categorize. As Stuart Hall has recently written:

> Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. Moreover, they emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the marking of difference and exclusion, than they are the sign of an identical, naturally constructed unity – an 'identity' in its traditional meaning.[5]

For Hall, the construction of identity is about exclusion and boundaries. Produced within circumscribed and controlled discourses, identity is

defined in relation to what it is not. Royalists were concerned with constructing a notion of loyalist identity that was based on the exclusion of difference and the denial of any authority other than that of the King. They deployed 'specific enunciative strategies' in order to mark 'difference' and therefore illegitimate threats to the structure of power. This chapter explores how Royalist identity was defined and configured; the spatial inflections of the terms 'defined' and 'configured' are intentionally invoked to demonstrate how fundamentally important concepts of limiting, framing, confining and modelling are to understanding and illustrating constructions of social and cultural identity.[6]

In his 1644 *Militarie Sermon* the Royalist Edward Symmons defines the characteristics of those the 'enemies' call 'Cavaliers . . . or at least the Character of such a man as everie of you ought to be, and as we your friends and servants in Christ desire to conceive of you', constructing a model to be aspired to:

> A complete Cavalier is a Child of Honour, a Gentleman well borne and bred; that loves his King for conscience sake, of a clearer countennance and bolder looke then other men, because of a more loyall heart: He dares neither oppose his Princes will, nor yet disgrace his righteous cause, by his carriage or expressions: He is furnished with the qualities of Piety, Prudence, Iustice, Liberality, Goodnesse, Honesty; He is amiable in his behaviour, couragious in his undertakings, discreet and gallant in all his executions: he is throughly sensible of the least wrong that is offered to his Soveraigne, and is a professed enemy to all Rebells: the aimes of his sword are onely to dissever the malignity of those forces that have conspired the ruine of Monarchy and Innocency: he feares no evill thing to come upon himselfe, but contemns all dangers that look towards him: he dares accept of deaths challenge to meet it in the field, and yet can embrace it as a speciall friend when it comes into his chamber, where he is alwayes making provision for its better entertainement: in a word, he is the only Reserve of English Gentility and ancient valour, and hath rather chose to burie himselfe in the Tombe of Honour, then to see the Nobility of his Nation vassalaged, the Dignity of his Countrey captivated by any base domesticke enemy, or by any forraigne fore-conquered foe.[7]

Symmons admonishes his audience: 'This is a compleat Cavalier, and if any of you be not according to this Character, believe me you are not right, nor the men you ought to be' (*A Militarie Sermon*, p. 16). This

listing of virtues and modes of behaviour has echoes of conduct literature. The texts were designed to affect and change the behaviour of their audience for the better. They emphasized a 'right', correct and civilized manner of acting in comparison with the libertine and socially unstable activities of the opposition. The true Royalist or 'compleat Cavalier' would be a gentleman, bold, loyal, good and honest. He fears no evil, accepts death, and fights to prevent the ascendancy of 'any base domestick enemy'. He is one of God's soldiers, a 'Child of Honour'. Of particular importance is his 'Piety' – although, typically of Royalist polemic, issues of religious identity are talked of in safely vague terms of virtue rather than dogma. The 'Cavalier' defended the established Church of England, but was loath to be drawn into the controversial debates raging during the 1640s for fear of alienating support for the King. Religion, while for some the main reason to fight for the King, was also his Achilles heel in some ways. Suggestions of Catholic influence were rife in Parliamentary tracts, particularly those discussing the Queen.[8]

For Royalists, as I have argued, the coherence and completeness of the nation state was inextricably linked to an anxiety concerning origin and language. For them the Roundhead was 'a creature new molded out of the frame and stock of the old Adam, into that of the new and second; and is compounded of light and darknesse, which sometimes makes him to shine, and sometimes obscureth him, as either of both are predominant in him'.[9] The Roundhead is a mutated and horrific false creation attempting to wrest the power of nomenclature and categorization away from Adam, to institute and guarantee a new language. The King is the absolute lawgiver, the mediator and guarantor of law, power and society. No one had authority in his absence: 'because the King is absent, and none hath power to draw the sword, i.e. the King. Or admit it as you say; Yet because that which you call the Parliament hath imposed this Oath, hath inforced this Covenant, not only without, but also against Supreme Authority, i.e. The King; it is unlawful'.[10] Francis Quarles had no doubt as to what had happened:

> The Cause and ground of these our National Combustions are these, our nationall Transgressions, which unnaturally sprung from the neglect of that Truth we once had, and from the abuse of that Peace we now want: Which, taking occasion of some differences betwixt His Majestie and his two Houses of Parliament, hath divided our Kingdom within it self, which had so divided it self from that God, who blest it with so firme a Truth, so settled a Peace, and so sweet an Unitie.[11]

Quarles makes a set of assumptions and assertions that are central to discussion of the war period. His words reflect an anxiety inherent in Royalist writings, a desire for a return to meaning, and a worry that the 'Truth' has been irrevocably challenged and fractured. Quarles is clear on two points: that the cause of the war is unnatural transgression grounded in the neglect of a central truth; and that the war has ruptured the nation somehow, causing the destabilizing of the central or divine truth and therefore a fractured state is in complete disunity. This division is innately problematic, and Quarles reveals the anxiety at the heart of the conflict – an anxiety based on recognition of the enemy other. The uncertainty of the encounter with the recognizable enemy, in Homi Bhabha's words the 'almost, but not quite' relationship between Roundhead and Cavalier, introduces a key slippage and ambivalence.

Royalist writing attempted to define a straightforward identity hierarchy in which you were either in or out. What these constructions of Roundhead identity illustrate for us is exactly what Royalism conceived of as important constituents of identity formation. The texts show us how Royalism reacted to the challenge presented by war, and how it set about ejecting difference from the body politic. The representation of political identity during the war, as opposed to the physical experience of life on the ground, was far less concerned with the ambivalence of loyalty than with using polemically informed definitions of behaviour to exclude and attack perceived enemies. The texts analysed in this chapter show how Royalism was concerned with the construction of a set of binary roles and behavioural models designed to perpetuate a certain paradigm of social stability. Royalism attempted to impose a structure of social identity that rejected these transgressions and was premised upon obedience and a hierarchy of 'normality'. Violation of these codes led to instability, social inversion, anarchy and dissolution. The Parliamentarian experiment challenged and questioned the structure of society and politics. As Sharon Achinstein writes, 'eager pamphlet writers during the English Revolution ushered in a new era of political conduct . . . they did this by demanding that their audiences make political choices and that they participate in the political process; in sum, they invoked a revolutionary idea of a reader'.[12] Central to this project was a public questioning of the limits and boundaries of social, political, religious and cultural identity. What Achinstein has termed the 'revolutionary reader' interrogated, questioned, made choices. Implicit and explicit in Royalist texts is a refutation of this challenge, a desire to affirm structure and to confirm normality. Royalism desired a

social order dependent on pre-ordained and fixed roles for the obedient subject and, as was established in chapter 2, of the reader. The play of identities and the questioning of role involved in the Parliamentarian dispute threatened this order and structure. Within these texts we can delineate the construction of particular social characteristics, of a model of identity that is defined by social relations.

In many ways the questioning, disruptive, problematic role assigned to the Roundhead was itself created. The 'Roundhead' was a representation, a monstrous presence within society that was identified as other. It is a coalescing of anxieties and worries, representing a desire for wholeness and stability, arising from a linguistic confusion: 'In this State-Babell, or Theomachie,/ We nick-name all things. Truth it selfe's a Lie'.[13] The familiar has become strange, and the traditional family unit is disrupted: 'Spies, Scouts, and Traitors now adayes to in / The shape of dearest Friends, and neerest Kin./ Each man is least of that he seemes, or tells' (ll. 30–2). Within this paranoid atmosphere the Roundhead was created as a virtual bogeyman, a monster whose eventual and timely defeat will enable a newly cleansed and purged society to reaffirm its structures of power and hierarchies of identity. Roundheads were evil, monstrous and antisocial. They are described at different times as vermin, maggots, disease, locusts and plague. *The Character of an Agitator* (p. 3) stressed that a rebel was a 'late spurious Monster of John Lilburnes generation', emphasizing antisocial monstrosity and unnatural conception. They were the devil's excrement, a point illustrated in the frontispiece to John Taylor's *The Devil Turn'd Round-Head* that shows the Devil literally defecating Roundheads. Roundheads were illegitimate, bastards spawned in hell who claimed lawful power, a disease that needed to be purged from the body politic. This is a theme which is explored with relish in the scatological tract *Stop your noses*: 'England is now on the Close stoole, which we may aptly call the Stoole of repentance, since she now plainly perceives how irregularly she hath acted hitherto, and repents that ever she swallowed the delusive bait'.[14] Through entering into 'Covenant with hell and night' England has come to such a condition that 'without a violent purge she will never be able to evacuate those congealed humours which stop her vitals' (*Stop your noses*, pp. 1, 2). The nation must literally empty itself of the excrement of the Parliament: 'Shee thus evacuates for the ease of her tormented body' (*Stop your noses*, p. 5). To keep regular England must keep 'regular', maintain a healthy diet of fibre and subservience while avoiding those tempting sweet treats that lead to stomach upsets and disruption. While the tract is exaggerated and excessive, it has a serious

purpose in proposing that the body of the nation is sickly. Parliament is here causing symptoms of extreme social disorder.

Such metaphors of illness are invoked to allow the state to intervene, to control and contain the epidemic. Michel Foucault discusses the plague in *Discipline and Punish*, showing how fears of the disorder brought by illness leads to the imposition of certain hegemonic models of discipline:

> there was also a political dream of the plague, which was exactly its reverse: not the collective festival, but strict divisions; not laws transgressed, but the penetration of regulation into even the smallest details of everyday life through the mediation of the complete hierarchy that assured the capillary functioning of power; not masks that were put on and taken off, but the assignment to each individual of his 'true' name, his 'true' place, his 'true' body, his 'true' disease. The plague as form, at once real and imaginary, of disorder had as its medical and political correlative discipline. Behind the disciplinary mechanisms can be read the haunting memory of 'contagions', of the plague, of rebellions, crimes, vagabondage, desertions, people who appear and disappear, live and die in disorder. (Foucault, 1991, pp. 197–9)

Here we have an illustration of the anxious point of Royalist writings on Roundheads, and Royalist lawmaking: categorization in order to prevent disorder. Royalist law enacts this model of the 'construction' of the individual within society. Tracts argued that the Roundheads 'shall be famous for ruinating England, much like the pretty Bird called a Viper, who, as it is related by Gesur, doth murther his Mother by gnawing a passage out of her womb into the world'.[15] They are a cancerous infection, disrupting the body politic. Yet this metaphor highlights the anxiety inherent in Royalist work of this period; an anxiety that acknowledges the other as part of the nation, an internal disease rather than something spawned elsewhere or administered. This acknowledgement was often repressed or sublimated, and it is only in such brief aporia that we see the anxieties of partisan identity revealed.

Riddles, language, allegiance

Royalist writings presented Roundheads as a disease in the body politic which must be purged, cast out. Their challenge to the state was unholy and terrifying, the consequences profound. An analysis of the various

transgressions with which Roundheads were charged can establish for us the model of difference that Royalist identity was predicated upon. Royalist culture, and particularly populist ballad and manuscript media, had a great fascination with riddles, puzzles, anagram or question poems. These texts depended upon a coded reception that ensured or intended closure of identity. They attempted to remove the play or ambiguity from linguistic and identity relationships by emphasizing an assured tension between a signifier and its signified. Therefore they tried to establish a hierarchy of communication, inflected by allegiance, to particular signifiers of identity. This was difficult, particularly for manuscript texts, and there is a tension between the attempted stability and the innate permeability of the medium. Jokes depend on double or triple meanings and misreadings, so the assurance of loyalist expression is undermined.

These riddles and jokes perpetuated caricatured tropes of representation, portraying the Parliamentarian enemy as sexually libertine, insane, hypocritical and socially undesirable. Such tropes were connected to a linguistic stability; the reader made an ideological investment by copying, transmitting or simply reading the texts. This last element of the system implies a model of reception that is similarly tied to political identity. These texts seem to enfranchise the reader, giving them a role in the construction or creation of meaning, but this is illusory: the answer to the riddle exists irrespective of the interaction of the reader. They are therefore vital paradigms for a reading of Royalist texts, concerned as they are with a political identity bound up in language, and the politicized understanding of this language through a particularly closed system of reception.

Models of the caricatured enemy had a profound influence upon Royalist culture and notions of identity, as can be shown by the widely transcribed manuscript poem 'Oxford Riddle':

> There dwells a people on the earth
> that reckon true Religion treason
> call madness zeale & nonsense reason
> that finde noe freedome but in slauery
> that make lyes truth Religion knauery
> That robbe & cheate with yea and nay
> riddle mee riddle mee who are they
>
> That hate the flesh yet ferke the Dames
> that make Kinges great by curbing Crownes

that quench the fire by kindling flames
that settle peace by plundering Townes
that gouerne with implicit votes
that stablish truth by cutting throates
that kisse their Majestie and betray
riddle mee riddle mee whoe be they

That make heauen speake by their Comission
that stopp Gods peace & boast his power
that teach bold blasphemy & sedicon
and pray high Treason by the houre
that dam all but such as they are
that with all Comon except prayer
that Idolize Pim Brooke & Say
Riddle mee riddle mee who are they.[16]

The movement of the piece is linear, closed. The tone is assured: 'There dwells a people on the earth' ascribing an anthropological accuracy to the poem. The riddle recounts common tropes accusing Roundheads of sexual debauchery, blasphemy, sedition, idolatry, and hypocrisy. In particular they think 'nonsense reason' and 'madness zeale'. Their concept of reason is one that is outside of normal sense and understanding, a challenge to humanist normality. They are the exact inverse of logical, reasoned debaters. Their religious zeal is in fact antisocial madness. They are lunatics, fit for bedlam and to be excluded from society. Roundheads are presented as society's rejects. Royalism consciously excludes and denies the mad and the unreasonable, constructing a society in which Royalism is celebrated as the central register of stability. Challenging the King creates chaos and instability that needs to be controlled, categorized, and curtailed. Royalism is presented as not an ideology or a conscious choice, but evidently the only locus of normality: a site of stability, reason, sanity and social harmony. Yet within this poem lie the seeds of dissidence. The Roundhead here is still an unnamed absence, the resolution of identity construction deferred by the 'who are they' aspect of the riddle. There is a distance, a lack of a clear and coherent answer.

Royalist normality is fundamentally predicated upon a linguistic stability. Royalism celebrates reason and sanity, rejecting the babble and confusion of the Roundhead. In this riddle, identity has become black and white, turned into a binary relationship of them/us, you/me, included/excluded. The reader is either part of the solution or part of the problem. Despite the ambiguities of the text it is implied that there

is a closed and definite answer to this riddle, and the clues or algebraic notifications needed to solve this behavioural formula are distinct patterns of action. The polarized actions recounted signify 'Roundhead', 'other' or 'enemy'. There is apparent openness but a polemic conclusion. The riddle depends on acknowledging this relationship and attempts to sustain the relationship between signifier and signified, to assert a closed model of language. Furthermore, reading the riddle implies that one sustains the caricature. The reader performs a perfunctory role in the construction of meaning, is denied an active participation in the nexus of text-reader-meaning. Although a riddle seems to enfranchise the reader by giving them some power, it simultaneously takes this away by being an already enclosed system that has a presupposed answer and therefore usage as a text. The riddle presupposes a definite and definable linguistic relationship between signs, and furthermore proclaims a closure dependent upon reception. A reader is defined by their understanding and therefore subscription, and subjection, to the system of signs deployed. The signifiers – betrayal, plundering, zealous religion – have what seems to be an evident or clear relationship to their signifieds, the Roundhead. As readers we are asked to sustain the illusion of connection, and subscribe to a closed system of language. Participation in the language of the riddle, and by extension in the closed linguistic system ordained and mediated by the King, implies fundamental allegiance and establishes an inescapable interpolated identity.

An extension of the closed format of the riddle is the poem 'The Roundheade' which appears in many manuscript miscellanies of the period. The verse opens as if it is a riddle, asking 'What's hee that with his short haires/ his little Beard and his longe Eares/ that this newe faith hath founded'.[17] Once these caricatured elements have been listed, the poem gives us the answer: 'then sure hee was a Roundhead'. The poem lists the tropes that I will be considering in the remainder of this chapter, continuing with the catechismic question and answer format that emphasizes a closed system:

> What's hee that doth a Bpp hate
> and termes his callinge reprobate
> because by th'pope propounded
>
> And holds a scurvy Cobbler better
> then learnd Armagh by euery letter
> o'such a Rogu's a Roundhead

What's hee that doth blewe treason say
as often as his yea and nay
  and with the king confounded

And doth mainteyne that Mr P:
is fitter for the Crowne then hee
  hand him hee's a Roundhead

What's hee that if hee chance to heare
A little peece of Comon prayer
  would thinke his Conscience wounded

The identity of the Roundhead is signified by his assumption of several behavioural models: sexual, religious and social. He is sexually rapacious and libertine, denies true religion, and prefers the counsel of commoners to educated preachers or the aristocracy.

The religious levelling here presented as being inherent in the Roundhead character was part of a Royalist self-fashioning which presented the supporters of the King as defenders of the true church. The challenge to the authority of the King, and the seeming chaos of the multiple positions taken by Presbyterian, Leveller and Independent (not to mention the more mainstream puritan positions) led many to support the King. Much Royalist work accused the Parliamentary factions (particularly the Presbyterians) of being as bad as papists, presenting the King as the pilot of the Church of England, steering a solid course between the two extremes. Presbyterianism, Marchamont Nedham (once an entrenched Parliamentary newsbook writer, driven into the arms of the King in part through religious fear) claimed, 'opens a farr wider gap for Tyranny'.[18] The 'freedoms' of the enemy were often mocked as fraudulent and ambitious: they claimed 'That it belongs to Christian Magistrates to be Leaders in Reformation of the Church (His Sacred Majestie was the supreme Christian Magistrate, till this Rebellion was Lectur'd up in His Dominions)' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 5 January 1643).

The 'Roundhead' challenges Royalist normality, and this challenge is presented as hypocritical. In many ways the caricature is a reworking of standard tropes applied to Catholics, rebels, the Irish and other dissonant identities. Yet an anxiety of the encounter with the recognizable enemy drives loyalist writing and differentiates it from predictable polemic. This model of identity predicated upon particularized behaviour and external characteristics will be explored in depth in the remainder of the chapter.

Clothes, hair, beards

As is clear from the riddles, clothing and external attire were an important index of allegiance and identity throughout this period. They tied the physical body of the wearer to a set of principles and loyalties, imposing an inflexible structure of identity that was difficult to escape. One's attire demonstrated investment in particular models of allegiance and social behaviour. Manuscript poetry attests to the fact that 'Cavalier' dress and appearance was an important element of the resistance to Parliament:

> What take yee pepper in yor noses
> to see King Charles his Coloures worne in Roses
> 'twas but an ornament to grace the hatt
> yet must wee haue an ordninance for that.[19]

Decoration of dress here signifies allegiance to the King and challenges Parliament. The poem scorns Parliament's attempts to institutionalize a mode of identity. The Commons passed various Ordinances designed to impose a certain legal model of identity upon the populace, and the verse challenges this social construction. Other manuscript poems bemoaned the fact that 'none dares weares the fauour of his King'.[20] Clothing and attire becomes a site of allegiance, a locus of combat and difference; this is even more explicit on the battlefield, with the material differentiation between colours, flags and banners.[21]

However, it is not simply livery or clothing; elsewhere in this collection a poem allegedly written to the Queen from the King hopes she scorns 'to be a Doilila & betray/ my strength unto their uncircumcised sway' conflating outward appearance, and long hair in particular with both symbolic and physical strength and also resistance to the ungodly and unchosen.[22] Abraham Cowley's much anthologized Prologue to *The Guardian*, performed before Charles and the Prince of Wales in March 1642 on their way up to York, makes hair an index of loyalty: 'For now no Ornaments ye head must weare,/ No Bayes, no Mitre, not so much as hayre.'[23] Prince Rupert, the Cavalier ideal, had long flowing locks and moustache in the standard engravings by William Faithorne, frontispieces to polemic tracts or the official portrait by William Dobson.[24] His appearance became the standard version of loyalist masculinity, even after his defeats of 1644–5. Dobson's portraits of Cavalier soldiers accentuate their hair and armour for romantic and heroic effect. Exter-

nal appearance becomes part of a performative action, a choice that delineates and defines identity and loyalty – yet clothing is still something that attempts to fix identity rather than allow for interrogative 'play'. This categorization can be a site of anxiety. Robert Herrick worried about the disguising quality of clothing, asking in his lyric 'Clothes do but cheat and cozen us' that he be given 'my mistress as she is/ Dressed in her nak'd simplicities'.[25]

As representational tropes, hair and clothing had been a site of conflict, particularly religious conflict, for several decades previous to the war. In 1628 William Prynne had railed against 'Effeminate, Proud, Lasciuious, Exorbitant, and Fantastique Haires, or Lockes' which were a product of these 'Degenerous, Unnaturall, and Unmanly times'.[26] In 1650 the same message was being emphasized: an anonymous tract warned subjects from long hair, that 'they walk not in the shame of Nature, in wearing a Womanish length of hair'.[27] Hair became an index of masculinity, religious identification and political signification: 'But silly Long head that hair is not thine own,/ 'Tis but some harlots, though by thee it's worne.'[28] As Will Fisher has recently shown, beards, and by extension clothing and hair, were fundamentally important in constructing gender identity.[29] Roundheads wore closely clipped beards or were clean-shaven, and this was a subject of scorn: 'What a monster then/ May wee call that man/ Whose face is quite without' asked the manuscript poem 'A Commendation & Censure of Beards.'[30] Particularly figured shaven was Oliver Cromwell, who with his vulgar hoards in the engraving to Clement Walker's 1649 tract *Anarchia Anglicana* destroys the 'Royall Oake of Britayne' with short hair and smooth chin.[31] The engraving is based upon popular portraits of Cromwell. John Bulwer claimed that to shave 'is to turne Rebell, and to shew a willingness to evert the Law of Nature'.[32] Roundheads were effeminate and strangely smooth: 'In the reigne of Henry 1. the Englishmen shaved off their beards, and made their faces smooth like women, and let their haire grow round their heads in its full length, wherein they gloried, contending with women who should bee the absolute feminine Roundhead.'[33] Parliamentarian writers saw long hair as effeminate and popish; conversely, Royalists saw short hair as the mark of rebellion, revolution and social difference. John Taylor's tract *The Devil Turn'd Round-Head* traces the devil's transformation into a rebel: 'he began to prune his hair, and cut it close to his skull'.[34] Carnal appetite and sedition is linked to hairstyle, as the devil 'cropt his hair close to his ears' that he might 'more easily hear the blasphemy, which proceeded from them [preachers], and he might increase a more eager appetite of con-

cupiscence at the aspect of a younger Sister' (*The Devil Turn'd Round-Head*, pp. 4–5).

Garments, hair, beards, jewellery, armour and hats became signifiers of allegiance. As Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass point out, 'The rapid development of "fashion" (as we now understand that term) in the Renaissance has obscured the sense in which clothes were seen as printing, charactering, haunting'.[35] External appearance was deployed as something that imprinted and presented identity and allegiance. Jones and Stallybrass have traced the material importance of clothing upon identity and power relations during the period. They note how 'clothing is a ghost that, even when discarded, still has the power to haunt' (Jones and Stallybrass, 2000, p. 4). Clothing also has a political aspect evident in their citation from Milton: 'I fear yet the iron yoke of an outward conformity hath left a slavish print upon our necks; the ghost of a linnen decency yet haunts us.'[36]

In the 1640s the use of clothing and outward appearance to regulate and signal identity became of even greater significance. Clothing is an important visual sign of difference, as are all external signifiers of identity. Such signs register particular identity, rendering the individual within the beard, hat, shirt, or livery irrelevant. Clothing defines and categorizes, establishing a fixed and inviolable social hierarchy. Poets railed that 'They'll [Parliament] alowe no Pride, nor Rings,/ No fauours in Hatts, ne any such things,/ They'l convert all Ribands to Bible strings.'[37] A 1644 *Mercurius Aulicus* distinguished between external appearances and allegiance when refuting the charges of its London counterparts:

> 47: Lastly, that in the late Northerne fighte the Scots slew a Thousand English, most of them seemed to be Gentlemen by their white hands, short nayles, and curled long haire: This Lye was made by those Brethren that have short haire and long nayles. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 6 April 1644)

This comment neatly supports the binary relationship pursued by Royalist texts. *Mercurius Aulicus* takes a slight and throws it back in the face of the London press, celebrating the refined bearing of the aristocratic Royalist forces by criticizing the slovenly artisan brethren that seek to attack gentlemanly locks. *Aulicus* establishes long hair as an index of loyalty and refutation of Roundhead otherness. Manicuring is furthermore a signifier of class, position and allegiance. As the riddle asked, 'What's hee that with his short haires/ his little Beard and his longe

Eares/ that this newe faith hath founded?'. Short hair signified difference and allegiance to new, antisocial ideas, a willingness to challenge, question or disrupt the established order of things.

In Abraham Cowley's *The Civil War* one of the Parliamentarian soldiers, Simon Blore, was 'A woemans Taylour once, and high in prize,/ For cheateing with good words and turnd-up eyes,/ Shrill was his vocye at Psalmes'.[38] He is drawn to the war by his 'zeale to Plunder' and dresses 'none more richly bright,/ In silver lace, or better horst for flight' (II, 443, 445–6). His cowardice is linked to his dandyism, and his shrillness and cunning mark him as being far from the Royalist masculine ideal. There is a suggestion of effeminacy that chimes with the polemic strategies of *Mercurius Aulicus* in using the perceived abnormality of Roundhead sexuality to attack their cause. It also challenges the Parliamentarian criticism of Cavalier appearance that has been cited as the rebel's motive ('In hate to Bishops and long Haire', III, 407). This association of clothing with identity and behaviour was ingrained within the Royalist mindset. An example from William Gray's *Chorographia* demonstrates the ability of clothing to construct polemical identity:

> In former times the aldermen of the towne had their scarlet gownes, but the proud Scot got them by conquest, as they did other ornaments of the towne, thinking no English in authority, worthy to weare scarlet but themselves, and so they continued lording over us for two yeares, untill they were hyred out, as they were brought in, being a mercenary nation, for any nation for mony.[39]

The avariciousness that characterizes the Scots is demonstrated by their wearing the clothes of aldermen. They take on the colour of the merchant, and Gray interprets this as demonstrating the crucial lack of virtue and moral certitude of the Scottish nation. They are free market soldiers, fighting for money rather than principle. This association of Parliamentary allegiance with vulgar capitalism is a common trope from this period. In particular, the Scots were attacked for their greed. Parliament was mocked for lining the pockets of its members, employing their friends, stealing and taking bribes; facets of behaviour that highlighted the hypocrisy of the opposition as well as the empty promises of the revolution. Clothing and appearance became signifiers of this duplicitous behaviour. A poem describing 'The Holy-Sisters Character' notes that the devout woman will still edify 'her lookes with little ruffes' despite her professed austerity.[40] She will 'judge mens hearts, according

to their haire' but still 'with Lamb-black purifies her shooes' ('The Holy-Sisters Character', ll. 22, 5).

Royalist constructions of Roundheads were so widespread that a great number of tracts were published countering the accusations associated with clothing and appearance. Roundheads were 'Mercifull, loving, compassionate and kinde' to everyone claimed *A New Anatomie, or Character of a Christian, or Round-head*, and the 'blind' world was 'mistaken in their unjust Censures of [them].'[41] One text claimed that Cavaliers were in fact bald 'roundheads' in wigs, the baldness caused by sexually transmitted disease: 'The evill heart & manners of these men bring them to the Poxe, the Poxe eats of their naturall haire, and so they become Roundheads. And thus went the haire away, the Gentleman becomes bald, his witts here going first away.'[42] Parliamentary constructions of the 'Cavalier' caricature, while too complex to be dealt with here, tended to concentrate on the irreligious foppery and effeminacy of the Royalist:

> Upon the Roaring Cavalier
> Blesse us! Why here's a thing as like a man,
> As Nature to our fancie fashion can.
> Beshrew me, but he has a pretty face,
> And weares his Rapier with indifferent grace.
> Makes a neat congie, dances well, and swears:
> And weares his Mistresse pendant in his eares:
> Has a neate foote as ever kist the ground,
> His shoes and roses cost at least five pound.
> Those hose have not a peere, for by relation,
> They're cut a moneth at least since the last fashion.
> He knowes two Ladies that will vow there's none
> At Court, a man of parts, but he alone.
> And yet this fop, scarce ever learn'd to know
> The mixture of the disjoyn'd Christ-crosse row.
> Strip off his ragges, and the poore thing is then
> The just contempt of understanding men.[43]

Cavaliers were feminine, 'pretty', empty shells. This poem identifies an innate anxiety about the Royalist desire for meaning and conclusion. The Royalist is presented as empty and barren, a collection of signifiers cloaking a fundamental lack. The Cavalier clings to his outward notations of identity to occlude the essential absence within, wearing his colours in a vain attempt to attain completeness.

Royalist concentration on tropes of clothing was part of a representational strategy intended to impose structure upon a now unstable reality. Clothing gave identity a fixed and stable meaning; it is a closed system that defines and limits. Parliamentary challenges to these kinds of systems were represented by Royalists as profoundly important, as they signified the opposition's rejection of stability and normality. *Mercurius Aulicus* regularly reported the indiscretions of the opposition by emphasizing their clothing and external appearance:

> they reformed all Churches where they came of the Common prayer bookes (which they so miserably defaced and mangled that they are not serviceable for the use of the Parishes) and of the Fast-bookes lately published by His Sacred Majesty, of which they have left nothing in some places but onely a bare Memorandum in the Church Wardens accompts; and finally transformed the Surplices, and linnen clothes required by Act of Parliament at the ministration, into shirts, halfe-shirts, and farre more sordid vestments for their Common women, and thereby made them be in fact what in a profane scorne they did use to call them, the raggs of the Whores. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 21 June 1644)

The army of Parliament disrupts and destroys, spreading the contagion of disorder wherever they go. They reconfigure the clothing of the church service into their own. The crucial term here is 'transformed'. Parliament takes a fixed system and shifts its boundaries. It is this state of possibility, of fluidity, which Royalism perceives in Parliamentary actions and portrays as distressing and problematic. Parliament was represented as challenging the traditional, hierarchically structured systems of society by destroying the material manifestations of those systems. Royalism was mistrustful of transformations, preferring a state of stability and fixity. Royalist texts refuted these transgressions, reiterating and emphasizing the importance of normality and consigning newly reconfigured Parliamentary roles to the margins – in this case, exclusion through sexual and social difference by defining Parliamentary women as prostitutes. It was by deploying such strategies that Royalism represented itself as the party of stability and harmony.

John Cleveland's poem 'The Hue and Cry after Sir John Presbyter' demonstrates how reading the body became sharpened through the deployment of clothing references:

With Hair in Characters, and Lugs in text;
With a splay mouth, & a nose circumflext;
With a set Ruff of Musket bore, that wears
Like Cartrages or linen Bandileers,
Exhausted of their sulpherous Contents
In Pulpit fire-works, which that Bomball vents;
The negative and Covenanting Oath,
Like two Mustachoes issuing from his mouth;
The bush upon his chin (like a carv'd story,
In a Box knot) cut by the Directory:
Madams Confession hanging at his eare,
Wiredrawn through all the questions, How & Where,
Each circumstance so in the hearing Felt
That when his ears are cropt hee'le count them gelt;
The sweeping Cassock scar'd into a Jump,
A signe the Presbyter, though charm'd against mischance
With the Divine right of an Ordinance:
If you meet any that doe thus attire 'em,
Stop them, they are the tribe of Adoniram.[44]

The poem illustrates the complexity of the relationship between text, clothing and identity, demonstrating how Royalism conceived of multiple signifiers of identity. Identity was constructed through a variety of discourses. The imaginary figure is clothed in, and constructed from, polemical texts. He wears the livery of rebellion, 'A signe the Presbyter.' Cleveland demonstrates how perception, interpretation and appearance are textual. His hair and ears both signify: 'Hair in Characters, and Lugs in text.' His ears will soon be 'cropt' like the arch-nemesis of Royalism, Prynne – this he sees as a sign of manhood. Similarly, his beard 'like a carv'd story' is a carrier of meaning. Appearance becomes a language, a code of signification that demonstrates allegiance or rebellion. The rebel is 'branded' by the Devil, categorized and defined through outward signs. Cleveland is concerned with presenting the signifiers of rebellion, warning that 'attire' can define and construct identity. Yet his notion of 'attire' is multifaceted, and contains a variety of discourses such as hair, clothing, religious practice, writing, fighting, and reading. Identity is categorized and defined through a number of tropes and signifiers. Royalist investment in representational tropes of clothing and appearance attempted to fix and secure meaning within a coherent chain of signification, yet it was to become increasingly clear that such indicators of allegiance and identity were flawed.

Preachers, artisans, class warriors

Cleveland constructs his textual monster as a babbling cacophony of text, the product of an unholy 'Frenzie'. The proliferation of discourse and meaning is controlled through the anthropocentric framing. The construction of a textual body controls and contains transgression, steeped as Cleveland is in the Royalist rhetoric of bodily completeness and the defining aspect of clothing. While Cleveland's tone is dismissive, the displacement and deferral of meaning implicated in the cacophony of signs and texts distressed many Royalists. There is an underlying anxiety in Royalist texts from this period. While Royalism sought to define and exclude, it was predicated upon a recognition of difference or otherness and a concomitant distress and trauma.

The crisis in representation which the Parliamentarian challenge to Charles' authority precipitated can be seen in the visual aporia loaded into William Dobson's court portraits. The pictures are full of reworkings of 1630s court tropes, particularly those of Van Dyck and Daniel Mytens, conscious echoes of a harmonious time of peace. Furthermore, several of the pictures – of important figures – contain an absence, an emptiness that highlights a gap in representation. These aporias are crucially collected around the site of language. In the brightly executed *An Unknown Naval Commander* (*c.*1643–6, Rogers 16) the commander holds a commission or chart which is blank. Language as a tool for measuring or institutionally defining loses its power. *Sir Edward Walker* (*c.*1645, Rogers 30) shows the secretary of the Council of War similarly seated in front of a blank page. Even the poet *Sir Richard Fanshawe* (*c.*1646, Rogers 45) cannot produce work, and he holds a blank page. These absences signal a rupture in signification, a challenge to the closed, logocentric system of language and identity Royalism was predicated upon. It might be argued that this blankness represents potential, a clean page waiting to be inscribed upon. Rather, Dobson is articulating a problem of representation, acknowledging the absence at the centre and denying the inscriptive and definitive power of the word. This is further accentuated by some of the material details of the pictures – many of the later canvases from 1645–6 are unfinished, fragmented, lacking closure. The paint is thinly applied, intentionally but also due to a lack of materials. This results in uneven, ghostly images, 'allowing the grain of the coarse canvas to show throughout'.[45] Even pages that are not blank simply contain representations of other pictures, such as the picture of Venus and Cupid that appears in *Portrait of the Artist* (*c.*1644–6, Rogers 46). Representation becomes a chain of deferred meaning. The possibility of securing meaning is increasingly problematized.

Cleveland's fear of the monstrously fluid, polyvocal body betrays the Royalist desire for closed language systems and the systematic control of discourse. The political theorist Henry Ferne argued that:

> Tis the spirituall whoredome of Lay-Preachers, and Shee-Divines that hath procreated these monsters in Religion, that hath engendered this Viporous Brood of Schismaticall Tenets, which like the Ægyptian flyes darken the aire, blind the eyes of the vulgar with sencelesse ignorance.[46]

Ferne's carefully polemic syntax expresses the horror at social experiment found in loyalist literature of the first civil war. The language caricatures recognizably Parliamentary egalitarian roles and identities with destructive and abnormal characteristics. The flawed magistracy of 'ignorant and mechanick Divines' (Sig. A1v) has allowed the 'vulgar' and ignorant populace to become powerful and begin to intervene in the political life and debate of the nation. Rather than allow humanistic debate which leads to truth and understanding, this new social order threatens to 'darken the aire' and 'blind the eyes'.

It is clear from Ferne's words that Parliament is the faction of nonsense, or 'senceless ignorance'. *Mercurius Aulicus* described the 'rayling and curseing (which they call Prayer and Preaching)' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 27 March 1644). This confused babble is also a challenge to hierarchies of rank and order. Free and open discourse, which precipitated this 'Viporous brood', and that had been allowed in London since the end of centralized censorship in 1641, was the antithesis to Royalist thought. The ability to question, interrogate and challenge disrupted the hierarchies of knowledge and power the nation should be based on. The inversions of the Parliamentary experiment gave public voice and role to those generally excluded from this nexus of power: women, the uneducated, commoners. Power structures and hierarchies are challenged by these inversions of social roles. The ability for anyone to interact within the public sphere, in tandem with revolutionary concepts of the role of women and the uneducated, seriously questioned the model of national subservience to power and categorization. The voicing in print and church of the artisan class disrupted the hierarchies of power which were fundamental to Royalist thought. This is particularly demonstrated in the trope of the artisan preacher. The church was a power network that perpetuated a particular social model, and the notions of hierarchical magistracy that it perpetuated were one of the main issues dividing the warring parties. Royalist tracts dismissed the ill-educated brethren who deigned to preach and worship:

> My Dear-beloved, and Zealous Brethren and Sisters here Assembled in this holy Congregation, I am to unfold, unravell, untwist, unty, unloose, and undoe to your uncapable understandings, some small Reasons, the Matter, the Causes, the Motives, the Grounds, the Principles, the Maxims, the whyes and the wherefores, wherefore and why, we reject, omit, abandon, contemne, despise, and are and ought to be withstanders and opposers of the Service-book (called by the hard name of Liturgy) or Common-prayer, which hath continued in the Church of England 84. yeeres.[47]

The nonsensical verbosity mocks the parliamentary project. The message is simple: rebellion is incoherence. The text satirizes the artisan preachers, and implicit in the construction of the joke is reader agreement and understanding. Taylor's audience is invited to laugh and deride these ineloquent fools. Their stupidity and erroneous thinking is self-evident; indeed, the text is anonymous and so gives no real clues to its political leanings other than the rhetorical tropes it deploys in order to mock the Roundheads. The text voices Royalist concerns at the erosion of Church hierarchy and attacks on the institutional integrity of the established Church of England.

Concordant with Royalist worries over the effect of uncontrolled discourse, artisan preaching and public speaking were seen to have a physically destructive aspect, too:

> the ridiculous and prophane carriage of the Rebells at their Mock-fast at Samford . . . In which was nothing more observable then that they had that day foure Sermons one after another (for it is not fast and pray but fast and preach with the Puritan faction) all of them preached (if I may use so good a word to so ill a purpose) by their inspired Lay-Mechanicks: one of which was a Tallow-Chandler, now one of the greatest lights in their congregation and being of a burning zeale prayed to God most fervently to deliver the King into their hands, that he might goe along with his Elect, (such Elect vessells are they all, but especially this learned Candlestick)! No wonder if the souldiers did such gallant things that day as they passed by Oxford, having beene so incouraged and inflamed by this zealous Exerciser. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 14 June 1644)

The entrance of the unlearned artisan in to the sphere of religious public discourse facilitates and encourages the rebellious incursions of the soldiers. They are motivated through and by the disruptive discourse of

the preacher. Intrusion into the role of public mediator and speaker leads directly to destruction and violation.

Alexander Brome's poem 'The Commoners' vividly shows how Royalists conceived of the state as constructed through a set of hierarchical identity boundaries: 'And the scum of the land/ Are the men that command,/ And our slaves are become our masters.'[48] Subjects are slaves, constrained physically, legally and socially. They have dared to challenge the structure of the state and this has led to fragmentation and dissolution. The social inversions in London are particularly associated with crime: 'Nor can we hope for better, while Murther and Robbery are preached for lawfull, and Theeves are the Preachers' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 8 July 1644). They are specifically crimes against the body and property, inflicted through indiscretion; they violate the discrete boundaries of the human or the estate, disrupting and upsetting natural balances. Royalists' texts frequently used specifically spatial metaphors to express the infringement and invasion of rebellion: 'The Felt-maker, and sawcie stable Groome/ Will dare to Pearch into the Preachers Roome.'[49]

Modes of identity and behaviour associated with social transgression were also deployed to configure the otherness of Parliament. Poets accused preachers of unholy drunkenness:

> While every Cobler was a States-man growne,
> Knowing how to mend the Common-Wealth, these Fooles
> Would have no King, no Learning, nor no Schools.
> No Crosses, Bells, no Service that's Divine;
> But Sermons made in Tubs, and Casks of wine.[50]

Royalist drinking habits tended to be controlled and circumscribed. Even excessive drinking took place within the context of clubs with particularized etiquette and rules. This 'wild civility' was a model of 'mirth' that contained any subversion or carnivalesque transgression with categorization.[51] Parliamentary drunkenness, however, is associated with perverted freedom, transgressive discourses that challenge the hierarchies of learning and the structures of power. The excesses of Royalists were controlled and their carnivals became polemic sites of defiant identity formation, as is shown by Martin Lluellyn's occasional poem 'To my Lord B. of S. on New-yeares Day, 1643':

> Though Combates have so thicke and frequent stood,
> That we at length may raise,

A Calendar of dayes,
And stile them foule or faire,
By their successe not Aire:
And signe our Festivalls by Rebels bloud.[52]

Lluellyn creates a Royalist calendar to celebrate a newly militarized court, government and populace. Popular pastimes and ritual celebrations, particularly those associated with Christmas or May Day, were increasingly politicized during the 1630s and 1640s after Charles' reissue of the *Book of Sports* in 1633. Leah Marcus argues that 'the fostering of old festival pastimes became very closely tied to the vexed matter of enforcing religious conformity, and the pastimes were increasingly perceived as extensions of liturgical worship'.[53] Her study looks at the reaction of Royalist poets to the suppression of traditional pastimes by Parliament during the 1640s, but her examples (Lovelace, Marvell and particularly Herrick) are somewhat tainted by the imminence of defeat.[54] In contrast, poetry of the early 1640s was full of zesty attacks on Parliament's dismantling of the festive calendar:

From holy dayes, and all that is holy;
From May poles and Fidlers and all that is Jolly,
From Latin, and Learning, since all that is folly
Good Lord deliuer us.[55]

Lluellyn's use of pastime in his *Men-Miracles* is not coloured by defeat; the poems celebrate the vibrant life of the country.

An extended section of the collection describes the local Witney fair. Witney is a carnivalesque space located outside of the civilizing walls of the court at Oxford. There are brief epigrammatic poems on Morris dancers, fiddlers, taberers, harpers and pipers. The poet is present at the fair, having visited to 'sippe againe and tast,/ Of the Nut Browne Lasse and Ales'.[56] He constructs an observing persona who nonetheless orchestrates the proceedings. His descriptions of the various performances are inflected with politicized diction from the 'Roundheaded sinner' to the Taberer's musical 'Pass' and 'Tattoo'.[57] They are figures of misrule, noisily affirming their way of life. The celebrations are recounted for the glory of the King:

Now God a blesse King Charles, and send him to be merry.
And bring our Noble Queene a safe over the Ferry.
The Prince, marry save him, and the Duke his owne Brother.

> God a blessing light upon him, he is eene such another.
> I say the Dukes Worship, for and whose sweet sake
> Was a cheifely intended we of Witney, and the Wake.[58]

Public ceremonial culture is used to praise and glorify the Royal family. They are a form of expressive populist panegyric. Their celebrations are *for* the King, Queen and Princes; the actions of the revellers express their loyalty and obedience. The thanksgiving epilogue gives the proceedings a religious or liturgical framework. The Fair is part of the ceremonial structure of the Caroline Laudian Church. The stock figures act in prescribed fashion; their expressions and celebrations are contained and fettered. Their behaviour is controlled by print.

These pastoral texts emphasize the importance of codes of behaviour to the configuration of Royalist identity. They examine the cavalier engagement with pastoral activities as controlled and categorized. The soldiers and courtiers have to leave Oxford, the site of civilized discourse, in order to observe the discordant antics of the peasantry, dance with the 'Country Lasses', and indulge themselves: '[the] Oxford Garison went to the Wakes to bee merry, where they sung and drank themselves out of all their sences'.[59] The first poem is sung by this company as they leave Oxford, emphasizing the liminal movement between the controlled space within the city walls and the wilder unbounded site of the fair. Yet even though they are 'out of their sences' the soldiers are celebrating within a nexus of control. The misrule is kept in check by the 'running-masque' style construction of the fair in print, and the role of the 'Oxford Poet' in arranging the proceedings: 'he acted his part and he falls to singing for he was still to be the Poet and act his part as Jester upon them all'.[60] The poet attains a shamanistic status, controlling and sustaining the polyphonic voices of the fair. His voice controls and interprets the actions of the various musicians and dancers, producing sanitized caricatures of the carnivalesque population. This voice in turn is subsumed into the framing theatrical structure of the piece. Both Lluellyn, and later Herrick, stress the controlled deployment of pastoral or pastime tropes outside of a physical Fair narrative. The poet retains his status as observer, imposing meaning and order onto the sports, stepping away from the text to assert the authority of his voice.

In contrast to this controlled and ritualistic carnival, the Roundheads defy normality and rupture social roles. This leads to a series of violations as the Roundheads defy the paternal lawgiver, the King, and question his authority to impose social models and roles upon them. Henry

Ferne, quoted above, had argued that the flawed magistracy of 'ignorant and mechanick divines' allowed the 'vulgar' and ignorant populace to become powerful and begin to intervene in the political life of the country. This new social order threatens to 'darken the aire' and 'blind the eyes'. Ferne sees popular enfranchisement as a physical invasion: 'they must be entring into Kings Chambers, entrenching upon the Prerogative of Princes'.[61] The material space of monarchy and loyalty is violated. They invade, transgress, disrupt and fragment. In Mildmay Fane's survey of Northamptonshire, 'The Cosmography of this County', the poet addresses the disruption of normal spatial relationships and how this relates to the dislocation of identity and allegiance:

> It alwaies in former times stood distinguished by
> Longetude of east & West & yet held paralell ye
> Hundreds to all seruices but now it is Lancht wounded
> & cut through by so many miridian Lines hott fiery
> Zealots or rather bonte feux fire brands of Cisme &
> seeds men of all seditions yt it acknowledges noe bounding Tropicke but striues to Lay Leuell in ye
> Equator both Day & Night a Like. Pesant & Peer
> noe difference twixt Thrones & Coblers Bulkes.[62]

Fane contributes to a Royalist strand of positional or topographical poetry that decries the newly unstable latitudes. The traditional and set ways of mapping the nation have been challenged and upset by the myriad rules and structures of the Parliament. Geographical space has itself been sundered, and this is mapped onto social interaction. The aristocracy has been reduced to the same status as the peasant; the boundaries and rules that formerly 'distinguished' between particular social spaces have been ruptured. Hierarchies and hegemonies have been attacked and destroyed, and this levelling now admits 'noe difference', emphasizing an equality anathema to Royalists: 'Pesant & Peer/ noe difference twixt Thrones & Coblers Bulkes.' This erosion of the crucial difference between class identity and structure is seen as physical and topographical. Yet in all these instances there is an undermining horror both at the rupturing moment of normality but also the transformation of that normality into something horribly other but simultaneously recognizable. The material nation still exists, but 'Northamptonshire' as it was defined by and through the King's discourse does not.

In Royalist discourse Parliament was the site of horrific inversions: the instigator of ruptures in the social, sexual, political, religious and bodily fabric of the nation. Poets physically figured Parliament as exotic and other: manuscript collections described the house as an 'Afrique Monster' and devoted a whole poem to 'A strange & prodigious sight of a monster to be seene at Westminster'; Bod, MS Rawlinson Poet. 26 includes a poem 'The true Puritan w'out disguise' that begins 'A Puritan is such a monstrous thinge/ that loues Democraties, and hates a kinge/ for royall issue never making praiers', conflating otherness with egalitarian politics and focusing this through loyalist poetic practice of the 1630s (panegyrics on royal issue).[63] Language is seen to be a structure that has definable limits; identity formed through language is subject to these very limits. What is crucial to Royalism is a sense of social role and limit, of hegemonic structure and hierarchy. This order and categorization allowed for social control and enabled monarchical power to perpetuate itself. Parliamentary challenge disrupted order, interrogating the categories and boundaries that constructed and formulated identity. Should they win, then the nation would become a site of perversion and horror. William Towers portays England as a place where 'all things Clash and Stagger, Townes, and Men,/ Just like Her Waves, break, and are broke agen', a country in which soldiers are destroyed in the same way that city walls are broken down.[64] John Beesley tells of the awful chaos caused by the breaking apart of the divinely appointed universe where men 'Walk't raving in their Dreames' during this 'Eclipse of Sense and Reason'.[65] Edward Gayton describes the treasonous rebels as 'Spawne of Night', inhuman progeny of darkness.[66]

Cavalier constructions of Roundhead soldiers presented them as threats to corporality, to the totality and structured logic of family, body and state:

> Thou art indicted by the name of Dammee Mouthgun a Soldier, for that thou hast within the space of these four years last past out of a fore-thought malice murthered, slain, and destroyed many of His Majesties Liege People, and did then and there Felloniously take and cary away their goods, cattels, and estates, to the utter ruine of both the widowes, and Fatherlesse children.[67]

The rebels have transgressed all limits of reason, property, life, and family. They are forces of misrule and fragmentation, threatening to sunder with arms the whole system of categorization and systemization.

As we have seen in this chapter, Royalist strategies for representing and containing the threat of the Roundhead were confused and often betrayed an anxiety manifested as desire. They were distressed by the activities of the enemies, and the war itself; both interrogated the corporate constitution of the state. That challenge became mapped onto the body of the subject and the body of the nation, as will be explored in the concluding chapters.

5
Gorgeous Gorgons: Royalist women

Roundhead women: transgression and drunkenness

As Henry Ferne had argued, 'Tis the spirituall whoredome of Lay-Preachers, and Shee-Divines that hath procreated these monsters in Religion, that hath engendered this Viporous Brood of Schismaticall Tenets'. Challenges to traditional familial paradigms were represented as profound disruptions to the social fabric. The hybrid metaphors are of internal invasion and transgressive procreation; both the monster and the viper have their origins in perversions of normality. These tropes figure the anxieties of Royalist representation of the enemy, particularly in this instance with the enemy as female. Ferne's language of monstrous feminine creation allied with apocalyptic and serpentine imagery presents a key problem in the identity definition debate for Royalists – gender. Women presented a lack of signification, a problematizing of representation and language. We see the crisis in Royalist presentation, an awkward tension between difference and desire. Women were necessary and useful, but their role in society was increasingly blurred. Parliament had freed women much more than was conscionable, and these newly liberated women were a key aspect of the presentation of enemy otherness. Yet women were already other themselves, and this layering of displacement led to a particularly anxious version of femininity, found in presentations of Henrietta Maria and of women in general as powerful Myrmidons, savagely threatening patriarchal structures with absence of signification. The challenge of the female and their undermining of gender roles and structures of masculinity present to the Royalist writer and reader moments of aporia that threatened to unravel all paradigms of identity. Women are threatening, disquieting, undermining; similarly, relationships with men are

problematized. Women disrupted the wholeness of the body, presenting a problematic obstacle to neat categorization.

Traditional and mainstream royalist identity was centred upon male hierarchies and the King himself. Royalist women were not actors but ideals, passive examples of obedience and constrained behaviour. They ignored the fluidity of female identities being explored in London. Subjectivity was predicated upon family structures and particular social models. Royalist tract writers and theorists interpreted the fifth commandment in a general way, arguing that the King was political father to the nation and therefore any challenge to his authority was blasphemous. The use of a traditional familial model predicated upon patriarchal infallibility was a common trope for royalist theories of society, and was particularly important in royalist constructions of gender roles. Royalism presented a sexual orthodoxy of compulsory heterosexuality within a fixed family unit.

Women, in particular, were castigated if they attempted to interrogate their social and political definition. The Royalist newsbook *Mercurius Aulicus* portrayed the emasculating consequences of the lack of patriarchal structures through accounts of the socially transgressive actions of Parliamentarian women. Sir William Waller's wife Lady Waller is portrayed as an interfering dominatrix whose aim is to set up a 'Reformed Nunnery; where none must be admitted, but First, Such as are married: Secondly, Such as can preach: Thirdly, Such whose husbands have beene exceeding well beaten' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 30 July 1644). She flirts with other soldiers, interprets the bible, preaches, and is generally master of the general (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 23 February 1644; 17 August 1644). This dominance leads to frequent jokes about Waller's impotence and effeminacy: 'if he offered to speake about Doctrines or Uses, her Ladyship would rebuke him, saying Peace Master Waller, you know your weaknesse in these things; since which time Sir William hath ever gone for the Weaker Vessell' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 18 August 1644). Lady Waller assumed a public role independent of her husband and took on religious, social and political power and public agency. This promotion of women to abnormal roles is part of the egalitarian nature of the Roundhead caricature drawn by the Court newsbook and Royalist texts in general.[1] John Taylor dismissed the 'dangerous disease of Feminine Divinity', and Abraham Cowley attacked women preachers in *The Puritan and the Papist*: 'For to outdoe the story of Pope Joane:/ Your Women preach too, and are like to bee/ The Whores of Babylon, as much as Shee.'[2] Women in public roles are transgressive and socially destructive, spreading vice and disease. They invert social normality,

trespassing into spaces not intended for them. They disrupt gender boundaries, questioning the nexus of power that subjects and defines them. Pointedly, they begin to self-construct; where Henrietta Maria could be safely fashioned by Royalist poets and writers, Lady Waller and the Parliamentarian preachers attain a level of self-expression and a voice that is not mediated through the standard channels of male ordering. This model of identity is querying, self-creating, and individual. It is thus troubling for a regime concerned with establishing set boundaries of power relations predicated upon state, religious, and patriarchal institutions. For Royalists, the transgressions of Parliamentary women presented a threatening fluidity of identity.

Royalist anxiety regarding new models of female empowerment is confirmed by the invasion of 'Mary Maudlins Hall' in Oxford by the Parliament of Ladyes in the 1647 Parliamentary tract of that name.[3] This piece celebrates the fluidity of identity seen as horrific inversion by Royalist writers. The '*Mermidons*' take control of the public space of the hall and institute what is both a horrifically and comically inverted parliament with women playing roles hitherto only allowed men: chair, chancellor, high constable, high treasurer, clerk, sergeant at arms, and high chamberlain (*An Exact Duirnall of the Parliament of Ladyes*, p. 5). The women charge a wide variety of prominent royalists with humorously exaggerated and irrelevant crimes, from cowardice to cuckoldry, and then sentence them to apt punishments. Brian Duppa is forced to serve the scouring women at court, Lord Capell has to protect beehives from wasp and hornets whilst stark naked, Henry Jermyn is exiled to teach the 'Land of Pigmyes' how to avoid being eaten by large birds, General Urry is tied to a weathercock and allowed to eat only flies, and Prince Rupert is to be beaten by porcupine quills until he dies. However, the tears of the prisoners lead the women to relent and mercifully grant a full reprieve.

Inventive and humorous, this tract reflects a deep anxiety about gendered identity. As Susan Wiseman has commented upon such 'parliament of ladies' tracts, 'the gendered order of society is shown as inverted, or in danger of inversion . . . rebellious women have benefited from social disruption and have gained socio-sexual power'.[4] The text is presented as a piece of theatre, with sections of dialogue and semi-dramatized staging. What pervades the tract is a sense that these women are impersonating or playing the roles of men, entering a previously inviolable patriarchal space and destabilizing normality. This has two implications: first, the binary oppositions underpinning hierarchical constructions of gender are challenged; and second, the very status of

gender identities as fixed and impenetrable signs is disrupted. Female appropriation of the public status previously denied them is laughable but simultaneously fearful. The impersonation of gendered roles undermines the stability and certainty of the institution. For Judith Butler, compulsory heterosexuality rests upon certain discourses of normality that can be undermined by dissident performances exposing that 'gender is a kind of persistent impersonation that passes as the real'.[5] Wiseman reads the tracts as representative of a 'crisis among men' and as an incident of 'socio-sexual satire'.[6] It is an example of the fluid and traumatizing possibilities of the disrupted situation. The encounter with the women-as-men in *The Parliament of Ladyes* presents a central problematizing of normality and stability during the war period. The performance or mimicking of the stable signifier interrogates the real and undermines the linguistic structures of nation upon which Royalism was predicated. There is a similar class-based performance that demonstrates an anxiety regarding the undermining of the stability of identity signification – the Royalist tract *Three Speeches* suggests 'would not How the Cobler make a speciall Lord Keeper? Or Walker a Secretary of State? Or the Lock-smith that Preached in Crooked Lane an excellent Master of the Wards?'[7] The idea of the common rabble playing at ruling is monstrous and humorous, but similarly worrying and destabilizing. The Parliamentary reconfiguration of identity challenged and questioned Royalist notions of hierarchy and had to be accounted for, systematized, constrained and contained. Women, or the commoners, in public roles challenged the underlying assumption of secure signification and the notion of an absolute hierarchical normality.

Challenges to the gender paradigms Royalism defined as normal were represented as profound disruptions to the social fabric. Women were castigated if they attempted to interrogate their social and political definition. Royalism defined Roundhead women as evil witches, anti-social and disruptive.[8] As *The Parliament of Ladyes* – and in particular the description of the women as '*Mermidons*' – demonstrates, there was a contemporary fear of the innate, ferocious or savage power of women. Royalist presentations of gender attempted to control this power, to either construct it as antisocial and inhuman or to deny it agency. Royalism attempted to turn what was an uneasy relationship of desire and difference into something familiar and controllable. In particular, Parliamentarian women were presented as sexually voracious and active. As Sharon Achinstein has noted, this was an attempt to explicate female removal from the domestic space by 'claiming she seeks to fulfil her sexual desire.'[9] Yet it is also part of a definition of extremist otherness. Attacks on dominant women, particularly preachers, com-

bined sexual insults with general social rebukes, in an attempt to construct a monstrous otherness directly linked to rebellion and transformation. The decentred and fluid identities of women who challenged gender structures were translated into anti-social depravity.

In early 1643 *Mercurius Aulicus* reported how the formerly 'zealous young Maids' of Norwich had now become pregnant: 'And let all Virgins looke to it, for people hereafter will scarce thinke them honest, who are so bold and shamelesse as to joyne in a Rebellion against their own Soveraigne' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 8 January 1643). The same edition of the newsbook satirized the entry of women into politics, attacking the 'Shee Committee of Coventry' for petitioning the 'pretended Houses'. This explicit link between transgressive social roles – political and religious power, involvement in government, dominance in the household – and sexual dissipation is common in Royalist construction of Parliamentary women. Degenerate behaviour is directly aligned with political thinking – rebellion is 'bold' and 'shamelesse'. Licentiousness and hypocrisy are often linked as characteristics of Parliamentarian women. They were regularly attacked for their loose morals: 'Professing purity, chaste, undefil'd,/ Yet in a Gravell pit was got with childe'.[10] They professed to be 'chaste', but poets knew this to be false: 'She loues it wel enough, why then doth she spit/ Her teeth doe water for to think on it'.[11] The 'Holy-Sister' is one that 'will lie, yet sweares she hates a lyer,/ Except it be that man will ly by her'.[12] She is rude, gossipy, drunken, greedy and vain, foolish and ignorant: 'Shee that at Christnings thirsteth for most sack' ('The Holy-Sisters Character', l. 13). This charge of drunkeness in women was particularly contrasted with the model of the demure and virtuous domestic wife. Drinking was a male preserve, and female desire for alcohol was one more challenge to the set roles assigned the subject within patriarchal Royalist culture.

Abraham Cowley's poem *The Civil War* conceives of a London full of monstrous and hysterical witches warmongering and fuelling the carnage with their inhuman hatred:

> Their onely Sonns the frantick Woemen send,
> Earnest, as if in Labour for their End.
> The Wives (what's that, alas), the Maydens too,
> The Maides themselves bid their owne dear ones goe.
> The greedy Tradesmen scorne their Idol Gaine,
> And send forth their glad Servants to bee slaine.
> The bald and gray-hair'ed Gownemen quite forsooke
> Their sleepy Furrs, black Shoes, and City looke,
> All ore in Iron and Leather clad they come; (III, 47–55)

Rather than bemoan the departure of their sons the hysterical women encourage them to leave. Maternal normality is inverted as mad or 'frantick' mothers seem to labour for the death of their sons and maids tell their lovers to leave. This inversion highlights the destructive power of uncontrolled femininity. Women are mad, destructive and disruptive.

Their savage power is represented by Cowley through the figure of the Gorgon. Comparison to a Gorgon had been deployed regularly through the 1630s by writers in description of an ugly or shrewish woman: William Strode's Song ('Keep on your maske, and hide your eye') and James Shirley's 'Curse' are lyric examples. Gorgons or snake-haired women also regularly figured in court masques; the antimasque to *Salmacida Spolia*, for instance, is introduced and instigated by a Fury. The image takes on a more charged and ambivalent significance during the war, in particular as it appears in the background of William Dobson's *Charles II as Prince of Wales* (1643, Rogers 9) seemingly defeated but a danger to the prince. This image of uncontrolled and destructive femininity is used by Cowley several times. Serpents are throughout associated with dissembling and rebellion; Schisme, 'old Hag', seems young 'As snakes by casting skin renew their yeares.'[13] The first Gorgon is the figure of Sedition: 'Her knotty haires were with dire Serpents twist,/ And all her Serpents at each other hist' (I, 223–4). Her hideous exterior is contrasted with the pure and naked Truth. Bevil Grenville's victory over the serpent-like monster of the Parliamentarian army at Lansdown causes the Furies to howl 'aloud through trembling Aire,/ Th'astonnisht snakes fell sadly from their Haire' as they make their way back to their haven in London (*The Civil War*, I, 483–4). The Gorgon is an instrument of evil or symbol of dissent from acceptable social structures. There is a biblical echo which chimes with Satan's edict that rebellious vice should possess the souls of the puritans 'As subtly, as the close Originall Sinne' (*The Civil War*, II, 546). Yet the Gorgon is also a symbol that demonstrates the power of female attraction – her power is to entrance and entrap the male through her gaze and appearance.

The sexual libertinism associated with Roundhead or Parliamentary women was part of a consistent discourse of sexual difference and exclusion. Consideration of this discourse allows us to bring together the various models of Roundhead difference and begin to see how these strands worked to formulate allegiance and loyalty. Royalism presented a sexual orthodoxy of compulsory heterosexuality within a fixed family unit. Roundheads were hypocrites because they were promiscuous, were voyeurs, committed buggery, incest, adultery and transmitted sexual diseases. Roundheads were 'Sodomitick troopes' that 'hate the flesh yet

ferke the Dames', hypocrites who disdain the orthodox sexual family unit.[14] They 'will not sweare, when's found fast with a sister,/ But yet, by Yea and Nay, deny he kist her'.[15] Their sexual profligacy is barbaric and alien: 'The number of their Wives their Lusts decree;/ The Turkish Lawe's their Christian Libertie!' (*The Civil War*, III, 95–6). Roundheads reject the normality of compulsory familial heterosexuality, and instead embrace a strange polygamy and sexual dissolution:

> But goes five Myles to prate & pray
> and kisse his Sisters by the way
> good faith hee's a pure Roundhead
>
> But if hee meete his holy sister
> then in good faith hee faine would kisse her
> for there his zeale aboundeth
>
> Twas under a greene shady willowe
> the Bible seru'd him for his pillow
> where streight hee gott a Roundhead.[16]

Religious practice and sexual licence are combined, to the extent that the Bible provides the Roundhead with physical comfort during congress. The Roundheads were strangely polygamous, sexually proflic and disguised this dissipation with claims of 'zeale' and 'good faith'.

Parliament was characterized by Royalists as questioning and challenging the order of things, subverting and undermining established patterns of behaviour and modes of identity. Part and parcel of this challenge to hierarchy and normality was a monstrous blurring of gender roles, an unsettling fluidity that allowed women to interrogate the discourses of patriarchy fundamental to the stability and harmony of the family of state. Sexual and gender deviancy was rampant in Royalist versions of the enemy. The rebels are portrayed through their sexual activities as a group of cowardly, cruel and perverse hypocrites:

> for the defence and maintenance of Adultery, we have providently forbidden all power and authority that should punish it, so that we having freedome, as Beasts have, have done worse then beasts would do, for some Sons have made so bold with their owne Mothers, that they have proved with Child by them, so that with Incests, Adulteries, Rapes, deflowerings, Fornications, and other veneriall postures & actions which daily passe and escape uncontrolled & unpunish'd, and as it may be conjectur'd tolerated, England is almost chang'd in that point to the Isle of Paphos.[17]

The rule of law is challenged by Parliament, and anarchy prevails – these activities are 'uncontrolled & unpunish'd', as the Roundheads deny the ability of the law to construct and control them: they infringe 'all the Lawes of God, of man, of nature, of Nations' (*The Conversion*, pp. 8–9). Roundhead excess leads to the invasion and violation of the traditional models of family, sexuality and ownership. They challenge in particular traditional set structures of space and nation, and their disruption of models of ownership and sexuality interrogates the boundaries dividing specific gender roles and the organization of society. Their sinful lust will tear down walls and attack estates.

Martin Lluellyn equated this insurgency with the textual violation of the King's words when Charles' letters to Henrietta Maria were intercepted and published in 1645:

> What bold Intruders then are who assaile,
> To cut their Prince's Hedge, and breake His Pale?
> That so Unmanly gaze, and dare be seene
> Ev'n then, when He converses with His Queene?[18]

The natural law protects the sanctity of the private domain. To break in upon the intimacy of two people inverts the order of the world and is an 'Unmanly' act. There are overtones of violation and voyeuristic surveillance.

This model of violation of property was deployed in combination with accusations of sexual perversity:

> one of their Prisoners was missed by his Keeper, who searching for him, and looking through a cranny into the Stable, he saw a ladder erected, and the holy Rebell (busie at a Conventicle) committing Buggery on the Keepers owne Mare. (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 17 December 1644)

This report illustrates Roundhead abnormality both in social/sexual relations while the description of the unholy 'conventicle' figures this kind of covert unnatural meeting as part of the religious malpractice of the rebellious meetings at Westminster. Not only does the Roundhead commit bestiality, it is also buggery, a compounding fault – as Jonathan Goldberg has argued, the definition of such sodometric acts is a verbal coding deployed to marginalize and define antisocial, unnatural transgressors.[19] It is also the Royalist keeper's property that is being, quite literally, shafted by the Parliamentarian; an apt and rich metaphor for

the interdependent but ultimately invasive disruption caused by the recent wars and challenges to, among other things, notions of property, propriety, and bodily normality. The Roundhead is associated continually with this kind of unnatural violation; for instance, Abraham Cowley suggested that Pym was the product of an unholy union: 'Onely Pym doth his naturall right enforce,/ By the Mothers side he's Master of the Horse.'[20] Yet the account is unnerving in its factual detail and revelatory quality; there is an underhand voyeurism in the reportage.

Sexual stereotyping and accusations of caricatured antisocial behaviour are not unusual during the early modern period, as many studies have recently shown. My purpose here is to attempt to consider such concerns and anxieties within the context of a Civil War: an unprecedented internal conflict, a hall of mirrors that, I argue, undermines Royalist attempts to impose particular models of identity. The war – it seems to me – compromises and destabilizes definitions of the early modern subject, and therefore is a key nexus point for study of the construction of sexual, national and cultural identity. The model of sexual behaviour propounded in Royalist accounts rests on a simple polarized relationship: sustaining Foucault's observation that 'sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden'.[21] Royalist discourse desired a model this clear cut, reacting to the spectre and trauma of Parliamentary challenge by asserting a model of identity that was essentially circumscribed and limited. Sexual identity was tied to models of the family and to anthropocentric notions of the wholeness of the body within society. Royalists accused Parliamentarians of collapsing sexual and gender distinctions completely: homosexuality was seen as a rife plague, and *Mercurius Anti-Britannicus* went so far as to accuse the London newsbook *Mercurius Britannicus* of being 'an Herm Aphrodite Rebell'.[22] They dissolve the either/or binary, challenging compulsory heterosexuality. However, there is also something troubling about the voyeurism involved in the above account, and the accusations of homosexuality. The keeper looks through 'a cranny into the Stable', watches the act and reports it. This observation of unnatural and antisocial sex figures a crucial anxiety in Royalist constructions of Parliamentary difference. There is a need to account for difference, to observe it and reject it, to simultaneously admit to its possibility and to deny its legitimacy. There is a need to define and deny the other, to reject it while unconsciously acknowledging and recognizing the monstrousness within. Royalist writers are implicated, despite their best attempts, in the Roundhead. They have to create an other in order to contain it, but it is not that easy to keep the dissident voice quiet.

Derrida's notion of the 'trace' is important here. Royalism determines identity through difference. Identity is constructed by society and through political institutions; it imposes structures and particular social roles. These roles have an either/or binary; you are in or out, included or excluded. Derrida sees this opposition breaking down, and it is this essential boundlessness, the important play and fluidity of meaning, that worries Royalist writers.

The model that Foucault formulated for the organization and categorization of sexuality is useful when considering Royalist intentions:

> Confronted by a power that is law, the subject who is constituted as subject – who is 'subjected' – is he who obeys. To the formal homogeneity of power in these various instances corresponds the general form of submission in the one who is constrained by it – whether the individual in question is the subject opposite the monarch, the citizen opposite the state, the child opposite the parent, or the disciple opposite the master. A legislative power on one side, and an obedient subject on the other. (Foucault, 1978, p. 85)

Constructions of parliamentary or Roundhead sexuality, and indeed of all Roundhead characteristics, were part of this binary nexus of interpolation and repression. Royalism worked on a simple and direct model of power. Institutional, linguistic and representational power constructed and constrained the subject, denying them a life outside of the social or public realm, accentuating the closed and inescapable nature of allegiance, identity and subjection. The Roundhead was a disease to be cast out, an other against which to measure difference and identity:

> Power is essentially what dictates its law to sex. Which means first of all that sex is placed by power in a binary system: licit and illicit, permitted and forbidden. Secondly, power prescribes an 'order' for sex that operates at the same time as a form of intelligibility: sex is to be deciphered on the basis of its relation to the law. And finally, power acts by laying down the rule: power's hold on sex is maintained through language, or rather through the act of discourse that creates, from the very fact that it is articulated, a rule of law. It speaks, and that is the rule. The pure form of power resides in the function of the legislator; and its mode of action with regard to sex is of a juridico-discursive character. (Ibid., p. 83)

Foucault's formulations of power and identity here aid our understanding of what is being played out in Royalist discourse. There was a definite attempt to control and constrain behaviour. There was no grey area, very little ambiguity. 'Partisan' writings were just that – texts specifically attempting to propagate a particularly ideologically inflected model of identity. Identity is constrained and constructed by what is allowed, legally (or institutionally) and socially. Yet the enemy, the male, the female – all these categories constantly interrogate such attempts at circumscriptive discourse. This disruption of the discourse of sexuality and gender is due to the ambivalences of representation, the slippage between difference and desire – the need to account for and to deny. Royalist anxiety at the attraction of the other manifests itself in extreme savagery or worry at the invasion of property. Royalist discourses of difference are under particular strain when describing loyal women, as we will now see.

Royalist women: fetishization and anxiety

Royalist privileging of the family unit in contrast to this image of sin and debauchery is demonstrated through the panegyrics written in praise and defence of Queen Henrietta Maria. She was important to Royalists as a symbol of dutiful yet idealized femininity. Her example illustrated how Parliamentarian women were unnatural and subversive. The sexuality of the opposition was deviant and transgressive, outside of the traditional space of the family and of structured gender roles. Roundhead women disrupted the hierarchies of society and ruptured the order of things, violating norms and flaunting sociological rules. They challenged the stability of family, both as a symbol of national unity, by undermining the King's role as father of his people, and as a controlling network of localized patriarchy that confirmed and sustained the social order. Royalist poets simultaneously lauded the Queen and subjected her, emphasizing her regal aspect while establishing her status as Charles' possession. Poets celebrated her as the mother of England, her maternal role defined within a standard family unit. She is also part of the empire, colonized and appropriated, meaning inscribed upon her, a locus of idolization and an idol to adore. She was presented with her own volume of panegyric University poetry, *Musarum Oxoniensum*, on her return to Oxford in 1644, and in it the poets established a discourse of praise newly configured for the turbulent times. She was 'By Dangers made more pretious/ As Things put on

new price and cost/ When most in perill to be lost.'[23] The poet and people value her as a lost possession. They are 'as He, who his Iewell threw/ Into the Sea, received it new', welcoming the return of a precious cargo: 'We doe receive you back as Treasure . . . Or as the longing Merchant prizes/ By th'Wracks they scape his Merchandizes.'[24] John Fell desired that 'Neighbour Hollander', that particularly mercantile nation, give up 'that Prize,/ So farre aboue thy richest Merchandize . . . Returne our Lillies, we will ask no more,/ Nor envie thee the Indies in thy store.'[25] She is granted status as commodity, something to be prized for extraneous rather than innate value; indeed, Fell's verse expresses neatly the underlying imperialist impulse of a male body politic that needs to possess its Queen. She is important in a symbolic or idealized sense, but not a physical one. The abstraction of the panegyric mode works to allow this gendered distancing, as the subject of the verse becomes exalted and objectified. These poems suggest that the Queen was actively constructed as part of the locus of Royalist national identity mediated through the necessities of a masculine war effort. She is a morale boosting pin-up, idealized and unattainable.

Royalist women in non-traditional roles figure in *Mercurius Aulicus*' narratives generally as victims or martyrs, separated from their menfolk by the strictures of war. The Countess of Derby was a special favourite of *Aulicus*, representing martial femininity and duty to the Royal cause: the long siege of Latham House was reported at length on several occasions, and the stubborn refusal of the Countess to yield her ancestral home became something of a symbol of aristocratic political defiance: 'wherein it hath pleased God to grant her such matchlesse courage, that she still holds Lathom House against them' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 17 April 1644). The Countess is forced to act in a masculine role by the absence of her husband. Her courage is celebrated in somewhat patronizing fashion but the reader is never allowed to forget that she steps out of her traditional gender roles in order to defend them. She is not challenging the structures of society, but defending them; she is not interrogating, but sustaining loyalist identity models. Importantly, she is rescued finally by Prince Rupert, at this point the Royalist masculine ideal (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 2 June 1644). This contained transgression is common in Royalist accounts of social behaviour. It pre-empts shifting identities and roles by containing them within an overarching structure of allegiance.

However, despite official, institutional and cultural attempts to define and objectify women, thus rendering them harmless, many writers discovered that the encounter with the female other undermined their

sense of self and identity. Defining gender and gender roles was not as simple or as safe as it looked:

> Item her malignant beautie can,
> Prouoake our Members for to rise,
> Nay make our Genn'rall proue a man,
> And the Star-chamber of her eyes,
> Robbs subiects of their liberties,
> And then her voyce keeps eares in awe,
> Euen like the high Commission lawe.[26]

Royalist constructions of Parliamentarian women depended mainly upon a simple binary opposition, situating particular behaviour as sinful and deviant in contrast to the loyalist ideal. The enemy was licentious, drunken, immoral, hypocritical and bodily disgusting. In contrast, a proper woman would be virtuous, demure, committed to the family unit, and sexually pure. Royalist gender models depended on set notions of the family and femininity. Women were expected to behave after the tireless example set by Henrietta Maria, and implicitly, the Virgin Mary. Yet as the quote above shows, there was a deep ambivalence and anxiety within Royalist culture regarding women. They were objects of suspicion, strangely powerful, and possibly rebellious. In this poem, the fair lady who is performing loyalty – weeping for her husband, imprisoned by Parliament (in itself a standard Royalist trope, as we have seen) – is seen to be troubling. Her behaviour is undermined and complicated by her gender. Her very body – and the reaction she provokes in others – betrays her. This anxious representation of the female other illustrates an underlying distress within loyalist writing, a problematic encounter provoked by the trauma of war and the destabilizing of normality and meaning. Royalists wished stability, meaning and wholeness; both women and, (as will be discussed later) men, introduced what Bhabha terms the 'slippage of difference and desire'. Women perform a decisive lack within signification. So Royalists, while cleaving to a notion of femininity that was part of the religious and civic hierarchies of family and society, found the encounter with the female distressing and worrying. Even the idealized Queen was suspected:

> Must wee depart then, & shall the heauens sole ey
> View vs at such a distance, prithy why
> Why wilt thou leaue mee, haue I ever bin

> untrue to thee, or what soe powerfull sin
> Ecclipseth thee, tell mee & with my prayers
> I'le expiate my Crime & bribe thine Eares
> or hast thou bin disloyall to my Bedd
> that thou must be divorc'd & I not dead
> hast thou displeas'd ye . . . these Tribes
> didst thou receit the Elders suite or Bribes
> Scorning to be a Doilila & betray
> my strength unto their uncircumcised sway.[27]

Initially, the most shocking aspect of this poem is the suggestion that the King could commit a crime of some description. Yet this is seen finally in a context of female sexual temptation which the reference to Samson underlines. The poem describes a moment of rupture in Royalist poetics. Celebration of the pairing of the King and Queen had been the foundation of an entire subculture during the 1630s; their 'divorce' suggested a growing instability and disharmony. That this anxiety be played out here on a personal level indicates that writers were unsure how to address such matters.

My purpose in discussing the poem here is that it displays the first suggestion of a problematic encounter with women being inflected through the tropes of the war. Standard discourses of gender relations were being put under pressure and the fundamental slippage inherent in their construction was swiftly becoming apparent. If the Queen – the paradigm for familial and sexual stability – were suspected of adultery and betrayal, all considerations of female behaviour could be undermined. Furthermore, the introduction of the Samson metaphor shows how women move from being figures of idealization to awkward and worrying temptresses, challenging the structures and hierarchies of patriarchal society. The poem also introduces us to the newly problematical tropes of love poetry; this is a valediction, a familiar poem of praise and address throughout standard collections of the 1620s and 1630s, being reconfigured in the light of the newly problematic context. Women begin to become a challenge and a problem, they resist categorization within easily definable limits and this in itself introduces a key slippage in the representation and construction of identity. The phallocentric discourse of masculinity preserved and created by Royalism and 1630s court culture was being anxiously supported throughout the war, but there are key moments which undermine it.

This kind of problematizing of the relationship to the idealized woman is present in manuscript poems of the Oxford writer Thomas

Weaver; indeed, his attempts at working through the complexities and contradictions of women show us a great deal of the ambiguities inherent in Royalist identity construction. Following common verse practice, Weaver creates a fictional muse and maps onto the central figure of 'Sylvia' a variety of poetic considerations and topoi. Lyrics include 'to his Friends who sought to comfort him after the fayre Sylvia's departure' (fol. 2r), 'Sylvia singing' (fol. 3r), 'Sylvia frowning' (fol. 3v), 'An Elegie On ye death of ye fayre Sylvia's Spaniell' (fols 8r–9v), 'To Sylvia, on a bracelett of her hayre wch she sent him' (fols 9v–10r), as well as two versions of a 'Pastorall Dialogue' between 'Thirsis and Sylvia' (fols 9r–v, 11r–v). However, what seems to be innocuous generic poetry is thrown into sharp relief by the poem 'To Sylvia going to an Enemies Garrison' (fol. 13v–14r). Mixing the vocabulary of love poetry with that of combat and military loyalty, the poem updates the contemporary society of the pastoral and inflects the language of the lyric with contemporary resonance:

> But stay not long (sweete Nymph) for so
> May thy returne procure our Woe
> Whilst we, like men, wch for long space
> haue beene confin'd to some dark place,
> Shall, beeing restored to that light,
> By wch we see now; loose our Sight.[28]

A deeply ambivalent tone of moral and spiritual inversion disrupts the seemingly platonic ideal of the poem. The poet had desired Sylvia to use her beauty's power to destroy his enemies, that 'those sunnes . . ./ Consume, not warme them wth theyr fire' (ll. 13–14). Now, however, the light of Sylvia's eyes which in the opening couplet protects 'From gloomy night' has attained a randomly destructive quality which is only made obvious after a period of confinement or imprisonment. Her reason for visiting the enemy is unclear, and the diction implies violation or a financial relationship: the poem is full of charged words such as 'procure', 'Idolators', 'Consume', 'confin'd', and 'convey'.[29] The movement from the controlled and loyal space of the Royalist town to the ambiguous and unmediated location of the enemy garrison will precipitate social and personal upheaval. Puritanism is defined in the poem as the direct topographical inverse of the Royalist garrison: 'our Antipodes'.[30] Sylvia's sun-like eyes 'are decree'd to go/ From our Horizon to the Foe', as the world is literally turned upside down. Her venturing beyond the safe environs of the city and voluntarily excluding herself

from the space of Royalism leads to an uneasy ambiguity of status. The poet wishes to idealize 'Sylvia', but her proposed actions reveal her to be undutiful and politically suspect; she is external and other, a problem.

Her gender particularly becomes a site of conflict; her formerly idealized qualities become destructive, and her entire being and status as a woman is problematized. In particular, her free movement between the sides of the war gives her a polemically elusive quality which can destroy the loyal troop; as with the Cavalier and the Lady, discussed below, the temptations of the flesh distract the soldier from his loyal duty. The poem deploys standard lyric tropes but inflects them with new ambivalence, warps the generic rules by investing the subject of the poem with a central ambiguity. Sylvia is not governed by rules of identity and behaviour; she in fact flaunts them, moving easily between loyalist and enemy. Her very ability to do this problematizes her status as an idealized woman. As a muse, Sylvia is distinctly ill-behaved. She refuses to act in a requisite fashion and to be controlled. She resists ownership and definition. She refuses the definitions imposed upon her by gender rules, compulsory heterosexuality, social practice and loyalist discourse. She flouts the structures of behaviour imposed upon women, and in doing so interrogates the perceived stability of gender and social roles, suggesting a fluidity of identity that is challenging and distressing to the Cavalier.

Women were problematic to the system of royalist signification, troublesome and ambiguous. Abraham Cowley deploys a problematic image in his description of the skirmish at Aldbourne Chase:

> Digby on whom free Pallas did bestow,
> All that her Armes can dare, and Wit can know;
> In both has gain'd her Gorgons pow'er ore men,
> By's Sword struck dead, astonisht by his Pen.
> They force their passage through an Host, and strow
> The way with groaning Rebells as they goe. (*The Civil War*, III, 229–34)

Pallas Athena's favour gives Digby epic heroic status. Cowley makes much of her dual role as war goddess and personification of wisdom through being patroness of the urban arts. Digby is equally strong and destructive with pen and sword, a reference to his role in the production of *Mercurius Aulicus*. The passage equates the roles of text and iron as weapons furthering the King's cause; both help Digby to force his

'passage through an Host' and confound the rebels. Pallas Athena's agency in the use of the Gorgon is important also; as a virgin ('maiden' is one interpretation of her name) she can control such destructive femininity. Yet the ambiguity of the punctuation in line 231 suggests that Athena has a 'Gorgons pow'er ore men', a problematic and destructive femininity. Women are powerful and painful, and have to be controlled and used properly – without the correct handling they can backfire horribly. This anxiety is expressed by Richard Lovelace: 'To his lovely Bride in love with scars,/ Whose eyes wound deepe in Peace, as doth his sword in wars'.[31] The woman can wound, scar, invade the body and disrupt its wholeness. This is a lyric trope which presents, like Weaver, an ambivalent Gorgon-beauty who is dangerous as well as desirable. The Gorgon is like the Myrmidon, an example of savage and dangerous femininity. By using these descriptions and tropes of representation Royalist writers are close to using the same words to describe Royalist women as they did for Parliamentarian; indeed, the Gorgon image as used by Cowley has already been illustrated as demonstrating a fear of the uncontrolled, mad woman.

In John Dale's panegyric verse 'The Muses heretofore' printed in the praise volume *Musarum Oxoniensum*, women are militarily powerful but this power is again ambivalent. Henrietta Maria's courtly entourage becomes indistinguishable from her conquests. Her return to England turns war into a ceremonial or ritual, a stately progress across the country toward Oxford:

> Your sweet celestiall Voice doth farre more cheare
> Then any Trumpet, and forbids all feare.
> Your Maids of honour with their glorious fight
> Millions of Preaching Citty dames will fright.
> Each beauty takes a Pris'ner, and what hand
> Can hurt those Starrs which doe the hearts command?
> Newes of your Victories, like Pages, came
> Before your Person, to proclaime your fame.
> To take a Towne by th'way it was your sport,
> Nor was your prosp'rous Iourney hindred for't.[32]

War is a 'glorious' undertaking, and the battle itself becomes an idealized 'sport' or pastime; almost a masque to divert the court. In the same volume of praise to Henrietta Maria the poet William Creed celebrates: ''tis to you/ We owe the sad Scenes change . . . Conquest attends your Presence.'[33] In his poem Dale describes how Pages and Maids of honour

attend the triumphant and 'prosp'rous' apotheosis toward the King and court. Despite the power attributed them, women can only fight with traditional weapons: grace and beauty. The generic expressions of the wounded lover are redeployed in a different, although still figurative, setting ('Each Beauty takes a Pris'ner'). Puritan women are 'Dames', ugly old wenches ignorant of all but preaching. By contrast, members of the Queen's entourage are young and pretty. Dale appropriates military metaphors for his poem which mix pastoral fantasy and panegyric with a new sense of engagement:

> The Birth of Princes the chiefe Theme hath beene
> For Scholars, now, the safety of the Queene.
> We now doe runne to meet You in the Field
> Wherein we see your Fanne turn'd to a Shield
> Vpon Your Cheekes the Royall Colours lye,
> The Rose and Lilly in full Majesty,
> Your lovely Look Commander is in Chiefe
> Of all the Hearts; your Hands powre out releefe
> To needy Souldiers; 'mongst your Femall train
> The Lady Money followes, to sustaine
> Your Army with full store, which was not got
> By th'publike Faith, that hansome sugred plot.[34]

The rhetorical model of poetry has shifted from celebrating birth to idealizing military engagement. The scholar-poets, rushing to meet the Queen with praise, discover that as a Muse she has become distinctly militarized.[35] The work she now inspires is martial and situated on the battlefield. The Queen's complexion exhibits her innate nobility, with the rose and lilies demonstrating her connection of the Anglo-French monarchies. She becomes a physical site of allegiance, as symbolically important as the Royal colours themselves. The trappings of monarchy and femininity are turned to martial use, protecting her subjects. A line in the following poem by Richard Steevenson uses a similar model: 'Each Maid of Honour's Fanne's become a Shield/ Indeed no honour like to that o'th field.'[36] Dale fetishizes the Queen's idealized role as protector and inspiration, her courtly protection or exterior now changed to armour. Steevenson instead highlights how all servants of the Queen, from courtly maidservants to poets, must engage with the enemy and use their natural tools in that fight. What outwardly seems empty of purpose and simply beautiful is turned to practical use in the Queen's defence.

These two external examples of feminine power, make-up and fans, are those traditionally associated with disguise, covert asides and subterfuge. For instance Cowley describes Rebellion 'full of painted Grace' (*The Civil War*, II, 404). The poets attempt to reclaim these ambiguous and problematized motifs as indexes of symbolic strength. Like the Gorgon, the presentation is deeply ambivalent. Henrietta Maria's femininity is mediated by male poets who have shaped her to their own purpose. Yet there is still a great anxiety about her power, as is shown in Jaspar Mayne's poem 'Could I report': 'O what a Terrour issued from thy Looke/ Which fought as well as Thou . . . Thy unarm'd face shew'd dreadfull as our Lances,/ The foe felt new Artilleries from thy Glances.'[37] Like Weaver's and Lovelace's version of the beauty-Gorgon, her identity and power seems to be something the male poet cannot quite control or claim. Women have a power that is deeply unsettling and problematic.

The homosocial turn

This sense of anxiety and final rejection provoked by an encounter with the female is particularly explicit in Weaver's 'A dialogue betwixt a Cavalier & a Lady upon occasion of an Alarme in ye night' (fols 10r–v). A witty dialogue, the poem ambivalently appropriates the blunt language of war to its own particular purpose. In doing so, it restructures a model of bawdy verse and inflects it with ambiguous and at times savage darkness. As with 'To Sylvia going to an Enemies Garrison' a gloomy awareness of death pervades the poem:

> La: Deare prethee stay, why doest thou haste
> As if this Trumpet were ye last,
> And call'd Thee from thy Graue, I doubt,
> Ay mee, it rather call's thee to't. ('A dialogue', ll. 1–4)

This doomsday metaphor is contrasted with the Cavalier's loud exclamations that he will 'giue that fate unto the Foe,/ And teach his Insolence, what 'tis/ thus to disturb a lover's bliss' (ll. 7–9). Throughout the poem his valorous and defiant heroism is counterpointed by the Lady's desire that he not risk death for honour:

> Cau: No, I'l reserue that sweete defeate
> To crowne & make ye rest compleate
> When I haue spent much bloud before

> Here't will refresh to spend yet more
> Lad: yet ere you goe, dispatch my paine,
> Leaue not a Mayde = head halfe slaine,
> Deare make another Pass Cau: No more
> The God, wch Souldiers most adore,
> Great Honr. bids mee vse my might
> For Reputation first, & then Delight. (ll. 15–24)

The Cavalier describes orgasm as 'sweete defeate' and speaks in terms of honour, although the residual financial inflection of 'spend' is picked out by the Lady's 'dispatch'. She sees their relationship in far more profound terms, her militarized language eschewing his idealized image of honourable wounds for a blunter realism and harsh rhyme ('paine'/'slaine'). Elsewhere in the collection wounds are idealized, but they are problematized by being received by women; the conflation of womanly discourse and martial language evident in the Lady's part of the dialogue is taken further, as the debilitating and damaging effects of the war are inscribed upon the feminine body. Arcadian models of verse are violated by the grim spectre of war, or of enemy other.[38] The Lady is not allowed to continue in this destructive vein, and her voice is subsumed within his. He finishes her line ('No more'), and encloses her words by rhyming with his own earlier 'before'/'more'. The echoing repetition of l. 18 in 'No more' gives the line an imperative quality which asserts his authority over the situation. Their Chorus expresses and ratifies his version of events, and the poem ends with an affirmation of a concept of martial honour:

> *Chorus*
> Tyranne Honr makes the braue
> And noblest minde, the greatest slaue
> Whereever he commands, we goe
> And leaue our dearest freinds, to meet a Foe. (ll. 25–8)

Using a language of obedience to a higher, idealized power, the poem strains to construct a Cavalier or Royalist identity. Masculine martial honour is preferred to base feminine desire. Sexual pleasure is conceived as secondary to loyalty to the King; the supporters of the King sacrifice their own desire to his cause, rejecting the 'sweete defeate' in search of a more lasting duty. The weak but passionate female character is an example of the unmanning and limiting power of sexuality; her feminized discourse can be compared to the rapacious Parliamentarians

conjured up in *Mercurius Aulicus*, content to wallow in their own filth and deviance rather than attain higher glory. Yet she also expresses sentiments that tarnish the masculine ideal which is finally seen to be the victor in their dialogue. Her role is that of the poet in 'To Sylvia going to an Enemies Garrison', pleading with her partner not to engage in a dialogue with the enemy and therefore violate or injure themselves. The foe is preferred to friends and lovers. In terms of subjectivity, the soldier is enslaved by his calling, denied choice or agency. This enslavement is at once comforting – it establishes rules and boundaries, models of conduct – and distressing: it destabilizes relationships, and forces an encounter with the enemy which is at once problematic and tempting. The soldier takes refuge in the laws of war, attempts to define himself through them, but ultimately the idealized honourable body he desires is broken, and the rules for action are undermined. This poem suggests that male identity is defined through homosocial relationships with other men and the scientific and honourable rules of combat, rather than the chaos of the female. In some ways the problem of the encounter with the other is twofold here: the soldier is forced to choose between the male enemy other and the female friendly other. He is attracted to both, but chooses warfare as it suggests to him stability of definition and identity; as we will see in Chapter 6, this is an empty promise. Women were not to be trusted; the encounter with them was problematic. They did not fit cleanly into the structures and configurations of Royalist discourse. Their very presence problematized strict gender definition, undermining the assurance of masculinity. The company of men is preferable to that of women.

Warfare had the ability to disrupt standard love tropes, and led young men to desert their mistresses, encouraging men to leave the temptation of women for the homosocial bonding places of the field of combat. In some ways this was problematic insofar as it disrupted the standard models of family and compulsory heterosexuality, replacing such healthy relationship paradigms with the friendship of men. However, this problem enabled a response to the threat of uncontrolled womanhood, while simultaneously providing a desired head-on encounter with the enemy other. The anxious reaction to the encounter with the female other characterizes the poems of Richard Lovelace:

> Tell me not (Sweet) I am unkinde,
> That from the Nunnerie
> Of thy chaste breast, and quiet minde,
> To Warre and Armes I flie

True; a new Mistresse now I chase,
The first Foe in the Field;
And with a stronger Faith imbrace
A Sword, a Horse, a Shield.

Yet this inconstancy is such,
As you too shall adore;
I could not love thee (Deare) so much,
Lov'd I not Honour more.[39]

The poem opens with an imperative but even this seeming assurance is problematized through the awkward syntax of 'Tell me not (Sweet) I am unkinde'. With the double negatives ('not'; 'unkinde') the poet attempts to impose a clean authority on the opening stanza with mixed results. The scansion of the poem is awkward also, and the tone of the piece in general suggests a troubled and unsure approach to the structure and hierarchy of warfare.

The sexual and gender dynamics of the poem are complicated and suggestive. The verse is almost intentionally the inverse of poems encouraging retirement. Here retirement is presented as feminine and weak. The nunnery and 'quiet minde' of reflective living tempts man to inaction and sloth, to the point that he has to actively flee towards war. The soldier would rather chase the enemy than be quiet with his love. There is an inversion of the standard hunting/courtship metaphor here. Before, courtship was often described in terms of combat or hunting. In this poem, Lovelace twists the metaphor further, suggesting that war is courtship. He is actively pursuing honour, seeking to define himself through his (masculine/noble) deeds rather than his relationships. The poet forsakes his muse but also physically leaves a woman who is chaste and quiet, turning instead to the chaos and noise of war. The 'chase'/'imbrace' section of Lovelace's poem is therefore interesting for a consideration of homosocial relationships during this period, particularly between soldiers. The poet describes the rituals of warfare deploying the tropes and language of love lyrics. He would rather be with his garrison than his lover. He actively chases his foe, running from the retirement and complexity of femininity to the straightforward relationships of masculinity. He wishes to become one with his kind, to flee the absence of woman to the presence of man. He has been conceptually castrated through his weak pursuit of the female, and must reassert his gender and sexuality through the retrieval of faith and phallus, sword and shield. Woman undermines sexuality and

harmony, and the soldier-poet has to revalidate it and to thereby reconfigure the genre, but the very anxiety underlining this poem undermines it. This reclamation and rebirth as a validated male subject is only possible through fleeing to a totally male space, the battlefield. The war provided male revalidation through investment in homosocial spaces. Women are dangerous and incomplete; they present an absence or a lack. War is homosocial insofar as it is a turn from the problematizing woman to embrace the male/slay the male. The relationships are uncomplicated by feminine absence.

Warfare was the ultimate expression of masculinity; poets asserted that as it was noble and scientific:

> Heark Reader! wilt be learn'd ith' warres?
> A Gen'rall in a gowne?
> Strike a League with Arts and Scarres,
> And snatch from each a Crowne?
> Wouldst be a wonder? Such a one,
> As should win with a Looke?
> A Bishop in a Garison,
> And Conquer by the Booke?
> Take then this Mathematick shield,
> And henceforth by it's rules,
> Be able to dispute ith'field,
> And Combate in the Schooles.
> Whilst peaceful Learning once againe,
> And the Souldier so concord,
> As that he fights now with her Penne,
> And she writes with his Sword.[40]

Warfare was the pursuit of gentlemen and scholars, an exact and meticulous pastime with regulations that could be learned and definable characteristics. It is a scientific and empirical discipline, clear and precise. It was particularly a masculine preserve, practised in homosocial spaces and loci that explicitly banned women. It provided the soldier with a structured set of behavioural rules that he could relax into, and banished the chaos of women. Warfare was presented as sanctuary, a place of meaning and stability. As a male space of learning, it has much in common with the University of Oxford that most Royalist writers had either attended or were currently looking to as the site of the King's court. As Martin Lluellyn's poem 'Verses made in Bed to one studying in the same Chamber', written in Oxford, shows, both the

war and the university were private closet spaces that men could withdraw into. Lluellyn mocks his companion for his warlike scholarship: 'then/ Stead of a sword lies drawne a Valiant Pen'.[41] The poet admires his 'brave attempt' at late study but even within this haven of study and companionship there is a problem: 'pray forsake/ The flow'r thus deckt with honey shrouds a snake' (ll. 15–16). In a witty and mocking tone the poem comments upon the cramped conditions of the city and the military significance of domestic objects. However, it also provides us with a model of homosocial scholarship and warfare that presents the study chamber as a closeted male preserve. The space of war was similarly private and enclosed, a safely masculine space away from the problematizing absences and worries of women. Yet, as the final chapter will demonstrate, this space was itself highly unstable.

6
Fragmentation of the body and the end of identity

Traumatic occlusion

This concluding chapter is concerned with attempts during the 1640s at denying the R/reality of warfare, the imposition of a recognizable narrative frame and categorical pattern onto an essentially uncontrolled and uncontrollable event. In particular, I ask was the execution of the King a rupture point for Royalism or did it lead loyalists to retreat into recognizable structures of narrative and trope? Many of the techniques and tropes I will be delineating are very familiar and used throughout history. In fact, the themes of this concluding section – the act of forgetting, the disjunction between experience and memory, and the avoidance of traumatic re-enactment – are often taken to be quintessentially human; as Derrida asks, 'Why am I denied narration?'[1] However, it seems that the unsettling effects of war are tied into something that is definably Royalist; indeed, examination of responses to warfare allows us further insight into the loyalist mind and a way to interrogate Virilio's 'personality' of war. The anxiety inherent in the encounter with the Roundhead other is transmitted throughout Royalism and undermines a sense of wholeness, meaning and coherence. The sense of dislocation and problematic justification of normality is resonant in all Royalist work at some level or other. The desire to turn chaos into a theatrical narrative which expels difference and transgression underpins the discourse of Royalism.

In Jeannette Winterson's novel *The Passion*, the central character Henri presents an account of the Napoleonic wars while simultaneously acknowledging the distancing effect of rendering into written language his experiences: 'Words like devastation, rape, slaughter, carnage, starvation are lock and key words to keep the pain at bay. Words about war

that are easy on the eye.'[2] This formulation acknowledges that language cannot signify and represent the experience of the 'real'; words can only defer an understanding of 'reality'. These terms are unpleasant but they do not replace or represent lived experience, they 'keep the pain at bay'. In fact, the passage implies that people use such words intentionally, knowing that they can defer or distance experience by using an unstable and absent language, a language without presence. Language is a tool used in the repression or working through of trauma, a process of conscious deferral and not-experience. It is deployed to categorize and control the sublime or unpresentable experience, offering a means of slotting such painful incidents into a structure of order, a movement from the void of the real to the relative safety of the symbolic. As Slavoj Žižek has argued, 'the Sublime is therefore the paradox of an object which, in the very field of representation, provides a view, in a negative way, of the dimension of what is unpresentable'.[3] Žižek argues that the Real is 'a shock of a contingent encounter which disrupts the automatic circulation of the symbolic mechanism; a grain of sand preventing its smooth functioning; a traumatic encounter which ruins the balance of the symbolic universe of the subject' (p. 171). Trauma is an encounter with the sublime or unpresentable that leads to an awareness of the void, the failure of symbolization. For Winterson, the shock of the Real is kept at a distance by the mediation of language, an attempted occlusion of that 'chaotic, boundless, terrifying dimension' which Žižek terms the sublime (p. 171). He continues, claiming 'The Sublime is therefore the paradox of an object which, in the very field of representation, provides a view, in a negative way, of the dimension of what is unpresentable' (p. 203). The experience of the sublime demonstrates how the locus of unmeaning bleeds into consciousness.

Early modern discourses of the body and of death admit to this worry about incompleteness and invasion; Žižek's language is Lacanian, but his point – that trauma undermines and interrogates our understanding of the world, that a sublime encounter 'ruins the balance' of our universe, is evidenced throughout the reaction to the war in the 1640s. To engage in warfare is to introduce technological invasion of the body, and to actively invite wounding and trauma. Destruction of the body is inscribed into the entire process. The political technology of the body is constantly to be ruptured and fragmented. Furthermore, the entire notion of the body as structure and locus of wholeness and normality is challenged by the destructive technology of warfare. In Royalist accounts, wounding and destruction are fine if they happen to the enemy; any interpenetrating of the loyalist body presents a trauma

that must be dealt with by locating the event in a recognizable narrative structure. The impact of warfare on the body of state and subject led to a traumatic reaction and a loss of wholeness which Royalism addressed through representational strategies designed to configure what was an encounter with the sublime and occlude the invasion of the real. This process became more and more distressed, and with the physical sundering of the head of state from his body, led to a crisis of representation and a wounding that ultimately could not be sutured. With the death of the King the illusory guarantee of signification collapsed.

Cathy Caruth has argued that trauma challenges our rational categorization of experience, forcing us to ambivalently face a reality that is known and not-known. The replaying and remembering or *rewitnessing* of traumatic events is something that must be undertaken but which simultaneously undermines our sense of completeness or centredness. The unknowable trauma of the event is illustrated in van Beusekom's 1649 print which presents the gory body of the King spewing blood and members of the watching crowd fainting in shock at the sundering of symbolic structure. The King moves from being head of the state to a thing, an uncategorizable void, 'the head of a traitor'. As Caruth argues, 'What returns to haunt the victim, these stories tell us, is not only the reality of the violent event but also the reality of the way that its violence has not yet been fully known.'[4] The wound, the real or physically incomplete evidence of the traumatic experience demands testimony. It is a locus of knowing and not knowing. Trauma is something that undermines our notions of stability and understanding – it presents us with the very fact that what we think we know we do not know, and we simultaneously want to watch it/embrace it but also to reject it/run away from it. It undermines our notion of stability, rupturing the sense of organized or rational control that we have over our understanding: 'its very unassimilated nature – the way it was precisely *not known* in the first instance – returns to haunt the survivor later on' (Caruth, 1996, p. 4).

The occlusion of the real through strategies of representation that Winterson describes is something that characterizes Royalist accounts of the conflict, and is crucially a necessary strategy for considering civil war. Representations of the war attempted objectivity, to disclose the subjective fracturing of the process. This is, for instance, presented in the various maps of the conflict which occluded the fragmentary incoherence of battle by imposing a disciplinary panoramic cohesion, presenting the unpresentable as a categorizable whole. The sublime experience of chaos and rupture, what Žižek terms the real, is

undermined, rationalized, realized. Furthermore, throughout this book I have argued that the anxiety of the encounter with the internalized cancer of the plague or rebellion is continually invoked in order to reimpose models of identity and paradigms of behaviour, to reassert a centred normality. So far, therefore, this pattern is familiar to us. Throughout this book I have delineated the structures put in place by Royalist culture and institutions to perpetuate certain forms of identity and reject particular models of behaviour. This chapter is concerned with the slippage and anxiety that was addressed briefly in Chapters 4 and 5. Within Royalist writing was inscribed a fundamental anxiety, and we can tease open texts to show how they articulated this worry. This chapter analyses the way the establishment attempted to address the problematizing of masculinity inherent in representations of lengthy and bloody warfare. As Diane Purkiss has argued, the creation of a masculine ideal or identity during the war years was an increasingly problematic and complex pursuit. Platonic and classical modes were violated and invalidated by the physical consequences of the combat.

War literature is characterized by a deep ambivalence. Royalist writing attempted to impose a strict model upon behaviour, but these texts show how certain concerns and worries meant that the mould never completely stuck; there was a constant tension between the idealized paradigm and the textual reality. Royalism desired stable completeness, but here I suggest that in the presence of great trauma, and particularly after the execution of the King, this was impossible. Royalism became Royalism*s*, a fractured, diffuse set of codes and paradigms with no binding narrative. Through the discussion of rewitnessing and the encounter with the Real this final chapter returns to many of the themes of the book, arguing that the anxiety inherent in the encounter with the Roundhead other is transmitted throughout Royalism and interrogates a sense of wholeness, meaning and coherence.

War undermines completeness, and presents the viewer with an uncontrollable, fragmented narrative with no centre, no sense of completion and an absence of meaning. In her *Memoirs*, composed around 1676, Ann Fanshawe wrote of the traumatic effect of the court's move to the Oxford during the civil war:

> My father commanded my sister and myself to come to him to Oxford [1643], where the Court then was; but we that had till that time lived in great plenty and great order found ourselves like fishes out of water, and the scene so changed that we knew not at all how to act any part but obedience. For from as good house as any

> gentlemen of England had we come to a baker's house in an obscure street, and from rooms well furnished to lie in a very bad bed in a garret; to one dish of meat, and that not the best ordered; no money, for we were as poor as Job; nor clothes more than a man or two brought in their cloak bags. We had the perpetual discourse of losing and gaining of towns and men; at the windows the sad spectacle of war, sometimes plague, sometimes sicknesses of other kinds, by reason of so many people being packed together, as I believe there never was before of that quality; always want; yet I must needs say that most bore it with a martyr-like cheerfulness. For my own part I begun to think we should all like Abraham live in tents all the days of our lives.[5]

Fanshawe's words reveal the sense of fragmentation, rupture, and disruption the war invoked for those experiencing it. The war involves a disorientating shift away from 'great plenty and great order' to a dislocating contingency. There is a loss of completeness, a movement to anxiety and disorder. Fanshawe is forced to contemplate the reality of the war, challenged by the insistent presence of bloodshed to consider the fragmented and fluid interference of the real. Fanshawe's account figures a crucial encounter with the reality of war which threatens to challenge the clarity and coherence of the Royalist system of representation. However, this encounter is simultaneously packaged – Fanshawe attempts to displace and occlude the real by casting her experience of the war as theatre. The materiality of the war is distanced through it being turned into the 'sad spectacle of war'; the sharp edges of combat are packaged and codified into a performance crucially seen through a window, distanced, displaced and controlled. The presentation of the war as performance imposes upon this spiky and fragmented reality the promise of a narrative coherence, of completion. The notion of performance allows Fanshawe to simultaneously remember and re-member, to reconstitute a clarity and narrative organization upon the disintegrating body of state and soldier. Signification returns, and Fanshawe is able to reorder her understanding and presentation of the war.

This narrative packaging is apparent even in combat textbooks. For instance, Nathaniel Burt's 1644 *Military Instructions* presents emblems and illustrations of warfare but never makes reference to the actual point of the activity, preferring to euphemize the importance of being 'studious in the waye of the Art Militarie' (frontispiece). A significant number of these books on military conduct were published throughout the 1640s and 1650s, and they all emphasize a humanistic scientific

approach to combat: 'Wherein is plainly demonstrated, by figures and otherwise, the Exercise and Discipline of the horse, very usefull for all those that desire the knowledge of warlike Horse-man ship', as one title puts it.[6] The pamphlets included copious notes and extensive illustrations of drills, exercises and stratagem. Their account of warfare is schematic, technical, and utterly bloodless. The practical instruction books turned combat into mathematics, printing 'rules and directions' for using weapons that fused 'Arithmetick and Geometry' into a discernible and identifiable 'Art'.[7] They gave one the means to scientifically map any area, to 'draw the Plot of a City or other Garrison, and to take the distance to every remarkable Object within Cannon shot', enabling the imposition of destruction in a unified rather than a fragmented way (*Art of Gunnery*, p. 53). This formulation chimes with Richard Lovelace's 'hark reader! Wilt be learn'd I'th'wars?' Anthony Cooper remembered his scholarly experience of the war:

> When first I went to Oxford, fully there intent
> To study learned science I went
> Instead of Logicke, Physicke, School converse
> I did attend the armed troops of Mars.
> Instead of books I sword, horse, pistols bought
> And on the field I for degrees then fought.[8]

Such a resolution of messy, bloody warfare into a mathematical science or discourse of learning collapses the destruction of the body into a process of surveillance and systemization. In turning the body of the soldier into a something – a sergeant, an infantryman, a captain – the textbooks signify them as an absence, a signifier without actuality. They are not real people being maimed, destroyed or pierced, but part of a chain of signification which can be deployed using certain structured rules and paradigms. They are a code, a category, a language or science that can be learned and then used on the field of battle. 'He' is a captain, a something, someone who has a defined role within the chain of signifiers, the discourse of this particular situation. War becomes a humanist game, a technological chess match or even, at the level of the particular shapes and marching patterns, a theatrical presentation and narrative conversation. It is a reasoned debate between those who know their classical authors best. The best general will be he who deploys his counters most effectively according to the rules of the game – kind of a 1640s version of *Risk*, if you will.

The notion of war as a game, even a social pastime, is everywhere invoked; for instance, a 1643 tract figures the conflict as *The bloody Games at Cards*:

> The Common-wealth may in many respects be compared to a packe of Cards, wherein there is much shuffling, and by the hand of Fortune the foure Suites are mingled together, that is the Clubs, the Countrie Spade men, the rich Diamond men, and the Loyall hearted Subjects that stand for the King of Hearts who challengeth a Prerogative above them all. The King of Hearts desires that there might be fair play above board, and hath made many Declarations and Protestations that He intends all faire dealing, and desires onely to be King in His owne Common-wealth, and not to be oppos'd by the Common Cards; But they little regarding what the King of Hearts power is in the game of the Common-wealth, presently beganne to ranke themselves into severall Suites and to oppose the King of hearts, and call all the Adherents unto Him malignants.[9]

Cards are split into suits, ranked, and distinguished by external appearance and signifiers of particular loyalty. This tract suggests that war is a game, a code or structure like any other. The problematic, destabilizing and anxiety-inducing aspect of this situation, however, is that the enemy refuses to play by these rules. They must be forced to do so, as to ignore them is to challenge the entire basis of the structured view of the world and to banish logic; not so much to suggest another game, as to reveal the arbitrariness of the entire system: 'For know your Losse is certain, and you winne/ Nought but Dishonour, that resist the King' (*The bloody Games at Cards*, p. 8). The conflict is resolved into a recognizable system of categorization with the King as the fulcrum of meaning and function. Furthermore, it is resolved into a binary state of winners – those who play the game properly – and losers, those who don't understand the game; they have no chance within this hierarchically organized structure. The organization of the chaos of war was true for both sides, and is a common enough reaction to conflict; however, for Royalists, it was given further charge by the sense that everything was giving way and collapsing into hellish disorder. Abraham Cowley described the hell into which they would be pitched, and which was an incipient consequence of defeat, as 'boundless', uncategorizable and unknowable. The traumatic encounter with the Parliamentary other presents the void at the centre of representation,

the unmeaning. It is a meeting with the sublime, a realization of a state of abjection. Royalist presentation of the Roundhead attempted to pour meaning into the void of the real; through naming, categorizing and witnessing the traumatic invasion of the Roundhead, the fragmentation of the state was deferred. Words, as Winterson says, 'to keep the pain at bay'.

Elegy: loyalty and subjectification through example

This desire for narrative completion is apparent in a genre that recounts and attempts to account for death, that is, the elegy. James Loxley (1997, 192–3) notes the 'polemical deployment of elegy within Royalist poetics' during the war, analysing how 'many civil war poems manage to fuse the affective and self-reflexive characteristics of the former [funeral elegy] with the less personal, public praise of the latter [epicede].' Yet elegy was more than just a polemic weapon in a propaganda debate. It offered an ideal to be celebrated, an example to be followed. Elegiac poems and tracts presented the body of the dead hero as something definable and categorizable. As Suzanne Scholz has noted, the (re)presentation of the body, particularly within poetic trope or scientific discourse, is fundamental in the construction of early modern subjectivity.[10] The male body in Royalist elegies is celebrated as part of a loyalist corporate whole, even when the corpse itself is being dismembered. These works attempt to sustain an ideal of masculinity, which, while tempered with religious and civic sorrow, maintain the discourse of the loyal, validated subject as a definable and complete entity. The loyal subjectivity of these individual bodies is celebrated despite their incompleteness; yet this fragmentation and invasion of the body fatally undermines the versions of identity presented to the reader.

Royalist elegy insisted upon the elevated virtue of its subject and stood as a lasting physical monument to the cause's martyrs, a public expression of grief tempered with pride and defiance. Writers skilfully cast their subjects as lasting representatives of the innate virtues of the English nation:

> Foolish and Cruell! In denying one
> Each noble English breast is now become
> Recorder of his vertues, and his tombe,
> Who shall his name in lasting letters keep
> When short liv'd Marble shall be laid to sleep,
> When *Brook*, and *Gell*, and *Pym*, & *Strode* & *Gray*,

> (That poor one-syllabled race) shall melt away
> And dwindle into nothing, He shall fill
> Times Brasen Leaves, that who come after will
> Forbeare great Acts, for fear there should not be
> For them and him too, room in history.[11]

The memory of the fallen will live within every right-thinking Englishman; the space of the grave is mapped onto the body and bodies of the country, as the martyr becomes an expression or a function of national identity. The unchanging 'lasting letters' which are Spencer's eternal representatives suggest a notion of reception particular to elegy in which the words have a physical manifestation within the imagination and minds of the entire nation. All of England will remember Spencer; the whole country is a Royalist reader that remembers and mourns his passing. The dead soldier is idealized as one alive in the nation's cultural memory. The elegy elides the problem of the death of the ideal by locating him within particular tropes; he lives within an unending narrative of marble tableaux and language. This is consciously contrasted with the 'one-syllabled race' of enemies who will be 'nothing' – rejected by the 'long-lasting letters' of national language and discourse, outside the understanding and validation of the people.

This kind of celebration is common in elegiac work. The Catholic Edward Walsingham published elegiac biographies of two military leaders who fell during the war, Sir John Smith and Sir Henry Gage.[12] During the war Royalist elegiac biographies assumed a certain audience and looked to instruct that readership by example. This blending of advice literature, instructive biography and elegiac poetic entirely reconfigured the mode. These volumes offered their subjects as exemplary figures, valorous and honourable. The texts mix biographical account with elegiac poetry and annals of achievement. Their humanist emphasis on pious virtue and loyalty belies the complex political encoding and cultural purpose underlying the pseudo-Plutarchan accounts. Smith and Gage were minor leaders in the Royalist army and their loyalty figures as a microcosm for the stolid and obedient nature of those in service to the King. Gage was Governor of Oxford, a career soldier who quickly returned to England from Europe to serve Charles. Walsingham recounts the congruence between his physical and moral virtues, and their manifestation in his loyal military actions:

> Those that were pleas'd to take notice of what he said and did, continually discovered new proportions of Vertue in him, and the stricter

> their observations was, so much the more did they admire his Vertues and Abilities, of some whereof at least, I have engag'd my selfe to give a short account. What was most singular in him was his perpetuall industry, and that even when he was not in actuall Service in the field, by exercising his Souldiers in the use of their Armes, cutting out Townes and Forts in Turfe, and teaching his men even by way of recreation how to become expert; how to Approach, to Scale, Retreat, how to gaine a Towne by Assault, or by a famishing Siedge, how to make their Trenches, and secure themselves, with a Thousand such Souldier-like imployments.[13]

Gage assiduously instructs his soldiers; Oxford has become a military academy. His abilities and virtues are closely linked to his service in the field for the King; his character is interpreted by his allegiance and active engagement. His status as governor of the royal garrison is also important in constructing a concept of the cavalier military ideal actively engaged in protecting the King's interests.

Smith was a cavalry officer celebrated for his role in symbolically shielding the King's reputation and person. His particular feat was the recapturing of the Banner Royal Standard at Edgehill when Sir Edward Verney was killed; a courageous and highly publicized act that earned him an instant knighthood. His life and achievements are recounted in order to instruct by example, and Walsingham includes elegiac poems intended as a physical monument 'to immortalise the memory of so brave a Spirit', one 'whose fame can never rust'.[14] The poem is printed as though reproduced on a gravestone, framed with columns. Smith is celebrated as the epitome of English loyalty and obedience, a paradigm of identity and action. The text is a lasting representation of his valour, consecrated 'To the Immortall memory of that ever famous Gentleman, The Glory of our English Nation'.[15] The representation of poetry as literal monument gives the verse a physical and solid aspect. It is unchanging, straightforward, stable; this suggests that all elegiac verse, which was a conceptual monument to the fallen, shares this constancy of physical manifestation and, crucially, of meaning. These fallen leaders survive in a solid and unchanging language that is guaranteed and defined by the King. Their classification within this system is not questionable, and, indeed, is to be emulated. In order to become truly real, one must enter into this line of signification, to become the ideal loyalist. This elegiac trick – suggesting that the dead continue to live and are worthy of emulation, or that such emulation is necessary and proper – is common in such writings throughout the early modern

period, but here lent edge by the national, loyal and royalist ideologies that contribute to the verse.

Two polemically significant works of elegy were the apologias for the life of Laud following his execution in January 1645, Peter Heylin's *A Briefe Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the Most Reverend and Renowned Prelate the L. Archbishop of Canterbury* and the brief anonymous poem *An Elegie on the Most Reverend Father in God William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*.[16] Heylin was involved in the production of *Mercurius Aulicus* and was a close associate of Laud; his is the more official version of the Archbishop's life. It defends both Laud and his policies by attacking those whose malicious characters and abuse of power led to his death. Laud is cast as a Christian martyr, struggling against affliction.[17] The volume combines elegy with panegyric poetry and borrows from contemporary speech-genre in establishing a specific spatiotemporal location for the piece:

> The Speech and Prayers being ended, he gave the Paper which he read unto Doctor Sterne, desiring him to shew it to his other Chaplaines, that they might know how he departed out of this world, and so prayed God to shew his mercies and blessings on them. and noting how one Hinds had employed himselfe in taking a Copy of his Speech as it came from his mouth; he desired him not to doe him wrong in publishing a false or imperfect Copy.[18]

The speech is inflected by its location and timing. This passage dramatizes the delivery of the final speech, and establishes the difference in status between public declamation and publication. Laud shows a keen and somewhat pompous awareness of his posthumous life in print.[19] He emphasizes the agency of the author in creating the perfect 'Copy' of a text; the only true account is that which has not been changed or interpreted in any way. Laud also rewrites the historical narrative of his life, claiming that the speech he gave shows 'how he departed out of this world'. His martyrdom is physically represented by a written text.

By publishing a defiant justification of Laud and his policies, the Royalist establishment publicly renounced the actions of the malicious Parliament that judged him. Heylin is unequivocal, claiming that his execution was murder:

> Thy brave attempt on Pauls in times to come
> Shall be a Monument beyond a Tombe.
> Thy Booke shall be thy Statues, where we finde

> The image of thy nobler part, thy minde.
> Thy name shall be thine Epitaph, and he
> Which hear's or read's of that, shall publish thee
> Above the reach of titles, and shall say
> None could expresse thy worthes a braver way.
> And thus though murder'd, thou shalt never dye,
> But live renown'd to all Posterity.[20]

Heylin plays with the notion of a lasting 'text', claiming that Laud will live on through being read privately and aloud. The notion of a life being 'published' or projected into the public sphere echoes the humanist conception that 'Thy Booke shall be thy Statues, where we finde/ The image of thy nobler part, thy minde.' Laud lives on in public spaces: St Paul's; his published works; in discussion or recount of his life and achievements. The physical and public nature of Royalist elegy was to project a solid and immutable image of virtue, to demonstrate particular modes of behaviour, and to emphasize obedience. The Royalist audience of elegy is one that reiterates the virtues of the martyr through their assimilation of the text: 'Thy name shall be thine Epitaph, and he/ Which hear's or read's of that, shall publish thee'.

Heylin's hagiography of Laud was part of the semi-official trope of the elegiac volume. Not all Royalist elegies had this legitimizing semi-official imprimatur, but they shared a purpose and practice. Sir Bevill Grenville, a Cornish Royalist of some martial renown and great popularity, died at the battle of Lansdowne on 5 July 1643. In Oxford the response to his death was the production of an elegiac volume, similar in form to the University panegyric collections of the 1620s and 1630s yet quite different from those that had come before. It was not related to University volumes, despite the involvement of various figures closely associated with those texts. It was edited or collated by Henry Birkhead, like John Berkenhead a protégé of Laud's and fellow of All Souls. The primary importance of the volume is in configuring a poetics of elegy to represent the dead hero, and to square this mournful style with a martial and masculine purpose.[21] There is a remarkable unity of sentiment and expression; the poems progress and develop in similar ways, sharing metaphorical schema, vocabulary and poetic dynamic. The poems in this collection trace similar movements, in particular a visual interest in the scene of Grenville's death.[22]

The elegies are forced to address a problematic concept: that of celebrating and constructing an image of valorous masculinity using a corpse. The opening poem refuses to 'beleeve mine Eye' that Grenville

is dead, finally forced to accept that 'That Corps of Glory can be None's but His' (T. M., 'It is not He', ll. 1, 8). The physical reality of the dead man is lost in his apotheosis: 'The Souldier lives still, though the Man be gone' ('It is not He', l. 12). This sentiment gives the verse a self-reflexivity that characterizes the rest of the volume; the lasting monument to Grenville will be this collection of poems and his idealized life in Royalist propaganda and discourse ('It is not He', l. 12). Grenville's life-blood is 'texted on . . . [the] brow' of his soldiers in John Berkenhead's poem, it has attained a status as both language and militarized symbolic motivation ('The Villaines now are ripe', l. 2). The blunt reality of Grenville's dead body is replaced by an idealized and sanctified memory of the soldier he was. William Cartwright asserts that 'Much Good grew from my Life, Much from my Fall', and Jaspar Mayne's verse likewise addresses his double value as Royalist captain and Royalist icon, 'who dyed'st twice/ Our Souldier once, and once our Sacrifice'.[23] Cartwright takes this theme up in a second poem 'Hallow my temples', asserting that 'though both fall together, and the blood/ Of Traitors and a Patriots make one flood/ They in the Shambles, He at the Altar dyes,/ They fall as Beasts, and He a Sacrifice' (ll. 29–32). The religious flavour of these lines is no coincidence; earlier in the poem Grenville's death had 'consecrate[d]' the now 'sacred Ground' of Landsdown Hill ('Could I report', ll. 112–13). A later poem by Henry Birkhead asserts that 'when he was most Conquerd, Conquerd All' and that his was an 'immortall death' ('Heroick Martyr', ll. 30, 1). Earlier in this poem Birkhead applauds his decision to offer himself 'a Resolv'd Sacrifice/ As sure to fall, as by thy Fall to Rise' (ibid., ll. 21–2). Grenville's martyrdom assures his afterlife in verse and Royalist praise; he also attains a saintly or Christ-like status as an invincible saviour, leading the troops from beyond the grave like 'some Martiall Deity', in Birkhead's phrase (ibid., l. 23). The space of his body becomes a topos on which to inscribe a variety of concepts of loyalty, obedience and identity.

The poems in the collection configure a newly engaged poetic and reflect a movement that can be traced throughout Royalist verse of the first civil war; as James Loxley (1997, p. 193) argues, 'Elegy is envisaged as a means of effecting a fundamental military aim.' Poetry has an active part to play in the war effort, an important social function. W. B. highlights the convergence between martial action and engaged poetry: 'a fierce Charge is a good Elegie' ('What we have Lost in Thee', l. 18). The poets use Grenville's loyalty to emphasize the importance of engagement: 'Who is not Active, Modestly Rebells' (William Cartwright, 'Not to be wrought by Malice', l. 20). They attack those who think it noble

to 'retire/ With flegme, and coldnesse' (Jaspar Mayne, 'Could I report', ll. 43–4). Here Mayne emphasizes the 'cold precepts' and scholarly aspect which 'Learnedly make Man Pusillanimous', attacking learned retirement from public action: 'Had'st Thou, like Others, fought by Rule, and Line,/ Who call it valour Wisely to decline/ Assaults, and Dangers, and maintaine that there/ Can be no Fortitude, where there is no Feare;' ('Could I report', ll. 38, 41, 24–7). The poems actively engage with their polemic enemy, addressing the Parliament 'Yet boast not Senate' or 'Guilty and wretched Commons!' (P. M., 'Yet boast not Senate', l. 1; Digges, 'Thou Name of Valour!', l. 31). They establish a dialectic poetic that demands engagement and expressions of loyalty.

Dudley Digges' poem 'Thou Name of Valour' establishes a complex poetics of capitalist interaction with the public sphere of combat:

> Thou Name of Valour! Heire of all that Worth,
> Which Fates with constant Bounty have powr'd forth
> On Grenvills honour'd Race! In whom did dye
> More then their Army, more then Victory
> Could recompence, which to that gallant Stand
> We owe, from ruine snatcht by thy brave Hand
> O I could curse the villaines odds! For when
> We hazard, Gold, They, but the drosse of men.
> Bate me the price of sinne, the citty pay,
> And what they steale, in order to obey
> The Houses Vote, more then one Regiment
> I'le name, wherein not ten are worth what's spent
> Barely in feeding muskets; wee'ue oft lost
> Powder; to kill such Rogues doth not quit cost. (ll. 1–14)

Digges uses a highly charged mercantile diction to establish that war is a commodity. Beginning by emphasizing the importance of genealogy and ancestry in honour and virtue, Digges is moved to attempt to quantify the loss of Grenville to his cause. He refers to Parliament's constant and unpopular Ordinances to raise money for men and arms, arguing that this demonstrates that the opposition's systems of loyalty are based on financial transactions ('pay'/'obey' are connected by a rhyme, lines 9–10). The City of London is attacked for supporting the war; their money creates the regiments that fight, however poorly. Grenville, however, saves his side from 'ruin' through his valour and virtue. In the game of 'hazard' or chance that is war the Royalists stake or venture figures of a far higher symbolic value than the Parliament. Their

soldiers are 'Sergeant-Major-Cobler' and 'Mechanick Colonell', and their deaths do not bring 'any sense/ Of Triumph, for what honour i'st to tell' of their fall (11. 18, 19, 16–17). They are artisan workers; Parliamentary soldiers are defined by their relationship to the marketplace rather than through their family characteristics or innate virtues. They are unworthy and unequal to the fight, and the Royalists win a 'Sad Victory' as 'Iustice (though sacred name) was bought too deare' (ll. 25, 24). War is tainted by its association with mercantile interaction, and even the victory at Landsdown is hollow and ambivalent.

Throughout the poem, Digges is less concerned with Grenville than with the opposition; he uses Grenville's death as a locus with which to analyse and attack the political motivation of the enemy. The merchants and Commons that support such an army 'sell/ Your Soules . . . but to purchase Hell' (ll. 36–7). Their excuse that 'you are forc't to fight' and to contribute money, 'Traitors are against your will', is attacked as an 'Unworthy, vaine excuse' (ll. 42, 45, 46). The mainspring of rebellion is seen to be the financial support for the army; if such 'Ayde' was withdrawn, this 'abused Strength', the 'few seducers' would fall victim to 'the long injur'd Law' (ll. 49, 48, 47). The freedom of the market which allows the commodification of services such as the mercenary soldier or facilitates the financial ascent of the 'few seducers' corrupts and destroys old systems of loyalty and hierarchy. Royalist systems rely on models of interaction that are not inflected by the marketplace. They are set up as oppositional to the open and free City of London. Digges articulates the struggle between the old monopolies of discourse with the new public networks; the catalyst is freedom of the marketplace.

The poets make much of Grenville's physical and verbal example: the swords of his soldiers were 'whetted both by's example and his words' (P.M., 'Yet boast not Senate', l. 12). The line demonstrates the kind of actively persuasive power that a loyalist language might aspire to, as well as casting the emblem of Grenville as a textual exemplum to be imitated, not interrogated. Cartwright's second poem illustrates how Grenville's death is part of a cathartic process of cleansing and reconfiguration of the once guilty state:

> Thou that in those black times dard'st to be good,
> When Treason was best Virtue, when none coo'd
> Be safe and honest; that almost alone
> Dard'st love the King, when a whole Nation
> Was growing one great Rebell; hast firme stood
> And gave the first great stop to th'growing flood;

> Thou Destiny of our new-moulded State,
> That first did'st make it's greatness shrinke; whom Fate
> Prepar'd to save a Kingdome; and did give
> Thee Virtue great enough to make it live. ('Hallow my temples', ll. 11–20)

The poem picks up on the importance of theatrical language in locating and normalizing Royalist expressions of battle. Elsewhere in the volume Grenville's troops 'Wonder'd to see the Warre turn'd to a Sight' and became 'Idle spectators of their Victory' (Jaspar Mayne, 'Could I report', ll. 58, 64). Cartwright emphasizes the 'new-moulded State', a regenerated institutional body. In comparison with Grenville's great loyalty, the entire country needs to be cleansed of its wavering guilt. The poem emphasizes the newness of the situation after Grenville's death: 'How *Brooke* and *Hampden* quake/ To find themselves not safe, and that to dye/ Ha's only changed the Scene of Victory?' (ll. 22–4). The shade of Grenville will pursue them through eternity.

Cartwright demonstrates how this cathartic progression and development affects poetry also:

> Grenvill! The Cornish Pæan it shall be
> And only heard in Songs of Victory!
> Th'Eternall Theame of Poets! Which shall give
> Strength to their Lines, and make their Verses live. (ll. 7–10)

Cartwright posits a poetic model based on a Harveian physiology. Content, in particular victory or Royalist example, animates form and gives it life. Just as Harvey's work has reformed constitutional models, here it reconfigures poetic practice.[24] Standard elegiac models are put aside in order to mobilize the verse in the King's cause and focus on Grenville's martyrdom.

Poetic style and technique are consciously changed for this newly martial situation. Grenville is continually compared to Achilles, and the poets writing of him to Homer. Virgil is also continually invoked, and the title-page quotes the *Aeneid*. There is an element of political sacrifice in Grenville's martyrdom; as Achilles had to die in order to allow Troy to be conquered, so Grenville's fall will lead to the eventual destruction of London and all it stands for. There is also something of the national narrative attending this connection with Homer and Virgil. The poets use Grenville to configure an imperial national identity and history, hinting at a glorious destiny through adherence to duty and

perseverance in the following of a cause. In order to occlude the trauma of his death they turn his example into a fertility sacrifice, a Christian narrative or a recognizably epic generic tale.

Elegy attempted to package war and trauma into an understandable and recognizable narrative. Warfare was represented as a technological sickness, a destructive and fragmenting phenomenon that mutated the state and introduced an unpleasant contingency upon life:

> Fiftly, Warre is a miserable plague; whence this word Warre in the Hebrew tongue, hath its name from cutting, biting, and devouring, because warrs devoure, and consume many. Hence the sword is said to have a mouth, that is an edge, and to eat that is, to kill. Warre is one of Gods 4 fierce and devouring plagues: yea one of his 3 sorest judgements.[25]

The weapons technology of war – here the sword – is a consuming, destructive appetite threatening the disruption of the wholeness of the body. In many ways the anxiety suggested by this biting, piercing model of warfare is overlaid with the fear of bodily sexual violation illustrated in the bestiality and homosexual Roundhead caricatures analysed in Chapter 4. The sword of war is an engulfing, invasive virus that enters the body and parasitically consumes it from within and without. It is conceptualized as an instrument of internal plague and external destruction, inscribing actuality and reality upon the body. It will leave the nation helpless to prevent massive loss of blood and thereby death:

> And must we bleed to death? is there no meane
> To stanch our Wounds? not one will intervene
> To give a Cordiall, bring some sacred balme
> To raise a Kingdome from a deadly qualme?[26]

Yet Royalist accounts of battles attempt to control this destructive technology, to occlude the fragmentation of the war and impose narrative clarity and wholeness upon events.

The Battaile on Hopton Heath, an account of the 1643 skirmish, includes a section on the death of Northampton during the fighting:

> he was overborne by multitudes, and then being knockt downe with a musket and grievously wounded, and his head-peece taken off, was offered quarter (as they say) but he answered that he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues & Rebels as they were; and so fought

> it out a long while after, till such time as he was slaine by a blow with a halbert, on the hinder part of his head, receiving at the same time another deep wound in his face. Which done, they hurried him away so as we all thought he had been taken prisoner, for we could not find his body. The sadnesse of this accident would not have left our greatest Victory without misery, but yet the greatnesse of his example cannot but make all those that are desirous of honour to follow in his steps.[27]

At first this would seem to be presenting a horrific and terrifying lack of wholeness. Northampton is not just wounded grievously, he is denied bodily completeness in death as his body disappears completely. He becomes an absence, a disturbing collection of wounds and armour. The crucial instance of the soldier wholly destroyed – no longer a corpse that can be categorized and anatomized – presents an uncontrolled body, a fluid unmappable locus that invokes a concurrently uncontrollable trauma. This is a common trope; in Cowley's *Civil War* the Earl of Sunderland's burial on the battlefield (probably due to the state of the body) means 'Thy very Tombe is robd of part of Thee' (III, 470). The verse elegy on Northampton shared a concern with burial:

> Bedew what hearse ye please, here is no room
> For such light mourners at this Solemne Tombe.
> But (ah) where I'st? *Northampton* must not have
> (Such is their inhumanity) a Grave;
> To him who in his death deserved Heaven,
> Five foot of Common earth would not be given.[28]

However, the distress of the wounding is offset and given perspective by the noble example set by Northampton's sacrifice. A disturbing intrusion of reality is repackaged as eulogy as Northampton is emblematized as Royalist martyr, his death a paradigm for loyalism. The experience of loss is controlled.

This is characteristic of Royalist eulogies on dead commanders and soldiers. As emblems and examples they live on in print, heroic and complete: 'Terror leaps from those Eyes, and Rebells Run./ The Souldier lives still, though the Man be gone.'[29] Sacrifice takes on a religious and ritualistic quality: 'His Blood destil/ Sprinkling the Ground, and Hallowing the Hill'.[30] The account of Hopton Heath continues to distance the terror of fragmentation, and turns the desecration and destruction of the body into an account of the inhumanity of the Roundhead soldiers:

> Next you may see the Barbarousnesse of these Rebels towards the Corps of the dead, who as they have made sale of their Allegiance and Loyalty, so now have shaken hands with all common honesty, practising those inhumanities the very Turks scorne to descend to . . . and doubtless if the Turkes knew what breach of faith given, what robbing, stripping naked, nay murther (after Armes delivered up by composition) hath beene committed on His Majesties soldiers, it would further harden them against Christianity; unless they consider that these things were done not as they are Christians, but as the worst of Rebels. (*The Battaile on Hopton-Heath*, p. 8)

The Roundheads desecrate the bodies of the dead, murder, rob and destroy. They are nonhuman, alien creatures performing unspeakable, invasive acts – although, crucially, the acts *are* spoken, given name and word, and, in such a way controlled and deferred. The Roundhead is recognizable but other, a virus to be violently purged from the body politic.

This purgation was incredibly violent and became visited upon the body of the enemy soldier. *Mercurius Aulicus* gleefully narrated the sundering of the corporeality of the enemy when a weapon backfired: 'which did more execution backwards upon themselves, then it did forwards on the house there were some 20. of them killed, as it was conjectured by the miserable spectacle the next day of blood, braines, skuls, mangled Limbes, which the murdering instrument had torne and plastered on the wals' (*Mercurius Aulicus*, 20 February 1642). Many poets wrote gory and explicit accounts of the death of various rebels; the brutal expulsion of the enemy was the antithesis of elegy. The roundheads were scum, fit only to die a horrible death. Martin Lluellyn's poem 'The Spy of the Buttery' presents in graphic detail the consequences of a skirmish at Oxford. The poem is greatly concerned with the physical mapping of the city; the topographical motifs invoke the loyalist chorographic purpose of Denham's *Coopers Hill*. Lluellyn reads Oxford as a repository of loyalty, the physical walls and gates of the city repelling the Parliamentarian foe. There is extensive local detail: 'Botly Causeway, on our Words,/ Their Braines lay thicker then their Curds' ('The Spy of the Buttery', ll. 39–40).

The conflict is inscribed upon the city, which becomes a symbol of defiance and fixed principle:

> From every Port we kill'd the Maggots,
> There's one, there's two, so on like Faggots.
> The East line common souldiers kept,
> The North the Honest Townesmen swept.

> The West was man'd by th' Loyall Schollers,
> Whose Gownes you slave are blacke as Colliers.
> They taw'd it faith, their Gunnes would hit,
> As sure as they had studied it.
> They ramm'd their Bullet, they would hat in,
> Bounce went the Noise, like Greeke and Latine.
> . . .
> Now for the South Port Dicke, why there I say
> The Noble Loyall, stout Lord Keeper lay,
> His men made th' Rascalls cry they were mistaken,
> To shew their hungry teeth at Friar-Bacon.
> They conjurd 'em yfaith and laid 'em dead,
> As each there Helmet were a Brasen head. (ll. 108–29)

The four gates of the city lie at each point of the compass, giving Oxford a fixed arithmetical shape and establishing the city as part of a hierarchically structured universe. The students are celebrated as scholar-soldiers, their superior intelligence allowing them to crush the enemy. Their martial exploits are a language themselves, an encoded communication that can be studied and understood. Loyalist fighting has a linguistic function as a defence of the authority of the King; it expresses defiance and normality. Folly Bridge, the location of Roger Bacon's study, is the site of the final skirmish as the city rejects the invasion of the 'hungry' and socially undesirable Parliamentarian troops. The diseased and transgressive 'Maggots' are forcibly excluded from the civilized urban space; this expulsion is incredibly violent.

Another example of the gory horror of some contemporary Royalist verse is Abraham Cowley's *Civil War*. The tone of the poem is often triumphant, revelling in the heat and clamour of battle. Cowley draws on various accounts of the battles he describes to give his text veracity and immediacy.[31] His tone is that of the pamphlet and newsletter. He concentrates in particular detail on the deaths of Parliamentary troops and leaders: Rupert's men storm Bristol, 'and all around/ The groanes of men, and shriekes of woemen sound'; the base Colonel Stane attempts to escape death 'In vaine; the Poleaxe came, and cleft it wide;/ The parted head hung down on either side'; Simon Blore is shot, 'Through his false mouth the vengefull bullet fled;/ It sing'd the Braine and peirc'ed his seely head' (II, 257–8; III, 403–4; III, 449–50). This kind of vicious destruction is part also of the description of the sacking of Brentford: 'Witnesse, those men blowne high into the Aire,/ All Elements their ruin Joy'd to share./ In the wide Aire quick flames their bodies tore'

(I, 325–7). This loss of corporality, foregrounded too in Lluellyn's beheaded soldiers, is crucial to these violent accounts. Importantly, the rebels lose all corporality and bounds – they are thrown into an unstructured, uncategorizable existence. They are no longer human, but things. Just as Royalist masculinity was distressed by the thought of the dead remaining unburied, and strove to occlude that trauma, Royalist writers desired destructive rupture of the enemy other. They were no longer to be defined, thrown into Cowley's 'boundless' hell. Completeness, that prime objective of the masculine, was innately Royalist; if you attempted to reject the loyalist model, you forfeited your right to be defined as human, bodily whole, or male.

Cowley's account of the Parliament in Hell lays the blame for the wars at the feet of such devilish institutions. In particular, the poem defines the Grand Remonstrance as the beginning of the disintegration of the body of state:

> How could a warre so sad and barbarous please
> But first by slandring those blest Dayes of peace?
> Through all the excrements of state they pry,
> Like Emprickes to find out a Malady.
> And then with desperate Boldnesse they endeavour,
> Th'Ague to cure by bringing in a Feaver:
> This way is sure to'expell some ills; noe doubt;
> The Plague will drive all lesse Diseases out:
> What strang[e] wild Feares did every morning breed?
> Till a strang[e] fancy made us sicke indeed. (I, 109–18)

Parliament is a quack doctor attempting to cure ills but actually introducing more; the body of state is envisioned with savage literalness. A little later the Commons is a group of 'Surgeons' inflicting 'wounds' onto the body of England (I, 162). The physiological model concurs with other Oxford poems of the time. Cowley addresses the newly balanced politics of the feverish state: all other or lesser squabbles have subsided in the face of Parliament's poisonous invasion of the body as the plague drives other illness away. The concern with bodily health and corporeality reflects concerns about masculinity in the poem; the destructive nature of the war leads to the sundering and dismemberment of the gendered order.

The Civil War opens in controlled epic style, but the elegance and austerity of the verse is undermined by the destructive reality it describes:

> What rage does England from it selfe divide
> More than Seas doe from all the world beside?
> From every part the roaring Canon play;
> From every part blood roares as loud as they.
> What English Ground but still some moysture beares
> Of young mens blood, and more of Mothers teares?
> What aires unthickned with some sighs of Wives!
> And more of Mayds for their deare Lovers lives!
> Alas, what Triumph can this vict'ory shew
> That dyes us red in blood and blushes too!
> How can we wish that Conquest, which bestowes
> Cypresse, not Bayes uppon the conqu'ering browes! (I, 1–10)

Cowley emphasizes England's island status and conceives of the state as a corporate being, each part suffering from the war. His commitment to what Gerald M. Maclean (1990, p. 182) calls 'a heroic view of history' gives him a generic model to filter the trauma of the present. There is a tension between the destructive horror of war and the visual and aural portrayal of this suffering. The canon 'play' while blood 'roares'; the populace are punningly dyed red. The artifice of the verse and such representative language is contrasted with the actuality of death and combat. The role of the poet is implicitly questioned; the only panegyrics and elegies worthy of such destruction are the cries and tears of mothers, wives and lovers. A quiet crisis in masculinity is suggested here; male voices are resoundingly absent, and war becomes a sickening waste that defies false glory and deified virtue. While attempting to idealize and celebrate combat, Cowley merely presents the fragmentation and destruction that arise from it, the anxiety and incoherence attendant upon such chaotic events.

Cowley's engagement with the political and martial sphere attains a physical dimension and manifestation as it is overtaken by events:

> A Muse stood by mee, and just then I writ
> My Kings great acts in Verses not unfit.
> The trowbled Muse fell shapelesse into aire,
> Instead of Inck dropt from my Pen a Teare
> O 'tis a deadly Truth! Falkland is slaine;
> His noble blood all dyes th'accursed plaine. (III, 545–9)

This extraordinary self-consciousness breaks the balance of the verse, and is key for reading Royalist accounts of the last few years of the war.

In James Loxley's (1997, p. 87) view it destroys Cowley's project: 'The revelation of his poetry's own involvement in the conflict it represents disables its epic frame.' Gerald M. Maclean (1990, p. 209) emphasizes the complex contemporary engagement of the poem, where critics before him have approached the poem more literarily, but his discussion of the generic and stylistic epic trappings of the poem necessarily fudges the issue of this conclusion: 'the poet enters his own poem in order to admit that his art can no longer record events with which he himself is involved'. Certainly, the poem buckles under its own expectations.

The sequence is a good example of the rupture in Royalist attempts to occlude the horror of the war. Cowley simply cannot continue in his panegyric exercises. Poetry loses all shape, and Cowley writes with visceral tears rather than technological ink. Signification and narrative have failed, and the fragmenting reality of war invades the consciousness of the poet and the reader. Compare the death of Henry Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, at the same battle: 'Excellent Spencer! In thy bloome of day/ From all the joyes of Life thow'rt snatcht away;/ Noe more must thow behold the Sunns deare light' (III, 465). The final despair overtaking the poet with the death of Falkland means that standard elegiac models can no longer be deployed to protect the writer or reader from the terror of reality. The closing lines of the poem declare a collective guilt: 'gracious God, stop here thine hand,/ And let this losse [Falkland] excuse our perishing Land . . . Wee have offended much, but there has been/ Whole Hecatombs oft slaughterd for our Sinne' (III, 639–47). Cowley concludes by recognizing some degree of guilt for the 'perishing Land'. This is the impeccable logic of the internal invasion metaphors: 'England adiew, peace farewell, farewell joyes,/ In thine owne flames, thy selfe thy selfe destroyes.'[32] For Cowley the trauma of Falkland's death can no longer be categorized in elegiac trope, put off as part of the narrative of warfare. The extraordinary violence visited upon the enemy transfers guilt and horror onto the body of an unrecognizable corpse, but this other may no longer remain unrecognized. England is devouring its own body. Crashing into this textual and material aporia, Cowley discontinues his poem.

Poems on warfare attempted to categorize and control, but their subject kept on disrupting models of identity. Despite the idealization of the cavalier-soldier and their exemplary conduct, they were absent bodies undermining normality. For Lovelace, war itself was a phenomenon that threatened to problematize and question the tropes and structures of masculinity:

Coward Fate degen'rate Man
Like little Children uses, when
He whips us first untill we weepe,
Then 'cause we still a weeping keepe.
Then from thy firme selfe never swerve;
Teares fat the Griefe that they should starve;
I'ron decrees of Destinie
Are ner'e wip't out with a wet Eye.
But this way you may gaine the field,
Oppose but sorrow and 'twill yield;
One gallant thorough-made Resolve
Doth Starry Influence dissolve.[33]

War in this poem actively undermines masculinity, providing a space in which immoderate and problematic behaviour can take place. Lovelace warns against this, reclaiming war as something that is a formula, a trope, something solid that dissolves the illusory mist of sorrow. He encourages a sense of definable subjectivity: 'from thy firme selfe never swerve'. The (male) soldier is a self-conscious self-defining individual assailed by physical and emotional opponents, although this is given a brief religious inflection with the postlapsarian 'degen'rate'. Implicit in this poem is an anxiety that warfare is a space in which notions and definitions of the 'self' can be questioned. Warfare encourages unmanly practices: weeping, melancholia, sloth. The only solution is to put emotions onto a recognizable framework, a combat zone, and thence defeat them, to place these unshaped and complicated feelings into a structured narrative, a 'Resolve' to enable a resolution.

The Royalist sublime: fracturing, rupturing, or business as usual?

What is fundamental to these representations of the war is the notion that the state is a body that is being invaded, fragmented or threatened. The Royalist discourse of the body of state here intersects with discourses of gender and trauma to present different levels of anxiety. It is clear that an uneasy language of invasion and internal corruption is used by loyalists throughout the war. The fear of disruption of various bodies – politic, state, individual, Royal – attends loyalist discourse and undermines its attempts at completion and narrative. There is a fear of the unpresentable, and an attempt at deferring knowledge of it, at occluding traumatic fragmentation. However, the unknowable was soon

to be revealed, in spectacular style. Immediately following the execution of the King, a verse by Henry King bemoaned his death in terms that suggested an encounter with the sublime:

> To speak our Griefes at full over thy Tombe
> (Great Soul) we should be Thunder-struck and dumbe:
> The triviall Off'rings of our bubling eyes
> Are but faire Libels at such Obsequies.
> When Grief bleeds inward, not to sense, 'tis deepe;
> W'have lost so much, that t'were a sinne to weep.
> The wretched Bankrupt counts not up his summes,
> When his inevitable ruine comes:
> Our losse is finite when we can compute;
> But that strike speechlesse, which is past recruite.
> W'are sunk to sense; and on the Ruine gaze,
> As on a curled Commets firie blaze:
> As Earth-quakes fright us, when the teeming earth
> Rends ope her bowels for a fatall birth.[34]

Language, poetry, narrative and signification all fail in the face of the rending of nature, the unexplainable, the unpresentable. The watching nation is 'speechlesse', 'dumbe', unable to comprehend or take in the monstrousness of their actions. They are suddenly in the realm of the Real, the sublime encounter with the dead King suddenly presenting them with the end of language, the rupturing of a system. Rather than living in a 'finite' universe they wake up in 1649 to a multiple, destabilized world that defies category and definition.[35] They cannot 'compute' the loss, it is beyond the reach of science; they can only observe in horror. Yet there is a need to somehow tell and work through this unknowable trauma, as Caruth (1996, p. 5) claims, the wound 'simultaneously defies and demands our witness'. For Katherine Phillips, Charles' was an unquiet grave, a wound constantly crying out that cannot rest; this is dramatized in the broadside elegy *A Coffin for King Charles* which allows Charles a voice from his grave in a three-part ballad.[36] In a gruesome 1661 sermon he is presented as a 'Deaths-head', an ungodly but urgent automaton desiring revenge, a horrific if compelling sight: 'for there is honour and splendour mixed with the horrour, and fray of such an head'.[37] Charles' body is a memorial, a text that lives in death.

The King was presented almost immediately as a trope, part of a cultural and religious narrative. The most important and popular response

to his death, *Eikon Basilike*, was an immediate success on publication and went through numerous editions throughout the 1650s as loyalist readers used it to find succour and relief, a return to a stoicism that had apparently been destroyed.[38] As Potter writes (1989, p. 176), it was a humanizing of the King that simultaneously made him untouchable: The 'secret, unknowable heart of the king had at last been revealed'. The book claimed to give insight into the King's solitary suffering, a private audience with the martyr. He was 'as th'unmoved Rock' standing true despite the 'boyst'rous winds, and raging waves' ('The Explanation of the Embleme', ll. 3–4). Key to the appeal of the text, and a detail discussed nearly as much as the content by critics and disciples alike, was the emblematic representation of Charles as David in the frontispiece. The King was presented in audience with God, putting aside the vanities of this world for his just reward in the next: 'I slight vain things; and do embrace/ Glory, the just reward of Grace' ('The Explanation', ll. 13–14). The text is a revisionist history of the war, revisiting key events in the light of the martyrdom.[39] Charles is already becoming textualized, turning into an emblem or metonymical version of the nation. *Eikon Basilike* represents a desire to see the death of the King as something generically understandable, as part of a teleology or history of nation; it represented a hope for a national and spiritual afterlife.

This hope was attended by anxiety, however. An anonymous poem written just after the King's execution figures society as corrupted and ended:

> As an obstructed fountains head
> Cuts of ye entayle from ye streams
> Soe brooks are diminished:
> Honr, & beauty are but dreams
> Since Charles & Mary lost their beames.[40]

The poem utilizes the sun-King and the body of the nation imagery deployed by Oxford poets and propagandists throughout the 1640s; later in the cycle of poems, post-regicide England is described as 'this sad solstice of ye Kings' and undergoing 'a generall eclipse'.[41] There is hope – an eclipse is part of a cycle – but the present darkness is not part of a calendar of celebration but one of remorse and distress. For all the fantastical post-execution 'appeal to the future' or sense of cycle these poems find themselves mired in the present, just as Cowley had found his *Civil War* not working out along the heroic genre path he had first thought (Maclean, 1990, p. 214). As Maclean argues, the execution is

without generic or historical precedent. This rupture in teleological versions of history is terrifying. The reworking of empty tropes is a pervasive attempt to return to a prelapsarian language of allegiance and loyalty. It is part of the process of trauma. As Caruth and Lacan point out, after trauma there is a clear need to return to the event, to perpetuate it, to revisit the scene of the trauma in an attempt to understand it, while at the same time admitting bewilderment. The wound cries out for witness:

> The Blow struck Britaine blinde, each well set Limbe
> By Dislocation was lop't off in HIM.
> And though She yet live's, She live's but to condole
> Three Bleeding Bodies left without a Soul.[42]

This poem forms part of a living memorial, a 'Tombe' that will continually present the traumatic event, a monument that 'Causeth him to live in each true Subjects heart.'[43] Simultaneously, the traumatic event presents us with not-knowing, shows the void in signification. This is particularly true for accounts of the death of Charles, the transcendental signifier and mediator of meaning. How to react to the sudden absence of such a figure? Furthermore, if Royalist discourse was concerned with establishing Charles as the guarantor of meaning, his sudden death problematized the entirety of loyalist thought. How could life continue? What did this mean for Royalist identity?

In many ways, what had happened was exactly what the Royalists had said would be a consequence of the war as a whole. Royalist discourse had in fact prepared the nation. Instead of claiming that rebellion would lead to suffering, this foretold terror had now come to pass:

> Their Triumphs they may read, and see how they
> Have by one single universal Blow
> Cut down Religions most resolved Stay;
> Broke the establish'd Pillar of the Law;
> Dash'd out wise Piety, white Continence,
> Mild Majesty, and generous Temperance.[44]

Simply put, in many ways Royalist discourse simply carried on saying the same things, but changed 'will' to 'has'. However, in the immediate aftermath, and thence afterward, there was excessive confusion. For every defiant elegy that claimed continued definition through and by the bounds of truth and order laid down by the King there were

broadsides that reacted only with bewilderment at the newly broken nation: 'With horrid Plots, that HEADLESS He/ (And In HIM Church and State) might be'.[45]

Writers took refuge in literary trope and theatrical metaphor, attempting to turn the horror of events into a narrative with a beginning, a middle, and, hopefully, an end. Even the deployment of polemically standard language was an attempt to place the event into a recognizable context and continuum. One such trope was the rhetorical tradition of the Longinian sublime, newly influential during the past 15 years. Lois Potter (1989, p. 188) discusses the Longinian sublime in a Royalist context, citing a poem in the elegiac volume *Monumentum Regalie*: 'where the theme confounds us, 'tis a sort/ Of glorious Merit, proudly to fall short'. This writer is turning the King, as Potter shows throughout her work, into an emblem, a character, as he says a 'theme'. The writer cannot deal with the material, and attempts to occlude this through an appeal to rhetoric. However, he is unable still to actually write anything; indeed, the literary deployment of the Longinian sublime by Royalist writers affords them all the security of the Emperor's new clothes, a desperate attempt to present at least something, to take refuge in the protection of authorised non-expression. Even the use of such an image, inflected with republican notions of the sublime, introduces a dissonance and an acknowledgement of the collapse of utterance.

Another extremely common way of inserting the death of the King into a recognizable framework and therefore reasserting the *philosophemes* of Royalist discourse and identity was to use theatrical metaphor (in the same way that Ann Fanshawe used it).[46] The 'theatre of war' metaphor was a commonplace throughout the 1640s, but it took on a different inflection after 1649:

> No more of Annals; let great Rome grow mute
> In quoting Catiline, or recording Brute:
> Britain now wear's the Sock; the Theater's clean
> Transplanted hither, both in Place and Scene.
> No Vail nor Periwig-vizor; Murther, here
> Without a mask dare's on the Stage appear,
> Out-facing even the Sun, which oft hath fled,
> And at less crimes shrunk in his frighted head.[47]

History has ended and no longer need be written; this moment has invoked a huge chronological rupture. Histories and tragic plays that

had provided the inspiration for discourse up to this point are no longer necessary. While the verse is attempting to impose a narrative clarity and dramatic completion upon events it ends up implying that Britain has integrated a new and therefore unknown type of tragic action; we no longer follow our literary forbears, so who knows how this is going to end (although it will, eventually, end). Knowledge and the humanist tradition, sustained in Europe through classical writings, have come to a rupture point. In some ways the verse posits the chance of a new birth, yet this is horrific. In Greek drama at least the vices were masked and the audience protected from gazing at the site of horror. This unmasked Murder is an encounter with the rawness of the traumatic event, a rupturing which reveals the Real. This verse understands and recognizes that the discourses deployed to occlude the trauma are simply repositories of cliché, sites of illusion – and they no longer work.

In contrast, theatrical treatments of the death of the King themselves kept the beheading offstage; while the execution was highly public, Royalist playwrights could not show the terrible deed and instead presented it as reported news. In *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* the 'deed is done' offstage: 'the King (according to the doome of our High Court of Justice) this morning lost His Head, thousands of people being Spectators of His Tragedy'.[48] Even within a theatrical treatment of events the death of the King is turned into dramatic metaphor. Yet the King's body is then discovered 'behind the travers' by the mourning Chorus. He is presented to us, dead, as a relic that would 'make the Angels hide/ Their faces' (*The Famous Tragedie*, p. 42). He has a status as an icon, a relic – not as a ghost, a limbo-dweller, a liminal figure. What does not happen in these elegies is an attempt at monumentalizing the dead King through the perpetuating life of verse. There are no accounts whereby the poet claims the King will live on in his poem. This suggests deep problematizing of the nature of language itself. The notion that the dead will live on in poetry or prose renders language somehow powerful in the face of the trauma of death, to give it a concrete and mimetic function – rather than simply 'presenting' a version of the dead, an image of him, these works perpetuate *him*, take on an idealized function. They do not reflect, they represent; we saw aspects of this approach in the treatment of Grenville's death, but also watched as it began to buckle. Such a reaction is singularly lacking in the responses to the King's death. Language has for the meantime been undermined; it has lost its objectivity and power as mimesis and has been exposed as idealized and indeterminate. The King's death, the traumatic event, must be witnessed, but language has been fatally problematized.

Writers are not up to the task, and knowingly fall into the use of other's words as a conscious deferral:

> O for a Jeremy to lament our woe!
> From whom such tragick Rhetorick might flow,
> As would become our misery, and dresse
> Our sorrows with a dreadfull gaudinesse!
> For next those hovering judgements, which the fall
> Of One so great, so good, makes Verticall.
> (And rushing down, may onely be withstood
> If Charles his praiers crie louder than his blood)
> I say next that, It is our second Crosse
> We can't grieve worthy of so great a Losse.
> To weep upon this subject, and weep sense,
> Requires we should be born ten Ages hence.
> The greater are the hights an Artists hand
> Designes to take, the farther he must stand.
> And as when Sol's in's Zenith, He imply's
> His dazling glory best, that shuts his eyes,
> So, where the Theme's ineffable, the way
> To speake it is, (d) Not know what to say.[49]

Charles' wound cries out for witness, but the writer cannot supply a complete picture. He desires another, more qualified prophet to make sense of this event, to put it into a tragic narrative and apply generic rules. Yet such occlusion and imposition of closure is given an ambivalence through the understanding that all grief is costume, dressing up. The poet joins Winterson in acknowledging that tragic tropes are 'lock and key words to keep the pain at bay'. As Caruth argues, the wound presents us with known and not-known, the traumatic event presenting a rupture in understanding and knowledge. There is a traumatic insight in the invocation of a 'dreadfull gaudinesse'. The poet here attempts to force Charles' death into the straightjacket of a categorizable narrative form, to attain completion and closure, but the event rejects this smoothing, and the poet has to fall back onto the words of another poet (Herodotus) in order to express the inexpressible – and to accept the inexpressibility of event. As Žižek argues, trauma is the grain of sand that reveals the Real, that disturbs our sense of normalcy. In this poem there is a brief glimpse of the panic that attends this exposure, the problematizing of reality that is an effect of trauma.

Words could no longer be pretended to be useful. Very common was the kind of distressed elegy that acknowledged the end of language:

> My dwindling-dwarf-like-Fancie swell's not big,
> Nor know's to wear a borrowed Periwig
> Of Metaphors, nor from Parnassus rise
> To ransack far-fetch't Phrases from the Skies;
> Since all those pidling Epithites are too brief,
> Great Charls, to shew Thy Glorie, or my Grief.[50]

In contrast to those who would make the death of the King a theatrical narrative, this anonymous writer claims that to do so would be simply to be putting on borrowed disguises that are not sufficient to express grief. The use of 'Metaphor', particularly, implies the deployment of a rhetorical trope that consciously uses the insubstantiality of language to defer the pain of the real. Metaphor enacts the indeterminacy of language through a process of slippage – in these responses the death of the King is *like* tragedy, *like* an earthquake, *like* an eclipse. What it definitely is *not* is a categorizable, describable, discernable event. In this deployment of metaphor to occlude the real, to seek refuge in the tropes of language, writers inscribed the aporia of Royalism. This is the rupturing moment of the sublime experience as Lyotard defines it: 'it is what dismantles consciousness, what deposes consciousness, it is what consciousness cannot formulate, and even what consciousness forgets in order to constitute itself'.[51]

Loyalists instead turned to gestures of grief, tropes of sadness: 'Come come, lets mourn, all eyes that see this day/ Melt into showers, weep our selves away'.[52] They cannot speak or articulate their grief: 'Tongues cannot speak; this grief knows no such vent,/ Nothing but silence, can be eloquent.'[53] Even placing Charles in a Christian tradition of martyrdom and emphasizing his Christ-like sacrifice ('Whitehall must be,/ Lately his Palace, now his Calvarie') is an attempt at importing the death back into a recognizable narrative framework. Language and rhetoric lose their meaning: 'Words are not here significant; in this/ Our sighs, our groans bear all the Emphasis'. They are in a world without Royal language, and can only react with primal gestures.

For loyalists, and indeed a huge section of cross-party figures, the death of the King did not simply turn the world upside-down – that had already happened throughout the 1640s – it shattered their world and imposed a contingency of experience and expression. This

provoked a series of what we can identify as traumatic aporia. The reactions provoked by this occurrence are recognizable in Marvell's 'Horatian Ode':

> To ruin the great work of time,
> And cast the kingdom old
> Into another mould.
> Though justice against fate complain,
> And plead the ancient rights in vain:
> But those do hold or break
> As men are strong or weak.
> Nature, that hateth emptiness,
> Allows of penetration less:
> And therefore must make room
> Where greater spirits come.[54]

The nation is recast – not essentially changed, but reshaped or reconfigured. This section reveals much anxiety about the shift in the last few years, but essentially asserts that the nation has not been decentred, but *re*centred. As David Norbrook (1999, p. 266) claims, this section of the poem 'anticipates a decisive historical break, the transition from monarchy to freedom in Rome'. The nation is purified, regenerated, 'the old state must be destroyed before the new one can be created'.[55]

Yet this 'freedom' is still a firm and tyrannical imposition; such an interpretation underestimates how Marvell's characteristic ambivalences are stretched here. Is this historical break actually decisive, and is this actually freedom? What the casting metaphor suggests is that the nation state is in fact a malleable fluid with constant volume but ever evolving shape; the ancient makes way for the new, but both are interested in imposing structures and boundaries. Marvell is critiquing a humanistic notion of perfection. His ambiguities and contradictions here seem to deny and defy structure; rules are broken and remade, justice is helpless against fate and strong men. We seek stability but in the end the sublimity of nature will allow the imposition of whatever is 'greater'. The death of the King has, in Norbrook's reading of Marvell, changed the direction of history. However, I would develop this point to suggest that for Marvell what it has done is undermine any sense that 'History' actually matters. Just as for Royalists the event was a traumatic sundering and rendering that showed them the instability of identity and meaning, for Marvell it reveals an innate subjectivity in conceptions of positivistic morality and teleological history.

'Royalists' and 'Republicans' alike struggled to impose narrative completion onto events; this revelatory aporia in Marvell's poem suggests that their struggle was an attempt to avoid the shock of the real. The 'reborn' nation is on shaky and bloody foundations:

> So when they did design
> The Capitol's first line,
> A bleeding head where they begun,
> Did fright the architects to run;
> And yet in that the State
> Foresaw its happy fate. (ll. 67–72)

Marvell avoids the delicacy of Royalist writers; his state is 'writ in blood', as Cowley would have it.[56] Norbrook argues that these are 'sublime but grotesque images' that allow Marvell to present his conception of a new, free republic; Norbrook's sublime is a rhetorical trope that entails the transformative possibilities of the republic. At this point, it seems, Marvell is no longer certain of any concrete, positive purpose for the nation-state. He recognizes, through a consideration of the very wound on which the new state is to be built upon, the subjectivity and indeterminacy of language and identity. History is not progress but the compounding of the wound, an attempt at imposing a structuring 'line' upon a messy, traumatic reality. For Marvell the wound of war was something that had to be forgotten so that society might live; the killing of the King prompted a moment of collective amnesia in the country. In the death of the King – a moment of origin – the state foresees its 'Happy fate'.

So how exactly *do* we cure or understand the wound of civil war? For Marvell the wound must be returned to and paved over. There is a moment of trauma which is conveniently forgotten, encased in a collective forgetting. Charles himself argued that the key approach was to open the wound to the air: 'O no, in no case (Ned) said His Majesty. The way to cure wounds, is not to *close* but discover them. They *rankle* by being *closed* before they be *cured*.'[57] The wound must be uncovered, remembered and allowed to heal naturally. His loyal subjects did not see things this way, and preferred to cover and bandage the wound, to obscure it. Royalist writers attempted to work through defeat and the trauma of the King's execution, to repackage it and reposition it, to continue the work of occlusion that had been effective throughout the war. Yet as Marvell's deeply ambiguous poem illustrates, such occlusion undermines itself.

The anonymous author of the 1649 tract *Oxonii Lachrymae, Rachel Weeping for her Children* pictured the triumphant enemy erecting their victory monument, a building that pretended to impose a new definition of space upon the nation:

> they have moulded their hellish signes, and proceeded without fear or wit, to the raising of what ever was Religious or Learned amongst us: onely this we see some few Pillars (by indulgence) remaining, which yet are made useless for supportation and stand as bewailed Monuments of a once stately Fabrick; nor can we think they will be of a long continuance, sithence their white boys flock hither a pace with Spades and Mattocks of silver to clear the Foundation. Oh what a glorious building are they now erecting! Yes sure, another Babel for the honour of their Dignities, wherein nothing but 'Tohe and Bohu' is like to have its habitation.[58]

It is particularly significant that the initial space conquered is Oxford, as during the 1630s and particularly the 1640s the town had been the central locus for Royalist definitions of the state. The site of Laudian experiment and the King's last court, as well as the humanist centre of reason and educated discussion, is being trampled underfoot and its very foundations razed. *Oxonii Lachrymae* articulates the complaint of Royalist texts from the late 1640s that the 'once stately Fabrick' of the nation has been fundamentally and irreparably destroyed. Parliament has disrupted normality, and is ready to impose its own deviant model of society and religion onto the nation. The construction of the new Parliamentary space is seen to be based in language; their 'hellish signes' become the perverted codes of communication and the building bricks for a new architectonics of nationhood. The enemy has imposed a new unmeaning upon the country, destroying the foundations of the hierarchy of knowledge and replacing it with an unholy confusion. The reference to Babel emphasizes this sense that the major transgression of the enemy is their challenge to linguistic normality and right. They deign to replace the guarantor, to erect false idols and unleash a hellish proliferation of meaning; as Abraham Cowley wrote, their purpose was to reinscribe the state, to construct a nation 'writ in blood'.

The instigation of the Parliamentary state is therefore a traumatic rupture of the physical body of both subject and nation. It dislocates, fractures, fragments and disrupts, mimics the actions of the true state and induces what Bhabha terms the 'slippage of difference and desire'. The Roundhead is the locus of unmeaning, the encounter with the

recognizable and rejected other which collapses the realms of the imaginary and symbolic into the unpresentable and abject. Yet, fundamentally, the nation continues despite itself, the pun on 'raising' more unconscious evidence of a continuation outside of Royalist models. England abides, described in different languages. What the section from this tract articulates so well is the Royalist dismay at the destruction of centralized positivist meaning resting on a divinely appointed teleology. Marvell recognizes this, albeit using metaphor to defer such realization. The babbling Parliamentary state presents a utilitarian modernity, disrupting the description of history as progress; it is not development but simply the 'recasting' of the nation. Parliament imposes its polyvocal, fluid religious and social life onto the shifting space of nation. The system of 'hellish signes' has physically supplanted the true language of the King to create a new nation 'writ in blood', inscribed in Charles' lifeblood. The anxiety felt by Royalists at this point was a direct result of propaganda from the war period during which the challenge to the King's authority was represented as a direct questioning of all that was normal and stable. Parliament was the site of horrific inversions: the instigator of ruptures in the social, sexual, political, religious and bodily fabric of the nation. The nation had become a site of perversion and horror; the vipers had been born and had ingested their parent to become the dominant force.

Notes

Introduction

1. Paul Virilio in conversation with James der Derian, online at: http://proxy.arts.uci.edu/~nideffer/_SPEED_/1.4/articles/derderian.html
2. 'For Bush's Veteran Team, What Lessons to Apply?', *Washington Post*, 15 September 2001, p. A05.
3. Richard Ward, *The Character of Warre* (London, 1643), pp. 9–11.
4. *The Princely Pellican* ([London], 1649), pp. 3–4.

1 Royalisms? Constructing and disrupting Royalist identity

1. *The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (London, 1643), II, 12.
2. For a historical account of the variety of positions taken up by the followers of the King, and the factional debates about Royalist political thought, see David L. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for a Settlement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press [hereafter CUP], 1994).
3. Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism 1628–1660* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), p. 5.
4. See Jerome de Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642–46', *English Historical Review*, vol. cxvii (474) (November 2002), 1204–27. For an analysis of the 'impact of early Stuart court culture on the political crisis of the 1640s and the legacy of division that crisis left', see R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987). Smuts' book is also important for a consideration of the complicated development of 'Royalist' political and cultural thought during the 1620s and 1630s.
5. David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999); Thomas Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) and Thomas Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999); Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640–1660* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); Lois Potter, *Secret Rites and Secret Writing: Royalist Literature, 1641–1660* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989); James Loxley, *Royalism and Poetry in the English Civil Wars: The Drawn Sword* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, now Palgrave Macmillan, 1997); Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Susan Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: CUP, 1998); Thomas Healy and Jonathan Sawday (eds), *Literature and the English Civil War*, (Cambridge: CUP, 1990); Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds), *The English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1999). For a historical point of view see also P. R. Newman, 'The King's Servants: Conscience, Principle and Sacrifice in Armed Royalism', in John Morill, Paul Slack and Daniel Woolf (eds), *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England: Essays presented*

to G. E. Aylmer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 225–42, and James Daly, 'The Implications of Royalist Politics, 1642–1646', *Historical Journal*, 27 (1984), 745–55.

6. See Ronald Hutton, 'The Structure of the Royalist Party 1642–46', *Historical Journal*, 24 (1981), 553–69 and Daly, 'The Implications of Royalist Politics'.
7. There is important work forthcoming by Marika Keblusek on Royalists in exile: 'Wine for Comfort: Drinking and the Royalist Exile Experience', in Adam Smyth (ed.), *Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, forthcoming) and *The Exile Experience: The Book Culture of Royalists and Anglicans on the Continent (1640–1660)* (Leiden: Sir Thomas Browne Institute Publications, forthcoming). Keblusek expands the models developed by P. H. Hardacre in his seminal article 'The Royalists in Exile during the Puritan Revolution 1642–1660', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 16 (1952), 353–71. Other work in this field includes Adam Smyth, *'Profit and Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England 1640–1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), Angela McShane-Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: the politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads 1640–1689', in Smyth, *Drink and Conviviality*; Steven Zwicker, *Lines of Authority: Politics and Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993); and see also Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, chapter 12.
8. *The Character of an Agitator* ([London], 1647), p. 4
9. See Michael Mendle (ed.), *The Putney Debates of 1647: The Army, the Levellers, and the English State* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).
10. Jacques Derrida, *Writing and Difference* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2001), p. 279.
11. *Certaine Informations* 30 Oct.–6 Nov. 1643, quoted in Leslie Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), p. 9.
12. October 1643, quoted in Hotson, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, p. 9. Some cheered the removal of the King: 'To: Oxford the King is gone/ wth all his pompous grace', opened an anonymous poem entitled 'To: Oxfforde', BL MS Add. 27879, p. 464.
13. 'Whilest Orpheus toucht his Harpe', *Musarum Oxoniensum Epibateria Serenissimæ* (Oxford, 1643), ll. 31–5.
14. [Henry Parker], *Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses* ([London], 1642), p. 1.
15. Quoted in John Sanderson, *'But the People's Creatures': The Philosophical Basis of the English Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), p. 20
16. *The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments*, II, Sig. A2r.
17. Parker, *Observations*, p. 4. Parker concedes that there is no 'expresse contract', arguing that the relationship between the King and state depends on this concept of 'trust', p. 4.
18. *Powers to be Resisted: Or A Dialogue arguing The Parliaments lawfull Resistance of the Powers now in Armes against them* (London, 1643), p. 2.
19. Dudley Digges, *The Unlawfulnesse of Subjects taking up Armes against their Soveraigne* ([Oxford], 1643), p. 5.

20. Bod., Rawlinson Poet. MS 26, fol. 137v, ll. 3–4.
21. *Two Speeches Spoken at the Councell-Table at Oxford* (London, 1642).
22. For the various complex negotiations between King and Parliament, see Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, pp. 109–23.
23. *His Maiesties Gracious Answer To the Different Opinions of the Earles of Bristol and Dorset concerning Peace and War* (London, [1642]), p. 3. These speeches are part of the evolution of the 'mixed monarchy' theory described by Smith in *Constitutional Royalism*.
24. *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge: CUP, 1987).
25. Quoted in Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 29–30. The dedication was, of course, to Charles himself. Harvey was Warden of Merton from 1645 to 1646 and engaged in research that, when published in 1650, has been seen to support a republican or commonwealth view of the body, see Christopher Hill, 'William Harvey and the idea of Monarchy', in Charles Webster (ed.), *The Intellectual Revolution of the Seventeenth Century* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 160–82.
26. *Two Speeches delivered by The Kings most Excellent Maiestie at Oxford* (London, [1642]), p. 4.
27. *The Kings Maiesties Speech, As It was delivered the second of November* (London, 1642), p. 3.
28. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 201.
29. See Christopher Hill, 'William Harvey and the idea of Monarchy', and Nicholas Tyacke, 'Science and Religion at Oxford before the Civil War', in Donald Pennington and Keith Thomas (eds), *Puritans and Revolutionaries: Essays in Seventeenth-Century History presented to Christopher Hill* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), pp. 73–94.
30. *A Letter sent from a Private Gentleman to a Friend in London* ([London], 1642), pp. 4–5.
31. *Ramus Olivæ; or, an Humble Motion for Peace* (Oxford, 1644), pp. 20–1.
32. 'Dismembering and Remembering: The English Civil War and Male Identity' in *The English Civil War in the Literary Imagination*, pp. 220–41.
33. *A Satyr, Occasioned by the Author's Survey of a Scandalous Pamphlet Intituled, the Kings Cabinet Opened* (Oxford, 1645), ll. 15–16.
34. *The Causes of the Diseases and Distempers of this Kingdom; Found by Feeling of her Pulse, Viewing her Urine, and Casting her Water* ([Oxford], 1645), p. 1.
35. Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse', in Phillip Rice and Patricia Waugh (eds), *Modern Literary Theory* (London: Arnold, 1989), pp. 380–7 (p. 381).
36. *A Faithful Subjects Sigh, On The universally-lamented Death, and Tragicall End, of that Virtuous and Pious Prince, our most Gracious Soveraigne, Charles I* ([London], 1649), ll. 19–27.

2 '. . . but the Picture, but the signe of a King': the legal space of self and nation

1. *Brief on the Origin of Printing*, Inner Temple MS, cited by Richard J. Ross, 'The Commoning of the Common Law: The Renaissance Debate Over Printing English Law, 1520–1640', *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 146 (1998), 329–461 (458).
2. *The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments*, II, Sig. A2r.
3. Paul Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), p. 231.
4. *A Letter From a Member of the House of Commons* (Oxford:, 1644), p. 1.
5. Neil Smith and Cindi Katz, 'Grounding Metaphor: Towards a Spatialized Politics' in Michael Keith and Steve Pile (eds), *Place and the Politics of Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 67–84 (p. 75).
6. Abraham Cowley, *The Civil War*, ed. by Allan Pritchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), II, 377–8.
7. *His Majesties Gratious Proclamation to the Cittyes of London and Westminster* ([Oxford], 1642).
8. *A Proclamation Forbidding all Levies of Forces* ([Oxford] 1642).
9. 'Foucault and (the Ideology of) Genealogical Legal Theory', in Jerry Leonard (ed.), *Legal Studies as Cultural Studies* (New York: State University of New York, 1995), pp. 133–154 (p. 140).
10. Michael Rosenfeld, 'The Identity of the Constitutional Subject', in Peter Goodrich and David Gray Carlson (eds), *Law and the Postmodern Mind* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), pp. 143–75 (p. 151).
11. William Ingoldsby, *Englands oaths* (London, 1642), Sig. A2r.
12. See Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*, and Michael Mendle, *Dangerous Positions: Mised Government, the Estates of the Realm and the Making of the Answer to the XIX Propositions* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985).
13. *Nineteen Propositions made by both Houses of Parliament, to the Kings most excellent Majestie: with his Majesties answer thereunto* (Cambridge, 1642), p. 2.
14. See Daly, 'The Implications of Royalist Politics', Hutton 'The Structure of the Royalist Party', Mendle, *Dangerous Positions* and Smith, *Constitutional Royalism* for analyses of this political jockeying for position and theoretical disagreement by the King's advisors.
15. *A Proclamation of His Majesties offer of Pardon to the Rebells now in Arms against Him* (1642).
16. *A Proclamation Prohibiting the payment and receipt of Customes, and other Maritime Duties upon the late pretended Ordinance of both Houses of Parliament* ([Oxford], 1642).
17. *Proclamation For the more free passage of all His loving Subjects, and the free carriage and conveyance of their Horses, Provisions, or other Goods from any one place or part to another, within His Kingdom of England, and the Dominions thereof* ([Oxford], 1642).
18. Rosenfeld, 'The Identity of the Constitutional Subject', p. 147.
19. David Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), pp. 70–1.
20. *A Proclamation prohibiting the assessing collecting or paying any Weekly Taxes* ([Oxford], 1643).

21. *A Proclamation for the Payment of His Majesties Rents, and Revenues into His Receipt of his Exchequer, at His Citty of Oxford* ([Oxford], 1643).
22. *His Majesties Proclamation forbidding all His loving Subjects of the Counties of Kent, Surry, Sussex, and Hampshire, to raise any Forces* ([Oxford], 1643); *A Proclamation Calling for Horse in Oxfordshire* ([Oxford], 1642).
23. *A Proclamation prohibiting the payment and receipt of Customes*.
24. *A Proclamation forbidding all assessing, Collecting, and Paying of the Twentieth Part* ([Oxford], 1643); *A Proclamation warning all His Majesties good Subjects no longer to be misled by the Votes, Orders, and pretended Ordinances of one or both Houses* ([Oxford], 1643).
25. *His Maiesties Declaration To all His loving Subjects, Upon occasion of his late Message to both Houses* (Oxford, 1642).
26. *Declaration Whosoever will serve the King* (Oxford, 1642).
27. 5 September 1642, HMC (Portland I), pp. 59–60.
28. 13 June 1643, BL, Harleian MS 6804, fol. 75v.
29. For seminal discussion of *Aulicus*' role in the propaganda wars of the 1640s see Peter Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead 1617–1679: A Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). A wider perspective on the role of newsbooks and pamphlets in general is found in Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper: English Newsbooks 1641–1649* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) and *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: CUP, 2003).
30. Bod. Add. MS D.114, a collection of documents relating to the administration of Oxford during the war, includes various entries ordering official information 'to be declared by the Churchwardens and constables at euery house, and to be proclaymed by the Drummer', 13 June 1643, fol. 24r.
31. *An Order for Publishing Declarations and Books Set Forth by His Maiesties Command* (Oxford, 1644).
32. *A Proclamation warning all His Majesties good Subjects no longer to be misled*.
33. The diary of the Essex clergyman Ralph Josselin bears witness to the fact that the King's Proclamations were not uniformly read by preachers, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin, 1616–1683*, ed. by Alan Macfarlane (London: The British Academy and Oxford University Press (hereafter OUP), 1976).
34. *A Proclamation against the Oppression of the Clergy* (Oxford, 1643).
35. *His Majesties Declaration To all His loving Subjects, Upon occasion of a late Printed Paper, Entituled, A Declaration and Protestation of the Lords and Commons in Parliament to this Kingdom, and the whole World* (Printed by His Majesties Command At Oxford, By Leonard Lichfield Printer to the University, 1642), p. 2.
36. For a fuller account of the King's occupation of Oxford see de Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure: The Court at Oxford, 1642–46'.
37. See de Groot, 'Space, Patronage, Procedure'; PRO PC/2/153, ff. 213–33 is a fragment of the Privy Council Register 1643–45, PRO LC/5/135 contains Miscellaneous Lord Chamberlain's Warrants 1641–3, Bod. MS Dugdale 19 is a register of all docquets of all letters patent and other documents passed under the Great Seal at Oxford 1643–6, 'Written by an Officer of the Chancery' (p. ii), and Bod. Rawlinson B.121 ff.1–10 contains a list of payments made to the members of the King's household. Certain of the papers

of Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir Robert Heath, Sir Arthur Aston, and Sir Edward Walker also survive. Evidence is very fragmentary, however: PRO LC/1 (Lord Steward's Household Accounts), PRO LS/13/169 (Lord Steward's Entry Book of Records), and PRO LC/9/103 (Lord Chamberlain's Accounts of the Wardrobe) are examples of records that are interrupted between May 1642 and September 1660.

38. PRO PC/2/153. The first meeting is recorded 'At Oxford 15th Augusti 1643' (p. 215). Present were 'Lo: Marq of Hertford, Lord Dunsmore, Ea: of Bark, Lor Cottington, Ea: of Southampton, Lord Seymour, Ea: of Leicester, Mr Comptroller, Ea: of Bristoll, Mr Sec: Nicholas, Lo: Savile, Mr Chan of Th'excheq'. The volume records the meetings of the council from 1640 to 1645, and just two pages earlier records meetings at Nottingham in the summer of 1642 (p. 213).
39. For an overview of the political situation at Oxford, particularly concentrating on the factional split between the 'ultra' party (Digby and Rupert) and those favouring accommodation (Hyde, Falkland) see Hutton, 'The Structure of the Royalist Party' and Daly, 'The Implications of Royalist Politics'.
40. *CSPD* 1644–1645, p. 107.
41. Charles, Prince of Wales; James, Duke of York; Prince Rupert; Edward, Lord Littleton; Francis, Lord Cottington; Henry, Earl of Bath; James, Duke of Richmond; William, Marquis of Hertford; Henry, Marquis of Dorchester; Montague, Earl of Lindsey; Edward, Earl of Dorset; Thomas, Earl of Southampton; John, Earl of Bristol; Henry, Earl of Dover; George, Lord Digby; Francis, Earl of Chichester; Thomas, Earl of Berkshire; Arthur, Lord Capell; Francis, Lord Seymour; Christopher, Lord Hampton; Ralph, Lord Hopton; Captain William Legge; John, Lord Culpepper; Sir Edward Nicholas; Sir Edward Hyde.
42. *Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke, 1605–1675*, ed. by Ruth Spalding (Oxford: OUP and the British Academy, 1990), pp. 143, 145. Whitelocke's frustrations are joked about in a MS poem about the King and his council which satirizes the incompetent and inefficient chain of command: 'Where good lord Capell is found noe more able/ In counsell then in commanding/ Yet keeping the guard shall be his reward/ For shewing noe more understanding', BL Egerton MS 2725, fols. 139v–40r, ll. 9–12.
43. Ian Roy, 'The Royalist Council of War 1642–6', *Bulletin of the Institute for Historical Research*, 35 (1962), 150–69. The records of the Council meetings, kept by Sir Edward Walker, are BL MS Harleian 6851, and further accounts occur in Walker's papers and correspondence, BL MS Add. 33223.
44. *HIS MAJESTIES SPEECH DELIVERED THE Twenty second of Ianuary, 1643* (Oxford, 1643[4]), p. 2.
45. 'Diary of the Oxford Parliament, January 1644', Huntington Library MS HA 8060, p. 1.
46. A declaration forbidding those with the King's Evil to approach the court until Michaelmas was posted 'on the Court gates, and all the ports and passages into the Citie', physically protecting the King and his entourage, *Mercurius Aulicus* quoted in Madan, p. 243.
47. Often proclamations were read at every individual house by sergeants. For example, the order of 13 June 1643 making every household provide tools

for the fortifications on pain of tax was 'to be declared by the Churchwardens and constables at euery house', Bod. Add. MS D 114, fol. 24r.

48. This sense of the marginal importance of the Parliament in the institutional running of the war is borne out by consideration of Sir Edward Walker's papers; letters and information are sent to the King and the Council of War rather than the legislature.
49. *HIS MAJESTIES SPEECH TO THE LORDS and COMMONS OF PARLIAMENT Assembled at OXFORD, Delivered at their Recesse, April 26. 1644* (Oxford, 1644), pp. 2–3.
50. Ann Hughes, 'The King, the Parliament and the Localities During the English Civil War', in Richard Cust and Ann Hughes (eds), *The English Civil War* (London and New York: Arnold, 1997), pp. 261–87.
51. *THE KINGDOME OF ENGLAND & Principality of Wales, EXACTLY DESCRIBED* ([1644]).
52. Sir George Fordham argues that the maps were copied wholesale from Christopher Saxton's maps of England and Wales (1580–4), 'A Note on the "Quartermaster's Map," 1644' *The Geographical Journal* (1927), 50–2. A copy in Lincoln College Library (LC EN.7) contains contemporary MS notes relating to various sieges and battles fought between the summer of 1643 and 1646, indicating that the maps were used to trace the progress of the war.
53. There are subsequent versions of these maps that include Stuart coats of arms, but the first editions were distinctly lacking in Royal allegiance. The lack of royal crests on the maps implies that the maps are disassociating themselves from the King, despite monarchical involvement in nearly every aspect of English topography, from Royal charters for cities to Royal boundaries for counties. Furthermore, the lack of coats of arms is quite deliberate, as they do appear on Saxton's versions, Fordham, 'A note', p. 51. However, Hollar did publish a version of the maps during the war which included the crests, giving rise to the speculation that he was consciously addressing a bifurcating public: one in which the monarch played little part in the construction of national identity, and one in which boundaries and royally constructed or controlled spaces were an integral part of obedience and identity.
54. Specifically Gloucester and Worcester; Oxford, Northampton, Buckinghamshire, Middlesex, Surrey, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Sussex and Kent also received official commands and directions.
55. *BY THE KING. A Proclamation of His Majesties Grace, Favour, and Pardon, to the Inhabitants of His County of Willts*. Given at Our Court at Oxford, this second day of November, in the Eighteenth yeare of Our Reigne. [Leonard Lichfield, 1642].
56. A Jaspar Mayne poem addresses the King 'you, yet appeare/ To us as glorious, unspent, full of ray,/ As when you first began to rule our Day', 'To the KING', *Eucharistica Oxoniensia In Exoptatissimum & Auspicatissimum Caroli* (Oxford: Leonard Lichfield, 1641), ll. 68–70. For a discussion of Oxford verse see Raymond A. Anselment, 'The Oxford University Poets and Caroline Panegyric' in *John Donne Journal*, 3 (1984), 181–201, and M. L. Donnelly, Caroline Royalist Panegyric and the Disintegration of a Symbolic Mode', in Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds), *'The Muses Common-Weale': Poetry and Politics in the Seventeenth Century* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), pp. 163–77.

57. Nicholas Tyacke, 'Science and Religion at Oxford before the Civil War', pp. 89–90.
58. BL, Sloane MS 542 is a miscellany once owned by Nathaniell Highmore, a distinguished physician at Trinity College during the war, which includes medical entries and evidence that he was still researching also. Academic work continued to be undertaken; some was even published, such as James Ussher's revised *A Geographicall and Historicall Disquisition* (Oxford, 1643).
59. Bod. Savile MS 47, fol. 68v.
60. *His Majesties Declaration To all His loving Subjects upon occasion of the late Ordinance and Declaration of the Lords and Commons for the Assessing all such who have not contributed sufficiently for raising of Money, Plate* (Oxford, by L. Lichfield, 1642). This was ordered 'for publishing in churches and chapels of England and Wales' (title-page); it was reprinted several times in Oxford and London.
61. *His Majesties Proclamation for the Adjournment of part of Michaelmasse Term* ([Oxford], 1643).
62. *His Maiesties Declaration To all His loving Subjects, Upon occasion of his late Message to both Houses of Parliament.*
63. Ibid.
64. *A Proclamation declaring His Majesties expresse Command, That no Popish Recusant, nor any other, who shall refuse to take the two Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacie, shall serve Him in His Army: And that the Souldiery commit no rapines upon the People, but be fitly provided of necessaries for their money* (1642).
65. *A Proclamation forbidding any of his Majesties Subjects to assist the Rebells* (Oxford, 1643).
66. *A Proclamation touching the Adjourning of Part of Hilary Term* (Oxford, 1643). Material relating to the Oxford Court of Wards during this period survives in BL, Egerton MS 2978, fols. 77r–87v. The King meant to punish those who neglected to attend, and had Sir Robert Heath draw up a 'A List of Officers belonging to the Court of Wardes who haue not attended in performance of their duties at Oxford in obedience to his Maties seuerall Proclamacons comaunding their attendance there', BL, Egerton MS 2978, fol. 76r.
67. HMC Report 5, pp. 69, 76.
68. *A Proclamation for the Payment of His Majesties Rents, and Revenues into His Receipt of His Exchequer, at His Citty of Oxford* (Oxford, 1643).
69. *A Proclamation for the speedy payment of all such summes of Money as are due to His Majesty for Customes, or other Duties upon Merchandize, into His Majesties Receipt at His Citty of Oxford* (Oxford, 1643).
70. The Privy Council minutes for the period illustrate the increasing concern with ways of raising money, PRO, PC/2/53, esp. pp. 224, 226.
71. *Mad Verse, Sad Verse, Glad Verse and Bad Verse* ([Oxford, 1644]), ll. 244, 247–49. See Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet 1578–1653* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).
72. BL, Add MS. 18980, fol. 32r–v.
73. *CSPD* 1644–1645, p. 107.
74. PRO, PC/2/53, p. 224; Proclamations Madan no. 1472, no. 1551. There are various small caches of foreign (largely French and Dutch) coins datable to 1641–3 now on display in the Ashmolean Museum Heberden coin room,

the discovery sites of which trace the Queen's progress from York to Oxford. The coins were evidently being used to pay soldiers throughout England.

75. Reginald W. Jeffrey, 'The Oxford Mint', in *History of the County of Oxfordshire*, II, 272–3 (p. 273).
76. *A Proclamation to Declare, that the Procez of Green Waxe may be sealed at Oxford as well as at London* (Oxford, 1643).
77. *A Proclamation touching the Counterfeit Great* Seale (Oxford, 1643).
78. 'Now let them Vote, Declare, Contrive', *Musarum Oxoniensium*, ll. 3–5.
79. *A Satyr, Occasioned by the Author's Survey*, l. 82.
80. 'Song or Ode. When ye speakers of either houses Leueing their charges & running away to ye Army', Houghton Library, Harvard, Eng. fMS 645, p. 6, ll. 23–4.
81. *A Proclamation prohibiting all persons to obey the ordinances of Parliament* ([Oxford], 1643).
82. Alexander Brome, 'The Commoners' (1645), in Henry Morley (ed.), *The King and the Commons: Cavalier and Puritan Song* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Low and Searle, 1875), ll. 18–21.
83. *A Proclamation Concerning His Majesties Navy* (Oxford, 1643).
84. *A Proclamation offering His Majesties Gratious Pardon to all Officers, Gunners, Armourers, Gunsmiths, Carpenters, Wheelewrights, and other Artificers belonging to the Office of the Ordinance, and requiring their attendance at Oxford* (Oxford, 1643).
85. *The Earle of Lindsey his declaration* (Oxford, [1643]), Sig. A2r.
86. 'A Song', Bod. MS Rawlinson Poet. 152, l. 21. See Potter, *Secret Rites*, pp. 134–7.
87. 'To Althea, from Prison', *Lucasta* (London, 1649), ll. 17, 25–6, 28.
88. 'The Liberty and requiem of an imprisoned Royallist', BL Egerton MS 2725, ll. 7–10.
89. 'His song being a Prisoner', Bod. MS Rawlinson Poet. 211, ll. 1–6.
90. *The Earle of Lindsey his declaration*, Sig. A2v.
91. BL, Harleian MS 6851, fol. 66r.
92. Quoted in Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 650.
93. See Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud, 1573–1645* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, now Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), pp. 274–7.
94. Lambert, 'Printers and the Government', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds), *Aspects of Printing from 1600* (Oxford: Oxford Polytechnic Press, 1987), pp. 1–30 (p. 11).
95. *Censorship and Interpretation: The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (London and Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).
96. Peter Heylin, *The Rebells Catechisme* ([Oxford], 1643), p. 3.
97. 'As I about the Towne doe walke', Beinecke Library, Yale, MS fb. 106, ll. 1–3.
98. Royalist printings in the major cities during the period that Oxford was the institutional centre of the country are thus: Bristol-9 of which 9 are Oxford reprints; York-6/ 5; Newcastle-2/ 2; Shrewsbury-6/ 4; Exeter-3/ 2; Newark-5/ 5; Salisbury-1/ 1. Figures taken from *A Short-Title Catalogue arranged Geographically*, compiled by E. A. Clough (London: The Library Association, 1969).

99. See Lois Potter, *Secret Rites*, chapters 1 and 2, and Madan, Appendix F 'Counterfeit Imprints', p. 542 for a list of Oxford imprints actually printed in London.
100. *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 132–3.
101. *Causes of the diseases and distempers of this kingdom, Fownd by feeleing of his Pulse, and Casting his Water*. This was printed (with the gendered pronouns changed to feminine) at Oxford in October 1645, see discussion in Introduction.
102. For a thorough account of Berkenhead's career and influence on Royalist propaganda, see Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead*.
103. Licensing was bound up with University procedure: on 6 February 1644 Convocation appointed a committee consisting the Chancellor, vice-chancellor, and the Regius Professors of Divinity, Medicine and Civil Law to 'examine books before they are printed', Madan, pp. 313–14.
104. Even during the 1620s and 1630s the relationship had been ambiguous. Sir Henry Herbert termed his interference with texts 'reformation', and Annabel Patterson's central thesis is that the acknowledgement of state control was integral to poetic composition, see Nigel Bawcutt (ed.), *The Control and Censorship of Caroline Drama: The Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623–73* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 50, and Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*.
105. Bod., Add. MS C. 209, p. 3.
106. Ibid., p. 4.
107. Quoted by Christopher Hill, 'Censorship and English Literature', p. 41.
108. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation*, p. 17.
109. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, p. 3.

3 The Royalist reader

1. Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, p. 142. See also Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* and a critique of the use of Habermas, Joad Raymond 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London and Oregon: Frank Cass, 1998), pp. 109–41.
2. See for instance Hall's *Horæ Vacivæ* (London, 1646) and *The Advancement of Learning* (London, 1649). Milton's key texts in this field are *Of Education* (London, 1644), which was dedicated to Hartlib, *Areopagitica* (London, 1644), and *A Soveraigne Salve to Cure the Blind* (London, 1643).
3. *The Loyall Subiect's Retiring-Roome, Opened in a Sermon at St Maries* (Oxford, 1645), Sig. A2v.
4. Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 2.
5. *Hesperides* (London, 1648), ll. 1–4.
6. See Ann Baynes Coiro, *Robert Herrick's 'Hesperides' and the Epigram Book Tradition* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).
7. *The Cambridge Royallist Imprisoned* ([Oxford], [1643]), ll. 111, 115.
8. 'A Preface to the Reader', *Sober Sadnes* (Oxford, 1643), p. 2.

9. *His Maiesties Gracious Answer To the Different Opinions of the Earles of Bristol and Dorset concerning Peace and War*, p. 3.
10. See Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, '"Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy', *Past and Present*, 290 (1990), 30–79.
11. *Reading Revolutions: The Politics of Reading in Early Modern England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000); *John Dee: The Politics of Reading and Writing in the English Renaissance* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).
12. *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, p. 4.
13. *Powers to be Resisted* (London, 1643).
14. *The Bloody Prince* (London, 1643), p. 26.
15. *Soveraigne Power*, Sig. A2r; *An Alarme Beat up in Sion* (London, 1644), Sig. A3r; *Conscience Satisfied* (Oxford, 1643), p. 2.
16. *Drama and Politics*, p. 20.
17. John Beesley, 'Great Luminary', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 39–49.
18. *Vindex Anglicus, Or The Perfections of the English Language* [Oxford, 1644], reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany* (London, 1744).
19. John T. Curry, 'A Seventeenth-Century Plagiary', *Notes and Queries*, (1901), 457–59.
20. *The Spie*, 20 [20 June–25 June, 1644].
21. *Excitable Speech*, p. 129.
22. Gerhard F. Strasser, 'Closed and Open Languages: Samuel Hartlib's Involvement with Cryptology and Universal Languages', in Mark Greengrass, Michael Leslie and Timothy Raylor (eds), *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation: Studies in Intellectual Communication* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), pp. 151–61 (p. 151).
23. Bod, Rawlinson Poet. MS 26, fols. 124v–125r, ll. 27–8.
24. 'The Epistle DEDICATORY', *The Loves of Hero and Leander* (Oxford, 1645), Sig. 1v.
25. Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, p. 3.
26. For a discussion of dissonant readings and an analysis profiling the interrogative approach of much post-1640 reading, see Adam Smyth, *'Profit and Delight': Printed Miscellanies in England*. Smyth's models of an inquisitive, reordering readership do not necessarily conflict with my own – I am presenting a discussion of how Royalists writers conceived of their authority, wished their texts to be read, and perceived the status of the reader, not a generalization about whether this was the case or not.
27. The poem appears in Bod, Ashmole MS 36/37 (2 copies), Douce MS 357, Locke MS e. 17, Rawlinson Poet. MSS 26 and 147, BL, Egerton MSS 2421 and 2725, National Library of Wales, MS 5390D. The elegy is often paired in manuscript with that on Strafford ascribed to Cleveland.
28. Bod, MS Douce 357, fols. 8 r–v. A variant text of the parody appears as a separate in the composite Beinecke, MS fb. 106, number 9, indicating that the parody itself had a manuscript life apart from Denham's original poem.
29. For Fane, see Tom Cain, '"A Sad Intestine Warr": Mildmay Fane and the Poetry of Civil Strife', in Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth (eds), *The English Civil Wars in the Literary Imagination* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1999), pp. 27–52.

30. 'To the Most Illustrious, and Most Hopefull Prince CHARLES, Prince of Wales', *Hesperides*, ll. 1–2.
31. Edmund Waller, 'An Advertisement to the Reader', *Poems* (London, 1645), Sig. A2r.
32. See in particular Bod., Don MS d. 55, a presentation edition for Henrietta Maria of *c*.1640–2.
33. Cited in Arthur Marotti, *Manuscript, Print, and the Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), p. 259.
34. Cited in ibid.
35. *Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers and Expresses* ([London], [1642]), now BL 100.D.56.
36. Manuscript annotations to BL copy of *Observations upon some of his Majesties late Answers*, pp. 17, 22.
37. *The Late Letters* (Oxford, 1642).
38. I. G. Philips and Paul Morgan, 'Libraries, Books, and Printing', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), IV, 659–85 (p. 666).
39. *The King's Cabinet Opened: or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters & Papers, Written with the King's own Hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Naseby-Field* (London, 1645). See Lois Potter's discussion, *Secret Rites*, pp. 57–62.
40. *A Letter, in which the Arguments of the Annotator, And three other Speeches Upon their Majesties Letters Published at London, are Examined and Answered* ([Oxford], 1645), pp. 1–2.
41. *A Satyr, Occasioned by the Author's Survey*, l. 1.
42. *Some Observations* (Oxford, 1645), p. 1.
43. See, for instance, *Two Intercepted Letters from Sr William Brereton to the Earle of Essex, and M. Pym* (Oxford, 1643).
44. *Two Letters Of His Sacred Maiesty, One, In Vindication of Him, touching the Irish Affaires; The other, Concerning a late Mis-interpretation of one maine Passage in his late Letters* (Oxford, 1645).
45. See for example the extensive domestic references in *A Letter to a Noble Lord from a Friend at Oxford* ([Oxford], 1643), p. 1. The letters are also often signed and dated.
46. *The Examination and Confession of Captaine Lilbourne and Captaine Viviers . . . Being sent in a letter from Mr Daniel Felton, a Scholar of Trinity Colledge, to one Mr Tho. Harris in Lincolne Innes Fields* (London, 1642), Sig. A2r.
47. *A Letter From a Member of the House of Commons, To a Gentleman now at London, touching the New Solemne League and Covenant* (Oxford, 1644), p. 1.
48. *A Letter sent from a Private Gentleman to a Friend in London* ([London], 1642), p. 2.
49. '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 and Oregon: Frank Cass, 1998), pp. 66–84.
50. *Plaine Truth, without Feare, or Flattery Being a Case of Conscience tryed at Oxford* ([Oxford], 1642[3]), Sig. A2r.
51. See, for instance, Robert Holborne *The Reading In Lincolnes-Inne, Feb. 28. 1641. Upon the Stat. Of 25. E. 3. Cap. 2. Being the Statute of Treasons* (Oxford, 1642[3]).

52. *A Letter from a Scholler in Oxfordshire to his Unkle a Merchant in Broadstreet, upon occasion of a Book Intituled A Moderate and most Proper Reply to a Declaration* ([Oxford], 1643).
53. *A Letter, in which the Arguments of the Annotator, And three other Speeches Upon their Majesties Letters Published at London, are Examined and Answered* ([Oxford], 1645), pp. 21–2.
54. *A Satyre. The Puritan and the Papist* ([Oxford], 1643). An unauthorized counterfeit version was printed in London and Oxford as *Sampsons Foxes Agreed to fire a Kingdom* ([Oxford, 1644]); there are manuscript copies in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Bell/ White MS 45, Bod, Rawlinson. Poet. MS 172, Huntington HM MS 16522.
55. J. B., 'To the Reader', *The Oxonian Antippodes, or the Oxford Anty-Parliament* (London, 1644), Sig. A3v–A4r.
56. *A Militarie Sermon, Wherein By the Word of God, the nature and disposition of a Rebell is discovered, and the Kings true Souldier described and characterized* (Oxford, 1644), Sigs. A2r, A2v.
57. Edward Symmons, 'To the Readers', *A Militarie Sermon*, Sig. A2v.
58. W. J., 'To the Reader', *Obedience Active and Passive* (Oxford, 1643), Sig. A2r.
59. *Conscience Satisfied That there is no Warrant for the Armes now taken up by Subjects* (Oxford, 1643), p. 2.
60. K[illigrew?]., H[enry?]., 'To the Christian Reader', *A Sermon Preached Before the Kings Most Excellent Majesty at Oxford* (Oxford, 1643), Sig. A2r–v.
61. See his commonplace book and Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), esp. pp. 62–82.
62. See Lucasta Miller, 'The Shattered *Violl*: Print and Textuality in the 1640s', in Nigel Smith (ed.), *Essays and Studies 1993* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1993), pp. 25–39.
63. Quoted in Roy Flannagan (ed.), *The Riverside Milton* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), p. 987.
64. Kevin Dunn, 'Milton Among the Monopolists: *Areopagitica*, Intellectual Property and the Hartlib Circle', in *Samuel Hartlib and Universal Reformation*, pp. 177–92 (p. 180).
65. *Areopagitica; A Speech of Mr John Milton For the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing, To the Parlament of England* (London, 1644), Sig. B3r.
66. Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1977), p. 150.
67. *A Preter-Pluperfect, Spick and Span New Nocturnall, or Mercuries Weekly Night Newes; wherein the Publique Faith is published, and the Banquet of Oxford Mice described* ([Oxford][1643]), p. 2.

4 'The late strangenesse betweene us': invasion, excrement and recognition

1. Thomas Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue*; Joyce Lee Malcolm, *Ceasar's Due: Loyalty and King Charles 1642–1646* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1983); Graham Roebuck, 'Cavalier' in *The English Civil War in the Literary Imagination*, pp. 9–27.
2. *An Exact Description of a Roundhead* (London, 1642), p. 10, ll. 11–13, 17.

3. Nottinghamshire Record Office, MS DD Hu/1. I am grateful to David Norbrook for discussion of this point.
4. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. viii–ix.
5. 'Who needs Identity?', in Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), pp. 1–18 (p. 4).
6. In the context of this study, it is significant that 'configuration' is a 1646 coinage and that the third sense of 'define', to limit or confine, is a 1643 coinage.
7. *A Militarie Sermon*, pp. 16–17.
8. See, for instance, *A Great Discovery of the Queen's Preparation in Holland to assist the King* (London, 1642).
9. *A New Anatomie, or Character of a Christian, or Round-head* (London, 1645), p. 1.
10. T. Swadlin, *The Soldiers Catechisme* (Oxford, 1645), p. 5.
11. Francis Quarles, *The Loyall Convert* (London, 1644), p. 5.
12. *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader*, p. 3.
13. John Beesley, 'Great Luminary of our clouded Spheare', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, l. 13–14.
14. *Stop your noses: or, England at her easement* ([London], 1648[7]), p. 1.
15. John Taylor, *The Conversion, Confession, Contrition, Coming to himselfe, & advice, of a misled, ill-bred, rebellious Round-head* ([?Oxford], 1643), p. 10.
16. Bod., Rawlinson Poet. MS 71, p. 139, other copies at Bod., Rawlinson Poet. MS 62, Ballard MS 47. It was also printed as part of a brief counterfeit collection of verse supposedly from Oxford gathered together as *The Humble Petition Of the House of Commons* ([?Oxford], 1643), pp. 7–8.
17. Bod., Rawlinson Poet. MS 71, ll. 1–3.
18. *The Case of the Kingdom Stated* (London, 1647), p. 6. I owe this reference to Ann McGruer.
19. 'Vive le Roy', Bod., Rawlinson Poet. MS 71, ll. 1–4.
20. 'A Souveraignes poem: the Kinges Colours displaid in despights of his Enimyes', Bod., MS Rawlinson 71, l. 2.
21. For a discussion of battle colours and social caricatures see Joyce Lee Malcolm, *Ceasar's Due*, pp. 150–6.
22. 'His Mat*y* valediccon to the Queene at the departure', Bod., Rawlinson Poet. MS 71, l. 12.
23. Bod., Rawlinson MS 26, ll. 7–8.
24. See for instance *The Bloody Prince* frontispiece or William Dobson's 1644–5 portrait now in the collection of the Earl of Dartmouth, Rogers 26.
25. 'Clothes do but cheat and cozen us', *Hesperides*, ll. 3–4.
26. *The Unlovelinesse of Lovelockes* (London, 1628), Sig. A3r.
27. *Seasonable Advice from the Ancient Separation* ([?London], 1650), p. 1.
28. *An Exact Description of a Roundhead*, p. 8, ll. 18–19.
29. 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 54 (2001), 155–88.
30. 'A Commendation & Censure of Beards', Folger MS V.a. 96, ll. 27–30.
31. I owe this reference to Robert Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, p. 291.
32. *Anthropometamorphosis* (1650), cited by William E. Burns, 'The King's Two Monstrous Bodies: John Bulwer and the English Revolution', in Peter G.

Platt (ed.), *Wonders, Marvels, and Monsters in Early Modern Culture* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), pp. 187–204 (p. 197).

33. *Twenty Lookes over all the Round-heads that ever lived in the world* ([?London], 1643), Sig. A3r.
34. John Taylor, *The Devil Turn'd Round-Head* ([London], 1642), p. 3.
35. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 4.
36. *Areopagitica*, quoted in Jones and Stallybrass, p. 4.
37. 'I meane to speake of England's sad fate', Huntington MS HM 16522, p. 24, ll. 21–3.
38. *The Civil War*, III, 435–7. For a lengthy discussion of Cowley's poem, and its models of history and nation, see Gerald M. Maclean, *Time's Witness: Historical Representation in English Poetry, 1603–1660* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), pp. 177–211.
39. William Gray, *Chorographia, Or a Survey of Newcastle Upon Tine* (Newcastle, 1649), pp. 76–7.
40. 'The Holy-Sisters Character', *A Puritane Set forth in his Lively Colours* (London, 1642), l. 8.
41. *A New Anatomie, or Character of a Christian, or Round-head* (London, 1645), p. 9.
42. *The Soundheads description of the Roundhead* (London, 1642), p. 7.
43. *A Description of the Round-Head and Rattlehead* (London, 1642), p. 6.
44. *The Poems of John Cleveland*, Brian Morris and Eleanor Withington (eds) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), ll. 1–20.
45. Rogers, *William Dobson*, p. 18.
46. *The Soveraignty of Kings* (London, 1642), Sig. A1v.
47. John Taylor, *Some small and simple reasons, Delivered in a Hollow-Tree, in Waltham Forrest, in a Lecture* ([Oxford], 1643), p. 2.
48. Cited in *The King and the Commons: Cavalier and Puritan Song*, ll. 15–17.
49. John Taylor, *Mad Fashions, Od Fashions, All out of Fashions* (London, 1642), ll. 73–4.
50. 'The Green Regiment of Murmuring and grutching Anti-Royalists' in *Insigma Civicus, Or, The Anti-Royalists, Described In their Kinds and Colours* ([London], [1643]), ll. 26–30.
51. See Timothy Raylor, *Cavaliers, Clubs, and Literary Culture: Sir John Mennes, James Smith, and the Order of the Fancy* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1994), and Peter Stallybrass, '"Wee feaste in our Defense": Patrician Carnival in Early Modern England and Robert Herrick's "Hesperides"', in Arthur F. Kinney and Dan S. Collins (eds), *Renaissance Historicism: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*, ed. by (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987), pp. 348–67.
52. *Men-Miracles*, ll. 19–24.
53. Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 5.
54. In particular, her discussion sees Lovelace and Marvell constructing a new sense of popular pastimes in the absence of the King and Court, pp. 213–65.
55. 'The new Letany', BL, Egerton MS 2725, fols. 166r–67v, ll. 69–72.
56. 'The Wake', *Men-Miracles*, ll. 6–7.

57. 'Enter the Country Fidler', l. 15; 'Enter the Taberer', ll. 2, 3. The last example highlights the contemporary focus of the poem: according to the *OED*, 'tattoo' was only coined in 1644. The ancient customs and rituals are revived and changed by the importation of new concepts and diction. They take on a newly charged significance.
58. 'Epilogue. The Witney Prayer', ll. 1–6.
59. Martin Lluellyn, *The King Found at Southwell* (London, 1646), p. 4. This is a reprinting of the Witney fair episode as a single volume.
60. *The King Found at Southwell*, p. 6.
61. *The Soveraignty of Kings*, Sig. A1v.
62. Harvard, Eng. fMS 645, p. 29, ll. 1–9.
63. Bod., MS Rawlinson Poet. 71, pp. 104, 84–9; Bod., MS Rawlinson Poet. 26, fols. 109r–110v.
64. 'Neptune no sooner had his Trident shook', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 5–6.
65. 'Great Luminary of our Clouded Spheare', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 5, 20.
66. 'Fall back you sonnes, of Treason', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, l. 1.
67. *The Malignants Inquest: or, a Jury of Cavaleirs (at Oxford) impeaching, condemning, and hanging one another* (London, 1646[5]), p. 8.

5 Gorgeous Gorgons: Royalist women

1. See Rachel Trubowith, 'Female Preachers and Male Wives: Gender and Authority in Civil War England', in John Holstun (ed.), *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (London and Oregon: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 112–34.
2. *The Diseases of the Times* (London, [1642]), Sig. A3r; *Puritan and the Papist*, ll. 196–8.
3. *An Exact Duirnall of the Parliament of Ladyes* ([London] Printed, 1647), p. 3.
4. '"Adam, the Father of all Flesh": Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War', in James Holstun (ed.), *Pamphlet Wars* (London: Frank Cass, 1992), pp. 134–58 (p. 147).
5. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. viii.
6. '"Adam, the Father of all Flesh"', p. 148.
7. *Three Speeches* (London, 1642), p. 3.
8. For a discussion of the figure of the witch during the war see Diane Purkiss, 'Desire and Its Deformities: Fantasies of Witchcraft in the English Civil War', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 27 (1997), 103–33.
9. 'Women on Top in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Revolution', *Women's Studies*, 24 (1994), 131–64 (145).
10. John Taylor, *A Swarme of Sectaries* ([London], 1641), p. 7.
11. 'An Epigram on a puritan', Beinecke Library, MS b.62, ll. 3–4.
12. 'The Holy-Sisters Character', *A Puritane Set forth in his Lively Colours* (London, Printed for N. B., 1642), ll. 11–12.
13. *The Civil War*, I, 215, 216. The origins of the intercine war are hinted at: 'Some Cadmus sure sow'd Serpents Teeth for us', I, 72. Compare Lluellyn's 'Pym's Ghost': 'Envy here [in Hell] for Ever wakes/ Midst her curld family of snakes', ll. 13–14.
14. 'The Oxford Riddle', l. 7; *A Faithfull Subjects Sigh*, l. 45.
15. 'The Round-Heads Character', *A Puritane Set forth in his Lively Colours*, l. 29–30.

16. 'The Roundheade', ll. 22–30.
17. John Taylor, *The Conversion*, pp. 7–8.
18. *A Satyr*, ll. 39–42.
19. *Sodometries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992).
20. *The Puritan and the Papist*, ll. 242–3.
21. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House, 1978), p. 83.
22. Cited by William E. Burns, 'The King's Two Monstrous Bodies', p. 189.
23. Jaspar Mayne, 'Whilest Orpheus toucht his Harpe', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 70–3.
24. Ibid., ll. 74–5, 82, 84–5.
25. 'When we remember those affronts', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 29–34.
26. 'To A faire Lady weeping for her Husband committed to prison by the Parliament', Huntington MS HM 16522, p. 96, ll. 15–21.
27. 'His Maty valediccon to the Queene at the departure', ll. 1–12.
28. 'To Sylvia going to an Enemies Garrison', ll. 17–22.
29. The connection between mercantile capitalism and disloyalty is made clear in 'The Price of Anarchie To ye Tune of Madde Tom' which begins 'All you yt would no longer/ To a Monarch be subjected/ Come away to Guild Hall', fol. 75r (reversed).
30. 'To Sylvia going to an Enemies Garrison', l. 4. The distinction is made politically clear in 'A new Ode. To the Tune of the Black-smith' which appears in Bod, Rawlinson Poet. MS 26, fol. 142v: 'I meane to tell you of England's sad fate:/ Meane tyme, God blesse the good King & his mate,/ Who now art crost by an Antipodian State', ll. 1–3.
31. Richard Lovelace, 'Sonnet. To Generall Goring, after the pacification at Berwicke': *Lucasta: Epodes, Odes, Sonnets, Songs* (London, 1649), ll. 13–14.
32. 'The Muses heretofore', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 25–34.
33. 'So in an instant sprung', ll. 27–32.
34. 'The Muses heretofore', ll. 13–24.
35. Her warrior garb does owe something to William Davenant's 1640 masque *Salmacida Spolia* in which the Queen and her ladies descend to the King dressed 'in Amazonian habits of carnation, embroidered with silver, with plumed helms, baldrics with antique swords hanging by their sides, all as rich as might be', David Lindley (ed.), *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments* (Oxford: OUP, 1995), ll. 18, 352–5.
36. 'What? Scholars digge', *Musarum Oxoniensum*, ll. 17–18.
37. *Verses on the death of the Right Valiant Sr Bevill Grenvill* ([Oxford], 1643), ll. 67–72.
38. The poems are 'On Mrs Maurice of Lanbeder's wound wch she receau'd by a Round = head' (fols 18r–19v) and 'Maruticia: to a lock of yt hayre, wch was Cut when she was wounded, sent to a fayre Lady who requested it' (fols 19v–20v).
39. 'To Lucasta, Going to the Warres', *Lucasta*, ll. 1–12.
40. 'To my truly valiant, learned Friend, who in his booke resolv'd the Art Gladiatory into the Mathematick's', *Lucasta*, ll. 1–16.
41. 'Verses made in Bed', *Men-Miracles*, ll. 5–6.

6 Fragmentations of the body and the end of identity

1. Jacques Derrida, *Memoires for Paul de Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), p. 4.
2. Jeannette Winterson, *The Passion* (London: Bloomsbury, 1987), p. 7.
3. *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989), p. 203.
4. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 6
5. *The Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett, and Ann, Lady Fanshawe*, John Loftis (ed.), (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 111.
6. John Vernon, *The young Horse-man, or, The honest plain-dealing Cavalier* (London, 1644). See also for instance *The First Publique Lecture, read at Sr. Balthazar Gerbier His Accademy, concerning Military Architecture, or Fortifications* (London [1649]); *The Exercise for Yong Artillery Men: Or the Militia of the Kingdome In its Posture of Warre* (London, 1642); William Bariffe, *Military Discipline* (London, 1657).
7. Nathaniel Nye, *The Art of Gunnery* (London, 1647), frontispiece.
8. Anthony Cooper, *The History of the English Civill Warrs in English Verse* (London, 1662), ll. 1–6.
9. *The bloody Games at Cards* ([London, 1643]), p. 3.
10. *Body Narratives: Writing the Nation and Fashioning the Subject in Early Modern England* (Macmillan, now Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).
11. *An Elegy on the Death of the Right Honourable Spencer, Earle of Northampton, who died a Conquerour at the Battaile of Hopton-heath* ([Oxford, 1643]), ll. 24–34.
12. *Britannicæ Virtutis Imago. Or, The Effigies of True Fortitude, Expressed to the life, in the famous actions of that incomparable Knight, Major Generall Smith* (Oxford, 1644) and *Alter Britanniæ Heros: Or the Life of the Most Honourable Knight, Sir Henry Gage, Late Governour of Oxford, Epitomiz'd* (Oxford, 1645).
13. *Alter Britanniæ Heros*, p. 25.
14. 'His Epigraph', *Britannicæ Virtutis Imago*, ll. 1–4.
15. Ibid., Sig. A2r.
16. *A Briefe Relation* (Oxford, 1645); *An Elegie* ([Oxford], 1644[5]). Laud was also mourned by various manuscript poems, for instance Cleveland's 'An Elegy upon the Death of William Laud Arch: Bishop of Canturbury', BL, Egerton MS 2725, fols. 8r–9v and Beinecke, Osborn MS b.93, pp. 121–3.
17. 'But God had given him such a measure both of strength and patience, that these afflictions, though most great and irksome, did make no more impressions on him, then an Arrow on a rocke of Adamant', *An Elegie*, p. 6.
18. *An Elegie on the Most Reverend Father in God*, p. 23.
19. There is evidence to suggest that Laud became totemic for defeated Royalists after 1649. For instance, a miscellany collected by Sir John Gibson, of Welburn, Yorkshire, Captain of the Kings Horse in North Riding, and dedicated to his son from Durham castle in 1656, includes poems on the death of the King and a copy of 'The Lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury, his Sermon on the Scaffold Jan: 10th 1644', BL, Add. MS 37719, fols. 153v–5v.
20. 'Dignum Laude virum Musa vetat mori', *An Elegie on the Most Reverend Father in God*, ll. 53–65.

21. For a discussion of the influence and reception of the volume, see James Loxley, '"Prepar'd at last to Strike with the Tyde?": Andrew Marvell and Royalist Verse', *The Seventeenth Century*, 10 (1995), 39–62.
22. For this scene many of the poets draw upon John Denham's influential account of the stag hunt in his topographical poem *Coopers Hill*. The mob, thirsty for blood, surround and attack the stag which 'disdaines to die/ By vulgar hands', surrendering only to the King, 'proud to dye/ By such a wound, he fals, the Chrisall floud/ Dying he dies, and purples with his bloud', *Coopers Hill* (Oxford, 1643), ll. 292, 298–300. Poets in the *Bevil Grenville* volume pick out various parts of this narrative, and reconfigure the concept of the noble animal happy to die for the King as the noble hero stoically accepting death in Charles' service.
23. 'Not to be wrought by Malice', l. 102; 'Could I report', l. 122.
24. The reconfiguration of constitutional theory is reflected in Henry Birkhead's poem 'Heroick Martyr' in which he deploys a body of England metaphor that owes much to Harvey: 'When Rebell *Members* 'gainst their Head aym'd Darts,/ Counting Him none, by Whom they all are Parts', ll. 9–10.
25. Richard Ward, *The Character of Warre or the miseries thereof Discected and Laid open from Scripture and Experience* (London, 1643), p. 5.
26. *Mercurius Melancholicus* ([London], 1648), p. 1.
27. *The Battaile on Hopton-Heath* (Oxford, 1643), p. 4.
28. *An Elegy on the Death of the Right Honourable Spencer*, ll. 18–23.
29. T. M., 'To the Memory of Sir Bevill Grenvill', *Verses on the death of Sr Bevill Grenville*, ll. 11–12.
30. 'To the Memory of Sir Bevill Grenvill', ll. 31–2.
31. For the interaction of contemporary news and poetry see Joad Raymond, 'The Daily Muse: Or, Seventeenth-Century Poets Read the News', *The Seventeenth Century*, 10 (1995), 189–218.
32. *Mercurius Melancholicus*, p. 1.
33. 'To his Deare Brother Colonel F. L. immoderately mourning my Brothers untimely Death at Carmarthen', *Lucasta*, ll. 9–20.
34. *A Deepe Groane, fetch'd at the Funerall of the incomparable and Glorious Monarch, Charles the First* ([London], 1649), ll. 1–14.
35. For discussion of stoic and poetic reactions to the death of the King, see particularly Potter, *Secret Rites*, pp. 184–93; Maclean, *Time's Witness*, chapter 5; Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism*, chapter 12; and Raymond A. Anselment, *Loyalist Resolve* (London: Associated University Press, 1988), chapter 6.
36. *A Coffin for King Charles* ([London, 1649]).
37. *A Dead Man Speaking, or the Famous memory of King Charles the I* (London, 1661), Sig. A1r.
38. *Eikon Basilike, the Pourtracture of His Sacred Majestie, in His Solitudes and Sufferings* (London, 1649). For discussion of this see particularly Potter, *Secret Rites*, and Elizabeth Skerpan-Wheeler, '*Eikon Basilike* and the Rhetoric of Self-Representation', in *The Royal Image: Representations of Charles I*, pp. 122–40.
39. The prevalence of such martyrdom narratives in the emblematic elegiac versions of the King are due for the main part to the *Eikon*, see for instance *The Faithful, yet Imperfect, Character of a Glorious King, King Charles I. His Country's & Religions Martyr* (London, 1660 [1659]), *King Charles I his Imi-*

tation of Christ (London, 1660) or *An Elegie and Epitaph on that glorious Saint, and blessed Martyr, King Charles I, the best of King since Christ, but murther'd by the worst of men since the creation. Written a day or two after his martyrdom* (London, 1661).

40. Harvard, Eng. MS 1356, fol. 51v.
41. Ibid.
42. 'Chronosticon', *Monumentum Regale: Or A Tombe, Erected for that incomparable and Glorious Monarch, Charles the First* ([London], 1649), ll. 25–8.
43. *The monument of Charles the First, King of England* ([?London, 1649]), l. 17.
44. *Loyalties Tears Flowing after the Blood of the Royal Sufferer* ([London, 1649]), ll. 181–6.
45. *An Epitaph* ([London, 1649]), l. 19.
46. See the discussion of theatrical metaphor and the execution of the King in Nancy Klein Maguire, 'The Theatrical Mask/Masque of Politics: The Case of Charles I', *Journal of British Studies*, 28 (1989), 1–22.
47. 'No more of Annals', *Vaticinium Votivum* ([London, 1649]), ll. 1–8
48. *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* ([London] Printed in the Year, 1649), p. 40.
49. *Caroli* ([London], 1649), ll. 153–70. The quote after (d) is from Herodotus.
50. 'Memoriae Sacrum Optimi Maximi', *Vaticinium Votivum*, ll. 11–16.
51. Jean-François Lyotard, in Andrew Benjamin (ed.), *The Lyotard Reader* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 197.
52. 'An Elegie on the Sufferings and Death of King Charles I', *The Last Counsel of a Martyred King To His Son* (London, 1660), ll. 1–2.
53. Ibid., ll. 9–10.
54. 'An Horation Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland', *Miscellaneous Poems* (London, 1681), ll. 34–44.
55. Lyndy Abraham and Michael Wilding, 'The Alchemical Republic: A Reading of "An Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland"', in Warren Chernaik and Martin Dzelzainis (eds), *Marvell and Liberty* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, now Palgrave Macmillan, 1999), pp. 94–123 (p. 97).
56. *The Puritan and the Papist*, l. 226.
57. *The Princely Pellican* ([London], 1649), p. 5.
58. *Oxonii Lachrymae* (London, 1649), p. 2.

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Place of publication London unless otherwise indicated

Primary

Anonymous pamphlets (arranged chronologically)

- *A True Christian Subject Under a Heathen Prince* (Oxford, 1642)
- *A Letter from a Scholler in Oxfordshire to his Unkle a Merchant in Broadstreet* (1642)
- *The Discovery of A Great and Wicked Conspiracie against this Kingdome in generall, and the City of London in particular* (1642)
- *An Exact Description of a Roundhead* (1642)
- *A Letter sent from a Private Gentleman to a Friend in London, In Justification of his owne adhereing to His Majestie in these times of Distraction* (1642)
- *No Parliament without a King* (Oxford, 1642)
- *The Exercise for Yong Artillery Men: Or the Militia of the Kingdome In its Posture of Warre* (1642)
- *A Treatise in Justification of the King* (Oxford, 1642)
- *A Great Discrovery of the Queen's preparation in Holland to assist the King in England* (1642)
- *A Declaration of the King Most excellent Majesties proceeding With his Army at Oxford* (1642)
- *The Queenes Proceedings in Holland* (1642)
- *A Description of the Round-Head and Rattlehead* (1642)
- *The Soundheads description of the Roundhead* (1642)
- *Plaine Truth, without Feare, or Flattery Being a Case of Conscience tryed at Oxford* (1642)
- *The Humble Petition Of the House of Commons* ([?Oxford], 1643)
- *Insigma Civicus, Or, The Anti-Royalists, Described In their Kinds and Colours* ([1643])
- *A Sad Warning to all Prophane Malignant spirits who reproach True Protestants with the name of Roundheads* (1642[3])
- *Powers to be Resisted: Or A Dialogue arguing The Parliaments lawfull Resistance of the Powers now in Armes against them* (1643)
- *The Necessity of Christian Subjection* (Oxford, 1643)
- *Mercurius Davidicus, or A Patterne of Loyall Devotion* (Oxford, 1643)
- *Two Intercepted Letters from Sr William Brereton to the Earle of Essex, and M. Pym* (Oxford, 1643)
- *An Elegy on the Death of the Right Honourable Spencer, Earle of Northampton, who died a Conquerour at the Battaile of Hopton-heath* ([Oxford, 1643])
- *Sober Sadnes: Or Historicall Observations Upon The Proceedings, Pretences, & Designes of a prevailing party in both Houses of Parliament* (Oxford, 1643)
- *An Examination of the Observations upon His Majesties Answers Wherein the absurdities of the Observators Positions, and Inferences are discovered* (1643)

- *The Grounds and Motives inducing His Maiesty to agree to a Cessation of Armes for one whole yeare, with the Roman Catholiques of Ireland* (Oxford, 1643)
- *A Briefe Discourse, Declaring The impiety and unlawfulnesse of the new Covenant with the Scots* ([Oxford],1643)
- *A New Wind-Mill, A New* (Oxford, 1643)
- *A Remonstrance of the present state of Yorkshire* (1643)
- *A Letter Written to a friend, Declaring his Opinion, Being such tenets, as are contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, and of all the Reformed Churches* ([Oxford], 1643)
- *A Copie Of certaine Letters Which Manifest the Designe of the late discovered Plot* (1643)
- *A Declaration of the Proceedings of the Honourable Committee Of the House of Commons, At Merchant-Taylors Hall, For Raising the People of the Land as one Man* (1643)
- *The Cambridge Royallist Imprisoned* (?1643)
- *The Protestation and Declaration of the Well affected young men and Prentises, in and about the City of London, and other parts adjoyning* (1643)
- *Two Speeches spoken by the Earl of Manchester and Jo: Pym Esq; As A Reply To His Maiesties Answer to the City of Londons Petition* (1643)
- *The bloody Games at Cards* ([1643])
- *The Grand Question concerning Taking up Armes against the King Answered, by Application of the holy Scriptures to the Conscience of every Subject* (1643)
- *An Answer to a Seditious Pamphlet, intituled Plain English* (1643)
- *Insigma Civicus, Or, The Anti-Royalists, Described In their Kinds and Colours* ([1643]),
- *No Post from Heaven, Nor yet from Hell* (Oxford, 1643)
- *A Letter to a Noble Lord from a Friend at Oxford* (1643)
- *A Letter from a Protestant in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England* ([Oxford], 1643)
- *Three Letters* (Oxford, 1643)
- *A Copy of a Letter from the Speakers of both Houses of Parliament in England, dated Iuly 4. 1643* (Oxford, 1643)
- *A Copy of a Letter, from the Members of Both Houses Assembled at Oxford, To the Earle of Essex* (Oxford, 1643)
- *The Copy of a Letter from Colonell Francis Anderson to Sir Thomas Glenham, January 20. 1643* (Oxford, 1643)
- *Christus Dei, The Lords Annoynted* (Oxford, 1643)
- *The Iniquity of the Late Solemne League, or Covenant Discovered: By way of a Letter to a Gentleman desiring information upon the Poynt* ([Oxford], 1643)
- *A Speech made by Alderman Garroway* ([Oxford], 1643)
- *Twenty Lookes over all the Round-heads that ever lived in the world* (1643)
- *Counter-Votes: Or, An Arraignment, and Conviction of the Votes at Oxford* ([1644])
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- *Mercurius Cœlicus* ([1644])
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- *A Letter From a Member of the House of Commons, To a Gentleman now at London, touching the New Solemne League and Covenant* (Oxford, 1644)
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- *An Exact Duirnall of the Parliament of Ladyes* (1647)
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MS b.200
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MS Additional C. 209
MS Additional D. 114
MS Ashmole 36–7 (bound together)
MS Ashmole 38 (Commonplace book of Nicholas Burghe)
MS Ashmole 51
MS Ashmole 57
MS Dodsworth 85–6 (bound together)
MS Don d. 55
MS Don d. 58
MS Don e. 6
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MS Eng. poet e. 14
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MS Firth e. 4
MS Jones 56
MS Malone 13
MS Rawlinson B. 121
MS Rawlinson D. 1092
MS Rawlinson D. 1099
MS Rawlinson Poet. 26
MS Rawlinson Poet. 62
MS Rawlinson Poet. 71
MS Rawlinson Poet. 84
MS Rawlinson Poet. 95
MS Rawlinson Poet. 110
MS Rawlinson Poet. 116 (Commonplace Book of William Elyot)
MS Rawlinson Poet. 117
MS Rawlinson Poet. 142
MS Rawlinson Poet. 147 (compiled by Henry Some)
MS Rawlinson Poet. 152
MS Rawlinson Poet. 174
MS Rawlinson Poet. 206
MS Rawlinson Poet. 210 (compiled by Henry Some)
MS Rawlinson Poet. 211
MS Savile 37 & 41 (Bound together)
MS Savile 47
MS Tanner 58
MS Tanner 306
MS Tanner 338
MS Tanner 465 (compiled by William Sancroft)

MS Tanner 466 (compiled by William Sancroft)
MS Top. Oxon b.167
MS Wood F.34

Pamphlet collections compiled by Anthony Wood (with his MS notes):

Wood 90
Wood 364
Wood 368

British Library

Additional MS 14295
Additional MS 15750
Additional MS 18980
Additional MS 18981
Additional MS 18982
Additional MS 19832
Additional MS 22602
Additional MS 22603
Additional MS 24863
Additional MS 25901 (Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs)
Additional MS 27879 (Bishop Percy's Folio)
Additional MS 29550 (Hatton/Finch Papers Volume I)
Additional MS 30982
Additional MS 33233 (Papers and correspondence of Sir Edward Walker 1639–70)
Additional MS 33596 (Jermyn correspondence)
Additional MS 36779
Additional MS 36913 (Aston Papers)
Additional MS 37719
Additional MS 46172
Additional MS 46375
Additional MS 46375a
Additional MS 47111
Additional MS 71164
Egerton MS 1994
Egerton MS 2421
Egerton MS 2619 (Correspondence of Henrietta Maria)
Egerton MS 2725
Egerton MS 2978
Egerton MS 2982
Harleian MS 1163 (Sir Simond D'Ewes Journal of the Long Parliament)
Harleian MS 1628 (Sir Simond D'Ewes Journal of the Long Parliament)
Harleian MS 3511 (Commonplace Book of Arthur Capell)
Harleian MS 3791
Harleian MS 4931
Harleian MS 6804
Harleian MS 6851 (Papers of Sir Edward Walker)
Harleian MS 6917 (Calfe MS)
Harleian MS 6918 (Calfe MS)

Harleian MS 6988
Harleian MS 7623
Lansdowne MS 223
Sloane MS 542 (Commonplace book of Nathaniel Highmore)
Sloane MS 1417 (Medical Collections)
Sloane MS 1467
Sloane MS 2118 (Mathematical Collections)
Sloane MS 2119 (Collectiones ex Pappo Alexandrino et Archimede)
Sloane MS 2346 (Medical Prescriptions)
Sloane MS 3087
Sloane MS 3575 (Marborum diagnostica et prognostica)
Sloane MS 3576 (Adversaria Medica)

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Christ Church, Oxford

MS Dean and Chapter b.2 ('The Subdean's Book')
MS xii b. 86. (Disbursement Book 1642–1643)
MS xii b. 87. (Disbursement Book 1643–1644)
MS xii b. 88. (Disbursement Book 1644–1645)
MS xi b.46 (Receipts 1642–1643)
MS xi b.47 (Receipts 1643–1644)
MS xi b.48 (Receipts 1644–1645)

Clark Memorial Library, UCLA

MS L6815M3 C734 [?1650]
MS F428M3 C734 ca.1650 Bound
MS P7455M1 [1640–60]

Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library, Washington DC

MS V.a. 96
MS V.a. 97
MS V.a. 103
MS V.a. 124
MS V.a. 125
MS V.a. 152

MS V.a. 160 (Compiled by Matthew Day)
MS V.a. 162
MS V.a. 169
MS V.a. 170
MS V.a. 245
MS V.a. 246
MS V.a. 262
MS V.a. 282 (in memory of William Poley)
MS V.a. 319
MS V.a. 322
MS V.a. 339
MS V.a. 345
MS V.a. 439
MS V.b. 43
MS V.b. 110 (Compiled by Sir Henry Oxinden)
MS V.b. 151
MS W.b. 600 (Typescript Diary of Sir Humphrey Mildmay)
MS X.d. 27
MS X.d. 78
MS X.d. 490

Henry E. Huntington Library, Los Angeles

HA 8060
HM 116
HM 904
HM 1338
HM 16522
HM 39466
HM 46323

Houghton Library, Harvard University

bMS Eng. 1107 (Gell Commonplace Book)
fMS Eng. 626
fMS Eng. 636
fMS Eng. 645 (Mildmay Fane's 'Fugitive Pieces')
fMS Thr. 7
MS Eng. 178
MS Eng. 178.2
MS Eng. 686
MS Eng. 703 (Cholmley MS)
MS Eng. 740
MS Eng. 946
MS Eng. 1050
MS Eng. 1078 (Memoirs of Henry Guthry)
MS Eng. 1091
MS Eng. 1356

Lincoln College, Oxford

COR/8 (Correspondence of Robert Sanderson)
LC EN.7 (MS notes on Hollar's *Quartermaster's Maps*, pub. 1644)

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

MS 5308E
MS 5390D
MS 12443A
MS Wynnstay 161
MS Wynnstay 165
MS Wynnstay 166
MS Wynnstay 167
MS Wynnstay 168
MS Wynnstay 170
MS Wynnstay 171
MS Wynnstay 173

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L5.3 (Hanaster's register 1639–63)
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Public Record Office

LC/3/1
LC/5/135 (Lord Chamberlain: Miscellaneous Warrant Books 1641–4)
LS/8/1 (Lord Steward: Accounts of Creditors not paid by Salary 1641–4)
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