DRAMA AND ITS POLITICAL SITUATIONS 1642-1660.

by

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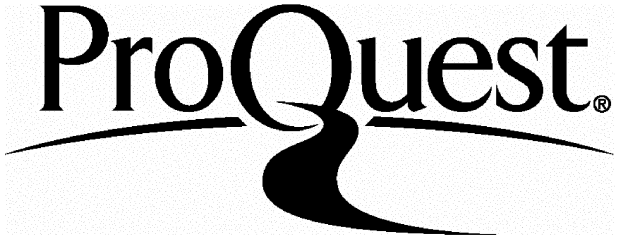

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Abstract

This thesis aims to challenge the accounts of Interregnum drama which see it as either a void between the two "great" theatres of the Renaissance and Restoration, or as a period during which drama was written and published by "cavaliers." The thesis contends that because Interregnum drama reflects new conditions of production, it requires that we expand our idea of the generic limits of drama. By contemporary definitions there were a number of dramatic genres published, ranging from short pamphlet plays, skits, and dialogues to ten-act tragicomedies; and operas and shows were performed in the 1650s. Moreover, this drama was politicised because of the bans on performance. Therefore, moving between elite and popular spheres, drama both registered and helped form readers' understanding of the Civil War crises from a range of political perspectives, which, in themselves, enable us to break down the notion of the Interregnum as only a binary struggle between "king" and "parliament."

Methodologically, the thesis is historicist in the sense that it attempts to situate dramatic texts from 1642-1660 in political discursive and social contexts. In stressing the need to reinterpret the political position (and function) of dramatic texts it approaches the political situations of drama by examining emerging genres, analysing the circumstances of particular published and performed plays, and by investigating the careers of dramatists and groups of dramatists. The thesis is arranged in four sections in chronological order: Printed and Pamphlet Drama, Gender and Drama, Performed Drama, Genre and Politics. By reassessing the position of such diverse genres as pamphlet dialogues, performed opera, tragicomedies and plays by aristocratic women the thesis moves towads a reassessment of the place of Interregnum drama as a literary-political discourse with implications for the understanding of both Renaissance and Restoration drama, as well as that of the period 1642-1660.

For Jeanne Rovetto Wiseman, my mother.

To the Reader

I shall only say, . . . I wish it you upon better terms than Twenty Years Banishment.

Thomas Killigrew Comedies and Tragedies (1664)

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Subsidiary material:

"History Digested: Opera and Colonialism in the 1650s."

"'Tis Pity She's a Whore: Representing the Incestuous Body."

"'Adam, the Father of all flesh,' Porno-political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War."

"Unsilent Instruments and the Devil's Cushions: Authority in Seventeenth Century Women's Prophetic Discourse."

Note on conventions

I have taken the year as starting on January 1. Except where the best twentieth century editions modernise spelling I have followed the original. In dealing with original editions I have not attempted to apply scene numbers where none are given and where appropriate I give page numbers to enable the reader to locate quotations. Where the attribution of texts is generally accepted I note this in the bibliography before the title. Where the attribution is not generally accepted or where there are competing attributions, I note it after the title and publication details.

Abbreviations used:

The following abbreviations are used for works cited frequently in the text:

1 SR William Davenant, The Siege of Rhodes, Part 1.
2 SR William Davenant, The Siege of Rhodes, Part 2.

The following abbreviations are used for reference works, series and periodicals cited frequently in the endnotes and bibliography:

AEB Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography.
CSPD Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series.
ELH English Literary History.
EHR English Historical Review.
ELR English Literary Renaissance.
HMC Historical Manuscripts Commission.
PMLA Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.
SP Studies in Philology.
TLS Times Literary Supplement.

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Introduction and Contentions

0.1. Historical and Historiographical Context and Contentions.

> Whereas the distress and Estate of Ireland, steeped in her own Blood, and the distracted Estate of England, threatened with a Cloud of Blood by a Civill War, call for all possible Means to appease and avert the Wrath of God, appearing in these Judgements; among which, Fasting and Prayer have been tried to be very effectual . . . and are still enjoyned; and whereas Publike Sports do not well agree with Publike Calamaties, nor Publike Stage-playes with the Seasons of Humiliation, this being an Excercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being Spectacles of Pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious Mirth, and Levitie it is therefore thought fit, and Ordained, by the Lords and Commons in this Parliament Assembled, that while these sad Causes and set times of Humiliation doe continue, publike Stage-playes shall cease and be forborne, instead of which are recommended to the People of this land the profitable and seasonable considerations of Repentance, Reconciliation and Peace with God, which probably may produce outward Peace and Prosperity, and bring again Times of Joy and Gladness to these Nations.[1]

This is the order which closed the playhouses on 2 September 1642. In an investigation of the relationship between drama and its political situations during the period 1642 to 1660, when the London theatres were closed, much depends on the importance we choose to give this document and how we decide to interpret it. The issue of the causes of the English Civil War (which began a month later) and the question of "what happened" in 1642 are notoriously complicated, the focus of continuing dispute

amongst historians and more recently also among literary scholars. This introductory chapter attempts to suggest a particular reading of this edict in the light of contemporary contexts. The chapter also aims to establish the main contentions of the thesis. First, I examine the edict that closed the theatres.

Most often the 1642 order of closure appears in academic studies of seventeenth century drama as a terminus, marking the end of a period considered to be Renaissance drama.[2] Or it stands in place of a discussion of the period 1642-1660 in studies of Renaissance and Restoration drama and theatre. It is usually found serving the purposes of periodicity in theatre history, which characterises 1642 to 1660 as a gap between two "national" dramas.[3] In such cases the edict against playing stands by synecdoche for eighteen years of largely unacknowledged and uninvestigated but immensely diverse dramatic, and some theatrical, activity. Habitually, when it is printed or referred to in academic books, it reminds us that the drama of the Civil War and Interregnum period is not worthy of study or, as Alfred Harbage put it in his analysis of "cavalier" drama, it is "a body of literature which Time has justly submerged." [4] Thus the text which closed the theatres tends to have a ready-made meaning for theatre historians: it signals the end of "Renaissance" drama and the inauguration of a gap. I shall return to this in the second section of this chapter, on critical contexts, where I will demonstrate that for critics the closure comes to signal an aporia in dramatic and theatrical production. It is my contention that this idea of the eighteen empty years is invented and maintained by a particular reading of literary history and dramatic genre.

Let us turn to the document itself and the historical debates. The very language the ordinance is written in makes it surprising that it has been allowed to stand in place of much investigation of the discursive

developments of the theatre 1642 to 1660. The wording makes clear that the context of the closure is immediate, urgent and political as well as spiritual. It emphasises that appropriate manners at a time when the country was sliding into civil war cannot include "Publike Sports," nor "lascivious Mirth:" as an emergency measure, it strikes the note of moral reform, but additionally suggests a time of political crisis. It calls for stage plays to be "forborne" because of the "sad Causes," but in its mode of address it assumes in its readers a corresponding sense of urgency and apprehension of the danger of the times. The London "public" in the very guise the authorities found most unruly - the theatre-going crowd - is "enjoyned" that plays should be "forborne" in a turning to prayer which might, ultimately, produce not only private but "outward" peace and prosperity.[5]

The order of 1642 is unusual among the edicts against the stage throughout the 1640s. The order of the House of Lords of 16 October 1647 contrasts with the 1642 edict because it concentrates on suppression and punishment, giving the sheriffs and justices of Westminster, London, Surrey and Middlesex jurisdiction to arrest anyone proved:

> to have acted or played in such Playhouses or Places abovesaid; and all Person and Persons so offending to commit to any common Goal or Prison; there to remain until the next General Sessions of the Peace . . . there to be punished as Rogues, according to law.[6]

This itself shows the way in which theatre in the period was imbricated in shifting political contexts. The earlier order presents the ban on theatre as a rapid response to a dangerous situation, rather than the fruition of a long parliamentary campaign against the theatres, as the latter appears to be. It is one immediate measure in response to a situation of incipient civil war itself generated by long running conflicts.

Scholarly work has delineated 1642-1660 as a period in which drama and theatre did continue (the most recent survey is Lois Potter's informative section in The Revels History of Drama in English). But the only theatre historian to discuss the theatrical production of the period at length remains Leslie Hotson, who in his The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage made a study of theatres and performances during the interregnum.[7] Hotson's work is invaluable in that he traced the progress of theatrical performance throughout the period, and demonstrated that it continued throughout the Civil War and Interregnum (especially at the Red Bull theatre).[8] He also described the response of the government to playing at different times.[9] However, Hotson investigates of theatre rather than drama; like Louis B.Wright, he notes that plays continued to be read and printed but ignores the implications this has for an analysis of the part played by dramatic texts in interpreting and even shaping events 1642 to 1660.[10] Hotson's entire study is shifted away from a fruitful engagement with the politics of the theatrical genre in the Interregnum by his assumption, shared with many other critics, that "we are not to think of Parliament's first ordinance against stage plays . . . as a blight which suddenly struck a flower in full bloom," suggesting that the theatres were already weakened by repeated closure in the face of plague.[11] In making this suggestion he follows a well established critical line which saw the closure of the theatres in 1642 as in some way a product of "declining" theatrical conditions intrinsic to English stage culture in the 1630s.[12] Such arguments have been countered by Martin Butler but, as we shall see, the twin ideas that the closure of 1642 was a Puritan plot and that it was an inevitable result of decline remain both prevelant and powerful in the critical understanding of 1642.[13]

The evidence that Hotson presents of theatrical decline can also be

read as evidence of the vitality of the theatre. Some of the pre-war incidents in which theatrical performances crossed the boundaries of acceptable satire and resulted in contretemps suggest that theatrical production and governmental responses to it were part of a larger pattern of social, political and religious conflict and controversy. The sequence of incidents and suppressions between 1638 and 1642 are often regarded as heralding the end of dramatic performance, but can equally be read as signalling that the theatres were already self-consciously participating in political debate and in shaping the ideological consciousness of London theatre-goers. This is suggested by the nature of the incidents. In May 1639 a play called The Cardinall's Conspiracy played at the Fortune, satirising the bishops and church ritual, and a news report tells of the arrest of the actors.[14] Some were forbidden playing but we read that the Archbishop (presumably Laud) was relieved not to have been pilloried himself, and so they were not too severely punished.[15] Martin Butler's suggestion that throughout 1641-1642 short scurrilous after-pieces may have been acted is borne out by these incidents and by the survival of many short satires on the episcopate such as Canterbury His Change of Diet, The Bishops Potion and New Lambeth Fayre, which might be by the future Leveller, Richard Overton.[16] In another incident in 1639 the players at the Red Bull had been reprimanded for slurs on aldermen and attacking proctors.[17] And Davenant had been put in charge of the Cockpit (or Phoenix) when William Beeston was removed after one of the productions had glanced at the king's journey into Scotland.[18]

This is only part of the evidence that, as Martin Butler argued, "the drama of the 1630s, perhaps more than any earlier drama, did engage in debating the political issues of its day."[19] The policing of political satire in the theatres suggests that there was an active sphere of

political debate during the early 1640s and the sitting of the Long Parliament, and that drama and theatre participated in constructing this popular political discourse. It does not suggest either a theatre in decline or a takeover by repressive "Puritan" forces, but rather vigorous debate conducted at the relatively popular-literary level of the London theatre audience.[20] That this continued and developed in the ensuing period is one of the contentions of this thesis.

The idea that drama was involved in a continuing and meaningful ideological debate runs counter to recent revisionist histories of the period, which tend deny that fundamental differences were explicit and theorised during the Civil War.[21] J.C.D.Clark, for instance, has asserted that we should use the term "rebellion" rather than "revolution" to describe what happened in the mid seventeenth century crisis, in order "to disengage ourselves from the assumption that revolutions are always 'forward-looking,' that they embody the progressive aspirations of 'rising' social classes to speed up developments being impeded by 'the forces of reaction.' Rebellion is a concept more evidently devoid of such implications; it helps our appreciation that many conflicts (like the Civil War or 1688) can better be described as reactions against innovations."[22]This is the beginning of Clark's attack on Marxist historiography, also taken up in a more detailed way by J.C.Davies in Fear, Myth and History.[23] Without wishing to sponsor a progressivist model of the 1640s, it does seem clear that Clark's desire to replace the signifier "revolution" with "rebellion" is not the replacement of a resonant, Marxist term with a neutral one: rebellion is not a term "devoid of . . . implications." On the contrary, the use of the term rebellion puts the initiative - and implicitly the controlling power - entirely with the aristocratic elite and within that specifically with the king in the Civil

War, and sees popular protest, as in John Morrill's analysis of the Civil War, as basically conservative.[24] Such views have been challenged by Johann Sommerville who perceives the importance of printed pamphlet debate in the civil wars and reads it as evidence of a relatively popular political sphere: a sphere in which dramatic texts also participate.[25] In a cogent rethinking of the historiography of the civil war period Richard Cust and Ann Hughes follow up Sommerville's analysis of political conflict: they acknowledge revisionist insights into the multiplicity of political positions at the outbreak of Civil War. Moreover, they agree that a simple binary model of early Stuart society in which "opposition" is set against "government," or "court" simplistically opposed to "country," does not adequately describe the nuanced positions of various groups. But they rightly assert that the "potential for conflict" did exist in early (pre-war) seventeenth century society and they note the importance of issues of principle and value when they say that "early Stuart England" was "seriously divided over intwined, fundamental questions of religion and politics."[26]

The position adopted by Cust and Hughes is that divisions in mid seventeenth century English society were multiple but real, changing during the twenty year period, and these differences were a motivational force for contemporaries. As the evidence presented in this thesis will suggest, their analysis is reinforced by a study of the cultural history of the 1630s to 1650s. However, although Kevin Sharpe has written on the court culture of the 1630s, recent historians, revisionist and otherwise, have largely neglected the cultural aspects of the 1640s - by which I mean not only literary texts but also celebrations, shows, ceremonies.[27] With its emphasis on manuscript sources and records, most revisionist history has paid virtually no attention to the cultural sphere, and when they do so

(as in the case of Kevin Sharpe) they tend to assume that it was royalist.

One example of a revisionist study which is immensely valuable for its attention to detail but which neglects the symbolic aspects of culture is Anthony Fletcher's detailed reassessment of 1642, arguing against Lawrence Stone's position that the English Civil War had deep-rooted "causes." In The Outbreak of the English Civil War Fletcher notes that in 1641-1642 the streets of London were full of libels, but refuses to link this to any extended political consciousness.[28] His description of the anti-episcopal London rioters of 27-29 December 1641 as obviously ignorant and panic stricken is an index of his unwillingness to link protest to a more general political consciousness.[29] It also leads him to ignore the literary-cultural sphere, even though exactly the same issues of episcopacy were being played on in active populist theatrical polemic: the closure of the theatres is not even mentioned.

Fletcher's revisionist assumption that there was no socially widespread understanding of or argument about political issues in late Caroline England, is not borne out by activity in the literary sphere; from court masques to polemical afterpieces on the public stage and from scurrilous dialogues to poems on the war, literary texts were imbued with political significances. Furthermore, the reactions of the courts to satire on the bishops (the case of The Cardinall's Conspiracie was tried by the "high Commission Court" leading to fines and imprisonment) reinforce my assumption that the theatre was shaping and disseminating ideas crucial to the crisis of 1642 which resulted in the outbreak of civil war. The evidence suggests that the theatre at this moment, far from being morally or aesthetically bankrupt, participated in some of the debates which in the official political sphere led to such potentially radical reforms as the Root and Branch bill, which would have redistributed church power to

Parliament and crown and was debated in the Commons.[30]

London in 1641-1642 was a city in political turmoil in and out of Parliament. As Fletcher tells us, after the Irish rising began in 1641 the coastal areas of England were rife with rumours of invasion.[31] Christmas of 1641 was punctuated by riots in Whitehall and the breakdown of links between King and city. Scurrilous political polemic was constantly printed, and both episcopacy and Ireland were topics of pamphlet controversy. On 10 January, after his attempt to impeach the five members of the Commons, the King left London. The five members returned amid celebrations in city and Westminster, and with a guard from the city. In early February women petitioners assailed Parliament, perhaps another sign of the changing political conciousness of the city of London which now guarded the House of Commons.[32] The city was claiming political rights and a political voice, and so was John Pym's party in Parliament. Escalating demands led to Sir John Hotham taking control of the garrison at Hull. All may have hoped for peace, but there was clearly an atmosphere of crisis and a political agitation which existed in the Commons and Lords but also in private houses, in public gatherings such as the theatre, and as the demonstrations prove, in the streets. As these details show, it was a time of high anxiety in all social classes. The timing of the edict suppressing playhouses reinforces the sense of public disturbances echoing Parliamentary crisis. Placed at the intersection of the casual print and cultural sphere of political discussion and the activities of the Commons, its emphasis on the need to fast and pray suggests common cause and feeling between public and Parliament even as Parliament attempts to regulate the demonstrations of such feelings.[33]

Seen in the context of the collusion of city and Commons, the document closing the theatres seems like an appeal to public support in a

time of crisis rather than a faction enforcing "Puritan" measures against the stage.[34] Just as the ultimatum constituted by the Nineteen Propositions in June and Henry Parker's theorisation of parliamentary sovereignty, Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses, in July appealed to a sense of the political power of parliament, so in relation to a literary-political public sphere we can read the document closing the theatres as suggesting the interrelationship of the new found importance of both city and Commons, and of the Commons confidence in appealing to the city at this moment.[35] And September 1642 was indeed a time of crisis - when the House rejected the King's final message on 27 August, Fletcher notes that they were even divided about whether the messenger should be received or expelled.[36] On 2 September the theatres were closed, and on 9 September Essex set off from London to join the parliamentary army.

This context for the document closing the theatres suggests it was the contingent measure of a Parliament urgently engaged in an attempt at reformation of church and state, but also anticipating local support, especially from the city of London. The document reads immediately as a pragmatic measure, but plays a part in wider conflicts of values. It is not an instance of the triumph of anti-theatrical fanaticism though it does invoke reforming values in the measures it suggests: it is both pragmatic and expresses reforming values. Indeed, J.C.D.Clark's supremely revisionist contention that "values are always subservient to situations" cannot satisfactorily account for this single document, let alone the theorisation of parliament's position in documents like Parker's Observations and popular printed debate in 1640-1642, as suggested by tracts collected by George Thomason. In this study of the crisis of the mid seventeenth century, a central assumption is that values and

situations were mutually shaping. I assume that the political events shaped the discursive practices and promulgated "values" of different plays and playlets and that, reciprocally, the way the issues and values were disputed in the drama (mainly printed but also performed) registered and therefore shaped political events.

The ideological impetus which asserts the propriety of praying rather than playing in September 1642 is evidently part of a programme which involves the reform of values, as David Underdown has admirably shown in his study of county loyalties in the Civil War.[37] The emphasis on sobriety in the document closing the theatres points towards its status as part of this reforming project. It also implies an important contrast with the swaggering cavalier ethos. What it does not suggest at this point is that the closure of the theatres was a primary objective in the pursuit of such a new policy: it appears to be contingent "While these sad Causes and set times of Humiliation doe continue." At a time when, Fletcher tells us, it would be hard for contemporaries to imagine a war which would last for four years, can we think that anyone would have anticipated that the playhouses would be mostly closed for eighteen?

However, once the playhouses <u>were</u> closed the function of the edict against stage plays seems to have changed, and strictures against the stage recur at moments of political crisis throughout the Civil War and Commonwealth. The order which banned the theatre inevitably simultaneously foregrounded the role of theatre and drama as participating in popular political debate. As the studies which follow this introduction demonstrate, the closure of the theatres served to intensify the politicised status of dramatic discourse. From the least obviously "political" theatre of opera as proposed by Sir William Davenant and Richard Flecknoe (see Chapters Six and Seven) to the polemical pamphlets

post-1642 (see Chapters One and Two), drama was sharply aware of its politicisation as a genre and of a politicised readership. While the satirical plays which Butler thinks were staged in the early 1640s were hostile to the enemies of Parliament and implied popular support for Pym's anti-episcopal and anti-counsel policies, the measures suppressing plays again in 1647, 1648 and the attacks on players in 1649 all suggest that the government both continued to fear large gatherings and (as the popularity of successive governments waned) anticipated that such plays might well now satirise themselves (see Chapters Three and Four). Therefore, although my case studies do not focus specifically on state interventions in playing, an outline of the main reprisals against the stage provides at least one changing context for my readings of particular plays, or the careers of particular dramatists, or the development of genres in relation to political situations.

The story of government interventions runs roughly as follows. The elaborate royal festivities at Christmas in Oxford may have been one of the earliest responses to the ordinance and the royalist attempt to arrogate the aesthetic sphere to themselves.[38] And there are also records of regiments of foot soldiers acting out a military playlet.[39] There were regular raids, like those recorded in October 1643 and April 1645, and control of the theatres seems to have been in some ways symbolic of the government's control over the nation. During the 1640s the cultural importance of the theatre as a battleground is signalled in the newsbooks where the metaphors of tragedy and play-acting were two of the dominant ways in which contemporaries spoke of the war.[40] The edict of 1642 turned into a campaign. After complaints to Parliament in October 1647 measures were taken to prosecute offending actors.[41] As Hotson notes, when these expired and there was no current set of penalties players began playing

again, continuing even as the Commons drafted their new ordinance. The government responded with an order for the pulling down of stages.[42] These harsh measures were reinforced in July, but despite all this playing went on.[43] Francis Bethan was put in charge of raids on theatres and on illegal publishing (confirming that drama and theatre were seen as political forces in print and performance) and in November 1648 the Commons demanded a progress report; and that winter newsbooks recorded raids on theatres. However, the theatres were not actually destroyed until March 1649 when the Fortune, Cockpit and Salisbury Court lost their interiors.[44] At this point the controversy was so great that a clever parodist published Mr William Prynn His Defence of Stage-Plays, pretending that the great opponent of the pre-war theatre had now changed his mind.[45] Drolls - short playlets - continued at the Red Bull as did illegal and private performances such as that of Thomas Killigrew's Claricilla, and pamphlets suggest that less formal street theatre also took place (see the coda to Section I). Moreover, as I shall argue in Section III the later 1650s brought the renewed possibility of performances of both shows and plays, and with this possibility came debate about the ethics of a potentially reformed stage for the new nation. Even this short summary, restricting itself to government intervention against performances, makes it clear that although theatre was repeatedly banned the theatres were never fully closed (General Monck ordered them to be closed yet again in April 1659). Literary and particularly dramatic and theatrical culture of 1642 to 1659 suggests a degree of political awareness and participation denied to it by revisionist historians.

The term "political" itself needs some explanation in this context. I take the term "political" to span the areas of official political debate (such as Parliament and policy) and the areas of public protest and

relationships, such as family relationships. Thus "politics" is both parliamentary activities and criticism of government behaviour. The discussion of power relations in pamphlet drama and the generic changes of Davenant's Interregnum operas are responses to political change expressed in both linguistic and generic terms. Thus the category of the political includes both the linguistic structures of popular political debate which produce the use of the female body as a metaphor for rebellion, and the circumstances which enabled a woman to begin writing plays. "Politics" is not simply the use of topical allusion in plays - it would be extraordinary if plays were not full of topical allusions. As David Bevington suggests, it needs to be considered widely and in relation to form, though Bevington does not extend his idea of politics to the domestic or to gender relations.[46] For the purposes of this thesis "politics" involves both what literary texts register in terms of the political sphere and specific circumstances, and how they intervene in political debate in terms of content, genre, gender, trope, topos, intertextuality.

This wide definition of politics enables us to see that Puritanism was not necesarily hostile to plays - though some Puritans were. The closure of the theatres in 1642 cannot be read as the takeover of a fanatical Puritan minority. Although many theatre historians continue to see it as exactly this, they do so by ignoring historical work on Puritanism and on the relationship of Puritans to the theatre. Recent debate on Puritanism in England has been particularly interested in the potential of Puritan ideology as a force for social change. Unhappy with Michael Walzer's model of the "revolution of the saints," Patrick Collinson has argued cogently for a kind of mainstream Puritanism which had an emphasis on obedience in which the upholding of civic and church authority

was interwoven.[47] However, Collinson does, in part, recognise that "the disposition of Calvinist magistrates and ministers to obedience carried a latent potential for disobedience. The desire to preserve the world as it was did not exclude the capacity to change it."[48] Underlying my thesis is the assumption that, as David Underdown suggests in his study of Puritan elites in the provinces, during the 1640s and 1650s the potential of a Puritan way of life to both inaugurate radical change (as it did in the army) and produce very conservative government (as it did in London) was realised.[49] In terms of the theatre, Martin Butler's repeated demonstration that Puritans were not per se opposed to theatrical entertainment is endorsed by my study the plays of 1642-1660. There can be no singular "Puritan" politics of theatre, and as I shall suggest in Chapter One, the evidence suggests that we would be quite wrong to equate Puritanism simplistically with some sort of fanaticism which led directly to the closure of the theatres.

The complete ban on theatre can be seen as having brought to prominence new, politicised, genres of theatre, but it is also implicated in a wider-ranging debate on seventeenth century censorship. The extent to which Hill believes the culture of the 1630s was predicated on censorship is indicated by the crucial place he gives it. He writes of it as the "point at which religion and culture met," continuing, "it is difficult for us to grasp to-day how severe this censorship was in the early seventeenth century, and it is even more difficult to grasp its consequences for literature."[50] Hill's account of the 1630s, anticipating always the "revolution" of the 1640s, has not gone unchallenged.[51] Even so, Hill is convincing in his suggestion that the fall of Star Chamber in 1641 brought about the temporary end of censorship (see Chapter One) and evidence does suggest that contemporaries felt that there was a change in

censorship in 1641 when the mechanisms for regulating publication collapsed. Contemporary events - including the beginning of Thomason's collection of tracts, government bans on theatre, what may have been a flood of published pamphlets, the starting of newsbooks - suggest the existence of an active public political sphere in 1641-1642: in 1643 Milton himself wrote against the attempted reimposition of censorship on printed texts.[52]

The circumstances of 1642, whereby printing was easier than ever before but performed drama was completely forbidden produced a situation in which readers were intensely aware of the relationship between dramatic discourse and political situations. The drama of the 1640s and 1650s was produced under a complete ban on performed drama during the 1640s and much of the 1650s. A further assumption of this thesis, therefore, is that the confluence of these circumstances inaugurated in drama not necessarily secret writing, nor, necessarily coded writing, but dialogues and plays which existed in a particularly self-conscious relation to the conventions of dramatic and theatrical discourses on the one hand, and political circumstances and discourses on the other.[53] Such writing is part of what historians including Hill, Russell and others have seen as constituting what they call a "popular" language of politics.[54]

0.2. Critical Contexts.

If revisionist historians have denied the wide circulation of political debate in the 1640s and 1650s, literary historians have denied that drama and theatre existed during the Interregnum. Such drama as is considered is

immediately co-opted for a royalist politics of theatre. My argument, as I hinted earlier, runs counter to the general assumptions of both theatre historians and more recent "new historicist" critics working on Renaissance drama and theatre. Both groups of critics rely on the assumption that the closure of the theatres in 1642 brought drama to an end, and I shall now untangle first the assumptions of theatre historians and then, briefly, new historicist critics.

Theatre critics continue to assume that the closure of the theatres meant that either there were no dramatic and theatrical texts between 1642 and the Restoration in 1660, or that such texts tell us nothing significant about the culture and society of the times being either the productions of a "coterie" or "closet drama."[55] As I have just demonstrated, it was never the case that contemporaries simply accepted that the theatres were closed: repeated government restrictions were needed to prevent playing restarting, and repeated campaigns and deliberate government-sponsored wrecking of theatres at moments of crisis bear witness to the fact that theatrical performances were not suppressed. Moreover, historical evidence has long made it clear that the outbreak of war in 1642 was the product of something infinitely more complicated than simply the seizure of power by a group of fanatics (Puritans) who were the parliamentary embodiment of anti-theatrical polemicists like Philip Stubbes.[56]

Nevertheless, even the few theatre critics who have written on the period have tended to assume that it was a gap punctuated by royalist attempts at performance and the publication of royalist volumes of poetry. What is the investment of literary criticism, and theatre criticism in particular, in constructing the 1640s as a gap? It is easy to see why James Wright in the Restoration wrote that the stage was royalist,

averring that the players were in the King's army.[57] However, it is a triumph of winner's history that twentieth century criticism has so wholeheartedly endorsed royalist readings of their own past. David Norbrook points to the early and mid-twentieth century notion shared by T.S.Eliot and F.R.Leavis that "the poet's true function was to transcend politics," rightly associating this with the explicit rejection and marginalisation of "the explicitly public forms of epic and political allegory."[58] This depoliticised way of reading, endorsed by generic preferences and underpinned by the presentation of "great" literature as transcending politics, has allowed the politics to be read out of plays kept in the canon, and led to the neglect of more obviously "public" or politicised texts. The drama of the Interregnum has disappeared almost completely.

Even criticism of the plays of the 1640s and 1650s or of plays set in this period tends to erase the inevitably politicised drama of the Civil War and Interregnum from the canon, and to suppress the political implications of plays written or set in the 1640s and 1650s. The title of Alfred Harbage's book on a tradition which links the pre- and post-war stages underscores the status of the Interregnum plays as small anti-puritan punctuations in a void: it is called, Cavalier Drama: An Historical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage, indicating that he considers drama as self-evidently royalist. Moreover, the drama which Harbage traces through the 1650s is that of courtly gentlemen and aspirant courtiers whom he sees as producing a tradition which survived the Civil War and which had courtliness (implicitly and explicitly royalist, for Harbage) as its central value. Harbage's argument relies on placing Davenant and Killigrew in the same category as "royalist," which is, as I shall demonstrate in my chapter on Davenant's Interregnum opera, problematic. Even more questionable is his assertion

that "cavalier drama" is the only tradition to survive the Civil War: he justifies ignoring what he calls the "popular stage" on the grounds that the gentry and aristocratic writers had usurped the innovative positions and those "active in the Caroline court and on the Royal side in the Civil Wars" were the ones who were producing "serious" drama. This assertion is maintained by a refusal to consider precisely those genres which were heirs of a non-aristocratic stage and which came to prominence as polemical pamphlet drama in the 1640s and 1650s.[59] Harbage maintains a rigidly pre-war definition of what drama or theatre must be, and follows the course of particular aristocratic or aspirant-aristocratic authors: it is this which blinds him to quantities of plays which deal with political issues and to a wealth of pamphlet dramas written for and against different political positions. This is the drama of the Interregnum as he sees it:

> The same class of authors who gave us our Cavalier lyrics wrote also a number of plays, and these plays, although long banished into the realm of half-forgotten things, form an important link in the chain of dramatic history. The purpose of this present book is to discuss the trends in English drama during the Caroline and Commonwealth periods, and the first few years of the Restoration with a view to illustrating the continuity of an English literary tradition . . . . That neither 1642 nor 1660 is selected as a terminal date will also seem natural. Each was a year of political more than of literary change, and each affected the public performance of plays rather than the English love of plays and inherited aptitude for creating particular kinds. Elizabethan drama did not forsee that at such and such a time, a Parliamentary resolution would close the theatres, and was not willing to cease evolving after the days of Shakespeare, or the days of Fletcher, merely surviving with diminishing pulse ready to expire when that resolution came. By the same token, Restoration drama did not cast its nativity assume a parcel of self determined qualities on the day when young Charles debarked from the Naseby. Political and literary history are linked, but in no such relation. The wellsprings of drama lie deep in the national culture, a factor more powerful in the end than the spectacular edicts of new political administrations.[60]

Although he is right to see continuity in the drama he sees only one thread - an aristocratic drama. Harbage's attitude to the relationship between politics and drama remains unspecific: what he is sure about is that it is not directly affected by political change. Indeed the opposition he suggests between drama and politics is akin to that between nature and culture: drama is associated with nature - "wellsprings," "nativity," "pulse," "evolution" are all attributed to theatre - whereas political change is effected by "resolutions" and "edicts." Harbage points towards a complex relationship between drama and politics, but this remains unelucidated, being governed by the assumption that the dramatists of the Interregnum were uniformly "cavaliers." Although he does not characterise the period between 1642 and 1660 as a gap, and insists on a continuity of tradition between the two periods, he confines this tradition to "cavalier drama" - drama which carried on what he thinks of as the concerns of the Stuart court.

Harbage's insistence on the "natural" status of drama associates it with a concept of "national culture" which transcends the political. This is manifested in the "English love of plays" which in turn is loosely connected with the Renaissance signified by "Elizabethan" drama, Shakespeare, Fletcher and the Restoration signified by Charles II. The "national culture" which "loves" drama makes itself manifest as is usual in literary criticism, on each side of the Civil War "gap." A less sophisticated version of a very similar argument is given by Montague Summers who long ago wrote:

> It is both a happy and a remarkable circumstance that the actual continuity between the established theatre of 1642 and the theatre which was officially established and royally recognised immediately after the Restoration, although not infrequently strained to breaking point and seemingly upon the very event of rupture and disjunction, fortuitously was never snapped and sundered: There was a coherence; there was a

> succession; and in spite of the desire and intention of the sour despots who had snatched and tightly clung to the reins of government, for ever and finally to annihilate and extinguish the English stage, when at the King's retun public playhouses were again reopened, favoured, and patronized, the old traditions were found to have been by no means lost . . . a very real conservation and relationship trilled, and although the stream was slender the waters were clear from their source.[61]

Summers emphasises the continuity between two national theatres, both implicitly royalist. The interregnum is equated with a period of anti-theatrical fanaticism; to be on the side of the theatre is to be allied with justice, royalty, Englishness. Even more interesting is the way Summers uses language: there is a "succession" of dramatists (as of kings) and Restoration drama is naturalised, metaphorised as a spring of water from the English landscape. These associations continue in more recent critics. Cecil V.Deane also discusses Restoration drama as though it was a living thing, making it a spirit of the nation when he calls it a "National drama," which needed to be "a living entity."[62] It is pertinent how often the words "England," or "English" accompany descriptions of anti-theatrical activity in the Renaissance or the inauguration of the Restoration stage. A recent textbook discussing the theatre audience of the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre describes two groups as opposed to the stage, "Puritan extremists," and "the City Fathers, who saw plays and playhouses as the breeding grounds of civil riots and diseases." The same writer continues:

> But neither group could seriously dampen the natural enthusiasm of most Englishmen. . . . The Puritan factions might fulminate, but the drama flourished under the direct or indirect patronage of the court which saw to it that, though some might be too 'virtuous,' Sir Toby [Belch] and his thousands of fellow souls had their 'cakes and ale.' The Puritans, of course, finally achieved their goal when Parliament closed the theatres in 1642 for a period of about eighteen years.[63]

Not only does Blakemore Evans move directly from Elizabethan critics of the theatre (such as Stephen Gosson, Phillip Stubbes) to its closure over forty years later but he reinforces the idea of Puritan hostility to the arts.[64] Once again England (here "Englishmen"), royalty and the theatre are allied and the theatre is associated with a euphoric vision of feudal "cakes and ale," exemplified by Sir Toby Belch. This writing condenses a set of signifiers we find repeated again and again around Renaissance and 1642 drama whereby virtue resides with theatre, England, royalty. The three almost always crop up together in relation to either the closure of the theatres of their restoration. For example, let us look at the way in which van Lennep's masterful and many volumed compendium of the English stage characterises the period immediately preceding the Restoration, <u>after</u> which his volumes start:

> Although plays do not wholly disappear from the stage, the eighteen years from 1642 to 1660 represent an unusual hiatus in the public practice of the various forms of dramatic art, a situation especially unusual for a country which in the preceding century had had a glorious dramatic renaissance.
>
> With the Restoration of Charles II, an opportunity arose for the theatrical world to begin anew and the player, manager, playwright, and spectator to restore the drama to its former position in English culture.[65]

Even in the measured tones of an authoritative work of reference we see the same co-ordinates arranged in the same way: Restoration drama signals a restoration of drama, royalty, nationhood. Restoration drama embodies the nation. Three years after van Lennep's comments were published we find the reappearence of the Restoration stage discussed explicitly in terms of the eighteen years during which "young Charles Stuart had endured war, defeat, flight, exile, humiliation, poverty, and hunger."[66]

The dichotomy which produces the two "national literatures" of "the

age of Shakespeare" and "the Restoration" with a gap in between is perpetuated in contemporary criticism. It can be found, for example, in Laura Brown's genre study of dramatic form 1660-1760. She opens her book,

> The history of English drama in the century following the restoration of the monarchy is in some respects a simple tale. Despite the emphasis placed by recent critics upon its diverseness, the dramatic production of this period lacks the prolific variety that characterizes the Renaissance theater. And despite the complexities that modern readers have discovered in the best Restoration plays, they generally do not raise the vexing questions that pervade the drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.[67]

The split persists between "the Renaissance theater," "the drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries," and "the history of English drama after the restoration of the monarchy," "Restoration plays." That the binary division appears twice in such a short space is a tribute to its presence as a governing paradigm of critical investigation. The other surprising thing about Brown's statement is that, although she has embarked on an history of genres, she ignores the generic implications of the wide range of dramatic and theatrical output from the 1640s and 1650s.[68]

If twentieth century theatre history has characterised the Interregnum as an aporia, we might expect the avowedly politically aware criticism of the new historicists to be particularly interested in the cultural production of the Civil War. This is not the case. In fact, these critics have concentrated on the earlier Renaissance dramatists and tend to rework canonical texts. Although it is important that such texts be reconsidered, it initially seems puzzling that these critics, working with the insights of Michel Foucault, Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner have found little to interest them in a period of great social change.[69] Rather, they have looked to the canonical texts of the Renaissance stage

as culturally symbolic of Tudor and Jacobean society.[70] Even Stephen Greenblatt rarely ventures beyond canonical texts except to use contemporary writing as a context.[71]

This concentration by new historicist critics on canonical texts of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period has produced readings which tend to see the text as always at the service of the king, and conceptualize the early modern subject as unable to think outside models of power produced by monarchist discourse. This leads to a view of authority as incapable of conscious and articulate linguistic challenge. For instance, in Jonathan Goldberg's study of "the relationship between authority and its representations" power is conceived of as singular.[72] He sees politics as "the social processes in which relationships of power are conveyed (emphasis added)" - not disputed. He continues, "representation, understood in its full complexity - both as restatement and as recasting, replacing presentation - realizes power."[73] Although this model of the politics of representation might serve for his analysis of monarchist iconography it is problematic in the way it leaves no space at all for conscious, linguistic or other representational, opposition to the absolutist model that he posits. This is an excessively narrow view of social process. Another example is Leonard Tennenhouse's reading of Shakespearean texts as a manifestation of the absolute supremacy of kingly power. He concludes his book on Shakespearean genres with a beguilingly vague analysis of the closure of the theatres: "Indeed, when the argument concerning access to aristocratic power came to an end, Renaissance theater came to an end."[74] As Tennenhouse has restricted the role of theatre to an enactment of state concerns and kingly power, his argument is troubled (and potentially contradicted) by the theatrical developments of 1642 and after. Perhaps this is why he follows Summers, Harbage and others in seeing the demise of

theatre as inevitable once those who opposed the monarchy took control, though he is marginally more sympathetic to what he calls the "voices" against the stage.[75] Ultimately, new historicist dislike of Marxist systematising and their refusal to engage with non-canonical texts means that they tend to replicate the old canon and to provide readings in which the king is the central, charismatic, figure.[76]

Thus, new historicist criticism does nothing to change the canonical status of the "Renaissance" and "Restoration" theatres and implicitly recapitulates the centrality of a "royalist" and almost exclusively courtly tradition. For them, as for the older theatre historians, the 1640s and 1650s remain a cultural wasteland. One conclusion of my reading of the drama of the period 1642-1659 is to suggest that dramatic production was not in one relation to the monarchy, nor even simply aligned with the two most obvious "sides" of the Civil War (though some drama was both of these things). But dramatic texts are in several different relations to a sequence of political crises and circumstances from the closure of the theatres to their reopening. It was read as drama by contemporaries, and its cultural significance is implicit in the fact that it was reread by the dramatists of the 1660s, 1670s and 1680s. The drama of the Civil War and Protectorate has been erased from the canon by critics at the expense of critical insights which could link texts with their historical and discursive contexts. This study aims to take a sequence of case studies in the relationship between drama and context and to restore to the drama of the 1640s and 1650s "the specific history of groupings of discursive practices."[77]

0.3. Synoptic Overview.

The thesis is structured as a broadly chronological sequence of case studies grouped into four sections, I Pamphlets, Playlets and Politics in the 1640s, II Gender and Drama, III Politics and Performance in the 1650s, IV Genre and Politics. As I have suggested, the genres of Interregnum drama were transformed by their political situations, and I open the thesis with a genre which came to prominence in the 1640s: pamphlet playlets.

Thus, the first section of the thesis moves away from genres which might be recognizable as connected to the pre- and post-war theatres in a lengthy discussion of pamphlet drama. In general the three chapters in this section concentrate on the cultural circumstances of pamphlets rather than attempting the attribution of individual pamphlets: my project is, primarily, to situate drama in relation to debates rather than individuals. Moreover, the attribution of pamphlet plays on internal evidence is a very uncertain business. In Chapter One I analyse the role of drama in constructing a language for the discussion of politics during the first civil war, arguing that this drama is part of a print culture which addresses and attempts to influence a self-consciously politicised readership. In Chapter Two I examine the changing political positions of the later 1640s as found in pamphlet plays, analysing the change from Leveller to royalist politics and suggesting a reassessment of some populist dramatic modes of royalism from the 1640s and 1650s as not necesssarily conservative. I end this chapter with a note on the reactivation of the genre in the crisis of 1659-1660. In the 1640s

evidence that the public was reading politically can be found in the way news services metamorphosed into full blown newspapers.

Pamphlet drama was produced by a tremendously wide range of groups from Levellers, to critics of parliament, critics of Charles and critics of Cromwell. This is made even clearer in Chapter Three where I make a comparative case study of two plays (both short though longer than the two or three page scurrilous dialogues) and the strategies they use to engage the reader's endorsement. This chapter examines the way a republican and a royalist play make bids for popular support in the crucial period of the regicide and early Commonwealth (1649-1651). One of these plays, the republican play The Tragedy of the Orator Marcus Tullius Cicero, uses classical history to mobilise support for the Commonwealth whereas the royalist play, The Famous Tragedy of Charles I, attempts to underline the naturalness of royal government. Together they illustrate both the diverse shades of political opinion to be found in drama and the active way in which it was used alongside news and political theory as a persuasive medium.

The second section of the thesis consists of two chapters which take gender as an important category in Civil War drama. The first of these chapters continues the pattern of examining pamphlet plays and their contexts begun in Chapters Three and Four Chapter Four analyses the role played by the female body in abstract political discourse and in dramatic polemic. Following up the question of the rôle of pamphlet plays in constructing popular political consciousness and articulating opinions, the chapter on female body as a trope for rebellion analyses the interrelationship of political theory and popular quasi-dramatic pamphlets at the level of metaphor. The central group of dramatic texts analysed here is the Mistris Parliament plays, in which Parliament is

metaphoricised as an adulterous wife. I read this in relation to the struggle between popular (in the technical sense) and patriarchal theories of government found in the writings of Sir Robert Filmer and the theorist of parliamentary sovereignty, Henry Parker. Chapter Five, the second chapter in the section, moves on from a concentration on pamphlets which were produced in the crises at the end of the 1640s, the period of the regicide and the Commonwealth, to dramatic texts written in the 1650s. Noting that the ban on drama placed women briefly on the same footing as men I trace the use of gender in relation to social status in the plays of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle. Situating the plays in the context of a nexus of dramatic writing produced by the Marquis of Newcastle and his daughters illuminates the ways in which Cavendish's plays seek reforms for women - but only some women.

The third section concentrates on the performed drama of the Protectorate and Chapters Six and Seven explore the debates around the operas of the 1650s, examing the relationship of the genre to its political situations. In Chapter Six I argue that opera had connotations as a "royal" genre but also, being new, had potential to be the morally reformed drama of the Protectorate. I examine the critical debate about opera and performance in relation to Shirley's pre-war masque The Triumph of Peace and a parody of it called The Cruell Warre as well as his Interregnum productions. The second chapter discusses the best known dramatic texts of the interregnum period: Davenant's Interregnum shows and opera. I argue that Davenant's opera read events in accordance with Cromwell's policies: his plays also attempt to eschew a "political" reading in relation to the present. In the opening two chapters on opera and reformed drama I show how dramatists continued to innovate and how they responded to the closure of the theatres. In Chapter Eight I turn to the career of John

Tatham to make a study of the literary output of a dramatist whose career spans the period 1640 to 1663. Tatham began writing pastorals and became more and more closely aligned with the city, writing the Lord Mayors Shows in the 1650s and 1660s. Thus his career provides an opportunity to examine plays in relation to the different imperatives of the 1640s, 1650s and 1660s as well as allowing us to discuss the previously virtually uncharted reintroduction of civic shows in Protectorate London. The fact that city shows were resumed in the 1650s is only another factor in the necessary reworking of the old idea that Puritanism was intrinsically anti-theatrical.

The last chapter in the thesis, Chapter Nine, takes the genre of tragicomedy and the pastoral mode and examines the way the two are used in royalist tragicomedy to register and articulate the events of the 1640s and 1650s. Throughout the thesis I pay attention to the discursive strategies of these plays in relation to their historical context and political situations. The drama of the period is characterised by its mixture of the polemical and the literary and the new genres suggest this. The closure of the theatres coincided with (perhaps precipitated) an explosion of dramatic genres. Earlier critics have noted the existence of these genres but have not, in general, explored them in relation to their cultural and political context. These genres included pamphlet plays, ten act dramas (both as full length plays and pamphlet plays), abstract political dialogues and scurrilous satirical dialogues, news commentary blending prose and drama, fiction and fact to make a kind of dramatic "faction," opera, reformed drama, intensely politicised pastoral, tragicomedy, mock tragicomedy and more. The first chapter, like the subsequent chapters, is informed by the contentions and assumptions I have articulated in the Introduction. It analyses the place of pamphlet plays in the debates of the first civil war.

SECTION I

PAMPHLETS, PLAYLETS AND POLITICS

Chapter One: Radical Reading? Pamphlet Playlets and the Public Sphere in the Early 1640s.

> To Every Reader . . . for there is no respect of persons with God.
>
> William Walwyn, The Power of Love (1643)

1.1. Pamphlet playlets and the "public."

The three chapters which form Section One of this thesis concern themselves with the pamphlet drama of the 1640s. The pamphlet playlet is a hybrid genre which came to prominence in 1641 after the fall of Star Chamber, related on the one hand to the scurrilous scenes and after-pieces of Caroline theatre, and on the other to the emergent print culture of the early 1640s. In the wake of Christopher Hill's argument that the end of censorship brought an explosion of political writing, that print culture has been the focus for much debate among cultural and literary historians. In a recent continuation of this debate David Norbrook has argued convincingly that there is an emergence of a critical literary-political sphere in the literary political culture of the period.[1] It is the constitution of that public sphere, the constraints upon it, and the place

of dramatic pamphlets in it which will be my concern in this first chapter, which sets the scene for the chapters which follow.

To what extent can we say there was a literary public sphere in existence or coming into existence in the early 1640s? The first and most basic issue is literacy. The idea of an emergent popular political debate in print rests on the assumption that enough of the population were literate, or in a position to be read to, for print to influence debate. Historians of literacy agree that the post-Reformation period 1500-1700 saw literacy expanded.[2] Spufford and Stone both think that literacy spread into the low income groups, though the Protestation returns of 1642 give evidence of from 53% to 79% of adult males in any parish being unable to sign (not always a test of the ability to read). Stone estimated that 50% of the male population could read - but Spufford also notes that this implies that one fifth of the male population could read.[3] The Protestation returns of 1642 and the Solemn League and Covenant (1644) provide statistics for those who could sign their name and suggest that London had a high rate of literacy - David Cressy gives the figure of 33% to 39% illiteracy in London in 1641-44, a figure much lower than any other part of the country surveyed.[4] In the light of these figures Stone's earlier emphasis on "the widespread public participation in intellectual debate on every front" seems reasonable.[5] We should also remember that pamphlet dialogues and playlets are well adapted for reading out loud (and were probably aimed at such an audience), a practice which, as the historian of the book Roger Chartier persuasively argues, continued in public and private into the eighteenth century, and which would ensure circulation beyond the literate alone.[6]

A related question is the nature of the readership so constituted: was it an elite, or more widely spread? Two general points are the "open"

nature of all texts, no matter what their intended audience; and accordingly, the tendency for readers to act promiscuously. A reader, and especially a reader of cheap pamphlets, is not a reader of "high" or "low" culture only, but consumes a mixed diet; readers of news would also have been readers of pamphlet plays, just as more elite "texts" may well have found a more popular audience, depending upon their price. As Chartier's use of the term "appropriation" suggests, texts must have been read in different ways by different readers.[7] Reading is an active search for meanings, and in the 1640s especially, for political meanings. Moreover the plays themselves signal their intention to perform an educative function in their popular deployment of political arguments.

A more specific kind of evidence is related to the distribution of pamphlet plays, and the way in which they formed part of a diverse print culture in which different genres circulated. There seems to have been a widespread shop, stall and street trade in pamphlets of varied political perspectives, all competing to constitute the political opinions of the nation, particularly the metropolis. These pamphlets functioned at the borders of news and political commentary. As more than one contemporary play pamphlet suggests they were also a way of carrying news and commentary "into the Country" - country readers as well as "others that live in the City" would buy pamphlets and news, "to make themselves merry at home." Simultaneously, news networks sent handwritten news bulletins around the country.[8] Thus some of the pamphlets are closely related to newsbooks; and dramatic pamphlets constituted only a part of the variety of news, ballads and pamphlet ephemera available from vendors. The range and quantity of pamphlets and pamphlet plays collected by Thomason suggests that, like news, dramatic pamphlet literature was part of a circulation of ideas with a relatively wide audience in comparison to most

of the other dramatic productions of the interregnum.

The sheer volume and variety of the pamphlets is, of course, further proof of a popular market for such writings among what must have been a mixture of elite and non-elite purchasers. While the production of pamphlets before the Civil War may have been relatively high, documentation begins with Thomason's massive collection (which includes many of the pamphlets discussed in these chapters). Thomason collected 2,134 pamphlets in 1642, suggesting a readership prepared to buy and read newsbooks and pamphlets of all kinds.[9] It has been argued that 500 copies would be a small run for an isolated pamphlet, but enough for a single issue of a weekly newsbook (in a more crowded market).[10] By the second half of 1642 the newsbook situation was relatively stable with three publishing teams producing newsbooks in London and Mercurius Aulicus emerging from Oxford, where it had access to royal sources (the newsbook war continued until the king's cause collapsed in 1647, when Aulicus disappeared and illegal royalist journals took over). Specific evidence about readers is hard to produce, but the army disturbances of 1647, in which the soldiers wore the Agreement of the People in their hats, shows that circulation networks were in place, at least for Leveller material.

A second major issue relating to the participation of pamphlet literature in the emergent political culture is censorship, that is the way in which this literature was viewed and monitored by those in authority. The issues of social control and print were interwoven in the 1640s and 1650s, when the House of Commons was constantly trying to keep track of printing as well as theatrical performance - early in 1642 Parliament had attempted to suppress newsbooks.[11] The policing of pamphlets and plays was seen by contemporaries as linked, a further indication that both were perceived as disseminating political ideas in popular forms. For example,

in October 1647 the pro-parliamentary Mercurius Melancholicus condemned the legislation against printing, saying "My Conscience tells me, 'tis a libertie . . . the Common Inns of sin, and Blasphemy, the Play-houses begin to be custom'd again, and to act filthinesse and villany to the life . . . why should Play-houses be cry'd up and pamphlets be cry'd down: are they bawdy houses too?"[12] At times pamphlets, ballad singing and performed drama seem to have been interchangeable in government policies of social control - in September 1648 the Commons appointed Francis Bethan to "apprehend and surprise . . . all Persons as sell, sing or publish, Ballads or Books, scandalous to the Parliament . . . and to suppress Playhouses, and apprehend the Players."[13] Another link between playhouses and pamphlets is given by the Actors Remonstrance (1643) which claims that playwrights are now reduced to writing pamphlets, and Donald MacKenzie gives a picture of Parliament locked in a struggle with printers and publishers inside and outside London.[14] After the war began pamphlets and theatre continued to be linked: both were difficult to control, and threatening in their constructions of public political discourse and events scandalous to the parliament and others.

One reason for the struggle to control pamphlet publication was that, like theatrical performance though in different modes, it provided the occas ion for political discussion. However, the struggle to control print was much less effective than the raids on plays. Offensive pamphlets, some dramatic, were constantly being discussed by the Commons. In 1642 the order was passed that the name of any printer or author should be registered, but in June 1643 Parliament passed the ordinance to "prevent and suppress the licence of printing." Milton argued against this in his defiantly unlicensed Areopagitica, but still suggested that once found to be malign "mischievous and libellous" books should be burnt by the common

hangman - as they were. For all that, London and its environs do not seem to have been any more co-operative in suppressing "scandalous Pamphlets" than they were in suppressing theatrical performances, and the Commons frequently sent their own officers after offenders as news of some new print outrage bubbled up from the streets into the Commons. On 3 Feb 1647 the Commons issued an exasperated order:

> that the Lord Mayor of London, the Justices of the Peace of Westminster and liberties, Middlesex and Surrey, near unto the City, be hereby required and enjoined forthwith, and from time to time, to suppress the Publishing and Vending by Ballad-singers and such loose Persons, all libels, and all libellous Pamphlets and Ballads. . . . And the House doth expect, that this order be put in due Execution, and a good account given thereof.[15]

The flourishing state of the publishing industry thus remained a source of anxiety for those in power. But how "oppositional" exactly was this print culture? As I shall argue, it can be seen as responding to the dominant situation and attempting to sway a readership to particular points of view. However, the objects of anger changed during the 1640s from the king to parliament and the army grandees. As David Underdown comments, "a striking feature of the English Revolution is the complete reversal of popular sympathies that it entailed." Popular pamphlets are not necessarily radical.[16] As we will see, pamphlet playlets in the period examined here engaged with whatever policy was in operation. There are many kinds of "popular" "opposition," not all of which appear to us to be radical. What the plays shared was medium, marketplace and, above all, the persuasive possibilities of this flexible politico-dramatic-serious-scurrilous genre.

Sometimes ambivalent and often pragmatic rather than in any simple sense "radical," dramatic pamphlets and dialogues, in the context of a

larger print culture, nevertheless seem to fulfil Jürgen Habermas's conception of a literary public sphere in which private men came together to constitute and circulate opinions which are formulated about government and society (the issue of the place of women in this sphere is taken up in Chapter Four). In Habermas's terms the literary-political furore of the 1640s might not be a fully developed public sphere, but it certainly was an emerging forum of debate. Although Habermas suggests that this happens in the eighteenth century in Britain, through the interlocking of political conversation and newspapers, the early 1640s seems like a society on the brink of the creation of a literary public sphere in his sense of something which is neither private, nor the state, but which disputes the relationship of the individual (male) to the state and to the social realm.[17]

The ability of the pamphlet drama and dialogue to respond almost instantly to a particular situation, its hybridity between political and dramatic discourse, and its ability to articulate political positions quickly and persuasively for a popular audience was crucial to the pamphlet dramas and dialogues of the first civil war. Furthermore - and there were economic as well as political reasons for this - the dialogues of the period dramatise the conflicting material and ideological investments of those sections of the population which are not often so absolutely central in pre-war drama (even in comedy), especially the London middling and citizen classes, helping to establish "a permanent popular political consciousness."[18]

How do these playlets treat the material, political and religious issues of the earlier 1640s? One factor in their access to political opinion is the way in which these pamphlets situate themselves in relation to diverse genres and discourses. The pamphlet playlets are hybrid between

several genres, operating at the borders between dramatic texts and other genres, and existing on a discursive continuum from philosophical dialogue (at one end) to scurrilous script for street theatre at the other (though only a relatively small number were texts that could have been acted). Although the differentiation of register is crucial to the way the dialogue or playlet invents its reader, even those at the most abstract end of the continuum use the dialogue form because of its potential to set out a debate clearly and persuasively, placing two or more views in clear opposition. We find the power of the dialogue acknowledged by James Harrington, the republican, who described it as "the clearest and most effectual for the conveying a man's sense to the understanding of his reader."[19] One crucial feature of this hybridity (and the persuasive potential it implies)is the frequent self-consciousness the playlets manifest about their own part in furthering political debates, establishing and circulating (or counter-acting) stereotypes. In doing this the pamphlets are operating at another important border - that between printed and spoken discussion, and as the evidence adduced in the rest of this chapter suggests, pamphlet playlets attempted to influence the spoken and printed debate of the early 1640s, and were designed to create opinion and construct the contours of opposed sterotypes (like "malignants" and "fanatics").

All the persuasive playlets considered here go some way towards breaking down distinctions between news, fiction, drama, theatre and political dialogue. With the fall of Star Chamber news became "public" in the sense of being circulated not only by the state but by other groups and individuals, opening up a space for the generation of opinions decisively distinct from government.[20] Many seem designed to appeal to as wide an audience as possible, or to have what Natalie Zemon Davis calls multiple publics.[21] Crucially, they attempt to persuade the reader of

political issues. In the playlets of the first four years of the 1640s we can trace the gradual creation of categories in which the war could be popularly conceptualised. Playlets seem to be both thrown up by political debate and carry it forward by articulating it with precision, as in the surge of dramatic and semi-dramatic pamphlets from 1641-1642 (analysed in detail by Martin Butler and Margot Heinemann). This apparently newly emerging sphere of debate certainly seems to be close to the inception of what Habermas designates the public literary sphere. This, he argues, indicates the inauguration of civil society and comes when economics (as in the supply and demand of information as a commodity) and print culture coalesce to open up a space between state and individual - a space for what Habermas calls critical reason, but which the Levellers would have called rights, liberty, reason or law.[22] The high circulation of news and pamphlets in the early 1640s suggests something very like what Habermas sees as produced by the interaction of an emergent market and a public which is questioning about political issues. The drive to sell printed commodities combines with the circulation of political pinions and commentary in print, which in turn influences public debate and gives it a new status at the border of print and conversation.

Indeed, it appears that by mid-1642 the printing of pamphlets was a recognised and regularised way of circulating opinion. Richard Overton offers one of the earliest suggestions of this self-consciousness when the interlocutor of his Articles of Treason Against Cheap-side Crosse (1642) is called "Newes" - "a Temporiser." News is the crucial and peculiar category which these pamphlet playlets both purvey and inhabit - as the speaking voice in Overton's next pamphlet, New Lambeth Fayre (1642), explains, he is "Opening and Vending the whole Mysterie of Iniquitie," whereby "Babylonish reliques" are to be sold to finance the Church. Having made the link

between news and saleability the voice of the vendor also gestures towards what has happened to the Church as "this last Act upon the English stage." The voice at the end pinpoints the mixed areas inhabited by semi-dramatic pamphlets:

> A friend of mine to me then did repaire,
> Desiring me, to pen this famous Fayr,
> Which I have done, and have it here to sell;
> Come buy the Fayre of me, and so farewell. [23]

Overton's address to the reader conjoins economic sales needed by the pamphlet (one kind of circulation) with the circulation of politico-religious opinions. The self-conscious "selling" of both is indicative of the ways in which pamphlets were interwoven in a social structure of reading. Their production in a market economy is a sign of both their ability and their (economic) need to circulate opinions. In buying a pamphlet the reader is not necessarily subscribing to the opinions in it, but she or he is participating in the circulation of meanings in print and between print and popular debate.

Printed playlets invited the reader to buy (in both the sense of purchasing the object and potentially agreeing with the polemic) critical opinions on all aspects of the crisis in government. Playlets dramatised figures from the government: Lord Keeper Finch and Windebank in Time's Alteration; Noy and Strafford in the Lucianic dialogue A Description of the Passage of Thomas Lord Strafford over the River of Styx. In 1643 Strafford returned in Strafford's Ghost to act as a warning to other overambitious men. These plays dramatised conflicts (as in The Lofty Bishop, the Lazy Brownist, and the Loyall Author), and attacked the Catholics (for example Newes Newly Discovered). Laud was reviled - for example using the common figure of purging in The Bishop's Potion and in Canterbury His Change of

Diet, probably by Richard Overton. History was also used by pamphlets as a commentary on the present, as in the reprinting of the poem Leicester's Ghost.[24]

Many pamphlet playlets mimic other genres: part of what the playlets have to sell beyond actual news is their form and the way they shape the issues they present to give a reader pleasure. Some, like A Briefe Dialogue Between a Creditor and a Prisoner (1653) use the model of abstract political dialogue, but others aspire to be performance pieces or offer the pleasures of more "popular" genres. Genres including news report, Lucianic dialogue, parody, ghostly speeches, tragicomedies, the vomiting up of ills, last-wills-and-testaments are adapted by pamphlet dramatists to articulate various political positions. The variety of kinds of literature drawn on by pamphlet playlets is indicated by the fact that the Lucianic Dialogue Between an Excise Man and Death uses motifs from folk tale with dramatic mis en scène to persuade, while contrastingly the pamphleteer Samuel Shepphard recycles set scenes which were the building blocks of pre-war city comedy - the link is that each is turned to the purpose of persuasion. Many at least partly imitate or allude to dramatic genres and theatrical modes; they make use of genres from the pre-war stage in different ways, but always to facilitate their persuasion of the reader. There were a number of recognisible sub-genres, for example, ghostly dialogues are sometimes signalled by illustration - as in that for the anti-Straffordian The Earle of Strafford's Ghost.

"Playing" becomes a reiterated political trope as well as part of the form of such playlets. Uses of "playing" include the imitation of courtly and commercial modes (both whole genres and set pieces) to polemical and political ends, with the attendant resonance given by the way the closure of the theatres politicised the production of dramatic genres of all

kinds.[25] For example, Caroline court festivities were remembered vividly enough for the masque to be called upon to make a range of points about the relationship between rule, the right to rule and the aristocratic ethos of amateur acting, as in the case of the pamphlet play The Cruell Warre (1643), discussed at length in Chapter Six. The masque is an instance of a cultural form used by different factions to make political points. A text which draws straightforwardly on the way in which the masque shaped its stories towards resolution is John Sadler's semi-dramatic pamphlet Masquerade du Ciel (1641), which presented itself as a record of a masque "Representing the True Site and Motions of the Heavenly Bodies, through the years 1639, 1640 &c. Shadowing the late Commotions, between Saturn and Mercury, above the nation Thule. With the happy Peace and Union through the whole Little World, made by the Goodness of Phebus and his Royall Phebe." The text interrelates the dance of the heavens with the whereabouts of the heavenly bodies of the King and Queen during the war with the Scots, and employs masque tropes associating the banishment of discord with the Queen.[26] This pamphlet suggests the power of the masque to recuperate and recast political danger, something recalled nostalgically in Henry Glapthorne's poem "Whitehall."[27] However, courtly genres could also be turned against the monarchy, as masque was in The Cruell Warre.

At the other border, significantly, the titles of playlets mimic news reports, calling attention to their part in creating and disseminating news - as in Mercurius Britannicus (1641) and Mercurius Honestus or Newes from Westminster (1648).[28] Mercuricus Britannicus, or the English Intelligencer: a Tragi-Comedy at Paris (1641) may have been performed at Paris, but the published version presents itself as news.[29] The playlet addresses the trial of the ship-money judges, also claiming to be a "tragi-comedy." It has a side-swipe at the excessive reforms some sects desired, but the

trial is the main issue - judge after judge is brought on and condemned for his part in the scandal. This playlet is an example of the intertextual dexterity of these pamphlets, as it uses a range of modes including a political dialogue between Heraclitus and Democritus, pastoral and the mock-trial - modes which were to become the staple of pamphlet playlets. The pastoral interlude is a discussion of triennial parliaments by rustics who "seem to be of the Country by their simple discourse . . . they will talk much about matters of state and their rudeness will procure us good sport."[30] The newsbook title indicates the extent to which these playlets were on the borders between "factual" news and other more overtly fictional or persuasive discourses.

Such self-positioning in relation to other discourses, and mimicing of them, is an index of the playlets' self-consciousness about their intervention as shapers of public opinion. The fact that Mercuricus Britannicus may well have been performed but presents itself in the printed version as news indicates that there is a third border at which at least some of these playlets exist. As well as being situated somewhere between news and other printed kinds of text, some are also situated between news and performance - being both performance scripts (or records) and purveyors of news and opinion. Playlets carve out an economic and intellectual position for themselves in the market in opinions by mimicing other printed genres, especially news, in such a way as to "be" both these things and a dialogue or playlet - even, possibly, performed either in a private house or in the street. Thus the playlets (like other pamphlets but with the added dimension of dialogue and mimicry and therefore with a greater yield of pleasure to the reader) come into a new relation to the state, participating in creating the sphere of "civil society" which is precisely separated from the state: the space these

playlets inhabit is neither state nor private but a place which is between the two spheres and commenting critically on the relation of the citizen to the demands of the state. Their dramatic format and associated potential to be read aloud situates them at an important border between print debate and spoken debate, in a potentially very influential position.

An example of a semi-dramatic dialogue intervening in heated public debate and attempting to influence the purchaser and provide him or her with arguments is A Discourse or Dialogue Between The Two Now Potent Enemies: Lord Generall Militia and his Illegal Opposite, Commission of Array (collected by Thomason in October 1642). The commissions of array were organised by Charles as indications of loyalty to the crown at county level, the militia ordinance - opposed unsuccessfully by the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Gurney - was masterminded by Pym and finally passed by both Commons and Lords on 15 March 1642.[31] Contemporaries readily perceived the revolutionary character of its use of a constitutional means to organise the defence of Parliament, but without the signature of the King. In this pamphlet the theoretical relationship of "King and Parliament" to "Gentry and Cavaliers freely engaging themselves" is argued by two personifications (very close to the building up of a theatrical figure). This is combined with relatively abstract political dialogue, interweaving what might be called "high" - abstract political or religious dialogue (such as that in a pamphlet like A Dialogue Arguing that Arch-Bishops, Bishops etc., Are to Be Cut Off By Law of God) - and "low," dramatic dialogue used to characterise topical political and religious situations.[32]

The opening sets out in very simple terms the parliamentary argument for the legality of the Militia, answering objections which might be made by supporters of the Commission of Array (represented here by "Array" himself):

Militia There hath been much discourse about you and I, that is, about the Commission of Array and the Militia, and you have by the Parliament been formerly judged illegal and unlawfull.

Array Can that be unlawfull which is undertaken for the defence of the King? to whom should the military strength of the Kingdome be subject if not the King.

Militia I allow this, and my desire as well as yours is, to sacrifice my bloud in maintaining the Kings right, against all such as would have him invade the privilidges of the Subject, and such as seek the dissolution of the Parliament. In a word, I stand for the King and the Parliament, you only for the King as he is carried away by the evil counsell of Malignants.

p. 3

Thus, the debate sets out positions which were to become familiar during the war in such a way as to persuade the reader of the legality of the cause of parliament's raising of an army. Even as it enforces the parliamentary view, it intervenes at the level at which it imagines public debate to be taking place, attempting to mimic opposed positions and defeat them. As the frontispiece suggests by picturing both Charles's seal and parliament, it seeks to address all readers, but also to persuade them to value the parliamentary cause over that of the King in isolation (a point reinforced by the placement of the parliament over the king's emblem in the illustration on the titlepage).

This dialogue is evidence of the benefit of a dialogic structure in attempting to persuade. Other playlets like this one intervene in a debate which is implicitly spoken, ventriloquising opinions in print in order to work on public opinion in the field of spoken argument. Another example of the pamphlet playlet or dialogue self-consciously participating in this construction of a literary-political sphere is The Last News in London (published just after the first closure of the theatres in October 1642), a "discourse" between a citizen and a country gentleman which takes place at a meeting on the road, a site at the interface of private and public. Where

other pamphlets are called after newsbooks this one is called "news" and it represents the process whereby news is exchanged, and reflects on the making of a community of political debate even as it intervenes in that debate. The playlet registers the creation of newly powerful social groupings in the city of London (now run by the radical Pennington as Lord Mayor) and calls attention to the creation of new social spheres, classes and mores, as well as the immediate "news" of preparations for war at the Guildhall:[33]

> Citizen . . . did you not heare of the Guild-hall night worke?
> Country What was that I pray, do they work in the night?
> Citizen Noe, noe, they playd all night.
> Country Why, I thought that Plays and playhouses had beene put downe:
> Citizen Yes, so they were in the Suburbes, but they were set up in the City, and Guild-hall is made a Play-house.
> Country But I pray? what play was it that was Acted?
> . . . .
> Citizen Some say it was called A King or No King, or King Careo, but they say that Skippon was so frighted at the sight of him, that he left his seat; what would he have done think you, if he had seene the king indeed:
> Country Truely it was a strange play, did not they whisper Treason on it? On my word we Country folks dare not be so bold as to make sport at Kings, the very name of King (meethinks) carries such a Magestick sound with it, as that it makes the Auditors amazed to heare it, and dare your Citizens be so bold?[34]

The conveying of news of events in the capital to places outside is represented by the citizen recounting the changes in city government and preparations for war to the shocked countryman. The amazed response of the countryman to the actions in the city underlines the importance of the challenge the city had mounted to the king, and this is reinforced by the metaphor of playing. The citizen tells of the putting down of the theatres and the setting up of the war effort as another kind of theatre,

concluding with a sentence which makes citizens and actors equivalent: "What dare they not doe: Citizens and Players may doe anything." The implied reversal is, of course, that now the theatres are closed, in which rebellion used to be acted or "played," life is imitating drama and rebellion is in the city. The familiar trope of theatrum mundi calls attention to the way the roles actors had personated on the public stage have now emerged, not wholly scripted, into the public sphere.

The ending is paradoxical in its ambivalence about reformation and the ills of Stuart government. It combines a call for reformation with an assertion of "loyalty" in an unresolved ideological clash familiar in late twentieth century tabloid journalism: citizen and countryman end by agreeing that the church needs reformation, but that Charles should do it. "Countryman" speaks for both when he concludes:

> Country I could wish that the City and the Country, yea the whole Kingdome would joyne together to Petition His Sacred Majestie, and the high and honourable Court of Parliament, to Reforme the abuses that are amongst us.
>
> p. 6

The mixture of the playlet's self-conscious presentation of itself as news, and the use of characterised dialogue to make large demands for change within the ultimately conservative frame of the petition to royalty (a form with a long tradition in folktale and theatre, as well as having a history of use in political bargaining between king and parliament) is evidence that the new pamphlet drama played a significant part in what MacKenzie calls the "immensely educative function of the popular press in forming a new language for talking about politics."[35] It would appear to be an attempt to use the dramatic analogy to focus feeling against the city government (although it is also implicitly critical of Charles I) and

appeals to the country as the repository of "ancient" values and practices forgotten by the city. Meanwhile it simultaneously fosters the role of readers as private individuals who might nevertheless be holders of opinions about the state. Like Array it is clearly aimed to influence the subsequent spoken debate of its readers, fostering the formation of a public sphere of opinions.

Printed news and commentary responds to a need for news amongst citizens, but (as Habermas notes) this brings about a situation in which the need of the reader for information and the need of the pamphleteers for sales are interdependent.[36] As print responds to that need the readers - both makers and consumers of news - become indespensable to the pamphlets, and the pamphlets, needing to be bought, must be able to address and "speak to" readers in such a way as to foster interest in the issues but also in the pamphlets themselves in order to sustain their market. There were good polemical reasons for William Walwyn to address "every reader" but there were also economic ones.

One way in which the playlets attempt to ensure the identification of readers so crucial to their success is by taking up the position of the "ordinary man;" assuming the voice of the reasonable citizen as their political mean and as the horizon of "reasonable" debate. An example of the use of the pamphlet itself as well as one of the figures in it as "the voice of reason" is The Wishing Common-wealthsman. This is another dialogue on the state of London which embraces serious discussion of political matters and expresses opinions about spheres from which private individuals were excluded.[37] When Wish-well explains how he would govern if he were king he repeats the paradoxical desire for reform-with-restoration by conjuring up the old figure of a people's monarch found in plays as temporally distant as Heywood's If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody (produced in 1605):[38]

> Wish I would establish all the good old Laws, and (to suppress all late invented and daily acted crimes) I would enact new Edicts . . . I would not set greater taxes on the people then were necessary for them and the kingdom's safety . . . my hand should never be empty, but always open to the scholer and the soldier, as the two pillers of a free state . . . I would suppresse all factions as well one as another.
> p. 5.

This refers to the abuses of Charles's personal rule, such as heavy taxation, and in the references to the "scholer and soldier" deploys the idea of the king needing to be open to his subjects and to receive good counsel. This programme combines repressing factions with reinstating ancient laws, and can be seen as a plan of moderate reformation.

The plays not only take on the voice of the "common man," they also address the complex of contradictions presented by the war. While most people probably had opinions about rights and wrongs in the war, they were also suffering materially from the decay in trade, and the playlets of the first civil war pay particular attention to these contradictions - addressing readers at precisely the points of contradiction in most people's experience of the war. Material questions and issues of status are used to ironise political loyalty in some early dialogues such as The Country-mans Care and the Citizen's Feare (1641). This dialogue, about "bringing up . . . children in good Education," voiced common fears about disruption to status and loss of stability in the world, played out through the country-man's desire to set his son up in a profession in town of which the citizen reports, "Alas! the ambiguous rotation of the world is very mutable, nothing is constant, nothing durable." The mutability of the times turns out to have made the occupation of a vintner preferable to legal training. The pamphlet's emphasis on the dangerous speed of change finds echoes in other pamphlets like London's Metamorphosis, and The

Whirligigge Turning.[39] Once again, the pamphlet plays point to the interrelationship of social and political issues in the way they present a world in flux.

For both political and economic reasons then, the playlets attempt to establish and manipulate an audience and so the common man often speaks in these playlets, with a voice of balanced moral authority - and the reader is invited to identify with this figure. One strand of these semi-dramatic pamphlets encourages readers to place themselves as labourers and consumers, reacting to upheaval by praising stability. However, in their dissemination of ideas about counsel, law, kingship and government, plays like this are evidence in support of the idea that the dramatic dialogue played a part in popularising the new political debates. They sit between political theory and conversation, imitating public political speech in an attempt to create and influence opinion. In the reconciliatory endings to both The Last News and The Wishing Common-wealthsman we can see the pamphlet assuming (or rather inventing) "the voice of the people" in the exemplary voice of a subject in 1641-1642: a voice which is never hostile to the king but wishing for reforms, articulating radical demands in combination with a bid for the regal redress of grievances. Indeed, throughout the early 1640s the pamphlet playlets circulated dramatisations of the radical changes in peoples lives: for instance, playlets such as The Sisters of the Scabbards Holliday, Brothers of the Blade and The Pimpes Prerogative dramatised the breakdown of Charles's government as a kind of carnival for the criminal underclass.[40] In The Pimpes Prerogative a figure called "Ancient Whiskin" uses a parodically Biblical analogy to celebrate the downfall of Doctors Commons as the arrival of a permanent season of license, "This happy downfall of the Doctor's Commons," he says "is as wellcome newes to our Regiment as a rich

father's death to his Prodigall Son."[41] These playlets present a position of ambivalence about the collapse of authority. Similar playlets dramatise the fate of various authorities from the perspective of the common man, employing a self-consciously populist stance.

In the early 1640s material and relgio-political questions fused in popular print commentaries on post-Laudian iconoclasm, including dramatic and quasi-dramatic pamphlets, and these too are often ambivalent about the changes which the downfall of the crosses imply. The sheer number of pamphlets on the removal of the London crosses suggests that the changing of churches and city monuments was acutely disturbing to contemporaries. Whether they approved or disapproved the issue represented a visibly large change in the meaning of civic space. Throughout 1641 and 1642 a series of pamphlets appeared dramatising the fate of the "idolatrous" crosses in London, as in Richard Overton's The Articles of High Treason Exhibited Against Cheap-side Crosse (1642), A Dialogue Betweene the Crosse in Cheap and Charring Cross (1641), the attack on sects in The Dolefull Lamentation of Cheapside Crosse: or old England Sick of the Staggers (1641) and others. Alongside polemic these pamphlets set the conflict in relation to quotidian London life, using the comic carnivalesque to dramatise religious issues in relation to the economic, class and political commit nents of citizens, gentry, country people.[42] Concern about the economic implications to the individual of political and religious change is found again and again in the pamphlets dealing with iconoclasm.

One pamphlet which interweaves the material and religious impications of the crosses in an ambiv alent way also ends with a kind of carnival. It is dated February 14, St. Valentine's Day 1642 and describes The Remarkable Funerall of Cheapside Crosse in London as both news and theatre, in a way reminiscent of the records of masques but ending thus:

> In the last place follow the women, and the rest of the guests with money in their pockets to buy wine and rost-meat to be merry after the buriall who seeing the work done, performed accordingly with great joy, every one having it common in their mouths
>
> Cheap-side Crosse is carried away
> Therefore we will make a holyday.
>
> A4r–A4v

The Jesuits, papists, neutrals, cavaliers and bishops were unable to attend the funeral and the people who do go are all from the city. The cross is followed to its grave by both ill-wishers and well-wishers, but notably, alongside religious and political opinions we find listed the occupations of city people:

> Carpenters, Plummers, Stone-Cutters, Guilders . . . with wreaths of bays, and hathorn twisted together about their heads, betoakening partly joy, that so great a superstitious Idoll was removed, and partly sorrow, that they were not employed to erect a new one.
>
> A3v

The contradictions in the dismantling of church ornamentation are drawn out - the maintenance of statuary and so on was, inevitably, the duty of citizen craftsmen whose political, status and religious investments might well in certain instances (as here) run contrary to their financial and professional ones. The investment of the guilds and craftsmen in the status quo through the issue of church furniture is a particularly obvious example. The extent of the actual economic implications of the fall off in the use of labour by the Church of England is not the issue - this question of church furniture and iconoclasm acts as a convenient (and, for contemporaries, gripping) epitome of more widely dispersed conflicts between economic and religious issues. And it signals the kind of circulation that these pamphlets might have had among the literate that here

we see represented in relation to the middling sort similar contradictory pressures and investments in right and rule which famously divided the middle gentry between sides in the Civil War.

A more sophisticated discussion and also one which uses argumentation and polemic is found in The Arraignment of Superstition or a Discourse Between a Protestant, a Glasier and a Separatist (1642), a verse dialogue actually set in a church, in which issues of custom, tradition, propriety, religion and economics interlock.[43] Structured as an argument rather than a small drama, its aim we we are told is "Shewing the good minde of the Protestant, the Indifference of the Glasier, and the puritie and zeale of the Seperatist." The point of contention is the stained glass in a church:

> Separatist
> Come honist Glasier, we must crave your ayde
> To helpe us pull these popish windows downe,
> And set new glasse for which you shall be payd,
> For sure the Lord on us for them does frowne
> And truely brethren should we let them stand,
> I feare 'twill bring a terrour to this land.
>
> Glasier
> I hope not so Sir, these are ancient things
> That long have stood in former ages past
> Since Churches were, at least, since Christian Kings
> Had government, they still in Churches last,
> least by mishap some cracks or peeces shatter'd,
> But now it seemes they all must downe be battered.
>
> p. 1

The Glasier mounts a number of pragmatic and logical arguments against knocking out the glass, including the suggestion that as the Church itself was built under Roman Catholicism, it too should be pulled down; and that if the wind should turn the returning Roman Catholics would be furious at the ruin of their windows. The separatist argues for the breaking up of the windows "into peeces small" whereas the glazier offers to keep them, "Were you a Glasier it would vex your minde, / To see such curious

windowes broken heere" (p.3). The Protestant appears to be persuaded by the Separatist, but a glass portrait of Queen Elizabeth proves to be a turning point in the argument. The Separatist is in favour of keeping this icon, but the Protestant insists that an icon of Christ in a church is more suitable "then a pictured Queene" (p. 5). Ultimately, the Glasier and the Protestant form a successful alliance against the Separatist.

Once again, the dialogue is noticeably self-conscious about its bid to influence opinion: it takes the points of view that it opposes very seriously, entertaining some some of the opposition's better lines of argument rather than caricaturing them. Although the title of the play prescribes its "meaning" and makes it polemical, it presents several different points of view and sets out several possible positions and responses to the interlocking material and religio-political implications of iconoclasm. Even as playlets protest about material conditions they are highly self-conscious about their activities in formulating political and religious opinion - from The Wicked Resolution of the Cavaliers (1642); in which cavaliers give away their evil intentions, to the attack on popish "ambition" in the mock-trial Times Changeling, Arraigned For Inconstancy at the Barre of Opportunity (1643), the plays are conscious that they are formulating the way people think, and speak, about contemporary events.[44]

Obviously, pamphlets were most likely to make sales in relation to political conflict and - as is indicated by Array analysed above - they were part of a print culture trade heavily committed to leading a reader towards "truth." The playlets and dialogues both educate readers in prejudice by explaining to them how to "recognise" an enemy (presumably not an easy task where enemies were neighbours, acquaintances and family) and - sometimes simultaneously - appealing to euphoric and nostalgic values of "community." Many pamphlet playlets work to hold in place the

division between royalists and parliamentarians, circulating stereotypes in order to educate readers in the discourses of prejudice. Indeed divisions seem to have permeated every aspect of social life: the war brought the appearance of "roundhead" and "cavalier" as insults in local quarrels. Presumably such terms were disseminated by print, and as Underdown notes "reflected and may well have strengthened people's perception that their communities were politically divided."[45]

The intersection of political polemic and the bid for a readership works in several different ways in the playlets. Hatred was directed against the "enemy," and the educative purpose of pamphlets was to reinforce a sense of the evil of the enemy's cause - and pamphlet drama enabled the reader to hear the enemy condemn him or her self out of his own mouth (this technique is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four). An example is The Cavaliers Catechisme (1643), subtitled the "Reformed Protestant Catechising the Antichristian Papists, Malignants, Incendiaries, and other ill-affected persons under the name of Cavaliers," demonstrates why cavaliers are evil.[46] This question and answer dialogue takes the opportunity to give an etymology of the term "cavalier" to explain how unfit it is for the royal army of Roman Catholics:

> Qu What is meant by your name Cavalier?
> A Knighthood, very unfit for me, for as I am told, it was a name first given to Gentlemen as an augmentation of honour, by the Frenchmen in the Warres, the word being derived of the French word Chivall, or Horse, by which Troopers or Horsemen in battaile were called Chevaliers, by corruption of Speech in the processe of time, called by the English Cavaliers.
>
> A2v

The "educative" function of such a pamphlet is unmistakable, but this time it is very evidently an education in enmity and in distinguishing "self"

and "other" to obvious political ends.

The polemical pamphlets use a range of techniques to influence a reader, from identification to casting the enemy as a monster. Techniques to influence a reader include that of self-disclosure which is employed to demonise the enemy who is apparently overheard revealing his inmost thoughts, without the cloak of public formality or hypocrisy. This can be seen clearly in the dialogue The Souldiers Language (1644), where the reader is positioned as an eavesdropper on the conversation of two royalist soldiers in which they expose their true sentiments. The pamphlet represents the meeting of Nicholas and Jeffrey, one coming from Bristol and one from York.[47] As Derek Hirst puts it, the surrender of Essex at Lostwithiel on 2 September 1644 "offset the moral, if not the strategic effects of Marston Moor."[48] But Marston Moor had been a decisive set-back for the king, and the pamphlet is conscious of this. At first unsure whether each is a royalist, they recognise each other by their language. When Nicholas says "God damne me, but Ile run my Rapier thorow thee, if thou stand vexing me thus, and I am in haste," Jeffrey recognises him as a true royalist - profane, violent, high-handed (A1r). The dialogue begins like an impartial report of a battle when Jeffrey, fleeing from the north, recounts the devastation of the royal army and his own fear:

> Je me thinks the sound of the round-heads, is ever in my ears, and if I see but a tree, or bush move with the wind, it presently strikes in my mind that some Round-head or other is come to cut my throat: such a feare doth possesse me, that I am ready to flie when no man pursueth me.
>
> A2r

Although at first this seems like a sympathetic account of one man's experience of the war, it soon leads into a discussion of the fortunes

of the royal party. Hiding in a tavern frequented by thieves, they talk as if in secret. Jeffrey argues that these forces would be improved by a better choice of commanders as the present ones ran away. The satire presents a logical policy for the king:

> Je But if the King would hearken to my counsell, I could shew him a way how to choose Commanders. First, I would have him put none into any great office, or place, of trust, but such as were absolute Papists. Or if he did, he should chuse them that were deepliest engaged against the Parliament, such as Goring.
>
> A2r

In a way typical of the pamphlets of the first civil war, this text thus organises debate about the politics of the situation by putting forward a satirically extreme version of the royalist position and playing on the fears of parliament's supporters. The soldiers go on to point out that as well as the Catholics, the king has the support of pimps and prostitutes, because of parliament's threatened reforms, and the pamphlet ends with a bid to provoke suspicion for the future. When they agree that the Roundheads are "like to prevail," Nicholas proves himself a hypocrite when he says "I will cut off my locks, and be as zealous as any of them all" (B4v). The technique is typical of Civil War pamphlets in their sophisticated use of semi-dramatic mis en scène to position the reader as if an eavesdropper on a real debate; the satirical force of the pamphlet is found in the soldiers' support for "Papists" and in their characterisation of the supporters of the king's party. Such satire, unlike the persuasive rhetoric of the Reformed Malignant, serves to mobilise hatred, underline differences and to foreground myths about the opposing party.

Where The Cavalier's Catechisme and The Souldiers Language are both dialogues which unabashedly invite the reader to take sides and supply him

or her with tools for "recognising" (and simultaneously condemning) the "enemy," The Reformed Malignants positions itself somewhere between the fostering of enmity and a persuasive appeal to community by showing a process of change effected by rational political debate in the public sphere.[49] A cavalier is converted (by a "Convert") to the other side. The pamphlet attacks Henrietta Maria (a popular and easy target) and presents the Cavalier as agreeing that Popery is "too much favoured," playing on the shared anti-Catholic concerns of Englishmen.[50] The Cavalier, predictably, goes off to convert others; but in showing the process of conversion the pamphlet parallels its own function at the level of narrative. It both shows how the debate works and contributes to the effort to influence. Persuasive pamphlets like this one emphasise the reasonableness of their cause at the same time as suggesting the effectiveness of debate and spoken argument in (producing) political change. In a sense, this pamphlet tells the story of the success of its own methods. Such an emphasis on the power of printed and spoken dialogue to produce a resolution to political issues is perhaps characteristic only of the earlier years of the 1640s, after which satirical genres become increasingly popular, or at least, are printed in greater numbers proportionately amongst a fluctuating number of dramatic political pamphlets printed each year. Some of the dramatic pamphlets, like this one, sought to educate their readers (which also, almost invariably, meant leading them towards a political truth), as well as discrediting opposed positions. Some pamphlets simultaneously use a discourse which fosters division (thereby confirming the reader's prejudice) and continue to invoke "ancient values" as part of the path to peace - thereby positioning themselves on particularly high moral ground. An example is A Dialogue Betwixt a Horse of Warre and a Mill-Horse which emphasises the enduring values of unity, country, community even as it

takes up an anti-royalist political position.[51] The confusions of war, and the disruption it causes for trade and industry appear in A Dialogue Betwixt a Horse of Warre and a Mill-Horse, subtitled "A Discourse between the Cavalliers Warre Horse and the Country-mans Mill Horse" (A1v). The playlet articulates the problem of the contrasting ethos of the "Warre Horse" who says, "Fame is not that I aime at, but the knowne Right of the King," and the "Mill Horse" (speaking in black letter, which indicates his rusticity) who bewails war, painting a picture of the war horse, "wounded in a fight, / Not knowing whether thou dost wrong or right." The dialogue between the two horses ends when their owners return, by which time we know that the Mill-horse is the most sensible. The Warre-horse falls into the usual trap of pamphlet dialogues - he condemns himself out of his own mouth when he suggests: "In Peace I serve for Triumphs, more than that / I shall be made a bishop and grow fat" (A3v). By contrast, the Mill-horse continues in the country endeavouring to ignore the war. He finally retorts:

> Mill Therefore love war, and have of wounds thy fill,
> While I in Peace do walk unto the Mill;
> I will be always as true unto my selfe,
> And love the kingdome and the Commonwealth.
>
> A4v

This is an equivocation which, like Array, guides the reader towards a political position which masquerades as impartial. Less argumentatively sophisticated than The Arraignment of Superstition, the dialogue nevertheless posits for a reader's consumption (and implicitly adoption) a position on the war which combines anti-royalism with support for "kingdome and Commonwealth" (a very abbreviated version of parliamentary fudging about who had the right to raise an army) and the espousal of the

longstanding virtues of trade and industry.

At times the self-consciousness of the playlets about their influence on public opinion spills over into a commentary on the actual creation of the sphere of debate, as in the monologue The Malignant's Conventicle (1643) in which a popish plotter tells his band of his campaign scattering printed leaflets:

> Citizen So we drew up a most damnable and absolute Booke among our selves to scandalize the Parliament . . . we got it perfected, and thousands of it printed, and it beguiled The Affections of many, and generally amongst our brethren Malignants . . . we scattered them about the Pallace at Westminster, about the Hall, and in the City [52]

Here we find a pamphlet ventriloquising the position of its enemy and commenting on the way in which his pamphlets operate by being "scattered" - to influence public opinion - while, of course, participating in precisely the same attempt to influence the public.

Playlets like The Mill Horse and The Malignants Conventicle are examples of the pamphlet drama posing themselves precisely as taking up the concerns of the ordinary subjects in judging affairs in the greater world of political struggle, invoking shared values and attempting to persuade. They do not operate without reference to political issues, but tend to assume a worm's eye view of politics in order to influence a wider sphere of readers. They are a significant part of the sphere of what I have argued is an emerging literary political debate from the beginnings of the 1640s onwards, and clearly operate at the border between the conveying of news and commentary in spoken debate and its more formal and sharp statement in print. Such pamphlets contrast to an extent with the more bitter pamphlets from later in the war and those which incline

towards political theory, such as the one between Militia and Array. The pamphlet dialogues of this early Civil War period are involved in establishing differences and mobilising feeling against opposing parties, but as the dialogue of the two horses indicates a market remained for the pamphlet ingenuously promoting peace.

1.2. Conclusion.

The implicit interlocking between print culture and conversational debate in these pamphlet dialogues and playlets suggests a change in conditions and the blending of genres in new circumstances. As Bakhtin argues in a late essay on speech genres, "language, or functional styles are nothing other than generic styles for spheres of human activity and communication. Each sphere has and applies its own genres that correspond to its own specific conditions."[53]. During the early years of the Civil War the genres of political dialogue and dramatic script came closer together to generate an intermixing of kinds of language. Abstract and concrete, political and scurrilous modes of address were mobilised by pamphlet dramas and combined within them. The new situation of the dialogue and pamphlet play in the literary-political public sphere involved the appropriation by dialogues of popular debates which could be echoed and bent to their own ends. To this extent pamphlets were involved in plagiarising and polemicising popular debates which almost certainly were also conducted in conversations.

Pamphlet plays use dramatic and semi-dramatic genres to respond to and articulate the implications of political change, often taking on the

role of the political commentator of the relatively "ordinary citizen" to express points of view, a development which once again suggests that the dialogues were helping to constitute a new literary sphere which commented upon affairs of state.[54] Economic and political considerations must have fused in the playlet's use of the voice of the "average citizen" in that the pamphlets needed to foster debate in order to foster demand for the very news and commentary they purveyed. Thus political polemic and economic factors come together to lead the pamphlets to address and mimic genres, positions and the voice of the citizen in playing their part in forming a literary public sphere, which Habermas suggests is a precursor of what he calls a "political public sphere."[55] He notes the importance of the dialogue form in the formulation of such a sphere, commenting in fact on the much later Spectator articles, that "the dialogue form . . . attested to their proximity to the spoken word. One and the same discussion transposed into a different medium was continued in order to re-enter, via reading, the original conversational medium."[56] This interaction between speech and debate and literary-political persuasive print to that debate is what we find, many years earlier than Habermas suggests, in the pamphlets of the early 1640s.

Chapter Two. "With The Agreement of the People in their hands," the Transformations of Populist Politics in Playlets of the Civil War and Protectorate.

2.1. Introduction.

The last chapter delineated the place of playlets in the construction of political positions in the early years of the 1640s, concentrating particularly on the interrelated economic and political reasons why many of these pamphlets address the reader as a "common man." In this chapter I shall pursue the part of playlets (such as Overton's brilliant fusing of political polemic and semi-dramatic dialogue form) in the changing critical polemics of the Civil War. One question I shall be pursuing is why it is often hard to decide where a playlet is "speaking from." Therefore this chapter traces the path of political polemic in the populist playlets of the 1640s and into the 1650s, noting the metamorphosing of political positions and mapping the course of popular polemical pamphlet drama as playlets respond to the second civil war, crisis in government in 1648, regicide and the establishment of the Commonwealth. In registering these events, as the last chapter argued, I see pamphlet plays as reciprocally influencing and influenced by contemporary "public" debate. By tracing the radical critiques of the 1640s into the royalism of the 1650s we can see

that some playlets which have been regarded as purely (and simply) royalist have links to the demands and protests in the radical writing of the 1640s:the royalist and radical positions in popular polemic were not always diametrically opposed, but drew on some similar strands of popular discontent. Thus, radicalism in popular pamphlets combines at points with popular royalism and, in the 1650s, with Quaker fervour.

2.2. Popular playlets and changing polemic: Overton, Sheppard and others.

Richard Overton appointed himself the radical, tolerationist, heir to the Elizabethan polemicist Martin Marprelate in a number of dramatic and semi-dramatic pamphlets punctuating the 1640s with satirical representations of the powers of church government:

> Martin Mar-Prelat was a bonny lad
> His brave adventures made the Prelats mad:
> Though he be dead yet he hath left behind
> A generation of the Martin kind.[1]

Overton's first critique of the religio-political nation was Vox Borealis or the Northern Discovery (1641) and he was active as a pamphleteer throughout the 1640s, sharply aware of the potential of the circulation of opinions to effect radical change. As we saw in the two signed pieces from 1642, Articles of High Treason Against Cheapside Cross and New Lambeth Fair, and the well-known attack on Archbishop Laud, Canterbury His Change of Diet, he opposed what he regarded as tyrannical state religion. As Martin Mar-Prelat he wrote in favour of religious toleration, mobilising the tendentious potential of pamphlet playlets and humanistic praise of

folly to these ends.[2]

His tracts contrast with some later playlets and with other polemic because they are not only satirical but begin to develop a political programme in a popular form. The forty-five page semi-dramatic pamphlet The Arraignment of Mr Persecution (1645) is an example of the union of the populist persuasive powers of semi-dramatic discourse and abstract, radical political polemic.[3] The playlet castigates the persecutionary designs of "Sir Simon Synod and Sir John Presbyter." Overton objected to the directives of the Westminster assembly, the commission of divines who were attempting to formulate religious policy, objected to the threat of Presbyterianism and, above all, sought liberty of conscience for all. The pamphlet literally puts religious intolerance on trial, using the shape of a court-room drama in which lengthy and carefully argued speeches alternate with scurrilous witticisms and parodies of tortuous religious justifications for persecution. The debate draws on both abstract argumentation and the techniques of scurrilous satire in order to make its arguments widely available. Overton uses the pamphlet genre as a self-consciously invented hybrid of abstract argument and popular satire employing personification to make abstract ideas accessible. For instance, Mr.Power-in-Parliament uses a secular nationalist argument for liberty of conscience, putting the case in clear and colloquial terms:

> Power Persecution for Conscience is inconsistent with the Soveraignty of the Kingdomes, for it divideth their powers one against another, and in themselves occasioneth murmerings, grutchings and repinings, which in time break forth into Conspiracies, Rebellions, Insurrections &c. as well to the prejudice of soveraignty as to the ruine of the Subject: and which is more, the tendency and operation of Persecution, is to reduce the power of Kingdomes and Parliaments from themselves into the hands and disposall of the Pontificall Clergie.
>
> p. 4

The pamphlet's insistence on the issue of religious choice being private and secular concerns being the province of government is, obviously, one which goes beyond the familiar territory of politico-religious debate. The arguments go beyond such demands for parliamentary sovereignty as Henry Parker's Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses (1642).[4] Whereas Parker asserts that the parliamentary body represents the nation, Overton sees the possibility of universal amity and toleration achieved through accepted diversity of religious opinion and united secular interests.

This is made available to the reader through the story of Persecution who has been roaming in Protean fashion in "the briery thickets of Rhetoricall Glosses, Sophistications and scholastick Interpretations," and whenever about to be caught "the cunning Hocus Pocus vanish'd out of their sight" (pp. 1-2). The text's attack on the "briery thickets" of "scholastic glosses" contrasts with its own ludic readability - Overton's pamphlet requires a familiarity with politico-religious debates that were affecting everyone but it puts the controversy firmly in the semi-colloquial language of the public sphere. Thus, when Persecution is eventually caught his trial has a personified cast ranging from Mr. Unity-of-Kingdomes through to Mr. Nationall-Strength, Mr. Sealed-Peace, Mr. Humane-Society, Mr. Nationall-Wealth, Mr. Civill-Government, Mr. Domesticke-Misery. The jury which agree that Persecution should be indicted as an enemy to God are, implicitly and explicitly, expressions of secular and national interest. Liberty-of-Conscience is prevented from speaking in the first part of the trial because Persecution begs for Sir Symon Synod to be brought in, and Synod attempts to pack the jury with his supporters. Sir Symon Synod proposes a jury as follows:

> Synod to wit, Mr. Satan, Mr. Antichrist, Mr. Spanish-

> Inquisition, Mr.Councell-of-Trent, Mr. High-Commission, Mr. Assembly-of-Divines, Mr. Rude-Multitude, Sir John-Presbyter, mine only son. Mr. Scotch-Government, Mr. False-Prophets, Mr. Ecclesiasticall-Supremacy, Mr. Pontificall-Revenue: These never failed the designs of the Clergy.
>
> p. 7

Obviously the incorporation of "Rude-Multitude" in a list which also includes Satan is an indication that even as these pamphlets attempt to reach a wide audience they maintain a distance from the "mob," constructing their reader in opposition to it. The figure "King's Servant" is used to iluminate the congruence of interest between church and king when he speaks in favour of Symon Synod's proposed jurors, saying that "there be divers of these whom Royall Prerogative hath called in to his Assistance" (p. 7). Thus theological and political abstractions are transformed into a drama of opinions in which the reader experiences the combined pleasures of lucid argument and narrative interest.

In part I am using this playlet as a fixed point in a political continuum. It can stand as a "radical" text in its advocacy of liberty of conscience, an idea alien to many of its potential readers. It promulgates a decisive - even utopian - view of potential reforms, made acceptable to a reader by the playlet's comedic shape whereby "liberty" wins and Synod, Presbyter and Persecution are defeated. But the ideas are nonetheless very challenging for a mid-seventeenth century audience - when Liberty-of-Conscience is finally allowed to speak he argues for the Biblical basis for toleration of "Turks, Jewes, Pagans and Infidells" (p.22). Persecution is sentenced to be tortured day and night for ever and Sir John Presbyter is sent "to the uncleane, filthy, impious, and worldly Dungeon, called Jure Humano . . . to be bound with Magesteriall Chaines of humaine Lawes, Ordinances, Edicts etc." (p. 44). Martin Mar-Prelat ends with a postscript

insisting that he is entirely in favour of "Civill league" between England and Scotland.

Thus, the tract dramatises the interconnection between liberty of conscience and all other liberties, using narrative anticipation (what will happen to Persecution?) and satirical wordplay to create a lucid and entertaining comedy with a complex structure that interweaves dramatic structure and political polemic, using dramatic personification to make the virtues of toleration clearer. It brilliantly positions the reader as disenfranchised by anti-tolerationists and therefore likely to be in agreement with the pamphlet's programme, admirably exemplifying MacKenzie's contention that some of this ephemeral literature of the Civil War is characterised by a "political sophistication." This playlet uses scepticism and mockery to crystallise a painful image of the coercion implicit in an intolerant, state church.

Not all pamphlet playlets attempted so powerfully to convince a reader of something which might be so alien as toleration. However, the Leveller group all pursued similar criticisms. Overton seems to have repeated his tolerationist argument in Martin's Echo (1645, collected by Thomason in June). Once again we note the secular, embracing rhetoric of the Leveller address:

> I beseech you friends, consider what you doe, consider the fruit of your bodies, unto what slavery you are fit to enthrall them, I know you would be loath your children after you should be deprived of trading or living in the kingdom, though they should differ a little in opinion from others. I could wish we might lay down this controversy about opinions, and not thus devour, rend and tear one another about them. . . .[4]

Leveller arguments for toleration persisted and developed into an attack on Parliament, finding its best known statement in the constitutional

document The Agreement of the People (1647). From 1645 onwards Overton joined his voice with John Lilburne and William Walwyn against presbyterianism and what they saw as parliamentary tyranny and in their writings we can trace a change in popular feeling about parliament. It is not only in their writings that the focus of their attack shifts from Charles and presbyterianism to parliament, and later to the army grandees during 1647-1649. As David Underdown notes, the new regimes were disliked in the towns and villages, even those which had been strongholds of reforming activity. However, the Levellers also put this mounting dissent from activities and apparatus of the new order into political polemic and theory in such documents as the Levellers' Petition to the House of Commons (September 1648) which indicates their discontent with the tardiness of reform. Lilburne articulates disillusionment in Legal Fundamental Liberties (1649) when he says of King and Parliament, "it was our interest to keep up one tyrant to balance another, till we certainly knew what that tyrant that pretended fairest would give us as our freedoms."[5] Although Overton's attacks on hierarchy are the only ones amongst the Leveller tracts to take dramatic form, Walwyn used monologue and the rhetorical flourishes of Lilburne found theatrical expression in the strange drama of his trial, at which long sections of his pamphlet writings had to be read out, "Which pleased the people as well as if they had acted before them one of Ben Jonson's plays, for their excellency."[6] The trial itself became a kind of public theatre in which the judges were constantly careful to preserve themselves from the charge of denying Lilburne his rights. On trial for his life because of his writings, Lilburne's success in persuading the jury to acquit him can perhaps be seen as an example of the intimacy of rhetoric, political persuasion and popular theatre during the Interregnum. The writings of this group were

influential in pamphlets of the later 1640s which both addressed their positions and selectively adopted and adapted their polemic and ideas.

The changes in political perspectives and the feelings of the audience for pamphlet playlets (as well as those of the authors) from the end of the first war onwards can be traced in popular events and in print. Playlets addressed and fostered the mounting political tension over the problem of what to do with the King, and satire came to be increasingly at the expense of parliament. By 1647 the city, so active in the first years of Civil War, had become a force behind the conservative bid for presbyterianism on the Scottish model and, like parliament, the city wanted the army disbanded, and feared the alliance of city radicals and soldiers.[7] Parliament's bid to disband the army in 1647 brought about the alliance between Agitators, elected by army regiments, and the Levellers and political theory and popular protest came together in The Agreement of the People, presented to the Army Council in October 1647 and published in November. The Agreement saw the war in terms of the freedom of the people (and army) who:

> Having by our late labours and hazards made it appeare to the world at how high a rate wee value our just freedome . . . do now hold ourselves bound in mutual duty to each other, to take the best care we can for the future, to avoid both the danger of returning to a slavish condition, and the chargeable remedy of another war. . . .
>
> p. 238

The intersection of political and dramatic discourse in the formation of public opinion of the Civil War, and their shared audience, is demonstrated by the speed with which this document was recycled at once in a dramatic satire highly critical of the Levellers by Marchmont Nedham (at this point a royalist). His playlet The Levellers Levell'd (1647) blamed the king's flight to the Isle of Wight on their attempt to murder him.[8] Mercurius

Pragmaticus introduces himself in the first person, as an actor in state affairs - "I that have lasht base Traytors to the bone, / Have whipt ambition, pride, and spared none" (A1v). After beginning as a masque with England's Genius made so afraid by Rebellion that it runs off to a cave to hide, the playlet attacks rebellion using the model of Jonson's Catiline; the five conspiring Levellers swear by an effigy of Catiline preserved as a "sacred relique," promising:

> Conspir By the fam'd memorie of this brave spirit, that once made Rome to tremble at his nod, who took the horrid Sacrament in blood to levell her proud battlements, sweare not to lay downe armes till King Charles be sent to the invisible land, till all Lawes are repealed and abrogated, meum and tuum on pain of death not mentioned.
>
> I.ii.

The power of Leveller criticism is itself suggested by this playlet's demonising presentation of the Levellers and Agitators as plotting against the king (who at this time fled to the Isle of Wight) and threatening property - the prologue describes the agitators as "a Remora," and the Levellers (called "Conspiracie," "Democracie," "Apostasie," "Treachery" and "Impiety")-and the play includes the figure "Regicide." When the play quotes The Agreement of the People against itself - using the voice of Democracie demanding "some rare unwonted liberty which we 'declare to be our native Rights'" (II.ii, p. 220-1) - we can see that the playlet anticipated that its readers would know the political material it was using. It evidently sees itself as attempting to influence a politicised and eagerly reading public; moreover, Nedham's journalistic accuracy in situating part of the play at the great gathering of the army at Ware shows that the playlets were also "news." Nedham attacked Leveller ideas again in The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated (1650), though

paradoxically he later emerged from prison to become a journalistic mainstay of the Commonwealth (see Chapter Three).[9] The way individuals such as Overton and his opponent Nedham switch between the forms of political disputation and dialogue, and even include political tracts in plays, indicates that the war over what the Commonwealth might be was hotly debated in popular pamphlet genres, and semi-dramatic pamphlets held a special place in this field.

During the renewed crisis of government in 1647-1649 political debate was constituted in an overlapping combination of theoretic and popular discourse. The political situation following the capture of the king was a critical moment, initiating the beginning of change in political sentiments registered in pamphlets and counter pamphlets. For example, the danger of an alliance with the Scots was attacked in the playlet The Scotch Politike Presbyter (1647). The frenzied pamphleteering of 1647 to 1649, and the part played by both Leveller and royalist playlets suggests once again that political debate was not confined to high, abstract discourses. Moreover, criicism and satire was not by any means always clearly "royalist" or "Leveller," but took on a new political hybridity and ambivalence as parliament was, increasingly clearly, unable to stand as an answer to the nation's woes. Crucial to the framing of printed criticism, Pride's Purge and the moves towards the execution of the king made the Levellers fear a new parliamentary tyranny. Therefore a new political position begins to be articulated in pamphlets, which is sympathetic to the radical cause but opposed to the purged parliament; an example of this more ambivalent political discourse is the playlet A New Bull-Baiting (1649).[10] The Levellers Overton, Lilburne and Prince (now imprisoned in the Tower) appear goading "the Town Bull of Ely" - "Enter Noll drawne to the stake by the four Bear-wards; his hornes all bloudy and a garland on his

head." The pamphlet attacks the excise, taxes, the regicide, Bradshaw as the president of the court which tried Charles, and other abuses, prophesying that the Irish will finish Cromwell. It ends with that favourite pamphlet structure, "Noll's Last Will and Testament." This pamphlet is unusual in calling attention to the history of Leveller positions, and the irony that they began as supporters of Cromwell. When the figure representing Thomas Prince reminds Overton of this he replies, "I profess I did; but he has (by swerving from his first principles) deceived me and thousands more" (p. 8). So this playlet is a commentary on Leveller positions as well as a satire on Cromwell, making clear the emergence of political positions which refused to favour Charles, parliament or the army grandees. Critics tend to gloss such plays as either radical, possibly Leveller, polemic or royalist but as I suggest, the dynamically changing political situation generated more ambivalent and blended criticisms.

A new post-regicide popular radicalism - opposed to parliament - found some expression in pamphlet drama and it is only in the twentieth century, because of our old habit of thinking of the Civil War as a binary struggle, that such positions appear to be "confused." Indeed radical and royalist protest coexists with attacks on obvious, pragmatic, targets such as taxes. Some plays satirise the army grandees and their aspirant wives - such as The Cuckoos-Nest at Westminster, Cromwell's Conspiracie, The Famous Tragedy of Charles I. But not all critical playlets fit easily into a "royalist" paradigm. These include, for instance, a play sometimes attributed to Overton himself which appeared in 1649, the two part Newmarket Fayre, or Mrs. Parliaments New Figgaries. This is an example of a new position emerging in popular rhetoric whereby the post-regicidal parliament becomes the target of popular opposition.

This play, as Wolfe notes, refers sympathetically to the "people," to The Agreement of the People, and to the widow of the radical commander Rainsborough (she is contrasted with the lecherous Mrs Cromwell and Lady Fairfax) but it also mentions Charles II as the possible bringer of peace.'' In the second part of Newmarket Fayre Hugh Peter appears as a necromancer who has unnaturally renewed the life in the bodies of Cromwell and Fairfax, dead at the end of the first play. In a parody of the choice speech in Marlowe's Doctor Faustus Hugh Peter says, "Preaching is too tedious for me; Ile leave that to Owen, and to Goodwin - Have I not done a Miracle to repossesse these Bodies with Spirits, that were before meer Skellitons, and stinking Carkasses?"(II.iii). The emphasis on Peter as a magician deceiving the public indicates that the play sees "the people" as an important category in political life. As in Tatham's Distracted State (1651) "the people" appear. In Tatham's play they call for "liberty," but here they appear as Fairfax is about to be hanged calling for the death of the Jesuit priest whom he has with him. Earlier the Sherriff and others had gone to Fairfax "with the Agreement of the People in their hands" (V.x). Finally, after a huge fight involving Lady Fairfax and Mrs. Cromwell, as well as their husbands and lovers and the murder of Ireton, Pride and others as witches, the play ends with the "People" shouting angrily:

> People Hang them; Witches, Murderers, Theeves, Impostors: Lets Petition our King home, we shall never be happy else.
> Omnes Content, content.
>
> V, p.20.

Thus, the "people" appear taking political action which embraces advocating The Agreement of the People and popular royalism. New-Market-Fayre's attack on Cromwell and the army grandees causes its editor to describe it

as drawing "its subject matter and coarse satire from the Royalist news-sheets for May and June 1649."[12] But this fails to take account of the play's ambivalence towards the radical Leveller programme: both popular royalism and The Agreement of the People are put forward as possible solutions.

However, Leveller influence can be seen in the play when Fairfax (who had absented himself from the trial of the king) enters as if rushing away from a crowd. He says, "The Devil stop your mouths; will nothing serve you but The Agreement of the People, The Agreement of the People! Are not the Parliament the People's Representatives" (V.x). Here it appears that the joke is on the idea of parliamentary sovereignty as much as the Levellers. He falls asleep but awakes from violent dreams to the entry of "Sheriffs and others with the Agreement of the People in their hands" (V.x). They drag Fairfax away to die while he shouts, ambiguously, "Who builds his Hopes upon a Common Rout / Thus must he fall." The scene then shifts to two commentators, Constantius and Fidelius, who indicate the play's interest in the doings of the Levellers when they say "if Overton speaks true; the Bull's designed for the slaughter next," referring to Cromwell. In the final scene Cromwell and the rest are revealed to be kept alive by Jesuit charms and the People decide to recall the king.

This play can hardly be said to be straightfowardly royalist and bears testimony to the fact that although the Levellers were in the Tower they were a powerful voice in popular politics. Their demands literally haunt Fairfax, and Overton's pamphlets are referred to familiarly, suggesting that the play's attack on the grandees is mediated through some of the hopes of reformation which had found their expression in The Agreement of the People. As Cromwell prepared to go to Ireland, opposition continued and in this play and elsewhere we can find an interweaving of

Leveller demands for constitutional reform, hatred of the present regime, and a vision of Charles II as an imagined solution.

What happened to the popular aspect of Leveller demands after the regicide? The ambivalence of New-Market Fayre is one indication, and more evidence for a new kind of populist polemic can be found in the complicated nexus of royalist-populist-Leveller aspirations in a playlet from a year after the regicide, attacking parliament. The Terrible, Horrible Monster Out of the West (1651, see Appendix 1) has been read by a recent critic as wholly royalist. However, it presents Charles II as helpless, led by Rusticus, who seems to be another figure for the people, albeit in a gentler, agrarian aspect.[13] Like New-Market Fayre this pamphlet combines something approximating to royalism in its presentation of the king as powerless, and deploys familiar Leveller attacks on the army grandees, tithes, tyranny. The play opens with an attack on the parliament and the abuses they have generated, before Toby Tel-Troth clears the stage for the demonstration of a monster whose stomach is as hard as a camel's knees, after devouring everything in the kingdom. Elements which run counter to a possible reading of the play as a Leveller document are the items included in the lists of things the parliament-monster has swallowed - which include the king's stock of arms and bishops. But it has also devoured the Man in the Moon's printing press - associated with the Levellers (also mentioned in A New Bull Bayting, above). And it has found Lilburne impossible to swallow.

The Terrible, Horrible Monster is thus a politically ambiguous document. At the very least it is evidence of the continuity of the combination of abstract language and the scatological language characteristic of some Leveller satire, indicating its survival after the regicide. Obviously, it points to the continuation of Lilburne as a popular hero. The largest claim

that could be made for the play as a Leveller document rests on the mentions of tithes and Lilburne: nonetheless it does seem to constitute a continuation of popular debate around Leveller ideas, but in a new form and combined with a nostalgic royalism. It is also an index of the transformation of popular radical opposition, which is now firmly in opposition to parliament. It seems likely that New-Market Fayre and The Terrible, Horrible Monster would be recognised as drawing on Leveller threads because Lilburne was a popular hero and Leveller pamphlets were thoroughly distributed, at least through the army, and their demands were widely known. The efficiency of Leveller distribution networks is attested by one of their critics, Richard Baxter, who commented, "a great part of the mischief they did among the soldiers was by pamphlets which they abundently dispersed; such as R. Overton's Martin Mar-Priest, and more of his, and some of J.Lilburne's."[14]

Overton's career as a writer seems to have ended with The Baiting of the Great Bull of Bashan in July 1649.[15] His radical pamphlets were one strand in a complex market of popular polemic. As I have shown, strands of radical polemic survived in the 1650s in an alliance, or engagement, with populist royalism and the historical circumstances which produced these critical playlets suggests that particularly after 1649 any criticism attempting to generalise a binary split between radical and royalist needs qualification. Other strands of critique also existed, perhaps not offering radical programmes, but certainly deploying intense criticism of parliament. Amongst printed pamphlets produced in the general alienation from Parliament in the late 1640s Samuel Sheppard stands out as a pamphleteer who both represents the turn of opinion against parliament, and whose plays use for polemical ends the devices, scenes and comic plotting supplied by the city comedy of the 1630s. Sheppard had written a

prose paean to Fairfax's generalship in 1646 but later attacked both sectaries and Ranters. In 1646 he replied to Overton's defence of the imprisoned Lilburne in The Famer Fam'd and The False Alarum.[16] In The Famer Fam'd Sheppard had defended the Peers in their condemnation of Lilburne, but not in royalist terms:

> many Peers have done worthy deedes for the good of the people, but ye have exceeded them all undergoing the frowne of Majestie, which who looks on sees a Basil.isk, and seldom escapeth Death.
>
> A2r-v

So not only was Sheppard not a royalist (in 1646) but involved in actively supporting parliament against the Levellers. His position seems to be slightly different by 1647. Sheppard's use of character rather than symbolic representation combined with his attack on the bureaucratic small fry of London's government makes his work very different from Overton's radical, abstract personification. However, if we examine these two playlets in detail it becomes clear that their political analysis is by no means simply royalist.

London was a focus of attention for pamphlets throughout the Civil War. The semi-dramatic Grand Plutoe's Progresse (1647) presents London as in chaotic rebellion: as he approaches London Pluto is delighted to hear a "loud and clamorous noise," of people calling "we will not be subject/ Unto our betters." The government and taxing of London, by committees and disputes between presbyterians and sectaries, are the focus of Sheppard's play The Committee-Man Curried. It was acquired by Thomason on 16 July 1647, the same day on which the House of Commons drew up a new order for the more effective suppression of "Plays and Playhouses, and all Dancings on the Ropes."[17] The play claims that it discovers "the corruption of the

Committee-man, and Excise-men . . . the urgent sufferings of the Royall party, / The divellish hypocrisy of some Roundheads," and begins with a prologue on the relationship of plays to stages, and of satirical political pamphlets to censorship:

> (since that the Age)
> Degenerates so farre that nothing may
> Be countenanc't, that shew but like a Play:
> How shall these scenes scape free (ye wiser few)
> That are not retrograded with the crew
> O'the reforming ones, since tis enacted
> That nought but fiery Faction shall be acted.
> . . . . .
> Fooles onely speak Cum Privilegio
> We in obedience, so as we can,
> Have given words to the Committee-man.
>
> A1v

The Volponesque opening scene presents Suck-Dry, "a Committee man," who wants to "pocket up the Commons coyn today," waking up and beating his clerk Sneake. The next scene presents a cavalier, Loyalty, bewailing with apparent self-interest the lot of the King who, "in his fall / Hath crusht his props to nothing." In consequence Loyalty is forced to go to the house of his Uncle:

> Loyalty A warm fumed sir, one that leanes on
> His bags as on his staffe, and commits Sodomy
> With Mammon; - he hath pretended zeale
> For Church and State, hath set out horse and man
> Against his Soveraigne,
>
> A3r

Loyalty knocks at the door only to be read a lecture and refused money. Sheppherd's way of presenting the new prosperous London classes is drawn from pre-war plays which explored the interconnection of family, economic motives and politics. The dramatic structures and tricks are reminiscent of

city comedies such as Middleton's Trick to Catch the Old One and A Mad World My Masters, or Massinger's more sinister A New Way to Pay Old Debts (they might also point forward to Behn's anti-city characterisation of city types in plays like The Lucky Chance). Here, however, it is not only status, ethos and wealth which are contrasted. The split between the wealthy and the poverty-stricken found in the plays of Middleton is exacerbated in a more sharply opposed characterisation of city-sectarian-wealthy and royalist-poor. The morality of royalists is split between "Loyalty" and Ruffian, a "Dammee," but in Shepphard's play the uncle is unredeemably a parliamentarian and a city type - closer perhaps to Massinger's Overreach than Middleton's uncles. The play also presents the taking of sides in the Civil War as making explicit deep divisions in family, generation, religious and class interests.

After the royalist, Loyalty leaves England for France, the play plunges into a biting satire on the mismanagement of London under the reforming ascendency of corrupt and popularly loathed Committee-men and Excise-men. During the tavern scene in Act III Rebellion and Time-server (a trimming priest) come to the Sun tavern in Aldgate where Common-curse and Suck-dry are drowning their sorrows. Common-curse and Suck-dry are discovered at the drawing of a curtain "taking Tobbacco, Wine before them," and they have fiddlers and songs sung to them. Typically in this play the two villains fail to understand the meaning of the song about monopolies which says that although "Monopolies are damned now, / By order of the state," they have been replaced by worse; "Committees do Monopolize / Our coine and all thats ours" (B1r) - a complaint to which the Levellers were certainly sympathetic.[18] When he arrives at the tavern Rebellion begins by asserting his moral superiority. He protests, "What Circe hath with murmuring charmes, thus Metamorphos'd seeming civil men to beastly swine,

O Mr Time-server -- with what weeping eyes behold these sinnes here Acted, for which a nation mournes." In the next scene however, Rebellion and Time-server expose themselves as drunken hypocrites. Stage directions, references to curtains and props, fast and breathless comic speech and action all point to this London satire being stageworthy.

The presentation of scenes involving the cavalier "Dammee" qualify the play's loyalism, even as they present the Dammee's revenge: the final act presents Dammee, a "Ruffian," the lover of Lightheele wife to citizen Horne. Lightheele is dallying with her other lover, Suck-dry the committee man, who has been reading his dire verses in her honour: "Eyes are seducing Lights, that the good Women know/ And hang out these, a neerer way to show" when Ruffian arrives to interrupt. Ruffian, in himself no catch as a lover, is nevertheless the vehicle for the exposure of the awful Suck-dry: Ruffian breaks down the bedroom door and chases him and his mistress out on to the stage "naked," before beating him severely.

In the sequel to The Committee-Man Curried (August 14 1647) the farce continues.[19] Rebellion is tricked out of his money in a short-hand version of a gulling scene reminiscent of Middleton's London comedies; in Act IV Loyalty persuades Rebellion to pay his creditors on the ground that he is dying. Loyalty, masquerading as one about to die, arranges a show of a young man dead, revived by the arrival of money. Once more this echoes the prodigal mirth of earlier plays such as Knight of the Burning Pestle, but it is also used to underline Rebellion's literary and interpretative obtuseness - he does not understand the entertainment as an allegory of his own situation. Horne , the citizen who rents out his wife, is defeated too. She runs off, leaving him to close the play, "Come then, and since I've lost my citie wife, / Ile for the future lead a Countrey life." The deceptions of the city are (albeit ambiguously) contrasted to

the country, but Horne's progress into Warwickshire does not at any level indicate a political or religious change of heart.

The city jokes are all against the hated tax-collectors but although J.C. Davis emphasises that Sheppard wrote for royalist newsbooks in both the later 1640s and the 1650s some of the royalists of The Committee-Man Curried entirely lack morality (compare The Famous Tragedy of Charles I, Chapter Three) and we are invited to read the play as a condemnation of government rather than a plea for the restoration of Charles; Loyalty is only one figure among many bemoaning his lot, fighting for survival in the city and using deception to gain his ends.[20] Certainly, the Committee-Man playlets carry the implication of popular resentment of any kind of governmental power, whether one that imposed monopolies or committees, and in this the plays are clearly a voicing of a popular loathing vividly illustrated in the later A Dialogue Between an Excise Man and Death.

Inevitably, their criticism of the current regime in London and attacks corruption replicate the attacks on abuses in pamphlet plays from the very early 1640s, analysed above and in Chapter One. Indeed, as the Levellers and Sheppard both realise, parliament in the mid to late 1640s found itself forced to act in a high-handed and arguably unconstitutional way to raise funds - just as Charles had. The pamphlet plays of Overton and Shepherd illuminate the diversity of oppositional politics in the mid to late 1640s and demonstrate the gradual shift of protest from attacks on monarchy to attacks on parliament, Cromwell and the army grandees. Overton and Shepherd are opposed to the policies of the late 1640s. Moreover, in a literary arena where one scholar can attribute New-Market Fayre to Richard Overton and another to a royalist the sharing of a satirical language is evident and further reinforces my point that Civil War and Protectorate dramatic polemic criticised the government of the

moment from a range of perspectives but shared genres and rhetoric. Analysis of playlets from these years demonstrates once again the active part played by dramatic discourse in the public political sphere - in registering and shaping opinions. It underscores the necessity of reconceptualising the significance of dramatic discourse during the later 1640s, and provides evidence against any binary model of the conflict around this period.

In the world of political events Pride's Purge did decisively polarise opinion about parliament. During the period after the bitter second civil war popular resentment of the Commons had intensified: David Underdown notes the increased loathing of the reformers and "Godly sort" who were trying to suppress ancient festivities, and Hirst notes petitions to return to the old ways of government.[21] The very nature of parliament was put into question by its new constitution. However, justifications of the new government included Anthony Ascham's A Discourse Wherein is Examined What is Particularly Lawful During the Confusion and Revolutions of Government (1648) and John Goodwin's defence of Pride's Purge Right and Might Well Met (1648), in which he argues that the purged members "were strangely struck with a political frenzy," and therefore it was legal for Parliament to "wrest a sword out of the hand of a madman."[22] However, Pride's Purge marks a watershed in parliament's career leading up to the regicide, and much popular drama at this point turned decisively against the new government. Dialogues such as Hampton-Court Conspiracy attacked Levellers and Agitators in the post-war debates about the army. Often these anti-parliamentarian satires abuse particular great men or personify parliament: dramatic and semi-dramatic satires on Pride's Purge brought the government itself on to stage as the source of misery and madness in plays like the partially dramatic The Cuckows-Nest at Westminster. Stop Your Noyse England at her

Easement is a scatological satire indicating that as a solution other than regicide failed to appear a popular hatred for parliament grew in royalists, "moderates," and those who could not imagine killing a king. England at Her Easement mobilises these feelings, dramatising England's need to get rid of the "clods" which "almost strangled her," in an inversion of Pride's Purge. One particular target is the regicide Henry Marten (who returned to parliament on 7 December, after Pride's Purge) and whose secular, libertarian republicanism provoked vitriolic attacks:

> Time Once more shit freely, O the man of sinne
> Who's this whose bones do rattle in his skin.
> England Tis Harry Martin; the treacherous Saint, who esteems no sinne so veniall as Adultery, this is one of the principall firebrands hath burnt downe many of my townes and villages, and hath placed his chief felicity, in destroying the Kings Loyall Subjects.[23]

In the end England has expelled all - "the Committee-man, a sooty sinner", Fairfax and Lambert (pp. 5-6). Such playlets present England as at a moral and political nadir in 1648-1649, and the idea of "purging" was reiterated in The Disease of the House (1649), an attack on the remnants of government after the death of the king. The body of parliament, sick and headless, is abused in various violent and grotesque ways in the name of political medicine, but, as the name "mountebanck" implies, nothing is to be done and John Capon leaves saying "Farewell dull Commons, for evermore farewel,/ I cannot stay; these have made England Hell."[24] Like the Mar-Prelat tracts it uses a vernacular language to formulate a polemic, but unlike them it offers no reforming or political possibilities.

2.3. Pamphlet playlets in the later 1650s.

If the popular drama of the Commonwealth (1649-1653) engages with the possibility of radically rethinking the nation (see Chapters Three and Eight), the Protectorate brought new circumstances again. As Waller wrote, Cromwell gave "hope again that well-born men may shine." Waller was not unjustified in his hope that the old hierarchy would begin to be in part reinstated under Cromwell and in London a social life resembling the pre-war ways began to be re-established (see Section III).[25] However, the regicide and then the return of government by one man in the Protectorate brought a new wave of oppposition from the old radical quarters.[26]

For many, Cromwell becoming Protector and the fear that he might become king represented a defeat in some ways bigger than the mere return of the Stuarts. This sense of betrayal was particularly strong amongst the radical sects, Fifth Monarchists and Quakers, and the measures against interrupting preaching in 1655 intensified the radicals' sense of betrayal. An Honest Discourse Between Three Neighbours, touching the Present Government in these Three Nations (1655) - when George Fox was in prison, also the year in which John Lilburne was touched by Quakerism in Dover goal - is a seventeen page pamphlet in which Goodman Past, Goodman Present and Goodman Future discuss the state of contemporary politics.[27]

The play supports Christopher Hill's contention that Quakerism took on the radical mantle of the Levellers.[28] The discussion moves between religious radicalism (emphasising the cause of the Saints) and the implications of a Protectorate for those whose political programme

dislodged Charles I. Goodman Present tends towards self-justifying equivocation, and Goodman Future holds the floor. He recapitulates the struggle and its ironic conclusion in Cromwell's rule:

> Future We have had a long, expensive, sharp and successful war for ten or twelve years in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all this against Monarchy or Kingship, or ruling by one single person . . . . And yet now proud Monarchy seems to step up again, as high, if not higher than before.
>
> p. 3

Goodman Present replies with recourse to the usual assertion that the powers that be are ordained by God, a notably weak response to Future's analysis of different kinds of authority. In a speech which echoes the Leveller demands for liberty and toleration Future objects to the way the present government tolerates royalists but imprisons religious radicals:

> Future But why I pray thee tell me, if thou canst, Why doth he lingeringly keep in prison, under restraint, divers good men; and yet suffer others (thou knowest whom I mean) to get out, to flee abroad, with their swords by their sides, who a few years ago, were glad to throw away their weapons and run lightly away; who now also would do well to be sober? Should honest men be restrained when common liberty is professed?
>
> Present Thou knowest I know only a little; only I tell what I imagine. It may be, these Prisoners are looked upon as Firebrands, and seditious: and though they may be godly men in the main, yet distempered in this business and fit to raise Commotions, to the ruine of themselves, and their friends also, and that unawares to themselves.
>
> p. 9

Thus, much emphasis is placed on the cause of the Saints, and Future's programme is if anything rather more a spiritual than a political blueprint for the future. Nevertheless, this pamphlet is evidence that political playlets continued to foster debate during the 1650s, in the spiritual

radicalism of the Quakers.

Finally, the clearest indication that print culture and, within that, genres of dramatic pamphlet were firmly established as a popular political sphere was the renewed burst of pamphlet dialogues in 1658-1660, echoing that of 1641-1642: the period between Cromwell's death and the Restoration was punctuated by an explosive publication of political dialogues dramatising the career of Cromwell and later the impending fate of his officers as well as continued attacks on Charles I.[29] The card games genre, which had been so popular to satirise monopolies in the early 1640s, returns, with the republican Henry Neville's Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing (1659) representing the attitudes of contemporaries to crises in government after Oliver Cromwell's death, his son's deposition and the split in the army. In this play the Papist has the final word - "If you all complain, I hope I shall win at last," articulating a popular despair at post-Protectorate collapse.[30]

Here I have traced changing popular printed opposition in the pamphlet drama of the 1640s, indicating that the radical Leveller programme of the 1640s blended with a popular royalism after 1647 when disaffection with parliament became intense. This popular royalism seems to have grown in the 1650s though some aspects of Leveller critique were preserved well into the 1650s in Quaker polemic, and republican satire emerged again with the fall of Richard Cromwell in 1659. The appearance of both Leveller demands and nostalgic royalism in some pamphlets serves to recontextualise our understanding of royalism as a purely conservative position: in the 1650s it was also the most obvious route for popular critique of contemporary government. The pamphlet dramas continued to participate in the public sphere in the 1650s with a renewed spate of activity in 1659 which might be seen to recapitulate the politically

volatile circumstances of 1641-2. In 1659 the possibility of government by republic was once again in the air, but it was barely voiced when Charles II reappeared - as if by magic. Charles arrived in May. On 29 October 1660 Berkenhead, who ran the court newsbook in two editions, The Parliamentary Intelligencer and Mercurius Publicus, was appointed press Licenser for three years, after which he gave way to the infamous L'Estrange. At the same time that Berkenhead and L'Estrange began work as the publishing industry's "publick-tooth drawers," the stage was reinstated and reinvigorated as an active agent in formulating the political opinions if not of the nation, then at least of London.[31]

2.4. Conclusion.

Criticism of government policies thus continued in pamphlet drama from the emerging Leveller programme of the mid 1640s through to the Restoration. Criticism was articulated in different ways at different times, and both populist royalism and post-Leveller polemic inherited some of the radical demands of the 1640s. Moreover, the popular printed "opposition" of the 1640s and 1650s is in itself more diverse than the productions of 1641-1642 alone suggest.

Jonathan Dollimore looks to the drama of the pre-war seventeenth century for an articulation of the issues which were to bring about the conflict of the Civil War, noting that the plays of the pre-war era often simultaneously embody the ideologies he sees them as challenging. Yet Dollimore claims as "radical" the very genres and discourses he has already suggested have investments in stability.[32] It is not in the drama

of the pre-war period that the positions Dollimore is talking about are developed: in the pamphlet drama of the 1640s and 1650s they are at times, and momentarily, articulated as in the Leveller playlets and early dramas. Where Dollimore's argumentation epitomises a strand in contemporary criticism on Renaissance texts which unanalytically invokes 1642 as a magic year in which ideological contradictions are somehow resolved in a revolutionary moment towards which the strands they have identified as potentially "revolutionary" have been pointing and in which they find their fulfillment, the critic of Restoration drama, Harold Love, holds a position which (as the Introduction to this thesis suggests) makes extravagant claims for a change of national consciousness at the moment of 1660.[33] Harold Love, writing about Restoration drama, comes to the surprising conclusion that "the idea of the dramatist being a fit person to comment at will on domestic politics, or a theatre audience a fit body to receive such comment, was very much a Restoration discovery."[34] As this chapter has demonstrated, both these positions need extensive rethinking. It is clear from the evidence of printed and performed circulation of political plays that drama (and theatre) in terms of both material and audience, was highly politicised during the 1640s and 1650s. But it was not - as the critics who call upon 1642 as the end point of their analysis and the beginning of revolution suggest - consistently "radical." Rather, the period from 1645 to 1650 sees the development of positions which combine the continuation of demands for reform with a swing towards heavy criticism of the new part played by the Commons and the army grandees. These positions are complex and, as I have argued, cannot be accommodated by any binary model of the divisions of the Civil War - certainly not by the taxonomy of "royalist" versus "parliamentarian," though, obviously, those divisions were crucial in setting the wars going. Rather, this period sees the circulation

of an increasingly complex set of political polemics inhabiting similar genres and drawing on the continuing and changing political debate which was itself transformed again by the visionary aspects of Quakerism in the 1650s.

This chapter has covered too wide a timespan to disclose more than the momentary outlook of particular groupings in English society during the 1640s, and as Natalie Zemon Davis points out, "people do not necessarily agree with the values and ideas in the books they read."[35] Moreover, the politically complex playlets analysed in this chapter are only part of a broad sweep of print and possibly performance culture. It is significant that we can trace polemical opposition to the status quo in Leveller, royalist , Quaker and - on the verge of the Restoration - secular republican playlets. But there were also more hybrid, ambivalent, texts, emerging from the crisis. And they too participated in the continued attack on government and "tyranny" which was maintained in dramatic pamphlets from the fall of Star Chamber to the Restoration.

Chapter Three. Royalist Versus Republican Ethics: a Comparative Case Study of The Famous Tragedy of Charles I and The Tragedy of the Famous Orator Marcus Tullius Cicero.

3.1. Introduction.

The two plays which are the focus of this chapter, The Famous Tragedy of Charles I (1649) and The Tragedy of the Famous Orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (1651), have been chosen as examples of two politically opposed dramatic representations of the issues of the 1640s. Unlike much of the material discussed in the last chapter they do assume clear political standpoints and in their polarisation they contrast with much of the material discussed in Chapter Two. The Famous Tragedy is the only contemporary play to deal directly with the king's death, using "faction" rather than allegory, and Marcus Tullius Cicero is distinctive in its sympathetic treatment of republicanism. The two plays, both claiming to be tragedies, form an illuminating contrast in their use of a dramatic structure within the format of a printed pamphlet. They show how republican and royalist thought attempted to present itself to a reading public at two crucial points during the Commonwealth period, 1649 and 1651. Therefore this chapter aims to compare analytically the way each play puts forward its political viewpoint as ethically preferable, and the

strategies each uses to reinforce its claim to be truth.

3.2. Claiming the high ground: drama and competing political discourses.

The Famous Tragedy presented the siege of Colchester in order to persuade its audience of the evil of the parliamentary army and the terrible nature of regicide: it placed the death of the royalist generals Lucas and Lisle on 28 August 1648, and that of Charles I in January in the same historical typology, the one foreshadowing the other. Like other Interregnum pamphlet dramas it mixes fact and fictionalisation, news and narrative, interweaving the siege of Colchester with a narrative of Cromwell's design to murder the king.[1] While Cromwell and Peter plan the king's death, Fairfax, Ireton and Rainsborough besiege Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Lord Capel and Lord Goring in the fort at Colchester. Historically, negotiations for the end of the siege involved demands for full quarter, and counter-demands for the forces to surrender at once, but when the royal troops finally surrendered Lucas and Lisle were shot by the parliamentary commanders, making the siege a focus for dispute about codes of practice in war and the ethics of the commanders of each army (after a trial Capel was beheaded on March 6, 1649).[2] The play mythologises the deaths of the royalist generals linking them to the regicide and invoking a range of myths and cultural markers to consolidate a royalist version of the siege.

The strategies of representation used for Cromwell and Hugh Peter in The Famous Tragedy draw on the familiar satirical discourses of this period, and the representation of the scenes at Colchester draw on the

news reports, suggesting that the author may have been a journalist. Thomason collected the play on 26 May 1649, four months after Charles's execution, so May is the latest possible date for composition. As Joseph Frank notes, the censorship of the press during the spring and summer of 1649 varied; it was loose in May 1649 but then grew tighter, gradually eliminating most of the royalist newsbooks. [3] The Council of State was attempting to suppress memorialisation of the King's death, as the campaign against Eikon Basilike indicates.

Who would be writing plays about Charles I and attacks on Cromwell at this point? One likely candidate is Marchmont Nedham. Nedham had begun his career as a republican journalist with Mercurius Britanicus, but since 1646 he had been editing the royalist journal Mercurius Pragmaticus, and using this name had published the political playlet The Levellers Levelled, discussed in the last chapter. During the tight censorship of late 1648 Nedham had flamboyantly published specially enlarged versions of Pragmaticus.[4] He did not cover the trial of the king but did publish A Plea for the King & Kingdoms in November 1648, and Digitus Dei, an attack on the Duke of Hamilton (who had led a Scots army into England) in April 1649, a month after Hamilton's execution by Cromwell. Also in April he produced a parody of Hugh Peter, its full title, A Most Pithy Exhortation Delivered in an Eloquent Oration to the Watry Generation Aboard their Admirall at Graves-end. By the Right Reverend, Mr Hugh Peters, Doctor of the Chair for the Famous University of Whitehall, and Chaplain in ordinary to the High and Mighty K.Oliver, the first of that name, as it was took verbatim in short hand (when he delivered it).[5] In the spring and summer Nedham was also publishing Mercurius Pragmaticus (for King Charles II). Although The Famous Tragedy does not particularly resemble the version of Lucas and Lisle's deaths given in Mercurius Pragmaticus, Nedham's record as

a prolific writer and publisher makes him a candidate for the authorship, and stylistic resemblances which exist between the Famous Tragedy and The Levellers Levelled and other examples of his writing make this even more likely.[6] There are echoes of phrases, such as "the invisible world," and above all a general reiteration of the sentiments we find in the rest of his writing from the same period. For instance, the play includes endorsement of intemperate abuse of Hamilton's corpse:

> This body, when possest of life
> Was the sole Cause of the strife
> And breech (which so our land hath rent)
> Betwixt the King and Parliament.
>
> p. 43

It also contains an imitation of a speech by Peter (II, p. 22), reminding us of the contemporary parody. Moreover, although Nedham usually signed his pamphlets the period after the king's death was very dangerous for him as a chief royalist propagandist. Indeed, an order for his arrest was issued by the Council of State on 15 June and he spent his time in Newgate until November 1649, when he signed the Engagement and became a Commonwealth journalist; in May 1650 he published The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated, and in June the first issue of the Commonwealth's newsbook Mercurius Politicus emerged under Nedham's control. [7]

The period during which The Famous Tragedy must have been written, January to May 1649, was one of unprecedented crisis for royalists. No other playlets dramatised the regicide.[8] Although the king was rapidly transformed into a martyr, royalist rhetoric was left without an immediate focus. All sides faced a deeply uncertain future, potentially a continuation of violent divisions. In part, the "meaning" of the Civil War itself was at stake in its mythologisation and hence it was bitterly contested. This

contrasts with the reporting of the siege of La Rochelle, which Christian Jouhaud's recent study argues was hegemonically controlled by the victorious royal press.[9] The siege of Colchester and the death of Charles I were, by contrast, two occasions whose meanings were disputed by a press which intervened on both sides.

One of the evident printed contexts of The Famous Tragedy is a series of pamphlets, news reports, dispatches, elegies and funeral sermons for generals Lucas and Lisle. With the defeat of the army in the north, the siege of Colchester (held for Charles I against the forces of Fairfax) occupied the news throughout July and August of 1648, during which the royalist forces made sallies out of the town. As hopes faded for the relief of the garrison the strategic importance of the siege became clear and it began to occupy a central place in the propaganda campaigns of the press. Initially the royalist commanders, Norwich, Capel and Lucas "rejected, and scornfully retorted" Fairfax's offer of terms which, according to a Parliamentarian report made Fairfax agree to make good these conditions for everyone except these three. Another anti-royalist publication about Colchester - purporting to be neutral - told of Lucas and Lisle's cruelty to the town. In early August The Colchester Spie appeared to redress the misrepresentations of "State-Pamphleteers" who "indeavour to persuade the people that Colchester is in a very wretched and miserable condition, thereby deluding some and disheartening others." In the meantime various newspapers such as The Moderate Intelligencer and Mercurius Anglicanus reported on the siege.[10]

It was only when the surrender had taken place and Fairfax and others ordered Lucas and Lisle to be shot that the whole affair began to be appropriated for royalist mythology and the royalist commanders established as martyrs. The Famous Tragedy contributes to mythologisation

by presenting events at Colchester as prefiguring the death of Charles I. A Parliamentarian report describes George Lisle's death in negative terms: "Sir George Lisle kist him [Lucas] dead, and after prayer by himselfe, exprest a desire of speedy execution, more desperate than Romane." Copies of Sir Charles Lucas's final speech were sold (though sometimes with an additional reply from a Parliamentarian soldier on the topic of Lucas's own unfairness), and Lucas in particular was mythologised as a royalist hero - he was much elegised. The royalist mythologisation of Lucas focused on his bravery and his death for the king's cause. Lionel Gatford "the true but sequestered Rector of Dinnington" (Suffolk) began the celebration of Lucas's martyrdom in Englands Complaint (August 31), and another Biblical analogue appeared, The Cruell Tragedy Or Inhumane Butchery, of Hamar and Shechem, "Lately revived and reacted heere in England by Fairfax and Ireton, upon the persons of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, Colchester, the 28 August."[11]

Perhaps the most famous part of this debate to have survived is from the republican side, Milton's sonnet XV "On the Lord General Fairfax at the siege of Colchester," which was probably written in early August.[12] Milton praises Fairfax as a general whose victories for the republic "daunt remotest kings" (l.4), but concludes by looking to the future and the reformation of the Presbyterian parliament:

> O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand;
> For what can war but endless war still breed,
> Till truth and right from violence freed,
> And public faith cleared from the shameful brand
> Of public fraud? In vain doth valour bleed
> While avarice and rapine share the land.

This, unlike the material above, was not printed at the time, though the connection with a canonical author has ensured its survival. What is of

interest here is that it reinforces the sense that the battle of Colchester was seen by the country as decisive in the events and public understanding of the "meaning" of the Civil War. This was particularly the case after the end of the siege of Preston which left Colchester exposed as the last royalist stronghold. But it also confirms the sense that a republican victory would clear the way for peace and a political settlement potentially less accomodating to the king than the conservative parliament was hoping for. The events of Colchester were important within the republican camp because, from Milton's point of view, they reinforced the righteousness of the Independent and army cause and showed potential for a radical transformation of the nation.

The Famous Tragedy aims to vindicate the royal cause and military methods in the face of defeat and the regicide and this is made clear in the title of "tragedy" and in the prefatory material. The play also differs from the Levellers Levelled in that it is set out as a play rather than a pamphlet, having a commendatory poem by one E.D. In the verses prefacing the play we read that "Religious Fiends":

> Had taken Oathes, their Machine, to compleat
> Or sinke in the attempt, though to the Nation
> It seem'd, they nothing sought, but Reformation.
>
> A2v

The play characterises the sectaries as innocent-seeming plotters, deceivers of the entire "nation." They are presented as pretending to reform but really aim to "both invert and subvert discipline" (stanza 3, A2v). Concern about the dissolution of the hierarchy when the king is no longer holding it in place is reiterated in the "Prologue to the Gentry" where it is combined with the first instance of the play's recurring bid to control historical interpretation:

> No marvell, they lap bloud as milk and glory
> To be recorded, villaines, upon Story.
> "For having kill'd their King, where will they stay
> "That thorow God and Majestie, made way,
> "Throwing the Nobles, and the gentry downe,
> "Levelling, all distinctions, to the Crown.
>
> A4v

This verse suggests that the rebels will be remembered for their attacks on hierarchy; regicide is only the beginning of their all-embracing disrespect for social order. This indicates the extent to which traditional stability appeared to royalist contemporaries to have received its death in the regicide, initiating the play's attempt to construct the historical meaning of the moment. By bringing history's judgement forward (in the use of quotation as if from a "story" or history) it attempts to co-opt the agreement of the future in its own assessment of the likely behaviour of the new government. The "Prologue to the Gentry" also calls up both a very specific audience and establishes the dramatic alliances that the play wants to make:

> Though Johnson, Shakespeare, Goffe, and Davenant,
> Brome, Sucklin, Beaumont, Fletcher, Shirley, want
> The life of action, and their learned lines
> Are loathed by the Monsters of the times:
> Yet your refined Soules can penetrate
> Their depth of merit . . .
>
> A4r

These Jacobean and Caroline playwrights are used here as markers for the continuing cultural importance of the aesthetics of the court of Charles I. The names of dead playwrights appear as repositories for the values of a royalist past, validating a monarchist enterprise in the present. This use of a literary-royalist genealogy foreshadows the way in which the deaths of Lucas and Lisle become, in the final act, tributary martyrdoms

augmenting the sanctity of Charles I in death, but the invocation of famous writers is another bid to co-opt history to the play's cause, making the classic royalist move of appropriating all cultural icons. In this case it claims as royalist a great range of dramatic talent from court to city - a determined enlisting of the arts in the cause of the king which sometimes finds a rather unquestioning echo in twentieth century criticism of the Civil War.[13] The high royalist sentiments expressed in this prologue are not unusual in their attempt to bring history to the defence of monarchy; a similar strategy was pursued in patriarchal political theory, such as Robert Filmer's, as I shall argue in Chapter Four.

The play's presentation of Fairfax is anomalous in the division between royalists and the rest. Fairfax is contrasted sharply to Rainsborough, who is characterised as completely seditious. In Act I Fairfax speaks in favour of mercy. When the republican generals are deciding what to do with the surrendering royal generals their attitudes are differentiated:

> Rainsbor Goring, Lucas, and short Lisle, die without mercy even that very day we receive the Towne.
> Ireton Which is tomorrow.
> Fairfax The Law of Arms will not allow of that, they yield themselves on Quarter, and for the Peers (I mean Goring and Capel) our power doth not extend to question them . . .
>
> III.ii, p. 24

Fairfax is the exception to the way the play depicts republican government as that of Machiavellian strategists. By the time the play was published the King was dead and Fairfax had refused to attend the trial. The play seems to identify him as the more moderate agent of the republican party and a professional general, a detail which suggests that it was written by

someone who had some sympathy at least with the idea of reform as embodied in Fairfax.

No other "moderacy" disrupts the first act's delineation of the battle between cavalier and republicans as a crisis of ethos and of rhetoric. This is displayed in the parley before Colchester (Act II) in which the two sides fling typical insults at each other, once again in a way which reminds a reader of Nedham's ability to mimic and parody the rhetoric of the opposition:

> Lisle Know, Fellow, I have been victorious even against a multitude, have trod the thorny paths of cragged Warre, my Body naked and my feet unshod, have view'd those horrors of a purple Field untroubled and untouch'd, which but to heare summ'd up would fright thy Coward-soule from forth her dirty Dog-hole.
>
> Rainsbor Why spend time in Dialogue with these Miscreants, these Cautiffe Elves, who fight for Yoakes and Fetters, with as much zeale as halfe-starv'd Wretches beg a boone to sate their hungers, and wish profusely for to spend their blouds to please a Tyrants lust.
>
> Capel Away, mechanick Slave, what sawcy Devill prompts thee to prate when to the meanest here thou ought'st to stoop with all obsequious duty? thou sordid Groom, whom of a Skippers Boy the Westminster Rebels made their Admiral . . .
>
> II, p. 10

This exchange takes place in the popular language of royal versus republican politics. Rainsborough's arguments present an extreme version of republicanism, but echo Protestant ideology about the killing of tyrants and found in contemporary documents like Milton's justification of the regicide, The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates.[14] Rainsborough's rhetoric is particularly offensive to the hierarchy in that he reduces the nobility to beasts "who fight for Yoakes." Amongst the royalist generals Lisle reiterates the code of honour in war and the unshaken resolve of a gentlemen: he also points to class distinctions. Capel picks up the theme

of class distinctions, suggesting that Rainsborough is a "mechanick Slave" and has been raised above his station.

We can see here the crisis in royalist thinking after the Civil Wars; in which the removal of the king left the interests of the whole hierarchy vulnerable. Status (founded on land, wealth and titles) no longer translated easily and uninterruptedly into public recognition: the signifier "fellow" no longer appeared to merely express a pre-existing status division, it was visible as an attempt to enforce obedience to the system which constructed that division as "natural." This play demonstrates both the royalist aesthetic at its most violent in its assertion of the fixity of social place and (in these speeches) demonstrates the tension created in speech by the threat to that hierarchy.

Another apect of the play which emerges from the crisis in royalist confidence and rhetoric is the invocation of the unifying power of royalist ritual. An example of this occurs in Act II when the royalist generals are drinking wine.[15] The play attempts to counter the image of the soldier as a wild, drunken Dammee and at the same time to reinforce the toast as a part of a royal and loyal military ethos. Sir George Lisle enters into a paeˆn to the grape and then, as the siege rages about them, the royalist generals drink a loyal toast: "All kneele, they drinke the Health round while the Chambers are shot, and Trumpets perpetually sound" (II, p.17). The play presents them as cheerful "cavaliers," as found in Killigrew and Behn's representations.

Sir Charles Lucas's speech during the revels ends with a strident insistence that to act against kings is to act against gods, asserting: "Kings are Earth's Gods, and those that menace them / (Were't in their power) would share his Diadem" (II, p. 13). Such emphatic reiteration of the unbroken chain of authority, and the invocation of what Mary Douglas calls

"all the powers of the universe" to underwrite the otherwise fragile powers of the king signals the impotence of royalist rhetoric just after the regicide: the only threat the royalist can make is that of divine wrath.[16] This is the kind of speech which removes the ambiguities around the issue of royal or mixed government and which dramatises the conflict over government as one between good and evil, right and wrong, with parliamentarians as self-interested plotters. In such an analysis of the war, the servants of the king are the servants of God and this contiguity disposes of uncomfortable issues of political debate, particularly when combined with the representation of the parliamentary forces as diabolic agencies. Such unambiguous identification of royal and godly emerges most strongly in civil war rhetoric at this point: which is also the point of Charles I's death. The crisis in royalist fortunes is echoed in the play's own bid to control the representation of the royal forces at the point of the entry of history into print and myth.

If the war is to be holy then posterity must endorse the royal cause. The bid for history which we found in "The Prologue to the Gentry" is reinforced in the play itself as Sir Charles Lucas envisages the memorialising of the noble acts of the cavaliers, once again asserting the importance of the monarch's forces. Here he extends the line of authority which reaches from God down to the gentry:

> Lucas heroic acts (perform'd for Charles and for our Countries sake) let us provide us fame when we are dead that the next Age, when they shall read the story of this unnaturall, uncivill, Warre and amongst the crowd of warriors find our Names.
>
> II, p. 14

Thus the play reinforces cavalier stereotypes even as it attempts to sacralise such characteristics. However, the diabolic associations offered

for the parliamentary generals coincide with sterotypes in the royalist press. For example, such figures are found in Craftie Cromwell which was by Mercurius Melancholius, and was one of the four newsbooks lauched by royalists in September 1647. As P.W.Thomas notes, such newspapers, like the plays, were often "commentators rather than reporters," once again implying a degree of rhetoricall sophistication.[17] Indeed, Craftie Cromwell is aware of rhetorical strategy and attacks Cromwell initially in a parody of panegyric:

> Shall Cromwell not be famous made
> Unto the after-times
> . . . . .
> Shall not his Nose Dominicall,
> In Verse be celebrated?[18]

Craftie Cromwell is one of the best known of the dialogues from 1648, but equally scurrilous in their representation of republicanism are the debate between the two potential "queens" Mrs. Cromwell and Mrs. Fairfax in The Cuckowes Nest at Westminster, and the final moments of the anti-purge grotesque of parliament, Stop Your Noses, or England at her Easement, "evacuating those clods at Westminster." In each case the violence and vulgarity of the attack on parliament and army means that the plays speak only to those already hostile to the parliament, without even the degree of religio-political analysis present in the scurrilous but politically knowing The Levellers Levelled from the previous year. The Famous Tragedy also participates in this harsh polemic, characterised by the use of satire directed against physical attributes and familial transgressions, especially adultery: satire which Potter rightly suggests registers "the increasing hopelessness of the royalist position."[19]

However, at the same time as degrading Cromwell and Peter the

play returns to them again and again with evident fascination. It seems unable to resist emphasising the stature of Cromwell, who appears to have such infinite foresight that his schemes always turn out well. Cromwell descibes his own counsel as "smooth and deep Rivers glide as silent as the Night when shallow Brooks fall with a troubled noise" (III, p. 19). Although it satirises Cromwell and makes fun of his ignorance of the arts in Act I, the play's characterisation of him as an unavoidable force is in some ways reminiscent of the linkage of Cromwell, fate and policy in Marvell's "Horatiqn Ode:" "So much one man can do, / That does both act and know." [20]

Cromwell and Peter are seen to rely on manipulative rhetoric. Cromwell has set Peter (characterised as persuasion itself) to compose something on the theme "The People's right transcends the power of Kings" (I, p. 5). Cromwell calls him "My fine factious Devill, who wear'st the Liverie of the Stygian God", and goes on to ask if Peter has "prepar'd a pithie formall Speech against the essence and the Power of Kings?" (I, p.1). The association between the diabolic and the republican characterises their arguments as quasi-Satanic perversions of the language of government changing the idea of the "essence" of kingship into mere political mystification. Nevertheless, the passage acknowledges the power of Peter's rhetoric. Cromwell tells Peter:

> Cromwell I know that Nectar hangs upon thy Lippes, and that the most absurd Syllogisme, or eare-decieving paradox, maintained by thee, shall seem oraculous, more dangerous to question than the Sacred Writ.
> Sing then (my Hugh) and so thy Numbers sing
> All those that heare, may joyntly curse their King.
>
> I, p. 1-2

Peter continues:

Peter Our Language should be like the Lawes we meane to give, awfull and to be wonder'd at by mortalls, sable-browed Saturne and bloud-thirsty Mars, must seem sole Rectors over us abroad though Venus and her soft sonne the sightlesse Boy challenge our utmost faculties in private.

Cromwell Thou art that Load-stone, which shall draw my sense to any part of policy i' the Machiavellian world.

I, p. 3-4

Thus the republicans need the power of language as much as the royalists. But in their case the play offers rhetoric and speech as political use of language rather than insisting on the divine hierarchy which endorses it. The issues which preoccupy the diabolic Peter and Cromwell are the usurpation and distortion of language, the deceit of the people, and illicit sex - much of the play is devoted to a representation of Cromwell's attempt on Mrs. Lambert's all too easy virtue. The Parliamentary faction are represented as being used by Cromwell, whose brain, according to Peter, is "a store-house of politique stratagems" (I, p. 7). In his overall mission to bring about the death of the king, Cromwell is described rather like a scourge of tyrants: "Nature hath given him an iron soule, able and active limbs, a politique brain" (I, p. 7)

During Act III Cromwell listens to Peter's "Exordium" or endless political rationalisation of republicanism. Cromwell's comment, that it "shews all gallantry did not die with Brutus and his Confederate Counsells" (III, pp. 22-3), parodies classical republicanism and reinforces what the recitation itself foregrounds: that the republicans prepare their speeches in private, designing and perfecting language to persuade the people. So once again we can trace in the play the crisis of political rhetoric at this pivotal moment. Just as it asserts that there is a divine law which validates royalist and aristocratic tropes, so it calls attention to the artificiality and manufacturedness of republican ideas. This is replicated

in the relationship between Cromwell and Peter. The royalist generals are presented as having access to eloquence whereas Cromwell has power, but needs Peter's rhetoric to persuade the masses. If Nedham did indeed write the play his insistence on the "false" or invented nature of the republican's speech can be found again in his mimicry of Peter in A Most Pithy Exhortation Delivered in an Eloquent Oration to the Watry Generation.

The hypocrisy of the republicans is illustrated by their speeches but also by their private conduct. In Act I Peter tells Cromwell "Saturne and bloud-thirsty Mars must seem sole Rectors over us abroad, though Venus and her softe sonne the sightlesse Boy challenge our utmost faculties in private" (I, p. 4). The play attempts to expose republican politics by making a link between private and public, sexual and religious behaviour through a representation of transgressive sexual conduct. It is also intensely misogynistic. The final scene uses the courtly genre of masque as a kind of emblemetic representation in which Cromwell, Peter and Mrs. Lambert reveal their true colours. Hugh Peter, Mephistopholian as ever, is represented seducing Mrs. Lambert for Cromwell's pleasure. When she agrees there is a masque:

> Enter Six Masquers, habited for ambition, treason, lust, revenge, perjury, sacrilidge. Musick; they dance with them, joyne Cromwell and Madame Lambert, Peters singing out last, they daunce together by themselves.
>
> IV, p. 35

The conventions of masque are inverted here to present a parodic republican masque. The notion of the moral influence of the masque is retained, but what is represented is a reversal of royalist tropes of virtue. The six sacred / secular cardinal vices signal Cromwell's party as self-aware participators in a wide selection of wickednesses - doubly

wicked because this, we are told, is how Cromwell spent the night before the king's execution.

The political dialogues and dramas, as well as plays on topical and political flash-points (such as The Famous Tragedy) assume the reader's close familiarity with the genres and codes of pre-war theatre, and appear to be addressed to a fairly wide social spectrum. Moreover, The Famous Tragedy gives us information about royalist rhetoric at the moment of crisis, and because it is longer than most pamphlet plays, like Marcus Tullius Cicero it allows us to follow the construction of "sides" in the Civil War at some length. The Famous Tragedy probably circulated in the pamphlet market, but Marcus Tullius Cicero was even longer and may have fallen into the category of more high-minded full-length academic plays. Nevertheless, in comparing these two plays, both slightly longer than the usual pamphlet plays, we can develop some sense of the way printed drama participated in producing the competing royalist and republican rhetorics. The Famous Tragedy both elaborates a royalist rhetoric at the crisis of 1649 and mimics the language of the new governors. The Tragedy of the Famous Orator Marcus Tullius Cicero is a more restrained and perhaps less ably assembled play, but in the way it characterises republicanism versus monarchy it consistently attempts to associate monarchy with bloodthirsty despotism and republicanism with public and civic virtue. It is precisely this kind of writing, subscribing to non-monarchical political writing, which is excluded from the canon and which therefore tends to be missed by critics. But such texts are vital to any attempt to articulate the relationship between politics and culture in the Civil War and its aftermath.[21]

At the time, what royalists characterised as "Machiavellian" in the perjorative sense, others regarded as republican theories of government.

Royalist and republican rhetoric in the Civil War closely contested concepts of political virtue. This contestation of ideas of virtue and reinforcing of republican ethics are found in the two plays which can be most clearly identified as dramatising the legitimacy of republican thought. The earlier play is Tyrannicall Government Anatomized (1643), a translation of George Buchanan's Baptistes Sive Calumnia which was specially licensed by the Commons.[22] Buchanan's work belongs to the corpus of anti-monarchical writing of the sixteenth century and reminds us of the Protestant heritage of tyrannic idal theory, a heritage which runs through John Knox as well as Buchanan. The tradition of anti-tyrannical thinking also had access to classical republican thought, to Machiavelli and to the influential Protestant tradition of debate about the killing of tyrants.[23] In 1642 overt republicanism was not widespread and Henry Marten was imprisoned in the Tower for expressing republican sentiments in the Commons.

It seems that Buchanan's play was felt to be applicable to the crisis in counsel which was one of the official platforms for opposition to Charles. This also of course signals the crisis of the civil war whereby everything came to refer in some typological way to the current crisis of government; the Commons clearly designed this pamphlet to articulate the politics of their own situation in its attack on bad counsellors. The topic of the play is John the Baptist's encounter with Herod: presumably the message was that Charles, like Herod, was a tyrant despite his good intentions. Herod allows the counsellor-priest Malchas (a figure analagous to Laud) completely free rein:

> Herod What Malchas of our Laws may freely babble, what curious questions he may vainly cast with intricate debate, that, I conceive, concerns not me, and let the people know, this one law to be kept, that they may think, All things to me are lawfull, without law.

Pt.2, p. 13.

Herod's attitude identifies him as a tyrant in his willingness to contravene the law and prepares the audience for his betrayal of John to gratify Herodias's daughter (an analogy for Henrietta Maria).[24] Later the chorus tell us what to think:

> Chorus unhappy thou, whom it becomes to be a pattern, rule, or helme of piety, art now become the only mirror of a wicked life: Slaughter with violence, fraud, theft and rapine, are thy chief excercise.
>
> Pt. 5, p. 26

The play goes on to detail the turmoil into which a country is thrown by tyranny. The subtitle "Discourse Concerning Evil Counsellors" echoes the terms used in 1643 to oppose Charles I. The play charts the crimes of a king who has set himself above the law (the chorus explains to John that "the king dissembles"). As with other documents of the early 1640s it is hard to tell how conscious a contemporary reader would be of the implications of the slight disjunction between the title condemning evil counsel and the implicit culpability of Herod. At a more general level, that it was felt to be apposite is an indication of the extent to which literary texts were read as having messages for the political present. Here the king has become a strategist, lying to the people and creating Christian martyrs: religious ideological issues (focusing on martyrdom) and an anti-tyrannical political stance go hand in hand. In relation to the other plays published in the early 1640s which were not printed at the order of the government (we might think of Rawlins's The Rebellion, ultimately resolved by an alliance of king and people) this play is unusual in the way it makes an alliance with a protestant tradition of tyrannicide

found in the writings of Buchanan and others. It is in some senses one of the earliest overtly republican printed documents of the Civil War.

Although other contemporary plays address issues of political theory, or develop a sophisticated set of political concepts (as in The Arraignment of Mr Persecution: see Chapters One and Two) they do it through topical issues. In both Tyrannical Government Anatomized and Marcus Tullius Cicero a rather different, perhaps reversed strategy is in operation whereby a play examines the basis of kingship, or rule, in the present using the analogical implications drawn from the situation it is using. Both plays would call up long traditions of thought - of Protestant tyrannicide in the case of Buchanan and classical republicanism in Marcus Tullius Cicero.

Where Tyrannical Government Anatomized situated itself in Biblical history, Marcus Tullius Cicero took part in the deployment of classical learning and history in the mid-century struggle. The regicide spotlighted the fact that everything in the Commonwealth needed to be re-thought under the republic, and this must have been part of the context of The Tragedy of Marcus Tullius Cicero. Lois Potter's thesis that it seems to be a play designed for school performance would reinforce this as it would provide a context for the play in which it used the classics explicitly to educate pupils in the virtues characteristic of the new republic; especially as the play combines a defence of republicanism with an emphasis on filial piety. [25] However, Potter does not guess at why a school play might be published. Although this can be no more than speculation, we might imagine semi-public performances by school boys or that someone was trying to find a place in constituting the cultural and iconographic order of the new republic.

Classical thought on the polis and the state became increasingly important in the later 1640s, and both royalist and populist theory was

being printed in the later 1640s. Knowledge of classical republics was disseminated through classical learning. Rome, where the tragedy is set, was an important cultural signifier during the Interregnum: Graham Parry shows how Fanshawe used Roman history to prophesy the Restoration, and as Annabel Patterson has noted Cromwell attempted to redeploy the Virgilian eclogue.[26] The contest over classical writing and thought is important in the interwoven literary and political writings of the Civil War and Commonwealth and in Marcus Tullius Cicero classical republicanism occurs as both a literary and an academic-political argument for a republic, which sits alongside more pragmatic debates over who controlled the process and structures of politics.[27]

As might be expected, Cicero, the subject of the 1651 play, was a favoured figure to epitomise the good republican; and before moving to a reading of the play it is worth recalling his contemporary image. One index of his importance was that the meaning of his political theory for the government of the commonwealth was actively contested by Thomas Hobbes and the republican James Harrington. In 1651, the year Marcus Tullius Cicero was published, Hobbes wrote of Cicero as one of those who drew a commonwealth not from first principles but from mere experience:

> we are made to receive our opinions concerning the Institution, and Rights of Commonwealths, from Aristotle and Cicero, and other men, Greeks and Romanes, that living under Popular States, derived those Rights, not from the Principles of Nature, but transcribed them into their books out of the Practise of their own Common-wealths, which were Popular; as the Grammarians describe the Rules of Language, out of the Practise of the time; or the Rules of Poetry, out of the Poems of Homer and Virgil.[28]

Hobbes is clearly attempting to undermine the authority of the classics by using analogies between contingent and changing things in contrast to the classical models being taken as universal. Harrington responds to this as

follows:

> he [Hobbes] saith of Aristotle and of Cicero, of the Greeks and of the Romans, who lived under popular States, that they derived those rights not from the principles of Nature, but transcribed them into their books, out of the practice of their own Common-Wealths, as Grammarians describe the rules of Language out of Poets. Which is as if a man should tell famous Hervey, that he transcribed his famous Circulation of the bloud not out of the Principles of Nature, but out of the Anatomy of this or that body.[29]

The ancient metaphor of the state as body, so decisively rejected in Leviathan, seems to lurk behind Harrington's choice of Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood as an universal analagous to the rules of populist government. It was itself also an example of the discoveries of Baconian science, which was coupled with the new plain, language of science.[30] But what most important for us here is Hobbes's attempt to downgrade classical republican theory, and the fact that Harrington takes this seriously enough to challenge him in detail and attempt to refute his methodology, albeit with a less convincing argument than Hobbes's.

If Hobbes and Harrington are disputing the significance of Cicero in the 1650s this suggests that he held an important position in the genealogy of English republican thought. Indeed, just as sacralising discourses and the idea of the "naturalness" of monarchical hierarchy (as opposed to the artificiality of republicanism) reinforce the "truth" of royalist thought in The Famous Tragedy, the figure of Cicero is used to validate republican thought. Cicero was particularly useful to republican projects because his writings on natural law gave a conservative underpinning to his status as a republican and suggested some kind of quasi-Christian understanding of the state. Cicero wrote of a higher law,

"absorbed and imbibed from nature herself." In De Re Publica he defined what he meant by "natural" or "higher" law:

> There is in fact a true law - namely, right reason - which is in accordance with nature, applies to all men, and is unchangeable and eternal. By its commands this law summons men to the performance of their duties; by its prohibitions it restrains them from doing wrong . . . to annul it is wholly impossible . . . there will be one law, eternal and unchangeable, binding at all times upon all peoples; and there will be, as it were, one common master and ruler over men, namely God, who is the author of this law and its sponsor. The man who will not obey it will abandon his better self . . . [31]

Thus "reason" and "natural law" are equated in a way which is potentially Christian and which works well as the basis for a politics of resistance. What the natural law had to say about kingly or republican government was one of the heated issues in the struggle after the second civil war. All sides claimed to have natural law on their side, or that the other side had broken it while they themselves were endeavouring to bring about its restoration. Here Cicero embraces a proto-Christian conservatism and a potentially tyrannicidal stance under the catch-all clause of right reason.

But consideration of classical republicanism did not begin with the Civil War. It was always implicitly part of the education of a gentleman in that it appeared in classical texts used for educative purposes. Long before the civil war, in 1632, a pamphlet called Augustus, or an Essay of those Measures and Counsels, Whereby the Commonwealth of Rome was Altered and Reduced into a Monarchy - sometimes attribued to the Laudian Peter Heylyn - was published.[32] The essay traces the history of Rome from Superbus to the end of Octavius Caesar's reign - "a narration of the greatest change that ever happened in the Common-wealth and state of Rome" (A3v). It concludes with praise of Augustus, but he is portrayed ambiguously throughout, with monarchy having both good and bad

manifestations. At the height of the republic the commonwealth is described as "poised:"

> But as in the naturall body, there can be noe exact and arithmeticall proportion of the humours and elements, without some predominancie: so in the body politique, can there be no equall mixture of Plebians and Patricans, without the supremacy of one or the other.
>
> p. 18

Thus, Augustus (and monarchy) are by no means obvious choices for the best kind of government, but classical models derived from Aristotle's anatomy of types of government were current in the 1630s because of classical education. As a champion of both republicanism and natural law it might be anticipated that Cicero would become one of the heroes of the republican writers.

Marcus Tullius Cicero drawns on models of Senecan tragedy and earlier English dramatisations of political issues. It is (perhaps inevitably) implicated in in a politicised re-reading of Jonson's tragic drama, especially Catiline. The play opens as a Senecan drama with the return of Julius Caesar's ghost who prophesies the torments of Rome under the triumvirate:

> Caesar But I was too mild; a heavier hand
> Shall make thee stoop to Soveraign command,
> And kisse the yoak, though sullied first and died
> In thine own gore; a scourge shall check thy pride,
> The days of Sylla shall return, and bloud
> Swim down thy streets . . .
>
> I, B1r

It is tempting to follow this clue and read the play as both drawing on a courtly tradition of drama (Jonson and his deployment of the classics rather than Shakespeare) and therefore as offering a commentary on the

present, using the classics. This would produce a reading in which Caesar corresponded, roughly, to Charles I and the danger of the return of Sylla would lie in the threat of Cromwell's power within the Council of State. However, this play resists such an allegorical or analogous reading: as it progresses we follow Cicero's crises as he and the senators attempt to preserve the republic from rule by tyrants. The city of Rome is at the mercy of Anthony and Octavius and when these become allies, Cicero, although he has fostered Octavius, is to burn his writings against Anthony, or die.

It is clear from the start, and emphasised in the speeches themselves, that republicanism offers a clear and honest way of running a state. As the quotation above suggests, when Caesar appears prophesying revenge to Rome that revenge is to come in the form of a king. His speech is immediately followed by Cicero praising the virtues of the Roman state:

> Cicero That now at length the Fathers of the Publick
> With free unforced judgments dare lay open
> The sick distempers which deform and trouble
> The body Politiqe? me thinks in this
> I see some gleame of liberty break forth:
>
> I.i, B1v

Terms such as "liberty" can hardly fail to remind readers to see the text in terms of the current struggle, and the term is positively associated with Cicero who praises good republican government while Ceasar prophesi es kings as a scourge.

However, the text is also at pains to contextualise Cicero as a believer in the right sort of "liberty": no mere rebel he, but a tragic hero. The play points up the differences between Cicero as a good republican and Catiline, foregrounding Cicero's role as defender of liberty against the attempt of Catiline to usurp power. The text heavily

emphasises the difference between Cicero and kings, but also between Cicero and Catiline. Catiline becomes an usurper; and by establishing a binary opposition between Cicero and Catiline the text recuperates Cicero as both a republican and a preserver of the status quo. Cicero is troubled by the rumor that he, like Catiline, plans "T'usurpthe Fasces" as Tyro his freedman and the chronicler of events tells him. Cicero defends himself to the Tribune Publius Apuleius, replying:

Cicero Sure thou art deciev'd,
'Tis meant some Ambitious thief, or sword-player,
Or some new minted Catiline.
Tyro No my Lord,
You are the man.
Cicero O Heavens that I who ruin'd
The Counsells of base Catiline, should now
Turne Catiline my self is any man
So lost, so wicked as to raise this of me?
So rash, so furious to believe it? Enter Publius Apuleius
Alas good Tribune, how is Cicero wrong'd?
Apul I know you are, and therefore in a Concion
Before the people have I urg'd your innocence,
And partly choakt the rumor. I propos'd
All your endeavours for the Publick State
Before their censures, and the whole Assembly
Pronounc't they never yet could find you guilty
So much as of a thought against the welfare
Of the Republick: but what noise is this?

II, C1v

This exchange presents Cicero as reacting to an external threat which attributes to him the same motivations as Catiline had. Importantly, this rumour is quelled not by Cicero himself but by a Tribune: a chosen representative of the people defending Cicero to them. The political connotations of this defence in 1651 are not only, as Potter suggests, to differentiate Cicero from Catiline but also to recast the people of England and their government as quasi-conservative preservers of a valuable status quo, exemplifying a republican conservatism.[33] But it does more than this.

In the way the play invests Cicero with the role of republican philosopher/statesman attempting to preserve the state the play seeks to mobilise this classical precedent to the defence of republicanism in the present: such a characterisation must educate and persuade readers. Cicero as a signifier generates a complex of political meanings, both republican and moderate, and the play uses him to establish the purity of republican ethics.

The play is also at pains to emphasise the intrinsic brutality of kingly power. The emphasis on the royal cruelty of Cicero's murder verges on bathos in the scene in which we are shown the dismembered parts of the orator's body:

> Enter Popilus Laenas with Marcus Tullius Ciceros head and hands
>
> A princely gift, by Jove; Popilus Laenas,
> Thou hast now play'd the royal butcher, on;
> And let Antonius blesse his longing eyes
> With sight of such a welcome present.
>
> V, E3v

Popilus Laenas goes on to flap Cicero's hands saying, "are these / Those hands which whilome thumpt our Rostra so?" (V E3v). Such bathetic effects accumulate not to satirical ends but to reinforce the audience's sense of the awful punishment exacted of Cicero for exercising his rights as a citizen.

Where The Famous Tragedy mobilises Charles I to confirm royalist ethics and ritual, something very similar happens with the way Marcus Tullius Cicero presents the death of the republican philosopher/statesman. The text may be using Plutarch as the source of the philosopher's death, which was a point of dispute because some historians had represented Cicero as vacillating and afraid at death. Two historians who were alive at

the same time as Cicero and lived on beyond him gave differing versions of his death. Seneca the Elder says that Asinius Pollio gave an account of the life of Cicero which ended with his fear of death in the words "and for my part I should not regard even his ending as pitiable, if he himself had not thought death so sad a thing." Seneca notes that Pollio also suggested that Cicero agreed to burn his speeches. However Livy and other historians represent Cicero's death as noble.[34] The play represents death as fully and unequivocally Cicero's preferred option to burning his Phillipics - his political writing. Thus Cicero is maintained as a figure of public and private integrity.

The representation of Cicero as a full republican (unlike Catiline) and rejecting personal good for the good of the commonwealth represents a breakthrough in the staging of secular and anti-monarchical politics in drama. The play presents Cicero as unequivocally sympathetic and as republican rather than rebellious. Cicero acts as a focus for an understanding analysis of the state as ultimately in the possession of the citizen acting justly. Rulers here are coercive and Cicero acts according to the higher law. Cicero in this play - and elsewhere - during the mid-century years was an acceptable figure for secular republicanism. The educative purpose of the political pamphlets is echoed in the long, historically instructive speeches in this play bidding for the political allegiance of the reader.

However, the mobilisation of Cicero as part of a republican text is only a fragment of the debate over the potentially republican implications of the classical tradition. The debates continued to be fierce, and it is possible to trace the contestation of the classics beyond the civil war period into the Restoration, a continuity which underlines the importance of classical learning and republican models as a site of political and

literary struggle during the seventeenth century. For example in 1668 Cicero's Prince was published advocating "Moderation in Government and use of Reason in Princes." The writer tells us that:

> This Piece was once a Jewel (wrapt up in Latine) in the Cabinet of the Renowned Prince Henry, and composed by an excellent Artist out of the rich Mines of that famous Statesman and Orator M. Tullius Cicero. It hath in it Maximes, which void of all stains and Flaws of Machiavellian intent, are raised only upon Principles of Honour and Vertue, which best become a Prince. In the discourse they are directed to a Soveraign, but may be of no less use to any great person . . . [35]

The title of the book is particularly interesting in its obvious echo of Machiavelli's Prince, translated by Edward Dacres in 1640 and reprinted in 1661 and again in 1663 with his translation of I Discorsi. However the statist alliance made in the title is both reinforced and to an extent subverted by the assertion in the dedication - to Charles II's illegitimate son, James Duke of Monmouth, whom some counsellors were already putting forward as a potential heir - that Cicero's ideas are "void of all stains and Flaws of Machiavellian intent."[36] Once again Cicero is perceived by the text as a disputed signifier. The title Cicero's Prince simultaneously invokes Machiavellian versions of republicanism in relation to Cicero, and repudiates them. Moreover, Cicero's advice is initially represented as good for Princes but then re-deployed as useful to any "great person" such as the dedicatee. The associations here are not ambiguous but represent oppositional connotations held together in a political discourse mediated through a discussion of Cicero. It is not that Cicero can be read here as a figure mediating between monarchism and republicanism but that the signifier Cicero represents a source, a "rich mine" from which two, distinct, political discourses can be drawn and even - momentarily - held in juxtaposition. The function of "Cicero" as the nominative source of

these discourses is explicitly in relation to his classical status.

Cicero continued to be disputed. For instance, Christopher Wase's Electra moralised Sophocles as a royalist dramatist using annotation to school the reader into a royalist interpretation. He saw clearly the stake of political dispute in the classics, and when he translated Cicero in 1671 we find the text once again annotated. Cicero Against Catiline in IV Invective Orations were translations of four orations of Cicero against Catiline. [37] Wase does not moralise Cicero as he had Sophocles, but his annotations frequently echo the terminology of the Civil War. Translating this classical text he sees it as illuminating recent struggles, describing someone being "made Dictator, or Protector, and Captaine General" (p. 6) and noting:

> Much of the divisions in the popular State of Rome was about Levelling the State, in such sort that the over-Wealthiness of some Grandees, and extreme indigence of the Generality, might be taken away.
>
> p. 4

Wase translates classical terms into the terms of the English republic, dramatising the conflicts of republican Rome as those between the Levellers and the Army Grandees. The terminology is unmistakable now, and would have signalled to a contemporary the ills of commonwealths. But how does Cicero fit into this? It seems that Wase is mobilising Catiline as the rebel and Cicero as the defender of peace. He saves his most explicitly politicised note for the end of the final Oration:

> The . . . laws had so fenced the Persons of that Imperial People from suffering, and were so largely interpreted in their favour by Popular Governours, that it was made a Question, as here, whether Death or any Corporal Punishment, might in any case be inflicted by the Magistrates upon a Romane Citizen? The negative of which Caesar mentions. To which absurdity the Government of a Free State naturally reduces it selfe; for where

> the Majesty is in all, there the persons of all are Sacred, and this is rota libertas, or the very dissolution of Government, and alike demonstration of the Perfection of Monarchy, where Law hath the largest extent and Authority the highest Station.
> pp. 5-6

For Wase, the death penalty signals that the ultimate order of authority is in place, whereas its absence signalled democracy, characterised by him as anarchy. Wase is leaving us in no doubt of the need of Cicero's classical text to be set in contrast to good, monarchical examples. This an index of the felt importance of classical learning.

3.3. Conclusion.

Finally, a comparison of the two plays illuminates the mutually antagonistic (but in this very antagonism in some ways interdependent) development of explicitly royalist and republican debates rather than pragmatic politics. The two plays mobilise contemporary positions at vital moments in the transformation of the English state around the regicide, and a comparison of them illuminates both the crisis in royalist rhetoric at the death of the king and republican attempts to appropriate the classical tradition as a republican tradition.

In The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates (1649) Milton wrote in defence of tyrannicide, initiating his argument with the assertion that "indeed none can love freedom heartilie but good men; the rest love not freedom but licence." Milton's defence of the court which tried Charles (also approved by Harrington but repudiated by the Levellers for its illegality) indicates starkly the way in which the republic needed to

improvise its new power: classical precedent and analogies with the ancient Roman republic could act as underpinning to justify the way it dealt with urgent contingencies. In The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates Milton is seeking to turn the tables on the Presbyterians now objecting to Charles I being brought to trial and he attacks the "falsifi'd names of Loyalty and Obedience" which colour the "base compliances" of some subjects" (p. 2). Later he turns on those who "have beene fiercest against their Prince," but who suddenly assume "a newe garbe of Alliegiance which their doings have long since cancelled" (p. 3). The fundamental illegality of the court that tried the king, combined with its necessity, is what Milton is defending. His attempt to control and remake political discourse after the regicide is similar to those of The Famous Tragedy and Marcus Tullius Cicero: the years from 1649 to 1651 saw a crisis in political rhetoric experienced by all parties. The aim of this chapter was to show that the figure of Cicero was also important to republicanism in that he lent an apparent conservatism to the republican cause, and this is reiterated in The Tragedy of the Famous Orator Marcus Tullius Cicero. Moreover, as literary and political republican texts elaborated a republican tradition and a rhetoric of reason to justify their tyrannicidal position, royalist texts elaborate an equally specific set of associations for monarchy.

Coda to Section I: Performance and Pamphlet Drama.

Hitherto I have examined pamphlet drama solely as published texts operating at a crucial border between public and private debates and print culture. It is possible, though, that at least some of these playlets and dialogues were performed. To what extent can we imagine a culture of street or house theatre existing for the performance of these short satires and dialogues? Certainly traditions including satirical puppetry at Bartholomew Fair seem to have survived. The pamphlets themselves vary from political dialogues clearly aimed at private reading to pieces written with theatrical directions.[1] The relationship between political discourse and theatre text is complicated by the question of performance. People have assumed that this drama was not performed, and Louis B. Wright makes a good case for the significance of plays as read rather than performed.[2] References to the theatrical situation of the war abound (as we found in The Last News From London), the metaphor of the theatrum mundi offered an apparently inexhaustibly appropriate trope through which writers figured Civil War, parliament, Protectorate and the trial of Charles I). But what kind of context for performance are we to imagine for such plays? Regular performance in a formal theatre (before the interiors were demolished) or in a private house seems possible. Some shorter ones might have been acted after a longer or full length piece, and plays such as The Committee Man Curried are long enough to make a show on their own. Indeed, the

relative shortness of these playlets would be an obvious advantage in an illegal gathering and we might remember the short drolls of the 1650s.[3] Martin Butler has argued convincingly that satirical playlets of 1641-1642 such as The Bishop's Potion and Canterbury His Change of Diet were probably performed on London stages. As Butler points out the "devices employed by these playlets are performance devices," and this is true of some later playlets as well.[4]

It is possible that the printed pamphlets provide a text from which plays could be acted. However, it seems much more likely that some of these playlets are printed versions of pieces acted at markets, fairs and maybe even in the street. It is also possible that playlets on topical themes and reflecting the concerns of London residents were acted either in the shells of the old playhouses or in semi-public rooms. Many of them read as if they are in part scripts for theatre. One example, The Arraignment, Conviction and Imprisonment of Christmas (January 1646), has a scripted structure as a hue and cry and makes theatrical references. It calls the Queen's Christmas "a theater exceeding all the playes of the Red Bull, the Fortune, or the Cockpit," all playhouses that were active during the 1640s.[4,5] This suggests that it might be comparing itself as a festivity with royal celebrations and it does seem that during the 1640s the Christmas period was one of theatrical activity (James Wright said that acting took place at the Red Bull "At Christmas and Bartholomew fair,") and possibly political skits of this kind were acted.[6] So playlets may have been acted and certainly use metadramatic allusions and drop hints at their own status as playing.

One piece of evidence about the performance of these political skits during the Interregnum is a pamphlet play called A New Fiction, As Wee Were, printed in 1661.[7] The play is set in "White-hall," and the dramatis

personae are a mixture of personifications of the topical issues who have been acting on the political stage since 1642 (Protestation, Common-Prayer, Allegiance, Sir Solemn League and Covenant, Engagement, Instrument) and the forces of law and order within the city - "Constables, Beadles &c." Allegiance, Protestation and Common Prayer enter "as at two doors," Allegiance commenting "let this be diurnall'd," that is to say, recorded as news. They are joined by Sir Solemn and Engagement. They dispute until Instrument (who is Cromwell) appears:

> Engage But what! Here comes our last!
> Enter Instrument
> See, what a Nose he has! I the worst has past.
> Solemn H'as smelt us out.
> Protest Smelt we so strong of Bloud!
> p. 3

The joke about Cromwell's "instrument" of government and "nose" is reminiscent of carnivalesque parody found in plays such as The Knight of the Burning Pestle, and here sets the scene for a metadramatic, parodic playlet which elaborates the variant on theatrum mundi which puns on "play" and players and the political "theatre" found so often during the Interregnum. The pun of the government being interrupted during its "action" is mapped on to what seems to be a record of players being interr upted during their action. The dramatis personae begin to argue, but are interrupted by the entrance of "Constables, Beadles &c.,":

> 1Const What? Had they done?
> 2Const They've gone. I thought we should make thee House too hot for 'm
> 1Const What house?
> 2Const This, this same paltry Play-house of theirs. Your poyets (as they call um) why they will make you a House of anything and anything of an House, to serve their turn. These players (I have heard our Minister say) are in plain Greek such very Hypocrits.
> p. 5

In this way the play presents the characters of the Interregnum - also the characters of the pamphlet plays of the 1640s and 1650s - as a play interrupted by the forces of order. The players, like the Rump, have gone in such haste that they have left their props behind, including a fake nose for the figure of Instrument/Cromwell:

> 1Beadle Whoop Holliday! What have we here? George o' Horse-back! Upon the Post there: Don't you see?
> 2Beadle For Gods sake; How does he kill the Dragon?
> 1Beadle Ee'n as it please the painter, I'le warrant.
> 2Beadle Ho! Whats this
> 1Const An old Bishops square Cap. Is't not?
> 1Beadle And here's another like it.
> 2Const A Judges, this; it should be. Let's see. We han't lost our labour yet.
> 1Const I believe, they had not quite done, they've gone in such hast.
> 2Const The fools ne'r left their bawbles behind them, if they had not been fighted. What? a Vizzard too? Who was this for trow? what a Nose it has.
>
> p. 6

The "George O'Horseback" can be used to convey the several levels on which this play is operating. At the level of political allegory it suggests George Monck, now (in 1661) Master of the Horse, who, several Rump ballads characterised as St.George. Secondly, this George would appear to suggest an inn sign repainted either during the Commonwealth or at the Restoration. [8] Thirdly, the image points us back towards the theatre, in this case towards the mummers play of St.George which first appeared in 1596 but which was still being performed during the Interregnum.[9]

The jokes about old bishop's clothing echo pamphlets such as Overton's New Lambeth Fair, which used bishops clothing as part of the satire on them at the beginning of the war, but their return reverses the joke. They have survived. Finally a neighbour comes on and asks "what has been the businesse?" and all the constables and beadles go off with him to

tell him, the whole piece ending with a "Chorus of By-Standers" and an explanation in French. The play operates twice: once as a history of the Protectorate and Rump surprised into flight by the Restoration, drawing on those familiar metaphors of plays and playing. Secondly, the emblematic figures, as well as representing the events of the past twenty years also stand for the dramatis personae of the Interregnum pamphlet plays. The play which is interrupted is both the "play" of the history of the Interregnum and an epitome of the performances of the political satires and short pieces of the time, which were interrupted by Constables and Beadles, or by soldiers. From this we can extrapolate a context for performance for some of the pamphlet plays of the period, particularly the many political satires. Perhaps, like the play in A New Fiction they were performed here and there (at fairs, in the street, in the old playhouses, in open spaces). Possibly, as is suggested by the Dialogue Between Dick and Wat the Welch-man the pamphlets were sold at the same time as the play was improvised briefly in the street. Dick and Wat opens with Dick of Kent selling news,

> Come, who buys my new merry Books?
> Here's new Newes, and true Newes
> from all the world over . . .[10]

This opening suggests that perhaps the plays were not entirely or solely for the study, or indeed for the more homely parlour of the citizen or merchant whose experience of performed political drama in the Interregnum is perhaps delineated in A New Fiction. Notably, several of the pamphlet dramas are connected with fairs and at least one, A Bartholomew Fairing (1649) suggests a possible performance of this kind, perhaps at a fair, in its prologue and epilogue:

Prologue

A Pedlar in haste with an Horn.

Stand off, make roome, give way, for I come Post,
My Fairings do run wilde from the Irish Coast;
Poore Cram a Cree untrouz'd O bone! O bone!
Hath lost his cows, his sheep, his Bagh, all's gone:
All is transported hither, view it, view,
Patrick is to be sold at Bartholomew. ''

The end of the play is signalled by "Roger left behind," who gives a moral. Although details of performance for this and other plays remain conjectural, this pamphlet suggests that there could have been both a read and performed context for at least some of these pamphlet plays, and also points to the interrelationship between plays and "news." Here a play is announced by a prologue, like a ballad seller, the playlet on current events might be read or acted, and then copies sold in the way that ballads were.

The question of performed drama is considered at greater length in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, but this brief analysis does suggest that not only was the metaphor of playing central to Civil War and Interregnum conceptions of politics, but also it was a multivalent metaphor used by plays to refer to their own status as theatre as well as to the political stage. Finally, as A New Fiction suggests, some of these plays about politics may well have been staged.

SECTION II

GENDER AND DRAMA

Chapter Four. "She-politics" and Adamic Kings: Parliament and the Female Body as a Trope in Drama of the Civil War and Commonwealth.

4.1. Introduction.

The conscious deployment of political language and examples was the subject of Chapter Three. However, the very metaphorical base of political language was being contested during the late 1640s and therefore this chapter takes up the crisis in political rhetoric itself, as traceable in the period immediately after the Civil War. The phrase "she-politics" used in the title of this chapter is taken from a Restoration "biography" of Moll Cutpurse which presents her as a symptom of Civil War, and this chapter examines the contestation of the metaphorical substitution of family for state in political language and ideology. It also examines the use of the figure of a rebellious woman as an analogy for, or symptom of, political crisis.[1]

The polemical dramatic and semi-dramatic pamphlets of the Civil War brought this rebellious figure centre-stage, figuring "woman" as a figure for rebellion, and transforming political transgressions into domestic disobedience. In so doing, the dramatic pamphlets examined in this chapter drew on a history of misogynist assumptions within a range of discourses – political, legal, social, religious, and literary, all of which utilized the

placement of the women in the early modern period. This was so evidently the case that it is a commonplace to say that the male ruled. However, as Natalie Zemon Davis notes, as beings in which "the lower ruled the higher," women could be "used to symbolize not only hierarchical subordination but also violence and chaos."[2] Moreover, the deployment of the equation of the family and the state becomes particularly important in the context of the 1640s – when, as I will show, patriarchical thought was itself in a state of crisis as a result of political events.

Thus, this chapter aims to trace the reactions of one group of dramatic texts to the conflicts of the 1640s, and to indicate connections between dramatic and semi-dramatic plays and issues in contemporary political theory. My contention is that the relations between political discourse and the commonplace value of the wife as subordinate were made into a powerfully symbolic nexus of meanings by the challenges to regal authority in the Civil War, and that the figure of the domestic rebel was used in polemical pamphlets to degrade parliamentary and other anti-monarchical challenges. Thus I suggest and elucidate similarities between popular tropes and the metaphors of political theory. As Tim Harris argues and as the preceding chapters suggest, texts of "popular culture" are not isolated from the concerns of elite texts: the difference is in the strategies with which diverse genres like political theory and dramatic pamphlets manipulate the reader.[3] The more theoretical "pamphlet wars" which the historian of patriarchal thought C.G.Shochet describes in the period are intimately related to the tropes of popular genres like the dialogue play, and the part played by woman-as-metaphor in dramatic pamphlets can be illuminated by a discussion of patriarchal and anti-patriarchal political theory in the 1640s.[4]

4.2. A context: government and families in political theory of the 1640s.

The idea of fatherhood was integral to much of the theory supporting the monarchy of Charles I. But even as this theory was being developed in the 1640s (principally by Sir Robert Filmer) the position of the actual king was becoming for contemporaries perceptibly less and less congruent with that of the father of a family. Simultaneously, parliamentary and republican theorists denied that paternal authority was the basis of government. The king, rather than being an obvious and unquestionable given, even for those criticizing the govern ment, was becoming visible as one of many possible forms that government might take from personal rule to republicanism. The state and the king were no longer coterminous - as Hobbes put it in 1651, political organisation was no longer part of nature but perceptibly "artificial".[5] And if kingship was artificial, then the contiguity between the two patriarchal paradigms - the king as father of the state and the father of the household - was no longer self-evident, but instead was identifiable to contemporaries as a role, as ideology and as a linguistic construction - a trope.[6] As Chapter Three indicated, the Civil War revived arguments about tyrannicide and brought into play models of the state based on classical republicanism. Republicanism, theories of parliamentary sovereignty and millenarianist theories all argued against the contiguity of role between king and father.

As Schochet suggests, patriarchal theories were linked to support for the Stuart monarchy - a link elaborated during the 1640s, though not necessarily literally, in the writings of Dudley Digges, John Spelman and climaxing in the work of Sir Robert Filmer. In political theory the issue

of who was to rule became intertwined with (or perhaps expressed as) a debate about the nature and genealogy of the power of rulers itself. On the populist side (i.e. those who argued for the right to rule being held in some way by "the people," however that category was defined) Charles Herle not only distinguishes between father and king, but outlines different sorts of fathers who may govern with "providence of a Father, he may govern with the Arbitrarinesse of a Father without the consent of his people . . . as a Father doth without that of his children . . . or . . . with the love of a husband." Herle attacked the patriarchal correspondence between family and state by asserting:

> Allegoryes are no good arguments, they onely illustrate as farre as the likeness holds. Because a King may in some respects be call'd the Father, the Head, the Husband of his Kingdome . . . doth it therefore follow that because he may governe with the providence of a Father, he may govern with the Arbitrarinesse of a Father without the consent of his people.[7]

This puts the correspondences father-husband-king in such a way as to differentiate the rôles and show them as discontinuous - the "love of a husband" is only one of many possible rôles performed by a ruler. Thus, the Civil War enabled the "artificiality" of the commonwealth to be articulated by Hobbes; it also exposed all metaphors of the state as normative, prescriptive rather than descriptive.

Henry Parker contributed decisively to this process. His attack on the language (and therefore the power) of monarchy, Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses (1642, purchased by Thomason in July 1642) was followed two years later by Jus Populi.[8] Parker claims to be "as zealously addicted to Monarchy, as any man can be, without dotage," yet he theorised a position in which government was in the power of the people who were "the final cause of Regal Authority."[9] In

Observations Parker attacked the connection between the family and the state:

> the King is a Father to his People, taken singly, but not universally; for the father is more worthy than the son in nature, and the son is wholly a debtor to the father, and can by no means transcend his duty, nor challenge any thing as due from his father; for the father doth all his offices meritoriously, freely, and unexactedly. Yet this holds not in the relation between King and Subject, for it's more due in policy, and more strictly to be challenged, that the King should make happy the People, than the People make glorious the King. This same reason is also in relation of Husband, Lord, etc., for the wife is inferior in nature, and was created for the assistance of man, and servants are hired for their Lord's mere attendance; but it is otherwise in the state betwixt man and man, for that civil difference which is for civil ends, and those ends are, that wrong and violence may be repressed by one for the good of all, not that servility and drudgery may be imposed upon all, for the pomp of one.
>
> pp. 184-185.

Parker questions the whole set of correspondences between family and state on which patriarchal thinking relied: the king is in power only for the good of the people. He contrasts the approved subjection of women in the household - "the wife is inferior in nature" - with the civil sphere - "between man and man" - where rules are created not for the subjection of many to one (as in the household) but for the greater good.

In fact, Parker does employ the monarchist analogy of parliament as wife, but he uses it ironically in order to suggest that the correspondence between family and state assumed in a monarchist understanding of the 1642 stand-off between Charles and parliament is a misrepresentation even in its own terms:

> there is manifest difference between deserting, and being deserted: if the wife leave her husband's bed, and become an adulteress, 'tis good reason that she lose her dowry, and the reputation of a wife; but if the husband will causelessly reject

> her, 'tis great injustice that she should suffer any detriment thereby, or be dismissed of any privilige whatsoever.
>
> p. 176

Parker's successful exposure of the mystification inherent in patriarchal tropes, coupled with his use of them to expose their inapplicability to the crisis of government in 1642, helped to set some of the terms of a prolonged political debate. In this debate the theorisation of the state - and therefore who has the power to rule - is at stake. But, notably, the ordering of the family is the argument's stable term and the proper position of the wife is never a question.

Although Parker began theorising a rejection of the patriarchal correspondence between king and father as early as 1642, the image of kingship might be said to have reached a crisis (whereby it could be seen as a rôle and one of many possible kinds of government) after the conclusion of the second civil war in 1647, and in the spring of 1648 when there were renewed rebellions in Kent and elsewhere. Sir Robert Filmer, who appears as Parker's antithesis in this debate, published both The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy and The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings in 1648.[10] Charles I was still nominally head of the state, all the metaphorical structures supporting kingship were in place, and yet vitally undermined by the fact that the king himself had no power and was exchanged between different parties. In print, both political theory and journalistic prose debated the crucial meaning of rulership.

One response to the attack on the self-evidentiary status of the metaphor of king-as-father was a re-assertion of the naturalness and divinely ordained authority of the father, and of the continuity between this naturalness and kingship. Responding to Parker, John Spelman argued that, "Domesticall government is the very Image and modell of Sovereignty

in a Common-weale."[11] Although some royalist theorists fought shy of founding their support for Charles on ge nealogical, or literal, patriarchal theory - Dudley Digges noted that a king "cannot pretend a more intimate kindred to Adam, then all the rest of mankinde" - the theory was, despite its logical flaws, popularly influential and found its fullest elaboration in the writings of Sir Robert Filmer.[12] Filmer asserted that genealogy gave a king total authority: "all such prime heads and Fathers have power in the uniting or conferring of their fatherly right of sovereign authority on whom they please."[13] Although it was probably written in 1644, The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy, Filmer's first important statement of his patriarchal ideas, was published in April 1648, - the same month in which the plays which form the centre of the rest of this discussion were published.[14]

Both Filmer's treatise and the Mistris Parliament plays seem to have been part of royalist efforts to reinstate Charles as a ruler in the spring of 1648, and both turn on the absolute truth of the much-challenged equivalence of ruler and father. Filmer argued for the undivisibility of the power of king-as-father as ordained by God, "as the scripture teacheth us that the supreme power was originally in the fatherhood without any limitation, so likewise reason doth evince it, that if God ordained that supremacy should be, that then supremacy must be undivided" (p. 284). The assertion that kingly power could not be divided was reinforced by caricatures of the position which saw the "people" (however defined) as holding political authority. For Filmer, this point of view implied anarchy, allowing "every particular man, a liberty to choose himself to be his own king if he please. And he were a madman that being by nature free would choose any man but himself to be his own governor" (p. 286). Filmer's answer is that men are not born free but into a patriarchal family structure:

> If it be objected, that kings are not now . . . the fathers of their people or kingdoms and that the fatherhood hath lost the right of governing, an answer is that all kings that now are or ever were are or were either fathers of their people, or heirs of such fathers, or usurpers of the right of such fathers.
>
> p. 288

Indeed for Filmer authority is in itself paternal, and just as fatherhood implied a hierarchy of power in the family, so patriarchal and kingly power are one and the same because "every man by nature, is a king or a subject. The obedience which all subjects yield to kings is but the paying of that duty which is due to the supreme fatherhood"(p. 144). Thus Filmer does not argue about the presence of non-monarchical government in the world but traces a history of the right to rule in which the pre-lapsarian first family becomes the model for all true kingship:

> Though not in act yet at least in habit Adam was a king from his creation, and in the state of innocency had been governor of his children . . . Eve was subject to Adam before he sinned. . . . The first father had not only simply power, but power monarchical.
>
> p. 289

The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy thus does not set out a scheme for running a commonwealth but rather offers a genealogy of true government from the first moment. Historical time, for Filmer, is fused with scriptural time and generational time, or the time it would take for a family to reproduce. Indeed, it is the proper synchronisation of the last two with the political narrative of the rulers of nations which produces true kingship as ordained by God.

The place of Eve as subject is set from before the fall, when for Filmer the familial-governmental correspondence found its most perfect expression. Within Filmer's argumentation this placing serves the logical

purpose of preventing patriarchal government from being one of the effects of the fall. But it also indicates the theoretically subjected place of women within the family in seventeenth-century theories of social relations (the same subjection ensuring that they have no place in the state). As feminist theorists such as Gayle Rubin and Luce Irigaray have noted, the place of "woman" in patriarchal theory signifies a passive unit to be placed and exchanged by men - as they are within Filmer's formulation.[15] In Filmer's theory the absolute subjection of women - from before time - is the first and foundational insurance of the complete authority of the father-king.

However, this intra-familial subjection of the female which confined her - theoretically - to the governance of fathers and husbands was present in populist theories too (Henry Parker assumes it in his critique of the analogy with the state, above). The stability of the family hierarchy was used by both patriarchal theorists and other writers as an anchor against which to place systems of government. Both found in the family a unit whose ideal functioning was so widely agreed as to appear natural and therefore it became the reference point for comparison or contrast with patriarchal and populist ideas of government.

4.3. The trope of the female body as rebellion: case study of Mistris Parliament and other playlets.

The importance of patriarchal theory as a line of attack and defence in the later Civil War period is illustrated in popular patriarchal-monarchist pamphlets where the metaphor of the wife's rebellion came to

figure state rebellion. This is an example of what Neil Hertz calls "a recurrent turn of mind: the representation of what would seem to be a political threat as if it were a sexual threat."[16] The female body, especially the adulterous and reproductive female body, becomes the textual locus of rebellion translated from the political to the sexual sphere and as such, monstrous - but also, like a monster, fascinating in its awfulness. Part of the role of Sir Henry Herbert as Master of the Revels before the war was to police plays for politics, but he also had a sideline in giving licenses to those displaying monsters.[17] The pamphlets analysed below draw on the potentially transgressive nature of monstrosity which, in inviting the gaze and exceeding boundaries, made the licencing of monsters requisite. Dramatic and semi-dramatic pamphlets disseminated the s ense of domestic rebellion using techniques which put the reader in the position of a policing, disapproving voyeur and censor.

The certainty that the commonwealth is for and by men is familiar from More's Utopia (still influential in the mid-seventeenth century) to Leviathan (1651).[18] In particular they had a history to draw on in which the female body figured as the revelation of that disgustingness which should have been kept hidden. For instance, women enter More's Utopia to be examined before marriage: "verily so foul deformity may be hid under those coverings, that it may quite alienate and take away the man's mind from his wife," and therefore they need careful inspection to forestall the possibility of deceit.[19] The "return" of the marginalised woman is in the form of the body, dangerous and repulsive to man and to the patriarchal order; the woman's body in Utopia is in danger of disrupting the whole commonwealth because the hidden foulness of her body revealed in domestic intimacy may "take away the man's mind from his wife when it is not lawful for their bodies to be separate again" (my emphasis) - thus dissolving a

basic unit of commonwealth, the family.

The Civil War pamphlets described below drew on a developed rhetoric of images to be found almost everywhere; but they used them to specific ends to re-affirm or question the resemblance between state and family. Examples of the importance of unruly women as symptoms of rebellion exist in plenty in the range of civil war satires, from city women's incitements to husbands to go to war so that they might take lovers - in The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament - to attacks on women preachers and women participating in the war, as in the satirical poem Joanereidos: Or, Feminine Valour Eminently Discovered in Western Women. The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament and the whole sequence of pamphlets describing parliaments of women, all, regardless of specific political viewpoint, characterise women as monstrous in their sexual rapacity and represent them as manifestations of the disorders of war.[20]

A striking example of the interconnection of political and religious thought, political metaphor, theatre and the policing of women's political activity is found in David Brown's attack on Mr Peter Sterry for his apparently lax treatment of a female sectary who had testified naked. Sterry's failure to punish the nude offendor is linked by Brown to a more general, and unexpected, resurgence of lascivious and unruly behaviour under the new post-monarchical state. Brown suggests that during the wars,

> Verily, all honest men . . . did expect, that when all the Playhouses in London were quite discharged, and also the great Timber barn in the Pallace of Whitehall it self demolished, which was erected for the vile excercises of masks and playes, and these to be always in the night season . . .yea and the deluge of Gods temporall judgements were to be abundently poured out in these bloody . . . Wars . . . there remained no more excuses . . . to hinder a full and thorough Refutation.[21]

For Brown, spiritual depravity is typified by the nude testifier who unites rebellion in gender, religion and politics in a way which Brown had hoped had been removed with the theatres. The narrative coalesces a range of values in its picture of transgressive female agency: legality, religion, politics and conduct are all involved. Although Brown's derivation of terrorising female nakedness and the sects from the playhouse may seem outlandish, many pamphlets pointed up the improperly theatrical behaviour of religious sectaries and the subversive and seductive power of spectacle - especially when the spectacle was that of the rebellious female. So the social crisis Brown delineates and in which a woman symptomatises rebellion, has clear affinities with the crisis in ways of imagining the state which Parker was helping to provoke. Indeed, the figure of the rebellious female sectary seems to have focused the anxiety felt by several sectors of society about the potential of Civil War to transform social relationships. For example, the semi-dramatic monologues, Three Speeches published by "Antibrownistus Puritanomastix" in 1642 utilise and develop the link between sectarian women and social and sexual license using double entendre and women's lasciviousness which in this pamphlet - as so often - is presented especially in the woman of low status - the maid.[22]

Semi-dramatic pamphlets elaborate symptomatic interconnections in the use of feminine types who confess, or suggest, their "own" political resonances. This means that the "character" speaks and the reader is invited to repudiate and condemn. Such figures function as the return of the dangerous sexuality of women, repressed within the family, but they invariably also stand as symptoms of the larger political crisis. Examples can be found from the early months of the war, including A Brief Dialogue Between a Zelotopit one of the Daughters of a Zealous Round-head, and

Superstition, a Holy Fryer, newly come out of France: composed by Owen Doggerel.[23] This scurrilous pamphlet dialogue is a conversation between two figures drawing on pre-war theatrical polemic - the fat friar and a female sectary. The pamphlet relies on the reader's perception of each figure as self-evidently outlandish and improper. Readers are constructed as eavesdroppers on a private conversation in which the two unwittingly reveal to us their true awfulness. Stylistically, the pamphlet uses familiar situations and verisimilar, semi-factual, detail in the apparently literal, non-fictional, "obviousness" in the representation of two quasi-monstrous figures. A true she-politick, "Zeal," as she becomes, divides her time between iconoclastic violence, religious mania (she describes herself as "busied in pulling down Cheap-side Crosse, and preparing my journey for Amsterdam"), and sexual licence. The priest compares his own way of life with hers, and in the interview she repeatedly condemns herself out of her own mouth, fusing apparent "innocence" with illicit sexual misconduct:

> Zeal But I must tell you the spirit is upon us, and very quick in operation, especially when on my Beds Green [sic] for he with his wholesome destructions instrumenteth me in the night, that before morning I begin to propagate and conceive, my self to bring forth the seed of the Faithful.
>
> Sup. Methinks you look like a vestall, or a cloded sheep, what is become of your hair, hath your holy Brethren new shorn you.[24]

The language in which this self-disclosure is couched is simultaneously parodic and demonising. The pamphlet puts into her mouth a set of discourses which serve to foreground the problem of female speech for the reader, associating all autonomous radical and prophetic speech with the metaphoric complex of the low-waste-femine. Zeal's apparent ignorance about the sexual nature of her own language works to suggest the moral

and spiritual darkness of radical prophetic and religious discourse: she combines the bodily, desirous, sexually knowing and the innocent, becoming a monster of ignorant sexual rapacity. Her monstrosity is reinforced by the religious parody of Superstition's allusion to her as a shorn lamb.

A text like this just might be performed, or it might well be read aloud. However, it seems that the use of confession, gossip, discussion of sexual misconduct is designed to enable a reader (rather than an audience) to read in two ways at once: first, to take the scene as a kind of "news" drama while also imagining the scene acted out, secondly, to keep in mind the wider political and analogical implications of the piece. The everyday matters point to the first reading, but Zeal's quasi-allegorical name constantly points to the possibility of the second reading. Indeed, the two kinds of reading fuse to endow domestic rebellion with greater significance: the female body and psyche becomes the figure for fanaticism and rebellion.

During the struggles for supremacy and popular risings of 1648 texts appear which even more pointedly endeavour to map politics back on to the family, and vice versa, including Filmer's patriarchal tracts. Examples of this assertion of the patriarchal metaphor at the point of crisis are the Mistris Parliament plays which emerge from one of the Civil War's deepest crises - the failure of parliament to negotiate with Charles I which, eventually, led to the regicide and resulted in the order for the king to be brought to trial which was passed on 28 December. By 1648 the country was at war following royalist risings in Kent, Wales and Essex and in the midst of this bitter crisis "Mercurius Melancholicus" began the publication of the Mistris Parliament plays, published between April and May 1648 and collected by Thomason between April 29 1648 and November 30 of the same year.[25]

Where Filmer assumed the place of women as subservient, these populist plays assume that the woman should be subservient but, like Sterry, see gender rebellion as symptomatic of political crisis. These plays translate from the political to the domestic and metaphoricize rebellion as female. The Mistris Parliament plays transform parliament into a citizen's wife about to give birth. The sequence begins with Mistris Parliament brought to bed to give birth to a monstrous child of reformation - in fact deformation. The second play continues this theme, the third shows Mistris Parliament's gossiping and the fourth her pact with London and the Militia. On the way, the activities of parliament are attacked. As Lois Potter explains, these pamphlets responded in part to the new Ordinance against unlicensed printing from 28 September 1647. Newsbooks and the number of other pamphlets collected by Thomason indicate the extent to which such pamphlet polemic constituted a relatively popular political debate in 1647 and 1648. It suggests the extent to which dramatic pamphlets appealed to an audience primed by both ephemeral news and abstract political theory.

The Mistris Parliament dialogues were addressing issues central in the pamphlet wars of the second civil war. They used the dialogue form, which was ideally organised to move between "serious" political discussion and scurrilous pamphlet polemic. Within this overall format, like the Parliament of Ladies pamphlets describing women as a parliament, they drew on motifs and set pieces, once again not primarily dramatic but playing on the reader's ability to read in two ways at once: first as an observer of a sequence of disclosed household scenes, and secondly as an interpreter of politicised forms and metaphors. They make use of a number of other literary modes. For example, the first Mistris Parliament playlet uses ballad forms (as do the others), and the confession - both politicised modes, as I have shown. The second invokes religio-political portents,

using a Greek etymology whereby "Parliament" comes to mean "whore of Babylon." The third uses a politico-linguistic game of A,B,C and a trial; and the final pamphlet in this core group uses anagrams.[26] Such quotation of politicised genres and modes, with embedded linguistic devices and set pieces, operates for a reader rather than a theatre audience, and for this reason it is important to see the context of these plays as the journalistic and political production of the 1640s, at the same time as we recognise that they draw on and elaborate ideas of theatre and Parliament as "staging" tyranny: they are pseudo-theatrical. The dramatic pamphlet form, designed for reading, enables the reader to have both the pleasures of a prose text, as in the satirical word games, and the pleasures of mise en scéne as in the Zelotopist dialogue. But all these devices are put to the end of staging the metaphor of the state-as-family.

Parliament's activities are effeminised and debased by their association with women and the domestic in the person of Mistris Parliament. As Lois Potter puts it, the first Mistris Parliament play "combines several traditional satiric motifs . . . with close topical reference to the events of spring 1648."[27] However, in each case, the tropes and set pieces are used to pinpoint the low and disgusting femininity of Mistris Parliament. The verse inviting the reader to the first play invokes specular pleasure, as at the displaying of a fairground monster:

> Pray see the Issue of her Maiden-head:
> 'Tis but 3 half-pence in: the Sight will please ye,
> And of your Grief and melancholly ease you.
>
> A1r

The speech and scene frames the readers attention in two apparently contradictory ways. As fairground attractions, the monsters are set at a

distance. But the scene we are invited to observe also discloses the intimately feminine details of child-bed. So we are both spectators and voyeurs, a double positioning which is made possible by the fact the we are reading a dramatic script rather than watching a play. As the scene progresses the reader is invited to repudiate what is disclosed: a vomiting, scolding parliament. Indeed, in the second play Melancholicus himself intervenes "from behind the Curtaine" (2MP, A4r) to direct our response. Of central importance to the plays' satirical thrust is the way parliament is figured as a woman subject to legitimate social censure; like the female figures in the pamphlets examined above, the woman contravenes family boundaries - and, in a sense, is punished by exposure.

These plays, even more than the Zeletopit dialogue, uses the family as implicitly "natural" and Mistris Parliament as rebelliously unnatural. The Mistris Parliament plays put the national crisis itself into a domestic setting, feminising and debasing the parliament by placing it in a (mere) household scenario. By presenting Mistris Parliament in the domestic setting - in the most defining of female roles, birth or "confinement" - the pamphlets transform parliament's transgression against monarchical-patriarchal order (in, for instance, their Vote of No Addresses) into a transgression against family. Parliament is translated out of the disputable language of politics into the "natural" language of the household, where rebellion is against a patriarchal authority whose meaning and scope was stabilised and reinforced by consensus.

An instance of this transformation being enacted is found in the first play. Mistris Parliament is pregnant with "her first borne (Being a Precious Babe of Grace)" and she is attended by Mrs. Synod, "an old dry Nurse" associated with the Westminster Assembly who were attempting to formulate religious policy (A1r). The nurse cannot stop talking - although

"dry" she is over-productive linguistically:

> Nurse 'twas ill done Ile besworne, to fright a Gentlewoman of her quality and breeding, one that came of so ancient and Honourable a Family too, as the Parliaments of England? Who is it almost that has not known the Parliaments to be as honourable as ever was any family in England (next to the King, God bless him) and hath done as much good for the Kingdome: and now to be despised by every sause-box boy, and loose fellow to make Rimes as they call them, and sing-songs of her, making of her a Whore, and no better than the arrantest Strumpet that ever went upon two shooes, telling her that she hath imprisoned her Husband, and prostituted her body.
>
> 1MP, A2r

This indictment again relies on the (largely dramatic) convention whereby a speaker incriminates him or herself and others, and unwittingly gives the game away; the operation of this relies on the prior assumption of the excess of women's speech and the propensity of the female tongue to run on without restraint - fusing literary excess and sexual transgression. Mistris Synod's speech helps to define the political position of these tracts in relation to patriarchal royalist thought. Parliament itself is, like the wife, definitional to the household in "her" place. The importance of Mistris Parliament is made clear here; the problem is "her" current actions which have rendered her status problematic. The nurse's assertion that parliament is "of so ancient and Honourable a family" is, once again, a patriarchal concept couched as a popular commonplace. Parliamentary innovation or action is transformed into the betrayal of an ancient - and apparently natural - rôle.

We cannot understand the speakers in the Mistris Parliament dialogues as bringing with them from the stage any strategies to make the audience assume their "interiority." They are not "speaking subjects," and

the implications of this speech, for example, are in terms of political analogies rather than causality or motivation. The commonplaces are simultaneously indicted as the discourse of a garrulous old woman, and endorsed as expressing a set of generally held opinions. But the speech is clear about establishing the historic importance of Parliament before placing it within the familial metaphor in which the whole political critique of these plays is couched; as the king's wife, Mistris Parliament has committed adultery with other powers; in the Army Debates she has "turn'd up her tayle to every lowsy Ill-dependent Rascall in the Army" (A2r). The metaphor, as used by the Nurse, reinforces the king's primacy within a mixed monarchy, just as Henry Parker's denial of such a metaphor undermines monarchical authority itself.

Thus Mistris Synod's speech enforces the centrality of the metaphor of the family whereby a feminised Parliament is degraded in a movement which might be read as carnivalesque inversion, but without any trace of Mikhail Bakhtin's utopian idea of shared laughter.[28] Rather than celebrating the body the reader's attention is focussed on the function of the female body as a noisy grotesque, vomiting up "innocent blood, that hath lain in clodds congealed on my stomach these full seven years" (A2v). In their concentration on liminal states and their consistent focus on the physical transformations of the female body in childbirth, the Mistris Parliament plays use images which Bakhtin would claim as being drawn from the "festive system." As he puts it, "the grotesque body . . . is a body in the act of becoming. It is never finished, never completed; it is continually built, created and builds and creates another body."[29] Bakhtin sees the grotesque, female, body as part of a celebratory carnival vocabulary, and he does not distinguish between "gay and abusive" use of this imagistic repertoire; for him, degradation remains somehow all in

fun.[30] Although the Mistris Parliament plays use the carnival grotesque to motivate laughter, they also use laughter to direct loathing against those who disrupt the family and state.

A clear example of the animus towards disruption inherent in the link made between the female body and parliament is the birth of monstrous deformation which happens only at the end of the first pamphlet. This is the climax of the narrative. At this point, the pamphlet parodies the uses of monstrosity in pamphlets of portent and wonder, allying a parodically folkloric discourse with that of political analogy:

> the room was strangely overcome with darkness, the candles went out of themselves, and there was smelt noysome smells, and heard terrible thunderings, intermix'd with wawling of Catts . . . . at the same time Mrs. Parliament, was miraculously delivered of a Monster of a deformed shape, without a head, great goggle eyes, bloody hands growing out of both sides of its devouring paunch, under the belly a hung a large baggage, and the feet are like the feet of a Beare; if you purpose to see it, you must make haste; for it is now ready to adjourn to a new Plantation. God save the King.
>
> A4v

This is a meta-monster: the reformed state metaphoricised as a deformed version of "the body of the state." The offspring which the adulterous parliament produces is deformation not reformation, something which draws on the wealth of theories about the shaping (and mis-shaping) of the child in the womb according to the mother's state of mind.[31] It is also, of course, a monster-in-language in that it is assembled indecorously of inappropriate elements and mixed discourses. In terms of the metaphorical status of Mistris Parliament as a rebellious part of the family of the state (in which the king ought to stand for the father) parliament actually gives birth to the organic metaphor - the new state/deformed monster. The organic metaphor (the baby / the deformed body of the state)

is here "produced," or generated, in both symbolic and textual terms by the familial metaphor. The new organism of the state is made by the monstrous birth after "7 Yeers Teeming" (A1r) of Mistris Parliament. Thus, the birth of the organic metaphor is couched in the popular discourse of marvels: the portents - "wawling of Catts" - and the ludicrous nature of the birth serves to further demonise parliament, which is associated thereby with the monstrous births described in popular pamphlets and the role of monstrous births as portents of social upheaval.

The next Mistris Parliament play appeared soon after, continuing the scene of Mistris Parliament's confinement and extending the metaphor to other aspects of the political situation by turning other public "bodies" into women. In Mistris Parliament Presented in Her Bed political and religious dispute is characterised as a contest between women, and the nurse reads the etymology of "parliament" which points to Revelation 17.5: "And upon her forehead was a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth." The identification between Parliament and the Whore of Babylon obviously turns the radical religious rhetoric of the Civil War sects against themselves using their own central text, Revelation. In the third play, Mistris Parliament Her Gossiping, Mistris Parliament is seen as a witch and whore who, Mistris Truth says, "hath bewitch'd the People into abhorred Rebellion," and has turned "preaching into prating, Blasphemy, Treasons, Contradictions and Tautollogies" (3MP, A3r, A4v). She enters "in a Scarlet coloured Robe, riding on a beast of many heads," recalling the Whore of Babylon. The fourth pamphlet brings the cycle to a festive comic closure. Its ending contrasts with the earlier pamphlets in suggesting the recovery of Mistris Parliament who is now planning a large dinner to feed her zeal and cement her contract with London and the other women, "large Oisters, Lobsters, and

high fare" (4MP, A4v). She ends the pamphlet with the assertion that "This is the period of my Reformation. / To kill my King, and undoe my Nation" (A4v). This declaration makes clear the way the pamphlets operate as a translation of the political into the household, but enable the re-translation at each juncture, so that the reader is always able to follow the chain of connections and repudiate both feminine transgression and the parliament as like a domestically rebellious woman.

As I have illustrated, the Mistris Parliament plays translate the political into the sexual in order to coerce a reading of the contemporary situation which maintains rather than undercuts the patriarchal metaphor of the family. As the monstrous birth of the organic metaphor in the first play suggests, they never loses touch with the political discourse they are "translating." The tracts demonstrate the particular historical importance of the female figure as a political trope in the late 1640s, and the way the female body holds in place a vital parallel between the family and the state. More than this, they indicate the catalytic power of the metaphorically charged female body to transform the sphere of the political (in which parliament and army were so strongly challenging the king as to manipulate his movements) into something low, grotesque, parodic. The central rhetorical "move" of each pamphlet is to use the metaphor of a woman for parliament, and for all shades of political and religious opinion associated with parliament and the sects. To this end all the figures in these playlets are feminised except King Charles, who makes a brief interjection into a dispute between Sedition and Schisme in the second of the plays.

The satire draws much of its energy from the fact that it asserts a particular concept of the state in a polemical battle against parliament, but also from its insistence upon particular political metaphors which

served as linguistic structures to support the position of the (now virtually powerless) king. At one point in the second play the Nurse tells Mistris Parliament, "if you ever hope to recover again, make use of Mistris Mendax, the whole Packe of your weekly forging Pamphleteers," (A3v) indicating self-consciousness about the role of "forging" in making a political image. This double forging - in the dual sense of making and faking - was also the business of the Mistris Parliament pamphlets themselves, for while they draw on the metaphor of the family as the prevailing way to conceptualise the state, they reinforce its importance and point towards the discreditable "monstrosity" of political thinking which steps outside that system. As one theory of metaphor in social life puts it, "the very systemicity that allows us to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another [e.g. the state in terms of the family] . . . will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept."[32]

If repetition is a measure of success, this figure was popular. Certainly, parliament as a female grotesque recurred in popular polemic and the Mistris Parliament plays themselves were influential both in 1648 and later. The pamphlet was addressed and imitated by contemporary pamphlets including Mercurius Bellicus and the prose dialogue A New Marriage, Between Mr King and Mrs. Parliament, which seems to have taken the idea of the king and parliament as husband and wife as a way of advocating accomodation, even at this late stage.[33] It opens with a verse:

> Come, come away to this happy Wedding;
> All loyall Souls, expect no other bidding:
> Unite their hearts in bonds of Peace and Love,
> And Jove will showre down blessings from above.
>
> p. 4

Ultimately the marriage does take place (in the pamphlet), although it is

forbidden by Captaine Army on the customary grounds that Mistris Parliament is "a woman of light carriage, inconstant, and like to be fruitlesse by reason she is troubled with the consumption in her members, the bloody issue and falling sickness" (p.4). This dialogue draws directly on the Mistris Parliament plays, but others, such as the playlet The Disease of the House, also utilise what seems to have been a generally accepted figure of parliament as domestically revolting female - redeployed in satirical plays like Tatham's later The Rump and the semi-dramatic The Cuckoo's Nest at Westminster, satirising Cromwell, Lambert and the rest by using their wives as butts. The same figure was repeated by several pamphlets at the Restoration, which do appear to borrow closely from and rewrite the Mistris Parliament plays.[34]

Such repetition and intertextuality testifies to the power of the metaphor to motivate the public and underscores my contention that this trope played an important part in royalist attempts to influence political and populist discourse about and understanding of the rôle of parliament in the Civil War, linking it to political theory. As if to prove the longevity of the trope, the one-side playlet Mris. Rump Brought to Bed of a Monster, appeared in 1660.[35] This playlet uses the format of popular ballads; and these were sometimes hung up around the walls of inns - ensuring a very wide readership.[36] Mistris. Rump re-uses the whole of the first Mistris Parliament play, suggesting not that these playlets had been forgotten in the twelve years between their first production and 1659-1660, but that the publisher anticipated that they would be remembered by some people at least; and therefore the pamphlet would have been able to draw on two sections of the market - first the people who don't know the earlier pamphlet and then those who did remember it. Most of the names are changed, in the light of changing contemporary political debate, but it

repeats exactly the method of "translating" the political into the household and it reuses much of the original text.

However, the Mistris Parliament pamphlets and playlets directly related to them were by no means the only ones that used the power of the female body to make a connection between state and family and other dramatic and semi-dramatic examples of the centrality of associated uses of the female body as a trope in the Civil War are readily available. One paradigmatically imperfect female figure for the early modern period was the whore, symbolizing danger and sexual chaos outside the implicitly desirable family structure, and readily construed as a threat to its stability from without, as opposed to the adulterous wife who is the enemy within the bedroom. Whores provided a figure for the linking of sexual and sectarian license (as in the case of Zelotopist whose sexual incontinence is a manifestation of her religious feeling).

The rare pamphlet play mentioned in Chapter Two, The Terrible Horrible Monster (1650, see Appendix One) features two scolds or whores (the text calls them scolds, they call each other whores). They are discovered in front of the parliament by Toby Tell-Troth, arguing about their degrading liasons with members of the post-regicide parliament, such as the much-abused Henry Marten. Toby arrives to display a spectacular monster with:

> A Hydra head, Argulian-eyes, Infernall Mouth, Infectious-Breath, Tygerian-Clawes, and of a Camelion Colour; so that it devours men, women, and children: it eats a whole Iland to a Break-fast, three Kingdomes to a Dinner.
>
> A1r

When Toby arrives the scolds (or whores) are in the midst of a discussion:

> 1.Scold A pox on thee for a Whore, a nitty-breech'd whore, that canst make thy brags, that thou layst with a Parliament-man in a House of Office at Lambeth, and

> Knock'st with him for six pence thou Jade; thou cripple-breech'd Jade.
>
> 2.Scold Marry foh, crack and smell to't: come up my durty Cozen, I never was taken with Mr.Martin, nor yet with Mr. Weaver at the Abby-Church Porch thou W-h-o-r-e; Marry come up Grammar-Grovers Bitch; doe ye bite, do yee girne, do ye grumble? . . . . come thy Neighbours know what thou art -- well enough.
>
> A2r

The whores are banished by Toby and "Carolina" and "Rusticus" enter to watch the show. Thus the tropes of the Mistris Parliament plays reappear here in a different configuration - the monster is distinguished from the women and it (rather than they) operates metaphorically, while the whores work as an index of the depravity of the times and the loose habits of republicans - especially Henry Marten. The whores are a symptom, and an instance here, rather than a metaphor - symptomatic instances of female transgression taken from the discourse of the bawdy court to stand for the greater disruption of the times. Like the monstrous state, they are attended by portents of disaster. Toby's banishment of the whores as symptoms of the improper government of the state and figures of inversion and "misrule" prefigures the longed-for banishment of the Rump and the end of the parliament monster. In the quasi-royalist, quasi-Leveller, anti-parliament scenario of The Terrible Horrible Monster the banishment of whores pre~figures an exhortation to a return to the heroic and the slaying of the dragon/parliament.

However, the appearance of whores in this play also indicates(by deriding) the interest taken by the Commonwealth government in the policing of the borders of the literal - rather than metaphorical - family. It reminds us that the later 1640s and 1650s was a time of concern about precisely the thing the political theorists could agree about - the family. In the preceding pamphlets we have seen the importance of the female body

as a metaphor for parliament's rejection of the king. However, parliament did attempt to regulate and reinforce the stability of the family which, as I have suggested, formed an unquestioned ideal of both patriarchal and anti-patriarchal theorists. Parliament's legislation against adultery provoked critical popular response and further anti-parliamentary satires (including dramatic ones) using women as symptoms of misrule to satirise the Commonwealth. I shall now to turn to a pamphlet which understands prostitutes as self-evidently transgressive, but which takes the new policing of prostitution as an index of the republican government's foolishness and dramatises what it projects as the effects of the legislation.

A Dialogue Between Mistress Macquerella, a Suburb Bawd, Ms Scolopendra, a noted Curtezan, and Mr. Pimpinello an Usher &c., was a pamphlet dialogue on the topic of the new law against adultery.[37] Just as the separation order of the Vote of No Addresses brought the relations between king and parliament abruptly into a sharp focus in 1648, the 1650 Act against adultery and fornication provided a new context for politico-sexual controversy and its alteration of the laws about sex, especially with regard to women outside the family, was canvassed in Mistress Macquerella. This dialogue begins by making the connection I have traced through the pamphlets from the 1640s between radical religious practice and sexual licence, in this case sexual trade. The prologue begins, "Now, in the name of Fate, What Saint is she / That keeps a shop of publike Brothelrie" (A1r). It seems that the connection has become so obvious that rather than being the point of the text (as it was in the earlier Zelotopit for example) it has become the pre-text of the argument which actually develops into something close to a materialist (not necessarily royalist) critique of the Act as a manifestation of the "Triumph of Lent."

The playlet works in terms of the reader being invited to both observe and censure the protagonists, but also to see them as responding to the government's foolish policy, which is presented as working to endorse prostitution and unruly women. In that the activities of the whores are revealed out of their own mouths, the playlet corresponds closely to the Zelotopist. But its sophisticated analysis of the material impact of the act distinguishes it from the earlier playlet. For instance, initially, Scollopendra says "today (if I will eat) I must put off this Petticoatt" (A2v). But by the end of the pamphlet the prostitutes and pimps have worked out that in fact all the new Act means is that greater security is needed, therefore prices can be raised, and that therefore the new law operates to the advantage of the already prosperous pimps and prostitutes who can afford to take the new precautions:

> Scol . . . the substance of all is, things must be carried cunningly, clandestinely, and obscurely, and then a Fig for all the Law in the world; and by this meanes, what is intended for our detriiment and obliquie, shall prove to our profit and glory; for if the old maxim be true, that the worst books of sale, when once called in, sell the best; this edict will much enhaunce our prizes, thou (Macquerella) hadst but half a piece before for thy permission, now a Jacobus is as little as can be given; thou (Pimpinello) hast had (commonly) hitherto but two Georges for thy purveyance, now halfe a Piece, or nothing.
>
> Pimp O rare Projectresse, let me kisse the sole of thy shooe.
>
> Scol My own Sallary trebled to my former rates, and this mutation we may well justifie alledging the hazard we run, and the inevitable danger of our persons in case of discovery.
>
> A5r

Thus, the pamphlet can be seen as a form of protest against the Act, on the grounds that the Act will actually benefit prostitutes and that parliament's attempts to control them will thwart their own ends. Ultimately, its butt is the parliament that sets up laws which merely

benefit the women who are most successfully transgressive and the decree of the commonwealth which attempted moral reform through the control of sexuality is presented as actively fostering and rewarding female subversion. Secondarily it calls attention to the terrible punishment - "hanging, burning, carting, whipping, or so, matters of small moment, triviall things these" as Pimpinello ironically describes them. As in Zelotopit, the Mistris Parliament plays and other playlets such as The Terrible, Horrible Monster women's rebellion is used as both a synedoche for an entire societal inversion and as a metaphor for the undesirable deviation from patriarchal, paternal government.

4.4. Conclusion.

In this case study I have examined the way political issues were articulated in dramatic discourse by analysing the use of gender in popular dramatic pamphlets, and setting this against developments in political theory in the Civil War years. In doing so I have argued for the crucial place of the figure of women (as a trope for rebellion) in popular anti-parliamentary politico-dramatic writing, and I have suggested that a variety of these dramatic texts use a rhetorical configuration whereby the scene of political rebellion is shifted to the household and figured as feminine rebellion. This occured at the moment when the king's power was most evidently absent despite all the patriarchal theory used to hold it in place - the period after the second Civil War. The Mistris Parliament plays assert the "natural" connection between state and family at the point at which it was most under threat. Arguing that the ideology of family was

stable during the Civil War I have traced the translation of political issues into the domestic and sexual and argued that this was facilitated by the stability of widely shared ideal of the family as a patriarchal structure. This very shifting of the scene and substituting of the domestic for the political implies a crisis in patriarchal theory and practice. In relation to Mistress Macquerella I have attempted to show how the sexual and familial legislation of the parliament of the early 1650s was itself constructed in anti-parliamentarian polemic as initating a period of license and, ultimately encouraging transgressive female agency - personified by the whores.

From here we might, briefly look forward to the Restoration when, at the level of the symbolic, the patriarchal narrative resumed. Rebellion was figured in Charles II's first triumphal entry into the City:

> In Leaden-Hall-street . . . was erected the first Triumphal Arch, after the Dorick order. On the North-side, on a Pedestal before the Arch, was a woman, personating Rebellion, mounted on an Hydra in a Crimson Robe, torn, Snakes crawling on her Habit and begirt with Serpents, her Hair Snaky, a Crown of Fire on her Head, a bloody sword in one Hand, a charming Rod in the other.[38]

Riding calmly past such rebellion the new King breaks rebellion's spell. But this figure of rebellion is strangely different from the lousy domestic rebels we have tracked through the 1640s into the 1650s. To begin with, she is figured as a powerful enemy to have overcome - her mount is more not less powerful than that of Mistris Parliament, and the Hydra takes us from Biblical evil to classical conquest. Instead of gobbling "Oisters," she wears Medusa's snakes as a phallic garment. Zeal looked like a "cloded lamb" as she slipped darkly from sects to sex, but this emblem's hairdo is snaky, supernaturally fiery and even regal. Quite an opponent. The castrating/charming rod is, I think, the punctum. It makes the only

reference to enchantments of civil discord from which the country has now awakened. The rod alone makes the link between "enchanted" rebellious domestic politics of the 1640s and 1650s, and the new state imposed by the king. The status of the female body has changed again: "she" no longer acts as a symptom suggesting the analogy between domestic and state discord, but emblematises rebellion overcome. The figure which in 1648 had taken the brunt of punishment for the challenged and now disputable analogy between king and father at the instant of the Restoration takes on a ritual significance, filled with a simply emblematic meaning whereby women symbolize chaos, defeated as in a masque and without recourse to the metaphor of the family. The fizzing and dangerous porno-political connection is absorbed - momentarily - by state symbolism.

Chapter Five. Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse; Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle

5.1. Introduction.

In terms of representation the Civil War brought the female body to the forefront of populist polemic and it became an important trope in political debate. But what was the relationship of women to drama and theatre during this period? The 1650s saw the emergence of one female dramatist, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, and this chapter investigates her relationship with theatre and politics.

In one of the many preambles to her first volume of plays - written in the 1650s and published, after delays, in 1662 - she wrote:

> I cannot chuse but mention an erroneous opinion got into this our Modern time and men, which is, that it should be thought a crime, or debasement for the nobler sort to Act Playes, especially on publick Theatres . . . for certainly there is no place, wayes or meanes, so edifying to Youth as publick Theatres, not only to be spectators but Actors; for it learns them gracefull behaviours . . . . [1]

She negotiates the relationship between nobility and public theatre, advocating theatre, including public theatre, as the cultural capital of the nobility. The emphasis on the moral power of theatre is in accord with the general thinking of her circle which included Thomas Hobbes and William

Davenant. We see clearly her concern with status, or class, and her desire to claim the theatre for the nobility. But what about the relationship between gender and theatre? How did women writing during the Civil War and Interregnum use dramatic discourses, and how were women positioned by these discourses?

Writing, publication, performance and reception are shaped by the configurations of gender present in dominant discourses, and the aim of this chapter is to read the issues of status and gender in Cavendish's plays in terms of dramatic, theatrical and social contexts.[2] The Tragedy of Mariam (1613) by Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, is one example of a published play by a woman from before the war, but the 1650s and 1660s saw a marked increase in the number of plays published by women, and eventually in 1660 the arrival of actresses on the public stage, closely followed by plays written by women; the dramatists of the Restoration included Katherine Philips, Frances Boothby, Elizabeth Polwhele and Aphra Behn. Some of the changes in kinds of performance brought about by the Civil War and Restoration may have facilitated the passage of women into the profession. One such process of change is from the distinctly demarcated "private" dramas (performed before invited audiences) and the "public" theatres of the 1630s and early 1640s, to the blending of courtly and public performance after the Restoration, with the increased presence of the court at the public theatre.

Whatever the forces facilitating or obstructing her career, Cavendish herself desired to be considered "singular," and for someone reading her prodigious and various literary and scientific output, it is often difficult to avoid replicating her own version of herself as completely self-invented.[3] However, her contemporaries regarded her as "singular" in a different way, judging her to be eccentric, and found her behaviour anti-

social and repugnant. Pepys's well-known comments address themselves to something the Duchess of Newcastle was herself much concerned with in her plays: theatre and display. However, for Pepys, it is the Duchess herself who is displayed and observed.[4]. Dorothy Osborne heaped scorn on Cavendish, and a closer acquaintance, Mary Evelyn, disapproved of her dress and conversation.[5] In 1667 Charles North wrote of her, "The Dutchess Newcastle is all y^e^ pageant now discoursed on: Her breasts all laid out to view at a playhouse with scarlett trimd nipples. Her intrado was incognito else a triumphale chariott with 12 horses."[6] This neatly pinpoints the contrast between Cavendish's idea of the uses of theatre as a locus for the staging of an ideal self and the way she was perceived by at least one contemporary. Although women might enter theatrical discourse as the generators of texts, their activities continued to be constituted by dominant patriarchal paradigms and, in terms of theatre, to be placed as the object of the watching male eye.

Twentieth century critics have tended to accomodate Cavendish's "singularity" by regarding her writing as "women's autobiography."[7] As Sara Heller Mendelson and Catherine Gallagher note, such scholars have attempted to use Margaret Cavendish's writing as part of an attempt "to establish a pedigree for modern feminism," - an approach which Cavendish's texts both encourage and resist. Mendelson's aim is "to reconstruct women's mental and material world in all its rich complexity."[8] But this is also problematic because no seventeenth century world can be fully reconstituted. However, as I shall argue, Cavendish's writing about gender and hierarchy is complex and contradictory, and her paradoxical attitudes are clearly connected to and generated by her circumstances during the Civil War and Interegnum indicating that, as Natalie Zemon Davis asserts, gender needs to be studied as a part of the overall "cultural network."

Davis rightly argues that "we should be interested in the history of both women and men, that we should not be working only on the subjected sex any more than an historian of class can focus exclusively on peasants."[9].

If one is attempting, as I am here, to trace discursive changes in relation to some sense of literary and cultural context Davis's remark offers a way of focussing an argument around contradictions within texts in relation to contextual factors. The relationship between status and gender, which concerns Davis, is an issue of central importance in Cavendish's plays and interwoven with the contestation of status fought out in the English Civil War and Protectorate. Douglas Grant comments "The disadvantage of writing plays during the interregnum was the impossibility of their being produced."[10] But for a woman writing plays, we could also see the Civil War bans on drama as in some ways inaugurating a new and temporary equality in the status of plays by men and women as long as neither sex was likely to have plays staged. Moreover, a comparison of her plays with other contemporary plays both within and without her immediate circle (particularly those by the marginalised aristocrats of the 1650s such as Thomas Killigrew), makes her writing practice appear much less eccentric.[11] Ten act plays were not unheard of in the explosion of dramatic genres in the 1640s and 1650s; Killigrew wrote them, and pamphlet plays were also published in two parts.[12]

In terms of the relationship between drama and the society that produced it during the 1650s Cavendish is significant as a member of both an elite group (as Duchess of Newcastle) and a non-elite group (as a woman). Her literary context included a husband who wrote and who had two daughters who wrote. It is this familial context which I shall examine first.

5.2. Family and war: a context.

Cavendish was writing during the 1650s; her plays and circumstances serve to illuminate the fractures and disjunctures of power and gender ideologies. Although she was in exile with her husband, his daughters remained in England. They too wrote plays, and may even have staged their entertainments at home in the 1650s. Private performances inevitably dramatised the political and social concerns of those who wrote and performed them. An obvious example is the series of politicised entertainments written by Mildmay Fane for private performance at Apthorpe during the 1640s: in 1641 "the youth and Servants" acted "Tymes Trick upon the Cards."[13] The new emphasis thrown perforce on private or family performance in which women participated during the Civil War and Protectorate, itself may have contributed to altering attitudes to women's public performance. Even so, things had changed so much during the twenty years between Stuarts that when Charles II returned he could not have masques at court because no-one "could make a tolerable entry."[14]

Newcastle's daughters wrote an album during the Civil War years and in it wrote two plays, both with their father in mind, addressing passages directly to the Duke.[15] The Duke's own first plays, co-written by Shirley, were published in 1649 and his daughters' plays seem to belong to the 1640s.[16] So we do have a family who wrote plays or in various ways participated in playmaking. This has not been considered as a significant part of Margaret Cavendish's specific context as a writer. Although they did not live together, there are some similarities between the unpublished plays of the Duke of Newcastle's daughters and those of his wife, who, like his daughters, addresses him in dedicatory verses. Indeed, wife and

daughters share the topic of "tranquility."[17]

The main plot of the play by Newcastle's daughters, "The Concealed Fansyes" dramatises the courtship between Lucenay and Tattyney and their suitors Courtley and Praesumption, alongside the affair between their father Monsieur Calsindow and Lady Tranquility. Written at some point after the Duke left for the continent following his defeat at Marston Moor (and remaining in manuscript form until 1931) the topic of courtship negotiations and gender roles in aristocratic marriages bears an obvious relation to the circumstances of the two young women, though the Civil War context of "The Concealed Fansyses" is suggested mainly in the language of siege and military discourse. The circumstances of a Civil War which enforced the retirement of the two young women and which saw them besieged at Welbeck by parliamentary forces is more explicitly present in the entertainment composed by the two sisters called "A Pastorall" which is part of the manuscript book containing poems to various relatives. One poem, "On hir most sacred Majestie," suggests an intimate identification of these young women with the royal cause through Henrietta Maria's heroism which can tame "Armyes of Rebells:" "Your Eye if looke, it doth an Army pay / And soe, as Generall, you doe lead the way" (fol.9).

The pastoral explores the relationship between solitude and war and moves from the representation of the forces of darkness - witches - in the first antimasque to the country people bewailing their losses by plunder in the second antimasque. It suggest the impact of Civil War on the countryside as two country wives and Goodman Rye and Goodman Hay discuss the strange beasts called satyrs who have come into the country, "halfe Men, halfe Beasts" - presumably cavaliers. When Henn, one of the country figures, asks "what will they plunder" Hay replies "Noe they understand not that phrase; Plunder," and Rye explains,"But I will tell you,

they are very loving people."

The part of the play dealing with the poor but resourceful peasants dramatizes a war in which the country people suffer from plunder and capture, and the second antimasque ends with a song about how all the farm animals have been stolen. However, war is presented rather differently in relation to the ladies. The five witches in the first antimasque had announced their intention to "metamorphose everybody" and declared their preference for "making Ladyes Captives," and "Seeinge howe prittily they can looke wise," "And speake witt soe against us." This dramatises wartime issues with direct bearing on the situation of the two women - isolation, loneliness and depression. The Duke's influence is suggested by the emphasis on "wit" which is represented as both the most desirable quality of a suitor (alongside military courage) and a weapon in time of powerlessness, one from the armoury of the aristocratic female captive (here represented as including beauty): in this play the aristocratic lady's war is metamorphosed into witty linguistic combat.

Most of the pastoral focuses on a group of melancholy shepherdesses living far from their friends in "a sad Shee Hermetts Cave." One of the shepherdesses, Chastity, declares that she is

> Chastity resolved to live a Country life
> Since from my friends I cannot heare
> I'm smothered in sighes, torter, feare.
>
> fol. 12

"A Pastorall" links "The Concealed Fansyes" concern with courtship to an exploration of the immediate circumstances of the war: the two camps (witches and satyrs, parliamentarians and royalists), the sieges, and above all the solitude, autonomy, and dangerous position of the young women

left unprotected on captured estates. Even more than "The Concealed Fansyes" the pastoral is a response to the circumstances of the war in which soldiers were a danger even to remote country houses. In that the possibility of dispossession underlies it, it is in the spirit of Virgilian eclogue. As Christopher Nicolson wrote to Christopher Dudley from Newcastle in 1651, troops were dangerous and destructive unless bribed; "You are to blame if you keep not at Yanwith. There is a briggade of horse coming downe which way I know not, but at such tymes you should make meanes to procure an officer to save that destructive waste that troupers make."[18]

Although these plays could have been performed there is no record of performances, and they do not give more than a glimpse of the ideologies of gender in relation to private theatre at a specific moment in the seventeenth century. They cannot alone be the basis for a full argument about women's acting even during the Interregnum. However, the "Pastorall" seems to be influenced by the pastoral drama of Henrietta Maria's court, like Walter Montagu's Shepherds Paradise in which the queen danced for the king with a cast of women. This picture of women's participation in court drama suggests that Henrietta Maria's time at court had greatly changed the ethos of aristocratic female acting from a generation earlier. A contrasting picture of women's relationship to amateur courtly drama is given by the cast-list of the recently re-discovered Cupid's Banishment (1617), a masque put on by Ladies Hall, an academy for daughters of the elite, for the patron Lucy Countess of Bedford and homage to Anne of Denmark.[19] In it the girls took small parts, but nearly all the major rôles were played by men, including Richard Brown as Diana. The Cavendish sisters seem to be drawing on the conventions of Henrietta Maria's court - such as dramatic pastoral.

Certainly, the Newcastle family's plays can be considered as a

nucleus of dramatic writing, most of it by aristocratic women, which is imbricated with the circumstances of the Civil War and which uses (and in the case of Margaret Cavendish, transforms) pre-war dramatic genres. After the Restoration the writers must have had some inside knowledge of the London stages. Certainly, the Duke wrote plays with assistance from real dramatists both before and after the war; after the Restoration The Humorous Lovers (which was mainly written by Shadwell) was performed as his.

5.3. Acting, theatre and the reader.

In Margaret Cavendish's writing contradictions emerge around the issues of the court, power, gender, sexual desire and representation as they converge on the signifier "theatre." Her dramatic (and non-dramatic) writing plays with and redefines the marginalised position of women in relation to the "theatre" of public affairs on the one hand and the theatre of representation on the other.[20] Cavendish's The Female Academy (Playes, 1662) explores women's negotiation of both these forbidden "theatres" by the female protagonists. The connotations of "theatre" within the plays work to relocate and redefine the relationship between femininity and the public sphere. Interchangeable meanings of "theatre" liberate gender and rôle within the texts as the interchangeability of acting/action makes transformations possible for the figured female nobility.

Although Cavendish herself describes her brain as the only stage on which her plays/fantasies are acted, her plays are not, as has been asserted, completely without a sense of the stage. In fact, the "theatre,"

both literal and metaphorical, is important to all her writing. Moreover, Cavendish is alert to the role of the reader in engaging with the texts and animating the action. The instruction she gives for the reading aloud of the plays is that they are not to be read as narrative, but as if staged, requiring a kind of mental acting from the reader: "Playes must be read to the nature of those several humours or passions, as are expresst by Writing: for they must not read a Scene as they would a Chapter; for Scenes must be read as if they were spoke or Acted" (Playes, 1662, A6v). She writes of her self that "For all the time my Playes a making were,/ My brain the Stage, my thoughts were acting there" (A2r), and the reader is to re-enact them.[21] She suggests that the plays, for her, are the manifestations of her "contemplations" and seems to be aware of the reader as engaging her or his own fantasy. Her comments constitute, if not a full theory of performance, a commentary on the dramatic structure of the plays and on theatre as a realm of fantasy for a reader to fulfil wishes.[22]

The signifier "theatre" corresponds to several related signifieds in Cavendish's writing and functions in a number of symbolic ways. Sexuality, gender, courts and politics are, for Cavendish, inextricably intertwined; her writing returns repeatedly to the paradoxical relationship of acting on the stage and acting in the theatre of the world. On the one hand she offers her plays as fantasies acted on the stage of her imagination. But simultaneously the political triumphs of women (disguised as pages becoming generals to win their lovers) is woven into an analysis of and commentary on the contemporary situation through the use of the idea of theatre. Cavendish's theatre may then be (merely?) the theatre of the imagination and the triumphs of her heroines imaginary triumphs (imagined by both the play and its "Noble Reader"). But meanwhile the notion of a sharp opposition between a "real" world and an "imaginary world" (in which

noble women triumph) is problematised by the extension of the idea of "theatre" to embrace both. Within the play the acting out of a rôle in an imaginary world and the acting of that rôle interpenetrate.

An example of this interconnection, and what Denise Riley calls Cavendish's "scholastic flamboyance," is The Female Academy, published in the 1662 volume of plays.[23] It approaches the relationship between femininity, fantasy, linguistic and intellectual pursuits in what is for Cavendish a tautly structured five-act play exploring the ideas of education and rhetoric for girls and women, and the play combines the secluded all-female academic locus with eroticised educational/dramatic display. The academy's scholars are all members of the female nobility which Cavendish represents as unjustly constrained: they are "of antient Descent, as also rich" (First lady, I.i, p. 653). Their learning "to speak wittily and rationally, and to behave themselves handsomely, and to live virtuously" is achieved through "discoursing" (First Lady, I.i, p. 653). Each lady is given a topic on which she speaks in public. Although nobody is allowed to enter the academy, men and women are allowed to stand on the other side of a grate to hear the young ladies talking. A situation is set similar to the one depicted in the frontispiece to Cavendish's Poems and Fancies, in which the figure of the author sits looking at the viewer who is separated from the female figure by a railing in the foreground of the picture.[24] In the play, the listening men are allowed to watch the women orate upon the public stage but they are marginal, silenced onlookers at the discourses which turn increasingly to the twin topics of language and love. Here, as elsewhere in Cavendish's plays, the women represented as sexually exciting to men (indeed these young women are represented as overwhelmingly exciting to the male viewers) are women displaying themselves both educationally and sexually within a masculine

preserve. Other examples are the women dressed as pages, or as generals; all are women in control of positions usually held by men.[25] Certainly, the ways in which Cavendish's plays act out scenarios in which women are on display, desired but also triumphant, offer the reader, particularly the female reader, material for elaboration as fantasy.

The topics given to the speakers in the female academy include "whether women are capable to have as much Wit or Wisdom as men" (I.ii, p. 654) - a question which the speaker regards as complicated by differentials in access to education, eventually concluding that women have wit, but not wisdom (p. 655). The topic of discourse is itself proposed twice. The first speaker says, "there are two sorts of discourses . . . as there is discoursing within the mind, and a discourse with words" (I.iv, p. 657); the second speaker makes a similar distinction but adds a third kind - "discoursing by signs, which is actions or acting" (I.xvi, p. 666). A little later the Lady Speaker talks about theatre:

> Lady A Theatre is a publick place for publick Actions, Orations, Disputations, Presentations, whereunto is a publick resort; but there are two Theatres, which are the chief, and the most frequented; the one of War, the other of Peace; the Theatre of Warr is the field, and the battels they fight, are the Plays they Act, and the Souldiers are the Tragedians, and the theatre of Peace is the stage, and the Plays there Acted are the Humours, Manners, Dispositions, Natures, Customes of men thereon described and acted, whereby the Theatres are as Schools to teach Youth good Principles . . . the designer of the rough Plays of Warr is a General or Councel; the designer of the smooth Plays of Peace is a Poet, or a Chief Magistrate.
>
> IV.xxi, p. 669-70

Here the two kinds of "theatre" are indistinguishable - the play of peace can be staged by either a poet or a chief magistrate making the theatre of the world and the theatre of the stage interchangeable. The theatre and

war both offer training in public roles and duties; the speaker is later at pains to defend the direct relationship between drama and history - the matron explains that "the ground of a right Romance is a true story" (sc.xxii, p. 670) - and favours the "Natural" rather than the "Romantical" acting style (IV.xxii, p. 669-71). This substitutable relation between representation and reality is echoed in the poem "A Dialogue Between Peace and War" in Poems or Several Fancies (1668). Warre gets the last word:

> A School am I, where all Men may grow Wise:
> For Prudent Wisdom, in Experience lies.
> A Theatre, where noble minds do stand:
> A Mint of Honour, Coyn'd for Valour's Hand.
> I am a Throne, which is for Valour fit;
> And a great Court, where Royal Fame may sit:
> A Field, in which ambition much doth run:
> Courage still seeks me; Cowards do me shun.[26]

Cavendish is again connecting and slipping between theatre, education, the court and public action. Turning on the dual meaning of the "theatre," her texts manage to expand the category so that all human action becomes representation (and implicitly vice versa). The court is, of course the stage of exemplary and corrupt human action in peace-time just as the battlefield is the theatre of war and the playhouse the school of manners. Here the manners of the world are represented and the young men are educated (as by the orations of the young ladies in the female academy) in the right ways of thinking about the world.

The idea of the theatre serves to connect several significant topics: education, the army, the public theatre, government and court. Furthermore, it offers the reader scenes of domination to elaborate. The notion of acting is here synonymous with action: through representation a woman "acting" the part of a general may take public "action." The slippage between the theatre and the world and the theatre of the world serves

very specific semiotic purposes in The Female Academy and other Cavendish plays including The Convent of Pleasure. The imagined acting woman slips through the plurisemic signifier "theatre" into a world of action.

Elsewhere the literal theatre seems to liberate women not from the constraints of gender, but by implication, from the very marks of gender. We might remember here Cavendish's fascination with the "female actor" she booked rooms to see on the Mountebank's stage in Antwerp:

> Upon this Profess'd Mountebank's Stage, there were two Handsom Women Actors, both Sisters, the one of them was the Mountebank's, th' other the Fool's Wife . . . his Wife was far the Handsomer, and better Actor, and danc'd better than the other; indeed she was the Best Female Actor that ever I saw; and her Acting a Man's Part, she did it so Naturally as if she had been of that Sex, and yet she was of a Neat, Slender Shape: but being in her Dublet and Breeches, and a Sword hanging by her side, one would believe she had never worn a Petticoat, and had been more used to Handle a sword than a Distaff; and when she Danced in a Masculine Habit, she would Caper Higher, and Oftener than any of the Men . . . [27]

The commercial theatre is shown here as releasing the female protagonists from the characteristics of gender. The spectator is presented as being in the same position of the male viewers in The Female Academy. Cavendish reports on her own viewing, and the reader watches her watching; she went "to see them act upon the Stage, as I caused a room to be hired in the next House to the stage, and went every day to See them, not to Hear what they said for I did not Understand their Language" (p. 407). The experience of watching the theatrical spectacle is such that when the pleasure is withdrawn (owing, we are told, to Magistrates fearing the plague), she says "my Fancy set up a stage in my brain and the Incorporeal Thoughts were the several Actors, and my Wit play'd the Jack Fool," until "the Magistrates of the Mind" chase her imaginary theatre away. Thus the theatre for Cavendish represents a locus of multiple possibilities - it liberates

women from gender constrictions, and it liberates the "incorporeal" imagination into making fictions. Here we see a movement from the "acting" or third kind of discourse described by the young lady on the educational/erotic stage of the female academy towards something else fitting the description of the first kind - "discoursing in the mind."

The multiple idea of theatre operates most obviously in Cavendish's plays in relation to the heroines of her texts. Here sexual politics is closely entwined with the theatre of war. For example, in Love's Adventures (which follows patterns drawn from romance), the Lady Orphant has been promised by her now dead father to Lord Singular. He has vowed never to marry; she disguises herself as a man and joins the army as his page. Unlike Viola in Twelfth Night, the Lady Orphant establishes an impeccable army record: she makes an excellent man, defends herself against false accusations and persuades her Lord to allow her to fight alongside him, distinguishing herself first in the field and then in the council of war. Lord Singular's role is to be astonished and impressed by Orphant / Affectionata's wisdom and courage (a scenario played out also in Cavendish's Bell in Campo). Eventually the scene returns to England, where her guardians are about to be tried for murder because of the disappearance of their charge. At the trial she reveals all - that is, her sexual identity:

> Affect Most Reverend Judges, and Grave Jury, sentence me not with censure, nor condemn me to scandals, for waiting as a Man, and serving as a Page; For though I dissembled in my outward habit and behaviour, yet I was alwaies chaste and modest in my nature.
> Pt. 2.V.xxxvi, p. 75

She and Singular declare a mutual passion and leave the stage with her reputation, chastity, honour, money and above all obedience to her father

still intact - and nuptial pleasures soon to come.

Disguise in Margaret Cavendish's plays is in an ambiguous relationship to theatric al cross-dressing (in which men played women) on the one hand and the gender-disguises of prose romance (in which men and women were disguised) on the other. In The Convent of Pleasure we find a man disguised as a woman disguised as a man (see IV.i, p.32 and V.i, p. 47) in a way which echoes romance and contemporary comedic pastoral. A complex debate about the issue of sexuality and cross-dressing in seventeenth century theatre has developed in recent critical writing, but these plays, written without a stage context but for imaginative reading, add a new twist to these arguments.[28] How can we think of "women" or female parts in plays of the 1650s but published in the early 1660s? Certainly, it seems likely that during the 1650s the shifts that were taking place in the ethos and political implications of acting made these plurisemic disguises even more unstable. But while the meanings generated by women on stage were transformed by the arrival of the actress at the Restoration, there was in the read texts of the Interregnum the possibility of complete congruity between part and actor; the "women" in Cavendish's plays, as read, can be considered as if acted by a woman - as oppos ed to signifying as alternately masculine and feminine. The choices would be with the reader too and would probably be influenced by that reader's knowledge of both theatrical and literary genres. These dramatic texts, published as women actors first began to appear on the public stage, draw on codes of both public and private, aristocratic and commercial theatre. In the pre-war theatres these two codes of theatrical representation configured gender slightly differently, especially because of the masque tradition which troped feminine dramatis personae, played by women, as representations of the society's ideal values. The 1650s brought together

these two codes in Sir William Davenant's public but masque-like productions such as The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru (see Chapter Seven), and that fusing implied a shift in theatrical uses of gender. Cavendish's plays seem to place an imaginary woman's body on stage but also use disguise in a way very similar to pre-war plays. One might contrast The Female Academy, where gender distinctions appear to be stable, and Love's Adventures. Love's Adventures, a text drawing on codes of romance, locates the erotic power of femininity in the relationship between femininity and public action combined with the erotic, attractive power implied in disguise and potential discovery.

For several reasons - the reiterated idea of the two kinds of theatre, the analysis of the female actor liberated into a "natural" masculinity, and the triumphant heroines of the plays acting out masculine roles in the theatre of war - the idea of the theatre generates repeated scenes of the transformation of power and gender. The plays by Cavendish discussed here rely on a version of the "vital if ill-defined connection between the theatre and the world."[29] The theatre functions as a place where problems of gender become superable for the heroine. The multiple signifieds of "theatre" serve to link power, fantasy, and gender in ways which figure the transcendence of the cultural meanings of femininity for the heroines (and possibly for the reader). It is perhaps the very absence of an actual playhouse, a circumstance particular to the 1650s, which permits such an intimate, flexible and highly connotative link between all the world and the stage of the imagination.

Some of Cavendish's female protagonists appear on stage in the same manner that a woman is on display at a court, performing what Ann-Rosalind Jones calls the court lady's spectacular function, a "generalised erotic function directly opposed to the silent fidelity demanded of the

private woman."[30] Display is combined with an emphasis on the chastity of the noble heroine like that of a femme forte. However, the heroine's assumption of masculine roles and prerogatives constitutes a representation of a society radically transformed in terms of gender relations. As I shall suggest, the nobility of the heroine is central in such a transformation. In order to begin to do so I shall first examine the way in which Cavendish's writing speaks to royalism and patriarchal discourse.

5.4. Royalism and patriarchal discourse.

Sherry Ortner has argued that "the sex/gender system . . . can be best understood in relation to the workings of the 'prestige system,' the system within which personal status is ascribed, achieved, advanced and lost."[31] Writing, and especially dramatic writing, offers Cavendish an opportunity to renegotiate the place of women in the prestige system, momentarily. As Ortner suggests in relation to Polynesia, pre-war seventeenth century English society regarded the aristocratic hierarchy as (ideally, if not actually) the custodians of the society's encompassing ideals. This is made literal in the language of patronage. Cavendish, writing in the 1650s, wants to preserve this threatened rôle. On the other hand, the system relied implicitly on the continued use and exchange of women as bearers of value (including some of pre-war England's "ideal" values). Some, at least, of the developments of the 1650s suggested that some women were amongst those who would benefit from the fall of the old hierarchy and values, which Cavendish in the main wished to preserve. The

theatre provides a metaphor which can resolve, in writing, such intractable contradictions.

Attention to the fluidity of the female protagonist in "theatre" alerts the reader to a whole set of further slippages that take place within Cavendish's texts around royalist ideologies and the status of women. The texts slide away from positions which some readers (such as Jacqueline Pearson, Kathleen Jones, and others) have chosen to read as unproblematically "feminist." Such readings take no account of the cross currents of status and gender in Cavendish's texts, dehistoricising "feminist" issues within the plays by isolating Cavendish's texts from their particular circumstances of production and consumption.[32] On the one hand, as her endless prefaces and her heroines declare, Margaret Cavendish is a woman writing. But she is also the wife of a peer who enters the writing market at the level of buying authors to write plays for him. It is worth asking how questions of gender as raised in her plays relate to the framework of contemporary political thought: on the one hand Hobbes's analysis of rational, radical self-interest (plus authority), and on the other Filmer's elaboration of the rule of fathers which took the father of a family as God-the-father printed small. As I have shown (in Chapter Four) Filmer saw women as subject before the fall; and although Hobbes suggested that women were the primary "owners" of children (in the state of nature "every woman that bears children becomes both a mother and a Lord"), men owned women.[33]

Patriarchal thinking was powerful in debate dealing with the politically ideal; however, as Margaret Ezell suggests, it is more difficult to map the relationship between political discourse and its implication for individuals and the material decisions of daily life. That is not to say, as at some points Ezell seems to suggest, that patriarchal discourse was

nothing more powerful than a disposable meta-language.[34] However, the Civil War did expose the self-interest of the social elite. As Brian Manning notes, "stripped of the trappings of government, the monarchy was seen to rest, not upon the love of the people, but upon the interests of a class."[35] Clarendon said of Newcastle that he "loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness."[36] The same could, perhaps, be said of his wife. Thus Cavendish's negotiations of questions of gender and status can best be read in relation to the stabilising, patriarchal discourses which supported monarchy, but which also syncretically supported the structure of the family; the same metaphorical thinking held the king in place as head of the state and the father as head of the family.

Cavendish argues on the one hand that women are unjustifiably marginalised, and on the other, for the primacy of the monarch. Her arguments circle the same central issues - conversation, public display and action, marriage and remarriage (see Bell in Campo, Playes, 1662) - issues which concerned all women, but which she usually presents through the predicament of a particular noble figure. Even as she rails against it, her heroines (such as the Lady Sanspareille) endorse the division of the world into binary opposites based on the masculine right to authority; Cavendish attempts to claim status as a writer not by repudiation of gender hierarchies but by what Ann Rosalind Jones calls, "subtle appropriations and reshufflings of the prevailing notions of feminine virtue."[37]

In her prose writing on the topic of gender relations and the rights of women, Cavendish is highly contradictory. She suggests that marriage is undesirable and approaches positions which assert female autonomy, only to back away; she combines a conception of the wife's role in marriage which

might have been taken from the educationalist Jean Luis Vives, with a telling critique of the power relations between the sexes. She follows the gendered ascription of qualities and its implications for women's engagement with the world and particularly the public sphere: "The minde and the body," she writes, "must be married together; but so as the minde must be the husband; to govern, and command, and the wife to obey, and reason which is the judge of the minde must keepe the senses in awe."[38] She is not the only woman entering patriarchal discourse in support of monarchy and the family. In 1649 Elizabeth Poole wrote of Charles I that, although he had broken his side of the patriarchal contract the country (as wife) was still subject to his authority. "And although this bond be broken on his part; You never heard that a Wife might put away her husband, as he is head of her body."[39] Here, too, we can see a woman writing within the paradigms offered by patriarchal discourse, and in support of preserving the life of the referent - the king himself. But at the same time as Cavendish and Poole are subjects in patriarchal discourse, patriarchy and patriarchal discourse is precisely the object of <u>their</u> discourse. We might want to see this use of words by that which ought under patriarchy to lack language itself, as disrupting the patriarchal paradigm even as it asserts its centrality.

The play <u>Youths Glory and Deaths Banquet</u> will allow us to map these contradictory relationships more clearly here. The Lady Sanspareile comments on political questions: the area which Cavendish believed closed to women's action. Delivering a commentary on "justice" she declares that "humane Justice [belongs] to Monarchical Princes . . . For which Justice Gods and Princes are both feared and loved." Through this analogy monarchy becomes inseperable from justice (<u>Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet</u>, Pt. 2, I.i, p. 155). Earlier she has commented in a Hobbesian way that the

"Marshall Law" is "the Supream Authority, placing and displacing, and is the Monarchical Power, that doth not only protect all other Laws, but commands them with threats" (Youths Glory Pt. 1 V.xv, p. 150). For Cavendish and her heroines the supreme authority is royal and the monarchical duty is the protection of the peace of the commonwealth through martial justice and "without which" she writes, "there could be no peace kept." Thus justice and military power simultaneously constitute monarchy and are validated by it. Lady Sanspareile addresses a female monarch as follows:

> Sansp most glorious Princess, you and your Subjects are like the Sun, and the rest of the Planets, moving perpetually, keeping their proper Sphere, they moving in civiler loyalty about you, to recieve the light of your Authority . . . .
>
> Pt. 2. I.i, p. 156

As Catherine Gallagher notes, Cavendish's insistence on hierarchical order can only coincide with the recognition of the rights of women to power at the very top of the hierarchy - only a queen both confirms the perpetual order and takes an active part in it.[40] Thus, Cavendish's prose writing contains a range of contradictory opinions about politics, ranging from the orthodox to the eccentric.[41] Often, the writing slides from one position to the other. An example of such slippage and reorganisation can be seen in The World's Olio, where she comments "Womens Tongues are like Stings of Bees; and what man could endure our effeminate monarchy to swarm about their ears?" She implicitly links the bid for authority by a female with a danger - a "swarm" - and goes on to link that bid for authority with speech. The "effeminate monarchy" is attempting to seize power through speech. She continues:

> True it is, our Sex make great complaints, that men from their first Creation usurped a Supremacy to themselves, although we were made equal by Nature, which Tyrannical Government they have kept ever since, so that we never could come to be free, but rather more and more enslaved, , using us either like Children, Fools, or Subjects, that is to flatter or threaten us, to allure or force us to obey, and will not let us divide the World equally with them, as to Govern and Command, to direct and Dispose as they do; which Slavery hath dejected our Spirits, as we are become so stupid that Beasts are but a Degree below us, ... [42]

A slippage takes place here between the views initially attributed to her complaining sex in general and which seem to become absorbed into the text as its own complaint. From condemning "effeminate monarchy" it moves rapidly to apparently sponsoring a feminist position. Cavendish seems on the one hand to subscribe to an ideology of contempt for female rule as a kind of tyranny, on the other to evade or escape her marginal or actively transgressive status as literary producer. The first attribution of the "complaints" to loci external to the text opens an aporia between the official, unified "I" as in agreement with the anti-feminist position, and allows an ambiguous, unowned, intervention of other views. In short, assertions of a feminist kind rest uneasily in Cavendish's texts because these rely on a conceptualisation of authority wholly derived from the male, ruling, speaking figure.

Yet Cavendish returns again and again to the theme of female wisdom and women's ability to make laws and to organise military campaigns and to orate. Again and again her heroines, like Lady Contemplation, Lady Sanspareille, and Lady Orphant, take on male rôles and are respected so that these heroines are allowed to answer the case against female rule and government. The Lady Sanspareille in Youths Glory is quickly sketched in as a paragon of wit and learning; granted a proper education by an esteemed father, she goes on to astonish the world with a series of orations on all

subjects from politics through marriage to the theatre. She is so impressive that one surprised "gentleman" comments that he could wish for "that I never wisht before" - to be a woman, "but such a woman as the Lady Sanspareille" (Pt 1, IV.xiii, p. 145).

One of the most prolonged explorations of these contradictions between power and femininity comes in another of the earlier plays, Bell in Campo.[43] Here too the only resolution of the problem of femininity versus authority is the coincidence of these qualities through a woman raised to the top of the hierarchy: in this case a female general. This play also reflects Cavendish's engagement with the Civil War: the triumphal entry may well be a reading of Henrietta Maria's triumphal entry into Oxford in 1643.[44] Bell in Campo tells the story of the war between "this Kingdom of Reformation" and "the Kingdome of Faction" (Pt 1, I.i, p. 579) contrasting the sad fortunes of women left behind by war-going husbands with the successful career of the Lady Victoria who is elected to be head of a female army made up of "women of all sorts" (I.ix, p. 587). Part of the play is given over to the wise law-giving of the Lady Victoria, but most of Acts III, IV and Part Two Acts II, III and IV interweave the reported successes of the Female Army with the sad fates of war widows. The successes bring the Masculine and Female armies closer together, and the second part ends with the plan for Lady Victoria's triumph:

> 1 Gent . . . . the Lady Victoria shall be brought through the City in triumph, which is a great honour, for never any makes triumphs in a Monarchy but the King himself; then that there shall be a blank for the Female Army to write their desires and demands; also there is an Armour of gold and a Sword a making, the hilt being set with Diamonds, and Chariot all gilt and imbroidered to be presented to the Lady Victoria, and the City is making great preparation against her arrival.
>
> 2 Gent Certainly she is a Lady that deserves as much as can be given from Kings, States, or Poets.
>
> Pt 2, IV.xviii, p. 627

This passage and the juxtaposed list of female demands serves to focus the contradictions between monarchist ideology and rhetoric on the one hand and the claims Cavendish also articulates for noble, aristocratic, women on the other. Again a heroine - "liberated" by theatre from the restraints of gender - outdoes the men in fields traditionally barred to her. The list of demands returns the play from celebration of heroinism to analysis of women in their domestic relations, as they articulate demands for domestic autonomy which seem petty in comparison to the great triumphs of the Lady Victoria. The demands of the women include that:

> First, That all women shall hereafter in this Kingdome be Mistris in their own Houses and Families.
> Secondly, They shall sit at the upper end of the Table above their Husbands.
> Thirdly, that they shall keep the Purse.
> . . . . .
> Tenthly, They shall go to Playes, Masks, Balls, Churchings, Christenings, Preachings, whensoever they will, and as fine and bravely attired as they will.
> Lastly, That they shall be of their Husbands Counsel.
> Pt 2, V.xx, p. 625 (mispaginated)

The women warriors cheer the victory won for them by the prowess of the aristocratic heroine in the theatre of war. When the play shifts from a single aristocratic woman to women in general, it shifts its discursive field from the fantasised triumphs of war to the issues of the battle of the sexes fought out in comic drama, conduct books and in the antifeminist tracts of the earlier seventeenth century. The right to power, for women in Cavendish's writing, is a privilege attendant upon birth and status; her plays dramatise the differences between noble women warfarers and other women, especially citizen women.

5.5. Gender, class and mobility: the Civil War context.

These texts adopt positions about gender which remain contradictory even taking into account that some are spoken by Cavendish in an authorial persona, and others by figures in plays so often taken by commentators to be, unproblematically, "Margaret." The contradictions have perplexed a range of writers on Cavendish. Treating her life and writing as one text, a recent biographer says of her "disapproval" of the roles some women found during the civil wars and after: "Why such an insistent advocate of greater freedom for women should condemn those who exercise such freedom is difficult to assess."[45]

While Cavendish does not seem to be exactly "an insistent advocate of freedom for women," the movement between critique and valorisation of patriarchal institutions means that her fleeting, momentary criticisms of sexual hypocrisy emerges as discongruent and dissonant with the insistence on nobility, and royalty. The two positions can be linked using something to which critics of Cavendish's plays have paid little attention - the representation of gender in relation to social mobility. Does this bring together or decisively separate the Royalist politics and the sexual politics of Cavendish's texts? In William Cavendish's plays, women of the lower orders are represented as sexually interested and available. In the plays by his daughters such women are limited to the parts of servants or farm women. Although they are presented sympathetically, they are called by farm names such as "Henn" in "A Pastorall." Margaret Cavendish's representation of citizen women, maids and servants insists on their desires for social mobility. For example, the citizen women who appear

momentarily in The Female Academy are angry at being excluded from the academy orations or discourses which are held exclusively for a noble audience. Their recourse is to the men's academy: the men, they say, will not turn them away but make them welcome (Female Academy, II. xi, p.662).

One of the most detailed treatments of social aspiration and femininity occurs in a plot developed autonomously through part one of the play The Matrimonial Trouble (Plays, 1662). In this plot, Bridget Greasy, a "Cook-maid," is accused of stealing by Thirsty the steward who berates her, initially for her unskilful making of "pudding in guts":

> Thirsty you are a Slut, and did not take all the dung out of them, nor wash, nor scrape nor cleanse them as they should have been, but you order the guts as you do the dishes, the one is dungy, the other greasie; besides, my Master complains, that his Fowl tastes rank, and his Brawn tastes strong, and his Beef tastes musty, and that's because you are so lazy, as not to shift your Brawn into fresh Sousing drink, nor make the brine strong enough in the powdering-tub, nor thrust your fingers far enough into the Fowls rumps to draw them clean . . . besides, your sluttery is such, as you will poyson all the House: for in one place I find a piece of butter, and a greasie comb, full of nitty hairs lying by it; and in another place flour and old worn stockings, the feet being rotted off with sweat; and in a third place, a dish of cold meat cover'd with a foul smock, . . . [46]

At this point the master, Sir John Dotard, comes in; the rest of this plot traces Bridget Greasy's rise through the ranks to become his wife. Much of her progress is reported disapprovingly by other servants who comment on her hypocrisy and thieving. While Cavendish defends the entry of noble (fictional) ladies into the theatre of the world, Bridget is represented as disgusting and "naturally" low. As Sara Mendelson comments, "class interests are certainly more obvious than gender solidarity among seventeenth-century women."[47] Even this formulation is inadequate, though,

to the specific case of the interrelationship of class and gender in Cavendish's plays and in her writing generally. Cavendish's multiple "theatres" are open only to the noble female. Her emphasis on the sexual attractiveness and power of the noble female is underpinned by a commitment to a hierarchical structure in which the femininity of the lower orders must be kept under control. The sexual desirability and desires of women of the lower orders endanger the security of the noble woman and are constructed as disgusting and transgressive. The same is true of their actions in the world; Cavendish speaks approvingly of the breaking up of a conventicle of "preaching sisters" which she had nevertheless gone to see.

The theatre preserves the heroines and noble ladies as beautiful and chaste while elevating them to masculine rôles; it allots to lower-class women (and sexually desirous courtiers in The Presence) all the many negative attributes of femininity as constructed in seventeenth century society.[48] Socially mobile women - particularly in the plays in the 1662 volume - connote danger and chaos. Citizen's wives remain the focus of animosity throughout Cavendish's plays. Often they act as grotesque foils to deserving or vulnerable women. An example is the citizen's wife in the play within a play in The Convent of Pleasure, who goes looking for her husband in the tavern and agrees to stay there to drink with the men.

What is at stake throughout Cavendish's writing is the intransigent interrelationship between patriarchal or monarchist ideals and the desire to disrupt gender ideology. I began this chapter with Cavendish's own analysis and valorisation of the potential of the theatre as an educator of the nobility. In this chapter I have attempted to integrate the ingredient of gender to the already vexed issue of status and aspiration, and to pinpoint the slippages in Cavendish's operations of patriarchal and

monarchist rhetoric. As a royalist woman, Cavendish faces an intractable contradiction. She wishes to support the ideal class order, but to disrupt gender ideologies. S.D.Amussen argues persuasively that in the early seventeenth century,"the existence of the gender-hierarchy was secure. But the class hierarchy was challenged; the criteria for determining status, the conception of the moral superiority of the wealthy and the inferiority of the poor were also called into question."[49] Cavendish does mount challenges to the gender hierarchy, but at a time (the 1650s) when the class hierarchy was only beginning to regain limited control in the provinces, and which continued to be threatened.[50]. Her own position as a wife whose husband endorsed her work indicates immediately the interrelationship of class and gender hierarchies: to suggest that one (gender) might benefit from reform is to point, inevitably towards the instability of the other (class).

The very circumstances of social change and mobility in the 1650s which contributed to Cavendish becoming a playwright simultaneously threatened her position as an aristocrat. It is possible to read back into her plays the circumstances of their production, and to see the slippages and the insistence with which her texts designate the dirty, low, waste parts of society in relation to social mobility (Bridget Greasy, citizens' wives) as a product of irresolubly contradictory ideologies of gender and of class. At every juncture the assertion of class stability and the fixed lowerness of the lower orders stands surety for the noble ladies' liberation from gender constraints and entry into the theatre of the world.

Thus the 1650s proved a period of innovation in women's relationships to the writing and publishing of plays, if not their performance. As a

writer in exile and without hope of performance, Margaret Cavendish was not subject to the strictures against the theatre. However, these very strictures provoked a reassessment of the nature of theatre around the question of opera, and this is the subject of Chapter Six.

SECTION III

POLITICS AND PERFORMANCE

Chapter Six. Royal or Reformed? the Politics of Court Entertainment in Translation and Performance.

6.1. Introduction.

The purpose of this chapter is to map the theory and practice of "reformed" drama in the 1650s in relation to both the contemporary political situations and the pre-war Caroline court. While Margaret Cavendish was writing and watching performances in exile, this story begins with the one entertainment recorded as having been performed under the Commonwealth, before a visiting ambassador, and goes on to discuss the theorising about the place of reformed drama,entertainment and opera which took place under the Protectorate.

Despite stylistic differences, in ideological terms masque and opera seem to have held comparable places in the theatrical debates of the 1650s, and in some cases the two words seem to cover similar material. For the purposes of this argument, which traces the interconnections of political circumstance and a genre, masque and opera function primarily as the locus of the debates about drama and theatre under the Protectorate. I do not discuss issues such as the musical developments of the aria and recitative within the opera, or performance in masque, though in performance music would have played an important part in the drama, and

would have complicated and elucidated the narrative.[1] Instead, I concentrate on the contextual and political implications of the genres and the way musical entertainment was part of the cultural and ideological disputes of the 1650s.

In 1653 the entertainment Cupid and Death was permitted, even sponsored, by the government. The government itself changed rapidly in 1653-1654 when Cromwell dissolved the unpopular Rump and summoned a Nominated Assembly (better known as Barebones). This, in turn, was dissolved in December 1653, and by 16 December the Protectorate was constituted with Cromwell ruling using the Instrument of Government. Famously, in September 1654 he spoke to a newly called assembly about the need for "healing and settling."[2]

Meanwhile, illegal theatrical activity continued. In 1653 Daniel Fleming recorded spending twopence on a play and evidence that playing continued is provided by recorded moves against it in 1654 and raids on the still-functioning Red Bull in December of the same year.[3] Writing in 1656, the same year in which Davenant's opera began, the Spanish ambassador Giovanno Sagredo wrote a partial truth when he said that "all conventicles and meetings are forbidden, and plays and parties in particular, from fear that under the guise of recreation they may be plotting something against the present rulers."[4] Although this was true, it was not quite the only story. For even three years earlier parliament seems to have begun using entertainments to help to answer the question of how the new republic was to present itself. From the one theatrical production put on (possibly by the Committee of Council) in 1653 for the Portugese ambassador, it is possible to trace a strand of court entertainment from the Caroline period into the republic.[5]

6.2. Continuity and criticism in court entertainments 1634, 1643, 1653.

Three texts, The Triumph of Peace (1634), The Cruell Warre (1643) and Cupid and Death (1653) provide an opportunity to explore the ideological position of court drama in the 1650s, and furnish further evidence about the relationship between pre-war and post-war drama. The author of two of these texts, the masques The Triumph of Peace and Cupid and Death, was James Shirley, the Caroline dramatist, who lived on into the Interregnum and continued to write. In some ways, Shirley's position as a dramatist is similar to that of Davenant (see Chapter Seven). Both knew and may have been helped by the powerful Bulstrode Whitelocke. In 1634 Shirley and Whitelocke both worked on The Triumph of Peace, and like Davenant they had both participated in what some (such as the author of The Cruell Warre) regarded as the worst excesses of courtly drama. It has even been suggested that Davenant ousted Shirley from his court position. Undoubtedly, Shirley wrote for the court, but as Martin Butler notes association with the court does not imply total personal identification with Charles's policies. Shirley's unperformed play The Court Secret (1642, published 1653), for example, is not emphatically pro-Stuart.[6]

The Triumph of Peace belongs to Shirley's period working for the Caroline court but it was first put on by the Inns of Court in 1634, when it was overseen to a large extent by Bulstrode Whitelocke, later Lord Chancellor under the Protectorate. Whitelocke took charge of the music (composed by Simon Ives and William Lawes, who had worked on other productions including Britannia Triumphans), and he was also involved in the organisation of both the antimasques and the procession.[7] The Triumph of Peace situates Shirley as a dramatist whose work was intimately

involved with debates around the court, and (to an outsider) might appear to exemplify the virtues or vices of courtly drama. Nevertheless, Whitelocke's involvement in a masque which was ironically dedicated to the imprisoned William Prynne hints at the complexity of the religious and political cross-currents of the Caroline court, and also to the potential tensions between religion, politics and status.[8]

The masque was implicated in at least two debates - one between the king and the law about monopolies (addressed in an antimasque of projectors) and an equally complex debate on court theatricals. It may have been a response to Prynne's Historiomastix which, in turn, may have been an attack on women's dancing in Walter Montagu's pastoral The Shepherd's Paradise.[9] Whether or not Prynne intended to criticize the court, he suffered for his attack on the sports of the ruling powers: a year after his protest he was expelled from Lincoln's Inn, fined £5,000, mutilated and imprisoned. Although he was not released before the outbreak of war the case was not forgotten - during the war a spoof recantation of Historiomastix appeared.[10] Prynne's connection with The Triumph of Peace would be sufficient to make the masque memorable to a section of the public, but so would its lavish production (it may have cost £21,000).[11] The plot consists of a sequence of antimasques banished by Irene - leading Murray Lefkowitz to chide the masque for lacking "dramatic unity."[12] However, it lived up to its name of "triumph" because the masque was preceded by a huge procession through the streets: a public demonstration of power for the pleasure (and awe) of the bystanders.

The processional meant that the masque costumes were seen by more people than usual, and that the production involved a wider range of people than court festivities customarily did is indicated by the fact that the Lord Mayor arranged for the masque's second performance.[13] Martin

Butler perceives The Triumph of Peace as successfully building a bridge between court and law, and he details the involvement of men who at other times opposed the crown.[14] However, this masque was unusual in having another audience - on the street - and its relationship to this audience was distinctly ambivalent. For instance, one detail recorded by Whitelocke was that for the procession even the beggars from the antimasque had to be mounted - "but on the poorest, leanest jades that could be gotten out of the dirt carts or elsewhere."[15] This was a sort of conspicuous consumption calculated to gall critics of the court.

The masque details the order and contents of the triumphal procession, giving careful and detailed descriptions of the elaborate costuming. More, it tells us something about the relationship between the procession and the inhabitants of the streets that it passed through. Following the trumpeters who follow the antimasque figures came an actual military force:

> The Marshal followed these, bravely mounted, attended with ten Horse and forty Foot, in coats and hose of scarlet trimmed with silver lace, white hats and feathers, their truncheons tipped with silver: these upon every occassion moving to and fro, to preserve the order of their march and restrain the rudeness of the people, that in such triumphs are wont to be insolent and tumultuary.
>
> After these an hundred Gentlemen, gloriously furnished and gallantly mounted, riding two and two abreast, every Gentleman having many Pages, richly attired, and a Groom to attend him.[16]

Thus, in the middle of the "triumphal" procession there was a genuine militia making sure that the separation between staged antimasque and riot was maintained, and preserving the safety of the aristocracy from the potentially antic disposition of the general populace. In the light of recent criticism of the court masque, seeing it as a peace-keeping force, this military presence to cow those outside the court seems ironic indeed

and demonstrates the narrow bounds within which the symbolic discourse could operate. The procession might be seen in public, but the nature of the display itself was felt to be potentially disruptive: the masquers anticipated that what Martin Butler calls the "plebian audience" might not fully enter into the spirit of "triumph."[17] These spectators must have been in part the same as those for the Lord Mayor's shows: but this was a display of wealth in front of them, not a show for them. They are offered the visible ritualistic character of the masque without the hermeneutic provided by the narrative: in what sense can they be called an audience to the masque at all? All the bystanders could really see was a pageant signifying the richness and power of the court. Indeed, perhaps the pleasure of the procession was for those who processed in triumph, rather than for the onlookers. And the unity of the courtly symbolic system was protected from disruption by the presence of the military dressed in a strange mixture of riot gear and stage costume.

The association between Whitelocke and Shirley in this court entertainment takes on new implications in 1643. The theatres were closed, Whitelocke was active in the new government and, just at this point, The Tragedy of the Cruell Warre (1643) was published - a parody of The Triumph. of Peace.[18] The existence of The Cruell Warre, indicating the increased drawing apart of the sides during 1643, also makes evident the socio-political significance which the Triumph of Peace had for contemporaries.[19] The implicit disjuncture of audiences and interests was played upon by The Cruell Warre which underlines the differences between the message of the masque and what it presents as a "reality." The Cruell Warre follows the structure and even costuming of the masque quite closely, beginning with Confidence's arrival at a royalist camp and going on to parody the dance of the beggars. Other incidents are transformed to

the detriment of royalists as when Jollity and Laughter play at dice, "where having spent their patrimony they returne to plunder, where with fire and sword they renew their stocks againe."[20]

Presumably it is because of this close resemblance to the earlier text that Bulstrode Whitelocke himself has been suggested as the anonymous author of The Cruell Warre.[21] This is unlikely because The Cruell Warre does not seem to be sympathetic to the king, and during 1643 Whitelocke was heavily involved in peace talks with Charles I; he seems to have been among those genuinely keen to see them succeed. The publication of such a parody by him could only exacerbate bad relations and accelerate any drawing apart of king and parliament. In these circumstances it seems unlikely that Whitelocke would wish to offer the public a reminder of his involvement with The Triumph of Peace. Moreover, Whitelocke was actually involved in regulating scandalous print as a member of a committee to consider "The Printing of Pamphlets of False News."[22]

Whoever did write the parody was by 1643 intensely critical of the Caroline court as well as the royalist cause. As one commentator has put it, in taking the same form as The Triumph of Peace, The Cruell Warre is "a piece of Royalist propaganda by a Royalist sympathiser . . . turned inside out to be used as a weapon against the Cavaliers themselves" - comment which, problematically, insists on seeing The Triumph of Peace from a post-Civil War viewpoint, as "royalist."[23] The target of the parody is in part the perpetuation by The Triumph of Peace of the myths of the Stuart ruling class.[24] The Cruell Warre by its very existence bears witness to the puissance of the self-mythologisations of the early Stuart monarchy but also to the fragility of the symbolism of the court's theatrical expressions. The parody plays upon the apparent promises of the masque and what is now the case in England. The existence of The Cruell

Warre suggests a very particular political understanding of court culture and its existence is evidence for a widespread apprehension, not simply a court knowledge, that the masque as a form was implicated in political debate and criticism, but also (by the 1640s) could be seen as having promulgated Caroline ideologies: The Cruell Warre can be seen as an outsider's commentary on the failure of law and monarchy to resolve the issues in that most seriously political of genres, the court masque. As well as "exposing" as perfidious the symbolic language of the court, The Cruell Warre makes it obvious that by some in the 1640s, at least, the role of courtly entertainments was seen as putting state policy into an aesthetic and symbolic vocabulary. Although such masques might well be critical of the king the parody pointedly offers an outsider's view, in which they are merely the symbolic language of kingly policy. Such parodic challenge to the verbal and visual rhetoric of court spectacle amounts to a deliberate demystification of the arts of monarchy (an example of a similar strategy of "exposure" is the publication of the King's personal correspondence in The King's Cabinet Opened).[25]

The Cruell Warre's status as parody enables it to "expose" The Triumph of Peace, as it were from the inside, to a large extent inhabiting the original text (though, paradoxically, it was in part able to do so because the earlier masque at least raised questions about Charles's policies on projectors and monopolists, and the status of rumour, thereby providing a format to be both used and subverted). The first stage of the original masque was a demonstration of power and wealth in a procession to court from Ely and Hatton houses, and the printed version of the masque gives a detailed description of the principal actors as they set off:

> Fancy, in a suit of several-coloured feathers, hooded; a pair of bats' wings on his shoulders, riding alone as sole presenter of the Anti-masques.

> After him rode Opinion and Confidence together; Opinion in an old fashioned doublet of blacke velvet, and trunk hose, a short cloak of the same with an antique cape, a black velvet cap pinched up, with a white fall, and a staff in his hand; Confidence in a slashed doublet parti-coloured, breeches suitable with points at knees, favours upon his breast and arm, and a broad-brimmed hat, tied up on one side, banded with a feather, a long lock of hair, trimmed with several-coloured ribbons; wide boots, and great spurs with bells for rowels.
>
> p. 283

Such detailed description is repeated in the parody, suggesting that the parodist was working closely from the text. More significant imitation is the way the parody puts to work the anti-masques from The Triumph of Peace. Within the Caroline masque the antimasque presented those social dangers the government actually faced in - Triumph of Peace there is an antimasque of monopolists, a topical cause of anger - but the masque also plays on the status of the figures of Confidence, Opinion and Phansie as semi-allegorical figures and antimasque types. These serve as the main focus of the audience's contempt and laughter, thereby once again setting social comment at a distance.

The Cruell Warre exploits and inverts the masque's symbolism, and makes the ambiguous literal, in order to express the divisions within society rather than its unity. For example the parody adapts the antimasque of the beggars' dance from The Triumph of Peace where a gentleman dancing alone is approached by two beggars and "bestows his charity," but "the Cripples upon his going off, throw away their legs and dance" (p. 291). The scene articulates the fears of the ruling class about the underclass: that they are committed to begging, duplicitous and perfectly capable of working. However, the scene is rendered ambiguous by the commentary provided by Opinion and Phansie after the beggars have left:

Opinion I am glad they are off, are these the effects of Peace?
Corruption rather.
Phansie O the beggars show
The benefits of Peace.

p. 291

The "effects of Peace" are that beggars (often ex-soldiers) fake disablement and make a living from begging rather than from work.[26] How is the audience to construe Phansie's phrase the "benefits of peace"? Does the text suggest that too much ease, wealth, peace breeds corruption, or is the scene to be treated as carnival - a celebration, in its way, of peace? The placing of the beggars dance within the antimasque allows the question to be raised without being resolved: Shirley's beggars are just one part in an episodic progression of antimasque incidents, and the two possible readings of the scene serve to cancel each other. But where The Triumph of Peace is ambiguous or ambivalent The Cruell Warre is explicit, reworking this scene in a way which demonstrates both a social crisis and the ideological confusions of the earlier masque:

> Last of all, came a Gentleman with Fiddlers, and a company of Beggars with him on their crooches, the minstrill plaid, and he danced which made the criples to throw away their legs and crooches to hear and see Mirth and Jollity in the Taverne with the grand Cavallier, which Opinion standing by and beholding spoke to Phansie, saying:
>
> Opinion I am sorry to see the effects of war and corruption.
> Phansie This beggars dance shewes what want we are likely to sustaine, when we part with all we have to helpe us; doe you not see how they be faine to limp and halt, though they are suffered to dance?
> Opinion Your interpretation makes me weary of beholding them, I pray you let us walke forth, whose heart cannot chuse but bleed to consider the bloud that hath been shed in this poor Kingdom, since Papists have been entrusted with Armes, which is contrary to Law, and the pollicy both of Queen Elizabeth's and King James his States.
>
> p. 63

The parody's recension of the original scene shows the sad plight of the people of England, crippled by Caroline excesses but nevertheless forced to dance to the royal tune - unless they continue the war. The commentary activates the suggestion latent in The Triumph of Peace that the poor lack incentive to work hard but it blames war and cavalier attitudes. The cavaliers are seen as ruining the ordinary people, and the scene becomes evidence of Caroline cruelty as it fulfills the didactic potential that the corresponding scene in The Triumph of Peace refused or contradicted by the hints that it was the beggar's own choice. The pamphlet thus acts as an indictment of the myths of the Caroline court and as an indictment of the royal party in 1643.

So Shirley's masque and the implicit politics of the symbolism of court entertainment was remembered with great bitterness in the first year of the war. Nevertheless, ten years later, Shirley's masque Cupid and Death was performed before the Portugese Ambassador on March 26 1653 (an alliance was signed in 1654).[27] After the outbreak of war Shirley seems to have returned from Sir John Ogilby's theatre in Dublin to become a schoolmaster, and it was during this time that he wrote Cupid and Death.[28] Possibly the masque was to be performed by the schoolboys that Shirley was teaching at the time, as was his Contention of Ajax and Hercules (1653): Shirley denied seeking a court performance, and how the entertainment migrated from the schoolroom to the court is not known.[29] But in order to find the script someone must have at least known of its existence or earlier performances. This implies an instance of private or school performance, and that there was enough of a stage-culture for information to be passed on to those who arranged the performance.[30] And Cupid and Death may have been revived in 1659, further suggesting that it was known.[31] As we are told of the "elegance" and "curiosity" of the

scenes and that the "musical compositions" (undertaken by Luke Channen or Channell who later worked on Davenant's Macbeth) "had in them great soul of harmony," it would appear that the rehearsals were not excessively rushed (p. 378). Therefore, when Shirley states that the staging was "without any address or design of the Author," his denial may well be at least in part disingenuous: it seems likely that at least he would have known that his manuscript was being used. But the denial does alert us to the place of the masque in relation to the bans on public theatre - although court entertainment was not public it would be publicly known. Caught on the horns of this dilemma it is not surprising to find the published play presented to a reader as having been staged without the intent of the author.

There are some qualities in Cupid and Death which make it suitable for a republican court. It is structured in a way both similar and dissimilar to the court entertainments of the 1630s.[92] The piece departs from the usual masque structure in that it dramatises one of Aesop's fables rather than adapting mythology into an elaborate address to one single figure. Moreover, Cupid and Death does contain an amount of overt political reference - as A.B.Harris points out the moral given to the tale by Ogilby specifically condemns Machiavels.[93]

In Cupid and Death, love (the ultimately mysterious binding power between prince and people so familiar from Stuart masques) is shown as not for royalty. Some political connotations may reside in the fact that Death is an aristocrat and Despair would appear to be a wealthy commoner. The arrival of these two figures at an inn precipitates much alarm on the part of the Host and the Chamberlain. Later the Chamberlain exchanges their weapons during the night, and the plot revolves around this accidental exchange. It rebounds on the prankster when he is working as a

travelling showman, leading his apes around a fair, and he is hit by an arrow which seems to belong to Death. As the result of the wound he is smitten by a desperate and ridiculous passion for his apes. When these are taken from him by a satyr he is desperate: "What will become of me now? oh my Apes! / The darlings of my heart are ravish'd from me" (p. 395, ll. 483-85). The chaos is eventually repaired by Mercury who banishes Cupid from the courts of princes.

However, the significance of the performance of Shirley's masque in 1653 consists in its context as much as in the fable of the banishment of love from courts. As an entertainment staged under the Commonwealth it is a vital part of the story of Interregnum productions because his case suggests a continuing network of connections amongst the court (for whom Shirley worked during the 1630s) and the Commonwealth government circles. For instance, it was also in 1653 that the practice of the Inner Temple appointing a Master of Revels was revived. And Whitelocke continued to enjoy masques, as he recorded during his embass y to Sweden. He records that women were used as actors - "the men acting the men's parts and the women the women's" - and notes approvingly that the masque was intended "to show the vanity and folly of all professions and worldly things; lively represented by the exact properties and mute actions, gentiely without the least offense or scandall."[34] Clearly, he accomodated republicanism and a love of theatre with only a small gesture at reformation.

These three entertainments, one courtly, one anti-courtly and one performed at a republican court, provide further illustration of the complexity of the relationship between puritanism and theatre. The contradictions in Whitelocke's positions and the presence of The Cruell Warre endorses David Norbrook's suggestion that although the argument for polarization in the earlier Stuart period must break down "there were

nevertheless tensions between courtly and religious allegiances."[36] The Triumph of Peace sought to dissipate such tensions, and we note the centrality of the later disaffected Whitelocke in the court's arrangements. The failure of Caroline court culture to resolve social problems is made explicit in The Cruell Warre. Nevertheless, court entertainment resurfaced in the republican "court" which seems to have used Cupid and Death as an attempt at national self-presentation, this time of the English republic to a foreign power.

Shirley's two masques are of course very different productions within the genre, a contrast which would appear to reflect the differing exigencies of a piece to be performed at a royal "court" and a drama transferring from a school to a republican "court." The signal difference is between the relatively simple, linear, plot of Cupid and Death and the semi-ritualistic structure of The Triumph of Peace which is encoded to be deciphered by a court audience. The true readers of the Triumph of Peace must be those who saw and participated in this celebration of the halcyon court: the people watching the procession were not invited to make a complex reading of the show or to participate in the translation of politics into the resolutionary symbolism of masque.

In The Cruell Warre the tensions traceable in The Triumph of Peace during the 1630s become the literal divisions of the 1640s. In a sense, The Cruell Warre provides the "tumultuary" reading of The Triumph of Peace that the military presence was there to prevent at the moment of performance. The masque and the parody offer versions of commentary on the possible divisions of society, and the politics of the relationship of the nation to political events. The banishment of love in the later Cupid and Death fits the piece aesthetically to performance at a republican court: the banishment of love from the court of princes puts the state on

an entirely new footing and suggests the abandonment, forever, of the resolution of struggle between monarch and people through the mystification of state power embodied in love.

6.3. Opera in theory and practice in the 1650s.

If Cupid and Death illustrates the effects of changes in political circumstances on a genre inherited from the pre-war court, the introduction of a genre, opera, in the 1650s, shows dramatists making conscious attempts to deal with those circumstances. This in turn is linked to the re-establishment of something like a "reformed" courtly context under the Protectorate. We are familiar with the moment when Charles II returned renewing the imagery of kingly triumph - Joseph Beaumont wrote of this new triumph of peace, "No Acclamations ever thundred from / More earnest Mouths; no Calm of Peace was e're / Welcom'd with such tempestuous Joys." [36] But if the return of Charles II seemed to be a great turning point, to contemporaries Oliver Cromwell's becoming Lord Protector had also been a startling change.

In some ways Cromwell becoming Lord Protector was a greater return to old ways of single rulers than even the return of Charles, though in other ways his status remained anomalous and undecipherable. Cromwell was neither a Venetian doge nor a king, and the symbolism of his government was ambiguous, resting somewhere between regal and republican rule. Although Cromwell refused the crown he adopted the trappings of royalty from the seal (1655), to the orb and sceptre (after the Humble Petition and Advice, 1657), and the running of an austere court.[37]

Poets as different as Edmund Waller and Andrew Marvell found it possible to celebrate the Protector as a single ruler if not quite a king.[38] Edmund Waller's Panegryick to My Lord Protector (1655) conceptualises Cromwell's Protectorate as a restoration: "Your drooping Country torn with Civill Hate, / Restored by you, is made a glorious State;" and he goes on to detail England's defence and trade by sea, picking up the naval and mercantile rhetoric of the Protectorate.[39] In the panegyric Waller reiterates the singleness of Cromwell after the republican government:

> When Fate, or Error had our Age mis-led,
> And o're these Nations such Confusion spread,
> The onely cure which could from Heav'n come down,
> Was so much Power and Clemency in one.
> One, whose Extraction from an ancient line,
> Gives hope again that well-born Men may shine, [40]

Although he has to relinquish the hinted rhyming of "down" with "crown," Waller's reiteration of "one" endows Cromwell with quasi-monarchical singleness at the same time as he reinforces Cromwell's connection to the interests of an "ancient line." Warren Chernaik sees this poem as encouraging other royalists to engage with the Protectorate, and Waller justifies his own rhetorical engagement with the Protector by Cromwell's greatness, "Illustrious acts high Raptures do infuse, / And every Conqueror creates a muse."[41] Certainly it sees Cromwell as he might hope to be seen, ruling "with a strong, and yet a gentle hand."[42] Waller chose to regard Cromwell as a glorious return to normality and quasi-monarchical culture, and indeed a London culture emerged which gradually mixed supporters of change and royalists. However, Cromwell also brought a drive to social reform - the theatres remained closed - and it is within this reforming context that the debate about opera began to form itself.

Opera arrived in England attended by contradictory explanations. Davenant had already planned to begin staging opera in 1639, but had been unable to do so; this postponement meant that opera was introduced at a vital moment in English cultural politics, the early 1650s. In writing about opera writers took two courses: they either associated it with the absent Stuart kings, or proposed it as a potentially reformed entertainment for the Protector's capital. Characteristically, Richard Flecknoe did both. Opera (and courtly entertainment generally) was caught between the Stuart past and the present. But as a new genre in England in the 1650s opera had the potential to answer the moral slurs against pre-war theatre and become the new-minted and morally "reformed" theatre of the 1650s. In this undertaking aesthetic and moral considerations were bound to political issues. The question, "What is a commonwealth?" brought on its heels the question "What is a morally beneficial drama?"

Continuities can be established between pre-war court entertainments and the operas of the 1650s, including resemblances between the masque and early English opera. Writers and other personnel involved in court entertainment before the war were amongst the practitioners of opera and entertainments after it - such as Shirley and Davenant. However, despite such echoes, differences from pre-war drama in terms of political and ideological context are highly apparent in the theorisation of opera. In the simple gesture of calling a play an opera and structuring it as a series of entries dramatists can be seen as attempting to redefine the nature of the work (in the way Jonson did with the publication of his Works, 1616), and attempting to alter the assumptions of all those who might encounter it - audience and censor alike.

Although theorising about opera included ideas for performance much Protectorate opera was not performed. The story of opera in the

1650s begins with James Howell's royalist translation of The Nuptialls of Peleus and Thetis. Howell was the King's historiographer. His translation was followed by Richard Flecknoe's publication of Ariadne Deserted by Theseus and Found and Courted by Bacchus(1654), Flecknoe's play Love's Dominion and a further attempt at opera The Marriage of Oceanus and Brittania (1659). How did Howell come to translate an opera from the French? Claudio Monteverdi's first opera, Orfeo had been performed at the Mantuan carnival season in 1607 and since then opera had been travelling from Italy to other parts of Europe.[43] In 1645, as England was locked in Civil War, Paris saw its first opera, La Finta Pazza, which Sacrati had written for the opening of the fourth opera house in Venice.[44] Cavalli's L'Egisto arrived in Paris in February 1646, and in March 1647 Rossi's Orfeo was performed in Paris and an abrége of the text was published.[45] It was the first opera designed specifically for production in Paris.[46] Although English people travelling in Italy had certainly seen opera this fuller adoption of the form in Paris is important for English theatre, particularly with the presence there of Henrietta Maria.[47] The rage for opera spread across Europe. In 1650 the first opera was performed at Brussels, in celebration of the wedding of Philip IV and repeated - in 1655 - for the benefit of the masque-loving ex-queen of Sweden, Christina, at whose court the theatre-going Bulstrode Whitelocke had been ambassador.[48]

Eugene Haun has argued that this European fashion had created a demand for opera in England, and that this generated the reprinting of several more or less musical works in the early 1650s.[49] His argument is difficult to support without evidence of performance. However, printed plays seem to have passed freely from printer to reader, even though they might have implications for the political debates of the period whether from their medium, their message or the known beliefs of their author.

Published opera also passed without comment, and there seems to have been no reaction when James Howell published a translation of the opera by Caprioli, Le Nozze di Peleo e di Theti, which was performed in Paris in 1654. Henrietta Maria danced in the masque, and Howell translated it into English in the same year, using the more usual titles of a "ball" or "masque."

The opera celebrated the dispelling of disorder from France by the monarch, and is a celebration of the return of monarchical peace.[50] As such it was, even in translation, highly political material - the translation was dedicated to the wife of the Marquess of Dorchester, a royalist who had compounded for his lands. Howell presents it as a new choice piece - he dates it 1 May 1654 and foregrounds its fashionable musical variety: "so full of wit, and variety of Musicall Airs, with other Gentillesses; I deemed it would be a thing not unworthy of your Ladyships private entertainment" (A1v). The short introduction ends on a note familiar from the climax and conclusion of English court masques, the banishment of discord:

> Discord also would faine have been there, but that she was ashamed to appeare upon the theatre, having been chased out of France,and it had been to no purpose for her to disturb so joyfull a meeting.
>
> p. 1.

The familiarity of the theme is counterbalanced by the fact that the scene is not in the place assigned to it in the English masque, particularly that of the later Caroline period where discord is actually banished by the progress and process of the masque's narrative.

Any masque-like movement from danger towards reconciliation is pre-empted in The Nuptialls of Peleus and Thetis because the ball/masque itself is constituted as a celebration. And so, because of Howell's translation,

opera came to England as the record of a celebratory performance which eschewed even more completely than the masque the dramatisation of any conflict within the royal state. The first speech, by Apollo (played by the king of France) situates the coming dramatic action as taking place after a violent but successfully resolved state crisis in a way which for an English audience (particularly a royalist one) would dramatise the difference between England and France; it notes that "glory" is preferable to "sport" against the background of civil conflict:

> That fierce destructive Python I did quell
> That ugly horrid Serpent hatch'd in Hell,
> Rebellion, which had poyson'd farre and nere
> Faire France I chac'd from off this Hemisphere.
>
> p. 1

The early banishment of discord means that in a more complete way than The Triumph of Peace this masque is a "triumph." And the sense of the piece being occasioned by political crisis and its resolution is emphasised by the appearence of royal actors. This underlines the feature (familiar to audiences of the English masque) of there being some relationship between the actual, real-life, performers and the dramatisation. After Apollo's speech the muses speak, and Erato, played by Henrietta Maria, speaks of the ills suffered by princes - with clear reference to Henrietta Maria's actual circumstances. It is easy to imagine the reaction of Cromwell's agent Thurloe, or other spies, if a similar speech were to be delivered on an English stage:

> My stemm is more then of a mortall race;
> For to great Henrie's grandchild all give place:
> My innocent and young aspect,
> Inspires both pitty and respect;
> And he who loudly would complain
> Of Princes falls and Peoples raign,
> Of angry stars, and destiny,

Let him but cast his eyes on me.

p. 2

Howell's translation, celebratory in tone and structure, underlined and presented as obvious links between royalty, courts and opera. In doing this it was a manifestation of the politics of opera in the English aesthetic and political debates. The opera Howell translated was situated firmly in the tradition of courtly entertainment, and the fact that it had featured the English queen only serves to make very obvious the connection between this masque (or ball or opera) and court entertainments. Importantly, such words, spoken by the ex-queen of England might have been enough to establish the character of opera at the French court for the English government. Indeed, in terms of the politics of translation, we do know that the theatrical happenings of the French court were monitored in England. For instance, the performance of A King and no King (with all that the title implies about both Cromwell and the exiled Stuart) including Henrietta Maria in 1654, drew comment among the English as well as the French.[51]

What this example makes clear about the arrival of opera in England is that in 1650s opera, as a genre, can be seen to change its meaning according to the political position in which the text is implicated.[52] What Pêcheux calls the "ideological formations" in which the particular text is involved are interwoven with the politics of the genre.[53] Thus, Howell's translation evidently draws on the association between the court and the operatic genre but opera was also justified from other ideological perspectives.

Howell's opera was associated with the Stuart court in France in a way that no opera produced in England was. Richard Flecknoe (credited by historians of music with having written the first opera in English) also

situates his first operatic piece in a royalist tradition. Ariadne Deserted by Theseus and Found and Courted by Bacchus (1654) - "A Dramatick Piece. Apted to Recitative Musick" - used a mixture of choral parts and arias. Ariadne was never performed and in comparison to Davenant's performed opera it is quite a slight piece.[54] But unlike Howell's work with its wholesale importation of court values, Ariadne is self-conscious of its status as opera. Flecknoe describes finding opera in Italy when he was taking the tour to escape the wars, where it was "exceedingly in vogue, and far advanced towards its perfection . . . I mean Recitative Musick, being a compound of Musick and Poetry together."[55] Flecknoe saw the potential of such entertainment in both technical and ideological terms. He also provided a a polemical introduction in which he situated the genre explicitly in a courtly and historical context, as well as explaining its technical aspects. In the "Preface declaring the excellency of recitative music" we encounter the association between royal entertainment and opera. Flecknoe takes the Italian tradition, projects it back into a royal, English or perhaps British context; and goes on to argue for the natural association between opera and royalty:

> Tis many years since I proposed unto a Soveraign Prince the congruity, that as their persons so their Musick should be elevated above the Vulgar; and made not only to delight the ear, but also their understandings; not patcht up with Songs of different subjects, but all of one piece, with design and plot, accomodated to their several dispositions, and occasions.
>
> A3r-A3v

Dryden was later to use a similar argument about the reflexive relation between the virtues of monarchs and the use of heroic verse drama to both describe and teach kingly deeds.[56] Flecknoe's polemic also suggests, in its analysis of the politics of the hierachical arrangement of dramatic

genres, the questions faced by any dramatist seeking to perform opera in Commonwealth or Protectorate England. Flecknoe links opera to kings: "Tis many years since I proposed unto a Soveraign Prince." There is the suggestion that opera, being appropriately elevated and well-designed entertainment, is suitable for kings to listen to. There is perhaps also a suggestion of a hierarchy of understanding which is analogous to the notion of a hierarchy of sightlines in the court performances, in which the king sat at the centre, unifying the whole spectacle in his own person because only from his, absolute, perspective could the scene be seen to be "all of one piece."[57] This keen sense of a socially significant hierarchy of genres and topics is reinforced by the verse of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, that Flecknoe used to preface his Relation of Ten Years Travels, saying, "Caesars should be thy Theme, on them to write . . ." [58] But Flecknoe's loyalist assertions are problematised by the oppositional status of monarchist discourse in the 1650s. What he says about the operatic genre is spoken not from a position of powerful centrality, but from the margins; his text addresses the relationship between opera and monarchy in a state where there is no monarch and in which, officially at least, public spectacle is not tolerated. There is also a suggestion that opera is to be perceived in relation to other genres which are less fit to be performed before a governor and, by implication, not therefore fit to constitute or carry the meanings of that monarchical structure which (Flecknoe suggests) ought to be in power. In actually addressing the question of the suitability of genres to different ideologies and governments the passage suggests that it has been written from a position of displacement: it asserts opera as an adjunct of the rights of dethroned royalty. Flecknoe emphasises the monarchist structure of opera when he notes that it is not anarchically (and in the "vulgar" or common fashion) "patcht up with

songs of different subjects." In opera, he implies, not every subject is equally to the fore. Instead, there is proper hierarchy: low scenes and themes are subdued under the main theme as a country under a king or as the "body" of the state under the king as "head." He offers a perception of opera as unitary, organic, "all of one piece," like the organic metaphor of government and the parts as "accommodated unto their several dispositions and occasions."

This passage delivers a commentary on the relationship between types of government and art, particularly that between the "best" dramatic genres and the "best" sorts of government. Opera is a return (for Flecknoe) to what is oldest and best: he goes on to seek to establish opera as intrinsically part of the English theatrical tradition, and by association with the English monarchy:

> Nay, not only almost all of the Erudition of those Times, but even the Religion was delivered in Musick, witness the Canticles of Moses, the Psalms of David, the Hymnes of Orpheus, and finally the Druads songs, and the Ballads of the British Bards, &c.
>
> A4v

Musical performances are here given biblical, classical and Druidic antecedents. Flecknoe suggests that the ancients "told" important things using music and that the British priestly poets, the druids, continued the tradition. He explains:

> Which Ballads (such was the Barbarism of insuing times) was in a manner the sole relict of this divine Science, untill Claudio Montanendo [sic] (in our Fathers days) principally, revived it shall I say? or renewed it again by his admirable skill (like another Prometheus) conjoyning in one body again the scattered limbs of Orpheus.
>
> A4v-A5r

In his (rather desperate) attempt to give opera a history as a native English form Flecknoe is claiming that the English had been the custodians of the ancient traditions in which poetry and music were linked in performance. He presents himself as giving back to England her own invention, reinvented by the Italians.

The classical topic (Ariadne) suggests both the Italian influence and court entertainment and the title Ariadne echoes one of Monteverdi's operas, Arianna, which was first performed in Mantua in 1608, but was revived in Venice in 1639.[59] Echoes are suggested by the fact that Monteverdi's opera was particularly famous for Ariadne's lament and Flecknoe's begins with one:

> Ariadne: Ay me! and is he gon!
> And I left here alone!
> Ah Theseus stay -
> But see how he sails away.
>
> p. 1.

This is followed by detailed directions, typical of Flecknoe's attention to his the exact arrangements for staging his unperformed endeavours, but also indicating clearly that the piece was designed as opera: "Here lively, and sprightly Musick is heard off, by degrees approaching the Place, and at last the Bacchanti, or fore-runners of Bacchus appear" (p. 7).

In Love's Dominion (1654) Flecknoe takes up a very different position on the politics of performance. Flecknoe's Interregnum play was dedicated to Cromwell's daughter Elizabeth Claypole, and might therefore be expected to address the questions of performance in the new state. Predictably, it ignores the links between monarchy and opera that the preface to Ariadne is so keen to establish, and concentrates instead on the possibility of performance. As Flecknoe wrote to Elizabeth Claypole:

> never a more Innocenter thing appeared in court . . . . For the rest, I dare not interest you in its more publique Representation, not knowing how the palat of the time may relish such Things yet, which, till it was disgusted with them, was formerly numbered among its chiefest Dainties.[50]

As we have seen, Flecknoe looked outside England for models of theatre functioning in what he perceived as a proper relation to society. In the light of this and his travels it seems likely that Flecknoe was aware of the debate taking place in the French theatre (sparked off by Corneille's Cid) and that he found some of the arguments about morality and the stage that were being put forward in France at least potentially applicable to the condition of the English stage. The French debate embraced the question of the moral implications and influence of theatrical representation.[51] Flecknoe writes in defence of the theatre in his introduction:

> An academy of the choicest language, a Map of the best Manners and finally a mirror representing the actions of men (and therefore by a better title than that of Plays, called Actions by some, and Operas, or works, by others).
>
> A4r

This new stage that he envisages is, then, to be designed on the model of European drama. The purpose and teaching function of theatre is emphasised. Such new works are beneficial because, he explains, they operate by:

> proposing the good for our example and imitation and the bad to deter us from it, and for the avoiding it. I cannot deny but aspersions (these latter times) have been cast upon it by the like of some who have written obscenely and scurrilously, &c.

> but instead of wiping them off, to break the glass was too rigid and severe. For my part I have endeavoured here the cleaning of it it and the restoring of it to its former splendour.
>
> A4r-v

Flecknoe's deployment of the metaphor of the mirror indicates the increasingly complex circumstances which came to determine the position from which writers produced drama and opera during the Interregnum. However, the complexity lies in the positions which the argument had to negotiate (the fraught relationships between "good" and "bad" theatre, moral representation and the suppression of the stage) rather than in the theory he deployed in answer to them.

In order to produce an argument for reformed drama Flecknoe uses a crude model of drama as didactic, teaching the audience by showing noble actions. In contrast to Elizabethan attacks on the stage it ignores the possibility that the audience might through empathy come to favour villains. Flecknoe does not engage with the more difficult aspects of the connection of audience and performance. The new plays, Flecknoe implies, are moral in a representational sense because they present (or re-enact) the "best Manners" and (therefore) they move the audience to a better way of life. Those who have written "unreformed" drama are described by Flecknoe as having written on the mirror, overlaying its original fidelity to "good" manners with "scurrilous" writing. The suppression of the theatres has broken a "mirror" which had been, potentially at least, morally and socially beneficial: for Flecknoe, the theatre as a mirror reflects that part of society which is presented in it. Seen in this way it becomes a tool with great potential for moral and social reform. He suggests that the best drama is an unmediated presentation of what is best in life which can give an audience examples and instruction.

Flecknoe is arguing for the restoration of the stage in a morally reformed condition (something very close to what Davenant presented himself as doing in initiating opera). Of course, the government was not interested simply in the content of plays, but also in the kind of gathering a play might produce: a performance of drama might incite riot. Unlike Flecknoe, they seem to have grasped that however proper the political content of a play an actual production might turn that content on its head, and this as well as their fear of gatherings is suggested in their raids on illegal performances in the period leading up to the execution of the King.

Thus, Flecknoe both asserted the royal origin of opera as a genre in his preface to Ariadne, and addressed the question of what a moral representation might be under the Protectorate in the introduction to Love's Dominion. What can these texts by Howell and Flecknoe tell us about the political and theatrical position of opera? It seems that The Nuptials of Peleus and Thetis and Ariadne, can be seen as providing opera with its initial political and theatrical position in England under the Protectorate. Both plays have monarchical associations which are evident either within the text, in the case of Howell, or which are made explicit in the introduction in the case of Flecknoe. Both are related to models from Europe: in Flecknoe's case this association would appear to be theoretical in part, and in the introduction to Love's Dominion he pursues the enquiry into what might be reformed drama. Howell supplies no polemic but the association with courts and royalty is explicit in Peleus and Thetis as a translation of a masque performed at the French court. Thus, Peleus and Thetis and Ariadne provide positions for printed opera and entertainments which associate them with courts. The play, Love's Dominion, on the other hand offers a polemic for a moral and improved stage. The crucial move

from the first position to the second is found in the question of reformed drama as discussed in Flecknoe's dedication of Love's Dominion, proving that this could be adopted to the circumstances of the 1650s, as it was to be by Davenant.

Flecknoe's developing sympathies with the Protectorate and his emerging sense of the potential of opera as reformed (rather than specifically royal) drama can be traced in other dramatic and non-dramatic writings from the later 1650s. In 1659 Flecknoe published two further pieces, The Idea of His Highness Oliver Late Protector &c and another operatic piece, The Marriage of Oceanus and Brittania - "an Allegorical Fiction really declaring Englands Riches, Glory and Puissance by Sea: To be Represented in Musick, Dances and Proper Scenes, All Invented, Written and Composed by Richard Flecknoe Esq." The prose memorial of Cromwell demonstrates the extent of Flecknoe's engagement with the new regime, and his comment that Cromwell is worthy of biography even though this is "displeasing and ungrateful to the multitude" is illuminating.[62] So it is not surprising to find that in The Marriage of Oceanus and Brittania Flecknoe brought together his understanding of opera as a genre with a sense of the appropriate topics for a reformed drama. Flecknoe's insistence on the titlepage that it was all - music, words, scenes - his own vision suggests his sense of himself as creating new theatrical art from the old ways. The topic chosen echoes those of city entertainments and Lord Mayors' shows of the 1650s which Flecknoe may have seen. It fuses military themes with a celebration of England's wealth by trade and mobilises history to reinforce Cromwell's foreign policy by recalling the defeat of the Armada. The entries demonstrate the drunkenness of the Dutch and the defeat of the Spanish and French in sea battles, with the patriotic naval scenes punctuated by "Castor and Pollux in Grecian military habits" dancing

on the ropes.[63] This brings together the policies of the Protectorate with an opera recast to become a relatively (though by no means wholly) popular spectacle including rope dancing and patriotic songs, "inviting the British Marriners and Souldiers to brave action by Sea." One scene includes the reception of news by a large crowd and the general public is shown rejoicing at a naval victory: it seems that the envisaged audience was not the wholly elite audience of the court masque, and this is suggested by the ending which offers representatives of "Nobility and Gentry," dancing with a "Burgesse & Citizen." The entertainment culminates with the marriage — in a scene both reminiscent of the masque and indicative of the reformulated symbolics of the country in terms of trade (see also Chapter Eight). Oceanus demonstrates the power of the marriage when he invites "swarthy Affrica,/ Rich Asia and America" to pay tribute at Brittania's wedding: dramatising the power of the Protectorate in trade and war (p.32). Flecknoe finally brought together reformed drama and opera - just as the Protectorate crumbled.

6.4. Conclusion

In the following chapter I shall look more closely at the purposes served by such colonial fantasies in Protectorate theatre. At this point I want only to call attention to the way in which by the end of the 1650s (sadly but characteristically, at the wrong moment for his own career) Flecknoe had written and printed a piece which, while it treated opera as a genre also used it to fuse moral and political representation in nationalist spectacle. He had, in theory, arranged opera in relation to

contemporary national and aesthetic politics to create a "reformed" drama. Howell's translation followed by Flecknoe's shifting use of the idea of reformed theatre and opera make it clear that courtly entertainment in general and opera in particular were implicated in political debates about aesthetics and morality in the new nation.

Chapter Seven. National Identity, Topic and Genre in Davenant's Interregnum Opera.

> Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so. He is naturally so, throughout, as I said before . . . And truly when I say that he is naturally throughout an enemy, an enmity is put into him by God.
>
> Oliver Cromwell, speech at the opening of Parliament, 17 September 1656.[1]

7.1. Introduction.

Sir William Davenant was the only professional dramatist permitted to stage plays commercially and publicly in the entire period 1642-1660. His Protectorate plays and operas came into existence at the border between government policy and commercial success (which was dependent upon the audience's pleasure). Therefore this chapter, in analysing the circumstances of these performed plays, is a study in contradictions. It will continue the work of Chapter Six in analysing the politics of opera as a genre, but it will also extend its focus to examine the politics of the kind of narrative which Davenant was staging, and to provide cultural and political contexts for his plays. The aim is to investigate the way these operas were implicated in the political and social transformations of the 1650s,

both registering and intervening in the connected issues of their own status as drama and problems of rule and government. Hitherto analyses of Davenant's Interregnum operas and entertainments have not concentrated on their imbrication in social (and therefore ideological) formations.[2] A reassessment of Davenant's Interregnum operas in the light of their specific political circumstances is long overdue, and an approach which understands literary texts as both registering and shaping their ideological circumstances allows investigation of Davenant's operas of the 1650s in terms of the kinds of stories they use, the way they remodel genre and the circumstances of their connection with government.

This approach challenges prevailing critical assumptions about Davenant's theatre staged between 1656 and 1659, based on the critical and historical work of Harbage and Nethercot which characterised Davenant's writing of the Interregnum as participating fairly completely in an undivided and identifiable "royalist" ideology.[3] Even his most recent biographer, Mary Edmond, seems to follow Harbage in seeing Davenant as a kind of royalist undercover agent attempting to restore the theatre.[4] Only Christopher Hill has opposed the dominant view of Davenant as writing royalist drama in a brief, broad and only half accurate characterisation of some of the plays as "propaganda."[5] Implicitly the approach taken here also challenges that of some historians of music who have seen Davenant's opera solely in terms of the arrival of opera in England as an event in dramatic and musical history determined only by the ban on theatre rather than, as I shall argue, complex aesthetic and political issues around types of staging and performance.[6] However, as in Chapter Six, musical aspects are not the main focus of the study but rather the ideological implications of the form and staging of these entertainments, and the issues and texts they dramatised.

Davenant's musical entertainments performed at Rutland House and at the Cockpit between 1656 and 1659 represent colonial, Islamic or European "others." By an "other" in this context I mean something used by way of contrast as between "self" and "other" - an opposite used to define contemporary "Englishness." Davenant mobilises old enemies - Turks, the Spanish - to represent an "other" against which it is possible to define present Englishness. The dramas set in South America - that is, in the Spanish colonies - present the English as heroes in a territory removed from domestic politics. They attempt to legitimate the international ambitions of the English by presenting the audience with binary oppositions posing quasi-nationalist oppositions and juxtapositions - Englishness against otherness, Christian against pagan, Protestant against Catholic, European against non-European, English against Spanish. And in The Siege of Rhodes the play seeks to play out a reconciliatory drama in which the "other" becomes similar.

In dramatising geographically distant though pertinent issues Davenant appears to avoid all obviously dangerous political ground, including dangerous genres (such as tragedy) and domestic topics. Nevertheless, despite attempts to keep away from contentious issues and genres, his plays' involvement in political issues is inaugurated by their very attempt to avoid controversy. This aspect of the plays is particularly to the fore in those which dramatise English colonialist ambitions, The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru (proposed in 1655 but not performed until 1658) and Sir Francis Drake; but all the plays are important for the way they register a set of interwoven social affinities, cultural assumptions and political programmes and exigencies of Protectorate theatre and politics.[5]

7.2. Davenant and the politics of performed opera.

Davenant was on his way to Virginia in late spring of 1650 when he was captured by the English in the channel and imprisoned, for a time under threat of death. It seems that he struck some kind of politico-theatrical bargain with his imprisoners. This is suggested also by the circumstances surrounding the production of the operas which followed his release; these were different from those by Howell, Flecknoe and Shirley, in that they were, increasingly, public theatre. Davenant was almost certainly aware of the published texts of Howell and Flecknoe, especially as he had first tried to stage opera in England as early as 1639.[7] It seems very likely that he took account of the reception which greeted opera in Paris, but it is certain that he, like the other writers and translators of opera in the 1650s, used opera to affiliate his plays to the Protectorate ethos of "reformation" in relation to drama. Davenant's operas were different from other performances sanctioned by the Protectorate (such as the Lord Mayor's shows or Shirley's Cupid and Death) in that they were staged with government approval but by a private individual. Thus the circumstances of their production demand that we reconsider the critical notion of Davenant as a "royalist" dramatist. The texts were vetted by Thurloe, and Bulstrode Whitelocke (who helped to organise The Triumph of Peace) also had some involvement.[8] But despite government sponsorship, Davenant operated in a legal and a discursive context determined by the moves against the theatre in 1642 and subsequently. The fact that the rhetoric of these strictures was partly moral, combined with Cromwell's status as a moral and social reformer, provided the surviving and new

dramatists with their cue to reply with offers of a "reformed" stage.[9]

What are the implications of Davenant's pre-war career with regard to his Protectorate work? Davenant, like Shirley, had been designated "her Majesties servant" by Henrietta Maria, and the female figures in his plays - such as Ianthe - may perhaps bear traces of his admiration for her. In her service Davenant had been particularly noted as a writer of masques, including the well known Salmacida Spoila, the last masque to be danced by the ill-fated Stuart monarchs.[10] To an extent this earlier career gave him the visual and staging vocabulary that he used in Interregnum opera. The spectacular scenery of court productions was part of Davenant's understanding of the theatre from the start, and his connection with Inigo Jones was followed by an association with Jones's pupil John Webb, who designed the perspective scenery for The Seige of Rhodes - this use of perspective scenery was an important link between the court masque and the opera of the Protectorate.

Davenant's opera effected a transfer of techniques from court to public stage, but ideologically the differences between masque and opera were large. Although (as Martin Butler cogently argues) the masque might mediate between king and people it was tied to paramaters of courtship and produced by the need to mediate courtly relations. The apology for the absence of court masques preceding Brittania Triumphans (which took as part of its brief the justification of ship-money) emphasises the "natural" link between the masque (as "high" spectacle) and the court:

> Princes of sweet and humane Natures have ever both amongst the Ancients and Modernes in the best times, presented spectacles, and personall representations, to recreate their Spirits wasted in grave affairs of State, and for the entertainment of their Nobilitie, Ladies and Court.[11]

This elitist rhetoric is echoed in Flecknoe's early disquisition on the "naturally" monarchic properties of opera. But Davenant's Interregnum operas move from courtly conventions into a public and commercial context, and although Davenant's Protectorate plays take several aspects from the masque - in terms of scenery, music, dance, singing (choric and aria), proscenium arches and women acting - they do not take over those things which specifically linked it with the Stuart court such as the masque/anti-masque structure which relied on a contrast between courtly participants and professional actors. Moreover, the Interregnum operas also draw on the public acting traditions - using jugglers and varying kinds of entertainment. The discontinuities between the theatrical practices of masques and Davenant's Interregnum public theatre relate to the differences between court entertainment performed in the presence of a monarch, and public entertainment sanctioned and even perhaps supported by a government which was, if not a republic, not a monarchy either. Form and structure in the operas was linked to story and available resources but it was also part of the way opera presented itself as "reformed."

Even if the continuities were striking, the transformations of plays - or topics and texts from which plays might have been made - into "operas" must alert us to the significance of the changes. The changes were felt to be significant by contemporaries as is indicated by Dryden's interpretation of such discontinuities between pre-war and reformed Protectorate representations when he wrote of Davenant as the inventor of the Restoration love and honour drama:

> It being forbidden in the Rebellious times to act Tragedies and Comedies, because they contained some matter of Scandal to those good people who could more easily dispossess their lawful Sovereign than endure a wanton jeast; and he was forc'd to turn his thoughts another way: and to introduce the examples of moral virtue writ in verse, and performed in Recitative Musique.[12]

Dryden's post hoc explanation of the novelty of Davenant's Protectorate theatre emphasises opera as a response to the ban on drama and presents Davenant's new theatrical practices in the operas as directly caused by political strictures. The changes in the plays were, as Dryden indicates, in both what was dramatised (the choice of a story), and how that dramatisation took place. The Protectorate audience itself existed in new circumstances which necessitated a radical break with the pre-war drama, especially the ideologies of courtly performances.

At the time of its appearance Davenant accompanied the new style of entertainment with a theoretico-political defence which addressed itself specifically to the government's ability to pacify the people, arguing that it had been "observed by writers of other Nations and by our owne, to require continuall divertisements being otherwise naturally inclin'd to that Melancholy that breeds Sedition." Davenant defended drama to Thurloe as diverting the propensity of the populace to sedition. It presents plays as able to unite the state and the people, by educating the people into supporting the interests of the state - which included the ill-fated Hispaniola project in the West Indies:

> If morall representations may be allow'd (being without obscenenesse, profaneness, and scandall) the first argument may consist of the Spaniards barbarous Conquests in the West Indes and of their several cruelties there excercis'd upon the subjects of this Nation: of which some use may be made. And offers of this kind may evade that imputation of levity, since the People were in this way guided to assist their own interests by the Athenians and Romans.[13]

This quotation presents the dramatist replying to the ordinances against theatres (such as that of 1648) on the only ground available - that of the relationship between theatre and public morality - and it makes explicit the close relationship between Davenant's theatre and the

government (in the shape of Thurloe and his agents). When Davenant finally produced the play on the West Indies in 1658 (in Cromwell's last days) it did echo continuing Protectorate anti-Spanish foreign policy, and he seems to have had continued contact with Thurloe and certainly with Bulstrode Whitelocke whereby the latter was instrumental in bringing about the re-emergence of public drama. Whitelocke's interest in drama (discussed in Chapter Six). He helped Davenant after the poet's shipwreck in 1651, and this continued after he was Protectorate ambassador to Sweden when he seems to have acted as an informal protector for the new opera. In 1652 Whitelocke inserted a full-length letter from Davenant into his journal in the midst of pressing business; he did so again in September 1656, when Davenant was engaged in the theatrical venture. Davenant appears to have cleared the forthcoming production with Whitelocke, writing:

> When I consider the nicety of the Times, I fear it may draw a curtain between your Lordship and our Opera; therefore I have presumed to send your Lordship, hot from the Press, what we mean to represent; making your Lordship my Supreme Judge, though I despair to have the Honour of inviting you to be a spectator.[14]

He concludes by invoking Whitelocke's "antient relation to the Muses," and clearly hopes to gain his approval.

Following these defences and preparations Davenant's first theatrical intervention in the debate about the reformed stage was performed on a quasi-public stage. The First Days Entertainment at Rutland House (staged on 23 May 1656) seems to have been the first piece of theatre sanctioned by the Protectorate government, and as contemporary evidence suggests, it may have been in part an advertisement for what was to follow.[15] It was not on the topic of the West Indies (probably because the expedition to Hisponiola in early 1655 had been a disaster) but instead addressed the

question of performance. The formal aspects of the play demonstrate the oblique generic relationship between these plays and pre-war genres, probably produced by the perceived crisis in that which it is permissible to articulate. Like a masque, the piece was called after the occasion of its production, but unlike a masque it was called after that only; the title tells us nothing about any aspect of what is actually to be performed, only that it is to be "by declamations and musick after the manner of the ancients."[16]

The drama itself continues the privileging of occasion over narrative found in the title, and the emphasis is on the morally beneficial effects of the stage upon spectators. It is careful to say nothing to offend the government, and because it consists in part of a debate between Aristophanes and Diogenes, on the topic of "Publique Entertainments by Morall Representations," the play becomes very literally meta-theatrical - drama about the possibility of staging drama - in its attempt to answer allegations against the theatre on the moral ground set out for example in the 1642 and 1647 governmental attacks on plays. In terms of being "reformed" theatre, the play strives to establish links between modern drama and that of the ancient, classical drama. In the first part of the piece Aristophanes speaks in favour of public meeting for the making and appreciation of speeches (which sound very similar to The First Day's Entertainment itself). There is also a defence of the "Victor" - the Protector - a matter which caused Davenant some trouble after the Restoration. The second half consists of a debate between a Londoner and a Parisian on the relative merits of their cities and theatres. In some ways, particularly in terms of its strange form and consistently meta-dramatic quality, this piece is a more radical and innovative theatrical departure than the narrative pieces which were to follow it. It is structured as a

debate which is also (in itself) a demonstration or exposition of the fact that reformed drama can exist. Performed, it would work as a series of static set arguments: at the same time as it represents a revival of the theatre it also represents a visibly radical break with many pre-war conditions of the commercial theatre including that of a sequential narrative structure.

Simultaneously it also shifts the modes of representation employed by public theatre perceptibly towards the kind found in the "entries" of entertainments at the court of Charles I. This is evident in the way the title and its construction present it as an occasional piece, as well as in the lack of emphasis on narrative. That theatrical conditions changed during the Interregnum is indicated by the fact that Henrietta Maria rarely visited the theatre and Charles I never went, in marked contrast to the Restoration custom. Arguably, in this piece we see the change between the pre-war and the Restoration stage actually in process. It could be said that The First Days Entertainment was the occasion of the theatrical conventions which before the war had been primarily associated with the court moving on to a stage that was "public" in the sense that it was open to all.

This drama is unique in Davenant's surviving mid-century plays in that it is innovative in terms of staging in such a way as to intervene in political and moral debates around theatre - entering them precisely as an exemplary piece of theatre which addressed the question of what a "moral representation" might be. Davenant had held discussions with Thurloe before the plays began to be staged, and documents make evident the fact that the state had a close interest at least in the ideological nature of the plays. Thus, Davenant's mid-century productions were from their inception associated with the movement for a reformed theatre, and debate the

possibility of staging drama from a context of close communication - even collaboration - with the government. This is reinforced by the fact that the promised play on the topic of the West Indies did not appear after the expedition to Hispaniola turned into a disaster.

Besides the overt political context, the play's idea of a moral representation and the comparison of Paris and London demonstrate that the new theatre also saw itself in an European framework of some kind and it is certainly possible that Davenant was aware of the French debate on theatre sparked by Corneille's Cid, which was being conducted during the middle years of the seventeenth century (and Davenant may well have known defences of the theatre in terms of the relationship between instruction and pleasure). While the arguments in The First Days Entertainment do not contain the elaborate analyses of the nature of theatrical representation derived in part from the ancients contained in French texts like d'Aubignac's Pratique du Théatre, the very existence of the French debates is very likely to have influenced a dramatist who had been present at Henrietta Maria's court in France during the 1640s.[17]

The First Day's Entertainment emphasises the potential orderliness of public entertainment in its shape and content. As such it strikes similar notes to the introductions of those other revived dramas of the 1650s, the Lord Mayor's Shows. The play calls attention to its continuation of ancient custom in a way that occurs not only in Flecknoe but also in the introduction to Edmund Gayton's contribution to the newly revived Lord Mayor's show of 1655. Gayton's piece, addressed to the Lord Mayor, Alderman Diethicke, was produced for the first occasion that such pageants had been allowed since the Civil War. Gayton, like Davenant, wrote of shows as linking state and people arguing that they "gaines at once Honour to the Magistrate and effects content to the People" (see also Chapter Eight).[18]

This appeared in the same year as The First Days Entertainment, so Davenant's dramatic defence of theatre thus coincides with similar justifications from both city poets (such as Gayton) and aspirant dramatists (such as Flecknoe, in the dedication to Love's Dominion rather than Ariadne).[19] The quotations above indicate that in the space of two years we can find uses besides Davenant's of the argument for theatre from the ancients, coupled to the argument that the stage is potentially ethically beneficial for the state. Combined with the re-emergence of the Lord Mayor's shows this suggests that under the Protectorate there was more tempering of the government's attitude to theatre than has been believed hitherto.

If The First Days Entertainment evidences change in modes of public theatre, this was continued in the dramas or operas of conquest which followed. The next production of Davenant's which I shall discuss was actually the third of his theatrical performances during the Interregnum. The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru, first staged at the Cockpit during 1658 and simultaneously printed by Henry Herringman, was performed after The First Day's Entertainment and after the performance of the first part of the Siege of Rhodes. The Cruelty of the Spaniards was closely based on the large history of the Incas by the mestizo, born into the Quechuan language, Garcilasco de la Vega. His Commentarios Reales, Que Tratan del Origen de los Yncas, Reges, Que Fueron del Peru (1609) was translated into French in 1633 and the play takes both the general outline of its story and salient details - such as the civil war between the last two Incas and Inca prophecy of Spanish invaders—from this source. De la Vega's anti-Spanish perspective made his text readily adaptable to Davenant's nationalistic polemic, and until the end of the play Davenant's text does echo de la Vega's sympathy for the plight of the historical Incas - broken

under the combined weight of a prophecy foretelling the arrival of the Spanish, guns, and brutal forced conversions. Moreover, although it is far from its original language and reworked for the purposes of English investments, Davenant actually uses a text by the colonised rather than the coloniser as the source for his play.[20]

It may be that this play was planned as the first entertainment but was delayed after the Hispaniola expedition only to become viable again after the defeat of the Spanish at Santa Cruz in 1657. The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru continues the work of The First Day's Entertainment in changing theatrical codes: the text evidently presents itself as a new kind of drama in its formal aspects. Moreover, it registers contemporary concerns in its construction of Englishness through the representation of the native peoples of Peru and the Spanish. Read in relation to the specific theatrical and political circumstances of the 1650s it yields information about the political position of opera in terms of what sort of narratives might be represented and how they might be staged. Clearly connected with Cromwell's ambitions, the play uses Inca history although the first tableau reveals the play's significant absorption in contemporary ambition when "a Lantchap of the West-Indies" is discovered. The "argument" proceeds to the Spaniards conquest of the Incan Empire, and then "discovers the cruelty of the Spaniards over the Indians, and over all Christians (excepting those of their own Nation)" and towards the conclusion "it infers the Voyages of the English thither, and the amity of the Nations towards them" (A2v).

The Cruelty of the Spaniards episodically recounts the story of the arrival of the English in Peru, where they rescue the natives from the evil Spanish in accord with the Incan prophecy which had been interpreted by the Incas as prophesying the arrival of the Spanish. The play draws on

mythologisations of the English as conquerors in South America established around Drake, Raleigh and in the writings critical of Spanish conquest such as those of Bartolomé de las Casas (whose writings were popularised by Samuel Purchas).[21] At the same time the resolution of the play takes place in the future, in the form of a fantasy of the reconquest of Spanish colonies by the English - and so the play unites past and future, ignoring anything which might pass between. It fuses mythologised past (the golden age of Elizabethan conquest) and the future (the age of reconquest in which the Incan prophecy of the arrival of the English - now seen as the prophesied conquerors - is fulfilled) and so contextualises a present, or moment of production, in a historical continuum which has direct access to Elizabethan politics of nationhood and conquest, eliding Stuart history and the Civil War in the running together of Elizabethan and future-Protectorate. The political implications of the displacement in Davenant's case are the annexation of the euphoric values of Elizabethan Protestant conquest to the present which is projected into the future.

Generically, it demonstrates the drama's anxiety about its status as clearly as The First Day's Entertainment. Music and song are used as a semi-choric comment on tableaux and mimed actions, and interwoven with the action are a variety of tricks such as tumbling, juggling and acrobatics. The piece does not offer any obvious narrative links between the various "entries" which are presented as singular, though sequential, episodes. The connotations of each tableau and mime would not be wholly obscure to the audience, but connection between the scenes and narrative does not inhere wholly in the spectacle.

The narrative, and thus much of the ideologically laden signification of the drama consists not in what actually happened on stage, but in a libretto sold at the door and giving a very detailed description

of what is witnessed on stage. It provided, that is, a "definitive" interpretation of events on stage (i.e. scenes, songs and acrobatics) by fitting them into a "meaningful" narrative. The libretto supplies a hermeneutic code, which links the visual and aural codes into a narrative, strongly suggesting an interpretation to the audience. The publication of the libretto can also be seen as an attempt to fix the dynamics of actual theatrical production in one manifestation i.e. in the printed, published text which can be presented as standing for the performance. In the central rôle accorded to the libretto, this drama thus acknowledges the politicised nature of the Protectorate audience. We know that Davenant sent a copy of it to Bulstrode Whitelocke before the play was produced - a fact which suggests he was at pains to demonstrate to the authorities that the play was not subversive.

If the libretto was, in part, a signal of the play's good intentions so was the topic dramatised. The tableaux register the colonial preoccupations of Protectorate foreign policy, reflecting Cromwell's fairly popular campaign against Spain in presenting the story of the defeat of the Spanish in Peru as achieved by an alliance of the English and the native peoples. The natives of North and South America had been represented in English writing as both vicious and noble savages.[22] Here they are initially presented as a semi-Edenic culture, into which the poisonous serpent of Spanish power has insinuated itself. This delineation of affairs in Peru follows Elizabethan colonialist models and in doing so serves issues in contemporary foreign policy. Fulke Greville (for whom Davenant worked and whose work is of considerable influence on him) described America in his Life of Sidney (published 1652) as the ultimate land of opportunity - for an overwhelmingly Protestant and English way of life:

> To Martiall men he [Sidney] opened wide the door of sea and land, for fame and conquest. To the nobly ambitious the far stage of America to win honour in. To the Religious divines, besides a new Apostollicall calling of the last of heathen to the Christian faith, a large field of reducing poor Christians, mis-led by the Idolatry of Rome to their mother Primitive Church. To the ingeniously industrious variety of naturall richesses, for new mysteries, and manufactures to work upon. To the Merchant, with a simple people, a fertile and unexhausted earth. To the fortune-bound, liberty. To the curious, a fruitful womb of innovation. Generally the word gold was an attractive Adamant, to make men venture that which they have, in hope to grow rich by that which they have not.[23]

This quotation makes clear the function of the New World as a fantasy landscape, filled with possibility. As Roland Barthes puts it in Mythologies, the differential between the way of life there and the way of life in Europe was sufficient for the natives and their culture to become idealised, as they did for Las Casas on whose narrative and illustrations some parts of the text and visual tableaux of The Cruelty of the Spaniards are based.[24] This idealisation can be directly linked to material and national investments. Just as Greville, Davenant's mentor in his youth, associated the Americas with opportunity, wealth (gold) and the validation of masculinity, so Las Casas saw it as a paradise, an Eden spoilt by the exploitation of the noble natives. Davenant, like Greville, both valorises the English and represents the natives as tractable, but also produces a scapegoat - the serpent in this Eden is Spanish nationalism, Catholicism and colonial ambition.

The Spanish are represented as truly vile, and engaged in the rankest tortures very similar to those which the natives themselves are sometimes seen as inflicting on Europeans. Vivid pictures of the cruelty of native South Americans to other natives are found in such places as Purchas's Pilgrims, where the Mexicans are contrasted with the Peruvians, and the Spaniards are the "civilising" influence:

> they of Peru have surpassed the Mexicans in the slaughter and sacrifice of their Children . . . yet they of Mexico have exceeded them, yea all the Nations of the World, in the great number of men they have sacrificed and the horrible manner thereof . . . . the men they did sacrifice were taken in the warres . . .
>
> . . . . .
>
> The Spaniards that saw these cruell Sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night they saw threescore or threescore and ten Spaniards sacrificed . . .[25]

Davenant's play, using a hybrid rather than a colonial source in de la Vega's account of the Spanish invasion, replicates these circumstances, except that the torturers are the Spanish and the Peruvians the tortured as they are in de la Vega's history. The libretto/narrative provides with a particularly shocking description at Entry five:

> A Dolefull Pavin is plai'd to prepare the change of the Scene, which represents a dark Prison at great distance; and father to the view are discerned Racks, and other Engins of torment, with which the Spaniards are torme nting the Natives and English Marriners, which may be suppos'd to be lately landed there to discover the Coast. Two Spaniards are likewise discover'd, sitting in their cloakes and appearing more solemn in Ruffs, with Rapiers and Daggers by their sides; the one turning a Spit, whilst the other is basting an Indian Prince, which is rosted at an artificiall fire.
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> p.19

Needless to say, the English triumph sees the Spanish grovelling and the natives dancing in delight. But, equally predictably, once the natives are conquered and the Spanish removed the natives cease to be similar to their virtuous English conquerors, falling more readily into the position of the "savage." In this way the play sets up the co-ordinates of a colonial discourse which has three terms, the Christian conquerers, the pagan "discovered," and the diabolic Spaniards. The status of the

fantasised campaign is elevated to that of a crusade not against the Peruvians - whose country is a locus of desire, filled with possibility for the English - but against the Spanish. The colonial ambitions of England are justified and validated in their treatment of the Spaniards and, particularly as the narrative is set in the future, there is no need to address the question of the political nature of the nation that will rule over the Peruvians.

The play's analysis of colonial ambition transforms the positions of the civilised and the barbaric through this addition of the Spaniards as a third term, a third nation. The political and theological status of each nation is not made explicit except in the broadest possible way: Roman Catholic Spaniards are defined against good Protestant English, but no question is raised about whether the good Protestants are monarchical or republican. Moreover, the disappearence of the present into the gap between past and future is one factor which enables the question of national authority to - conspicuously - disappear. It seems likely that such a use of narrative, as both a recapitulation of history and a fantasy for the future, speaks to Cromwell's concern for colonial conquest in the regions traditionally fought over with Spain and the dismal failure of the Hispaniola expedition of 1655 - which the play seems to have been aimed at celebrating - accounts for the delay in performance until 1658. But the play entirely suppresses pressing contemporary questions, such as what the new nation might be or mean, under the new Protectoral constitution of 1657.

We can, I think, better understand the context of The Cruelty of the Spaniards when we realise that one of its two sources was directly supporting Cromwell's plans. In 1656 Milton's relative John Phillips translated Bartolomé de las Casas' earlier account of Spanish cruelty, The

Teares of the Indians, and dedicated it to Cromwell. The play seems to use this text as well as la Vega's Commentaire, taking from it the scene of the roasting of Indians. Philips is voluble about the urgent need that the Peruvians have to be protected by the English, writing to Cromwell of "the cry of Bloud ceasing at the noise of Your great transactions; while you arm for their revenge."[25] The "revenge" for which Phillips argues (and which coincides with Cromwell's interests) is acted out in Davenant's narrative of a glorious future crusade in the "Sixt Song . .. which foretells the subversion of the Spaniards by the English," ending with the "grand Dance" including English soldiers in the contemporary uniform of the Protectorate. The scene brings together emphasis on the military prowess of the Protectorate with the grovelling of the Spaniard to the English, and it reinforces the righteousness of English ambition in general by dramatising contrasting attitudes of English and Spanish to the colonised Indians:

> three Indians entering first, afterwards to them three English Souldiers, distinguisht by their Red-Coats, and to them a Spaniard, who mingling in the measures with the rest, does in his gestures expresse pride and fullnesse towards the Indians, and playes a lowly homage to the English, who often salute him with their feet, which salutation he returns with a more lowly gravity.
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> p. 27

The History of Sir Francis Drake, Davenant's other Interregnum play dramatising a story from an expansionist Elizabethan past uses nationalistic sources in a similar way to The Cruelty of the Spaniards in mobilising myths of the past to validate the enterprises of the present. It was probably performed after The Cruelty of the Spaniards though the order is reversed in A Playhouse to be Let (1663). The History of Sir Francis Drake re-uses well known Elizabethan Drake material, revivifying

Elizabethan history to reinforce Cromwell's policies. Philip Nichols introduces Drake Revived (1626, reprinted in 1652), the text on which Davenant's play is based, as calling upon "this Dull or Effeminate age, to follow in his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver."[27] The context for the mention of "effeminacy" at the moment of production would appear to be the accession of Charles after James I, but such a charge was readily redeployed as a way of imaging the republic's relationship to Charles's government, and in the Protectorate Davenant echoes Nichols in his appeal for an active foreign policy broadly following that of Elizabeth. Another piece of Drake material, The World Encompassed (1636), offered itself "especially for the stirring up of Heroick Spirits, to benefit their Country."[28] Such Drake literature was periodically reprinted, and while it is of course possible that Davenant studied these books for his trip to Virginia, the narratives were also apparently woven into national consciousness and seem to have formed a part of the mythos of a Protestant Elizabethan past which Cromwell tried to echo. He reiterated this policy in the 1656 inaugural speech to Parliament (which forms the epigraph to this chapter), where he combined it with a call to action: "Truly our business is to speak Things; the dispensations of God that are upon us do demand it."[29] The colonialist representations of both The Cruelty of the Spaniards and Francis Drake thus reinforce Cromwell's foreign policy, call up memories of a heroic Protestant past, and avoid controversial domestic issues.

The dispensations of God may have suggested that an active military role was desirable for the new Protestant Protectorate, but militarism - especially crusading militarism - was expensive, and one of the most obvious "threats" to Christendom, the Ottoman empire, was in an ambiguous trading relationship to Europe. Arguably, precisely this opposition of

economic and ideological investment underlies the ambivalence found in the representation of the Turk in the most famous of Davenant's Interregnum performances and the one staged on its own (as opposed to functioning as part of A Playhouse to be Let in 1663 as Drake and The Cruelty of the Spaniards did), the two-part play or entertainment The Seige of Rhodes. The Siege of Rhodes shares with The Cruelty of the Spaniards a fascination with cultural difference, but the Turk was a very different "other" from the potential colonial subjects of Peru and the West Indies. Perhaps it is this less direct involvement in a colonial project which inaugurates what I argue is a more complex and ambivalent representation of a cultural "other" than that of the Spanish or the Indians. In the "Preface to Gondibert" Davenant wrote of the Mahometan "vaine pride of Empire," bearing out Walter Benjamin's later comment (on the German tragic drama) that for Europe "the history of the Orient [was] where absolute imperial power was to be encountered."[30] Yet in The Siege of Rhodes I and II, we find this mythologisation - gradually - subverted and unravelled.

The performance and publication history of The Siege of Rhodes is complicated and has some bearing on how we can read it in relation to contemporary political issues and theatre conditions because these changed hugely between its first performance and publication in 1656, and its Restoration performance in 1661, and publication in 1663. The first part of The Siege of Rhodes was entered in the Stationers Register in 1656 and it possible that the second part, which was entered in the Stationers Register on May 30 1659, may have been performed before the Restoration. A second quarto of the first part was printed in 1659 with a new place of staging. Thus, the first part of The Siege of Rhodes followed a few months after The First Days Entertainment, in 1656, and was published in that year and republished with Francis Drake in 1659. In 1661 both parts

of The Siege of Rhodes were staged alternately at the Lisle's Tennis Court theatre, and in 1663 the revised version (and very different second part) were all published. There is a printed text of part one from 1656 and a text of the two parts with additions from 1663, after the performance which Pepys saw, but no printing of any pre-Restoration version of the second part.[31] If the 1659 performance of the second part was substantially different from the 1661 performance recorded in the 1663 edition, and it seems possible that it was (particularly in view of the addition of the character of Roxolana to the 1661 performance), we have no record of it.

The first part is poised between the codes of public and private theatre; performed publicly it used Mrs Coleman to play the part of Ianthe - speaking, but veiled (1S.R II.ii.l. 78). [32] The issue which has ex ercised musicologists - whether or not it can be considered "opera" - is in large measure irrelevant to my discussion, or, rather depends on how the term "opera" is seen in relation to its contemporary context. Because of the circumstances of the 1650s it was unlikely to be called a "play" (the Stationers' Register calls it a "maske" but the title notes the presence of recitative) and the term "Representation" suggests a claim to novelty and innovation as well as to a genre. Certainly, in contrast to The First Days Entertainment, its plotting and organisation are unlike that of the masque structure and implies the influence of opera as well as other traditions.[33]

The representation of the Sultan in the 1656 part of the play might have suggested analogies with Protectorate England to contemporaries. Parallels could be drawn with the way Cromwell's guards were referred to as "janissaries," and he could also be seen as a despotic ruler ruled by the people. Both Cromwell and the Sultan had a standing army. Such analogies are present as hints in the text, but a reading which simply

equated Cromwell with Solyman would be deaf to the play's complex representations of political power, and for this reason I note topical hints rather than using them as the core of my reading. The play works in relation to the political situation in several ways - in re-usings of past and contemporary literary and political texts (such as its reworking of the political analysis suggested in Fulke Greville's Mustapha and The Treatie of Warres into an almost Hobbesian analysis of the contemporary crisis in the right to rule), and in a use of contemporary events. I shall examine briefly the representation of the Turk on the English stage in the 1656 version, and the issues of absolutism and the will of the people raised in the second part. The first part will be placed in the context of the historical events of 1656.

By the time Davenant was writing "the Turk" had a long mythic history in England as an oppositional power threatening Christian virtues. As C.A. Patrides points out, the Sultan was equated with Satan by Milton, amongst others and figured as a scourge of failed Christendom.[34]
The 1656 play initially presents definite European values in contrast to the Turkish "other" whose fleet sailing towards them from Chios is "but the forerunning Van / Of the prodigious Gross of Solyman" (1SR I ii. 47-8). But later that scheme is questioned when the Turk, previously constituted as the other, comes to represent values similar to those of the Europeans. The initial image, of an European union defending an outpost against an enemy which traditionally pressed on the borders of the western world, threatening, disruption, destruction and the end of Christendom itself combined with the complication of this image in the action of both the plays, suggests the complex significance of the Turk in 1656.

Samuel Chew has written of the connotations of the East that travellers returning from the East "passed into English literature a

picture of Islam as at once splendidly luxurious, admirable in its serenity, sombre in its cruelty and sensuality, and terrible in its strength."[35] However, this is only part of the story. Turkey provided an "other" against which Europe defined itself, but the status of this "other" was consistently undermined by the close trading links between the various Christian countries and the Infidel. A double standard might be said to have existed, on one hand condemnation, on the other a trading relationship.[36] Certainly, as Edward Said suggests, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Turkey could be considered as notionally excluded from European organisation, but in fact participated in it.[37] I would argue that Davenant's play draws on the fact that, although "the Turk" is a recognisable enemy, as personified by the Sultan, "he" also presents a dangerous, uncanny, doppleganger; a re-presentation of the West to itself in, for example, the detailed hierachies and government which might be thought partially analogous to European monarchy in its most absolute aspects.

Said writes of western notions of the Orient, of "Oriental despotism, Oriental splendour, cruelty, sensuality," making it much clearer than Chew that these are mythologisations. His argument centres around the development of the mythos of the Orient as an adjunct of the growth of trade in the eighteenth century, and particularly associates it with the trading companies. The play activates those discourses with which the east "has helped to define Europe . . . as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience," but also engages with the way actual contact with culturally different others tends to disrupt mythic contrasts.[38] As in The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru battle is joined, but here it is situated on the edge of Europe, at the very border with beyond. Instead of presenting two European powers struggling for dominance in a landscape

empty of values (or of questionable values) as in Peru, it delineates a complex struggle and even ultimately a sharing of values with a near neighbour.

A combination of interest and antagonism can be found in English attitudes to the Turk during the Civil War and Protectorate, and The Siege of Rhodes bears out the dualism of the west's sense of the Ottoman empire. It can also be read against specific historical shifts which, perhaps, permitted the Sultan to be presented as both a dangerous other and a humanisedly similar subject. Significantly, English newspapers were interested in the downfall of the notorious Ahmet I, Sultan Ibrahim whose reign during the 1640s was so ill-famed that no subsequent Sultan was named after him.[39] The end of his reign was reported in England in the catastrophic year 1649, a report speaking of the "extraordinary oppressions" practised by the Sultan which caused him to be deposed. The report provides quite startling analogues to the English experience. The Sultan, beset, appealed to the Muphty for aid, but "he was forced to declare to the Grand Seigneur that the Militia would not suffer Acmet Basha, the Grand Vizier, to enjoy his place any longer."[40] For all the strangeness of the names, this account of events in Turkey bears obvious resemblances to the way in which events led up to Charles I losing control of his kingdom.

The story of Ahmet I echoes English politics but it also shows the notoriously united Turks as internally divided and therefore microcosmically reinforces Said's argument that the idea of the "Orient" grew up after the period of the greatest Ottoman strength. Davenant was writing of Turkey at a period when it no longer posed such a threat to Europe as it had during the sixteenth century and parts of the seventeenth; by the 1650s it was perceptibly in a decline. Close economic

intertwing had implications - in 1656 Cromwell had refused to help the Venetians against the Turks because as Christopher Hill puts it, "too much English capital in the Mediterranean was vulnerable to Turkish attack."[41] Nevertheless, a special factor in the position of the Ottoman empire in English eyes in the 1650s was its defeat at the hands of their Venetian allies when the Venetian fleet almost destroyed the Ottoman fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles on 26 June 1656 - only months before The Siege of Rhodes was entered on the Stationer's Register.[42] At the end of August 1656 the Venetian representative Giavarina was finally granted an audience with Cromwell. Giavarina reported the Protector's response to the news of the Turkish defeat: "he added that now the strength of the Turks was so attenuated it would be advisable for all Christian powers to join forces" - a suggestion which may indicate Cromwell's Protestant ambition, or his prudence in spending words but not arms. Either way, it is uncannily echoed in the situation of the first part of The Siege of Rhodes.[43]

These specific state interests were preceded by sources from the early and later seventeenth century which testify in a more general way to the interest of Europe in Turkey.[44] For example, The Traveller's Breviat excerpted from the work of the Spaniard Giovanni Botero, represents Turkey's restless expansionism - and Joan Rees thinks that Botero's work may have influenced Fulke Greville's Treatie of Warres which, as I suggest later, probably in turn influenced Davenant's treatment of war in The Siege of Rhodes.[45] The Traveller's Breviat maintains a similar position to that delineated by Solyman in The Siege of Rhodes, asserting that the Turkish state is an expansionist war machine within which the Sultan fuels the army by passing out parcels of conquered land to the army and the rest of the hierarchy, in return for arms, horses and provisions: "The Turkes give their minds to nothing but warre, nor take care of anything else but

provision of armour and weapons: courses fitter to destroy and waste, than to preserve and inrich provinces." The Breviat, which went into many editions, also fostered the mythos of Ottoman tyranny, asserting that Turkish "government is merely tyrannicall: for the Great Turk is so absolute a Lord of all things contayned within the bounds of his dominions, that the inhabitants do count themselves his slaves not his subjects."[46] This myth of tyranny is combined with the repeated opinion that the religious unity of Islam is contrasted with the shamefully schismatic disunity of Christendom.

The comfortable spectacle of the Turk in difficulties, possibly in decline, would certainly provide a focus of interest for a writer seeking to avoid the complex actualities of civil discord. Ann-Marie Hedbäck, in her edition of the play, concentrates on literary "sources"; but valuable as this is, the actual circumstances of Ottoman Turkey at the moment of the play's production, taken together with the nature of Protectorate foreign policy, economic links, and the powerfully mythologised status of "the Turk," provided important stimuli to the representation of the Turk as both different and familiar in the 1656 production of 1 The Siege of Rhodes.[47]

The play narrates the siege of 1522, when the English were involved in garrisoning the island. It presents the audience with two rival armies fighting over the town. The Europeans - and especially English ("lions") - are represented in Rhodes, but the central conflict is between the Rhodian forces and the Turk. The Turk is initially represented as a powerful force, with his fleet moving towards Rhodes:

> Admiral Her shady wings to distant sight,
> Spread like the curtains of the night
> Each Squadron thicker and still darker grows,
> The Fleet like many floating forrests shows.
> 1 SR I.i.11-14

Thus, initially the Turk is represented as an "other"-- dark, plethoric, dangerous. However, the distinction between Turks and Rhodians cannot be fully maintained as the problems facing the two sets of rulers come to replicate each other and the attribution of virtue by nation becomes evidently ambiguous and ambivalent. Although the spirit of honour, valour, and manliness is exalted it cannot be placed firmly as an European virtue. The narrative structure and to a large extent the plot turn on love and the conflict between love and honour - but the dynamic of the play invites us to identify Ianthe and the Sultan as those in mature possession of "true" honour - presented as inhering in individual conduct, as a personal even privatised rather than political virtue. Honour is established as the primary value of Alphonso as soon as he arrives in Rhodes. Deciding to stay, despite danger, he says:

> Alphonso Honour is colder virtue set on fire:
> My Honour lost, her love would soon decay:
> Here for my Tombe or Triumph I will stay.
> My sword against proud Solyman I draw,
> His cursed Prophet and His sensual Law.
> 1 SR I.i.80-84

Alphonso achieves military heroism, fending off the Turkish army, but the Sultan's generosity in taking Ianthe prisoner and then giving her a safe pass to Alphonso in Rhodes provokes a crisis in Alphonso. His jealousy disrupts the binary equation of virtue with Europe which the play seems initially to posit. Alphonso's certainty that honour is bound up with European values is shown to be mistaken in his own case as well as in that of the Sultan. Already in this speech from the first Entry he associates Solyman with sensuality, and Alphonso's crisis about the differentiation of the European and the Turk is posed by the play in the form of his attack of (dishonourable and unfounded) jealousy. This is the

main way in which the play presents the breakdown of distinctions between the Sultan and the Europeans, for both audience and characters:

> Alphonso Had Heav'n that Passe-port for our freedom sent
> It would have chose some better Instrument
> Then faithlesse Solyman.
> Ianthe O Say not so!
> To strike and wound the Vertue of your Foe
> Is cruelty, which war does not allow:
> Sure he has better words deserved from you.
> Alphonso From me Ianthe, No;
> What he deserves from you, you best must know.
> 1 SR IV.ii.27-35

Thus, definitions of honour, just like the definitions of the Sultan as enemy and "other," turn out not to be simple. Honour, as it is redefined, remains a principal value but is seen to be in the possession of those characters who have a complex grasp of a difficult, even irresoluble, political reality - including, above all, Ianthe whose virtue and wearing of armour make her into a kind of femme forte by the end of the first play.[48] In this way any national claim to "honour" is modified in relation to increasingly complex circumstances, and this modification turns on the changing status and interrelationships of the Sultan, Ianthe, Alphonso. The crucible in which the ambiguous nature of "honour" is articulated is the affective relationships of the central figures, which are central to the audience's experience of the play but not fully privatised from the political sphere because the all-important definition of the self in relation to honour, which Ianthe and Alphonso attempt to negotiate in both the first and second play, is bound up with stereo typical versus sophisticated understandings of the Sultan. The plays present an ambivalent reading of national stereotypes and notions of otherness (in which the audience must also have been implicated in terms of ideology and popular mythology) and offer a narrative of love and honour which

undermines simple binary concepts of honour and nationhood. As well as the problem of where honour can be found in love relations, the play poses as ambiguous the relationship between the Sultan's rule and aristocratic impotence in particular political exigencies. Thus the 1656 version, the first part, ends with the Sultan held off because of Alphonso's heroism but this is qualified as an upbeat ending because of his jealousy over Ianthe which, although he recognises it, is not resolved in reconciliation as his final words on the subject are, "Draw all the Curtains and then lead her in; / Let me in darkness mourn away my sin" (1 SR V.iv.106-7).

Although the second part of the play only exists in the 1663 version it is possible that it was performed before the Restoration, in 1659 as well as in the version seen by Pepys in 1661. In the second part of the play the Sultan and his people become a mirror image of Rhodian questions about government. In 2 The Siege of Rhodes both the Sultan and the Rhodian leaders confront the problem of negotiating a connection between rule and the people's will. The powerlessness of the Turkish absolute monarch at the hands of his people is echoed in the rebellion of the Rhodians against the continuation of battle. The dynamic of the play reinforces the differentiation of Solyman from the Turkish war-machine: he increasingly occupies a position which echoes the dilemmas of honour and love faced by the European protagonists. Conversely, the difficulties of the Sultan's absolutism are echoed in the difficulties between the people, Ianthe and the Grand Master of Rhodes. In the second part of the play the Sultan speaks of the role of the absolutist ruler as emperor:

> Solyman Of spacious Empire, what can I enjoy?
> Gaining at last but what I first Destroy.
> Tis fatal (Rhodes) to thee,
> And troublesome to me
> That I was born to govern swarms
> Of Vassals boldly bred to arms:
> For whose accurs'd diversion, I must still

> Provide new Towns to Sack, new Foes to Kill
> . . . . .
> For I shall find my peace
> Destroy'd at home, unless
> I seek for them destructive Warr abroad
> 2 SR II.ii.52-64

This simultaneously suggests the Sultan is an eastern despot, and invites us to sympathise with him as a sole ruler facing the problems of monarchical rule whereby the people inevitably determine even an absolute rule's conduct. Even as he is distinguished from the Ottoman force his subjection to them is emphasised: despite the appearance of power, he has none and is perpetually driven by the war machine. Villerius makes a very similar speech arguing that the will of the people cannot be resisted in times of crisis:

> Villerius: Their strength they now will in our weakness find,
> Whom in their plenty we can sway,
> But in their wants must them obey,
> And wink when they the Cords of pow'r unbind.[49]
> 2 SR I.i.266-271.

The juxtaposition of these two quotations shows that the presentation of the Turkish state in The Siege of Rhodes cannot be in any simple way opposed to the summary of European / Christian values provided by the force on Rhodes. The difference between the two populations would appear to be that the Rhodians are, in general, more tractable than the Turks, but each populace is represented as ultimately ungovernable except through a power which accepts and fulfills their wishes. The play provides a Hobbesian analysis of power in the state in which government is organised through the contractual donation of the will of the people to their governors. The Turks do not rebel, as the Rhodians do, but then their leader epitomises rather than opposes them; the Sultan's project as

absolute ruler is not to direct the people but to maintain peace "at home," and his own position, by making war.

The uncontrollable force of the people is echoed in the Grand Master's acknowledgement of their will (2 SR I.i.263-271). When the people elect Ianthe as their ambassador to the Sultan, Villerius merely comments "Who can resist if they will have it so" (2 SR I.i.198-200). Neither the absolutist monarch nor the Rhodian militarised aristocracy are capable of overruling the desires of the people. The only difference between the Rhodians and the Turks (but one which is important in keeping a minimal binary division between the self-same and the "other") is that the warlike disposition of the Turkish people forces the Sultan to acts of aggression whereas the Rhodian people demand peace; the question of who rules and how that rule is effected remains present. Villerius comments:

> Villerius: Ianthe needs must go. Those who withstand
> The Tide of Flood, which is the Peoples will,
> Fall back when they would onward row:
> We strength and way presume by lying still.
> 2 SR I.ii.18-21

This speech suggests that the ruling class should survive rebellion by floating with the tide: one cannot hope to govern it. This leaves Villerius in virtually the same position as the Sultan who will find peace destroyed at home unless he provides the people with wars abroad. The difference between the Sultan's power - which is, paradoxically, absolutely absolute and quite illusory in that all he can do is obey the flood-like will of the people - and the rulership of Villerius is that the Rhodian people are governable in times of peace. The representation of government as overtaken by the will of the people is obviously suggestive of several political situations in England between 1642 and 1659. It also strikingly

echoes a common topos also used in Fulke Greville's Mustapha (never intended for performance but printed in 1609 and 1633), in which the character Rosten speaks of a swelling mob which "as the Waters / That meet with banks of Snow, make Snow grow Water."[50]

This brings me, finally, to some texts which Davenant here appears to be re-reading in the light of the political circumstances of the Civil War which have removed monarchy and associated assumptions, thereby exposing the pragmatic and "artificial" rather than regal and righteous quality of government. Fulke Greville's anxiety about courts and honour seems to have influenced Davenant in The Siege of Rhodes, especially his poem A Treatie of Warres in which he even apparently echoes Botero in his opinion of Islamic addiction to war - "Such the Religion is of Mahomet, / His doctrine, onely warre."[51] Both the Treatie and The Siege of Rhodes initially appear to be committed to a defence of national war (in Greville's case as a manifestation of God's revenge - see Treatie, st.33-6, 43). As my reading of Davenant suggests, war and political power are ambivalent and ambiguous and Greville's Treatie, too, contains a critique of its apparent assumptions that war is needed - Greville presents war as an aspect of the inevitable chaos of the fallen world (see for example, stanzas 45-49). Ideas which each text implicitly questions include the notion that a ruler's sanction justifies war, the assumption that colonial wars are justified, and the assumption that a simplistic sort of obedience is the duty of the people to the ruler. However the Protestant pessimism of Greville is transformed in Davenant's text into an analysis which presents government as expedient and pragmatic, not an issue of right at all.

In Davenant's play the audience's direction of sympathy is made ambiguous as an increasing disjunction is posed between Solyman's war

against Rhodes versus the representation of the Sultan as subscribing to the highest ethical codes of the European camp. Just as war becomes increasingly hard to understand or justify in moral terms in The Siege of Rhodes, and it seems to be posed finally as merely an effect of popular political discontent, A Treatie of Warres puts forward several possible but potentially contradictory analyses of the causes of war and its nature, which can only be resolved in the unspecific recourse to the will of God (stanza 50). An attitude assuming the centrality of the violent and insurrectionist aspects of human nature, and the need for rebellious tendencies to be kept at bay is strikingly common to Greville and Davenant as is an ambiguity about how this would map on to any political position with regard to either Elizabethan and Jacobean England or the circumstances of the 1650s. Where Davenant concentrates on the mollifying potential of spectacle in his theoretical justifications of drama, and in The Siege of Rhodes presents the dangers to the elite posed by situations in which the people sieze political control, Greville's poem gives a detailed commentary on the fractious state of fallen man:

> Never did any Publicke misery
> Rise of itself; Gods plagues still grounded are
> On common stains of our Humanity:
> And to the flame, which ruineth Mankind,
> Man gives the matter, or at least gives wind.
>
> Nor are these people carried into blood
> Onely, and still with giddy violent passion,
> But in our Nature, rightly understood,
> Rebellion lives, still striving to disfashion
> Order, Authority, Lawes, any good
> That should restraine our liberty of pleasure,
> Bound our designes, or give desire a measure
>
> stanzas 23-24

This situates rebellion and war both in a political realm and at the core of the being of fallen man, a perspective which separates the individual

and the state but sees them as motivated, ultimately, by the same root of rebellion which lives in each individual rather than inhering in political situations - again an analysis of rebellion which seems to be echoed in the ideas about political power, honour and "human nature" suggested by the Siege of Rhodes plays.

On the one hand, Greville's Mustapha offers an analysis of the state which implicitly sees all kings as tyrannical in that they deprive the people of their rights, something which Davenant seems to echo. But on the other hand the people's exercising of these rights is in Davenant's play a matter of political expediency and likely to lead the state into danger. The ruling classses need to go along with the people at vital moments in order to retain ultimate control. As Norbrook suggests, Greville's work is ambivalent about the issues of Protestantism and courts, love and power, and this anxiety is re-articulated and changed in Davenant's two-part Siege of Rhodes.[52] But whereas The Siege of Rhodes invites empathy for the Sultan neither the Turkish nor the Rhodian people are presented as able to use power well - the Turks drive on the Ottoman war machine, where the Rhodians remain within an aristocratic paradigm of government even as they challenge it - they demand that Ianthe be their representative. Arguably, Davenant's reworking of Greville's anxiety about the mystificatory status of "love" in government is adapted in The Siege of Rhodes to a post-Hobbesian notion of monarchy where all the operations of the state are seen in terms of the workings of power. The resolutions allowed by love work only ambiguously in The Siege of Rhodes, against the background of a very full acknowledgement of the basis of government in power alone - an analysis which maps very evidently on to the central political concerns of the 1650s with regard to engagement and political action. This Hobbesian analysis of power and government is one which I

would suggest Greville's Treatie moves towards but denies in its recourse to God.[53] In Greville's case this denial takes the form of an ultimate return to and sanction of authority per se whereas in Davenant's case the re-affirmation of "love" has been partially removed from the political sphere into the private, even the domestic. The second play particularly poses the interrelation of governor and people solely in terms of the pragmatic operations of power and in this sense, rather than in any politically challenging way (certainly it would be hard to read this analysis of rule as endorsing divine right royalism); The Siege of Rhodes manifests a radical uncertainty about the rôle of rulers, seeing them as ultimately almost powerless.

Specific incidents in The Siege of Rhodes demonstrate that war is the occasion of heroism, but also expose that a ruler does not have absolute power. The crisis of the siege is the occasion of the official authority of the Grand Master being overruled by the people, and this too suggests that the play makes a quasi-Hobbesian reading of power and could therefore - to stretch a point - be read as supporting engagement with the ruling power, whatever that was. Hobbes argued that a nation comes into being when the people "confer all their power and strength upon one Man, or upon one Assembly of men, that may reduce all their Wills, by plurality of voices, unto one Will," and such power once conferred cannot be reclaimed.[54] However, Hobbes also argued that a citizen should support whichever government was able to govern, and therefore, if a government was overthrown, the citizen was to transfer alliegance directly to the new state.

The play hints that the ruling class, who have no remedies to offer, must be instructed by the voice of the people in times of hardship. It is, however, also suggested that this reversal in the rôle of ruler and

ruled is temporary and that although the cords of power are unbound, the return of the state to order will bind them up again, and return each to his or her proper place in the state. This analysis is backed up by Villerius's concluding speech in the exchange which might again be read as strongly reminiscent of Hobbes's analysis of power in the state. The play presents the Turk as an "other" who turns out to be subject to difficulties which are, in a modified and mitigated form, re-produced in the Rhodian camp. Moreover, it maintains a distinction only around war as conducted in the case of the Turks by the ruler but at the behest of the people and in the case of the Rhodians as being stopped when the people take control. In this way the play offers difference which is then dissolved into familiarity, offers a drama of conquest which then turns into a drama of compromise, offers a dramatisation of a crusade which then turns upon itself to question the premises of rulership which set it up. In terms of the politics of England in 1656, 1659, and 1661 the Siege of Rhodes plays offer a commentary on politics and honour which could certainly be read as suggesting the similarity of all forms of power and therefore leading towards engagement with the current power. This analysis of politics as a matter of power alone is extended in the second part, and appears to be only slightly obscured in the 1663 version of the two plays where the introduction of the second woman's part serves to concentrate the play around more individualistic dilemmas of love.

7.3. Conclusion.

Davenant, as the only dramatist whose work was publicly performed during the Interregnum, and also as a dramatist working with a brief from central government, was the only writer whose opera written during this period needed urgently to establish itself as in some sense national, or nationalist, drama. It also needed to differentiate itself from the monarchist rather than "reformed" opera written by dramatists not directly engaged with representing as respectable the present politics of nationhood (see Chapter Six).

Davenant's work during the Interregnum demonstrates a need to validate the present and revise the past. The pressing need to establish the present as legitimate was almost impossible to fulfil through the tried method of recourse to validating mythologisations of history. Positive constructions of usurpers were not ready to hand and any dramatization of the life of an English king would inevitably raise the question of the nature of kingship, government, republic, protectorate. Kings were palpably present in English history and mention of them might breed dissention and division rather than providing a mythologisation of the present acceptable to the protectorate government. Thus Davenant's opera and other pieces could have no recourse to the type of re-evaluations of history found (for example) in Shakespeare's history plays. From a dramatist's point of view, it is hard to see how the nation might in any way be presented to itself without the inevitable highlighting of sources of tension, division, argument. Davenant's plays ignore domestic history, using the broader outlines of the relationship between Europe and states outside Europe.

Against this background Davenant's Interregnum plays provide stories of English exploits abroad to produce entertainment acceptable to all shades of opinion on the question of domestic government. He both retreated from history altogether (as in The First Days Entertainment) and dramatised England's rôle in international affairs in which other participants in events could be characterised as "other."

Thus Davenant's Protectorate writing constitutes both a radical break with earlier theatrical practice and a continuity with that provided for the court: the impulse to validate the present is as strong in The Siege of Rhodes as it had been in court masques like Salmacida Spolia. When Salmacida Spolia was produced in 1640 it was still possible for the person of the king to act the part of the antidote to discord. Sixteen years later this had become impossible in more ways than one. The resemblances between court masques and the Interregnum operas, detailed in this chapter, serve also to emphasise the radical discontinuities between the two. This links the equally problematic ideological positions of theatrical practice and the dramatisation of history. The present Davenant's Interregnum plays sought to validate demanded not only a reversal of the political impulses which had driven his pre-war drama, but also that he provide a theatrical practice acceptable to a government which, in many contexts, found : : theatre politically unacceptable.

History and theatrical practice were both visibly politicised, and I have tried to demonstrate the connections between Davenant's productions and the specific ideological exigencies of the 1650s. "Opera" provided a solution of some sort to the theatrical problem, but that solution itself may have been complicated by the strong connection between that genre and courts. Even so, Davenant's entertainments did become the "reformed" drama of the Protectorate. The dramatisation of conflict between nations provided

a possibility for a mythologisation of the nation through the constitution of others and therefore the thorny questions of domestic division could be avoided. However, in responding to political circumstances - even in avoiding particular topics - the plays were inevitably bound up in them.

Chapter Eight. Genre and Political Situation in the Career of John Tatham

8.1. Contentions and introduction.

John Tatham was one of the few dramatists to produce publicly staged drama of any kind during the Interregnum, and perhaps the only dramatist whose career as a professional or semi-professional writer spans the period of Civil War and Protectorate, running from 1640 to 1664. His career both contrasts with and to an extent parallels that of Davenant, explored in Chapter Seven - unlike Davenant he was not a court poet (though he may well have been a Catholic) but like Davenant he was involved in the business of producing acceptable spectacles for the mid 1650s. This chapter analyses the relationship between Tatham's plays and their contexts, and examines in particular The Distracted State (1651) and his entertainments and Lord Mayor's shows. His two topical plays, The Rump (1659) and The Scots Figgaries (1652) are mentioned briefly.

Policy towards theatre was transformed several times in the twenty four years of Tatham's career as governments changed, from the banning of public performance to the renewal of the Lord Mayors Shows under the Protectorate and then to the new civic shows of the Restoration. The radical changes of the last twenty years are addressed by Mrs Cromwell, a character in Tatham's The Rump which was probably staged in

1659 and later acted at Dorset Court. Mrs. Cromwell describes the changed reputation of the dead Protector: "who whilst he liv'd was call'd the most serene, the most illustrious and the most puissant prince, whilst the fawning poets panegyricks swell'd with ambitious epithets is now call'd the firebrand of hell, monster of mankind, regicide, homicide, murtherer of piety,"[1] Mrs. Cromwell delineates sharply a transformation of values at the point where the Restoration was almost an accomplished fact. But the Restoration, which brings ruin to Tatham's character Mrs. Cromwell, was simply the climax of the transformations which dominated Tatham's whole career.

Tatham began writing at the end of Charles I's personal rule. His first publication, The Fancies Theater includes a short pastoral drama called Love Crowns the End, "performed by schollers . . . . in the County of Nottingham in the yeare 1632," around the time of the vogue for pastoral at court.[2] Although Chaudhuri's comment that the "atrophy of the pastoral is apparent" in Love Crowns the End is typical of twentieth century critical opinion of Tatham, Tatham's close peer group greeted the volume enthusiastically - it appeared with a plethora of commendatory verses by younger writers for theatre.[3] There are verses by the playwrights Richard Brome and Thomas Nabbes, who also wrote verses for each other's volumes, as did C.G., another contributor.[4] The other well known commender was Thomas Rawlins whose own play, The Rebellion, was published in 1640 when, according to its commendatory verses (to which Tatham contributed), he was a young man.[5] Butler identifies these circles as "drawing off both the elite and popular traditions," which to contemporaries would seem like "heirs to the Elizabethan mainstream," and notes Tatham as a member of a group around the Red Bull including Brome, Nabbes, Heywood, Rawlins, Richards. This provides one setting for Tatham's Interregnum career, though

Butler perhaps slightly overemphasises Tatham's pre-war involvement with the theatre when he says that he "wrote for the Red Bull" - Tatham only seems to have written occasional verse, prologues and so on.[6]

The dedicatee of The Fancies Theater was a figure remote from quasi-city concerns, Sir John Winter - a Roman Catholic involved in the scandals in the forest of Dean where the Crown was attempting to extend its prerogative. He supported Charles in his personal rule, became Master of Requests to Henrietta Maria and helped to collect money from Catholics for the Scottish war.[7] The dedication to Winter at a time when popular fear of Catholics was at its height appears to be pointed support for Henrietta Maria, but assumes greater significance in terms of Tatham's own politics in the light of his dedication of The Scots Figgaries to the Roman Catholic royalist hero, Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvan (who died in 1643). However, we can build up some ideas about Tatham at the start of his career from these potentially contradictory details. We can be sure that Tatham was not, as Davenant and Shirley were, a dramatist who worked for the Caroline court. The fact that Thomas Jordan also wrote civic shows and continued to do so after the Restoration endorses Butler's view that Tatham's associates were a group of civic poets in the early 1640s. However, only Jordan, Tatham (and Brome, in terms of publication) survived into the Interregnum as writers of drama.[8] Finally, Tatham appears from the commendatory verses to be already interested in theatre, and the use of Winter as a patron for pastoral may suggest that he may have been attempting to get a patron at court. Tatham's next publication was a volume of verse, Ostella (1650), which contains some poems on pre-war theatre.[9] It was not until 1651 that his first play was published; a puzzling political allegory called The Distracted State.

8.2. Tragedy, tragicomedy and political ideas in 1651: The Distracted State.

In 1651, the same year that Thomas Hobbes and John Evelyn found it safe to return to England, Tatham published perhaps his most meditative play on political issues, The Distracted State: a Tragedy.[10] Its date of composition remains problematic. Tatham claimed it was 1641, a full ten years earlier. John M.Wallace argues strongly for a 1651 date of composition in order to make it a part of the controversy over engagement to the Commonwealth. From 1649 members of parliament (and others) had been asked to assent to an Oath of Engagement which promised loyalty "to the Commonwealth of England as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords," and this had led to more general debate about obedience to the new regime. For the purposes my argument the play's context can only be that of 1651 when it was printed and, my argument assumes that it was printed in 1651 because it was felt to be in some ways appropriate and therefore saleable even without performance. However, this certainly does not rule out the possibility that the play was drafted from 1641 onwards. Although Wallace is surely right to see the play as dealing with the Engagement controversy, he makes an oversimplistic reading of the play as satire, failing to notice the way it moves between tragic and satiric modes.[11] He also fails to register the complexity of the play's tragic and tragicomic structure, and it is this which I explore in some detail.

The Civil War had been the period of Tatham's literary maturation. He too was one "T' whom Civill War hath been a nursery," as one of the commendatory veses put it. [12] The political complexities of the 1640s and 1650s are registered in the play's structure. Formally it is a tragicomedy, but the resolution and restoration come only in the final scene of the

fifth act. The audience (not the characters) know that the king is alive from the very beginning of the third act. Thus, like plays such as Measure For Measure or Thomas Middleton's The Phoenix, The Distracted State has a double structure in that for many of the characters the action is tragic almost to the end of the play, while the audience is alerted to the possibility of a tragicomic structure when they discover that that the king is alive at the beginning of the third act. For them the representation of the alternative types of government is being played out against a background of the rightful royalty waiting in the wings, whereas for the characters this is not a lively possibility. Within this structure, the play explores the different kinds of government which emerge in the absence of a rightful ruler.

The play suggests several different understandings of it's presentation of government at different moments during the play. The first act establishes the deposed king as the rightful ruler but also suggests that (like Charles I) he was not a perfect king. The usurper, his brother Mazares claims to have taken the throne because "the Publike wrong" forced him to oppose the king. From this point, we see a progression away from rightful rule and observe several different sorts of government operating in the absence of the lineally correct ruler. The Distracted State is structured around a series of usurpations which need to be seen in the light of the complex tragic/tragicomic structure of the play and the way it presents the various options available to a state without a "true" king.

One way of reconciling the tragicomic structure created by the last minute return of the king with the incipient tragic structure is to think of the play as a satire. The play certainly is in part satiric, parodying the bids for power of the early 1650s in what Michael Seidel identifies as the satiric strategy of prolonging crisis "at the very time that the

action mocked and parodied would or could, in other circumstances, and in other literary modes, resolve it." This describes neatly the relationship between the prolonged tragic structure and repeated disasters of the play, and the tragicomic denoûment which only happens in the very last scene, emphasising the way that "usurpation that prevents restoration" as a satiric way of imagining crisis.[13]

The first act of the play introduces us to the figure of Agathocles, a Sicilian (Sicily being also the setting of the play). In The Prince Machiavelli uses the Sicilian tyrant Agathocles to discuss the two ways in which a prince may rise from a private station to a principality, either "by some wicked and unlawfull meanes a man rises to the Principality; or when a private person by the favour of his fellow Citizens becomes Prince of his countrey."[14] The familiarity of the name Agathocles from Machiavelli might suggest that he was an usurper, but for most of the play he is an honest subject. Agathocles is loyal to Evander and only when (false) reports of Evander's death arrive does he begin to act without reference to the king. Agathocles articulates ideas about different forms of government for the audience, but it is not until the end of Act IV that he develops into an usurper and makes a bid for state power. Throughout most of the play Agathocles can be read as a well-intentioned, if confused, subject.

The political positions of the first act can be traced in the language of the characters. Agathocles opens the play with the words, "Heaven where's thy Vengeance,/ Canst thou endure this Mockery?" (I.i), evidence of his loyalty to Evander. Mazares on the other hand speaks the language of Machiavellian "necessity," associated with justifications of the regicide, as well as with the more abstract discourse of Machiavellian republicanism. Agathocles recognises Mazares as a Machiavel in an aside,

"Machiavell, thou art an Asse, a verie Asse to him" (I.i) and Mazares, installing himself in his brother's place, speaks a suspect language of self-justification, similar to that of the Rump in 1649-1650:

> Mazares My Lords, you are my witnesses,
> The Publicke wrong, and not Ambitious hopes
> Of government, Oblieg'd me to this Quarrell
> (The Peoples and not mine) against my Brother.
> I.i, p.2

Mazares continues to deploy populist rhetoric, claiming that he had done nothing until nature (i.e. allegiance to his brother the king) was overcome by the "sad Scene / Of a sinking People and a rising Tyrant" (I.i, p. 2). Significantly, when the usurper Mazares does attempt a royal trope, he gets it wrong. He appeals to the central organs of the state of Sicily for support. Addressing the Archbishop, Agathocles and Epicedes he says:

> Mazares Crowns are but glorious burthens, and the weight
> Requires more heads than one to bear it up.
> You are th' approved Pilots of the State,
> Acquainted with all Creeks, and Rocks where danger
> Hides his destroying head, and wisely can
> Steer her, should the malice of a Forraign Foe
> Swell to a tempest, or Malignant breaths
> At home threaten her Ruine; on your faiths
> Depends ours and her safety:
> I.i, p. 2

On one hand this expresses the notion that a king should be guided by counsellors (one of the major issues of 1640 to 1642 and hinting at resemblences between Mazares and Pym, Laud and Epicedes), on the other it indicates that Mazares is not a proper ruler. His misuse of the crown is signalled in his misuse of the metaphor of the crown's relationship to the body: a crown is designed only for one head (that of the rightful ruler). Despite his wooing of church and counsellors Mazares implies that

the church is entirely subject to the state:

> Mazares My Lord Arch-Bishop,
> You are the Church's Vine, and we the Elm
> Of the Common-wealth, our flourishing Estates
> Depend on one another.
>
> I.i, p. 2

The iconography of royalty and the church is twisted here - the elm is not a royal tree; it is described by Howell as signifying "nobility."[15] So another clue to Mazares unfittedness to rule is his misuse of royal iconography. It may of course also hint at the problems of national (Protestant) monarchies where church and state are hopelessly intertwined - as opposed to international (Catholic) religious organisations. Agathocles, from the beginning, comments on the new ruler in a number of asides. When Mazares first leaves the stage Agathocles makes a speech on monarchy and usurpation:

> Agathocl Kindl'd by the fire
> Broke from Mazares bosome, whose Ambitious
> Desire of Rule, bred the ill humours in
> The easily corrupted Multitude,
> Who, led by their pernicious hopes, that he
> Would bring on better daies, gave breath unto
> Their Monstrous fury, and like a deluge,
> Brake forth and sanke the Fortunes of Evander:
> That poor Prince, having no other Arke
> Of Preservation than his Innocence,
> And faith he had in's friends, did fly to them
> Whose shelter serv'd him but for a short time,
> For they with him at last were overwhelm'd.
> But Epicedes be thou confident,
> Though Hell hath further'd the Usurpers Plot
> And smooth'd it with successe, Vengeance will reach him.
> Though heaven be slow it's punishment is sure.
>
> I.i, p. 4

It is dissatisfaction with the new ruler which initiates the next change

of government. Harmonia's father Cleander, an ambitious and self-seeking military commander, precipitates the chain of events leading to the second revolution. Mazares realises that as a king without right he is dependent on the will of the people (as do the Sultan and the Rhodians in The Siege of Rhodes). The play is not explicit about how right would alter this relationship: Agathocles said earlier "Peoples dispos'd for Change,/ Survey the Vices of their Prince through Opticks / That rather multiply than lessen them" (I.i, p. 4). This, interestingly, applies equally to Evander and now to Mazares. From the point of Mazares's deposition, the play traces rapidly multiplying usurpations. Mazares's usurpation of the royal power leads rapidly to Archias's usurpation of that usurped power - a usurpation which cannot draw the current of rule back into its rightful channels but which nevertheless offers the hope of good government in the marriage of Archias to Harmonia. Another kind of government is set up, another de facto ruler.

One way of describing what happens in The Distracted State would be to take the whole play as analogous to the political situation in England in the early 1650s. After the regicide ensued a deliberate process of change which made the royal nation into the new Commonwealth. It was by no means a stable period; there were mutinies in the army and royalist resistence was beginning. Moreover, since Pride's Purge the House of Commons had a much less popular base. The leaders were divided amongst themselves with, for instance, Fairfax strongly opposed to the regicide. The play can be seen as presenting an analogous situation, and this is underlined by its publication in 1651. Any contemporary reader would probably have read the play as a comment on the times. However, the sequence of usurpations does not present "real" events literally or with precise allegory: rather it presents relatively radical political possibilities in a dramatic form, from

republicanism to tyranny and ranging more widely than a recapitulation of the precise circumstances of 1651.

After the short rule of Archias the play comes increasingly to be a sequence of discussions between the characters about different sorts of government. Agathocles declares himself in favour of reform rather than revolution in government:

> Agathocl Wise Experience
> Gives us to know that in th' lopping of Trees,
> The skillful hand prunes but the lower Branches,
> And leaves the Top still growing to Extract
> Sap from the Root, as meaning to Reform
> Not to destroy.
>
> I.i, p. 4

Nevertheless he finds himself involved in the coup which deposes Mazares following a logic expressed by Archias:

> Archias Shall we pay Duty and Obedience
> To him, who does instruct us to Rebell
> By his own President? are we to learn
> How he Obtain'd the Scepter? or want we Sense
> To feel how he imploies it? was it not
> His own insinuating Tenet to
> The People ('gainst his Brother,) that the Vertue
> And Justice of the Prince were th' onely Bonds
> That bound the People to him . . . .
>
> II.i, p. 11

Archias articulates the way one rebellion justifies and even encourages subsequent rebellions in that it provides a pattern for the next rebels who, as Hobbes reflected, "think themselves wiser, and abler to govern the public, better than the rest; and these strive to reform and innovate, one this way, another that way; and thereby bring it into distraction and civil war." Hobbes is pertinent here not because I want to claim that Tatham read him, but because both Leviathan and probably The Distracted State

address problems about authority thrown up by the situation after the regicide. Mazares had advocated government by a parodic version of contract or covenant theory whereby the people owed obedience to the ruler only as long as he was "good." Hobbes however insists that the contract whereby people give power to the ruler is indissoluble: "The subjects cannot change the form of government." Moreover, the obligations all flow in one direction, "he which is made sovereign maketh no covenant with his subjects beforehand," and this leaves the ruler in absolute power.[16] In this way Hobbes abandons the idea of divine right while maintaining the ruler in complete power - a theoretical point the usurper Mazares fails to grasp.

As Mazares plans to kill Cleander who has helped him to the throne, the others plot rebellion. The scene switches abruptly; Act III opens with the banished king Evander and his helper Massellius. This is a crux in the play as it is the point at which the reader comes to know more than the characters. Evander has given out that he has killed himself, and his reappearence reinstates the poss ibility of restoration of the rightful line of kings. However, the scene switches again to the inauguration of Archias's rule over Evander's subjects who think their rightful king to be dead. The mob which supports him resembles the London mobs which influenced political affairs by invading parliament in the 1640s and which was to play a part in bringing about the crisis which led to the Restoration. A stage direction reads, "Archias, Agathocles, Epecides Cleander Icetis, pass over the stage. The People follow, crying an-Archais, an-Archais, an-Archais" (III, p. 16). The point made about the populace in general is that the people can be swayed to worship any ruler, and one ruler after another. But they do have a dangerous power, as directed by leaders. Tatham treated them rather differently in The Rump in 1659, where

the part played by apprentices in bringing about the Restoration resembles the city heroics of his contemporary, Thomas Rawlins in his The Rebellion. Adulanter, now awaiting his doom in the palace describe the people:

> Adulant Their Envy is Invincible, and the People
> (Times Shittle-cocks) do bring unto your Gates
> The hideous shape of danger.
> Mazares My deceipt
> Shall rock that Monster into sleep, had it
> More eyes than Argos
>
> III, p. 16

Mazares commits suicide, Archias siezes power and plans to marry Harmonia. But Cleander's aside about Archias are the final words of Act III - "And the next thing / That follows is thy death, I must be King" (III, p. 18).

Act IV opens with the good deeds and intentions of Archias: he is married to Harmonia and sets about recalling those citizens banished by Mazares, repairing temples and so on. His professed intent is, "to reduce/ This rude and discomposed Soile into / A Tempe of Delight." By this point, for the reader, the ironic force of his plan for the state to be a temple of harmony comes from the fact that, of course, he is not the rightful ruler. Cleander is already planning the next usurpation. He buys poison from a Scottish apothecary - a hint at a contemporary enemy - and poisons king Archias.

Archias leaves the throne to Cleander. Both Agathocles and Epicedes speak against this. All exit leaving Antanter alone to comment aptly, "These are fine turning times, I wonder when / 'Twill come to my turn to be King" (IV.i, p. 24). Antanter's words sharply articulate what is already being impressed on the reader - that de facto rule is equivalent to chaos. Immediately afterwards Agathocles and Epecides return to the stage, and an exchange takes place about the meaning of government, in which they

question every aspect of the right to govern. The argument suggests that once right is abandoned it makes little difference to the people which king rules. However, the characters discussing it do not know that the rightful monarch still lives, and this enables the audience (almost certainly a reader) to enjoy a full discussion of republicanism in the knowledge that the king will be restored. For example, Rome is taken as the model of republican good government:

> Agathocl How sweet and freely Rome enjoy'd her self,
> 'Till she submitted to the Power and
> Pride of one man's Rule? Tell me
> What good did ever
> Kings bring unto our Country, what wee might not
> Have purchas'd without 'em? Ills they have
> Almost incredible: Our Coffers emptied,
> To fill their Treasury, and maintain their Riot.
> Epec And wedded to perpetual Slavery.
> For when one Tyrant falls another Rises
> From his Corrupted loynes, that proves far worse
> Perhaps than did the former, so that wee
> Must never hope for better, but be Arm'd
> With Patience to endure the worst.
> Agath Suppose
> We would allow of a Kingly Power, where is
> The man discended from the Race? Cleander
> He was but one of us the other day:
> And sure we are not so tame a brood,
> But to think we deserve 't as well as he.
>
> IV.i, p. 24

Rome, of course, is paradigmatic of a state which changed from a republic to a monarchy - a change posed here in part as a degeneration. Agathocles describes kings as simply tyrants, using the resources of the country to service their own ends. The dynasty of tyrants is preserved in a grotesque parody of familial inheritance in the transmission of rule through rebellion: one tyrant follows another not through (proper) patrilineal inheritence but through a peverse kind of self-generation making republicanism seem like a desirable alternative. From this position

the play shows us not a republic but a free for all in bids for power, and a descent into chaos becomes inevitable. The outcome of the conference is that Agathocles and Epecides band together in a plan to get rid of the oppressive institution of kingship forever in a way which sounds like the plans for changes in government later suggested by James Harrington:

> Epec And to have our Country
> Govern'd by three or ten, as did the Romanes.
> Agath Who shall continue but a yeer in Power,
> And then successive Patriots be chosen,
> Who shall have Power to punish in their time
> The Crimes their Predecessors did commit during their time of
> Rule.
>
> IV.i, p. 24

However, the play's progressive investigations of governments further and further from royal rule is traced in the path of Agathocles; the monarchist of Act I now advocates a republic. His progression from monarchist outrage in Act I to republicanism is, certainly, catalogued as a decline. But each step is explicable at the level of plot and to an extent in terms of the choices Agathocles faces. Some sympathy for him is maintained because the audience's attention is directed towards the rapid succession of possible rulers and ways of ruling. Moreover, the play appears increasingly to entertain these possibilities seriously; just as they were serious possibilities in England in 1651.

The fifth act opens with the two extremes of government placed in opposition: pure and righteous kingship opposes a lawless sequence of tyrants. In terms of genre and expectation, tragicomedy is posed against tragedy. The final act contains two further changes of rulership before the righteous rule of Evander is successfully reasserted. In the meantime, Agathocles finally enters politics - in Act V Agathocles soliloquises on the evils of monarchy:

Agath You see the desperate effects that wait
On this thing called Monarchy, because
It carries a continuance, and all
Men Naturally have Ambition to
Make great their line, and families by succession
V.i, p. 26

The last act contains a total of three usurpations - two actual and one attempted - before the "tragedy" is turned into a tragicomedy with the restitution of the kingdom to its rightful ruler. Agathocles, acting in this pattern of behaviour establishes "natural" plans to be king - "Shall I who dare do more than kill a thousand, / Be subject to the questioning of ten? / . . . ther's no Glory / Like being Singular" (V.iii, p. 27). When Evander finally returns he finds both Antanter and another commander dying of wounds from their struggle for the crown.

Although the didactic aspect of the play triumphs with the return of Evander, the build up of usurpation after usurpation is not only the energising force of the play but its main action. It also demonstrates that there are alternatives to kingly government. An argument in favour of de jure kingship also fulfils the contrary purpose of alerting its audience to a great variety of political possibilities within a particular historical situation. The endless questioning and plotting of the characters means that Evander and his rights become very much a side issue in terms both of time devoted to them and the intensity of the scenes. It is a commonplace that drama makes "vice" exciting. However, the scenes containing Evander are static demonstrations of the merciful and good nature of a proper king, whereas the scenes containing Agathocles, Cleander and the rest, are full of action, excitement and debate.

The representations of the different rulers and the changing types of rule they endeavour to enforce thus gain vitality from the very ambiguity of these representations. The play constantly strains at generic

limitations: it is called a tragedy, yet, from fairly early in the play the possibility of the return of Evander is made available, in the tragi-comic pattern. On the subject of atheism Stephen Greenblatt asserts not that atheism was unthinkable in the early modern period, but "rather that it was almost always thinkable only as the thought of another," this he says, "is in fact one of it's chief attractions as a smear; atheism is one of the characteristic marks of otherness."[17] The broad sweep of Greenblatt's argument is both rhetorically convincing and relatively hard to substantiate exactly; but it seems that a similar set of displacements occuring in terms of the simultaneously tragic and tragicomic status of political transformation in The Distracted State. This provides the reader with a "safe" (tragicomic) framework within which to imagine radical changes in government. However, the dual structuring also marks and exposes the anxieties of the text in relation to the assertion of the royal right to rule in the absence of a king. The tragicomic structure denies the seriousness of the transformations, but although the sequence of usurpations is ultimately denied as a "real" possibility, the tragic structure - within which the king is dead - continues to operate for the figures within the play and poses the possibility of an alternative to a restorative ending right up to the end of Act V. The issues which affected contemporaries are raised, and whatever a reader thought of the regicide he or she must wonder what political implications it had. Thus, Greenblatt's hint reminds us of the significance of the tragic potential of the play in tension with the tragicomic. Furthermore, the text is particularly open to political and allegorical readings in relation to the present - it can also be read as a tragedy of the overthrow of true religion, replaced by repeated (Protestant) schism, and eventually the restoration of true religion. Thus the text positively invites politicised

readings, but ultimately does not directly pose politics as the reader's own problem because of the tragicomic structure.

A final detail about the play is the use of the name Agathocles, mentioned earlier. The play could be read as a narrative of Agathocles, a good subject, transformed into an usurper by state cataclysm. Agathocles is an ambiguous figure and there does seem to have been a later tradition in which Agathocles (from Machiavelli's Prince) recurs as a figure analogous to Cromwell. After the Restoration, Reginald Perrinchief published The Syracusan Tyrant - "the Life of Agathocles with some Reflexions on the practices of modern usurpers" (1661), opening his book with a broad hint at Cromwell: "Our Age hath had too fresh an Experience of this: for the methods of tyranny have been acted with so much industry, and continued with so great success among us." Here the typological connection between past and present is clear, as it is once more in 1683 when the figure of Agathocles is revived in a poem based on Perrinchief. The author says of the Agathocles figure, "tho it may be the paralel is not exactly drawn, I suppose there will need no key to decipher him."[18]

This is Tatham's only play which explores the potentially exciting, potentially tragic, possibilities of the early, pre-Protectorate 1650s. Like the Andronicus plays of the late 1650s and early 1660s, The Distracted State uses an historically distant event to dramatise not only the specific events of the present, but also the political possibilities and questions of kings, states, usurpers in the 1650s.[19] Under a period of complete censorship of the theatre Tatham produced a complex drama of the unresolved political issues of the period after 1649 but before the Protectorate; a drama which addresses in a generically

complex way the issues of the needs of state in terms of government. Would a play for performance on the Stuart public stage be able to provide such a detailed exploration of political issues and possibilities rooted so firmly in the present?

8.3. Senators or slaves? Tatham's civic shows for the new nations of the 1650s and 1660s.

The Distracted State was followed in 1652 by the anti-Scottish drama, The Scotch Figgaries. The topical and racist animus of The Scotch Figgaries may have brought Tatham some public attention. Although Uphadyay is wrong to call it unintelligible because of its use of Scots dialect it does not seem to have been performed.[20] The play turns the religious schisms of the 1640s into a London comedy in which the Scots infiltrators and perpatrators of false ideas - Folly, Billy, Jocky and Scarefoole are ultimately defeated by the good magistrates Resolution and Surehold. The play's comic action turns on a pair of plots in which the Scots bewilder the city-folk from citizens to magistrates and another group fleece young heirs. The play's dedication to Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon (a military royalist who died in 1643) suggests that it may have been written considerably earlier than the date of publication. More significantly, Carnarvon was a Catholic and in Act IV a "Seminary Priest" enters to weigh the "trump'd Covenant" against the Papal Bull (IV. vi). So at the same time as Tatham produced a city comedy he seems to have maintained not only royalist but perhaps also Roman Catholic connections.

This makes the the next transformation in Tatham's career even more

surprising. Contrary to much critical opinion - David Bergeron's assertion that the last pageant before the Restoration was written by Heywood and performed in 1639 is inaccurate - Cromwell's Protectorate coincided with the resurgence and recasting of the Lord Mayor's shows in the City of London, after a gap between 1640 and 1655.[21] Tatham wrote them from 1657 to 1664 inclusive and once again his career offers a study in a genre (the Lord Mayor's show) and its political circumstances. Tatham wrote at least one Lord Mayor's show annually from 1657-64 and contributed to other shows and entries. Writing the poetry which was spoken and, perhaps as significantly, printed in books to be distributed on the day and afterwards, Tatham was involved in mediating the relationship between the city and Whitehall, and, during the Interregnum, in shaping the conception of a new, kingless, state in relation to the city.

Two kinds of show might take place in the city. The Lord Mayor would annually, on the day following St Simon and St Jude's day, go by barge from the city (usually in this period from Three Cranes Wharf) to Westminster where he would take the oath and then return by barge to the city. At this point that there would be a procession, often to his house, accompanied by guild pageantry and shows, including drolls. During the 1620s and 1630s such shows were written by writers for the theatre including Anthony Munday and Thomas Middleton. The second type of show would involve a visit to the city by one in authority, often a monarch, and might take the form of a triumphal entry or the fulfillment of an invitation from the city to dine at the Guildhall. In both cases the ceremony had meanings both specific to the city and its relations with the government.[22]

These civic rituals were, it seems, deeply affected by the repeated crises of the civil war. In the years 1641-42, when London was undergoing

an upheaval in the structure of its management in which city M.P.s were influential in parliament, and the management of the city itself was transformed into a pro-parliamentary structure, shows ceased. Withington notes that there was some splendour when a mayor of the Goldsmith's company took office, in 1643 and 1653, but between 1640 and 1655 shows ceased until the mid 1650s.[23]

The entry of a ruler into the city brings into play slightly different ideas of "honour" than the Lord Mayors show; the city is at pains to present itself in a favourable light to its ruler but also, on its home territory, to address the ruler as it would like that ruler to be. Cromwell visited the city on several occasions, and a speech survives which was given by the Recorder in 1653 when he was entertained at the Guildhall. First, the recorder expatiated on the difficulties of rulers, emphasising their status as servants of the people:

> Governors are like the heavenly bodies, much in veneration, but never in rest; and how can it otherwise be expected, when they are not made for themselves, ... but for the safety, and good of Mankind? As in the the Natural, so in the Civil world, Great things being ordained to serve the lesse; we see the Sun by its beames serving the eye of the meanest fly, as well as of the greatest Potentate. The Supremacy of Salus Populi was the conclusion of the twelve Tables . . . .[24]

Such an address leaves no doubt that the city regarded itself as living in a country in which a populist government existed, though it situates power in a secular ruler, not in parliament. This was further emphasised with the assertion that "they leave it to other Nations to salute their Rulers and Victorious Commanders with the names of Caesares and Imperatores, and after triumphs to erect for them their arcus Triumphales"(A3v). One might detect in all this a difficulty about how to address Cromwell who was neither a monarch nor a mere minister. Nevertheless, such sentiments were,

of course, radical departures from monarchist rhetoric, and the conclusion of the Recorders speech is notable for its characterisation of the role of the city as both hierarchisedly organic and actively collective:

> This City seldome goes alone in publique Actions: it was anciently called by Stephanides the heart of the Nation; and if the heart be in a Politique consideration, as it is in the naturall, it will communicate life and spirits into the other members, by which meanes the whole body may unanimously contribute their desires and endeavours to oppose the common Enemy and after all our distractions [see the] Nation established upon the firm Basis of peace and righteousnesse . . . .
>
> (A3v-A4r)

The ancient metaphor of the state as a body is used here to figure the role of the city as heart, mediating between different parts of the nation and renewing them. Thus the city simultaneously asserts its own importance and signals its central role in regulating the social fabric. The Recorder is not talking about a social body which could, even in 1653, be seen as unanimous and homogenous: hence his suggestion that the city can bring about such unanimity and thereby create the firm base on which government can rest, is no small claim. The crisis of the regicide, and the ensuing difficulties between Cromwell and parliament as well as Leveller and royalist campaigns against the new state left Cromwell as the main focus of anger. The city asserts its central position and strength, and simultaneously renews the notion of it as incorporate in the nation. So here we can see one attempt on the part of the city to present itself and invent its symbolic role in the new social order.

Perhaps the difficulty in the Recorder's speech about what Cromwell was - ruler or only chief commander - sprang from the ambiguity of his symbolic, if not literal, place in 1653. Mervyn James writes of the social body that "the persisting tensions between whole and differentiation meant

that the process of incorporation into the social body needed to be continually reaffirmed, and the body continually recreated."[25] The problem of the English Civil War and its aftermath had not only highlighted social differentiation but made visible the metaphors by which such recreation of the social body worked, such as that of the "body politic." The Recorder addresses this epistemological crisis by an assertion of ancient metaphor underlined by ancient authority: but one can immediately imagine a royalist response to the deployment of the organic metaphor alongside salus populi, and after the regicide.

The Lord Mayor's shows resumed after Cromwell became Lord Protector, and it may be that, just as with drama, the Protectorate inaugurated the possibility of a return to the old customs. We know that Davenant's entertainments were permitted by Cromwell: did the Lord Protector have an equally active hand in setting in train the shows? Some evidence is supplied by the prefaces to the first three pamphlets commemorating the shows which repeatedly link themselves with Roman civil government. The introduction to the first Protectorate show, Edmund Gayton's Charity Triumphant (1655, also discussed in Chapter Seven) - like Davenant's First Days Entertainment - addresses the relationship between its generic status and politics quite explicitly:

> My Lord
> View the Roman State under which Government soever you please, whether in the beginnings, under many happy Kings, or in its change from Monarchy to Democracy, or in its little resurrection to Aristocracy . . . you shall alwaies find every Age, and sort of Govenours, adorning and exemplifying their several Authorities by Anniversary Shewes and Pomps to the People, who are naturally pleas'd with such Gleams and Irradiations of their Superiors, and gaines at once Honour to the Magistrate and effects content to the People.[26]

Gayton's appeal on behalf of shows combines the populist with the

universalist, suggesting that shows and spectacles are suitable to all forms of government. The pageant for 1656, written by I.B. (traditionally thought to be John Bulteel), continues the Roman comparison, London "being divided into Wards: and secondly, having Sherriffs instead of Consuls, and an assembly of Senators or Aldermen."[27] The record of the small pageant - a water fight - tells us that passing Whitehall on the way to Westminster they "saluted the Lord Protector and his Councell, with severall peales of shott, which the Lord Protector answered with signal testimonies of grace and courtesie"(B1v). So Cromwell actively approved the reintroduction of pageants. In 1657 in Londons Triumph, Tatham also made an attempt to provide an overall context for the presentation of civic pageants under the Protectorate government by referring to Rome:[28]

> Erasmus, (speaking of the Romane Magistrates) saies, They were grave in their Conversation severe in their Judgement, and constant in their purpose. They were either Elected out of the Elder, Richer and Wiser sort, called Patricci, sometimes Patroni (as Patrons and Fathers assisting the Commonwealth in their Affairs). Or out of the Commonalty; the one called Magistrates Plebii, having relation in their addresses to the Patricii, as the Common Council may have to your Lordship.
>
> A3r

Although this draws on relatively typical terms for the valorisation of civic authority it is Tatham's only attempt in the Protectorate period to delineate overtly a new, national, chain of authority into which the post-monarchical Lord Mayors Shows could fit. Tatham here describes a classical analogue for the Lord Mayor and relates the show to this ideal. Unlike the Recorder's speech, this is for the city itself, and so the reader is not drawn to conceptualise the spreading links between city, government and whole nation. The reformation of the civic shows in a post-monarchical era led to a re-evaluated iconography of civic pride which was not tied to the

ruler. This absence of national chain of authority linking the city to the nation in the iconography of the entertainment is repeated throughout Tatham's shows of the 1650s, although in other ways they reiterate pre-war tropes and can be seen as a modified reassertion of old customs. For example, the role of the city in generating trade and supporting the nation is central to the shows as in 1657 when a "pilgrim" emphasises the wealth of the city and its international trade relations:

> Pilgrim Grand City; Thou Minerva, Nursery
> To Arms, Fames Garden Military.
> The Merchants Treasure, and their safety too,
> What parts in all the World but trade with you?
> Europe, wherein you seated are, doth fill
> Your lapp with choice varieties: the ill-
> Complexion'd Affrican unto your Breast
> Poures forth his Spicie Treasure; and the rest
> Crown you with Gold and Onix stones; Thus they
> (As once to Rome) now to you tribute pay.[29]

In a movement in some ways reminiscent of Davenant's (and Flecknoe's) use of colonial setting to resolve the crisis of nation, this show does not link up the idea of the colony and trade with the king as centre. Trade is here a purely civic virtue, continuing the theme of the great city. The Clothworker's Show in 1658 again emphasises specifically civic, even Calvinist, virtues. It is presented by Industry and Honour to the new Mayor, Sir John Ireton. Industry is dressed in grey citizen garb but this is overlayed with a mixture of citizen and guild iconography:

> clothed in Grey, on her head a Kerchief, in one hand she bears a Card or Shears, in the other a Scepter; on the top of which Scepter is an open hand, and in the midst of it an Eye; and at the end of the Scepter, two small wings. [30]

The code of honour in both these pageants is linked with specifically civic

virtue, operating without the iconography of royal power anterior to the city: the scepter becomes appropriated to an entirely civic iconography. Later in the same description pastoral modes are adapted to represent the clothworkers: "a Bush is represented under which a Sheapherd sits playing on Bay-pipes, sheep feeding by him" (p. 6).

Thus the clothworkers appropriate a suitable pastoral scene. Honour, like Industry, is an entirely civic virtue; "a man with a grave Aspect, his brows encircled with Palm, a chain of Gold about his Neck, and Bracelets of Gold about his Wrists, his Garments of Purple colour'd Sattin" (p. 8). Honour and Industry, allied to other virtues, symbolically conquer vice; and the purple, like the scepter, is here liberated from a specifically monarchist system of value. Thus, these pageants are intent on reconstructing the civic show as part of the symbolic reformulation of the idea of the English "commonwealth" under Cromwell. They move decisively away from royalist tropes, but uncertainty about how to conceptualise the new order may be signalled in some features of the shows, for instance, the absence of what Sheila Williams calls "private feud and the occasional heightening of feeling" in the writing as well as a significant attention to detail and hierarchy; it was I.B.'s show which first carried the order of the procession.[31] Perhaps the seriousness as well as the dullness of I.B.'s show provoked the satire in the poem the Citie's New Poets Mock Show.[32] However, as in Flecknoe's Oceanus the pageants of the Interregnum are attempting to find a celebratory language for the virtues of the new commonwealth and this involved an emphasis on both the revival of industry after the war and on England as a magnet acquiring resources from all over the world.

From the voices of city M.P.s in 1641 to the anti-Rump mobs of early 1659, the city was attempting both officially and unofficially to play a

central part in political change and to revive its own business status. The desires of the city government and the power of the city can be seen in the political and civic wrangling around Tatham's last show before the Restoration. Preparations for Tatham's 1658 show, after Cromwell's death, are recorded only with an order for a barge and "eight sufficient able men to carry the Master, the Warden and the rest of the gentlemen," but the records of preparations for the 1659 show indicate the government's fear of city violence and their need to conciliate it.[33] By September 1659 parliament and army were virtually incapable of co-ordinated action. This came to a crisis over a petition from John Lambert's regiment, found by the intemperate Arthur Haselrig and read to the house.[34] This precipitated an attempted parliamentary coup, and a successful counter-coup by the army.The M.P.s were expelled on 13 October and news of this reached General Monck in Scotland on 17 October. On 25 October the Council of State was to be formally replaced by the Committee of Safety, and Monck began moving down the country with his army. Lambert was sent to meet him, leaving behind a humiliated Fleetwood.

In the midst of these events the city was attempting to prepare its show, and these preparations indicate the delicate balance of Fleetwood's control of London in October 1659. On 13 October, the morning of the coup and counter coup by the army, when Lambert's soldiers surrounded the house to prevent M.P.s entering, some M.P.s appealed to the Common Council for aid, but they refused: parliament's gates were locked once more. For the same morning, in the records of the "Orders of the Court of Assistants" we find the court decided to consult the Lord Mayor and Aldermen "whether it will bee seasonable & Convenient for this Company to proceed in their intended p^rpracon of Page^t^ and other Publique Showes in Hand for the Lord Majors Day."[35] On 18 October the Wardens reported

that the Aldermen "would not prscribe the Company what to doe therein," but "In sume did seeme to give incouragmet to ye Compas proceedings in their intended Corse."[36] So they went ahead. On 26 October the Committee of Safety was officially formed and on 28 October they decided to send a force to meet General Monck. On 27 October - very close to the day of the show - the wardens reported that other people besides themselves and the aldermen were concerned about tumults:

> This day Mr Wardens reported to the Cort that the Lord Major had acquainted then wth some intimacon from the Lord ffleetwood & Councell of Officers to hand the Publiq Show on the Lord Majors day forborne in regard of the pnt [ie present] troubles and Concorse of People occassioned thereby wch might bee of dangerous Consequence That therevpon they had repaired to the Cott of Aldrén to Signifie the great Charge already expended by the Company and the forwardnes of their prparacons against the day and the expectacons of the people upon the rumor of their intended triumphs and desired the further Advice and Iudgemt of that Cort what would be fitt for this Company to do therein That the Coty of Alddrén had nóiated a Select number of Aldren & wth them Mr Wardens . . . had recorse to the Lord ffleetwood & Councell that the Lord ffleetwood did seeme to disowne the privitie or knowledge of any such intimacon and vpon the reasons given to the Councell they were left to their own libertie to proceed in their intended Corse of a Show wther some Caution of Carefulnesse.[37]

Even though the company and city had themselves been considering abandoning the show they resisted pressure from Fleetwood to do so, on the grounds that it was too late to cancel. The large deputation from the city which led to Fleetwood's denial of his "intimation" suggests strongly that the Committee of Safety preferred to back down and allow the show to go ahead, thereby risking rioting and possibly worse, rather than have the city openly flout their instructions, which seems from this document the probable outcome of a prohibition so close to the show. This incident gives a remarkable, though ephemeral, insight into the political negotiations which took place around the symbolic celebration of the city customs and

the city's repeated assumption of a pivotal rôle in politics through their proximity to the seat of government. Fleetwood's use of "intimation" to the Lord Mayor may be a clue to the way the Lord Mayors shows started again. Moreover, Fleetwood's loss of control may suggest the way in which Tatham's scurrilous political satire The Rump came to the stage in 1659. However, by the next year another revolution in government had taken place and Tatham was writing shows in a kingdom.

The return of the king re-activated the possibility of a national symbolism in which civic authority is once more validated by the king. At first, indeed, Charles II provided once again what Clifford Geertz calls the "charisma" of a king by re-uniting "a governing elite and a set of symbolic forms expressing the fact that it is in truth governing."[38] The Restoration brought with it a new version of the recurrent difficulties of Tatham's career, in terms of the relation between genre, centre and audience. But at first Charles's return gave him a vocabulary. The early pageants in 1660 adopt as a mode a general address to the king on behalf of a loyal but sorry kingdom which is, simultaneously, celebrating the king's return. As Nicholas Jose suggests, the moment of the Restoration transformed Tatham's shows, providing Tatham's work with both the unified audience that Rochester saw "fencing" the king's route to London, and with a new indisputable obviousness of meaning in royal iconography and the kind of closure made available by the presence of the king.[39] However the pageants and entries of 1662 and 1663 present a more complicated picture of the post-Restoration relationship between city shows and the new order.

On May 29 1660 Charles II processed from the city to Whitehall in a procession which mingled city and court, the Dukes of York and Gloucester coming directly in front of the Lord Mayor (the most important last).[40] The new regime had symbolically united with the city which had been a

significant force in Charles I's demise. On Thursday July 5, Charles was entertained by London's Glory: Represented by Time, Truth and Fame, an entry which closely and probably consciously closely echoes the entries of the 1620s and 1630s.[41] Tatham points out that he did the show in 1659 and addresses the popular new mayor on the issue of loyalty, saying, "As your loyalty hath been great, your Joy cannot be little" (A1v). The whole pageant explicitly addressses the issue of the Restoration. Time, for example, kneels and "on his bended knee your Pardon Craves"/Having been made a Property to slaves" (p. 1). Tatham's pre-war metaphors resurface; the king is addresses in absolutist terms:

> Such is Vertual Fervour of your Beams,
> That not obliquely but directly Streams
> Upon your Subjects; so the Glorious Sun
> Gives growth to th' infant plants he smiles upon.
>
> p. 1

The insistence on clarity is of particular interest in relation to the anxiety about genre and audience in Tatham's later shows. The clear presence of Charles II acts as a momentary guarantee that meaning is anchored by a king's presence in the land. The meaning of Tatham's civic pageantry ceases to be obscure or oblique for the moment of the Restoration; the audience, apart from the king, is united for a moment in loyalty, abjection and thankfulness.

The use of Time and Truth as symbolic figures also echoes pre-war pageants but the unity between king and people invoked here seems to have had the ephemeral quality of collective euphoria. In the Lord Mayor's Show of the same year, some months later, the issue of the ideological position determining the voice of the drama and it's audience - what might be called the political and ideological co-ordinates of the celebratory

theatrical performance - seems to have re-emerged as potentially problematic. Although the king functions to relate city to nation - indeed, the apparent identification of the city with the king, even the predominance of Royal iconography, can be found in the title The Royal Oake - anxieties appear about the clarity and transmission of meaning and who, precisely, the show is for. Annotations appear explaining the historical derivation and significance of various passages. Surprisingly, Tatham explains the phrase "I Oceanus . . . am come to Grace my Daughter, Silver Thames / So much admir'd and loved by Loyall James" (p. 6) explaining that James was "a great lover of this river." This superfluity of annotation is more than fashion: it is an attempt to fix detail and meaning, signalling the text's anxiety about it's context. Its problems are familiar from the 1650s: both how to mythologise the new king, and the problem of to whom this mythologisation is to be presented. Such textual apparatus occurs in other texts of the civil war period which seek to stabilize and make evident the "true" meaning - in political terms - of the words and situations. Examples are found in Christopher Wase's attentive glossing of the Greek plays he translated, Fanshawe's glossing of the Pastor Fido, and Davenant's libretto "explaining" The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru.

However, this is a post-Restoration text and might be expected to echo the earlier London's Glory in a new-found ease of meaning under Charles II. One marginal note would be slender evidence of "anxiety," but this introduction of printed marginalia is greatly elaborated in Aqua Triumphalis (1662), when the City of London entertain the newly-married king and queen upon the river. Tatham begins by apologising for the entertainment because of the "shortnesse of time allowed me, and the uncertainty of their Majesties Arrivall" (p.2). The performance which

reiterates the link between London and colonial trade, links "Loyalty" to the citizen and operates with full blown monarchical symbolism. The uncertainty appears to be about the audience of the piece, who is it written for and therefore from what position might it address an audience. Is it a citizen's celebration for citizens or is it for the benefit of the royal couple - an entertainment closer, generically and therefore iconographically, to the masque. Thus at two junctures the printed programme produces "Explanations" of what is happening - in case the show and the words are not enough, in themselves, to make an interpretation possible. The genre in which Tatham is now operating has, so soon after the Restoration, entered a new crisis of meaning. For whom is a city entertainment designed? How far are civic virtues contiguous with monarchical values and which set of iconographic codes should be paramount? These were the questions that the post-Restoration Lord Mayor's shows had to negotiate.

In part the problem was that as a show the civic symbolism had recourse to old conceptions of the body politic which were perhaps archaic. As Joanne Altieri notes, Tatham's shows use pre-war codes and devices which seemed outdated in 1660. The archaism is a sign of the crisis in meaning in these entertainments (we remember that court masques have lapsed). However, in referring back to the old court poets in what was to be his last show, Londons Triumph (1664), Tatham makes literal "the interconnection of business and court" in close co-operation but appropriately distinguished poetic modes:[42]

> We hope your Majesty will not suppose
> You're with your Johnson or your Inigoes;
> And though you make a court, y'are in the City,
> Whose vien is to be humble, though not witty.[43]

This is indeed a literal expression of city/court relations, but it rests on and constitutes a clearly defined position of aesthetic and hierarchical differentiation of city from court. The relations expressed and defined here are rather different from the implied unity of audience and understanding of the earliest post-Restoration entertainments by Tatham, which we have traced dissolving and fracturing quite rapidly after 1660. The particularity of civic symbolism - appropriate to a city entertainment - is made explicit as is the relation of a city entertainment to the king. This distinction attempts to clarify the status of the city while confirming its links with the monarch. Thus, his last show directly addresses and expresses the problematic of royal/civic post-Restoration public theatrical entertainment: drama was caught once again in the irresoluble issues of the politics of genre and audience.[44] The following year brought the plague, and the next show was by Jordan, in 1671.

Tatham's pageant pales into insignificance and appear uncerain of their royalist symbolism when they are compared with a contrasting celebration of Charles II's return memorialised in two editions, one lavishly illustrated. The day before the coronation, on 22 August, Charles II had been entertained in the city in an entertainment written by John Ogilby and whose records, augmented in 1662, included a cartoon of the order of the procession and pictures of four triumphal arches.[45] It also had swathes of annotation identifying the spectacle with classical spectacle, and with imperial iconography. Interestingly, two figures with popular antecedents found their way into the symbolism. The first was a figure of rebellion as a woman, familiar from anti-parliamentarian polemic (see also Chapter Four where the image is discussed). Secondly, we find the popular image of the Rump on a painting over one of the triumphal arches:

> the King, mounted in calm Motion, Usurpation flying before him, a Figure with many ill-favoured Heads, some bigger, some lesser, and one particularly shooting out of his Shoulder, like Cromwell's; Another Head upon his Rump, or Tayl; Two Harpies with a Crown, chased by an Angel; Hells Jaws opening.
>
> p. 28

Such an image does indeed seem like a cruel answer to the Recorder's use of the idea of the social body in 1653. The prominence of an image of such extraordinary violence, in the very city which, in some ways, belonged to parliament in the early 1640s, implies an equally extraordinary universal lapse of memory. It is indeed the king's show in the city, with the text by the king's poet. Tatham, who had been involved in formulating the city as a new Rome in the 1650s, was now preparing entertainments for a city which had, it seems, lost all memory of its own history as if, indeed, it had been a "slave."

There is supporting evidence for the argument that 1660 although it brought a moment of clarity in the relation of Tatham's dramatic representations to politics also soon afterwards brought renewed ideological complications. This is found in Tatham's use of a genre that was to become dominant on the Restoration stage, his topical comedy The Rump, performed in 1659.[46] "Loyalty" here is an assumed certainty between text and audience - in The Rump Tatham sees himself speaking for and to "the loyal party." Never before and never again could this body be so clearly identified. But the significance of this "loyalty" is predicated on the absence from the nation of the king to whom this loyalty is owed. The return of that king was likely, almost certain, but not yet an historical fact - anticipation, as Jose points out, lent the political moment the possibility of using the king as a national fantasy. Notably it was this play which that intricate comic plotter Aphra Behn borrowed for one of

her own comedies re-reading the last days of non-monarchical government.[47] The Rump is also interesting in that it was a performed play in which Tatham was able to do something under what was still officially the Protectorate - and which did not permit plays - which would not have been possible under the pre-war Stuarts: it portrays a whole set of living interregnum rulers.

Tatham's ability to stage such scurrilous drama was provided by the collapse of the government he was attacking. Staged at a moment when London was awash with political polemic and scurrilous attacks on the Rump, The Rump was produced under quite different circumstances from the fractured multiplicities of The Distracted State, and forms part of a large body of Rump (or anti-Rump) writing. It takes actual living figures as its dramatis personae - the names lightly disguised in 1659 but not at all in 1660 when it continued to be staged and was printed in a second edition. It dramatises the events in London leading up to the bonfires and roastings of the Rump just after Monck arrived in London on 11 February 1660. Something which links this play to the plays of Tatham's associates in the 1650s, such as The Rebellion, and which also connects it to his career as a maker of city entertainments is the way in which the play concentrates on London. The play does not offer an answer to the often-asked question of whether it is "royalist"or "republican," and - as Tim Harris notes - any understanding of 1659 needs to take into account the many different expectations of the Restoration held by different sections of the populace. The Rump is set before the Restoration became a clear issue and manages to mobilise both the radical potential of city resistance and its conservative implications in the way that it represents the revolt and petitions of the apprentices - dramatic events which both have some basis in historical events. [48] The apprentices cry out for a

"Free Parliament" and the end of the corrupt Committee of Safety. At the same time as the play exploits the radical potential of the city's anger it reinvokes the stabilising possibility of monarchy in the apprentices' shouts of "Viva le roy" (IV. iii).

8.4. Conclusion.

While Tatham's career can be seen in various ways as parallel to that of Davenant during the Interregnum, he appears to have been entirely without Davenant's connections. Some might say he was also without talent. However, for a non-evaluative study such as this Tatham provides an illuminating example of the career of a playwright under the strictures against theatre from 1642 to 1660: pro-Caroline, pro-Stuart, pro-city, possibly Catholic, Tatham nevertheless worked under the Protectorate. It demonstrates that the idea of Interregnum drama as essentially royalist cannot work, and gives an example of a sequence of texts in different genres reacting to changing political imperatives. During the years in which he was working both drama and pageants were caught at the intersections of rapidly changing imperatives and interdictions. The genres in which he was writing constantly raised issues about politics - the politics of government, the politics of theatre, the politics of audience and the politics of iconography. In all these areas the politics is the politics of censorships and this is most evident in what, in a humanist evaluative analysis, appear as the "faults" of Tatham's pieces - in gaps, the fractures, marginalia, footnotes and the other encodings of the intransigently multiple implications of meaning. The shows of the 1660s

provide evidence of a new difficulty of meaning under Charles II. A final irony is the fact that the 1663 Lord Mayor's Show is licenced by Roger l'Estrange, inaugurating a whole new set of imperatives and repressions. In 1664, Tatham disappears and so do the Lord Mayor's shows, not to reappear until 1671.

SECTION IV

GENRE AND POLITICS

Chapter Nine. True and Loyal? Politics and Genre in Royalist Tragicomedy.

9.1. Introduction.

Tragicomedy came to prominence in the later 1640s and particularly the 1650s, as a way of imagining a righting of the circumstances of the political crises of the Civil War and regicide. It was employed with reference to a range of situations (including the wars in Ireland in Cola's Fury) and as a title can be found in prose pamphlets and playlets as well as full-length plays.[1] In relation to the dramatic genre the term "tragicomedy" functioned loosely as a mixing of tragic and comic properties as well as being used specifically to refer to pastoral tragicomedies. But in the 1650s both pastoral drama and what might more loosely be defined as tragicomedy was linked by the promise of a "happy" ending; their particular shape sets up a horizon of expectation for a reader. Like the masques of the Stuart court, tragicomedies from this period address contemporary events in an often idealised, or partially idealised mode. However, the dramatisation of political situations offered by Interregnum tragicomedy is often complex, blending idealised representations of kingship with acute judgements on contemporary politics. Thus the "loyal" reshaping of history into a tragicomic structure is often coupled with a comic or ironic apprehension of contemporary politics.

The genre and name (when this is used, which is not consistently) implied the text's self-conscious applicability to contemporary events leading to an interpretation of history through literary structures and vice versa.[2] As one observer commented, "we seem to oreact some wel contrived Romance." This felt applicability in the term and shape of tragicomedy is indicated, for example, by the way many of the popular political dramas call themselves tragicomedies, including The Scotch Politick Presbyter and Newmarket Fayre.[3] The duality of the term in indicating both formal "shape" and continued reference to politics is elucidated by the use of the term in Francis Osborne's The True Tragicomedy Lately Acted at Court (c.1655) where "tragicomedy" simultaneously indicates a political critique of contemporary events and genre.[4] This formula of the term "tragicomedy" being used as a term with dual significance is often repeated in generic tragicomedies from the 1650s. However - as in the case of The Distracted State - the readily identifiable generic features of Interregnum tragicomedies do not depend on plays using the name. They operate within the plays themselves, often in a plot and sub-plot structure which uses one "loyal" plot, and one engaging more cynically with contemporary political issues.

9.2. Tragicomedy, pastoral and royalist fantasy 1647 - 1668.

Tragicomedy as a genre was particularly important to royalist writers after the king's capture, when the possibility of a return of the old ways of organising the state began to recede. In a topical royalist tragicomedy after 1649, if the tragic event is the regicide then the

tragicomic denoument must involve a return of ousted monarchy, or an event which readers could see as standing for that. The actual return of the monarch seemed less and less likely during the 1650s when royalists might feel with Sir Edward Dering that the transformation of Caroline England into post-war England made the country: "the Stage / Both of a Golden, and an Iron Age."[5] The "golden age" of monarchy did not seem likely to reappear.

After the regicide William Cartwright's pre-war tragicomedies became a focus of royalist feeling, and his posthumously published volume Comedies, Tragicomedies, With Other Poems (1651) appeared with fifty-four commendatory verses.[6] This suggests the status of poetry, "wit" and genres perceived as royal and loyal for those who regarded themselves as loyal followers of the Stuarts. As the publication of Cartwright's pre-war tragicomedies The Royal Slave and The Lady Errant indicate, tragicomedy, seen retrospectively as a Caroline and now "loyal" royalist genre, played a part in shaping and giving expression to the mythic and symbolic aspects of post Civil War royalist culture. Cartwright's own status as a royalist hero was facilitated by the fact that he died of camp fever at Oxford in 1643 instead of living on into the compromises of the 1650s. In these circumstances tragicomedy inscribed both a continuation of loyalty and a pattern which suggested the possibility of restoration. Cartwright's volume, like the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647, was used as a royalist totem by publishers, those who contributed commendatory verses, and commentators in a self-conscious shaping of "loyal" cultural politics in the 1650s. As Edward Sherburne wrote in his commendatory verse to Cartwright's volume:

> How subject to new Tumults is this Age!
> With War lesse vex'd now than Poetick Rage!
> Were not State-Levellers enough! that yet

> We must be plagued with Levellers of Wit?
> Delvers in Poetry? That only skill
> To make Parnassus a St.George's Hill.[7]

The poem attempts to transfer political struggle, as manifest by Levellers and Diggers, into poetical struggle in which Cartwright's sophisticated deployment of royalist genres defends hierarchised society against new men, new ideas, and the salus populi politics implicit in the regicide and the Commonwealth.[8] For Sherburne, the survival of "wit" underwrites the moral superiority of aristocrats.

Tragicomedy as a genre was particularly suited to exploring the fragmented political problems created by the splitting off of the power to govern from the king. As Richard Tuck points out, English political theorists in the mid seventeenth century sought for a new terminology which they were aware was needed as traditional political discourses no longer gave a sufficient account of political circumstances and these problems are replicated in aesthetic terms in tragicomic plays.[9] Like political discourse, tragicomic plays and pastoral entertainments were attempting to articulate questions of the relationship between power and right - actual circumstances versus what ought to be - whereby, in the case of tragicomedy, the two coincided in a fantasy of future closure. In the late sixteenth century a theorist known only as T.B. formulated a distinction between power and authority, asserting that authority was "a certain reverend impression in the minde of Subjectes . . . touching the Prince's virtue and government," and power that "without which no Prince can either defende his owne or take from others . . . Power or strengthe is attayned unto theis five wayes vis: Money, Armes, Counsell, Frendes and Fortune." Although this text is much earlier, it puts succinctly the relationship between the "present occas ions" of 1650s tragicomedy (in

which the king had no power) and the ideal kingly authority. The central issue for the tragicomedies which deal with political issues in the 1640s and 1650s is the same as that for the political theorists - who can declare the person wielding supreme power to be an usurper, and, can a king have authority but no power?

Using this distinction, Tuck argues convincingly that a new kind of royalism emerged after the regicide in 1649: one which acknowledged the sharp distinction between authority and power.[10] Richard Fanshawe's The Faithfull Shepherd seems to prophesy the problems of the 1650s in noting that "Man's freedom is Heav'ns gift, which doth not take / Us at our word when forced vows we make" (I.i, p. 69). After Charles I's death his son became the focus of all royalist fantasies of the reunion of power and authority. The tragicomic formula enabled a royalist reading of the 1650s through a recuperative resolution in which present truth (power and de facto government) could be reunited with authority. The later 1650s and plays written just at the Restoration saw the continual reworking of the oppositions of "power" and "authority," "truth" and "loyalty."

Like most of the later tragicomedies, Fanshawe's translation of Il Pastor Fido (1647, 1648) enlisted pastoral in the royalist cause by attempting to imaginatively recuperate the split between authority and power. It ends with the words "True joy is a thing / That springs from Vertue after suffering."[11] Directed by hints from the text's dedication to the Prince of Wales, an English reader of the 1640s and 1650s would have read this as a moral on the story of the faithful shepherd, but also as a commentary on the state of England during the Civil War. Battista Guarini's tragicomedy had been used before, in Fletcher's The Faithful Shepherdess (1608) for instance, a play which indicates the relationship between courts and pastoral tragicomedy and establishes The Faithfull Shepherdess

as addressed to the court when Fletcher admonishes readers to "remember, shepherds to be such as the ancient poets, and modern, of understanding, have received them: the owners of flocks and not Hirelings."[12] The shepherds whom the royalty of the plays disguise themselves as are no mean peasants. In live court performances pastoral disguise was the prerogative of the elite - like the royal disguisers in Walter Montagu's The Shepherds Paradise, designed specifically for aristocratic performance and consumption and finally published in 1659 with a high royalist address to the reader, couched in terms of taste and politics: "such as are . . . qualified, may here read upon the square; others will find themselves unconcern'd." Thus, Arcadia was a catalytic locus for the resolution of court problems, the royal arrivals are always clearly distinguished from rustics and their parts may also point beyond the play towards contemporary circumstances. It was not - pace Laurence Lerner - "about shepherds."[13]

Fanshawe's introduction in 1648 redeployed Guarini's pastoral framing it as a fantasy of royal restoration, a pattern which continued - whether or not because of the direct influence of Fanshawe's text - for pastoral tragicomedy during the 1650s. Although Fanshawe's translation was in part a product of the Caroline court's embracing attitude to European culture in the 1630s, combined with the cult of love and the sacralising of court ritual, it appeared in 1647 when Charles I was powerless - and it already looks forward to the restoration - not of Charles I, but his son.[14] The allegory is dedicated to the Prince of Wales:

> Your Highnesse may have seen at Paris a Picture (it is in the Cabinet of the Great Chancellor there) so admirably design'd that, presenting to the common beholders a multitude of little faces (the Famous ancestors of that Noble man); at the same time, to him that looks through a Perspective (kept there for the purpose) there appears onely a single portrait in great of the Chancellor himself; the Painter thereby intimating, that in

> him alone are all his Progenitors; or perchance by a more subtile Philosophy demonstrating, how the Body Politick is composed of many naturall ones; and how each of these, intire in itself and consisting of head, eyes, hands and the like is a head, an eye, or a hand in the other: as also, that mans Privates cannot be preserved, if the Publick be destroyed, no more than these little Pictures could remain in being, if the great one were defaced: which great one likewise was first and chiefest in the painters designe, and that for which all the rest were made.
>
> Just so our Author (exposing to ordinary view an Enterlude of Shepherds, their loves, and other little concernments, with the stroke of a lighter pencill) presents through the perspective of the Chorus, another and more suitable subject to his Royall Spectators. He shews to them the image of a gasping State (once the most flourishing in the world): a wild Boar (the sword) depopulating the Country: the Pestilence unpeopling the Towns: their Gods themselves in the mercilesse humane Sacrifices exacting bloody contribution from both: . . . . Yet in the Catastrophe, the Boar slain, the Pestilence . . . ceased . . . and all this miraculous change occasioned by the presaged Nuptials of two of Divine (that is Royall) extraction; meaning those at that time of the Duke of Savoy with the Infanta of Spain, from which fortunate conjunction hee prophecies a finall period to the troubles that had formerly distracted the state: so much depends on the marriage of Princes. . . . . Yet because it seems to me (beholding it at the best light) a Landskip of these Kingdomes (your Royall Patrimony).
>
> A3v

Thus the little world of shepherds stands for the whole of the great world, and, more specifically for England, Scotland and Ireland; and the reader is invited to read the tragicomedy as a pastoral allegory of the Civil War in England and a prophecy of its happy resolution - in the marriage and restoration of Charles II. The dedication ends with the prospect of the Prince's marriage as a palliative:

> (as in this Pastorall, and the case of Savoy to which it alludes) thereby uniting a miserably divided people in a publick joy: or by such other wayes and meanes as it may have pleased the Divine Providence to ordain for an end of our woe; I leave that to Providence to determine.
>
> A3v-A4r

This is evidently loyal, but it is a peculiar sort of royalism which has,

as Graham Parry has noted, entirely erased the potential of the restoration of Charles I.[15] The necessary vagueness with which Guarini's tragicomedy allegorises the Civil War enables Fanshawe to suppress the disturbing elements of the situation in 1647 - including the behaviour of Charles I.

In his appeal to Charles II Fanshawe seems to anticipate the political circumstances of the later 1640s and 1650s - essentially, defeat and to some extent accommodation to the new regimes - which underlie later royalist tragicomedies. Paradoxically, the same circumstances which motivate the fantasy of a changed future - the crisis in monarchy - subvert the very tragicomic denouments that these dramas suggest as solutions to turmoil in the state. Therefore Lois Potter rather oversimplifies the workings of royalist tragicomedy when she suggests that it would have "allowed even the most loyal followers of the two Charles's to abdicate responsibility and leave matters in the hands of fate."[16] The ending of a tragicomedy - like that of The Distracted State - could not erase the complexity of political circumstances, nor compensate political change by producing a full closure in which circumstance and desire merge. Full closure was always undercut by the fact that in "truth" restoration was unlikely throughout the 1650s. Although they may also represent the complexities of political struggle - including the excesses of kings (in, for example, The Heroick Lover and The Female Rebellion) royalist tragicomedies structure a reader's thinking about political situations as a fantasy of restoration in which the play brings about a longed-for future state. Thus, royalist tragicomedy encodes royal struggle as triumphant; tragicomic denouments relate to the 1650s as prophecies fulfilled, dreams come true through pastoral encounters, deaths reversed. But the gap between representation and the actuality of the 1650s is part of the reading context of these plays. The untrue or "fraudulent" nature

of the tragicomic codes promising resolution (in representation) which has no likely parallel in actuality was always all too clear; the plays re-enact scenes of defeat as scenes of triumph, and to that extent can be read as wish-fulfillment rather than an incitement to political quietism.

Pastoral offers a mode in which the royalist's paradox of the grim present in relation to their desired but unlikely future can be symbolically effaced by the transformation of political problems into those of Arcadian love - as they are in Fanshawe's Faithfull Shepherd. An earlier example of Civil War pastoral in the service of royalist ideology is The Shephearde's Oracle (1644), by J.S. The pastorals show the banishment of Anarchus by Philarchus and Philortus, hinting that pastoral is a mode of social commentary: "The sense of this Eclogue is covered with a vaile, but so thin that an easie eye may transpect it."[17] This notification indicates that pastoral, in the very act of "veiling" politics, instantiates itself as political discourse. Thus, the activity of reading is made royalist: the reader here is positioned as royalist simply by having been able to "transpect" the veil.

Entertainments intended for private performance also used the potential of pastoral as a politicised discourse during and after the Civil War. One of the most apparently politically uninvolved pieces is Sir William Denny's manuscript pastoral, The Shepherds Holiday, dated 1 June 1651, which is especially interesting in its deployment of "truth." In part it seems to be a subversive echo of the parish world of Laudian enforcement of Charles's Book of Sports in its insistence on festivity.[18] Thus, the playlet appears to address the self-enclosed world of pastoral love and the textual "key" provided turns out to unlock the thorny issues of married chastity versus virginity. Nevertheless, not only is truth (Pega) present in the play, but is described by the key as oracular:

> Pega
> shadows out Truth. As springs rise from underground so Truth, though from time to time in obscurity, at last appeareth as clear as those springs, flowing continually.
>
> pp. 67-8

Truth is implicated politically, and refers obliquely to a "dark" present as well as the potential for a clear future. Moreover, truth is related to time by the Palmer who sets the pastoral, like Virgil's Eclogues, in an implicit relation to political disturbance: "O giddy, stormy course of times, / That muffles truths of shepherds rhymes!" (p. 75). Thus, in an apparently politically unconcerned playlet the dangers of the present insert themselves as Denny uses pastoral to make obscure reference to the present and the republic. Moreover, Denny's own career may reinforce the argument that pastoral is a genre suitable to those involved in politics: someone bearing the same name appears in the Commons Journal on 16 September 1643, as one who "did publish a scandalous pamphlet," who is "to be forthwith sent for, as a Delinquent, by the Serjeant at Armes for spreading and divulging a scandalous Pamphlet and Libel, to the Dishonour of both Houses of Parliament." Denny's clerk, Thomas Hill was also summoned to attend Parliament.[19] Pastoral avoided such potentially disast rous consequences while maintaining a political commentary.

Where Fanshawe's translation is pastoral throughout, more fully dramatic tragicomedies often use pastoral as a means of bringing about resolution in the fifth act, or combine it with other modes. In drama, as Sukanta Chaudhuri has argued pastoral brought with it its own implicit pattern in which "characters escape from a corrupt or unhappy court into a pastoral or rural refuge. In this regenerative setting, they undergo a change in their nature and relationships; and finally, their problems resolved, they return to a new, revivified, courtly community."[20] During the 1650s as in the earlier period and even more pointedly tragicomedies drew

on what Louis Montrose rightly identifies as the particular potential of pastoral to both obscure and clarify social relations and hierarchies in such a way as to "include" the reader.[21]

Certainly this pertinancy of tragicomedy, often using a pastoral element, was used in the marginal royalist culture of the Protectorate. It seems that for a while during the later 1650s it was fashionable to publish translations and pastiches of tragicomedies and pastoral adaptations, and that these - representations of courts as mythic places, conflicts as resoluble, and monarchy and both desirable and restored - seem to have had a gestural status as "royalist." Killigrew, that royalist exile par excelle nce, wrote tragicomedies - The Pilgrim (1645) and Bellamira (1652).[22] Other examples of royalist tragicomedies include Thomas Meriton's pastiche of pastoral sources The Wandering Lover (1658) remarkable for its borrowings from Sidney's Arcadia, and Thomas Forde's Love's Labyrinth (1660).[23] By the later 1650s readers seem to have been automatically understanding Arcadia as an idealised royalist analogy for England. However, some of the pastoral plays and tragicomedies read political events more closely than either The Wandering Lover and Love's Labyrith.

For instance, William Lower wrote a semi-tragicomic short pastoral called The Enchanted Lovers published at the Hague in 1658, reprinted in a volume of three of Lower's plays in 1661, uses the metaphor of enchantment by sorcery to refer to the Interregnum.[24] The dramatis personae of The Enchanted Lovers combine the characteristics of plays set in Arcadia and in England: for example, the hero, Thersander is descibed as "a Cavalier disguised in the habit of a Shepherd in love with Diana," who is "a young lady disguised as a Sheapherdess" (p. 94). Of course, they do not recognise each other although they have already been lovers in Seville where their

happiness was spoilt when the tyrant Nearchus fell in love with Celia. In response, she took a sleeping potion which made her seem dead and Cleagenor (now Thersander) fled to Erithrea, an island governed by the semi-Circean enchantress Melissa. Here Celia has fled also. The revelation is further complicated by the fact that Melissa falls in love with Thersander / Cleagenor and punishes the lovers: she makes them appear to be dead and awake by turns. A fellow disguisee pleads for the restoration of love and liberty: "render to this government again, / The liberty to love, and to declare it" (V.ii). The final descent of Diana makes clear that the pastoral tragicomedy is to be read as an allegory for the experience of loss and deprivation of exile and defeat. The masque-like resolution gives a vision of a future which will make the present into a bad dream, but in doing so it recalls the old-style Caroline resolution of politics in love played out so often in Caroline masques.

Where The Enchanted Lovers uses a masque-mode to achieve resolution at the end, thus maintaining an idealising distance from political detail, other tragicomedies are immersed in the detail of war. One tragicomedy which provides a resolution in the future but uses the circumstances of the outbreak of the Civil War in great detail is George Cartwright's rhymed The Heroick Lover, or, the Infanta of Spain (1661). This may have been written over a period of time, but was finally published with a dedication to Charles II.[25] The Heroick Lover combines two strands of plot. In one the Prince must give up his true love in order to marry the Spanish Infanta who arrives in the final act with fifty ships to help the king to reconquer his people. Interwoven with this is a play which reworks some of the events of 1641-1642 including the impeachment of Strafford. Mediating between the two are two household servants who remain loyal to the king. The play opens with their even handed assessment of the problems on the

eve of the Civil War. Lycas opens the play with a speech on the troubles of kings "puzzled what to do" (I.i, B1r) and Sotus follows this:

> Sotus The City's weary, and the Countrey too,
> And something shortly, murmure for to do.
> They will no longer have the King abus'd,
> Nor let themselves, so rigidly be us'd.
> But how to do 't, they are not yet agreed,
> Out of the court, such nettles for to weed.
>
> I.i, p. 2

Initially the play presents the Cardinal - a figure who clearly stands for Laud - as a malign influence on the king. When the king is petitioned to abate taxes and to remove his evil counsellor the Cardinal he discusses the matter with the Cardinal, who is duly despotic:

> King What can we do against a multitude?
> Cardinal Do as you've done, use them extreamly rude.
> King But that will but provoke them more and more.
> Cardinal The way to keep them down 's to keep them poor.
>
> III.iii, p. 28

At this point, harking back to Charles's personal rule, the play seems to be unsympathetic towards the king's counsellors and relatively understanding about the delicacy needed in negotiations between king and people. The play concentrates on the issues of 1641 - advisors, taxation, flattering courtiers, the law, and the people's misery. As the people break into open rebellion, trying the Admiral and dragging the Cardinal through the streets to prison (V.ii. p. 56), the king becomes increasingly hard-line. In Act V he adamantly refuses to treat with the people - "That Prince's not fit, a Scepter for to hold, / That will be by his Subjects, so controul'd" (V.v, p. 67). The play continues to read the events of 1642 including the defence of London by the trained bands, but the resolution of the tragicomedy is provided by the metamorphosis of 1642 into 1660

with the king reconquering the city and the Lord Mayor apprehending the stirrers up of rebellion to be beheaded (V.vi, p. 70).

Cartwright's play begins by providing a relatively unidealised analysis of the (thinly veiled) events of 1642, but by the end of the play we have caught up with events of 1660 and the feelings of the play about rebellion seem to be influenced by the royalism of the Restoration. The king is transformed from someone who is misled by evil counsellors into the reconquering hero of 1660. The use of the moment of the Restoration as an ending for tragicomedy suggests that the play may have been reworked or finished in 1660 despite its claim to have been written long ago. That the resolution should arrive at the moment of Restoration is also typical of Restoration tragicomedies dealing with the Civil War. But here this ending is used in combination with a reworking of the specific events which led up to the outbreak of the first civil war. Indeed, the tragicomedy echoes political and parliamentary debates from the early 1640s, when Charles's ministers were described as not intervening between king and people. As one parliamentary speaker put it, they did not allow "his Majesty to appear unto his people, in his own native Goodness, but they have eclipsed him by their interposition: although gross condense bodies may obscure and hide the Sun from shining out, yet is he still the same in his own splendour."[26]

Thus, The Heroick Lover draws on both idealised and historical (or cynical) representations of contemporary politics, though the two tend to be split: the love-plot becomes the location of idealised representations and issues of honour (and authority), as opposed to the rebellion which reworks issues of control and power from the early 1640s. It puts historical events into a tragicomic pattern by running together the events of 1642 and those of 1660, and it avoids the presentation of a king who

slips into having mere authority and no power. Power and authority are further debated by the figures in a manuscript play from the 1650s or possibly 1660, The Female Rebellion. The Female Rebellion uses Amazons (possibly reworking Beaumont and Fletcher's The Sea Voyage) to explore political issues from the Civil War and Protectorate in a way which combines very serious political discussion and contemporary comment on cavaliers as unheroic "hectors." The date of the tragicomedy is unknown, though it is probably by the lawyer Henry Birkhead who managed to survive much of the Interregnum in All Souls while publishing Latin elegies for dead royalists. Harbage gives a date of 1659.[27] It draws on Civil War and Protectorate slang and events such the Commissions of Array. Like The Heroick Lover it refers to events memorialised in the pamphlet literature of the period, including the incident in which Charles I's correspondence was seized and opened. Most interesting for present purposes is the way in which the play takes the debates about royal power from the interregnum period and genders them.

In The Female Rebellion Penthesilia and the others rebel against the authority of their queen, provoking a discussion between the queen and Penthesilia on the source of power in the state:

Queen Ha! i'nt my will
The will of all my Realm? and its whole Power
Grasped in this hand? Nay, is not allso your
Reason no Reason, if I count it so?
Y'are then my Creatures; for I can, altho
I made ye not, by Law unmake ye; Thus
While we preserve your being, 'tis from us.
Penth Sov'raigns that right first from us subjects gain'd,
Which we by our adherence still maintained.
Queen From you? you neer had Authority
To kill yourselves, less others, and could ye
That which you never had confer on me?

I.ii, p. 15

Once again, as so often in the plays from 1640 to 1660, drama and political debate merge as Penthesilea and the Queen discuss populism versus divine right. The Queen is not above paradoxically augmenting divine right with a Hobbesian version of contract theory: "The power of life and Death is from Above. / Yet were't not so, submission once by all/ Sworn to yr Prince, yr selves can ne'er recall" (I.iii, p. 16). Thus the female figures in the play divide extreme positions between them, from divine right kingship to a brutal anarchy. The Female Rebellion dramatises the arguments and counter-arguments of the Civil War, including the claim that the king had bad advisors. Although the play is clear that the queen's right to the throne is not enough to keep her in it, it ends with all threats to the throne re-harmonised in a masque; the queen takes a consort to satisfy the army and - importantly - she enlarges her circle of counsellors. The play does not come to a conclusion which permits only a divine right theory of monarchy, but sees royal rule as at least in part a negotiated contract between monarch and subject. Thus in coming to a dramatic conclusion, it also alights on a plan for a political solution which includes monarchy and advice.

The Heroick Lover and The Female Rebellion both in part read the past from a moment of restoration, whether they were written at the Resto ration or not. Another playwright, Cosmo Manuche, wrote during the 1650s and his tragicomedies both also interpret the 1650s from the perspective of the moment of Restoration. He may have worked for both the Stuarts (possibly as a soldier) and Cromwell - Thurloe paid him for services in 1656. [28]. Certainly he was part of the household of James Compton, the earl of Northampton who also wrote plays and translations which remain in manuscript - some on Civil War topics. Some of Manuche's plays remain in manuscript and some were published.[29] Some may have been

performed in Islington, just outside London.[30] Like George Cartwright and the anonymous author of The Female Rebellion Manuche was aware that kings and courts are far from ideal. Of his Interregnum or early Restoration plays The Just General echoes many of the pre-war tragicomic structures: love and pastoral convene to enable the resolution of the problems of court and courtiers. More incisive are The Loyal Lovers and a manuscript pastoral tragicomedy, The Banish'd Shepheardess.[31] In The Loyal Lovers and later in The Banish'd Shepheardess the ideal and the material or cynical aspects of Interregnum tragicomedy are brought together in ways which enable them to comment on each other.

In The Loyal Lovers, set during the Commonwealth, love causes the conversion of the father of Letitia from being a "committee-man" to loyalty to the crown. The politics of love in The Loyal Lovers operates at a fairly literal level involving the re-unification of the family through the daughter's marriage to a loyal cavalier. The play deals with political issues in a way which, at least initially is comic rather than idealised. The scene is contemporary - "Amsterdam" - and the issues revolve around topical and stereotypical representations of contemporary issues in London itself. Indeed, the play opens with the loyal royalist waiting for his confederates and buying a newsbook. This play shifts the royalist, tragicomic emphasis towards an apprehension of power and pragmatic questions.

A later play, The Banish'd Shepheardess, seems at first to contrast with The Loyal Lovers in its use of pastoral - apparently the most idealising of discourses on royalty - but this play also points cynically to the inevitability that even Charles II's supporters must, by 1660, be tainted by engagement with Cromwell because of their own need to survive. It is sharply aware of the paradoxes involved in the emerging loyalty of

the moment of Charles's Restoration. A partly pastoral manuscript play, possibly written in 1660 or at the earliest 1659, The Banish'd Shepheardess, is structured as if the whole play were acts four and five of a tragicomedy. Several plots run alongside one another. In Thessalia the banished queen, Corilliana and her son Charilaus have their courts and wait, as Charles II and Sir Edward Hyde did in the Spanish Netherlands and Henrietta Maria did in France.[32] Thessalia stands for France, and is the setting for Henrietta Maria's court in exile. The plot includes Arcadian scenes at court (the England from which everyone is banished is, as ever, Arcadia) and comic intrigue in which cavaliers, desperate for money, rob the servants of English officials who were preparing to flee the demise of the Protectorate and republic. The play is set after the death of Cromwell, and covers the events leading up to the Restoration. While this might seem like a wholly royalist subject - and the play is at pains to abuse the dead Cromwell, referring to him as Pluto's "new come favourite" (II.i, p. 373) - it is also critical of the pre-war government. For example, the prologue points towards the pre-war luxury of some subjects:

close up.

> Part, of Arcadia's flock; Sated: with Ease,
> And plenty, surfitts. Whils't the Rank desease,
> Rooted in Rebbells: bloud, To that height springs,
> That Their: proud heads: strikes at the Heads of Kings.
>
> p. 352

This passage, suggesting that the causes of the war lay in the divisions of the 1630s, opens the play, and as such situates it in relation to the events which have led to Charles's exile. This prologue again reminds us of the contingent aspects of royalism in that it makes no attempt to exonerate the pre-war government: the suggestion that only part of the flock were kept luxuriously reminds us, once again, that even supporters of the king might have opposed pre-war royal policy. Later in the play, as it becomes increasingly obvious that Charilaus will be recalled he receives a letter,

> Char . . . tells strange tailes: of some,
> Wee: have beene kind to,
> And, I could wish, Their innocency,
> Could protect Them: and cleare them:
> Of those scandalls, I, have no will to credit.
>
> IV.i, p. 408

Thus, although Charilaus is presented as a pastoral monarch, easy and familiar with servants and an able huntsman, rebellion is not read by the play as something simple. Here we find a hint of the way in which royalism at the Restoration sat uneasily next to the necessary adaptations that Charles II's subjects had made during the 1650s, of which Engagement was only the most obvious. For once, we see pastoral encountering the way in which the fantasy of restoration could map only problematically on to any actual social and political present. Alongside the intelligence that Charilaus receives suggesting that some who seemed loyal may have been

involved with the Protectorate government, there is the problematic trickery of Lysander. Lysander personifies the royalist paradox, being described in the dramatis personae as one of the "Loyall; Subjects to Charilaus: And Souldiers: of fortune" (p. 353) - as the play knows, the two coexist precariously. Ultimately, this is resolved, as Lysander's loyalty to the king is made clear in the final act where - in a ceremony borrowed from the deceit scene in The Alchemist - one of Corilliana/Henrietta Maria's ladies in waiting disguises herself as a goddess to meet out punishment to the penitent servants of the collapsing English government. Until this point Lysander has been involved in intrigues and deceits including cowardice. Once more, as in Cowley's The Cutter of Coleman Street and The Female Rebellion, the cavalier army is characterised as unreliable and self-interested; royalism is no indication of good conduct.

The Banish'd Shepheardess thus presents the situation in 1659 as complex and problematic, with few clear boundaries between "loyal" and "disloyal." As I have shown, the play suggests causes for this in both past and present. Indeed, despite the Arcadian names, the part of the play in which Lysander and the rebel rogues appear seems close to a city comedy such as Manuche's own The Loyal Lovers, while the parts involving the court are at pains to indicate the melancholy solitude of - enforced - pastoral retreat. Only the king and queen are fully placed in a pastoral context. Into this isolation come letters and later messengers from England/Arcadia leading up to the restoration of the king. The moment of pastoral alienation and waiting for resolution - as found in The Just General - extends to fill the whole play.

One of the conclusions we can draw from this, as from Fanshawe's interpretation of Guarini, is that these royalist tragicomedies were self-conscious about the paradoxes in their repeated attempts to bring together

historical and political events and the tragicomic genre. Throughout the 1650s the final act of the tragicomedy, the restoration, necessarily remained in the future. I would suggest that it is both the unsatifactoriness of historical events, and fact that the tragicomic resolution did not fit "real" events, which might have caused writers to repeat the genre again and again, and I would tentatively suggest that Freud's theory of repetition offers a way to imagine a reader's pleasure in this repeated recapitulation. Freud writes of "the constant recurrence of the same thing - the repetition of the same features or character-traits or vicissitudes, of the same crimes, or even the same names" and links it to a repetition of an unsatisfactorily resolved crisis.[33] Tragicomedic repetition of the same situations, figures, patterns, and places echoes this, and might hint that the reader's pleasure is like that of the fantasist repeating scenes: the reader is able to repeat the events of recent history with a different conclusion.

The Heroick Lover, The Female Rebellion, The Banish'd Shepheardess, to name but three, also make it clear that these plays dealt with complex historical and political situations, and did not absolve the ruler of all blame. Nevertheless, the Banish'd Shepheardess ends with not only a return but a reversal, as the maid Atesia notes:

> Artesia . . . Leave Them: to Their punishments,
> Whils't wee: resting in an asurance
> That ours is past. begin our Comicall prologue:
> With Their: Tragicall Epilogue.
>
> III, p. 400

At the Restoration the comedic part of the tragicomic genre seemed to contemporaries to fall into place and at last the pattern of events from the beginning of the Civil War to Charles II's Restoration appeared, to

monarchists (and as The Banish'd Shepheardess makes clear most people seemed to be monarchists at the point of the Restoration) to be a story with a happy ending. The Banish'd Shepherdess recognises this, but also recognises the fragility of a government which was, as Paul Seaward describes it, "protected by little more than the popular enthusiasm the Restoration had generated."[34]

To recap, if tragicomedy sat uneasily against the "true" political situation of the 1650s, the moment of the Restoration with its popularity and euphoria seemed to correlate, at last, with the resolution of a tragicomic drama. In fact, as contemporaries kept asserting, the moment of the King's return seemed to surpass theatrical transformation in its glorious improbability.[35] Francis Kirkman, who was involved in drama throughout the interregnum, lost no time in suiting comic drolls to newly festive seasons. He also went into the bookselling trade. He reiterates the resemblence between fact and fiction which had been a commonplace of English self-conceptualisation during the Civil War and Protectorate.

> I have several Manuscripts of this nature, written by worthy Authors, and I account it much pity that they should now lie dormant and buried in oblivion, since ingenuity is so likely to be encouraged, by reason of the happy Restauration of our liberties. We have had the private Stage for some years clouded, and under a tyrannical command, though the publick Stage of England has produc'd many monstrous villains, some of which have deservedly made their exit. I believe future Ages will not credit the transactions of our late Times to be other than a Play, or a Romance: I am sure in most Romantick Plays there hath been more probability than in our true (though sad) Stories.[36]

Kirkman's chatty style enables us to see him working through the complicated political situation which led to plays being desirable again, and using a dramatic metaphor to do so. It only gradually becomes clear that by "Romantick Plays" he means tragicomedy, with its improbable

situations and reversals. But, unlike the plays of the 1650s, Kirkman is able to formulate events of the last twenty years as expressed aptly by a dramatic genre - though exceeding even such plays in their transformations and reversals. What plays like The Distracted State, Fanshawe's Pastor Fido, The Loyal Lovers, Leonard Willan's The Enchanted Lovers, and William Denny's pastoral had been unable to do in terms of closure, the Restoration acheived in bringing together - momentarily - truth and loyalty, power and authority.

The moment of the Restoration continued to provide tragicomic resolution in the new dramas of the 1660s, and just as The Banished Shepherdess, The Heroic Lover and, probably, The Female Rebellion focus on that moment, so do plays of the first ten years of the Restoration. They also rework pastoral elements and the split between "true" politics (or present occas ions) and the rejuvenation of courts. However as Charles's reign became a reality and problems about the succession, Catholicism, toleration emerged, the moment of Restoration came to be invoked nostalgically, as a moment of national unity. I shall conclude by looking briefly at the way two tragicomedies of the 1660s interpreted the 1650s. As the rest of this thesis indicates, arguments (such as Harold Love's) that theatre only began addressing political concerns at the Restoration are inadequate and misguided. The tragicomic genre is only one example of how Restoration drama drew on the circumstances of the preceding years. For example, the playlet The Presbyterian Lash (1661) called itself a tragicomedy and continued the ironic, directly political, use of the term.[37]

More importantly, the dramatic genres and modes of the Interregnum do re-appear in the comedies of dangerous, commercial, London life and precisely the issues of truth, loyalty and necessity become the central plots of Restoration comedy. Plays like The Cutter of Coleman Street

negotiate the new meaning of land and marriage after the Civil War sequestrations and other losses, by tracing the material circumstances of "loyal" cavaliers and their seamy financial dealings. Where The Cutter of Coleman Street points to the shifts of cavaliers, John Wilson's The Cheats recasts cavalier humiliation at the hands of committees into a comic mode. However, two plays which use park and garden as a kind of pastoral and work the events of the Restoration into a (loosely) tragicomic pattern are Etherege's The Comical Revenge (1664) and Sir Charles Sedley's The Mulberry Garden (1668). Both are set in the 1650s and combine a tragicomic plot using the dilemmas of love and honour with a plot of city intrigue which also involves a reworking of pastoral. As a recent editor notes, The Comical Revenge (first performed 1664), draws on codes of comedy found in city comedies of the 1620s and 1630s.[38] But what he fails to emphasise is that such comic strategies were continued in the drolls, pamphlet drama and journalistic prose satires of the Civil War—the play is set in Protectorate and post-Protectorate London (the mention of Hewson at III.v, suggests the late 1650s).[39]

As E.J.Burns notes early Restoration comedies both rework the Interregnum and use pastoral, setting the pastoral scene as the park, the Mall, the garden, the public pleasure ground.[40] In The Comical Revenge control of these social spaces confers control of the outcome of the scene and they indicate a split in the play between the idealised courtship of royalist lovers and comic plots. Indeed the "revenge" is that Sir Frederick Frolick makes Sir Nicholas Cully marry Frollick's ex-mistress telling him to, "carry her into the country, come; your neighbours' wives will visit her, and vow she's a virtuous well-bred lady" (V.v.118-20). Much, in the play, hangs on the ability to take control of public space and to fulfil codes of honour - his cowardice confirms that Sir Nicolas Cully is, as Sir Frederick describes him:

> Frederick . . .one whom Oliver, for the transcendent knavery and disloyalty of his father, has dishonoured with knighthood; a fellow as poor in experience as in parts, and one that has a vainglorious humour to gain a reputation amongst the gentry, by feigning good nature, and an affection to the king and his party.
> I.ii.178-184

The royalist Sir Frederick is the only figure able to move between the world of city dealings and the heroic plot. Like Lysander in The Banish'd Shepheardess he is paradoxically in control of his destiny (though living by his wits). The play is split in two: the heroic - "loyal" - lovers plot is set against the - "true" - satire of the supporters of the Rump. The "high" lovers walk only in the private garden (whereas the widow also longs to go to the park). Moreover, this section of the play follows a tragicomic structure in which Colonel Bruce almost dies in a duel for Graciana before renouncing her with honour in favour of her sister Aurelia. In this way the play re-uses tragicomedy in a way related to Interregnum uses of it. Pastoral as a place to realise the conflicts of the Civil War is redeployed as the site of amorous intrigue and the site through which moral and political supremacy is established. Finally, the play is striking in the way it mobilises the Interregnum itself as a period of relative freedom.

The tragicomic schema of another split tragicomedy/comedy, The Mulberry Garden, is able to work because it was written and performed after the Restoration; this allows the multiple conflicts of the Civil War and Commonwealth to be compressed into the opposition of "roundheads" and "cavaliers." Sedley sets the play at the moment when General Monck has arrived in London, after his arrival and during his conference with the Rump and following that; the final scene of the play includes the offstage voices of the people celebrating the downfall of the Rump. This means that

several aspects of the Commonwealth and Protectorate are simplified or suppressed: even the events of 1659 are only present insofar as they act as the hinge points of the tragicomic genre . Once again, as in The Heroic Lover and The Comical Revenge, history serves the play by being re-structured as tragicomedy with the divisions of the 1640s and 1650s compressed into a moment, and Sir Samuel Forecast is a "roundhead," Eugenio a "cavalier." Simultaneously the tragicomedy (and the play's account of history) ends at the moment when the Restoration (at least in the plays terms) became inevitable.

The tragicomic plot exists in verse and turns on Eugenio's love for Althea, the daughter of Sir Samuel Forecast. Forecast opposes Althea's match with Eugenio explaining that cavaliers are financially unstable:

> Forecast He had an estate; 'tis now sequestered; he dare not show his head. And besides, I would not have a son-in-law of his principles for six times his fortune. I should be sorry to see any child of mine soliciting her husband's composition at a committee.
>
> II.i.28-34

Forecast appears here as a harsh patriarch, but it is notable in terms of the way the play presents the 1650s that his reasons for rejecting Eugenio combine principle and common sense; what would be the use of "six times his fortune" if all of it were sequestered? Finally Eugenio emerges from hiding and rushes to speak with Althea, disguised as a Rump soldier. Their verse interview is interrupted by soldiers (as well as Althea's suitor Horatio), there is a fight (Horatio fights on Eugenio's side), and both Eugenio and Sir Samuel Forecast are taken to the Tower, Eugenio as a royalist and Forecast for hiding him. This is the low point of the tragic plot, and it is the entry of historic events into the drama that brings about the happy denoument. As the terrified Forecast is about to be

dragged to prison the cavalier Wildish enters:

> Wildish Come, bear up, Sir, if there come a turn you'l be a great man.
> Forecast I shall be hanged on that side, and to speak my own Conscience, I have deserved it.
> Wildish No, to lye in Prison for concealing Cavaliers will be great merit; and let me tell you, as a friend, there's like to be a turn suddenly, 'tis thought the General will declare like an honest man, I say no more; therefore carry yourself moderatly, this accident may chance to do you good service if you have the grace to make the right use on't.
> IV.ii.190-200

This hints to the audience that the triumph of Eugenio's love will coincide with the Restoration and the end of the play, and the visit paid by Forecast's royalist brother Sir John Everyoung to the Tower confirms this, suggesting that Monck "has today to some persons of quality declared for the king" (V.iii, l. 33). And the final act of the play sees the release of Forecast, but the triumph of the tragicomic structure in the cries of the people on stage echoing the cries of the Rump-burning citizens of London, rather than strenuously imagining and hectoringly emphasising them as had the tragicomedies of the 1650s:

> Eugenio: I hear the people's joyful cries,
> Like conquering Troops o're flying Enemies;
> They seem to teach us in a ruder way
> The Honour due to this all-healing day.
> V.v.194-197

Eugenio interprets the cries for us and facilitates the plays closure as royalist. But perhaps that very act of interpretation signals the difficulty that even this tragicomedy has in fitting the cries of the people into a royalist tragicomic pattern.

The Mulberry Garden is a dramatic document of winner's history. The

tragicomic structure of the 1650s is transformed using the 1650s as the time and London as the place, and the tragicomic structure worked out at a distance from the conflicts and the fact that it did not in any way fit the historical "facts" which, as I have argued, disordered the genre in the 1650s or reserved it to the ideal or fantasised resolution. The 1650s are here represented as a time of the exuberent co-existence of different ideologies of gender and power, but the tragicomic plot exists in verse at a distance from the plots of city comedy. Indeed the play introduces a metatheatrical commentary on the two different modes of drama when one of the dramatis personae in the city-comic plot suddenly breaks into verse and is reprimanded by her sister;

> Olivia . . . But what would you give to see Horatio?
> Victoria To see Horatio as I knew him once,
> I would all other happiness renounce;
> But he is now another's, and my aim
> Is not to nourish, but to starve my flame:
> I dare not hope my captive to regain,
> So many charms contribute to his chain.
> Althea's slave, let false Horatio live,
> Whilst I for freedom, not for empire strive.
> Olivia Fie sister, leave this rhyming at least!
>
> I.i.

The Mulberry Garden designates the 1650s both as a period of oppression and of sexual and social excitement and flux. As the title suggests, London's gardens feature as a social, hierarchical and ethical melting - pot exciting, but also recuperated in the moment of the Restoration, invoked in nostalgia. Later comedies rework the 1650s and the moment of the

Restoration - notably Aphra Behn's The Rover I & II and her The Roundheads, which uses Tatham's 1659 comedy, The Rump. But as Charles's reign progressed the moment of the Restoration inevitably seemed less and less like the magical restoration of royalty, as monarchical rule became visibly embroiled in political machinations.

9.3 Conclusion.

This chapter has investigated the tragicomic genre and pastoral language in dramatic discourse in the period 1640-1660. We can conclude with Annabel Patterson (writing more specifically about Virgil's Eclogues) that, in the mid-seventeenth century period, pastoral was used to provide an analysis of the conflicts of civil war, often in conjunction with tragicomedy.[41] Questions of the government's legitimacy and rule, authority and power are repeatedly re-negotiated in Interregnum tragicomedy but their use as closure in dramatic texts bore little resemblence to the political and social status quo of the 1640s and 1650s. Tragicomedy could recapitulate, but not resolve, political problems, and perhaps because of the way it constantly recast present events as about to be resolved, it became a central genre in royalist writing of the 1650s.

Interregnum tragicomedies repeat the loss of the "true" ruler, his recovery and restoration, following banishment, pastoral retreat, and return. But as I have demonstrated, these plays are not usually uncomplicated celebrations of unproblematic "royalist" ideals; their re-telling of the loss of rule and the restoration of right with might is also in part inevitably a re-working and repeating of scenes of defeat

(and of moral mistakes) as transformed by fantasy into scenes of victory. Pastoral and tragicomedy became registered as public languages in which political opinion was formed and disseminated by the press - as Annabel Patterson says of pastoral, so tragicomedy also was a literary-political language.[42] Tragicomedy was significant as a dramatic genre operating at the intersection of literature and politics and accordingly combining commentary on the political situation and a fantasy of the return of good government. They combined the "true" and "loyal" in an uneasy generic mixture held together into the Restoration by the strange turn of history whereby what seemed like a loyal fantasy came true with the Restoration - only to become reworked as a nostalgia for imagined social unity as the moment of closure in Restoration tragicomedies.

10.1. Conclusion.

The range of pamphlet plays and playlets, opera, shows, tragicomedies and plays discussed here proves that dramatic and to some extent theatrical genres were not suppressed by the closure of the theatres in 1642. These studies of kinds of literature, the relationship of particular plays to their circumstances, genres and productions illustrate that written and published drama (and such theatrical production as existed) was repeatedly and diversely affected and even transformed by the situations in which drama was produced during the Civil War and Interregnum. These close studies indicate, moreover, that it is inadequate to see the drama produced as monolithically "royalist" but suggest that a wide range of polemical positions found a dramatic format useful.

Thus, in attempting to suppress theatrical production the ban of 1642 produced circumstances in which dramatic texts were, once printed, implicitly involved in political debates and often highly self-conscious about such involvement. The bans on theatre combined with relatively easy access to print meant that printed drama was a highly charged and always already politicised, as well as relatively readily available, sector of printed literary-political debate. As the plays discussed here show, drama often provided a crucible for the working out of political problems (as in some of the pamphlet plays) as well as the articulation of politicised fantasies (as in the royalist tragicomedies). Moreover, the particular

politicised circumstances of drama seems to have facilitated the use of dramatic texts as modes of persuasion (as in The Famous Tragdy of Charles I and The Arraignment of Superstition). Moving between "high" and "low" readerships and literary-political languages the dramatic discourse of the Interregnum also deployed the contested metaphors of political crisis - as in the organic and familial metaphors of the state. The changes in the circumstances of production were large as the entry of the exiled Margaret Cavendish into print and the particular topics and modes of performance of Davenant's opera suggest: the explicit politicisation of drama as a discourse changed genres and circumstances of production. However, as Francis Kirkham's 1661 playlist suggests, contemporaries did regard these Interregnum productions as dramatic texts - interspersed with the texts of performed and unperformed pre-war plays Kirkham listed Interregnum plays including Marcus Tullius Cicero, Love Crowns the End, The Siege of Rhodes.[1]

My methodology of situating dramatic texts of the Interregnum period in their discursive, political and material contexts has some implications. First, this study has made clear that the critical orthodoxy that the period of 1642 to 1660 is a gap in the staging, printing, political and social history of drama, although it continues to be the dominant critical paradigm, is in urgent need of a re-evaluation of which this study can only be the first step. If this assumption is no longer tenable, then it is clear that the plays of the pre-war and Restoration periods need to be seen in relation to the developments of those neglected years of 1642 to 1660. Once again, simple instances such as Aphra Behn's use of Interregnum plays indicate that contemporaries did not see the moment of 1660 as an absolute division. This is an area which my study has only touched upon and which requires further work. Moreover, in terms of critical paradigms, this study has made it clear that the drama of the

period 1642 to 1659 was not by any means entirely royalist, and more work remains to be done here, too.

Such work can only be done once we abandon the assumptions that Interregnum drama is absent (noting the huge numbers of plays and the change of genres) or valueless (by acknowledging its value in political and persuasive terms to contemporaries rather than judging it by some abstract aesthetic criteria) or without relationships to earlier and later drama and theatre. To do this a new, interdisciplinary, critical paradigm is needed which analyses texts ("literary" and other), discourses, politics and circumstances. Such a paradigm is at present emerging from the borders of the disciplines of history, literary criticism and to some extent political theory. Much of this work has concentrated on the mid-century period, including that of David Norbrook and Annabel Patterson. I hope that this study, in its own small way, does something to change current apprehensions of the drama of the period and to inaugurate the examination of Interregnum drama in relation to its political situations.

Appendix One: The Terrible, Horrible Monster of the West.

The aim of this appendix is to make available a rare pamphlet. The Terrible, Horrible Monster (discussed in Chapter Four), is known to survive in two copies only, held at Worcester College, Oxford, and the Yale University Library. There has been no edition since the first printing. It is discussed briefly by Lois Potter.[1] This transcription is taken from the copy in Worcester College Oxford, by the kind permission of the Provost and Fellows.

The playlet has survived in the papers of William Clark, Cromwell's secretary, the recorder of the Putney Debates, and Monck's aide after the Restoration. He probably had his collection of tracts bound after the Restoration when he sorted through his papers. This pamphlet play, with other more readily available material such as New-Market Fayre and The Disease of the House, is bound in a volume which holds towards one hundred tracts on the year 1649-50. Some are clearly royalist, such as The Bloody Court, or the Fatall Tribunall, printed in red ink.[2] However, the volume does include some Leveller material including petitions to the government to release Lilburne and the others.[3] The pamphlet itself makes reference to "the man in the Moon" and his printing press which was highly anti-parliamentarian.[4] Alongside the way the play appears to support monarchy, episcopacy, and Charles II, we can see it incorporating (in part) other protests against parliament in its references to the Leveller

leaders. Printed the year after the regicide the play twice exhorts the reader "God save the king," and it even ends with a stirring recollection of St. George - suggesting a royalist reading. However, we can also note that the pamphlet refers approvingly to Richard Overton's scurrilous The Bull of Bashan as well as the more popular folk hero John Lilburne.

Thus it illustrates some of the historiographical problems inherent in researching seventeenth century popular printed material. It raises questions of provenance; who wrote it? and why? A play like The Terrible, Horrible Monster provides a case worth examination in terms of the political positions adopted by contemporaries in 1649. Political positions, which seem to us contradictory, were not necessarily so in 1649 as this and the pamphlets discussed in Chapter Two suggest.

The terrible, horrible

MONSTER

OF THE WEST

A1r

WITH

A Hydra head, Argulian-eyes, Infernall Mouth, Infectious-Breath, Tygerian-Clawes, and of a Camelion Colour; so that it devours men, women, and children: it eats a whole Iland to a Break-fast, three Kingdomes to a Dinner, and a Commonwealth to a Supper; swallow a Church, Steeple and all at a Mouth-full, a Court at a Collation, eat a Mannor between meals, hath devoured above five thousand families in this Nation; Making Sawce with Excise, Assessments, Sequestrations &c. It drinketh nothing but Blood, and voids Acts, Orders, Ingagements, Treasons, Rebellions, Murthers.

It was bred in this Ile and is but nine years old

Novemb. 3. 1650. God save the King

Gentlemen, pray come in, and doe not thinke Sir,

'Tis Gerbiers Puppet-play or th' Water-drinker.

This is a reall Monster, bred in this Ile,

No Trundles Dragon, nor made Crocodile,

To cheat good people with: no juggle, gull,

And yet 'tis all a Cheat, a juggle, Bull

WESTMINSTER

Printed Cum Privelegio, where this strange BEAST

is to be seen all Christmas long. 1649.

The Speakers of the Shew

Carolina, an ancient Shepheard

Rusticus, a Countrey Hynde

Doll Turnip

and two notorious Scolds

Madge Crab

Toby Tell-troth, Shewer of the Properties

The terrible, horrible, A2r

MONSTER

of the

WEST

Loud Musick within, composed of the scraping of Trenchers, the creeking of Cart-wheels, the hagger-wawling of Cats, the schrieking of Owles, and howling of Dogs.

Enter two Scolds, drunk, and upbraiding each other.

1 Scold. A pox on thee for a Whore, a nitty-breech'd whore, that canst make thy brags, that thou layst with a Parliament-man in a House of Office at Lambeth, and Knock'st with him for six pence thou Jade; thou cripple-breech'd Jade.

2 Scold. Marry foh, crack and smell to't: come up my durty Cozen, I never was taken with Mr.Martin, nor yet with Mr. Weaver at the Abby-Church-Porch thou W-h-o-r-e; Marry come up Grammar-Grovers-Bitch; doe ye bite, do yee girne, do ye grumble? I never was taken in the Watch, when the Bawdy hand of the Diall stood upon the Prick of one in the Night, thou queane; crack me that Nut, crack me that Nut, Mistris Trollop; nor I was never sent to Bridewell, nor the Coun'er, thou drunken Pis-pot: come, come, thy Neighbours know what thou art -- well enough.

1 Scold. A Whore thou art, and a drunken sottish Whore; Mr.Martin shall know how thou abusest him, thou Jade.

2 Scold. Mr.Martin kisse my bung-hole, will he not; I scorn him, and

all the rest of the - - -

1 Scold. What, what, thou Whore?

2 Scold. You may goe looke, Hussy; come, come, I shall see ye at the Cats-arse ere long, with two Servitures in Liveryes attending thee with Dog-Whips. A2v

1 Scold] Ah, thou Whore, thou art the Hangmans Whore, wilt lie with a Tinker for two pence; thou two peny Whore.

Enter Toby with a Bastinado, & cudgels them about the Stage.

Tob. Come ye here to scold, where I would shew my Monster, ye queans? Ile conjure the Devil out of you - layes on

Both Scolds O thou Rogue, thou white-liver'd Rogue, thou cut-purse Rogue, thou art burnt in the hand for a Rogue.

Tob. Nay, Ile give you your pay.

They run off, and Toby after them.

Enter Carolina and Rusticus

Car. Here on these flowry plaines (now made a barren desert)
With care I kept my thriving Flock,
No Wolf nor Fox durst prey upon my Lambs:
My teeming Ewes in safety here did feed:
My tender Lambs forsooke their Teats
To listen to my Pipe,
Tracing Meanders o're the dew-swolne grasse,
Whilst every Primrose, and humble Violet
Did bend his unctious head,
Bedeckt with Morning pearls.
Rich as Dame Natures self did were [sic]
To grace our innocent sports; but now alas!

This monstrous Wolf has seiz'd on all my Flock
Kill'd the chiefe Shephearde of Arcadia;
But his blest Pipe that Angels stoo'd to heare,
His Crook is broke, his Strip is tane away,
And all his sheep scatter'd and gone astray.
I cannot speake for griefe, his tender Lambs
Are forc'd from the soft Teats of their owne Dams.
Their snowy fleeces (white as Innocence)
Tore from the Flesh by prickig Bryers,
All means of Life is from them tane away,
And Albion white, become a Golgotha.

Rust. A vengeance take 'um that made it zo: I'me zure they've undone me and all the Countrey besides; they say 'tis Cromwell, but I think 'tis the Deel rules them, they've all my Horses before (a blague on 'um) and now because I had not money to give them for Zur Thomas A3r they have taken my white Bullock too, and they've blundered me over, and over againe; now they come for Zur Thomas again, and because che had it not to give 'um, they drove away my red Cow too, and zold her before my vace; a pox take 'um vor a company of cheating knaves: now they have zited me before a Committee as they call it, & they may be as Knaves as themselves for ought I know; my neighbour Trudge saies they will go neere to hang me; let 'um if they, chad better be hang'd then starv'd, honest Sheapherd, you zeem to be a wise man, wod you'd give me zome Counsell what to doe?

Car. Sit downe and weep with me.

Rust. No: I heard my mother say I could never cry in all my life, no, no, hang't upon a tack, crying will neither mar, nor mend it, come man, rise up and goe with me, I have one Groat left still to comfort our hearts, and if thou wilt go with me to the thee Tuns in Bedlam, ile spend tow pence on 't, and with our other pence, wee'l zee the strange Monster at Westminster, that eats men, women, and children.

Car. Thou saist true Rusticus: well, Ile goe with thee; for I am grown desperate through my poverty, and would entertaine any courtesie to banish melancholly.

Rust. Wee'le goe and zee 't yfaith then; here's a fine place let's zit downe it will begin presently.

Car. Thou hast prevail'd, I am content to stay,
My griefe to unburthen spend th' irksome day.

Sound loud Musick, as before: Enter Toby Tell-troth to shew the Monster.

Gentlemen,
Behold this Beast: from Hell 'twas sent,
And is the Embleme of this Parliament:
I told you at the first it was no Gull,
And now you'l finde the Cheat and bait the Bull,
That Ely-Monster, that from Basan came,
Begot between the Devill and his Dame.
When Cain did kill his brother, this Monster
Look'd on and laugh'd, and hug'd the Murtherer:

When Corah, Dathan and Abiram 'gainst Moses did
rebell,
He saw the sport, and lik'd it wondrous well.
When Jerboam caus'd Isreal
to sin A3v
This Beast you see, was then his next of kin
When Jehu so furiously did ride,
This very Monster did he then bestride:
When Zimri and Cozby in vile lust did joyne,
This Beast was Pander at the very time;
When Ammon did his sister chast defile
The Beast stood by, and watch'd the while:
When Absalom would go to pay his Vow,
This Monster mov'd him to his overthrow.
When Shimei did Trumpet forth his Treason,
This Beast did say Sedition was in season.
When Rabshekah did raile, revile and curse,
This Monster taught him; and hath since done worse.
When Judas with a kisse did Christ betray,
This Monster then did make it Holliday,
When Ananais and Suphira to Paul did lie,
This Beast deceiv'd them with delusions slie.
When murthering Papists came in eighty eight,
This very Beast for blood did lie in wait.
What they but thought in that damn'd Powder-treason
This Beast hath finish'd without grace or reason;
And stil doth murther, and in sin goe on,
Till he hath finished his destruction.

Pray Gentlemen draw neerer and touch it, it is now full of blood and will sit still, and let you stroke it, feele but on the Buttocks on't, they are as hard as the knees of a Camell with sitting; nine years has this Monster sate, and yet it is not wearie. It is so fruitfull, that it hath begot Legions, which are called tormentors (much like our Army, our Sequestrators, Committees, & Excise-men) that provide it prey. It was so hungry, that when it was but a little above a year old, it swallowed 24 Bishops, Bishopricks, Deans, Prebends, Chapters, Doctors, &c. and yet was as hungry as at the first; it then eat up twentieth parts, Subsidies, Meal-money, Court and Conduct-money, Excise and the devill and all, and yet was as hungry as ever; It then came to Sequestrations, eat up whole families, Recusants estates; all the estates of those that fought for the King, sequestered and sold, and yet as hungry as ever. A4r

It came then to the Kings Customes, which it swallowed at a mouthfull, & yet was unsatisfied as ever. It came to the Citie and there it devour'd St.Pauls Church, eat the very Scaffolds and bones of the dead, Stones, Al tar, Church, Steeple, Organ-Pipes, and all, and yet as hungry as ever. It came to White Hall, and there it chopt up the Head of the Owner, our ever sacred King, banqueted in his bloud, eat up all his Revenues, Honors, Manors, Heriditaments, Forests, Parks, Chases, Trees, Venison, and all; and yet not satisfied, but it gobled up all the Kings, Queenes, & Princes goods, not sparing the very Hangings, but devoured all. It went to the House of Peers, & there it eat up all the Nobilitie, save

Philip Earl of Pembroke, Grey of Booby, Salisbury, Denbigh, and some say swallowed them too, but presently evacuated them out backward, that they have been Shitten Nobilitie ever since. It went to Black-Fryers and the Fortune Play-houses, and there it eat up the Benches, Galleries, Stages, nay their very Hell and Heaven to boot. It went to the Kings Wardrobe, and there it eat up all the Kings Suits, Stockings, Shooes, Boots, Bands, Shirts; nay, at his death eat the very haire of his head. It went to the Tower & there it eat up the Unicornes horne, the Crownes, the silver Candle-sticks, all the Armour, Cannons; & Demy-Cannons, not so much as Roaring-Meg escap'd it, nor yet Will Summers his Armour. It went to the Country, & there it eat up the common-people by Free Quarter, Assessments for Sir Thomas, Excise, and a thousand wayes swallowed and destroyed them, their wives and children. It went to Sea, & there it eat up all the Kings Navy, Customes, &c. It no sooner landed, but it swallowed the whole Militia, all the Lawes & Statutes of the land, all his Majesties Forts, Townes, Castles, Cities, & yet is as unsatified as ever. It went to Hang-mans Acre, and there it eat up the man in the Moone's Presse, Letters, Books, and all. It took a Purge, when it had over-gorg'd its stomack, and spewe d nothing but rotten Members, Presbyter Jacks, corrupt Ordinances, Votes, Orders, and the like; it fell sick of the bloudie Flux, & voided nothing but bloud, and was cured by Doct. Pride, and Mistris Lust, one of Cromwell's Witches. It made account to swallow Lieutenant Col. John Lilburne, but he was too hard to be digested. Ever since it hath a Head

like Pluto's Forge, A4v

to hammer out all Mischiefs, to ruin Mankind; it hath Eyes that will poyson a Basiliske halfe a mile off; and a Breath so infected with Perjurie, that it will kill a Spider on the Seeling of their Rebellious House; it hath a Braine so subtill & intricate, that it will deceive a Serpent; it hath Teeth so sharp, that it devours all that it lays hold on; it is so daintie, that it will eat a King to breakfast, a Marquess, an Earl and a Lord at a Meale; it hath a stomack like an Ostrich, not only to digest Iron, but Silver, Gold &c. it hath a Heart double and treble gilt with Treason, Blasphemie, Murther, &c. it hath a Panch as insatiate as Hell, what ever enters never is seen again, & yet cryes, More, more; in fine it is the picture of the father of Disobedience, & is held no Bastard, because so like him; it hath also Legions, that swarm in every place to doe mischiefe. This is the nature of the Beast, his tricks & qualities, here it is to be seene all the holy-dayes of the year: and so God save King Charles the Second.

Rust. 'Tis pretty, yfaith; I understood it, as dull an Asse as I am: this is a right Monster indeed, & very prettily showne.

Car. And nothing but truth.

The men at Westminster will suppresses this Sport.

Come, let's goe;

This is the Tragedie of all our woe.

Tob. True! Nay Gentlemen, 'tis as true as the Bible. Pray Gentlemen stay, Ile speak the Epilogue and then adue.

Rust. I, I. with all our hearts.

THE EPILOGUE

Gentlemen, you've view'd this Monster well,
Sent forth in legions to make England Hell:
If (like Saint George) you doe not kill this Beast,
England (wrong'd Virgin) will want Peace and Rest.
You need not thinke in this but you doe well,
Conquer but this, you conquer Sinne and Hell,
Your King is comming, arm'd with Revengfull Zeale,
To kill this Monster of the Common-weale.
O lend your helping hand, and at one blow
Destroy this Monster that breeds Englands woe.
Then will you be secure from its fierce jawes,
Have home your King, enjoy your Lives and
Lawes.

FINIS

Notes

Introduction and Contentions

1 "Order for Stage-plays to Cease," Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642-1660, ed. C.H. Firth & R.S. Rait (London: HMSO, 1911), I, 26-7.

2 Exceptions are rare, and therefore easier to list. They include Lois Potter ed., The Revels History of Drama in English (London: Methuen, 1981); Margot Heinemann, Puritanism and Theatre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Martin Butler, Theatre and Crisis 1632-1642 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) all of which have some discussion of what happened after the closure.

3 Thomas Postlewait, "Periodisation in Theatre History," Theatre Journal, 15, No. 3 (1988), 1-17.

4 Alfred Harbage, Cavalier Drama: An Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage (Oxford: Modern Language Association and Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 2.

5 A slightly different reading of the circumstances of the closing of the theatres is given by Butler, pp. 246-7. Although parliament clearly was anxious, as Butler argues, the support of the city and the contrast with later documents against the theatre modify the picture he presents.

6 Journals, House of Commons, V, 335b. See also Leslie Hotson, The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage (1928; rpt. New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), p. 27.

7 Potter, Revels, pp. 261-307. see Hotson.

8 Hotson, pp. 17, 34, 38, 40, 46, 49 etc.,

9 Hotson, pp. 3-58.

10 Hotson calls drama "surreptitious" but does not investigate the many different genres on the border between performance and print. See also Louis B. Wright, "The Reading of Plays During the Puritan Revolution," Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 6 (1934), pp. 73-112.

11 Hotson, p. 3.

12 J.F.Danby, Poets on Fortune's Hill (London: Faber, 1952), pp. 19, 156-7, 160-1.

13 Butler traces the model of "decadence" implicit in Hotson's comment in relation to the stage of the 1630s-1640s. He challenges the "ex post facto" view which sees the suppression of drama as inevitable noting that no evidence suggests that contemporaries regarded it this way and arguing conclusively that we should see the emerging conflict as one of multiple positions. Butler, pp. 1, 7-19.

14 Hotson, p. 3-4. He quotes A Second Discovery By the Northern Scout, (1642).

15 Hotson, p. 3.

16 Butler, pp. 228-250, 289-91. Richard Overton, New Lambeth Fayre, E.138 (26), (1642); (attributed), Canterbury his Change of Diet, E.177 (8), (1641); (questionably attribued), The Bishop's Potion, E.165 (1). Other anti-episcopal playlets from 1641-1642 include A Rent in the Lawne Sleeves E. 179(12), (1641). There were also anti-Catholic playlets, such as, The Friers Last Farewell E.136 (27), A Disputation Between the Devil and the Pope, E.132 (8), (1642). There were also attacks on sectaries such as the monologue A Tale in Tub, E. 138 (27), (1642).

17 Hotson, p. 4.

18 Hotson, p. 4; Mary Edmond, Rare Sir William Davenant (Manchester:

Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 78.

19 Butler, p. 1.

20 The composition of the audience for so-called public and private London theatres remains a moot point and becomes even more difficult to assess after the closure of the theatres. I have not attempted to make generalisations about the reading or attendence at plays during the period 1642-1659. See Chapter One for discussion of reading. As Butler suggests, it seems that during the 1630s playgoing was relatively widespread in the London population. See Butler, pp. 293-306.

21 The Marxist tradition of Christopher Hill, particularly in The World Turned Upside Down (1972; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, (1980; rt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) and A.L.Morton The World of the Ranters (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1970) assumes that the Civil War had deep-rooted causes in the conflicts of English society. This assumption is shared by the non-Marxist liberal left tradition. For example Lawrence Stone, The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), traces the causes of the Civil War back to Tudor political and religious policy (pp. 72-106). The revisionists have offered detailed criticism of these ideas, and criticism of detail. See for example John Adamson, "Protesters at the Establishment: Radical responses in England from 1645 to 1775," Times Literary Supplement, June 7 1991, p. 5-6. Adamson (who has now himself been attacked over the use of sources) calls Morton "romantic and doctrin aire," indicating the revisionist dislike of history which attempts to reach conclusions about wider social movements, but then rightly criticizes the excessive weight Christopher Hill places on censorship before the Civil War.

22 J.C.D. Clark, Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 4.

23 J.C.Davies, Fear, Myth and History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 1-16.

24 John Morrill, The Revolt of the Provinces (1976; rpt. London: Longman, 1980). Morrill opens with the telling claim that "There could be no civil war before 1642 because there was no royalist party" p. 13.

25 Johann Sommerville, Politics and Ideology in England 1603-1640 (Harlow: Longman, 1986), pp. 1-5. Sommerville's crucial step is to attempt to see how contemporaries expressed the struggles, and this leads him to analyse print culture. He usefully insists on the importance of "pamphlets, treatises, sermons and speeches," in articulating the way "early-seventeenth century Englishmen perceived their own political world." The previous study to analyse pamphlets did so in terms of political rather than ideological positions. See Gordon J.Schochet, Patriarchalism in Political Thought (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975).

26 Richard Cust and Ann Hughes ed., Conflict in Early Stuart England (Harlow: Longman, 1989), pp. 17, 26.

27 Kevin Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). Sharpe's discussion of pre-Civil War culture is problematic in terms of both the range of texts that it covers and its argumentation. Sharpe attacks the division of the civil war into court versus country (pp. 8-22) but his discussion of court culture as not disassociated from other cultures rapidly becomes contradictory. On the one hand (pp. 1-53) he wants to argue that it is not a sycophantic or closed culture, yet he concludes that "it may be that working within courtly modes . . . criticism could be more effectually voiced without any suspicion of disloyalty" (p. 293). This seems to return us to a closed court culture which cannot (therefore) stand as he requires it to for the political commit ment of pre-war culture.

28 Anthony Fletcher, The Outbreak of the English Civil War (London: Edward Arnold,1981), pp. 110-111, 130. See also Paul Slack ed., Rebellion, Popular Protest and Social Order in Early Modern England (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984); and Tim Harris' account which does include the agency of crowds and others as political in London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 5-11.

29 Fletcher, p. 171-175.

30 Indeed Butler finds evidence of political critique throughout the dramatic sphere from court drama to the public theatres, which, he convincingly argues maintained a popular tradition. See Theatre and Crisis pp. 55-83, 84-99, 181-250.

31 See the opening chapters of Fletcher; Robin Clifton, "The Popular Fear of Catholics During the English Revolution," Past and Present, No. 52, (August 1971), pp. 23-55; Christopher Hill, "The English Revolution and Patriotism," in Raphael Samuel, ed Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity (London: Routledge, 1989), I, 159-168; Peter Lake, "Anti-Popery: the Structure of a Prejudice," in Cust & Hughes, pp. 72-106.

32 Fletcher, p. 185.

33 Fletcher, pp. 184-5, 261, 409-410.

34 See also Valerie Pearl, London and the Outbreak of Puritan Revolution (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 1961) pp. 237-9.

35 Henry Parker, Observations Upon Some of His Majesties Late Answers and Expresses (London, 1642) in William Haller, ed, Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), II, 165-213.

36 Fletcher, p. 281.

37 David Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

38 George Wither, Mercurius Rusticus (1642) quoted Hotson p. 9. See also Henry Glapthorne's lament for the departure of the royally patronised arts, "White-hall," in White-Hall A Poem Written 1642 with Elegies on The Right Honourable Francis Earl of Bedford and Henry Earle of Manchester, Lord Privy Seale (London, 1643). Hotson records two manuscript poems associating the theatre, politics and the politics of playing. See Hotson p. 14.

39 Perfect Occurrences, E.260 (37), (9-16 May 1645).

40 The Weekly Account (4 Oct 1643); CSPD 1641-43, p. 564; Mercurius

Verdicus, E.279 (1), (19-26 April 1645).

41 Hotson, p. 27.

42 Journals of the House of Commons, V, 439 cited Hotson pp. 28-31, 34-36, 76. An ordinance was passed on 9 February 1648 and printed on 11 February. See Firth & Rait, Acts and Ordinances, I, 1070.

43 Journals of the House of Commons, V, 612a, 648a. In September plays were still being performed. See Hotson, p. 37-8; Perfect Occurrences 1-8 Sept 1648.

44 Hotson, pp. 39-42, 42-4. For the famous raid see Kingom's Weekly Intelligencer (2-9 January 1649); Perfect Occurrences (29 Dec-5 Jan 1648-9). There were further raids in January 1650. See Hotson, p. 46-7 and Mercurius Pragmaticus, E.590(6), (22-29 Jan 1650); The Man in the Moon, E590 (12), (23-31 Jan 1650).

45 Mr William Prynn His Defence of Stage-Plays, or a Recantation of a former Book of his called Histrio-Mastix, E.537 (31), (London, 1649). See also William Prynne, Historio-Mastix (London, 1633). Other contemporary defences of playing included the reprinting of Thomas Heywood, The Actors Vindication, E.948 (4), (1612; rpt. 1658); The Stage Players Complaint, E.172 (23), (1641); The Actors Remonstrance, E.86 (8), (January 1643).

46 David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 24-26, 295-99.

47 Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 10-12, 141-88. Collinson takes issue with the claims that radical Protestantism had radical political implications, advanced by Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966), p. 179.

48 Collinson, p. 178.

49 Underdown, pp. 9-72.

50 Christopher Hill, Milton and the English Revolution (1977; rpt. London: Faber & Faber, 1979), p. 65. Hill's ideas on censorship were unequivocal: "before 1641, and after 1660, there was a strict censorship. In the intervening years of freedom, a printing press was a relatively cheap and portable piece of equipment," The World Turned Upside Down, p. 17. Hill was followed by Margot Heinemann, Puritanism and Theatre, who argues convincingly against the inevitable linking of a reified image of fanatical Puritanism and the closing of the theatres (pp. 18-22, 26-31). Her thesis on the drama of the 1620s and 1630s is that there was an extensive quasi-royal political censorship against plays which criticised court policies (pp. 36-47). Hill's models of censorship have been extended into the Civil War period by some critics. See Nigel Smith, A Collection of Ranter Writings (London: Junction Books, 1983), p. 8. However, the work of Hill and Heinemann lacked both detail and, to an extent, theorisation of what censorship might be or mean. These have been the twin directions of recent research: see on the one hand Janet Clare, 'Art made tongue-tied by authority' (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), and in terms of how censorship might be considered or affect writing practice, Annabel Patterson, Censorship and Interpretation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

51 See Hill's analysis of self-censorship before 1640: Milton, e.g. p. 66. See also Kevin Sharpe's critique of this position in Criticism and Compliment, pp. 36-8. Sharpe's critique is pertinent, but even so he does not take account of the changes in 1640-1642.

52 John Milton, Areopagitica (1643) in The Works of John Milton, ed. Frank Allen Patterson (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 293-354.

53 On coded writing see Lois Potter, Secret Rites and Secret Writing (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989).

54 See Conrad Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments (1971; rpt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 361-363. Russell does note that it was the radicals whose words are recorded in print and that this problematises the notion that there is a fully available and articulated popular culture available in print. See as a corrective to any easy use of the idea of "the popular," Stuart Hall, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'," in People's

History and Socialist Theory, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981). Taking into account Hall's critique of the term and the differences between pre- and post-industrial society in terms of the pervasiveness of what might be called "mass" forms of communication, in this study I have kept in mind Antonio Gramsci's definition of the popular as expressed in his analysis of the popular song. As he notes, it is neither the folk song nor the mass-produced song, but the song which is taken up in the street. Antonio Gramsci, The Cultural Writings, trans. William Boelhower, ed. David Forgacs & Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985), p. 195. See Chapter One.

55 Surprisingly, even the most recent consideration of the period is happy to go along with these assumptions. Although the way Lois Potter treats the drama tends to belie her assertion that the period 1642 to 1660 consisted of coterie cavalier drama, she writes, "Nearly all histories of English drama stop at 1642 and start again in 1660. This is because of the assumption that the intervening period must have been an age of closet drama, and hence remote from the mainstream of dramatic history. A further assumption is embodied in the title of . . . Alfred Harbage's Cavalier Drama . . . Both assumptions are basically right, but they need qualification." Potter, Revels, p. 263.

56 Phillip Stubbes, The Anatomie of Abuses, ed. Willaim B.D.D. Turnbull (1585; rpt. London: W. Pickering, 1836), pp. 160-8, 214.

57 James Wright, Historia Histrionica (London, 1699), p. 7.

58 David Norbrook, Poetry and Politics in the Renaissance (London, Routledge Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 2. For the debates on literary value and the canon see Robert Von Hallberg ed., Canons (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1984). See especially, Barbara Herrnstein Smith, "Contingencies of Value," pp. 5-40.

59 Harbage, Cavalier, pp. 7, 21-25.

60 Harbage, Cavalier, p.1.

61 Montague Summers, The Playhouse of Pepys (London: Kegan Paul, 1935),

p. 1.

62 Cecil V.Deane, Dramatic Theory and the Rhymed Heroic Play (1931; rpt. London: Frank Cass & Co., 1967), p. 17.

63 G.Blakemore Evans, Elizabethan-Jacobean Drama (London: A & C Black, 1987), p. 3.

64 Stephen Gosson, The Schoole of Abuse (London, 1579); Phillip Stubbs, The Anatomie of Abuses (London, 1583).

65 William van Lennep, ed. The London Stage 1660-1800 (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illonois University Press, 1965), I, xxi.

66 John Harold Wilson, A Preface to Restoration Drama (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 1.

67 Laura Brown, English Dramatic Form 1660-1760 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. xi. For an introduction to a play using the 1650s which ignores the political and historical significance of that play see Dennis Davison, Restoration Comedies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. xi-xii.

68 It becomes even more surprising that Brown should ignore the 1640s and 1650s when she offers a critique of drama studies as both ahistorical and unaware of generic and cultural developments: "specialists in the theater have seldom referred to the other major genres of the time, notably neglecting the contemporary rise of the novel. This fragmentation has enforced an ahistoricism in drama studies. And it has led to a related alienation of literary modes or periods from one another," p. xii.

69 Michel Foucault's writings on power and society have been influential in the construction of the dominant new historicist paradigms which interpret plays as cultural rituals enacting the movements of power. Also influential have been the interest in ritual, power and performance in the work of the anthropologists Clifford Geertz and Victor Turner. See Stephen Greenblatt in Renaissance Self-Fashioning From More to Shakespeare (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), though these

delicate readings contrast with the model of drama as enacting subversion always followed by containment promulgated by Leonard Tennenhouse in Power on Display. See Clifford Geertz, Local Knowledge (New York: Basic, 1983), especially "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," pp. 121-146; Hildred Geertz & Clifford Geertz, Kinship in Bali (Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, 1975); Victor Turner, The Anthropology of Performance (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986); Victor Turner, Process, Performance and Pilgrimage, (New Delhi: Concept, 1979).

70 For instance, Stephen Greenblatt, "The Improvisation of Power," in Renaissance Self-Fashioning, pp. 222-254.

71 One of Greenblatt's few excursions into non-canonical literature is his "Filthy Rites," in Learning to Curse (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 59-79, esp. pp. 74-76. See also Shakespearean Negotiations (California: University of California Press, 1988).

72 Jonathan Goldberg, James I and the Politics of Literature (Stanford: Stanford University Press), p. xi.

73 Goldberg, p. xi.

74 Leonard Tennenhouse, Power on Display: the Politics of Shakespearean Genres (New York & London: Methuen, 1986), p.186.

75 Tennenhouse, p.186.

76 See Catherine Gallagher, "Marxism and the New Historicism," in The New Historicism, ed. H. Aram Veeser (London: Routledge, 1989), pp. 37-48. See James Holstun, "Ranting at the New Historicism," ELR 19, No. 2 (1989), 189-225; Annabel Patterson, "The Very Name of the Game: Theories of Order and Disorder," in Literature and the Civil War, ed. Thomas Healy & Jonathan Sawday, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 21-37. The rather different emphasis of British cultural materialist critics can be seen in Jonathan Dollimore's commment that "the need to disclose the effectiveness and complexity of the ideological process of containment by no means implies a fatalistic acceptance that all opposition is hopeless." Jonathan Dollimore, Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural

Materialism, ed. Jonathan Dollimore & Alan Sinfield (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 15.

77 David Trotter, The Poetry of Abraham Cowley (London: Macmillan, 1979), p. 2.

Chapter One. Radical Reading? Pamphlet Playlets and the Public Sphere in the Early 1640s.

1 David Norbrook has kindly given me permission to refer here to his paper given at the conference "History, Anthropology and the Renaissance Text," London 1990.

2 There is general agreement that literacy expanded during the seventeenth century, though historians have used very different methodologies to arrive at their conclusions. For example Peter Clark covers book ownership in a fairly small sample of towns in Kent to conclude that these towns "saw a major growth in book ownership in the period 1560-1640 affecting not only prosperous potentoires but also in some measure the respectable society." See "The Ownership of Books in England 1560-1640: the Example of Some Kentish Townsfolk," in Schooling and Society: Studies in the History of Education, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 95-111. One might object that the sample is small and local and that the research stops short, on the verge of the major upheaval of the century, suggesting a trend which, however, might or might not continue during the 1640s. Other historians use different measures including matriculation records of social background as in Lawrence Stone, "Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1690," Past and Present, No. 42 (1969), pp. 69-139. Studies of literacy are beset by problems about how to determine the ability to write (is the ability to sign an adequate guide?) and about the relationship between the different skills of writing and reading. On the methodology of studies of literacy see R.Schofield, "The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England," in Literacy in Traditional Societies, ed. Jack Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1968), pp. 310-325. The most recent study of literacy in seventeenth century England is David Cressy, Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

3 Margaret Spufford, Small Books and Pleasant Histories (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. xviii, 19-21; Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England 1560-1640," Past and Present, No. 28 (1964), pp. 41-80, esp. pp. 43-47. There is also an Interregnum pamphlet dialogue on the topic of schooling: A Discourse in Derision of a Teaching in Free-Schools, E.53 (7), (1644).

4 Margaret Spufford, Small, p. 22; Lawrence Stone, Past and Present, No.42 (1969), pp. 100, 110-111, 120-1; David Cressy, Literacy, pp. 62-103. Cressy uses the Protestation Oath of 1641 (returns 1642), the Vow and Covenant (1643) and the Solemn League and Covenant (1644). He writes, "London parishes were always the first to subscribe . . . Mass involvement in public affairs was becoming habitual, and it was not confined to the metropolis" p. 69-70. Cressy notes that the ability to sign may not be evidence of ability to reader and that therefore this evidence is problematic as evidence of literacy.

5 Lawrence Stone, Past and Present, No. 28 (1964), pp. 42, 68.

6 Roger Chartier, "Texts, Printing, Readings," in The New Cultural History, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 154-175, 159.

7 Chartier, p. 156.

8 Laurence Prince, A New Dialogue Between Dick of Kent and Wat the Welchman, E.228 (1), (London, 1654), A2v. For an analysis of rural literacy see Margaret Spufford, Contrasting Communities: English Villages in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 171-218.

9 Donald F.MacKenzie, The London Book Trade in the Later Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Syndics of Cambridge University Library, 1976), p. 2-3.

10 Anthony Cotton, "London Newsbooks in the Civil War: Their Political Attitudes and Sources of Information," Diss. Oxford University 1971, p. 14; MacKenzie cites a pamphlet of 1651 which had a print run of 1,000. The London Book Trade, p. 29.

11 Cotton, p. 13. For the June 1643 ordinance against printing see Joseph Frank, The Beginnings of the English Newspaper (Cambridge Mass,: Harvard University Press, 1961) p. 32.

12 Mercurius Melancholicus, E.410 (12), (2-9 October 1647). Hotson, p. 26-7.

13 Journals of the House of Commons, Hotson, p. 38.

14 MacKenzie, The London Book Trade, p. 2-3.

15 MacKenzie, The British Book Trade 1641-1714: A Chronology and Calendar of Documents (London: British Library, 1976); John Milton, Areopagitica in Works IV, 353 - though this is in the context of advocating free publication in the cause of finding truth. See also Conrad Russell, The Crisis of Parliaments, p. 369; Derek Hirst, Authority and Conflict (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), p. 280.

16 David Underdown, Revel, Riot and Rebellion (1985; rpt. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 208. Recent books such as Underdown's have helped to transform the paradigms used in the study of popular culture, enabling historians and literary critics to question the earlier tendency of the study of popular culture to concentrate on the potential of popular culture to be a force for social change, or to assume that popular culture was easily identifiable, remote from "elite" culture, - and subversive. Underdown rightly brings a more questioning approach to popular culture particularly with regard to the issue of "radical" potential in popular culture per se.

Study of seventeenth century popular culture in England takes its starting place from Christopher Hill's work in general but specifically from Peter Burke's influential article "Popular Culture in Seventeenth

Century London," (1977), expanded and rpt. in Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England, ed. Barry Reay (Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1975). The debate over popular culture and historical methodology can seen as taking three distinct and established trends. One can be seen as Foucauldian historical analysis including The History of Sexuality, I, trans. Robert Hurley (London: Allen Lane, 1979). This concentrates on negotiations of power in social relations. Then there is the cultural history of work and popular ceremony including especially Robert Darnton, The Great Cat Massacre (London: Allen Lane, 1984). Thirdly, there has been British social history including particularly the work of Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (London, Hutchinson, 1982) and Lawrence Stone, The Family Sex and Marriage (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1977).

During the 1980s the debate on what "popular culture" might be and its relationship to political agency and radicalism became more self-reflexive. Stuart Clark attacks French historiography and its use of the term "popular culture" in "French Historians and Early Modern Popular Culture," Past and Present, No. 100 (1983), pp. 62-100; Dominick La Capra, "Is everyone a mentalité case? Transference and the "culture" concept," History and Criticism (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 71-94 especially pp. 76-81, 88-92. Recently the assumption that popular culture is in some obvious way subversive or radical per se has been usefully questioned by Tim Harris in The London Crowd. In alliance with the significant analyses of print culture by Roger Chartier and particularly his term "appropriation," this new sense of the political diversity, contradictory and problematic nature of the "popular" has opened up the possibility of a nuanced investigation of the relationship between politics, print culture and the category of the popular, though Chartier himself appears to be reluctant to consider different readings and reading circumstances as political. As these opening chapters indicate popular politics are by no means necessarily "radical" politics but responses which may subvert or evade a dominant ideology in a number of ways. See Roger Chartier ed. The Culture of Print, trans. Lydia G.Cochrane, (Cambridge: Polity, 1989). See also endnotes to Introduction, note 54.

17 Jürgen Habermas, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, transl. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989) pp. 27, 29-30, 38-40. As Habermas suggests, "The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public" p. 26.

18 Butler, p. 233.

19 James Harrington, Valerius and Publicola, (1659) in Revolutionary Prose of the English Civil War ed. Howard Erskine Hill and Graham Storey (1659; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 176-202, p. 177.

20 Habermas, p. 16

21 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Printing and the People," in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987) p. 193.

22 Habermas, pp. 19, 27-31.

23 Richard Overton, New Lambeth Fayre, E.138 (26), (1642), A2r-v, B4v. One of the pamphlets actually signed by Overton. See also Lambeth Fayre (1641).

24 There are many dialogues, monologues and semi-dramatic pamphlets which can be categorised in many ways. The Earle of Strafford's Ghost E. 6 (33), (1644); A Description of the Passage of Thomas Late Earle of Strafford, Over the River of Styx, E.156 (21), (London, 1641) attributed to Richard Overton by Don M.Wolfe, "Unsigned Pamphlets of Richard Overton," Huntington Library Quarterly, 21, No. 2 (1958), 167-201, esp. 179-80. In this case Wolfe's stylistic evidence is inconclusive. See also Times Alteration, or a Dialogue Between My Lord Finch and Secretary Windebanke, 669.f.4 (4), (London, 1641). Using political analogies from history see the printing of Thomas Rogers's poem Leicesters Ghost (c.1605 rpt. adapted 1641), in Leicester's Ghost, ed. William B.Franklin Jr (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. xiv-xxiii. Religious conflicts between Protestantism and sectarian opinion: John Taylor, A Tale in a Tub (women preaching), E.138 (27), (1641); George Gillespie's long and serious A Late Dialogue Betwixt a Civilian and a Divine, Concerning the Present Condition of the Church of England, E.14 (7), (1644). Attacks on bishops, the Church of England and Catholics include The Bishops Potion; A Rent in the Lawne Sleeves (Wolfe attributes both to Overton, pp. 183, 185); The Spirituall Courts Epitomised in a Dialogue, (1641); Thomas Herbert (attrib.), Newes Newly Discovered, E.1102 (3), (1641); The Friers Last Farewell, E.136 (27), (1641); A Disputation Between the Devil and the Pope, E.132 (8), (1642). For a

checklist for 1641-2 see Butler, pp. 289-291.

25 Dialogue Between an Excise Man and Death, (1659); A Briefe Dialogue Between a Creditor and a Debter, E.713 (5), (1653). See also Potter, Revels p. 269-70.

26 Masquerade du Ciel, by J.S. (John Sadler) (London, 1641), A2r. Sadler went on to write The Rights of the Kingdom, (London, 1649) in which he supported the post-regicide government.

27 Henry Glapthorne, White-Hall A Poem (London, 1643).

28 Richard Brathwaite, Mercurius Britannicus, or the English Intelligencer: a Tragi-Comedy at Paris (1641). The play was originally published in Latin. For pamphlet playlets which indicate the close links between news and dramatic and semi-dramatic pamphlets see Mercurius Honestus or Newes from Westminster, No. 1, E.443 (23), (May 1648). This anti-royalist pamphlet parodies and insults two other newspapers, Mercurius Elenctius and Mercurius Pragmaticus in a way closely connected with recent issues of those papers. The use of dialogue in prose pamphlets as a means of persuasion is illustrated in Hells Trienniall Parliament, E.405 (2), (1647).

29 Martin Butler, "A Case Study in Caroline Political Theatre: Brathwaite's 'Mercurius Britannicus' (1641)," The Historical Journal, 27, No. 4 (1984), 947-953. He argues that the play may have been performed at Paris (pp. 950-1). See also, W.J.Adams, Jr, "Richard Brathwaite's Mercurius Britannicus," Modern Language Notes, No. 26 (1911), pp. 233-5.

30 Mercurius Britannicus, A3v.

31 A Discourse or Dialogue Between . . . Lord Generall Militia and . . . the Commission of Array, E.240 (28), (1642), pp. 4-6. Other examples might be A Dialogue or Discourse Betwixt Two Old Acquaintence of Contrary Opinions (1647). See also Fletcher, Outbreak, pp. 244-6, 260-1, 322-4.

32 Hezekiah Woodward, A Briefe Dialogue Between a Creditor and a Prisoner, E.713 (5), (August 1653); A Dialogue Arguing that Arch-Bishops, Bishops etc., are to be Cut Off by Law of God, E.34 (10), (1644). This pamphlet is

also 47 pages long - much longer than the usual scurrilous satire.

33 See also Pearl, Puritan Revolution, pp. 238-240; Fletcher, Outbreak, p. 336.

34 The Last News in London, E.124 (11), (Oct 1642), p. 17. Subsequent references in text.

35 MacKenzie, The London Book Trade, p. 10.

36 See Habermas, p. 20

37 The Wishing Common-wealthsman: Or a Dialogue betwixt Cautious a Country Man and Wish-well a Citizen, E.114 (11), (London, August 1642). Subsequent references in text.

38 Thomas Heywood, If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody (London, 1605). The appearance of Queen Elizabeth on stage allows the resolution of tension between social ills and ruler to be dissipated in a euphoric personal encounter, a vision which some of these playlets sustain even at the same time as fostering a sphere of "public" literary political debate which implicitly acknowledges that this is can only ever be a fantasy, albeit a powerful one.

39 The Whirligigge Turning, E.405 (19), (London, 1647); London's Metamorphosis, or a Dialogue Between London and Amsterdam, E.399 (21), (London, 1647).

40 Playlets using the idea of carnival, or the dissolution of government, to comment upon the collapse of the Caroline state: The Pimpes Prerogative, 669.f.16, (London, June 1641); The Sisters of the Scabbards Holliday, E.168 (8), (London, September 1641); Brothers of the Blade Answerable to the Sisters of the Scabbard, E.238 (5), (1641); A Dialogue Between Sacke and Six (1641).

41 The Pimpes Prerogative, A2v.

42 See Henry Peacham, A Dialogue Between the Cross in Cheap and Charing

Cross, (1641); The Dolefull Lamentation of Cheapside Cross, (1641); Richard Overton, The Articles of High Treason Exhibited Against Cheap-side Crosse (1642).

43 The Arraignment of Superstition, E.136 (31), (1641).

44 The Wicked Resolution of the Cavaliers, E.127 (42), (1642); Times Changeling, Arraigned For Inconstancy at the Barre of Opportunity, E.91 (31), (1643).

45 Underdown, p. 216.

46 The Cavaliers Catechisme, E.100 (22), (1643). Subsequent references in text.

47 The Souldiers Language or a Discourse Between Two Souldiers, E.10 (10), (1644). Collected by Thomason Sept 26 1644.

48 Hirst, Authority and Conflict, p. 250-1.

49 The Reformed Malignants, E.250 (6), (1643).

50 Reformed Malignants, p. 4.

51 A Dialogue Betwixt a Horse of Warre and a Mill-Horse, E.80(5), (1644).

52 The Malignants Conventicle, E.245 (24), (1643), A3v. A monologue.

53 Mikhail Bakhtin, "The Problem of Speech Genres," Speech Genres and Other Late Essays, trans. & ed. Caryl Emerson and Micheal Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. 64

54 Butler, p. 233.

55 Habermas, p. 29.

56 Habermas, p. 42.

Chapter Two. "With The Agreement of the People in their hands." The Transformations of Populist Politics in Playlets of the Civil War and Protectoarte.

1 Richard Overton (attrib.), Vox Borealis or The Northern Discovery "Printed by Margery Mar-Prelat in Thwackcoat Lane," (1641). One of the Marprelate Tracts which are very likely to be by Overton. See Don M.Wolfe, "Unsigned Pamphlets of Richard Overton." Wolfe's willingness to attribute pamphlets on stylistic grounds is sometimes problematic because of the parodic and intertextual nature of Interregnum pamphleteering. However, Overton is unusual in his use of the scurrilous tradition of Protestant polemic. See Nigel Smith, "Richard Overton's Marpriest Tracts: Towards a History of Leveller Style," in The Literature of Controversy, ed. Thomas Corns (London: Frank Cass, 1987), pp. 39-66, esp. pp. 43-44.

2 On the early pamphlets see Butler, pp. 238-242; Heinemann, pp. 237-257 argues for a particular kind of "Leveller style" taken in part from the public playhouses. Once again, a problem with this argument is the imitative and parodic nature of all satires in the 1640s.

3 Richard Overton (attrib.), The Arraignment of Mr.Persecution (1645), "By Younge Martin Marpriest, Son to old Martin the Metropolitaine," "Printed by Martin Claw-Clergie . . . to be sold at his shop in Toleration Street, at the Sign of the Subjects Liberty, right opposite to the Persecuting Courts." Subsequent references in text.

4 Henry Parker, Observations, in William Haller ed. Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, II.

5 Martin's Echo, E.290 (2), (June 1645). Non-dramatic follow up railing against those who "free us from Episcopall Persecution, to devour us with Presbyterian cruelty" p. 2. See also, The Agreement of the People (October, 1647); Petition to the House of Commons (1648); John Lilburne, The Legall Fundamental Liberties (1649). See DonM.Wolfe, Leveller Manifestoes of the Puritan Revolution (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1944); William Haller and Geoffrey Davis ed The Leveller Tracts 1647-1653 (New York: Columbia, 1944) 3v.

6 William Walwyn, monologue, A Prediction of Master Edwards His Conversion; A Parable or Consultation of Physicans Upon Master Edwards; Truth's Victory Over Tyrants and Tyranny, E.579 (12), (1649), p. 4. See also Gregg, Free-Born John, p. 295. On Lilburne's writing see also Joan Webber, The Eloquent 'I': Self and Style in Seventeenth Century Prose (Madison & London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p .6.

7 On Presbyterianism in London government and the Commons, see for example Pauline Gregg, pp. 147-152, 170-194. For a royalist perspective during the later 1640s, see also P.W.Thomas, Sir John Berkenhead, p. 121, 127-131.

8 Marchmont Nedham (Mercurius Pragmaticus), The Levellers Levelled, (1647), ed Philip C. Dust, AEB, 4 Nos.3 & 4 (combined), (1980), 182-240. See p. 199. Subsequent references in text. Hampton Court Conspiracy, E.416 (15), (London, November 1647).

9 Marchmont Nedham, The Case of the Commonwealth of England Stated (1650). See also Joseph Frank, Cromwell's Press Agent: A Critical Biography of Marchmont Nedham (Lanham: University Press of America, 1980), pp. 73-90.

10 The Scotch Politike Presbyter. A Tragi-Comedie (1647); A New Bull Bayting (1649). Subsequent references in text.

11 New-Market Fayre I and I (June 1649, July 16 1649), ed. Paul Werstine in AEB 6 Nos 2 & 4, (1982), pp. 70-103, 209-239. Attributed to Overton by Don M.Wolfe, "Unsigned Pamphlets" using stylistic evidence. For representations of the wives of army grandees as lecherous see also, John Tatham, The Rump (1659); Cromwell's Conspiracie (1660).

12 Paul Werstine attributes New-Market Fayre to John Crouch on the evidence of the dedicatory poem which addresses him as "the Man in the Moone." However Werstine fails to note the connections between The Man in the Moon and other elements besides royalists; one such connection is the setting on of the Man in the Moon's dog by the character of Overton in A New Bull Bayting. Werstine says that these plays have hitherto been considered as anonymous and is apparently unaware of Don M. Wolfe's attribution of New-Market Fayre to Richard Overton. Although Wolfe too seems to attribute plays on relatively slender evidence his comment is

apposite, "Though at first glance, because Charles is mentioned as a martyr, the tracts may appear to be royalist in origin, the . . . two sympathetic references to the Agreement of the People in Part II eliminate the possibility of royalist authorship" (Don M. Wolfe, p. 197-8). However, one could alter his phrase to "simply royalist authorship," and his comment does not address the problem of how contemporaries, rather than twentieth century critics, conceptualised their own political positions. The question of authorship remains unresolved, but this in itself is evidence of the political and rhetorical complexity of these satires and the need for critical thinking to reassess the paradigm of "royalist" versus "parliamentarian."

13 Potter, Secret, pp. 35-36.

14 Richard Baxter, Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. Matthew Sylvester (London, 1696), p. 53. See also Gregg, pp. 156-7; A.S.P.Woodhouse, Puritanism and Liberty (1938; rpt. London: Dent, 1986), p. 23.

15 Richard Overton, The Bayting of the Great Bull of Bashan (1649). Written by Overton in the Tower.

16 Sheppard's views on governement are an instance of the transformation of popular opinion in the later 1640s. In 1646 he wrote in support of Fairfax and Cromwell in The Yeare of Jubilee; or, England's Releasment (London, 1646). In the same year he satirised religious faction in The Times Displayed in Six Sestyads (London, 1646) a theme he returned to after the regicide with the playlet The Joviall Crew or, the Devill Turn'd Ranter (London, 1651). In 1646 he also attacked John Lilburne, supporting the House of Lords in The Famer Fam'd, E.349 (5), (London, 1646) and Animadversions Upon John Lilburnes Last Two Books . . . London's Liberty in Chaines Discovered, the other Anatomy of the Lords Cruelty, E.362 (24), (London, 1646). However, in 1647 he wrote the two-part The Committee-Man Curried (1647), indicating a shift against parliament. His imprisonment may have curtailed such attacks. See J.C.Davis, Fear, Myth, pp. 108-9.

17 Grand Plutoe's Progresse, E.405 (16), (Sept 1647). See Journal of the House of Commons V.246.a. Quoted in Hotson p.24.

18 The song here both gives pleasure to any potential live audience and acts as a marker of status. On singing see Ian Spink, English Song:Dowland to Purcell (1974; rpt. New York: Taplinger, 1986), pp. 131-4. He suggests that there was a shift in the music produced during the Interregnum towards the taste of the newer classes and we know that there was also an extensive market in ballads. The popularity of the catch may be another instance of the way the performance context altered during the civil war, bringing together, at least temporarilly, genres which had previously been held apart by the boundaries in genre and ethos between popular and elite genres.

19 Samuel Sheppard, The Second Part of the Committee Man Curried, E.401 (40), (1647).

20 Hyder E.Rollins, "Samuel Sheppard and His Praise of Poets," SP, 24, No. 1 (1927), 509-556. See 523-529; J.C.Davis, Fear, Myth, p. 143.

21 Robert Ashton, "From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny," in Reactions to the English Civil War, ed. John Morrill (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp. 185-207. Hirst, Authority and Conflict, p. 283.

22 Anthony Ascham, A Discourse Wherein is Examined What is Particularly Lawful During the Confusion and Revolution in Government (London, 1648); John Goodwin, Right and Might Well Met (London, 1648).

23 Stop Your Noses: or, England at Her Easement, E.452 (16), (1648), p. 6. Subsequent references in text.

24 The Disease of the House, E.571 (12), (1649).

25 The Cavaliers Jubilee, E.655 (25), (London, 1655), pp. 3, 5.

26 Schochet, pp. 159-178. Impressionistic evidence suggests that there were rather fewer short pamphlet plays and dialogues from 1651-1658.

27 An Honest Discourse Between Three Neighbours, touching the Present Government in these Three Nations, E 840 (10), (1655). See also Pauline Gregg, p.340-5 .

28 Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p. 240.

29 A series of Lucianic dialogues brings the generic career of the Interregnum pamphlet full circle to a close relationship with the Lucianics from 1641-1642 on Laud and Strafford. Here the participants are Oliver Cromwell, Hugh Peter, Charles I. See, A Messenger from the Dead: Conference Between Henry the 8 and Charles the First, E.983 (4), (1658); A Dialogue Between the Ghosts of Charles I and Oliver the Late Usurping Protector, E.985 (24), (1659), which includes stage directions. Other examples are cited in Benjamin Boyce, "News From Hell," PMLA, 58, No. 2 (1943), 402-437, including A Trance: or, News From Hell (1647) by Mercurius Acheronitus which Boyce attributes to James Howell; A New Conference Between the Ghosts of King Charles and Oliver Cromwell (London, 1659); Conference Between O.Cromwell and Hugh Peters in St.James's Park (London, 1660).

Later came the witty A Private Conferance Between Mr.L.Robinson and Mr.T.Scott Occasioned by the Publishing His Majesties Letters and Declaratic.n (London, 1660) and The Court Career, E.989 (26), (1659). See also Carmina Colloquia: or, a Demonicall and Damnable Dialogue Between the Devil and an Independet, E.559 (6) (1659). Cromwell is compared to Catiline in Cromwell's Conspiracy, E.1038 (2), (August 1660). International criminals are compared with Cromwell in Hells Higher Court of Justice, E.1087 (6), (London, 1661), where the author apologises that "what we had here / So late in Earnest, should be made a jest" (A2r). Nevertheless it goes on to play out the condemning of Cromwell in the underworld where he is found guiltier than Cardinal Mazarin (C3r). Abuse of sectaries continues in the well-known satire, The Presbyterian Lash (1661) attributed to Francis Kirkman - which could be seen as a mid-point between Interregnum satirical political pamphlets and the satirical modes of the Restoration stage.

30 Henry Neville (attrib.), Shuffling, Cutting, E.983 (9), (London, 1659)

31 P.W. Thomas, Berkenhead, p .212-5.

32 Jonathan Dollimore, Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries (Sussex: Harvester, 1984) pp. 3-4.

33 These uses of the Civil War tend to be suggestive but remain

unsubstantiated and often (as with Dollimore) lend retrospective qualities - usually radicalism - to the Renaissance tragic genre. For examples of such critical uses of the Civil War as resolving the tensions between radicalism and conservatism see Franco Moretti, "The Great Eclipse," in Signs Taken For Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms (1983; rev. London: Verso, 1988), pp. 81-2. Although Moretti says that one cannot in any easy way see the future in Jaobean tragedy (p. 41-2) he ends his article with precisely this suggestion. It is indeed hard to avoid seeing the writings of the 1620s and 1630s through the prism of the Civil War, but recent criticism tends to asert the connection, reading it symptomatically in texts rather than arguing it through in detail in terms of the agency and linguistic uses of contemporaries. Most recently, see Thomas Docherty, On Modern Authority: the Theory and Condition of Writing 1500 to the Present Day (Sussex: Harvester, 1987). Docherty posits the Civil War as a watershed in literary authority or authorisation where death and republicanism replace women as the main threat to masculine authority, but once again leaps over the period between 1630 and 1660. See pp. 48-9, 160.

34 Harold Love, "State Affairs on the Restoration Stage 1660-1675," Restoration and Eighteenth Century Theatre Research, No. 14 (May 1975), pp. 1-22.

Chapter Three. Royalist Versus Republican Ethics: a Comparative Case Study of The Famous Tragedy of Charles I and The Tragedy of the Famous Orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero.

1 The Famous Tragedy of Charles I (1649); The Tragedy of the Famous Orator, Marcus Tullius Cicero (1651).

2 See Gregg, Free-Born John, pp. 263-5 on the illegality of Capel's trial.

3 P.W. Thomas, Berkenhead, suggests the royalist journalists "worked "with considerable difficulty" and "when, as frequently happened, they were

caught their work was taken over by other writer" pp. 150-151. Joseph Frank, Beginnings, pp. 174-175, 193-197.

4 Because of the parodic and intertextual nature of Interregnum journalism (as I suggest about Don M.Wolfe's attribution of pamphlets to Richard Overton) attribution must be tentative. Another possible candidate for the authorship is Samuel Sheppard, because of the play's limited defence of Fairfax. However, it is less sententious than Sheppard's usual style.

5 Joseph Frank, Marchmont Nedham, pp. 56-63. Marchmont Nedham, Digitus Dei is Digitus Dei: or, God's Justice Upon Treachery: . . in the Life and Death of the Late James Duke of Hamilton (London, 1649); Marchmont Nedham, A Most Pithy Exhortation . . . as It Was Took Verbatim in Short Hand (London, 1649).

6 The main arguments for attributing The Famous Tragedy to Marchmont Nedham lie in resemblances of style and verbal echoes between the play and other writings by Nedham, reinforced by the play's reiteration of similar views on topics which Nedham was writing on at the time. Philip C. Dust edited The Levellers Levelled which "Pragmaticus" wrote. Pragmaticus was the name of Nedham's second, royalist, news-sheet and this makes him the probable author of Levellers. Dust notes a piece of internal evidence: "The stanzas of verse that we find at the end of some speeches in Levellers were a kind of hallmark of Nedham's style in the openings of his editorials in Mercurius Pragmaticus," (Philip C. Dust, AEB, 4, Nos. 3 & 4, 1980). This trait is also found throughout The Famous Tragedy. Thus, internal evidence suggests that whoever wrote Levellers wrote The Famous Tragedy and this is reinforced by the way in which each play uses a masque scene with emblematic wicked dramatis personae. In The Famous Tragedy there is a masque of "Treason, Ambition, Lust, Perjury, Sacrilidge, Revenge," and in Levellers the central characters are called "Apostasie, Conspiracie, Treacherie, Democracie, Impietie" (Dust ed, p. 200). Levellers contains the phrase "till King Charles be sent to the invisible land," (I, 195-6) and this is found in The Famous Tragedy, (I, p. 7). In A Plea For the King and Kingdome (30 November 1648) he wrote "the destruction of the King and his posterity," (quoted Frank, Marchamont Nedham, p. 56-7) and in The Famous Tragedy we find the phrase "the Royal Posterity" (Famous, titlepage). In The Famous Tragedy Peters is presented as a whoremonger, as in Levellers,

(II.i, p. 209). Moreover, the Duke of Hamilton was subject to a diatribe by Nedham, and in the final pages of The Famous Tragedy his dead body is blamed for the troubles. In both Levellers and The Famous Tragedy Fairfax is presented as fair-minded (see for instance Levellers, I, 211; V.i.667-71).

Other, more general, resemblences exist such as the way each play is a mixture of fact and fiction. However, these specific echoes suggest strongly that Nedham might have written The Famous Tragedy at some point between January 1649 and 26 May when Thomason acquired his copy. See also Mercurius Pragmaticus (29 August-5th September, 1648).

7 Joseph Frank, Marchmont Nedham, pp. 64-74. Marchmont Nedham, The Case of the Commonwealth Stated (London, 1650).

8 Potter, Secret, p. 101.

9 Christian Jouhaud, "Printing the Event: From La Rochelle to Paris," in The Culture of Print, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), pp. 290-335.

10 Although the siege of Colchester is seen by contemporary historians as an afterpiece to the defeat of the royalist army rather than a decisive battle, to contempo raries it assumed symbolic proportions as is indicated by the publicity it generated. See: A great and bloudy fight, E.456 (11), (August 1648); Colchesters Tears, E.455 (16), (July 13 1648); The Colchester Spie, E.458 (4), (August 11 1648); Mercurius Anglicanus, E. 576 (22), (August 31, 1648); The Moderate Intelligencer, E. 461 (22), (August 24-31, 1648); The Moderate, E.461 (16), (August 22-29, 1648); Another Bloudy Fight, E. 456 (26) (August 21, 1648); Another Great Fight, E.457 (15) (August, 1648); A True . . . Relation . . . Sent in a Letter, E. 461 (24), (August, 1648); A Letter From Sir Marmaduke Langdale, E.457 (20), (August, 1648); A True and Perfect Relation of the Condition, E.462 (16), (Sept 6, 1648); Colchester Surrendered, E.461 (15), (August, 1648); Articles For the Surrender, E.461 (18), (August 29 1648).

11 Sir Charles Lucas His Last Speech, E.462 (20), (London, 1648); Lionel Gatford, England's Complaint, E.461 (27), (August 31 1648) - long at 56pp.; The Triumph of Loyalty, E.463 (3), (August 29 1648); The Cruell Tragedy . . .of Hamar and Shechem, E.462 (30), (August 1648).

12 John Milton, Sonnet XV, "On the Lord General Fairfax at the Siege of Colchester," The Works, I, Pt 1, 64.

13 Edward Chayney, The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985), pp. 56-57.

14 Johann Sommerville, "Oliver Cromwell and English Political Thought," in Cromwell and the English Revolution, ed. John Morrill (Harlow: Longman, 1990), pp. 234-258. John Milton, Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, in The Works, V, 1-59. Subsequent references in text.

15 On royalist drinking see Potter, Secret, pp. 137-143.

16 Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger (1966; rpt. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), pp. 3, 99-100.

17 P.W.Thomas, Berkenhead, p.151.

18 Craftie Cromwell (London, 1648). Thomason's copy dated February 1648.

19 Potter, Revels, p. 287.

20 Andrew Marvell, "An Horatiqn Ode upon Cromwell's Return From Ireland," The Complete Poems, ed. Elizabeth Story Donno (1972; rpt. Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979), pp. 55-58 175-6.

21 See David Norbrook, "Macbeth and the Politics of Historiography," in The Politics of Discourse, ed. Kevin Sharpe & Stephen Zwicker (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 78-116.

22 George Buchanan, Tyranicall Government Anatomized: A Discourse Concerning Evil Counsellors (London, 1643). Ordered to be printed by the Commons. The play explores the insight that the interests of the courtier-counsellor might be different from those of the king, but it can also be read as very critical of rulers and especially of the association of women and power.

23 Zera S.Fink, The Classical Republicans: An Essay in the Recovery of a

Pattern of Thought in Seventeenth Century England (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1945), e.g. pp. 10-27; David Norbrook, "Macbeth and the Politics of Historiography," pp. 81, 84, 91-92. For a complex and comprehensive account of the development of civic republicanism see J.G.A.Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

24 This is also suggested by Francis Peck who attributed the pamphlet to Milton. See Francis Peck, New Memoirs of the Life and Political Works of Mr John Milton (London, 1740), pp. 265-271.

25 Potter, Revels, p. 295.

26 Annabel Patterson, "Pastoral versus Georgic," in Renaissance Genres, ed. Barbar Lewalski (Cambridge Mass,: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 259; Graham Parry, "A Troubled Arcadia," in Literature and the Civil War, ed. Healy & Sawday, pp. 38-55. See also, Patterson, Pastoral and Ideology.

27 Derek Hirst, The Representative of the People? Voters and Voting in England Under the Early Stuarts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), pp.18-23, 44.

28 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, ed. C.B.Macpherson (1651; rpt Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), "Of Commonwealth," Part II chapter 21, p. 267.

29 James Harrington, Oceanea, ed. S.B.Liljegreen (1656; rpt. Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchandlung, 1924), p. 13.

30 See Christopher Hill, The Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (1980; rpt Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp.128-9.

31 Marcus Tullius Cicero, Defence of Milo, quoted by Robert N. Wilkin, "Cicero and the Law of Nature," The Origins of the Natural Law Tradition, ed Arthur L. Harding (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1954), pp. 23-24.

32 Augustus, or an Essay of those Measures and Counsels, Whereby the Commonwealth of Rome was Altered and Reduced into a Monarchy (London,

1632). Attributed to Peter Heylyn. Subsequent references in text.

33 Potter, Revels, p. 295.

34 Quoted in D.R.S.Bailey, Cicero (London: Duckworth, 1971), p. 176. See also pp.276-7; Livy in The Suasoriae of Seneca the Elder, trans. William A.Edward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928). D.R.S. Bailey notes that Plutarch's colourful account of Cicero's death is not particularly reliable whereas Livy gives a factual account.

35 T.R., Cicero's Prince: The Reasons and Counsels for Settlement and Good Government of a Kingdom Collected out of Cicero's Works (London, 1668), A2v.

36 Edward Dacres trans., Nicholas Machiavel's Prince (London, 1640). See also Ronald Hutton, The Restoration (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp.189-90, 285-6.

37 Christopher Wase, Cicero Against Catiline in IV Invective Orations (London, 1671). Subsequent references in text. See also, Christopher Wase, The Electra of Sophocles, presented to Her Highness the Lady Elizabeth, with an Epilogue Shewing the Parallel in Two Poems, the Return and the Restauration (1649).

Coda to Section I: Performance and Pamphlet Drama.

1 After the order of July 17 which included rope dancing in the list of forbidden activities, John Warner, Lord Mayor of London attempted to put down the puppet plays at Bartholomew Fair. See the ballad, "The Dagonizing of Bartholomew Fair," in Hyder S.Rollins, SP, No. 18 (1921), pp. 280-283.

2 Louis B.Wright, Huntington Library Bulletin (1934), pp. 73-112.

3 On drolls see Hotson, pp.45-9.

4 Butler, pp. 240-247.

5 The Arraignment, Conviction and Imprisonment of Christmas, E.315 (12), (1646). Hotson notes that the players were acting again in 1647 though there is no information for 1646. Hotson, p. 124.

6 James Wright, Historia Histrionica, p. 12. Hotson records evidence of playing around Christmas 1648 - playing began again on January 1 when the ordinance of 16 July 1647 expired and in December and January 1649 measures were once again taken against the stage. Hotson, pp. 26-7, 46-7.

7 A New Fiction, E.1088 (3), (London, April 1661). Thanks to David Bond for generously bringing this text to my attention.

8 See for example Mercurius Poeticus, St. George and the Dragon Anglice, 669.f.23 (66), (February, 1659); St George For England, C.40.m.11, (1659).

9 Alex Helm, "In comes I, St George," Folklore, No. 76 (Summer 1965), pp. 18-137, p. 121. E.K.Chambers, The English Folk-Play (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933), p. 183-4. Margaret Spufford, Small, p. 253.

10 Laurence Prince, A New Dialogue Between Dick of Kent and Wat the Welchman, E.487 (4), (1654).

11 A Bartholomew Fairing, E.565 (6) (August 1649).

Chapter Four. "She-politics" and Adamic Kings: Parliament and the Female Body as a Trope in Drama of the Civil War and Commonwealth.

1 The Life and Death of Mrs Mary Frith, Commonly Called Mal Cutpurse (London, 1662), See A2v-A4r, p.100. For further and earlier examples of the significance of the female body as portent see Ambroise Paré, The Workes of the Famous Chirurgion Ambroise Parey, trans. Th.Johnson (London: 1634), p.962.

2 Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), pp. 125, 128-9.

3 Tim Harris, "The Problem of 'Popular Political Culture' in Seventeenth-Century London," History of European Ideas, 10, No. 1 (1989), 43-58, esp., 43-44. Patrick Collinson also elucidates the term "people" in relationship to "popular" puritan and protestant polemic. Collinson, Religion of Protestants, p. 190-193.

4 Schochet, Patriarchalism, p. 159.

5 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 81.

6 Dudley Digges defended monarchy, but not on patriarchal grounds, arguing in response to Henry Parker that the king is the essential element in government because "the two Houses have not the power of making Lawes . . . without him." An Answer to a Printed Book (Oxford, 1642), p. 23. However, John Spelman argued, "Domesticall government is the very Image and modell of Sovereignty in a Common-weale," see John Spelman, A View of a Printed Book (Oxford, 1642), p. 9.

7 Charles Herle, An Answer to Doctor Ferne's Reply, Entitled Conscience Satisfied (London, 1643), p. 16-17.

8 Henry Parker, Jus Populi, E.12 (25), (London, 1644).

9 Henry Parker, Observations, in Tracts on Liberty, II, 174. Subsequent references in text.

10 Sir Robert Filmer, The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy and The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings, in Patriarcha and Other Political Works of Sir Robert Filmer, ed. Peter Laslett (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949).

11 Schochet quotes John Swan, Redde Debitum: or, a Discourse in Defence of Three Chief Fatherhoods (London, 1640), p. 5-6.

12 Schochet, p.100.

13 Robert Filmer, Patriarcha, p. 62. Subsequent references in text.

14 See Sir Robert Filmer, Patriarcha and Other Works, ed. Johann Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. xii.

15 Luce Irigaray, This Sex Which is Not One, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke (1977; Cornell U.P., New York, 1985), pp. 170-191; Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in Towards an Anthropology of Women, ed. Rayna B.Reiter (Monthly Review Press: New York, 1975), p. 157-210.

16 Neil Hertz, "Medu sa's Head: Male Hysteria under Political Pressure," Representations, 1, No. 4 (Fall 1983), 27-55, 27.

17 Katherine Park & Lorraine J.Daston, "Unnatural conceptions: the study of monsters in France and England," Past & Present, No. 92 (1981), pp. 20-54. Park and Daston also suggest that the trope of the monster traverses discourses and moves between high and low (p.22).

18 See enclosed article, Susan Wiseman, "'Adam, the Father of all Flesh,' Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War," Prose Studies, 14, No. 3 (Dec 1991), 134-157.

19 Thomas More, Utopia (1516; trans. 1551; rpt Dent: London, 1951), p. 100.

20 The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament (London, 1642). See also The Virgins Complaints for the Losse of Sweet-Hearts (London, 1642); The Humble Petition of Many Thousands of Wives and Matrons of the City of London (London, 1643); The Maids Petition (London, 1647). Examples of attacks on women preachers include, for example, A Spirit Moving in the Women-Preachers (London, 1646); Spirituall Whoredom Discovered (1647). It is hard to know what relation print culture bears to the position of women but ambivalence to women's political agency motivates many mid-century satires. See Ja. Stron Batchelour, Joanereidos: Or, Feminine Valour Eminently Discovered in Westerne Women (1645), using satirical double entendre to present women as Amazonian supporters of parliament, "some carrying powder, others charging of Peeces to ease the souldiers" (A1r). See also the numerous parliaments of women, of several

different political perspectives: The Parliament of Women (see pamphlets 1646, 1656, 1684); The Parliament of Ladies (1647); An Exact Diurnal (1647); The Ladies Parliament (1647); The Ladies a Second Time (1647); Hey Hoe For a Husband (1647); News From the New Exchange (1650). See Neville, Henry in "Works Consulted."

21 Peter Sterry, The Naked Woman: or a Rare Epistle (London, 1652).

22 Antibrownistus Puritanomastix, Three Speeches, (London, 1642) rpt. in Images of English Puritanism, ed. Lawrence A. Sasek (Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), pp. 300-315. The presence of one of these speeches - that of the warden - in the collection of purely theological pamphlets (now at Blickling Hall, Norfolk) reinforces my point about the cross-over between readerships for serious and scurrilous pamphlets. See also Samuel Sheppard, Joviall Crew, E.621 (5), pp. 4-5, 13-15.

23 A Brief Dialogue Between a Zelotopist one of the Daughters of a Zealous Round-head, and Superstition, a Holy Fryer, newly come out of France (1642).

24 A Brief Dialogue, A2v

25 Mistress Parliament Brought to Bed, ed. Lois Potter, AEB, NS 1, No 3, (1987), p. 111. See also Mistris Parliament Presented in Her Bed; Mistris Parliament Her Gossiping; Mistris Parliament Her Invitation; ed. Lois Potter in AEB, NS 1, pp. 101-171. Subsequent references to the plays in the text. For the pervasiveness of the metaphor of monstrous birth in association with parliament see for example in May 1653 in "an intercepted letter": "Our council of state is in very hard labour . . . . It would be easie enough to stifle the child in the birth." John Thurloe, A Collection of State Papers, 7 vols, ed Thomas Birch (London, 1742), I, 249.

26 See also Potter AEB, pp. 111, 131, 145.

27. Potter AEB, p. 111.

28. Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (1965; rpt. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), p. 5-35. Critics have

rightly seen Bakhtin's idea of carnival as utopian. Useful criticisms of this aspect of his theory are found in Mary Russo, "Female Grotesques: carnival and Theory," in Feminist Studies / Critical Studies, ed. Teresa de Lauretis (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 213-229; Peter Stallybrass & Allon White, The Politics and Poetics of Transgression (Methuen: London, 1986), pp. 2-26.

29 Bakhtin, Rabelais, p. 319.

30 Bakhtin, Rabelais, pp. 5-8, 21-22 on ambivalence in carnival laughter. Bakhtin's commentary at this point appears to extend beyond medieval carnival to describe a universal potential (not practice) of laughter.

31 On theories of maternal influence on the foetus see Park & Daston, Past and Present; Neil Hertz, Representations; Ambroise Paré, The Workes, pp. 971-982, & Ch. 7, "Of monsters which take their cause . . . by imagination."

32 George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, Metaphors We Live By (University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1980), p.10. See also George Lakoff, Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind (Chicago & London: Chicago University Press, 1987).

33 A New Marriage Between Mr. King and Mrs. Parliament (1648). Subsequent references in text.

34 The Disease of the House (London, 1649); John Tatham, The Rump, (London, 1659 & 1660); The Cuckoo's Nest at Westminster (London, 1648).

35 See Mris. Rump Brought to Bed Of A Monster (London, 1660), and The Famous Tragedy of the Life and Death of Mistress Rump (1660), which seem to be influenced by the first of the Mistris Parliament plays. See also Lois Potter in her introduction to the plays AEB, p. 115.

36 See Dianne Dugaw, Amazons and Warrior Women in Popular Balladry 1650-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 17.

37 A Dialogue Between Mistress Macquerella, a Suburb Bawd, Ms Scolopendra, a noted Curtezan, and Mr. Pimpinello an Usher &c. (London,

1650). Subsequent references in text.

38 John Ogilby, The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II in his Pasage through the City of London to his Coronation, 2nd ed. (London, 1662), p. 13.

Chapter Five. Gender and Status in Dramatic Discourse; Margaret Cavendish Duchess of Newcastle

Thanks to Helen Hackett who ran the "Women, Text and History 1500-1750," in Oxford in 1988 at which this chapter was given as a paper.

1 Margaret Cavendish, Playes (London, 1662), A15r. Subsequent references in text. The distinction between Cavendish's insistence on the relationship of theatre with aristocratic status and her husband's interest in popular theatre is signalled by the fact that during the interregnum he also theorised about the restoration of the theatre. He wrote to Charles Stuart advocating the restoration of public and more "popular" theatres and festivities. See S.Arthur Strong, A Catalogue of Letters . . . Exhibited in the Library at Welbeck (London: John Murray, 1903), pp. 226-227. See also Douglas Grant, Margaret the First (London: Rupert Hart-Davies, 1957), pp. 149-150.

2 Caroline Neely, "Constructing the subject: feminist practice and the new Renaissance discourses," English Literary Renaissance, 18, No. 1 (Winter 1988), 4-22, esp. 5. Neely notes this incidentally in an argument primarily concerned with other issues. For an exploration of the problem of interpellation versus agency in the category "woman" see Denise Riley, 'Am I that name?' (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), pp. 1, 10-11.

3 Catherine Gallagher aims to link Cavendish's "singularity" to a political and implicitly psychoanalytic figure of relations based on those of monarch/subject. However the equation between an "absolute" monarch and an "absolute" subject can only be problematically resolved through the use of

the linking term "absolute" where "absolute" is both a political and a psychoanalytic term. See "Embracing the Absolute: the Politics of the Female Subject in Seventeenth-Century England," Genders, No. 1 (Spring 1988), pp. 24-39.

4 Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, ed. R.C.Latham & W. Matthews, (London: G.Bell & Sons, 1974), VIII, 242-4. See also Grant, Margaret the First, pp. 15-19.

5 The Letters of Dorothy Osborne, ed. G.C.Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 37, 41; The Diary of John Evelyn, ed. E.S. de Beer, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), III, 481.

6 Letter from Charles North to his father, April 13, 1667. Bodley Ms. North c.4.fol 146. Thanks to Professor Robert Jordan.

7 See for example Jacqueline Pearson, The Prostituted Muse (Sussex: Harvester, 1988) and the recent biography by Kathleen Jones, A Glorious Fame (London: Bloomsbury, 1988).

8 Sara Heller Mendelson, The Mental World of Stuart Women (Sussex: Harvester, 1987), pp. 5-6.

9 Natalie Zemon Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," Feminist Studies, 3/4 (Winter 1975/6), quoted in Joan Kelly, "The Social Relations of the Sexes," in Women, History and Theory (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p. 9.

10 Playes, (1662), A2r. Grant, Margaret the First, p. 161.

11 Thomas Killigrew, see for example Thomaso, or, The Wanderer and Bellamira and his Comedies and Tragedies (London, 1664).

12 Two-part pamphlet plays include The Committee Man Curried (London, 1647), New-Market Fayre (1649).

13 See Clifford Leech, "Private Performances and Amateur Theatricals (Excluding the Academic Stage) From 1580 to 1660. With an Edition of

'Raguaillo d'Oceano,' 1640," Diss. University of London 1935, pp. 363-366.

14 Richard Luckett, "Music," in The Diary of Samuel Pepys, X, 258-82, 263.

15 The Concealed Fansy es, ed Nathan Comfort Starr in PMLA, No. 156 (1931), pp. 802-838. Ms Bodl. Rawlinson poet. 16. "A Pastorall" See Bodl. Rawlinson poet. 16. fol 49, 50 for the sister's dedications of the "Pastorall" to their father. Jane Cavendish writes, "Now let my language speake, & say / If you be pleas'd I have my pay." fol 49, and Elizabeth Brackley echoes the dedication and the figure of submitting the work to Newcastle's "judgements of pure wit" fol 50. Subsequent references in text.

16. Sandra A. Burner, James Shirley: A Study of Literary Coteries and Patronage in Seventeenth Century England (New York & London: University Press of America, 1988), p. 146-7.

17 "Of Tranquillity," Poems, or Several Fancies (London, 1668), p. 139.

18 HMC: Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part VII: The Manuscripts of S.H. Le Fleming (London, 1890), pp. 20-21.

19 Cupid's Banishment, ed. C.E. McGee, Renaissance Drama, No. 19 (1988), pp. 226-264. For a further analysis of the problematic status of women as masque performers in the pre-1642 masques see Suzanne Gossett, "'Man-maid begone!' Women in Masques," ELR, 18, No. 1 (Winter 1988), 96-113. On women acting in schools see also Eric Walter White, The Rise of English Opera (London: John Lehmann, 1951), p. 41.

20 See for example Cavendish's The Blazing World (London, 1668).

21 Playes, 1662, A3r-B1v. Cavendish's various introductions to her plays contain a number of defences of her writing.

22 Elaine Hobby's suggestion that the scenes are for the reader to "act out" can be used to point towards the question of the subject positions in the reading of plays. See Elaine Hobby, Virtue of Necessity (London: Virago, 1988) pp. 110-111.

23 Denise Riley, 'Am I that name?', p. 25. See The Female Academy (Playes, 1662), pp. 652-679.

24 Poems, or Several Fancies (London, 1668), frontispiece.

25 Thus her plays provide material fo a reader - especially a female reader - to elaborate in fantasy. Sigmund Freud provides the seminal work on the pleasure of fantasy in his account of the multiple and unspecified position of the fantasist in the fantasy. See "'A Child is Being Beaten' a Contribution to the Study of the Origins of Sexual Perversions," Works, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), XVII, 175-204.

26 Poems, p. 131. Cavendish does not write with any consistent attitude or programme about war. In some ways like the relationship between femininity and power the question of war splits her texts, in this case the division might be characterised as between a royalist voice and a pragmatic voice both of which are at moments endorsed.

27 Margaret Cavendish, Sociable Letters (London, 1664), pp. 406-7. Subsequent references in text. Thanks to Sophie Tomlinson for discussing this with me.

28 Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare (Sussex: Harvester, 1983), p. 31. Recent articles on pre-war significances of gender and cross-dressing include Laura Levine, "Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization from 1579 to 1642," Criticism, 28, No. 2 (1986), 121-143; Phyllis Rackin, "Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage," PMLA, No. 102 (1987), pp. 29-41; Kathleen McLuskie, "The Act, the Role, and the Actor: Boy Actresses on the Elizabethan Stage," New Theatre Quarterly, 3, No. 10 (1987), 120-130.

My argument is that Cavendish's plays from the 1650s-1660s were published in a reading context and therefore can (and do) foreground gender transformations in such a way as to supply a reader with a number of potential, alternative or contradictory, pleasures around deciding the gender of actors. However, in this respect, The Convent of Pleasure seems to be a very different case from Love's Adventures and the role of cross-dressing and disguise would appear to change according to acting ethos

(private or public?) and the way in which each material instance discursively reworks codes already present.

29 Kathleen McLuskie, "The Act, the Role," p. 124.

30 Ann Rosalind Jones, "Nets and Bridles: Early Modern Conduct Books and Sixteenth Century Women's Lyrics," in The Ideology of Conduct, ed. Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 39-72, 44.

31 See Sherry B.Ortner, "Gender and Sexuality in Hierarchical Societies: the Case of Polynesia and Some Comparative Implications," in Sexual Meanings: the Cultural Construcion of Gender and Sexuality, ed. Sherry Ort ner and Harriet Whitehead (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 359.

32 See for example, Kissing the Rod, ed. Germaine Greer et al. (London: Virago, 1988), p. 1. The editing of women's writing from the seventeenth century in Kissing the Rod is incalculably valuable, as are individual sections on each writer; however the introductory characterisation of women poets as trying "to storm the highest bastion of the cultural establishment, . . all guerrilleras, untrained, ill-equipped, isolated and vulnerable," (p. 1) disturbingly dehistoricises the problems, aims and conditions of early modern cultural production.

33 Diana H.Coole, Women in Political Theory (Sussex: Harvester, 1988), pp. 71-84. See also Schochet, Patriarchalism, pp. 158-165 et seq.

34 Margaret Ezell, The Patriarch's Wife (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 2-4. Ezell is right to point to the difficulty in mapping dominant discourse on to subjective experience (as "revealed" equally problematically in texts).

35 Brian Manning, The English People and the English Revolution (London: Heinemann, 1976), p. 229.

36 Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, The History of the Great Rebellion, ed W.D.Macray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), III, 381. Clarendon notes that "nothing could have tempted him out of the paths of pleasure . . . but honour, and ambition to serve the king."

37 Ann Rosalind Jones, "Surprising Fame: Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Women's Lyric," in The Poetics of Gender, ed. Nancy K. Miller (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp. 74-96, 80.

38 Margaret Cavendish, The Worlds Olio (London, 1655), p. 41.

39 Elizabeth Poole, An Alarum of Warre, E.555 (23), (1648), pp. 5-6. See also S.D.Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order 1560-1725," in Order and Disorder in Early Modern England, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 199.

40 Catherine Gallagher, Genders, pp. 24-33.

41 For example, she asserts that an usurper is likely to be a better governor than an hereditary prince because:

> A Prince that is born to a just title becomes carelesse, as thinking his rights to his Crown, is sufficient warrant or bon for the loyalty of his Subjects which makes him trust the conduct of his greatest affaires to those he favours most . . . . wheras an usurper dares trust none but himself which makes him more wise in governing . . . .
> The Worlds Olio, p. 48.

This, for a moment, contradicts the monarchist ideologies so often central to her texts.

42 Margaret Cavendish, The Worlds Olio, A4r.

43 Margaret Cavendish, Bell in Campo, in Playes (London, 1662).

44 Thanks to Sophie Tomlinson for this suggestion.

45 Kathleen Jones, A Glorious Fame, p. 90.

46 Margaret Cavendish, The Matrimonial Trouble, in Playes (London, 1662), I.ii, p. 424. See also the representation of citizens wives in The Convent of Pleasure, in Playes Never Before Printed (London, 1668), III.vi..

47 Sara Heller Mendelson, Mental World of Stuart Women, p. 5

48 Margaret Cavendish, The Presence, in Playes, Never Before Printed (London, 1668).

49 S.D. Amussen, "Gender, Family and the Social Order," p. 216; Anthony Fletcher, Reform in the Provinces: the Government of Stuart England, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 357.

Chapter Six. Royal or Reformed? the Politics of Court Entertainment in Translation and Performance.

1 G.Reinhard Pauley, Music and the Theatre (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970), pp. 66-69. This gives basic information on aria and recitative. Curtis Alexander Price, Henury Purcell and the London Stage (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) identifies the differences between English and European operatic traditions.

2 Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, ed. Wilbur Cortez Abbott (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1937-1947), 4vols, III, 434-443, 454.

3 Hotson, p.54-6; The Faithfull Scout (24 Feb- 3 March, 1654); Kingdoms Weekly Intelligencer, E.821 (13), (26 Dec-2 Jan, 1654); Daniel Fleming, HMC Report 12, app. pt. 7 p. 22.

4 Giovanno Sagredo, CSP Venetian, p.165 and pp. 138, 312.

5 I have attempted to trace records of who paid for Cupid and Death, and who commissioned it. The P.R.O. have rather diffuse records for 1653. There is no information in the Commonwealth Exchequer Papers, P.R.O./S.P.28,354, nor in the Auditor's Books, P.R.O./E.404, 157; nor in State Papers Portugal, P.R.O./S.P.89,4 (though S.P.89,4, 132, 134, do refer to the visit of the Portugese ambassador).

6 The Court Secret was published in Six New Plays (London, 1653).

7 Murray Lefkowitz, William Lawes (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), p. 205.

8 James Shirley, The Bird in a Cage (London, 1633). As Clifford Leech notes, this dedication was "ironic." See Clifford Leech ed. The Triumph of Peace in A Book of Masques (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 278.

9 Walter Montagu, The Shepherd's Paradise (1659); William Prynne, HistrioMastix.

10 William Prynn His Defence of Stage Playes.

11 Lefkowitz, Lawes, p. 211.

12 Lefkowitz, Lawes, p. 213.

13 See Clifford Leech, A Book of Masques, p. 306; also, Walter Greg, "The Triumph of Peace: A Bibliographer's Nightmare," The Library, Ser.5, No. 1 (1946), pp. 113-126.

14 Martin Butler, "Politics and the Masque: The Triumph of Peace in The Seventeenth Century 2, No. 2 (1987), 117-141.

15 A Book of Masques p. 206.

16 The Triumph of Peace in A Book of Masques, p. 284. Subsequent references in text.

17 For a reading of the masque as a peace-keeping influence see Kevin Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment, pp. 260-264. He extends this right up to the outbreak of Civil War and argues that the masque processin for The Triumph of Peace was "a combination of public carnival and royal entertainment" (p. 220). Surely the first part of this assertion is mistaken. On the audience in the street see Martin Butler, "Politics and the Masque," p. 127, 136. As my analysis makes clear, I think we can develop Martin Butler's sense of the audience in the street as "curious." Shown merely the costumes, it is certainly questionable whether the masque communicated with what he calls the "plebeian audience," in any meaningful

way. The procession of the figures through the streets must have been a colourful spectacle of political dealings, and the presence of the military guard in that procession serves very deliberatly to place the bystanders as observers not of ceremonies but of the outward show that signals that the ceremony exists. They are only in part an audience, indeed, the way the parade was designed to pass in front of them before reaching its destination indeed made their presence, for the masquers, part of the spectacle.

18 The debate on The Cruell Warre may be found in the following articles: The Tragedy of the Cruell Warre, published in Jean Fuzier, "English political dialogues 1641 - 1651: a suggestion for research with a critical edition of The Tragedy of the Cruell Warre (1643)," Cahiers Elisabethains, No. 14 (October 1978), pp. 49-68. See also, Jean Jacquot, "Une parodie du Triumph of Peace, masque de James Shirley: note sur l'edition par J.Fuzier, de The Tragedy of the Cruell Warre," Cahiers Elisabethains, No. 15, (April 1979), pp. 77-80.

19 For a summary of activities in 1643, from Turnham Green to Pym's death see Derek Hirst, Authority and Conflict, pp. 234-241.

20 The Cruell Warre in Cahiers Elizabethains, No 14, A3r. Subsequent references in text.

21. George Bas, "More About the Anonymous Tragedy of the Cruell Warre and James Shirley's Triumph of Peace," Cahiers Elisabethains, No. 17, (April 1980), pp. 43-57, p.53. However, George Bas's mistaken association of puritanism with an opposition to plays in any form appears to prevent him from reading The Cruell Warre as both a parody and as a document with an overt and self-conscious political position, promulgated within the very forms of the particular text it subverts. Bas suggests Bulstrode Whitelocke as a possible author, p. 53.

22 Ruth Spalding, The Improbable Puritan: A Life of Bulstrode Whitelocke (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), p. 100.

23 See George Bas, Cahiers, 17, pp. 4-6.

24 See for example Derek Hirst, Authority and Conflict, p. 237.

25 King's Cabinet Opened (1645).

26 Of course, The Triumph of Peace is not unusual in suggesting that beggars live well and in seeing this as a contributory factor to social instability and unrest.

27 James Shirley, Cupid and Death, ed. B.A. Harris in A Book Of Masques, pp. 371-405. See also John Ogilby, The Fables of Aesop Paraphras'd in Verse and adorned with Sculpture" (London 1651). The illustrations which may well have influenced Cupid and Death are opp. p. 41 " Of an Aegyptian King and his Apes." That both Davenant and Shirley wrote prefatory verses to this volume, in Davenant's case from the Tower, provides another link in the web of connections between Davenant, Shirley, and the government. See also, The Contention of Ajax (London, 1653) and Dent, Opera who claims that this was also performed during the Commonwealth. Dent, p. 54.

28 Allan H. Stevenson, "James Shirley and the Actors at the First Irish Theatre," Modern Philology, 40, No. 2 (1942), 147-160; "Shirley's Years in Ireland," Review of English Studies, No. 20 (1944), pp. 19-28; Marvin Morillo, "Shirley's 'Preferment' and the court of Charles I," Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 1 (1960), pp. 101-117.

29 Cupid and Death, p. 337. Subsequent references in text. See also Eric Walter White, A History of English Opera, p. 60.

30 Wayne H.Phelps, "Cosmo Manuche, Royalist Playwright of the Commonwealth," English Language Notes, 16, No. 3 (1979), 207-211.

31 R.G.Howarth, TLS, 15 Nov 1934.

32 Cp. Edward Dent p. 85. He emphasises the resemblance between Cupid and Death and the masque form.

33 See A.B.Harris, Cupid and Death, p.403.

34 Bulstrode Whitelocke recorded the masques and entertainments of Queen

Christina of Sweden which he attended. See Journal of the Swedish Ambassy 1653-1654 (London, 1772), I, 304-305, 437-438 (dancing), pp. 420, 431 (music); 2, 52-53 (masque). The timing of Whitelocke's departure for Sweden would appear to preclude direct involvement in Cupid and Death, though his continued interest in entertainment is attested by his reports from the Swedish court. He even took the preacher Ingelo to Sweden with him, Ingelo having been previously thrown out of his living in Bristol for "his Flaunting apparell" and for "his being given so much to Musick not only at his owne house, but at houses of entertainment out of Towne." See Records of a Church in Bristol 1640-1687, in Bristol Record Society Publications, 27, (1974), p. 102. I am grateful to Dr Jonathan Barry for bringing this document to my attention. The continued involvement of Whitelocke in theatre before and after the War signals to us once more that the old division between philistine Puritan and cultured Cavalier is in itself a myth perpetuated by monarchist history and historiography, though it also illuminates the intense debates about music and the effects of the arts within puritan culture, as does the career of Whitelocke in relation to the theatre. There were real conflicts, but not ones amenable to simplistic analysis as cavalier versus puritan. On the appointment of the Master of Revels at the Inner Temple in the 1650s, see Nethercot, p. 299.

35 David Norbrook, "The Masque of Truth: Court Entertainments and International Protestant Politics in the Early Stuart Period," The Seventeenth Century, 1, No. 2 (1986), 82-110. See 100.

36 The Complete Poems of Joseph Beaumont, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (Edinbr^gh: Edinburgh University Press, 1880), II, 146. Nicholas José, Ideas of the Restoration in English Literature, 1660-1700 (London: Macmillan, 1984), p. 2-6, also discusses the spectacle of Charles II's return.

37 Derek Hirst, "The Lord Protector, 1653-1658," in Cromwell, ed. John Morrill, pp. 119-148.

38 As Warren Chernaik notes, writers from a wide range of political opinions were brought to accept Cromwell. He includes James Harrington, Oceanea as well as Marvell's "First Anniversary" and Waller's Panegyrick. See Chernaik, The Poetry of Limitation: A Study of Edmund Waller (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 156-157.

39 Edmund Waller, A Panegrick To My Lord Protector (London, 1655), p .3.

40 Panegyrick, p. 6.

41 Chernaik, p. 154-5; Panegyrick, p. 8.

42 Panegyrick, p. 3.

43 James Howell, The Nuptialls of Peleus and Thetis: Consisting of a Mask and a Comedy, or the Great Royall Ball (London: Henry Herringman, 1654). Trans. from Caprioli. See Loewenburg, col. 31. Howell probably also wrote the dialogue, A Discourse or Parley Continued Between Patricus and Peregrine Touching the Civill Wars of England and Ireland, E.61 (140, (1643). See Denis Arnold, Monteverdi (1963; rpt. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1975), p. 17. Nuptialls was collected by Thomason in May 1654. Earlier in May Howell had published a royalist elegy on the Duke of Dorset in Ah, Ha, Tumulus, Thalamus, E.228 (1), (1654).

44 Alfred Loewenburg, Annals of Opera 1597-1940, 2nd rev. ed. (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1955), column 120. Loewenburg notes a letter from the singer Antonio Melani to his protector Prince Mattais de Medici indicating that an unknown opera was performed at the Palais Royale in February or March 1645. See column 20.

45 Loewenburg, column 23.

46 Loewenburg, column 25.

47 Loewenburg, column 24. For example John Evelyn saw Rovetta's Ercole in Lida at the Venice carnival in 1645.

48 Loewenburg, column 27, Zamponi's Ulisse all' Isola di Circe.

49 Eugene Haun, Hark More Harmony (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). Haun groups Thomas Jordan's Fancys Festivals and The Sun's Darling with the pieces discussed in this chapter arguing that "there is no way of accounting for the reprinting of these old pieces except on the basis of public demand" (p.65). He suggests that such pieces were "published because

this was the kind of drama the English public wanted at this period, even if they could only obtain it in printed form."(p. 66). Certainly, Jordan appears to have continued working bur not in a courtly context (see Chapter Eight), and republication of dramatic texts was both continuos and politicised throughout the Interegnum. See Louis B. Wright, " Reading of Plays," Huntington Library Bulletin.

50 See Philip Knachel, England and the Fronde (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967). A French ballet du cour was actually performed in London in 1660 celebrating the peace in England as boding better relations between France and Spain La Balet de la Paix (London, 1660).

51 Annabel Patterson, "The Very Name of the Game," in Healy & Sawday ed., p.21.

52 Michel Pêcheux, Language, Semantics, and Ideology, trans. Harbans Nagpal (London: Macmillan, 1982), p. 111

53 Michel Pêcheux, Language, Semantics and Ideology, p.111

54 Haun is unqualified in his support for Ariadne, Hark, p. 48.

55 Richard Flecknoe, Ariadne Deserted by Theseus and Found and Courted by Bacchus (London, 1654), "A Dramatick Piece Apted for Recitative Music." Subsequent references in text.

56 John Dryden, "Of Heroique Playes," prefatory to The Conquest of Granada, in The Works of John Dryden, ed. H.T. Swedenberg Jr, George R.Guffey, Alan Roper (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956-1979), XI.

57 See Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power, pp. 9-20.

58 William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle in a prefatory poem to Richard Flecknoe's A Relation of Ten Years Travels (London, 1654), A4r.

59 Other operas by Monteverdi were performed in 1641. See Denis Arnold, Monteverdi, pp. 18-22, 46-48.

60 Richard Flecknoe, Loves Dominion, (London, 1654), "A dramatique Piece, Full of Excellent Moralitie."

61 On literary travel in the 1640s and 1650s see Edward Chayney, The Grand Tour. On Flecknoe, pp. 344-349.

62 Richard Flecknoe, The Idea of His Highness Oliver Late Protector &c (London, 1659).

63 Richard Flecknoe, The Marriage of Oceanus and Brittania (1659), "An Allegorical Fiction really discovering Englands Riches, Glory and Puissance by Sea." Subsequent references in text.

Chapter Seven. National Identity, Topic and Genre in Davenant's Interregnum Opera.

1 Oliver Cromwell, Speech at the opening of Parliament, September 17, 1656, Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, IV, 261. As early as summer 1654 Thomas Gage had told Cromwell that the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, even Central America, were ripe for reconquest. See S.R. Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate (London: Longmans, Green, 1894-1901), III, 346. Thomas Gage's The English-American his Travail by Sea and Land: or, a new Survey of the West Indias (London, 1648) was dedicated to Thomas Fairfax and encouraged an attempted reconquest of the West Indies. The dedication attacked the Spanish (A4r) and argued that the attempt was not as difficult as might be imagined (A3v). The book was reissued in 1655.

2 Pecheaux, Language, Semantics, p. 111

3 For an example of a critic who takes it for granted that Davenant can be considered unproblematically as a "royalist" throughout the Interregnum see Alfred Harbage, Sir William Davenant Poet Venturer 1606-1668 (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1935). In his comment on

The First Day's Entertainment Harbage makes it clear that he thinks of Davenant's Protectorate opera as entertainment by a royalist for others. He writes: "the price of admission was really an assessment. Most of the Royalists were now back in London, starving for entertainment, and Davenant gave it to them" (p. 123, and see also pp. 124-6). While this projected audience may be right in part Harbage ignores the circumstances of the opera's performance - the government would hardly be planning entertainment for disaffected roylists. He also writes of the playwrights' "guerilla campaign" for theatre, taking no account Davenant's connections with the agents of the Protectorate (p. 126). Although Harbage has scrupulously gathered information concerning Davenant's negotiations with the Protectorate (he even notes the "propagandist" nature of The Cruelty of the Spaniards, p. 126) he continually implies that Davenant worked all the time as a covert royalist who had "bearded the lion" (p. 130).

Examples of other writers who take Davenant's work as unproblematically "royalist" or "cavalier" are manifold, but the source of these ideas lies in the pioneering scholarly work on Interregnum drama from the 1930s. See Arthur H.Nethercot, Sir William Davenant (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938); Alfred Harbage, Cavalier Drama. This work has been followed by Patrick Joseph Canavan, "A Study of English Drama as a Reflection of Stuart Politics," Diss. University of Southern California 1950; Mary-Joe Purcell, "Political-Historical Bearings in Original Interregnum Drama 1649-1660," Diss. University of Missouri 1959. More long studies treating Davenant's Interrregnum drama as simply "royalist" preludes to the Restoration include John William Bernet, "Toward the Restoration Heroic Play: the Evolution of Davenant's Serious Drama," Diss. Stanford University 1969; Mary Edmond, Rare Sir William Davenant (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987). This last gives the most recent summary of Davenant's Interregnum career (pp. 121-139) but perpetuates assumptions about Davenant's "royalism" which sit uneasily with the political and theatrical circumstances of the mid 1650s when the Restoration could not be foreseen. See pp. 122-123, 130-133.

4 For example, Edmond calls the inauguration of opera "a subtle first step towards nothing less than the introduction of operatic drama (and ultimately drama proper) on the London stage," the implications that he fostered a clever royalist plan to reintroduce theatre cannot be sustained once one takes into account Davenant's contact with the Protectorate

government and his furthering of their interests. Edmond, p. 122.

5 Christopher Hill, God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 190.

6 E.g. Eric Walter White, The Rise of English Opera, pp. 29-30.

7 Edmond, pp. 75-76. Davenant was in the Tower 1650-52, finally released 1654.

8 Asserted, for example, by Edmond, p. 122. On Thurloe see Nethercot, pp. 295-6, 322, 331; Hotson, p. 150. See State Papers of John Thurloe, VIII, 544. CSPD 1655-6, p. 396.

9 The Ordinance of 11 February 1647/8 speaks of plays in terms of morality and social control as "condemned by ancient Heathens and much less to be tolerated among Professors of the Christain Religion," and "the occas: ion of many and sundry great vices and disorders." Charles Firth and S.Rait ed. Acts and Ordinances, I, 1070-1071. See also Hyder Rollins, "The Commonwealth Drama: Miscellaneous Notes," SP, 18 (1921), pp. 267-333; "The Commonwealth Drama," SP, 20 (1923), pp. 52-69; Hotson, pp. 46-51, 118.

10 Salmacida Spolia (London, 1640) was presented by the King and Queen on 21 January 1640 and demonstrates the banishment of Discord by the "secret power" of the King (Blr). See Martin Butler, "Politics and the masque: Salmacida Spolia," in Literature and the Civil War, ed. Healy & Sawday, pp. 59-74. Butler argues for the masque's part in articulating the discontinuous and contradictory currents of court politics, adding to, particularising and (because he looks very closely at who was dancing in the masque and why) challenging Stephen Orgel's view of the masque as a theatricalisation of power at court (expressed most succinctly in The Illusion of Power). Butler shifts the emphasis from masque as a theatre of power to the local politics of attempted reconciliation and criticism of Charles I within the court. He sees Salmacida Spolia as participating in the contradictory politics of the crisis and as registering the widening ideological splits. Peripherally, it also serves to show that Davenant's court career was interwoven with political conflict and that, court dramatist though he was, Davenant must have been aware of the conflicts

within the court on the eve of civil war. See also R.Malcolm Smuts, "The Political Failure of Stuart Cultural Patronage," in Patronage in the Renaissance, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle & Stephen Orgel (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 165-206.

Davenant's masques used elaborate and significant scenery. Brittannia Triumphans (163[illegible]), for example, was described as "By Inigo Jones, Surveyor of His Majesties workes, and William Davenant her Majesties servant." Davenant's first collaboration with Jones, The Temple of Love, presented by the Queen and her ladies, Shrove Tuesday 1635 (London, 1635), uses a proscenium arch and scenery of the kind Davenant uses in The Cruelty of The Spaniards in Peru. However, Dent notes that the musical accompaniment to this masque serves no dramatic function, which is a signal difference between masque and opera which used recitative, though it also points to the separation and isolation of the various elements of dramatic spectacle in Davenant's work which is repeated in the interregnum dramas. See Edward Dent, Foundations of English Opera, p. 40.

For the debate on masque see also Roy Strong, Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theatre of Power (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1973), for more local and detailed studies see The Court Masque ed. David Lindley (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), and Patronage in the Renaissance ed. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel.

11 Brittania Triumphans presented at court on Twelfth Night 1638 (London, 1638) A2r. Details of the masques are given by Philip Bordinat and Sylvia B.Blaydes, Sir William Davenant (Boston: G.K.Hall & Co., 1981).

12 John Dryden, "Of Heroique Plays," p. 9.

13 C.H.Firth, EHR (April, 1903), pp. 103-120. Some additional information on Davenant's views on theatre as social control can be found in James R.Jacob & Timothy Raylor, "Opera and Obedience: Thomas Hobbes and A Proposition for Advancement of Moralitie by Sir William Davenant," The Seventeenth Century, 6, No. 2 (1991), 205-250, 212.

The educational element of this mixture of control and education can be found in an advertisement for another entertainment in London which bordered on being theatrical, for example Balthazar Gerbier's academy advertised various displays and skills. See A Publique Lecture On all the Languages, Arts, Sciences, and Noble Excercises, which are taught in Sr

Balthazar Gerbiers Academy (London, 1650). In an introduction "To the Right Honourable, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen of . . . London," Gerbier notes that part of the programme was "to cause publicke Gratis Lectures to be read."(A2r) the "lecture" does mention music and dancing with Biblical justification (pp. 15, 17). The Publique Lecture rehearses the educational properties of entertainment in a way which was to become increasingly familiar from justifications of theatre itself during the 1650s.

14 Bulstrode Whitelocke, Memorials of English Affairs (London, 1713), p. 273; Harbage, Davenant, p. 124. Davenant was in the Tower from his capture in May 1650 to 1652 and was reimprisoned for debt upon his release. From the Tower where he was for a time under sentence of death, he wrote parts of Goindibert and commendatory verses for Ogilby's translation of Aesop's Fables (see Chapter Six). See also The Diary of Bulstrode Whitelocke 1605-1675, ed. Ruth Spalding (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 449, 526-7. Whitelocke may not have been the only member of the new regime to help Davenant, whose contacts seem to have extended to the republicans in the house and he wrote thâking Henry Marten after his release from prison in 1652. HMC, XXXI, p. 389. See also John Aubrey, Brief Lives ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (1949; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), pp. 178-9.

15 Edmond, p. 124.

16 William Davenant, The First Days Entertainment at Rutland House: By Declamations and Musick After the manner of the Ancients (London, 1657). Performed May 23 1656. See Edmond, Rare, p. 122-3 on the poem which suggests that Davent was already involved in theatrical activity - How Daphne Pays His Debts (1656). Ann-Marie Hedbäck's insistence that The Siege of Rhodes had no links with the masque form stems from her treatment of The Siege of Rhodes in isolation and must be qualified by reference to the other dramatic pieces he staged - particularly The First Day's Entertainment as his first. See Hedbäck, p. lxviii.

17 Davenant took up residence in Paris in 1646. The French debates on theatre did inevitably include the issue of moral instruction in theatrical representation. The issues are outlined by Henry Phillips, The Theatre and Its Critics in Seventeenth Century France (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 17-36. See J.Chapelain, Opuscules critiques, ed. Alfred C.Hunter

(Paris: E.Droz, 1936), pp. 124-5; Fr. H.Abbé d'Aubignac, Pratique du théatre ed. P.Martino (Paris: Alger, 1927), pp. 318-9. Cited by Phillips, p. 26-7. See also, Henry Lancaster, A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929-1942), Part 2, I, 9-14, 130-145.

18 Edmund Gayton, Charity Triumphant, or the Virgin-Shew, acted 29 October 1655, (London, 1655), p. 3.

19 Richard Flecknoe, Love's Dominion, A2v.

20 The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru (London, 1658). Performed by July 1658. See also the exchange on the making ready of a new playhouse, HMC Report 12, pt vii.

One source is Garcilasco de la Vega, Le Commentaire Royal, ou L'Histoire des Yncas, Roys du Peru (1609; Paris, 1633). There is an English translation in 1688 and a twentieth century translation by Harold V.Livermore, Royal Commentaries of the Incas: A General History of Peru (Austin & London: University of Austin Press, 1966), 2 vols. This text forms the basis of the first three entries of The Cruelty of the Spaniards. The prophecy of the arrival of the Spanish appears in the death testament of Huaina Cápac: "Many years ago it was revealed to us by our father the Sun that after twelve of his sons had reigned, a new race would come, unknown in these part, and would again subdue all our kingdoms and many others to their empire. I suspect that these must those we have heard of off our coasts" (I, Bk 9, 577). For the "discord between the two brothers, the last Inca kings" see II, 723 . Garcilasco de la Vega's text is quite remarkable as a source for Davenant's play because it is one of the early accounts by the colonised - de la Vega was both Spanish and Inca - and it is this hybrid text which Davenant draws on rather than colonial history, turning its implications towards the conflict between the English and the Spanish but, in part because of his source, maintaining the Ícas as humanised subjects for investigation and curiosity for most of the play. However, we cannot make too much of his engagement with this text as he could have found all he needed in Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrimes, Pt IV, p. 1454 - 1482. See John Grier Varner El Inca: the Life and Times of Garcilasco de la Vega (University of Texas Press, London & Austin, 1968).

See also Janet Clare, "Davenant's Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru -

masque for the Protectorate?" Paper given at conference on "Politics and Patronage," Reading, 1992 . Clare's argument that calling the play a masque would associate the play with court entertainment and court policies is in part disproved by the existence of Cupid and Death . Clare's further arguments about the masque's analysis of domesticity rendering kings to rule tend to support my argument in the context of Interregnum performance.

21 See S.R.Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 350-370, 383. For an analysis of the use of Drake, Raleigh and de las Casas in promoting the New World which argues that de las Casas in particular was not widely used before Purchas see Loren E.Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature 1575-1625," in The Westward Enterprise, ed. K.R.Andrews, N.P.Canny & P.E.H.Hair (Detriot: Wayne State Unniversity Press, 1979), p. 183.

22 On the popularity of this policy see Hill, God's Englishman, p. 149-155. In Davenant's Francis Drake the natives are represented as both noble and base at different points in the plot. See also Peter Hulme, Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492 - 1797 (London: Methuen, 1986).

23 Fulke Greville, Life of Sidney (London, 1652), pp. 132-133.

24 Roland Barthes, Mythologies, trans. Annette Lavers, (1957; Collins: London, 1973), pp. 165-6. Bartolomé de las Casas, The Teares of the Indians, trans. John Phillips (London, 1656). First published as Brevissima Relación de la Destruccíon de las Indias (1551).

25 Samuel Purchas, Purchas His Pilgrims (London, 1625), Book 5, part 3, p. 1037, line 25; p. 1039, line 50.

26 las Casas, The Teares of the Indians A3v. For an account of the doomed Hispaniola expedition see Samuel Rawson Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 344-368.

27 Philip Nichols, Sir Francis Drake Revived (London, 1621) reprinted 1626, 1652. Quotation from titlepage of 1626 edition. Notably, these texts were

already in a nostalgic relation to Elizabethanism when they were published at the end of the reign of James I and the beginning of the reign of Charles I, so their recycling in the 1650s drew on structures of nostalgia already present in English culture ready to be given a new colo ration.

28 The World Encompassed, (London, 1636).

29 Abbott, Writings of Cromwell, IV, 260.

30 William Davenant, "Preface to Gondibert," Gondibert ed David F.Gladish, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 10. He gives a more positive version of the sense of empire as restless (p. 30-31). See also Walter Benjamin, The Origin of German Tragic Drama (London: New Left Books, 1977), pp. 69-72.

31. William Davenant, Siege of Rhodes, ed. Ann-Marie Hedbäck (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia 14, 1973). Hedbäck gives a composite text of the 1656 edition of part one and the 1663 edition of both. The play exists in four texts 1656, 1659, 1663, 1670 and the first part was entered on the Stationer's Register on 27 August 1656. See Hedbäck, pp. xiv-xxiv, Sophia B.Blaydes & Philip Bordinat, Sir William Davenant 1629-1985: An Annotated Bibliography (London: Garland Publishing, 1986), pp. 33-5.

One further argument about the composition of the text is given by Dent who argues that the play as written was cut for the 1656 performance, asserting that the duet at the end of Entry IV makes no sense without the scene including Roxolana, present in the later edition. However, the clear argument against this is that Alphonso is already jealous in Entry IV.ii 34-67 which is present in the early text. See Dent, Foundations, pp. 65-6. For a model of the Rutland House stage see Richard Southern, Changeable Scenery (London: Faber & Faber, 1952), figs. 10-15.

32 Rosamund Gilder, "Enter Ianthe Veil'd," Theatre Arts Monthly, No. 1, (1927), pp. 29-38. W.J.Lawrence assesses Aubrey's casual claim that 2SR was performed before the Restoration in The Elizabethan Playhouse, Second series (Stratford-Upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1913), pp. 136-7. From Aubrey's evidence it is not possible to be certain either way. See Brief Lives, p. 88.

33 See Dent, Foundations and counter arguments as put by Hedbäck p.lxviii. The status of The Siege of Rhodes as "opera" is disputed, but given Davenant's interest in opera as early as 1639 Dent is probably wrong to conclude that Davenant's sole reason for calling it "opera" was to get around the theatre laws, though obviously this may have been one factor.

34 C.A.Patrides, "The Judgements of God," in Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) pp. 137-151; esp., p. 150.

35 Samuel Chew, The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance (New York: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 102-104.

36 Hill points out that English merchants paid to maintain an ambassador in Constantinople throughout the 1630s. God's Englishman, p. 159.

37 Edward Said, Orientalism (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 1-2, 73-5. See also, Christine Woodhead, "The Present Terrour of the World? Contemporary Views of the Ottoman Empire c1600," in History, 72, No 234, (Feb 1987), 20-41.

38 Edward Said, Orientalism, p. 1-2.

39 Christine Woodhead, 20-24, 36-37.

40 A True Relation of What Passed in Constantinople (London: 1649).

41 Christopher Hill, God's Englishman, p. 158-9.

42 Stanford Shaw, The History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), I, 200. An additional factor may have been Admiral Blake's successful bombardment of Porto Farina, near Tunis, April 1655 in which some of the Sultan's ships may have been damaged. See S.R.Gardiner, History, III, 382-3.

43 Abbott, Writings, IV, 243.

44 The most obvious instance in English is Richard Knolles The General

Historie of the Turkes (London, 1603). See Hedbäck, p.xlii-xliii. There were also plays using the Turk - 47 between 1558 and 1642 according to Louis Wann, "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama," Modern Philology, No. 12 (1914/15), pp. 423-447. However, the search for specific sources is only partly helpful - this literature is significant both as Davenant's potential reading and as part of the circulation of opinions about the Turk with which his plays engaged.

45 Giovanni Botero, The Traveller's Breviat, trans. Robert Johnson (London, 1601), p. 40. Abbreviated from Delle Relationi universali di Giovanni Botero which was widely published and translated. Fulke Greville, The Writings of Fulke Greville, ed. Joan Rees (London: Athlone Press, 1973), p. 165. On Greville's complex and ambivalent attitude to monarchy which often found expression in the posing of a possibility of rebellion only to withdraw it see David Norbrook, Poetry and Politics in the Renaissance, pp. 157-174. This provides a clear and convincing analysis of Greville's unease with the mystifications of kingship.

46 The Travellers Breviat, pp. 41, 43.

47 See Hedbäck, pp. xxxi-lxiii.

48 Ian McLean, Women Triumphant (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 64-87. See also the parody in George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, The Rehearsal, ed. D.J.Crane (Durham: University Of Durham Publications, 1976), I.i. 165-180.

49 Compare Mustapha, V.iii.7-8, in Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, ed. Geoffrey Bullough (Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh & London, 1939), 2 vols, II. I have used Bullough's edition for comparisons, also consulting the 1609 edition of Mustapha in which most of Act V is missing and the edition in Greville's posthumous Certaine Learned and Elegant Works (London, 1633).

50 Compare Mustapha V.iii.25-31; Treatie of Warres, ed. G.Bullough, Poems, I pp. 214-230. See also the Treatise of Monarchy in The Remains (London, 1670) which we have to assume was not seen by Davenant as it was only published long after Greville's death. However, it is an extended meditation on rule and monarchy which continues the preoccupations found elsewhere in Greville's writings and, like A Treatie of Warres and Mustapha compares the

Christian world with the Islamic and specifically Ottoman.

Dilemmas of love and honour occur in Fulke Greville's Mustapha where both Camena and Achmat suffer tortures of conscience over decisions which cannot be resolved without suffering. In both cases the problem is fundamentally the poor communication between the ruled and the ruler (exemplified in the Sultan's lack of direct communication with his son, whom his new wife plans to have killed) and the dilemmas faced by families divided by state power struggles. See Mustapha, II.i.51-70; II.iii. Moreover, In Greville's Mustapha there are several passages which parallel the issue of the people's power found in Siege of Rhodes, though as David Norbrook points out (Poetry and Politics, p.159) the argument for the people's liberty is checked and order restored. The play's ultimate support for authority, voiced by Achmat, does not make it any less serious in its consideration of power and rule: and a reading of the play in terms of subversion and containment would be blind to the serious meditation on power and its implications in terms of rule - the power of the monarch is contingent, fragile and the only bulwark against chaos rather than a mysterious unifying force. See IV.iii.17-18, when Rosten says, "Achmat! The mysteries of Empire are dissolved. / Furie hath made the People know their forces." See also, chorus primus, 1.42-43. As well as containing characters who put the argument about right and power explicitly, primarily Achmat who moves towards rebellion and then retreats, much of Mustapha provides an indirect commentary on the nature of monarchical power. See I.i.1-5; II.i.69-77 (Achmat); II.ii.36-46, 106-117; chorus secundus 105-120, 200-210; III.i.40-50; IV.iv.40-55; V.ii.1-7; V.iii.59-122. This final passage is a long speech by Achmat in which he changes from being an advocate of the liberty of the people to become a defender of monarchy and order. Compare also 2 SR, II.ii.52-64.

51 Fulke Greville, A Treatie of Warres in Poems and Dramas, II, stanza 17, see also st. 64-65 in which Greville contrasts the warlike Turks with the divided Christians, schismatic in religion and divided betwen their doctrine of peace and their warlike deeds. Subsequent references in text.

52 David Norbrook, Poetry and Politics, pp. 157-174, esp p.158-9.

53 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, pp. 226-8.

54 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 227.

Chapter Eight. Genre and Political Situation in the Career of John Tatham.

1 John Tatham, The Rump (London, 1659), II.ii. The play exists in two editions brought together by Lesley Anne Upadhyay, "Two Political Comedies of the Restoration: an Annotated Old-Spelling Edition, with Critical and Historical Introduction, of John Tatham's The Rump and Aphra Behn's Adaptation, The Roundheads," Diss. University of London 1974. However, I use the 1659 text in this chapter. This analysis of Tatham's career excludes suppositous works including Knavery in All Trades (London, 1664). The other play sometimes attributed to Tatham, J.T.'s, Grim: The Collier of Croydon, with its supernaturally endorsed misogyny, does not share the concerns of Tatham's plays considered here.

2 The Fancies Theater (London, 1640).

3 Chaudhuri, Renaissance Pastoral, p. 375.

4 Richard Brome's political position in the late 1630s and early 1640s has been disputed by Butler and Kevin Sharpe. It seems to me most likely that Brome and his associates were operating with close city connections on the eve of the Civil War; the rest of my argument will bear this out. Before he disappears from records in 1641 Thomas Nabbes was writing plays for the audiences of both court and public theatres. See Butler, 214-220, Sharpe, Criticism and Compliment p. 29-35.

5 Thomas Rawlins published The Rebellion (London, 1640), and then ceased to publish, emerging after the Restoration to run Charles II's mint and to publish again. Upadhyay suggests that The Distracted State might have been written "soon after Thomas Rawlins' The Rebellion" and known the play, but her evidence for this (that in Rawlins's play as in The Distracted State a physican administers poison) is suggestive rather than adequate as proof (p. 12-14).

6 Butler, pp. 185-7. Tatham's presence in a table of "Dedications and commendatory verses in published popular literature 1637-41" includes Tatham as a playwright on the strength of Love Crowns the End performed at a school and printed in The Fancie's Theatre. See p. 185-186.

7 See David Underdown, p. 108-10; Robin Clifton, "The Popular Fear of Catholics." See M.R. Smuts on the court of Henrietta Maria at the end of the personal rule of Charles I, M.R.Smuts, "The Puritan Followers of Henrietta Maria in the 1630s," English Historical Review, 153, No. 366 (1978), 26-46.

8 Thomas Jordan survived through the Interregnum, publishing Fancys Festivals (1657) and lived on to provide Restoration civic shows. See van Lennep ed., The London Stage 1660-1800, I, 200, 212, 223 etc.,

9 John Tatham, Ostella: or the Faction of Love and Beauty Reconciled (London, 1650).

10 John Tatham, Distracted State: a Tragedy (London, 1651), "Written in the Yeer, 1641."

11 John M.Wallace, "The Date of John Tatham's The Distracted State", Bulletin of the New York Public Library, No. 64 (1960), pp. 29-40. There is also the issue of what seem to be dead dedicatees, Sir John Sedley, who died in 1639. This might suggest that Tatham was perhaps trying to dedicate the play to someone alive in 1641 but dead in 1651 in order to substantiate his blind. But he did it again with The Scots Figgaries.

Wallace takes the play as a satire, writing, "it was a long time before I realized that it was wholly satirical," p. 32. See also Louis B Wright, who says virtually the same thing: "usurper follows usurper to a violent death," "The Reading of Plays," Huntington, p. 96.

12 J.R., Distracted State, A3r.

13 Michael Seidel, "Crisis Rhetoric and Satiric Power," New Literary History, 20, No. 1 (Autumn 1988), 165-186 esp. 166, 167.

14 Nicholas Machiavelli, Nicholas Machiavel's Prince, trans. Edward Dacres

(1640; rpt. Menston: Scolar Press, 1969), pp. 61-62

15 James Howell, Dodonas Grove, or the Voccall Forest (London, 1640), e.g. p. 57.

16 Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan, p. 229, 223.

17 Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets," in Shakesperean Negotiations, pp. 21-65.

18 Reginald Perrinchief, The Syracusan Tyrant or, The Life of Agathocles with Some Reflexions on the Practices of Modern Usurpers (London, 1661), A5v.

19 See Andronicus, or Impietys Long Success (London, 1661). On usurpers see also Leonard Willan, Orgula, or the Fatal Error, (London, 1658).

20 Uphadyay, p. 15.

21 David M.Bergeron, English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642 (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), pp. 217, 241.

22 Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town," Past & Present, No. 98 (Feb 1983), pp. 3-29.

23 Robert Withington, English Pageantry: An Historical Outline (1926; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1963), I, 43.

24 Mr.Recorders Speech to the Lord Protector upon Wednesday the eighth of Febr. 1653 being the day of his Highnesse entertainment in London (London, 1654). Subsequent references in text.

25 Mervyn James, p. 8.

26 Edmund Gayton, Charity Triumphant, p.3.

27 I.B., attributed to John Bulteel, London's Triumph (London 1656), A4v. Subsequent references in text.

28 John Tatham, Londons Triumph (London, 1657).

29 Londons Triumph, B2r-B2v. In terms of civic iconography compare Richard Flecknoe's Oceanus.

30 John Tatham, Londons Tryumph (London, 1658).

31 Sheila Williams, "The Lord Mayors Show in Tudor and Stuart Times," Guildhall Miscellany, No 10, (September 1959), n. pag.

32 The Citie's New Poets Mock Show, 669.f.22 (48), (1659).

33 Guildhall Ms 17.100. A contract between the ironmongers and the watermen, 1658.

34 See the sequence of events in Ronald Hutton, The Restoration, pp. 64-74.

35 Sheila Williams, "The Lord Mayors Shows From Peele to Settle," Diss. University of London 1957. Appendix 2, "Grocers' Wardens of the Bachelors' accounts," quoting Grocers Hall Mss 775/777, p.477. Williams p. 122-3.

36 Grocers' Hall Mss 775/777, p. 477. Williams, p. 123.

37 Grocers' Hall Mss 775/777, p. 479. See Williams, pp. 123-124.

38 Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in Local Knowledge, pp. 121-146.

39 Nicholas José, Ideas of the Restoration, p. 124.

40 Guildhall Ms 11,928.

41 John Tatham, London's Glory: Represented by Time, Truth and Fame (London, 1660). Subsequent references in text. This show was seen by both John Evelyn and Samuel Pepys. See John Evelyn, Diary, III, 259; The Diary of Samuel Pepys, I, 277.

42. John Tatham, Aqua Triumphalis (London, 1662). Reference in text. Joanne

Altieri notes that after the Restoration Tatham continues to allegorise the connection between court and city. Once again, new circumstances were emerging but a new language of praise between city and king was not in place. Many of the comedies of the Restoration period can be seen to explore the same anxiety about the place of the city of London and its inhabitants in the new order. Joanne Altieri, The Theatre of Praise: the Panegyric Tradition in Seventeenth Century English Drama (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), pp. 91-95.

43 John Tatham, Londons Tryumph (London, 1664), p. 7.

44 Records exist: Jarman was paid £30, Tatham £12. Guildhall Ms 15.869, fol 36v.

45 John Ogilby, The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II in His Passage through the City of London to His Coronation (1661; rpt. London, 1662). The first edition was less elaborate. Subsequent references in text.

46 William Van Lennep, The London Stage 1660-1800, I, 11. See also Upadhyay pp. 34-36; The Dramatic Works of John Tatham, ed. Maidment & Logan (London: H.Sotheran & Co., 1879), p. 196.

47 Aphra Behn, The Roundheads; or the Good Old Cause (London, 1682).

48 Tim Harris, London Crowds, p. 61.

Chapter Nine. True and loyal? Politics and Genre in Royalist Tragicomedy.

1 Henry Burkhead, Colas Fury or Lirendas Miserie (Kilkenny, 1646). See Patricia Coughlan, "'Enter Revenge': Henry Burkhead and Cola's Furie, Theatre Research International, 15, No. 1 (1989), 1-17.

2 On the renaming of plays as tragicomedies in the 1650s see Lois Potter,

"'True Tragicomedies' of the Civil War and Commonwealth," in Renaissance Tragicomedy, ed. Nancy Maguire (London: AMS Press, 1987), pp. 196-217 esp. pp. 197-8.

3 Lois Potter, "'True Tragicomedies,'" p. 196. On contemporary uses of pastoral, rather than tragicomedy, in relation to the Civil War, see Graham Parry, "A Troubled Arcadia," in Literature and the Civil War, ed. Healy & Sawday, pp. 38-58.

4 Francis Osborne, The True Tragicomedy Formerly Acted at Court, ed. Lois Potter with John Pitcher (New York & London: Garland, 1983). On tragicomedy see pp. xxxii-xxxv. See also Francis Osborne, Political Reflections (London, 1656), e.g. p. 127. My disagreement with Lois Potter's argument that generic tragicomedy and plays exploiting "the tension between comedy and tragedy" are distinct will be apparent. They are most frequently found together and interwoven in the tragicomedies of the 1650s. "'True Tragicomedies'," p.199.

5 Sir Edward Dering, "On the Incomparable Poems of Mr William Cartwright," in William Cartwight, Comedies, Tragicomedies, With other Poems, ed. Humphry Moseley (London, 1651), n. pag.

6 See William Cartwright, Comedies, Tragicomedies, With Other Poems (London, 1651).

7 Edward Sherburne, "On the publication of the Posthume Poems of M. William Cartwright," Comedies, Tragicomedies, n. pag.

8 Although the great period of Leveller publication was over by 1651 Lilburne remained prolific. See Gregg, Freeborn, pp. 402-404.

9 Richard Tuck, "Power and Authority in Seventeenth Century England," The Historical Journal, 17, No. 1 (1974), 43-61. He quotes T.B. in "Obse rvations politicall and civill," B.L. Add Ms 27320 fols 23, 24 (p.44).

10 Richard Tuck, "Power," p. 53.

11 Battista Guarini, The Faithfull Shepherd, translated by Richard Fanshawe,

1647, ed. J.H. Whitfield, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1976), p. 411. See also The Faithfull Shepherd (1648), which contains the dedication and preface to the Prince of Wales. Subsequent references in text, to this edition.

12 The Faithful Shepherdess (London, 1608), p. 14.

13 Walter Montagu, The Shepherds Paradise, A3v; Laurence Lerner, Uses of Nostalgia (London: Chatto & Windus, 1972), p. 39. Much of Lerner's own argument also tends to contradict this statement.

14 See Graham Parry, "A Troubled Arcadia," p. 45.

15 Parry, p. 42.

16 Potter, "'True Tragicomedies,'" p. 214.

17 J.S., The Shephearde's Oracle, E.52 (2), (?Oxford, 1644), A1v. Sometimes attributed to James Shirley.

18 William Denny, The Shepherds Holiday in Inedited Poetical Miscellanies 1584-1700, ed. Henry Huth (London: Chiswick Press, 1870), pp. 61-116. Subsequent references in text. See Harbage, Cavalier, p. 217. On Laudian revels see Leah Marcus, The Politics of Mirth (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 17. Marcus's discussion of the crown and later royalist deployment of the imagery of rustic sports illuminates the possibilities felt by contemporaries for the use of of rustic, as well as pastoral, tropes in analysing political situations. Her chapter, "Pastimes Without a Court" very clearly analyses the use of rustic imagery in poetry after its courtly focus has been transformed by Civil War.

19 MacKenzie, The British Book Trade, p. 6. Commons Journal, ii. 769, 16 Sept 1643.

20 Chaudhuri, Renaissance Pastoral, p. 252.

21 Louis Montrose, "Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: the Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form," ELH, 50, No. 3 (Fall 1983), 415-459.

22 Thomas Killigrew, Comedies and Tragedies (London, 1664). See also Alfred Harbage, Thomas Killigrew: Cavalier Dramatist (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1930).

23 Thomas Meriton, The Wandering Lover (London, 1658), "Being Acted severall times privately at sundry places,"; Thomas Forde, Love's Labyrinth (London, 1660). This reworks Robert Greene's Arcadia.

24 William Lower, The Enchanted Lovers, in The Dramatic Works and Translations of William Lower, ed. William Bryon Gates (Hague, 1958; rpt. Philadelphia: University Of Philadelphia, 1932). Subsequent references in text.

25 George Cartwright, The Heroick Lover, or, the Infanta of Spain (London, 1661). Harbage's Annals gives the dates of composition as 1645-1655. A reference to the breaking down of the city gates suggests that it was at least altered after Monck came to London in 1659 (see V.vi, p. 68-70). However, this does not invalidate Cartwright's claim to have written the play earlier. George Cartwright does not seem to be related to William Cartwright.

26 Sir Benjamin Rud yard, speech to the Commons, November 1640. See John Rushworth, Historical Collections (London, 1720), III, 1351-2.

27 The Female Rebellion, ed. Alexander Smith (Glasgow, n. p., 1872). Manuscript in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Subsequent references in text. In correspondence with the Hunterian, Joan Pittock-Wesson considers the autograph of the play to be Ms Tanner 466 in the Bodleian, and that the copy at the Hunterian may have been made by his sister after his death. The editors seem to be wrong in giving the date as the latter part of the reign of Charles II - the play's clear grip on precise circumstances and language of the 1650s contradicts this. It is genuinely concerned with the Civil War in a way that plays from the Exclusion Crisis are not.

28 CSPD 1655-56, 348.

29 Wayne H.Phelps, "Cosmo Manuche, Royalist Playwright," English Language Notes, 207-212.

30 At the household of James Compton. See Hilton Kelliher, "A Hitherto Unrecognised Cavalier Dramatist: James Compton, third Earl of Northampton," British Library Journal, 6, No. 2 (1980), pp. 158-187. After early opposition to ship-money Compton served in Charles I's army, stayed in England during the 1650s and wrote plays. This coterie is clearly worth research.

31 Cosmo Manuche, The Loyal Lovers (London, 1652); The Just General (London, 1652); The Banish'd Shepherdess, ed. Canavan, "A Study of English Drama," pp. 351-444. Ristine's definition of the formula of characteristic tragicomedy runs as follows: "the reader is transported to a no-mans land, beyond the ken of human experience where men take on superhuman characteristics, where strange events happen and imaginary history is made in the twinkling of an eye. The checkered fortunes of monarchs, generals and lords and ladies of high degree engross his chief attention; war, usurpation, rebellion - actual or imminent - furnish a subordinate interest; while a comic touch or sub-plot is the diverting accompaniment of the romantic action" p.xii. Such a definition abstracts tragicomedy from any cultural context, but it does give an excellent sense of the almost jumbled adaptability and flexibility of tragicomedy of the kind that Philaster is most obviously. Ristine's definition does capture the way different aspects can move in and out of focus as well as the potential that the various threads (or modes, as in the cynical and the ideal) have to contradict and comment upon one another. F.H. Ristine, English Tragicomedy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1910), p. xii.

32 Subsequent references in text. The dating of the play is suggested by the dates of the events it deals with from Cromwell's death to what may be a reference to the Act of Oblivion. It seems unlikely to be written long after the Restoration, as there are no scenes set in England demonstrating the ecstatic welcome of the king and Henrietta Maria which suggests, perhaps, that the play was written at the moment when the king was invited back. It could, of course, have been written later and simply missed out all post-Restoration events. Hutton, Restoration, pp. 3-5.

33 Freud on repetition: Beyond the Pleasure Principle, in Works, XVIII, 35-6.

34 Paul Seaward, The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 11.

35 See José, The Restoration, pp. 1-5.

36 Francis Kirkman, "The Stationer to the Reader", in John Webster & William Rowley, The Thracian Wonder (London, 1660), A2r.

37 Francis Kirkman (attrib.), The Presbyterian Lash (London, 1661).

38 The Comical Revenge, in The Plays of Sir George Etherge, ed. Michael Cordner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Abraham Cowley, The Cutter of Coleman Street, 1663, in The English Writings of Abraham Cowley, ed. A.R. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), II; Sir Charles Sedley, The Mulberry Garden, 1668, in The Poetical And Dramatic Works of Sir Charles Sedley, ed. V. de Sola Pinto (London: Constable, 1928). For recent debate on Restoration tragicomedy see Laura Brown, Dramatic Form; J.Douglas Canfield, "The Ideology of Restoration Tragicomedy," ELH, No. 51 (1983), pp. 440-464; Nancy K. Maguire, "The 'Whole Truth' of Restoration Tragicomedy," in Renaissance Tragicomedy ed. Nancy K. Maguire.

39 Cordner, Plays of Etherge, p. 3.

40. E.J. Burns, "Park and Playhouse: Restoration Comedy and the Pastoral Fiction," Diss. Oxford University 1981, Abstract, and pp. x, 4.

41 Annabel Patterson, Pastoral and Ideology, p.133
Brian Manning, The English People and the English Revolution, pp. 183-192.

42 Pastoral and Ideology, p. 134.

Conclusion.

1 Francis Kirkman, A True, Perfect and Exact Catalogue of All the Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques and Interludes the were ever

yet Printed and Published Till this Present Year 1661 (London, 1661).

Appendix A: The Terrible, Horrible, Monster of the West.

1 Potter, Secret, pp. 35-36.

2 The Bloody Court, or the Fatall Tribunall (1649).

3 See for example The Humble Petition of Divers Well-Affected Persons of the Cities of London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark, (October, 1649); The Humble Petition of Divers Well Affected Women (London, 1649).

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"Adam, the Father of all Flesh," Porno-Political Rhetoric and Political Theory in and After the English Civil War

SUSAN WISEMAN

What follows is an investigation of the role of the theory of patriarchy and republicanism in the political theory and prose fiction of the Civil War and early Restoration. The question that I seek to answer is, what is the relationship between satirical sexual slander and political theory and polemic in the prose pamphlets, dialogues and short fictions of the English Civil War and its aftermath? Underlying this question is an assumption that in the period of the Civil War what might be seen by twentieth-century critics as disparate and unrelated discourses were interwoven and even interdependent, since abstract political theory shared interests, modes of address and even genres with "popular" political satires. Historians and bibliographers are still disputing whether the end of censorship in 1641 actually precipitated, or even registered, a politicized publishing revolution.[1] This essay assumes that, in the early 1640s, the appearance and persistence of not one but many newsbooks and short fictional and political pamphlets are testimony to an awakened qualitative sense of participation in political destiny. The large number of short and long printed publications suggests that the sphere of political debate was reaching a range of readers in a culture of active political debate. Moreover, the connections between political theory and prose narrative endorse the notion that during this period politics was "popular" reading and vice versa – whatever problems there might be with the term "popular."[2]

During the Civil War fictional narratives, dialogues and anti-Puritan polemic cannot be perceived as wholly distinct from a notionally "elite" corpus of political writing found in political pamphlets, such as those of Henry Parker or Robert Filmer.[3] The range of printed replies to the political pamphlets indicates that a reading public for political theory existed, and suggests substantial public interest and even participation. In the army debates, which brought together men of very different social backgrounds, Ireton (himself no radical) articulated the possibility of a transformation of the political sphere: "If God saw it good to destroy, not only Kings and Lords, but all distinctions of degrees – nay if it go

further, to destroy all property . . . that there be nothing at all of civil constitution left in the kingdom – if I see the hand of God in it I hope I shall with quietness acquiesce."[4]

Even more important, as part of the war of words each pamphlet was involved in persuasion, attempting to convince the same audience of political truths. Texts dealt with political events and issues in rhetorics which we would not necessarily recognize as political (dialogue, playlet, narrative), but these texts participated in constituting the nature of the political-literate (and literary) sphere. In the 1640s and 1650s, political theory and scurrilous polemic must be seen as part of a continuum of political discourses using a range of rhetorical persuasive techniques.

Methodologically, therefore, this essay responds to revisionist history which, by situating the political theory and agency of the Civil War firmly in a Royalist camp, has tended to marginalize any theorization of the situation of republicans or the literate non-elite, and therefore to marginalize the social currency and extent of political thought and writing.[5] In literary methodology, the new historicism has brought non-literary writing into focus, but such writing has characteristically been used as corroboration of iconic (and canonical) literary texts and as "shocking examples" of surprising and often violent incidents taken, for instance, from travel narratives. It serves to hold and fascinate the reader but, in doing so, is used as a prelude to extended analysis of a canonical text.[6] Thus, while it might appear to be gaining in status, the non-canonical text is sometimes (habitually?) reproduced in critical discussions of the early modern period to corroborate an argument about canonical writing; and such texts are often reinscribed in a factitious differentiation between text and contextual text. Therefore this essay is an attempt to consider non-canonical texts in which, I think, can be traced a sequence of sophisticated political and literary disputes in the Civil War period. I attempt to trace a link between what might be called imaginative writing – narrative satire – and political theory, and suggest that such a connection might have been made by a contemporary reading public.

Specifically, I hope to illuminate some of the interconnections between sexual satire and political theory during the crises of government by looking at writing by and about Henry Marten and Henry Neville, both republicans and both involved (in different ways) in political theory and sexual satire. They were both active republicans – "Commonwealthsmen" as Ludlow called them – in the 1640s and throughout the Protectorate, and both were part of the group thinking through the possibilities of an English republic which found its focus in Harrington's circle and proposals to Parliament in 1659.[7] I begin with a discussion

of the porno-political satires against Henry Marten and end with a reappraisal of Henry Neville's fantasy, *The Isle of Pines* (which he published under the pseudonym Cornelius van Sloetten in 1668, long after the wars of words were over[8]), using the sexual satire on and of republicans from the Civil War years to re-read this text in relation to contemporary theories of patriarchy.

The crisis of the English Civil Wars necessitated an elaboration of political theory in relation to position and material advantage which, to an extent, had hitherto been assumed. Patriarchal theory and republican theory at this point developed in intense dialogue with each other. Republican thought denied the rights of monarchy, using a range of arguments to do so, and some monarchist theorists chose the Bible as their stronghold. One of the most important developments of Royalist political theory during the war was made by the Kentish peer, Sir Robert Filmer, whose analysis of the basis of government, the "Patriarcha," remained in manuscript throughout the Civil War and the Interregnum.[9] However, Filmer did publish three texts in which he worked out his theory of the rights of kings as fathers in relation to the contemporary English situation. His first political publication was *The Freeholders Grand Inquest*, published after his imprisonment in Leeds Castle. In April 1648, he published a critique of Philip Hunton's *Treatise of Monarchy* in a pamphlet called *The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy* and after the Kentish rebellion he published *The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings and Especially the King of England.*[10]

In accounting for his theory of political obligation in which all men were subject to one king who was the rightful heir to the throne, found by succession (or, *in extremis*, elected by the nobility), Filmer constructed the form of his political debate as a history, or narrative, of right. His insistence on the centrality of right and, therefore, of history (especially the Old Testament read as history) in understanding the rightful distribution of political power meant that, in Filmer's hands, politics became a narrative of origins, beginning with God the Father who gave the power of inheritance to Adam. This narrative is, at times, close to something a late-twentieth-century reader might read as a psychic fantasy of origins, preserving the power of masculinity from dangerous incursions by any other agency. The importance of a narrative of generations in Filmer's theory of monarchy provides a theoretical religious system which underpins monarchy and serves as a counter-formulation of the place of political power in response to populist theories of government. Crucially, where populist theories refuse to accept the contiguity of the structure of the family with that of the state – claiming, for example, that "allegories are good only

as far as the likeness hold" – Filmer's theory of kingship insists upon it.[11]

The narrative of power in the family and the narrative of political right are contiguous and virtually coterminous in Filmer's writings. I have taken examples from *The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy*, where he is writing in response to theories which refute the absolute patriarchal power of the king as equated with father. Filmer uses the etymology of "monarch" to prove that every monarch must have "supreme power" if monarchy is not to be a mere contradiction in terms (*Anarchy*, 281). He continues:

> So that if our Author will grant supreme power to be the ordinance of God, the supreme power will prove itself to be unlimited by the same ordinance, because a supreme limited power is a contradiction.
>
> The monarchical power of *Adam* the Father of all flesh, being by a general binding ordinance setled by God on him & his posterity by right of fatherhood, the form of Monarchy must be preferred above all other forms, except the like ordinance for other forms can be shewed. (*Anarchy*, 284–5)

In this way Filmer makes biblical narrative a narrative of family which invests all power in the father, and in a second movement he insists on the Bible as the only true narrative and justification of government. As for other forms, he regards them as "brought in or erected by rebellion" (285). Filmer's argument against populist theories of government which assert that rulers must be elected because of the "natural freedom of mankind" once again resorts to the model of the family: "For if it be allowed, that the acts of the Parents bind the Children, then farewell the doctrine of *the natural freedom of mankind*, where Subjection of Children to Parents is natural, there can be no natural freedom" (*Anarchy*, 287).

This epitomizes Filmer's argumentation: in order to refute his opponents he makes the family stand synecdochially for the state and then points out that the populist arguments do not work for the family. As I indicated above, and as Henry Parker's theories illustrate, the most thoroughly worked out of the populist arguments were busy rejecting that very step whereby the family *could* stand for the state. The second essential ingredient of Filmer's theory (for the purposes of demonstrating the interconnections of popular polemic and political theory in dealing with political topics) is the fact that his political theory operates not by the description of an ideal state but by tracing back a line of right to the past. The contravention of this line is an usurpation

of God's ordinance. Filmer makes this absolutely clear in an answer to an imagined objection to his theory:

> To all this it may be opposed, what need dispute how a People can choose a King, since there be multitude of examples that Kings have been, and are now adays chosen by their People? The answer is 1. The question is not of the *fact*, but of the *right*, whether it have been done by a *natural* or by an *usurped* right. (*Anarchy*, 387–8)

Although Filmer goes on to modify this to allow the nobility to elect kings, he repeats his claim with direct reference to descent from Adam:

> If it be objected, That Kings are not now (as they were at the first planting or peopling of the world) the Fathers of their People, or Kingdoms, and that the Fatherhood hath lost the right of governing. An answer is, That all Kings that now are, or ever were; are, or were either Fathers of their People, or the Heirs of such Fathers, or Usurpers of the right of such Fathers: It is a truth undeniable that there cannot be any multitude of men whatsoever, either great, or small, though gathered together from the several corners and remotest regions of the world, but that in the same multitude considered by itself, there is one man amongst them that in nature hath the right to be King of all the rest, as being the next heir to *Adam*: and all the others subject unto him, every man by nature is a King or a Subject: the obedience which all subjects yield to Kings is but the paying of that duty which is done to the supreme fatherhood. (*Anarchy*, 288–9)

This is a clear statement of the logic of patriarchal thought. But what is important here is the way patriarchal theory produced in the war years focuses on the intimate link between father and son in determining who is king. And it is a narrative of right rather than a theory of might, arguing from first moments rather than first principles. Filmer's theories supported monarchy by making the state into the family.

Contemporaries reacted strongly to Filmer's arguments, which became especially influential after the Restoration when they became the support of the new Stuart order, but the publication of Filmer's patriarchal theory in the late 1640s endorsed and elucidated a monarchist position which was implicit in many defences of Charles I. Along with Milton's publications on liberty and government but on the other side, Filmer was at the centre of the raging controversy over patriarchalism. In its insistence on the importance of the biblical original of the link between fathers of families

and the power of heads of state, his theory (or story) provides a picture of government rather like a double-exposure photograph, the most obvious picture being that of the patriarchal control of the state, but this picture overlapping in its outlines with the issue of sexual control in the family. The area of leakage from one issue into the other became one of the defining spaces of Civil War politico-sexual satire.

Sexual satire was applied to political objectives throughout the Civil War, as in satires on puritan mores such as *A Brief Dialogue Between a Zelotopist, one of the Daughters of a Zealous Round-head, and Superstition, a Holy Fryer, newly come out of France* (in which a young Puritan woman exposes her sexual laxity to a lascivious friar) or in the three Antibrownistus satires, in which a Puritan city warden, his wife and her maid expose their sexual and political schemes.[13] Attacks were also made on republicans, especially Henry Marten who was one of the first members of the Parliament of 1640 to declare himself as a republican. That Marten saw republicanism as the primary, natural order of government is proved by his example of the man blind from birth whose sight was "restored": for Marten, republicanism was every man's liberty and a republic was, indeed, the natural state. He played an important part in the Commons, being a member of the Committee of Safety set up in 1642.[14] Clarendon had recorded his opinion that one man was not wise enough to govern all, and Bishop Burnet wrote that "Henry Marten was all his life a most violent enemy to monarchy, but all that he moved for was upon Roman and Greek principles."[15] Marten's outspoken opinions against monarchy led to his expulsion from the House and imprisonment in the Tower in August 1643, after he had spoken in defence of the divine, John Saltmarsh. Although he was released from the Tower two weeks later, he was not readmitted to the Commons until January 1645/1646.[16] Thoughout his period in the public eye, he was abused as a libertine, partly because he lived with a woman who was not his wife. However, attacks on Marten for whoring were standard issue in journalistic and polemical writing. For instance, two whores conversing before the displaying of the "monster" of the new post-regicidal commonwealth in the playlet *The terrible, horrible monster of the west* accuse one another of having slept with Marten.[17]

Several satires were entirely devoted to Marten and these provide examples of the way in which Marten's reputation for sexual incontinence was set alongside his republican politics. For instance, *Mr Henry Marten His Speech In the House of Commons Before his Departure Thence* (1648) pretends to be Marten's speech to the House against sending reinforcements to the parliamentary army in Wales. It begins:

> *Mr Speaker*, you know how forward I have beene always from the beginning, to act and speake Treason. I was not like Adam, that old fool, to hide my transgressions in my bosom. I am an Achan in part but not in whole: for he confessed his sinnes troubled Israel, in a penitent way, but I scorn his baseness: I have troubled Israel, and I glory in it. I hate the traytor Judas, who will repent of his Treason and restore that money which was the price of Christs bloud: what base principles had these blades? Had I received the 30 pieces of silver I would have gone with it straight to a Bawdy-house, and have had a gallant young Wench for it. I was once in the way to have spent the King's Revenue in this way.[18]

Putting biblical examples into his mouth situates Marten, the wit and classical republican, in relation to the religious discourses which here imply an analogy between Charles I and Christ. It also makes an association between Marten and the first human, particularly in this case the first human rebel and the "father of mankind", Adam, who was (paradoxically) a crucial figure of authority for patriarchal theory. Marten's outspoken republicanism is presented as revealing the true plans of the whole House: "I know, Mr Speaker, the King likes me better than he doth *Vane*, or *Perpoint*, or *Mildmay* or *Haslerigge* . . . because I am plain with him, and tell him and the world the truth of our intentions" (*Speech*, 4). But this republicanism sits alongside a demand for money to cure him of syphilis. He needs money "to keep and preserve my life; which if it bee denied me, the French scab will eat out my bowels: and if you vote for me today for that money, I will vote for you tomorrow, for as much as will buy you a whole County in New England" (*Speech*, 5).

The words that this pamphlet puts into Marten's mouth do include his republicanism, and link sexual desire to the peopling of colonies, but, more emphatically, they satirize his allegedly promiscuous (hetero)sexual appetite. How does such satire relate to Marten's opinions? In one sense, it seems to be very close to articulating his actual republican position, but this is continually mixed with sexual slurs and the two are presented as intimately interwoven, as when Marten says "Had I received the 30 pieces of silver I would have gone with it straight to a Bawdy-house." The unrepentant irreligion which the text attributes to Marten is elided with his sexual looseness, which in turn runs into his republicanism, and the three terms of attack – atheism (or at least lack of religious feeling), sexual misbehaviour and republicanism – are fused to undermine Marten. Thus, his political position is discredited by association with sexual licence, and his political programme is translated into sexual scheming; for example, to punish the Kentish rebellion

by cuckolding the Kentish country gentlemen (*Speech*, 3). The anti-republican rhetoric does not employ arguments about government but rather satirizes crimes against the accepted mores of the family: Marten figures as a disruptor of marriage, the psycho-sexual-economic unit of social stability.

But why is the attack mounted in the region of the family when Marten's republican politics were so well known and provide such an obvious place of attack? One answer is that Marten's licentious behaviour was well known (precisely because of his prominence as a republican) and provides an equally obvious place of attack. Certainly, we hear of the republican Marten as a usurper of the rights of the husband, a cuckolder, invader and occupier of wives – "under Venus banner" (*Speech*, 2). But I think the significance of the displacement can be taken further, in that it points towards the multivalent importance of the idea of family in both the theory underpinning royalism and in the perceptions of the Civil War years. As David Underdown has noted, mid-seventeenth-century English society perceived itself to be involved in a gender crisis.[19] However, what was at issue was the practice of gender roles rather than their ideological status; the theory of the family (as opposed, perhaps, to the practice) seems to have remained relatively stable. In politics, the very link between the metaphor of the family and the state was being questioned by parliamentary theorists such as Henry Parker who wrote:

> But to look into terms a little more narrower, and dispel umbrages; *Princes are called Gods, Fathers, Husbands, Lords, Heads etc., and this implies them to be of more worth and more unsubordinate in end, than their Subjects are, who by the same relation must stand as Creatures, Children, Wives, Servants, Members etc.*, I answer, these terms do illustrate some excellency in Princes by way of similitude, but must not in all things be applied, and they are most truly applied to Subjects taken *divisum* but not *conjunctum*: Kings are Gods to particular men, . . . and are sanctified with some of God's royalty; but it is not for themselves, it is for an extrinsical end, and that is the prosperity of God's people, and that end is more sacred than the means; as to themselves they are most unlike God, for God cannot be obliged by any thing extrinsical, no created thing whatsoever can be of sufficient value or excellency to impose any duty or tie upon God, as Subjects upon Princes: therefore granting Prerogative to be but mediate, and the Weal Public to be final, we must rank the Laws of liberty in the first Table, and Prerogative in the second, as Nature doth require; and not after a kind of blasphemy ascribe

> that unsubordination to Princes, which is only due to God; so the King is a Father to his People, taken singly but not universally; for the father is more worthy than the son in nature, and the son is wholly a debtor to the father, and can by no merit transcend his duty, nor challenge any thing as due from his father. . . . Yet this holds not in relation between King and Subject, for it's more due in policy, and more strictly to be challenged, that the King should make happy the People, than the People make glorious the King. The same reason is also in relation of Husband, Lord etc., for the wife is inferior in nature, and was created for the assistance of man, and servants are hired for the Lord's attendance; but it is otherwise in the State betwixt man and man, for that civil difference which is for civil ends, and those ends are, that wrong and violence may be repressed by one for the good of all, not that servility and drudgery may be imposed upon all for the good of one.[20]

Parker challenges the very resemblance between family and state as a system for structuring authority and distributing meaning. The family is the stable term for Parker, and the metaphors of the state are those contested. For Parker, the relationship between citizens and the state could not correspond to the relationship between an individual and a family. Conversely, the satires on Henry Marten operate as a defence of the integrity of the family, moving his transgression away from contested political ideas involving the state (and contesting its analogy with the family) to the family alone, an area where all readers could agree on proper conduct. Such scandal operates in a political sphere precisely by suppressing the exact nature of the (assumed) connections between the family and the state, and by refusing to map the precise connections between Marten's republicanism and his libertinism, which remains a sketchy translation of the "political" into the "private." The first connections were exactly the links which the populist theorists such as Parker (in his insistence on the separation of family and state) were challenging and which had become visibly "artificial." Indeed, the severing of these naturalizing links implies the recognition of the state itself as "artificial" rather than organic, as expressed by Hobbes.[21]

In another parodic pamphlet from 1648, *The Remonstrance or Declaration of Henry Marten and all the Society of Levellers*, it is suggested that the Levellers will make an alliance with criminals and be supported by unruly women, thus associating their demands with general marginal elements.[22] Besides being corruptors of women, Levellers are made equivalent *to* women as figures of insurgency, and hence in alliance with law-breakers and, especially, rebellious wives:

> [we] doubt not but we shall have the assistance of all Rebels, Arch-rebels, Thieves, petty-Thieves, Whore-masters, Whore-mongers, drunkards, tiplers, covetous persons, greedy Epicures, as also the prayers of all women who have poisoned their husbands, murdered their children, bawdy house keepers, Whores, secret and public, and all others who desire to live as they list. (*Remonstrance*, 3)

The association between subversive feminine agency (here characterized as criminal) and radical political programmes is made explicit. The family, which "ought" to be stable, is threatened by rebellious women as the allies of the Levellers. The political aims of the Levellers and Marten's republicanism are transformed into commonplace social ills and excesses. But the spoof attributes to them a more important refusal:

> We first declare against God the Father, as being nothing to us, who never had, nor never shall have any thing to doe with us; if there be any such power as the ignorant speak of and prate so much of: and we do steadfastly believe we had our original and first being in this world, as flies come in Butchers meat, only blown there by bad and unseasonable weather. (*Remonstrance*, 3)

As a myth of origins, flies appearing in butchers' meat is, of course, in direct conflict with all dicta of church and family, and it is striking that, in parodies and critiques of Ranter and Leveller politics, attempts to undermine the family (as in the first quotation) are consistently combined with attempts to undermine the state (as in the second quotation). By putting a refusal of God the Father into the mouths of Marten and the Levellers, the text positions them as rejecting both state and religion in one sentence. God the Father is replaced by flies and accident in an extreme caricature of the republican and Leveller refusal of the predominantly patriarchal and hierarchical assumptions which supported kingship. These assumptions had also been rejected by theorists of parliamentary sovereignty, particularly by Henry Parker. Indeed, by 1648, debate had moved on to the question of engagement. As Wildman asked in the *Army Debates*, if a Parliament "doth anything unjustly" were men forced to obey?[23] As a gross parody of developing political positions, the blasphemous and abhorrent idea that men grew like flies calls attention to the way the Levellers are being constructed as in a polar opposition to patriarchal theory which accounted for every man by his father.

These were satires against Marten as a republican during the Civil War. In the post-war publication, *Coll. Henry Marten's Letters to his Lady of Delight*, the editor, Gayton, claimed to be punishing Marten

for his part in sponsoring the publication of the seized letters between Charles and Henrietta Maria in *The King's Cabinet Opened*.[24] Gayton, who published the letters, wrote:

> These letters of Yours to Yours, had not seen the world, if you yourself had not given just occassion for the incivility. There was a time (I would it had never been) when you voted and principaly caused the Sacred Letters of your Soveraign, and his Queen (the Cabinet as it was stated) to be made public. . . . Pretty devices these (Colonel;) but now you see the times of retaliation are come: I am very glad they are come, that such rebellious and inhumane persons may be in their kind requited. (*Letters*, A3r)

Once again the scene of the crime is the closet rather than the Commons chamber. The connection between Marten's publication of the king's letters and his "punishment" is put in terms of privacy rather than politics – although, once more, the crime was the publication of political letters, not solely "intimate" ones as is suggested. It is also, in each of the cases I have examined, mediated through the body of a woman, usually figured as Marten's sexual partner.

The construction of Marten – a republican – as threatening the family directs attention to his political ideas at the point of the origin of the satire – he is being libelled sexually not because he is a libertine, but because he is a republican. Therefore the displacement of the attack cannot fully obscure its connection with politics but reads as a figure for it: Marten's sexual deviance stands for his political deviance. The significance of the sexual satires rests on the semi-suppressed information of Marten's republicanism and his political activities, even as they insist on attacking his sexuality. Reprehensible sexual activity becomes a register of political activity which, inevitably, confirms the political nature of Marten's activities, and his own political status, in the very displacement used to deny them. Thus the attacks on Marten displace his political transgression but cannot conceal it. What Marten refused, as a classical republican, was the analogy between the state and the family fundamental to patriarchal monarchist theory during the English Civil War. Even as republican theory developed, patriarchal theory was being refined to support monarchy. The order of the family in 1648 *was* connected to the state by patriarchal defenders of monarchy, especially Sir Robert Filmer.

Patriarchal theory enmeshed family and state, and crucial to this enmeshing was that men should agree about the social disposition of women.[25] To move to a more abstract statement of patriarchal theory, Luce Irigaray characterizes a patriarchal society as one in which

"exchanges . . . take place exclusively among men. Women, signs, commodities and currency, always pass from one man to another; if it were otherwise, we are told, the social order would fall back upon the incestuous and exclusively endogamous ties that would paralyse all commerce." Irigaray is careful to emphasize the *theoretical* rather than the "natural" status of such systems of exchange, and I wish to use her insight with regard to the theory of a "homosocial" system of exchange, especially a patriarchal one in which the exchange of women organizes or disrupts the cultural (and therefore political) order.[26] Under such patriarchal theory, homosociality designates "the assignment of economic roles: there are producer subjects and agents of exchange (male) on the one hand, productive earth and commodities (female) on the other" (*This Sex*, 192). This describes a theoretical political system and places women in patriarchal political theory as the goods exchanged between men – of course, as the contemporary polemical texts suggest, actual social relations were infinitely more complicated. But in such an imagined, purely patriarchal society, men order the exchange of goods, including women, through space and time and decide on the relative values ascribed to particular goods: women do not need to appear in descriptions of patriarchal society; the method for describing their value decides their significance and this has been agreed between men who exchange them.

However, as Irigaray also notes, the utterly rigid (patriarchal) differentiation between masculine subject and relegation of women to the twin categories of nature and commodity in itself implies that, in being designated the defining other of the masculine, women "come to represent the danger of a disappropriation of masculine power" (*This Sex*, 185), a comment which illuminates the theoretical and polemical texts of the English Civil War. Events and theories from 1640 onwards had led to the impasse of 1648 in which the king, theoretically head of a patriarchal order, had no power and had his value decided by competing groups. Presbyterians, Independents, Levellers and the Army did not find themselves in agreement on the system whereby social place and value might be determined and how Charles I might play a role: after the second Civil War, a crisis developed in the understanding of government, leading to the king's death and the establishment of the new order of government of the 1650s. If, as Irigaray suggests, women are patriarchally designated as commodities, then what happens when the system by which value can be assigned is disputed, as republicanism disputes monarchy? It would seem that once homosocial groups disagree among themselves (as in civil struggle or civil war), this might unleash the latent dangers of women as imagined

or figured dangerous disappropriators, precisely as it does in the political satire of the late 1640s.

In part, what seems to have happened in the 1640s and 1650s is that, from being an invisible element in the operation of patriarchy, women became visible in discourse as obstructions, channels which took virtue, semen, money out of the proper routes, no longer recombining these elements so as to fuel the patriarchal economy of status. If, as in the 1640s, the way in which power should be arranged and determined is disputed, then the status and significance of women becomes radically unstable. Marten's challenge to patriarchal values is figured in terms of his relationships to women – as a "libertine" he is placed outside patriarchal exchange with regard to the family. But as a republican he also threatens the very link between family and state – a vital link in the patriarchal designation of political meaning. This particular rebelliousness also placed him in a position which threatened the system of values whereby women are assigned meaning and value, because republicanism disputed this ordering of perceived social value. The conflict of these two possibilities was acute in England after the end of the second Civil War and during the trial and execution of the king and the establishment of the republic, changing as an issue when Cromwell established the Protectorate in the early 1650s. In 1648, however, the presence of contradictory possibilities of political order meant that women, no longer easily assigned value, were figures for the crisis in scurrilous, rather than theoretical, political pamphlets.

However, satire against Marten is only one example of the inter-relationship of the sexual/political during the 1640s and 1650s. Civil War disputation over the assignation of social meaning also brought women into focus in political satire. This can be shown in the scurrilous political pamphlets which have been attributed to the second republican figure discussed here, the politican, theorist and prose writer, Henry Neville. The value of the female in relation to differing systems of status is self-consciously explored in several prose pamphlets on the topic of the "Parliament of Ladies," attributed to Neville. These appeared at a time when the idea of parliamentary sovereignty and freedom counterposed to patriarchal theory illuminated women who, as objects exchanged, were necessary, silent and a part of the analogy of the family and the state, and when the control over women in the analogy between family and state government was seen to break down. Irigaray describes the place of women in patriarchal thought as existing as bodies which "– through their use, consumption and circulation – provide for the condition making social life and culture possible, though they remain an unknown 'infrastructure' of the elaboration of that social life and culture" (*This Sex*, 171). But in these texts the gendered order of society is

shown as inverted, or in danger of inversion, as the competition between different modes by which value could be assigned (monarchist versus republican, for example) made women visible counters in the Civil War. At the most basic but socially central level, they acted as the link joining opposed branches of families, but in these pamphlets they are at times seen as autonomous agents who might choose a lover from either side. The pamphlets describe parliaments of "malignant" and "well-affected" ladies.[27] They show women assigning value to the men who have taken part in the war, representing women-as-agents as signs of the disruption of the socio-political and economic assignation of value.

In *The Parliament of Ladies*, rebellious women have benefitted from social disruption and have gained socio-sexual power; in fact, they are presented as busy converting the political sphere (masculine space) into sexual irregularity (the crime of women against the family). This is seen as a product of the politically volatile situation, though the exact political or factional position of the pamphlets themselves is difficult to pin down. The satires address the problems of socio-sexual policing of women and/in the state. For instance, in *The Ladies a Second Time Assembled* the women become agents in political issues which they see entirely in sexual terms. The satire is directed against the inability of women to think politically or discern the differences between one political system and another, because their judgement is made only by the standards of the sexual conduct of the men in question. They tackle the issue of the redistribution of bishops' lands as follows:

> That the Bishoprick of Lincolne, of Worcester, of Ely, and Durham, should remain intire; for that though the Bishops of those Sees, had in other matters of concernment, shewed themselves very averse, yet to those Ladies assembled, they had beene very free and cordiall, even to their utmost abilities, and had in some private performances, ayded them more strongly than any secular man whatsoever.[28]

Women's decisions favour the sexual over the political, and the crisis of the Civil War can be seen here making women appear dangerous when men are not fully in control nor in agreement about their theoretical place. There is an evident articulation between sexual satire and political discourse and the whole pamphlet offers a parodic perspective on the war which takes account of no political or religious issues, but only of adulterous possibilities. It critiques the situation consequent upon the disputes about government, once again (as in the satires on Marten) using sexual satire – here of women MPs – to signal the situation of political crisis.

In *News From the New Exchange* (1650), the pamphlet sets the scene and describes the cause for concern explicitly – "there was a time in *England*, when men *wore the Breeches*, and debar'd women of their *Liberty*" (1) – and goes on to contrast this with the present, when the power of women to drink and smoke signals a new commonwealth indeed. However, by the end of the pamphlet, the anxieties expressed about "the *Ladies Rampant*" have been dissipated into recommodification of women as whores, available to be bought, used and circulated just like the pamphlet itself. Both women and this narrative about them are replaced by the story in a social order dominated by men, enabling it to end: "These, and many more you may buy; but beware you repent not your Bargain. In our next *Annals* (if your humour hold) we will give you more particular relation" (21). Thus, the narrative strategy first raises the problem of female autonomy and then reduces women to subordinates, even within an acknowledgedly disrupted political sphere, by displaying their subjection to traffic between men.

How seriously can we take such satirical attacks on women as signs of political disruption? It seems to me that we need to read them in two ways, first, as pointing towards a crisis among men in which women were also participating and, second, as an index of the kind of discourse felt to be applicable to political situations in the 1640s and 1650s, indicating that the ambivalent relationship between political and familial rhetoric was apprehended and articulated in such populist socio-sexual satire. These pamphlets, whether they are by Neville or not, fuse popular and political polemic to critique the situation *consequent* on the breakdown of agreement in the masculinist ordering of society and respond to the competing rhetorics of patriarchal and populist political theory. Neville had been concerned with the relationship between gender and politics in the 1640s (when he may have been engaged in writing political theory) and this concern continued into the 1660s, as I shall argue, through an engagement with Filmer's patriarchal theory. Soon after the Restoration, Henry Neville returned to England and in 1668 he published a prose fantasy called *The Isle of Pines* which, like the Civil War porno-political polemic about Marten and, by Neville, about the crisis in government, needs to be considered as *both* a scurrilous narrative and political polemic.

The assertion that such fictional writing could be and was seen as, at least in part, political is reinforced by the outline of Neville's career. He continued to be a political writer, publishing the anti-Cromwellian satire *Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing* in 1659 and resuming his role as a republican theorist in 1680–81, when the climate once more seemed to offer hope for republicans.[29] His republican tract *Plato Redivivus* was

greeted with alarm and provoked two book-length replies, attacking him for his republican principles and for the stylistic sophistry whereby he pretended to support monarchy. "W.W." took a Filmerian line in his assertion that Neville's design was "to turn Monarchy into Anarchy"[30] and Thomas Goddard, in his *Plato's Demon*, was equally scandalized.[31] Clearly, Neville had not abandoned any of his republican aspirations in the 1660s. As he said in *Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing*, he was still dreaming of a different game altogether – the possibility of a real republic. Therefore, it seems probable that, like the rest of his writing, *The Isle of Pines* – which when it has been considered at all has been considered *only* as a pornographic fantasy of polygamy – addresses political questions.

The Isle of Pines, like Neville's other political writings, takes the form of a framed narrative in which events from the past are related in (and, implicitly, to) the present. In this case, the present is 1668. A Dutch captain is said to have come upon some 2,000 English people living on an island where one man and four women had been shipwrecked in the reign of Elizabeth I. The first part is a narrative by the founding father, George Pine, who tells of his sexual relations with the women and of the gradual establishment of legal strictures to protect persons and property as the neo-Adamic settlement grew. The second part tells the story of the Dutch intervention in the present, and of their helping the king (like Machiavelli's foreign army) to put down an insurrection. Thus, the piece combines political discourse, traveller's tale and scurrilous sexual narrative. One interconnection between the three is the possible pun on "pine"/"penis," in which the phallic order of patriarchy (resting, literally, on the male organ) is linked with rebellion and disorder in the multiplication of "pines"/"penises" on the Isle of Pines.

As I have suggested in my brief analysis of some of the parliament of women tracts, there are good reasons to see Neville's satires as part of a political commentary and *The Isle of Pines* offers a place in which we can trace the interconnections between sexual slander and political polemic a little more clearly. It delineates what Christopher Hill calls "the Robinson Crusoe situation," but, as James Holstun notes, the text works in part as a "masculine fantasy . . . [of] utopian isolation and reproduction."[32] However, the text's relationship to the situation it describes and its commentary upon it are ambiguous. Just as satires on Marten strove to efface political questions by substituting sexual questions on which agreement would be general, Neville's fictional patriarchal colony serves to move in the other direction, taking the reader from the family to the state in a demonstration that the authority of the father is not enough to rule alone, without law.

The narrative interests itself in other issues too, but what I shall concentrate on is the story of the shipwreck and the extensive procreation that ensues. The ship set off during the reign of Elizabeth but the narrative is told three generations later, during 1667. The book was published in 1668, the year after the end of a war with the Dutch which had been disastrous for Britain, and had culminated in the bombardment of the fort at the mouth of the Medway and the firing of the English navy at Chatham. But even before the blockade in June 1667, Charles II had beeen desperate to end the war.[33] Intriguingly, the narrative of *The Isle of Pines* is said to have been given to a Dutch seaman – "the whole Relation [was] written, and delivered by the Man himself a little before his death and delivered to the Dutch by his Grandchild" – after "a Dutch ship making a voyage to the East Indies" came upon the progeny of the original George Pine.

The significance of the narrative being given to a Dutch seaman (presumably Neville's pseudonymous Henry Cornelius van Sloettan) is difficult to determine. What can be said is that the presence of a Dutch sailor as the receiver and publisher of the narrative does alert us to an engagement with contemporary political questions. This is reinforced in a later reprint in which a footnote indicates that when Neville's tract was reprinted in the eighteenth century it was felt to figure in a political (as well as a literary) tradition of anti-absolutist writing. The footnote implicitly places the story in the republican tradition by also mentioning Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, the first of which was a lengthy, point-by-point refutation of Filmer, in which the very detail of the refutation testifies to the importance of Filmer's theory as a support to monarchy.[34] The fact that it was reprinted in such a context strongly suggests that *The Isle of Pines* was read, at least by a subsequent reading public, as a politicized text taking a place in post-war debates.

This brings me back to the original question about the relationship between political theory and scurrilous narrative. Roger Thompson, in his outline of seventeenth-century pornographic writing, asserts that there was much contemporary interest in polygamy and bigamous marriage, and that this was reinforced by the behaviour of Charles II and worries about the lack of an heir.[35] However, I would argue that a close analogue is offered by patriarchal political theory. *The Isle of Pines*, although it presents itself as a fictional/verisimilar narrative, or fantasy of origins, also continues Neville's preoccupation with the proper ordering of government as worked out through fictions using politically charged constructions of heterosexual exchanges. In constantly tracing political authority back to Adam, Filmer produced a vision of the first fathers establishing something very like colonial plantations. The link

between this version of the story of the way the earth was populated and colonial theory is helpfully explicated by Francis Bacon: "Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children; but now it is old it begets fewer: for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms."[36]

Bacon is using the analogy of the family and its generations to justify colonialism as an ancient practice. We can see biblical narrative, seen as the story of the first family, reproduced in the "planting" of new colonies. *The Isle of Pines* takes a similar metaphor and disfigures it, reproducing a bastard version of the biblical narrative and the notion of colony as family. First, a "family" sets out to run a colonial "factory." At this point "family" is used in its extended sense of multiple relationships between a master and his wives, daughters and servants. The shipwreck produces what comes to be a rather different version of the family. The master is killed, leaving a male servant, George Pine, to found the colony (in this we can see the lineaments of Filmer's rights of kingship), using the bodies of his master's wife and daughter, a maid and a black "slave." This is a parodic version of Eden – as the narrator tells us, the island is like Eden before the fall: "the country so very pleasant, being always clothed in green, and full of pleasant fruits, and variety of birds, ever warm, and never colder than England in September; so that this place, had it the culture that skilful people might bestow on it, would prove a paradise" (65–6).

The colony takes shape as George Pine begins to have sex with all the women. A sub-text rapidly develops about the black slave and the founding father's lack of desire for her (he will only sleep with her in the dark). She is the mother of a child who rebels in the second part of the narrative. Although the story is "about" reproduction, the narrative does not interest itself in the nature of women. On the other hand, it does give us numbers of the children produced – 1,789 by the fifty-ninth year that Pine had been on the island. And it explains how Pine rules his offspring and sends them to other parts of the island in small colonies. Moreover, the story parallels Filmer's biblicized narration of the establishment of the first monarchy, on which patriarchal theory was based. As a fantasy of literal patriarchy in the present (1668), it can be read as delineating the polygamous (and implicitly incestuous) implications of bringing the Bible story to bear on the contemporary situation.

Because of the desert island situation, the narrative works in two ways. First, it presents polygamy as an acceptable (or, rather, pragmatic, "necessary") possibility, posing the problem in a way which offers the reader a safe position from which to regard multiple marriage. Second, the very secularity of the working out of polygamous (and

incestuous) relations points back to the sacred construction of sexual relations in which such affairs are prohibited: by implict comparison between biblical narrative of origin and the present, it illuminates the discontinuity between the two and the inapplicability of literal biblical narrative to the present. The story is, at least, a version of the patriarchal theory in which kings are founding fathers to their people. Polygamy is not condemned in biblical terms (rather it is secularized): instead, patriarchy, on the quasi-biblical model of the Adamic founding father, is shown to be inadequate to the political needs of the community. Ultimately, the narrative demonstrates that without law and reinforcements – without "property" and arms – a ruler is unable to quash rebellions. Fatherhood is demonstrated as inadequate as a guarantee of government in rebellion against the authority of patriarchy which, as it is repeated and followed by the invention of the rule of law, implies the inadequacy of a mere patriarch to govern in ethical, legal and, above all, political terms.

The foundation of the colony was laid by Pine but when he dies and passes on control of the family/colony to his son, trouble begins. The families have now extended to become semi-separate dynasties and "in multitudes disorders will grow, the stronger seeking to oppress the weaker; no type of Religion being strong enough to chain up the depraved nature of mankinde" (71). Rebellions ensue, commencing with that of the son of the black slave. Later, rebellion takes a form which treads the line between family transgression and political rebellion: we hear of sex-crimes against the family – which, in this context, are also crimes against the state: "The sense of sin being quite lost in them, they fell to whoredoms, incests and adulteries; . . . nay, not confining themselves within the bound of any modesty, but brother and sister lay openly together" (72). The power of the patriarch alone is not enough to prevent such crimes against family-and-state, so he delegates some executive responsibility and, crucially, sets up autonomous *laws* for the regulation of sexual and social behaviour. Thus, rebellion against the family as state in the patriarchal Isle of Pines brings about partial abandonment of patriarchy and recourse to the separation of state and family, shown to be necessary and exemplified in the appearance of law. The laws primarily regulate the family, condemning rape as well as theft and blasphemy. Problems because of the inability of one ruler to control rebellions continue and, in the end, the patriarch only remains in control because of the guns and powder of the Dutch. But on rebellion and the transition from pure patriarchy to a legal state, the narrator comments: "Now as Seed being cast into stinking Dung produceth good and wholesome Corn for the sustenation of mans life, so bad manners

produceth good and wholesome Laws for the preservation of Humane Society" (73).

The Isle of Pines is a fiction of the origins of a nation in patriarchal dominance and draws on patriarchal theory, but the second generation is seen to be forced to make the transition from patriarchy to a state based on law. Certainly, *The Isle of Pines* reproduces the power of the phallus to order a kingdom in its concentration on the story of these father-governors. But it simultaneously parodies and ironizes that power, undercutting it by presenting its ultimate inability to control the state. More abstractly, we can say it brings to bear satirical techniques of the Civil War on the patriarchal theory which came to prominence after it, and which was available for such fictional caricature because of its literal use of biblical narrative to the point of the collapse of all political theory into the story of the (first) family. This illuminates only one aspect of *The Isle of Pines*. It can be read as a story of shipwreck and sex, a verisimilar fiction often genericized (problematically, as I hope I have suggested) as a pornographic narrative. It can also be read as a part of the colonial writing and as an important point of convergence between colonial description, utopia and verisimilar fictional narratives of colonial dominance. One way of "placing" the text is to see it as part of a tradition which joins Elizabethan colonial narratives to *Robinson Crusoe*, set in the Interregnum. Republican possibilities lurk in *Crusoe* simply because of the time when it is set, redoubling the text's engagement with the re-ordering of a new patriarchal society. But though *The Isle of Pines* is part of such traditions, it is also interwoven with a political context and with the context of the politico-literary writing of the Civil War and its aftermath. It also exists in the space inaugurated by the conflicting politics of the Civil War, at the uncomfortable and disputed border between the family and the state, between the sexual and the political. In this context, I would suggest, not only political theory but also narratives, plays, poems and dialogues were "read politically," and polemic addressed a reader in several simultaneous registers, or even discourses, without these being fully separate but joined in persuasive polemic.

The interconnections I have traced between conflicting political theories and sexual satire do, I hope, suggest another way to read popular rhetoric of the Civil War and seventeenth-century fictions, that is, politically. In tracking the movement of political ideas through different discourses and registers, I have traced a sequence of displacements, or translations, at the level of discourse to put in place some connections between the different kinds of political or politicized language in the Civil War and its aftermath. In taking a small group of writings to illuminate

ways in which texts construct meanings, I have tried to illuminate the way such meanings – political meanings – are not generated solely by political discourse but are registered, transformed, modified and contested in a range of different discourses – which construct them differently and operate in relation to a continuum of different texts and different ways of reading.

NOTES

For Jack. My thanks to Jim Holstun, Tim Armstrong and participants in Peter Brown and Andrew Butcher's "Literature and Society" seminar, January 1991.

1. The debates between "revisionist" historians of the Civil War and others, perhaps post-Marxist historians of the period, are summarized from the latter perspective in the introduction to Richard Cust and Ann Hughes, eds., *Conflict in Early Stuart England* (London: Longman, 1989), 1–47. Cust and Hughes note that revisionist histories offer multiple and inconsistent versions of the period and they argue for a combination of detailed research with an acknowledgement that the society of Stuart England did hold the potential for conflict (16–17). For a summary of debates up to 1977 see R.C. Richardson, *The Debate on the English Civil War* (London: Methuen, 1977).
2. See David Norbrook (forthcoming) on the creation of a political and literary public sphere in the 1640s. On the issue of the "popular" sphere, see Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14–35. Harris finds the isolation of a "popular" sphere from an "elite" sphere problematic; he does not argue that the masses had no political consciousness but that "ordinary people had a more important role than is usually conceded" (15). His considered analysis of "popular" political action provides a salutary contrast to Anthony Fletcher's treatment of crowds (e.g., pages 170–3) in his otherwise immensely detailed *The Outbreak of the English Civil War* (London: Arnold, 1981).
3. Gordon J. Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975). Schochet refers to the "pamphlet war on the nature of the English commonwealth" (158). In defining the "war" as of "pamphlets," Schochet implicitly acknowledges the range of discourses implicated in the debate and gestures towards its potentially wide circulation.
4. Excerpt from the Army Debates in *Revolutionary Prose of the English Civil War*, Howard Erskine-Hill and Graham Storey, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69.
5. Jonathan Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), e.g., 10–12. See also Anthony Fletcher, *Outbreak*, xxx.
6. The best known "shocking example" is Stephen Greenblatt's use of the example of the burning town. In a brilliant analysis of Christopher Marlowe's writing, "Marlowe and the Will to Absolute Play," Stephen Greenblatt uses a non-literary text as "a convenient bridge from the world of Edmund Spenser to the world of Christopher Marlowe," thus repeating the marginality of the very text he invites us to "use," or focus on, as a bridge between one canonical and literary text and another. See *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 193–221.
7. *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow*, C.H. Firth, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894), I: 184–5. On Neville in the 1650s, see II: 83–5, 98; and on Marten in 1659, II: 287. An outline of some of the developments of republican thinking can

be found in Perez Zagorin, *History of Political Thought in the English Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1954), 146–63, and in Zera S. Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1945). Zagorin is unwilling to attribute theorized republican thought to the 1640s, presumably because the republican printed texts emerged in the 1650s, especially after the establishment of the Protectorate and in 1659. However, the way republicans responded to the crisis brought about by the Protectorate suggests that they had been planning possible governments for some time (Zagorin, 148–9). They were obviously a known group before the earliest text he cites, John Wildman's *A Declaration of the Free-born People of England* (1655). Zagorin is of the opinion that *A Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Army in Ireland* (1656), an anti-Cromwellian and pro-republican pamphlet of disputed authorship, uses Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), but may have been published by Neville (150), although it seems equally likely that Neville's thinking might have been incorporated in *Oceana*. See also J.G.A. Pocock, "James Harrington and the Good Old Cause: a Study in the Ideological Context of His Writings," *The Journal of British Studies*, 10:1 (November 1970), 30–48.

8. Henry Neville, *The Isle of Pines* (1668). Reprinted in *The Isle of Pines 1668: An Essay in Bibliography*, Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed. (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1920). Subsequent references in text are to this reprint.
9. Peter Laslett, ed., *Patriarcha and Other Political Works by Sir Robert Filmer*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949). Laslett dates the composition of the *Patriarcha* before the Civil War. He notes (3–7) the extent to which this manuscript was quoted in Filmer's wartime pamphlets.
10. Sir Robert Filmer, *The Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy* (1648); *The Necessity of the Absolute Power of all Kings and Especially the King of England By Jean Bodin* (London, 1648). Both are reprinted in Peter Laslett, ed., *Patriarcha and Other Political Works*, and the references are to this volume.
11. See Charles Herle, *An Answer to Doctor Fernes Reply* (London, 1643), quoted by Schochet in *Patriarchalism* (108–9). As Schochet notes, Herle "denies the identity of familial and political authority," arguing "*Allegoryes* are no good *arguments*, they onely illustrate as farre as the likenesse hold. Because a *King* may in some respects be call'd the *Father*, . . . doth it therefore follow because he should govern with the *providence* of a Father, he may therefore governe with the *Arbitrarinesse* of a Father without the consent of his people" (16–17).
12. One of the paradoxical aspects of the implications of Filmer's political programme in relation to the present is that, although all right is determined by history, it has become strangely detached from actual pragmatic politics in the present (285), existing perhaps as something which right-thinking monarchists subscribe to.
13. *A Brief Dialogue Between Zelotopist and Superstition* (1642). The "Antibrownistus" satires are brought together in *Images of English Puritanism: A Collection of Contemporary Sources 1589–1646*, Lawrence A. Sasek, ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989).
14. John Forster, *The Lives of Eminent British Statesmen* (London: Longman, Brown Green or Spottiswode and Shaw, 1831), 247. See also John Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), 265–7.
15. Forster, 247. See also C.M. Williams, "The Anatomy of a Radical Gentleman: Henry Marten," in *Puritans and Revolutionaries*, C. M. Williams, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 118–38.
16. Edmund Ludlow, *Memoirs*, I: 66; Forster, 254.
17. *The terrible, horrible monster of the west* (1651), A2r. Other instances of the abuse of Marten can be found in the anti-Rump popular press. One example is an article in *The Man in the Moon* in October 1649. This continues the abuse of Henry Marten and asserts that Rump MPs are given to whoring but are easily deceived by bawds. "A *Bawd*, belonging to the *Mopping School*, was likewise *Carted*, that had Cozened *Harry Marten* and some other members of the *Juncto* in their *Venery*, and sold them *stale-flesh* for *Maids*: which was taken for a high *Contempt* amongst the members

of Parliament, because that *Harry Martyn* is disabled thereby . . . to give any personal attendence in the *House*" (*The Man in the Moon*, newsletter, 10–17 October 1649, 206).

18. *Mr Henry Marten His Speech in the House of Commons Before His Departure Thence* (1648), A2r. Subsequent references in text.
19. David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 37–40.
20. Henry Parker, *Observations on some of his majesty's late answers and expresses* (London, 1642), in *Revolutionary Prose*, Erskine-Hill and Graham Storey, eds., 35–63; see also 49–50.
21. Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiatical and Civil* (1651), Michael Oakeshott, ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), 5. The positive use of Hobbes by republican theorists (as opposed to Harrington's argument with him in *Oceana*) remains, to a large extent, unspoken. However, after the Restoration (when Hobbes's theories were not embraced by the monarchy), his influence can be seen in republican theory, particularly his way of characterizing the commonwealth as non-organic but issuing from the necessity of resolving a war of all against all. Henry Neville uses this aspect of Hobbes's theory of the "artificiality" of the state in *Plato Redivivus*. See *Two English Republican Tracts*, Caroline Robbins, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 84–5.
22. *The Remonstrance or Declaration of Henry Marten and all the Socity of Levellers* (1648). See also the petitions of Leveller women discussed in this volume in the article by Ann Marie McEntee.
23. *Revolutionary Prose*, extracts from *The Army Debates*, 66.
24. *Coll. Henry Marten's Letters to his Lady of Delight Also Her Kinde Returns With His Rivall H. Pettingalls Heroical Epistles* (London, 1662) and *The King's Cabinet Opened* (1645).
25. Jacques Donzelot suggests this when he notes that the family "consituted a *plexus* of dependent relations that were indissociably private and public . . . integrally affected by the system of obligations, honours . . . [and also] an active participant in the give-and-take of social ties, goods, and actions through the strategies of matrimonial alliance." Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), 48.
26. Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985, first published 1977), 192. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosexual Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 1–5. Sedgwick writes about "homosocial desire":

    > "Homosocial desire," to begin with, is a kind of oxymoron. "Homosocial" is a word occasionally used in history and the social sciences, where it describes social bonds between persons of the same sex; it is a neologism, obviously formed by analogy with "homosexual," and just as obviously meant to be distinguished from "homosexual." In fact it is applied to such activities as "male bonding," which may, as in our society, be characterised by intense homophobia, fear and hatred of homosexuality.(1)

    See also Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex," in *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, Rayna R. Reiter, ed. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975), 157–210.
27. Examples of the titles of pamphlets from this group are *An Exact Diurnall of the Parliament of Ladyes* (1647), *The Parliament of Ladies* (1647), *The Ladies A Second Time Assembled* (1647) and *Newes From the New Exchange* (1650). There are extensive reprints, adaptations and reworkings of them: this is only a small number of the texts listed in Wing.
28. *The Ladies A Second Time Assembled*, 2.
29. Henry Neville, *Shuffling, Cutting and Dealing in a Game at Pickquet: Being Acted in the Year 1653 to 1658 By O.P. and Others with Great Applause* (1659).

30. W.W., *Antidotum Britannicum* (1681), A2v. See also Henry Neville, *Plato Redivivus* (1680), in Caroline Robbins, ed., *Two English Republican Tracts*.
31. Thomas Goddard wrote, "He would make us believe that he is supporting Our Government, while he endeavours utterly to destroy it: Propounds ruine and slavery in a peaceable way: And disapproves *Civil War* only because he doubts the success." Thomas Goddard, *Plato's Demon* (1681), A4v. For a thorough discussion affirming *Plato Redivivus* as a republican text, see Fink, *The Classical Republicans*, 123–48.
32. Christopher Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1958), 381–2. Hill is discussing Puritan texts which present "a social state which is not bound by inherited conventions" for the working out of individual salvation. He mentions *The Isle of Pines* but it fits very uneasily into his model, sliding as it does between fantasy and political critique. James Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 109, 244.
33. Ronald Hutton, *Charles the Second* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 247–9.
34. In fact, he finally argues that Filmer's theory could not work because there was no way it could be proved that, after the flood, Shem was decreed a divinely sanctioned and supreme king. See also *The Isle of Pines* (London: T. Cadell, 1768).
35. Roger Thompson, *Unfit For Modest Ears* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 100, 103, *et seq*. Thompson describes the parliaments as "good undergraduate bawdy," and his whole thesis is predicated on the separability of discourse, specifically the removal and isolation of sexual discourse as "bawdy" from all other "serious" discourses such as medical and political.
36. Francis Bacon, "On Plantations," in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 14 vols., James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis and Douglas Denton Heath, eds. (London: Longman, 1890), 6 pt. 2: 457–9, especially 457.

Rational Hunger: Gerrard Winstanley's Hortus Inconclusus

JAMES HOLSTUN

I

Gerrard Winstanley was born in Wigan, Lancashire, probably in 1609. After failing as a London cloth merchant in 1643, he moved to Surrey and found work as a cattle drover. In 1648, he wrote and published three radical religious pamplets. In January 1649, the day before Charles I was sentenced to death, Winstanley completed an astonishing pamphlet titled *The New Law of Righteousness*, which formulates a communist programme for peacefully revolutionizing English society. Winstanley says he heard a divine command for the poor of England to begin communal cultivation of the land: "Work together. Eat bread together; declare this all abroad."[1] With its allusion to Genesis, its communitarian ethic and its parallels between production, consumption and prophecy, this command is a reasonable place to locate the origins of the Digger movement.

During the next 18 months, at least ten Digger communes sprang up in Northamptonshire, Kent, Buckinghamshire, Gloucestershire and Surrey.[2] Winstanley's own commune took shape at George's Hill in Surrey, near London and just outside of Kingston. On Sunday, 1 April 1649, a small group of Diggers broke ground, sowing corn, parsnips, carrots and beans. Winstanley also set to work writing: during the next year he published 14 additional petitions, manifestos, defences and meditations. Six Digger pamphlets by other hands appeared between December 1648 and May 1650. We know little about the fate of the other communes, but Winstanley's folded in April 1650, after a series of gentry-led prosecutions, boycotts and physical attacks on the Diggers' crops, dwellings and persons. Winstanley published his communist utopia, *The Law of Freedom in a Platform*, in 1652. In later life he probably became a Quaker; he died in 1676.

The Digger project forms one of the most important chapters in the agrarian history of early modern Britain, for it presents us with the most important seventeenth-century critique of the enclosure movement from the point of view of its victims – a critique which seventeenth- and twentieth-century depictions of plebeian Englishmen and women as

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8

'Tis Pity She's a Whore: Representing the Incestuous Body

SUSAN J. WISEMAN

I

SORANZO. Tell me his name!
ANNABELLA. Alas, alas, there's all.
Will you believe?
SORANZO. What?
ANNABELLA. You shall never know.
SORANZO. How!
ANNABELLA. Never; if you do, let me be cursed.
SORANZO. Not know it strumpet! I'll rip up thy heart and find it there.
ANNABELLA. Do, do.[1]

In this speech from Ford's mid-seventeenth-century play *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* there are a number of gaps between what is presented on stage and what might be called the 'meanings' of what is happening in relation to cultural contexts.[2] The story so far is that Soranzo is one of Annabella's suitors. She agrees to marry him because she is pregnant with her brother's child. Soranzo has discovered Annabella's pregnancy, but he does not know that the father is Giovanni. This exchange, therefore, draws our attention to several aspects of the play. Firstly, Soranzo's questioning dramatises the impossibility of knowing about incest from the evidence of the pregnant body; for the body does not of itself disclose the identity of the child's father, let alone the nature of the relationship between the two parents. Secondly, the conversation alerts us to the marital and legal structures governing the body, especially the female body, as the reference to a curse suggests the religious strictures which regulated sexual behaviour. Thirdly, and more generally, Annabella's body is subject to violent handling. The dialogue calls attention to the physical body, and its sexual significance is displayed to the theatre audience. Additionally, the idea of ripping up Annabella's heart to discover the name of the child's father there reminds the audience of the

earlier incestuous exchange of vows between Annabella and her lover/brother Giovanni, while simultaneously echoing the rhetoric used in a lovers' exchange of hearts. The audience are in possession of these facts, but they also watch scene after scene in which the knowledge of incest is denied, concealed or re-read through the linguistic and dramatic structures of the text.

'Tis Pity She's a Whore was written for the theatre, but the relationship between the making of meaning in the theatre and its cultural context is problematic. Meaning in the theatre is itself destabilised by the complexity of theatrical representation and its use of a written or spoken text in combination with other sign systems (gesture, staging, etc.), which may support or contradict the linguistic text (obviously these contradictions are sometimes inscribed within the script itself). One way of formulating this is to separate linguistic and other signifiers. As the theatre semiotician Veltrusky put it, 'In theatre, the linguistic sign system, which intervenes through the dramatic text, always combines and conflicts with acting, which belongs to an entirely different sign system.'[3] An example of this is the way in which, in Act I, Scene i, we see Annabella make a choice of Giovanni after a sequence of lovers have appeared and either been discussed or themselves paid suit. We, the audience, know that the 'truth' of any liaison between sister and brother must be an incestuous one, but as Kathleen McLuskie says, the script's 'structure of the lovers rejected and a lover chosen leads the audience to accept Annabella's choice in spite of the startling danger of incest'.[4] However, this pattern of theatrical structure which makes Giovanni into a lover (and Giovanni's later use of language which makes their love into a platonic union) operates throughout in tension with the audience's knowledge of the confounding of nature and culture, self and other, which takes place in the incestuous act. It could be argued that the theatre, because of its specific representational status, offers a case study in the containing and naturalising function of sexual discourse. All the way through *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* the audience hear words and see actions on stage which do not correspond to what they 'know' in terms of culture. Although the experience of an audience depends on specific historical circumstances, for both a contemporary and an early modern audience, this play would present a contradiction or paradox between a script (using or gesturing towards legal, religious, platonic or civil language to misdescribe incest) and the problem of assignable cultural meanings attached to a body on stage.

'Tis Pity She's a Whore offers a reworking of the familiar family

drama of Renaissance tragedy. It extends the complex triangles of desire and specifically the sister-brother relations found in plays including *Measure For Measure, The Duchess of Malfi* (published in 1623 with a commendatory verse by Ford), James Shirley's *The Traitor* and Ford's own *The Broken Heart.* This essay uses *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* to examine the relationship between the body and the languages (of, for example, love, law and sin) used to describe it in the English Renaissance. A central question is: what was the significance of incest and the incestuous body in the mid-seventeenth century? Moreover, what relationship can be seen between incest in a theatrical text and in other kinds of writing about sexuality, such as legal and religious discourse, or conduct manuals? Although the play is set in Parma, it is used here to raise questions about English theatre and the regulation of sexuality.[5]

During the Renaissance, a range of (masculine) discourses and institutions claimed to give the body symbolic meaning. Peter Burke's definition of 'culture' as 'a system of shared meanings, attitudes and values, and the symbolic forms (performances, artefacts) in which they are expressed or embodied' offers some scope for the discussion of dramatic and particularly theatrical representation in relation to other 'symbolic forms'.[6] Access to the past, however, is notoriously problematic, and different sign systems cannot easily be read as equivalent or arbitrarily connected. There must inevitably be important differences in the ways in which legal documents and dramatic and theatrical texts treat and utilise the symbolic representations of incest.[7]

It has been argued by both historians and cultural historians that during the seventeenth century privacy became an issue for the individual, while at the same time it also became evident that the body of the individual was claimed not only by the individual her-or-himself and by the church, but also by the state.[8] Michel Foucault and Robert Muchembled have argued that the period 1500–1700 saw a cultural change which produced a nexus of new ideas about family life and licit and illicit sexual behaviour.[9] More cautiously, Martin Ingram concludes that 'these changes add up to a significant adjustment in popular marriage practices and attitudes to pre-marital sexuality'.[10] What the historians do not address is the relationship between these societal shifts and Burke's 'performances'. Incest is often represented in early-modern cultural production (theatrical examples include *Hamlet, Women Beware Women, The Revenger's Tragedy*), and incestuous scenarios seem to have been part of the theatre's appeal to public interest. This crime is mentioned in sacred, legal and other secular official discourses, but such

discourses differ in the ways in which they consider incest, and therefore, the meanings assigned to incest differ between legal documents and dramatic or theatrical texts.

Writers including Stephen Greenblatt, Natalie Zemon Davis and Lisa Jardine have tried, in different ways, to negotiate the relationships between different kinds of texts within a field of discourse. Stephen Greenblatt writes of sexual discourse as 'a field which in the early modern period includes marriage manuals, medical, theological and legal texts, sermons, indictments and defenses of women; and literary fictions'.[11] Granted that most texts in this field attempt to keep the meanings of sexuality stable and ordered, are all these different writings on sexuality equivalent? Can the semiological systems of a theatrical text 'read' in the theatre be equated with a marriage manual?

One of the most obvious discourses about sexuality is found in conduct books by writers such as Gouge and Tilney which describe and prescribe marital arrangements and the proper ordering of sexuality within the domestic sphere.[12] The discussion of incest in Bullinger's *Christian State of Matrimony* (1541) mediates between Biblical meanings of incest and the implications of the incestuous body in Christian civil society:

> he that hath not a shameless and beastly heart doth sure abhorre and detest the copulations in the said forbidden degrees. Honesty, shamefastness, & nurture of it self teacheth us not to meddle in such: therefore sayeth god evidently and playnly in the often repeated chap. Levi. xviii Defile not your selves in any of these things, for with all these are the heathen defiled, who I will cast out before you. The land also is defiled therethrowe: & I will visit their wickedness upon them, so that the land shall spew out the inhabitours thereof.[13]

Here both nature and 'nurture' are outraged by incest and associate it with both the heathen and with the rebellion of the land itself, which casts out those who commit it. For the literate these words would echo the commonplace interdictions of Leviticus and the tables of consanguinity and affinity found on church walls. It is a helpful passage in that, like *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, it discusses copulation rather than attempted marriage, as tends to be the focus of legal documentation, which concentrates on relationships of affinity rather than consanguinity. The connections between texts like this one, prescribing the regulation of the body, with legal records and theatrical representation constitute the complex formation through which ideas of sexuality circulate in language.

In a seventeenth-century context, incest became known through the religious language of confession, as it does in Ford's play through

Giovanni's and Annabella's confessions to the friar, and Putana's secular confession to Vasques (IV. iii). Confession is needed for the church and law to assign meaning to an individual body in its social context, as the mere body in front of an audience is not self-explanatory. Even a pregnant body does not tell all its own secrets, and incest is undiscoverable from external evidence. Nevertheless, contemporaries did link sexual irregularity to external signs: in the early-modern period what was perceived as sexual laxity or deviance was associated with monstrous births. According to manuals of sexual conduct, such as the later *Aristotle's Masterpiece*, these births indicated indulgence in sexual extravagance or misbehaviour, for example intercourse at an 'inappropriate' time in a woman's menstrual cycle. Manuals such as the *Masterpiece* did not link incest explicitly to monstrous birth, but their illustrations do mythologise the dangers of forbidden liaisons, picturing, for instance, the offspring of a woman and a dog.[14]

Incest was of two types: affinity (sexual relations or intermarriage with non-blood relatives with whom there was a problem because of inheritance) and consanguinity. Lawrence Stone concludes that incest 'must have been common in those overcrowded houses where the adolescent children were still at home'.[15] He also writes that 'all known societies have incest taboos, and the peculiarity of them in England was the restriction of their number at the Reformation to the Levitical degrees'. Moreover, he suggests that the fact that the punishment for incest was 'surprisingly lenient' indicates that sodomy and bestiality were accounted crimes of greater seriousness. Incest was not declared a felony until 1650, before which – like adultery and fornication – it was investigated, tried and punished by ecclesiastical authorities. Furthermore, incest tends to appear in the records only when people were caught or accidentally married within prohibited degrees, for which latter offences pardons were granted. In 1636 Sir Ralph Ashton in Lancashire was punished for having adulterous sex with a woman and her niece. In the same year Elizabeth Sleath and her father, by whom she had had a second child, received 'severe chastisement' at the house of correction before being sent for further punishment.[16]

As Stone reminds us, information about 'sexual conventions' is hard to find. However, the law does offer certain insights into the possible fate of sexual offenders and particularly the female body. Bastardy provides a paler analogue for it in that the single woman's pregnant body partly confesses her crime; fornication and bastardy were meanings attendant upon her pregnancy, but the body of a woman would not reveal the

father to whom the parish might turn to require economic support for the child. If a woman had committed fornication, she might be declared a common whore and punished with banishment by some church authorities.[17] She might be put on good behaviour for a year, fined, whipped, put in the stocks and required to confess, wearing a white sheet in front of the church. Such punishments appear to reflect the economic, familial, physical, social and symbolic values associated with cases of women contravening the imperative to be chaste. The nature and sites of the punishment indicate the issues at stake.

In cases of bastardy where children were actually born rather than merely conceived outside wedlock, paternity was investigated by two Justices of the Peace. In 1624 a statute was passed whereby women who gave birth to an illegitimate child that would be dependant on the parish might be sentenced to one year's hard labour. Collective dishonour and financial burden seem to have been the crux of the matter for the parish, and the Justices were entitled to find ways of keeping the child off parish relief. As the body of the woman did not reveal the child's father, pregnant women could be subjected to mental and physical torture to elicit a confession of paternity. The Justices were also entitled to punish the parents by whipping, which could be done in the marketplace or in the street where the offender lived, as well as in the house of correction.[18] In cases of fornication and bastardy, illegal sexual conduct is revealed physically in the pregnancy of the woman. The symbolic *meaning* of bastardy, however, like incest, was only made evident by the woman's confession and in the demonstration of her body and her physical punishment at church and market, sites of central importance in civil and religious society. For example, in 1613 one Joan Lea was to be 'openly whipped at a cart's tail in St John Street. . . until her body be all bloody', and in 1644 Jennett Hawkes was ordered to be 'stripped naked from the middle upwards, and presently be soundly whipped through the town of Wetherby'.

Incest, however, is a much more extreme and confused crime, in which the woman must confess paternity in order that the crime be known. Her body does not reveal the implications of its condition. Without confession the meaning of incestuous sexuality remains hidden. Without confession the sin cannot be identified and confirmed by the religious, financial, civil and familial discourses which converge to declare the (female) body sinful and which look for signs of its crime in the way Soranzo does in the speech quoted at the beginning of this essay. When incest is confessed, however, it merely exposes further and greater

confusions surrounding the means of reproduction. Unlike the confession of paternity in the case of bastardy when the naming of the father clarifies a situation and enables the child to be socially placed, the naming of the father in the case of incest multiplies familial and social connections in incompatible ways. Incest and the child of an incestuous relationship have too many, contradictory meanings.

One theorisation of the meanings of incest is offered by Jacques Derrida, who takes incest as the example of a sign which confuses the oppositional status of 'nature' and 'culture'. Incest troubled Lévi-Strauss because it fitted the categories of *both* nature and culture, and Derrida comments, 'It could be perhaps said that the whole of philosophical conceptualisation, which is systematic with the nature/culture opposition, is designed to leave in the domain of the unthinkable the very thing that makes this conceptualisation possible: the origin of the prehistory of incest.'[19] One of Derrida's aims here is to attack the truth value of philosophical concepts, which he sees as created by the pre-conditions which govern how any given discourse produces knowledge. We might see this remark as offering a way to read incest in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, where different discourses converge to make meanings around Annabella's and Giovanni's sexual relationship which actually serve to *conceal* the 'truth' of their incest.

For example, Giovanni's language in the early part of the play has two results. It confuses the categories of nature and culture and erases the confusions caused by incest through an appeal to 'beauty' as a 'natural' producer of desire and therefore as an endorsement of that desire. Where other signifiers such as 'heart' are expanded in the play to operate at a complex and ambiguous level of meaning, the idea of incest constitutes what we might call the absent centre in Giovanni's discourse, the hidden precondition of his platonic language.

II

In *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* the female body is represented as an ethical, financial, spiritual, amatory and psychological territory. Annabella's body, the procreative feminine corpus, is located and relocated within these competing ways of looking at the body. The poetic language of love and service used by Soranzo and Giovanni serves to conceal or blur the illicit nature of the physical love that they describe, and to misrepresent the social and economic position of the women courted. It is the relationship of women to sex, money and language that actually determines the outcome of the sexual relationships presented in the play.

This is made evident in Act II when Soranzo in his study considers adapting an encomium to Venice for Annabella.

> SORANZO. Had Annabella lived when Sannazar
> Did in his brief encomium celebrate
> Venice, that queen of cities, he had left
> That verse which gained him such a sum of gold,
> And for one only look from Annabell
> Had writ of her, and her diviner cheeks.
> (II. ii. 12–17)

Economic exchange is here implicit in the rhetoric of praise. Part of the project of courtly love is to redefine transgressive, physical acts of love and to transform what is, say, adultery in the discourse of civil society, into platonic union in the language of patronage.[20] This language operates within an economy of patronage in which 'service' and 'duty' are rewarded. We might think of the contract of the luckless Pedringano in *The Spanish Tragedy*, or Beatrice-Joanna in *The Changeling*. In *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* this ends with literary language made literal in the ripping up of Annabella's heart.

The play indicates the duplicitous implications of the language of courtly love in the words of Soranzo and Giovanni. Soranzo appeals to Annabella in terms of courtly love (e.g. III. ii and the scene with Hippolita in II. ii). Giovanni similarly employs the comparative language of courtly love, notably in a scene of courtship (I. ii). It is here that two important metaphors are first encountered, that of the power of the gaze and the trope of the heart on which truth is written. The power of the gaze is attributed, in the terms of courtly love, to the mistress/sister (although, of course, the agent of attribution is Giovanni). Moreover, the scene suggests the legend of Prometheus, another myth of origins, crime and death:

> GIOVANNI. . . . The poets feign, I read,
> That Juno for her forehead did exceed
> All other goddesses: but I durst swear
> Your forehead exceeds hers, as hers did theirs.
> ANNABELLA. Troth, this is pretty!
> GIOVANNI. Such a pair of stars
> As thine eyes would, like Promethean fire,
> If gently glanced, give life to senseless stones.
> II. ii. 192–8)

This culminates in Giovanni bearing his breast:

GIOVANNI. And here's my breast, strike home!
Rip up my bosom, there thou shalt behold
A heart in which is writ the truth I speak.
(II. ii. 209–11)

It is, however, Annabella's body rather than Giovanni's which comes to bear the meaning of their transgression. In this text the word 'heart', and her heart in particular, is a nexus of several different discourses. Moreover, the significance of Annabella's body is repeatedly transformed during the play by the powerful discourses which are here beginning to define it. This process locates the meaning of the female body within the dominant discourses of religion and courtly love, and her act of will in committing incest with her brother is ultimately subsumed into the civil discourse of whoredom.

If the language of courtly love serves as a structure to conceal, by reinterpreting, Giovanni's and Annabella's incest, where does the act of incest appear in the discourses of the body which permeate *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*? Perhaps it is closest to being openly articulated in Act I. This introduces the 'uncanny' disclosure of hidden desire in Annabella's recognition of her sexual attraction to her brother (her platonic 'mirror' as he later notes) when she sees his 'shape' momentarily as an object of her desire without recognising it as her brother.[21]

ANNABELLA. But see, Putana, see; what blessed shape
Of some celestial creature now appears?
What man is he, that with such sad aspect
Walks careless of himself?
(I. ii. 131–4)

When Putana looks and tells Annabella that it is her brother, she exclaims 'ha!' Quite the reverse of Giovanni's confessional disquisition on his incestuous passion, this exclamation marks textually the recognition of desire but also the danger attendant upon it. This moment of recognition of 'something secretly familiar' is reminiscent of the repeated moments of recognition in the story of the Sand-man retold by Freud in his essay on the uncanny.[22]

Also, like Oedipus's self-blinding, it suggests the dangerous closeness of the double, more fully articulated at a linguistic level in the scene of the vows (I. ii. 253–60). The association between sight and desire is made explicit here but receives fuller elaboration later in the play when it is Putana who is blinded. For she has both 'seen' (metaphorically) Annabella's and Giovanni's act of love and has spoken of it. For Freud, blindness and damage to the eyes is a metaphor for castration. Putana, in seeing,

sanctioning *and* speaking about the sexual union of Giovanni and Annabella, appropriates the rights of the law, the father and the Church. She takes over the role of the receiver of confessions and maker of meanings in relation to the incestuous union. However, she also recognises that the meanings she offers for incest (in which female desire is of paramount importance) cannot be spoken in the public sphere. Putana's language is that of the individual acting pragmatically in civil society, but outside the law, as at II. i where she joins with Annabella in concealing the incest, saying, 'fear nothing, sweetheart; what though he be your brother? Your brother's a man, I hope, and I say still, if a young wench feel the fit upon her, let her take anybody, father or brother, all is one' (II. i. 46–9).

Thus during most of the play the languages of courtly love, platonism and pragmatism are substituted for that of incest. Simultaneously, in a series of episodes, blame and punishment are transferred from the central figures of higher social class on to the bodies of those of lower or more marginal status. These threads in the plot act almost as substitute punishments: lesser transgressions receive harsh punishment while incest remains at the centre of the play, invisible and unspoken.

An example of such a replacement can be found in the figure of Hippolita and the language associated with her. Hippolita, the 'lusty widow', has been drawn by Soranzo's seduction into adultery and attempted murder. She has previously entered into a relationship with Soranzo, and in the play we watch and hear Soranzo redefine their relations, *not* in the codes of courtly love but in the sacred (and civil, or pragmatic) vocabulary of adultery, sin and repentance. She appears in Soranzo's study when he is composing the courtly encomium we saw earlier:

> HIPPOLITA. 'Tis I:
> Do you know me now? Look, perjured man, on her
> Whom thou and thy distracted lust have wronged.
> . . .
> Thine eyes did plead in tears, thy tongue in oaths
> Such and so many, that a heart of steel
> Would have been wrought to pity, as was mine:
> (II. ii. 26–38)

In this first interview with her Soranzo exchanges the language of courtly love, used to compose the poem to Annabella, for that of Christian repentance, used to justify giving up Hippolita:

> SORANZO. The vows I made, if you remember well,
> Were wicked and unlawful: 'twere more sin
> To keep them than to break them.
> (II. ii. 86–88)

He appropriates whichever code serves his purpose, and the abandoned mistress of the language of courtly love becomes the 'whore' (a term which might signal a casual partner) and an adulteress in that of Christian repentance. The language of service and courtship reappears strangely distorted when Soranzo says, 'Ere I'll be servile to so black a sin,/I'll be a corse' (II. ii. 97). The dramatic irony implicit in this speech reminds us that Hippolita's crime and punishment contrast with the greater, central significance accorded culturally to incest. Soranzo's service to adultery is substituted by his service to incest. Once more what we see and hear is in tension with what we know.

The scene demonstrates masculine control over the discourses which produce the meanings of female sexuality. This example of femininity defined and redefined by masculine control of the languages of religion and law is repeated at IV. i. Momentarily, Hippolita appears to have taken control of the meaning of the masque for her own vengeful intentions. She and the audience discover at the same moment that she has been betrayed by the language of revenge, through the agency of Vasques, the manipulator. Her attempt to control the codes of masque and revenge for her own ends causes her to be, in Vasques's words, a 'mistress she-devil', whose 'own mischievous treachery hath killed you' (IV. i. 68–9). Although she is defeated, the language of her final curse on Soranzo is prophetic: 'Mayst thou live/To father bastards, may her womb bring forth/Monsters' (II. i. 97–9). Yet again a substitution occurs in the dramatic irony of the prophecy. The audience recognises the displacement of the central issue, incest, by the peripheral and structurable issue of bastardy, and the reference to 'monsters' reminds us of other criminal expressions of sexuality.

The replacement of incest by other language in the play as a whole is indicated most obviously by the fact that the word is rarely enunciated. Just before the play opens Giovanni has confessed incestuous desire to the Friar and made himself 'poor of secrets', though he remains rich in desire. During his post-confessional conversation with the Friar, Giovanni begins to elaborate the secular theory of beauty, fate and desire which is soon to find its elaborate ritual expression in the vows he and Annabella take by their mother's 'dust'.

The lovers themselves do not name their incest, though the Friar finally names it to Annabella in III. vi. Annabella does not utter a description of her own actions until she repents in Act V, and then she speaks of Giovanni: 'O would the scourge due to my black offence/Might pass from thee, that I alone might feel/The torments of an uncontroll'ed flame' (V. i. 21–3). The language describing Annabella's body and interpreting the incestuous desires and actions of the siblings (for actors and audience) has for most of the play been that of courtly love, Neoplatonism and the pragmatic discourse of Putana. Annabella here confesses her actions:

> ANNABELLA. My conscience now stands up against my lust
> With depositions charactered in guilt, [*Enter Friar*]
> And tells me I am lost: now I confess,
> Beauty that clothes the outside of the face
> Is cursed if it be not clothed with grace.
> (V. i. 9–13)

This moment not only offers us access to Annabella's subjectivity, in which lust and conscience are coterminous, but refers us to signifiers which also existed culturally during the Renaissance; the pun on guilt/gilt points to the interpretation of incest in society by returning us to the tables of consanguinity figured in the the prayer book and on church walls. Annabella's confession fuses for a moment the problematic language of the play which refuses to reconcile incest and the interdiction available to any church-goer. Moreover, we find in this speech not an opposition of inner and outer, but a contrast of surfaces in which grace becomes a kind of clothing. In its concentration on surface and externals the language serves to call attention to the social and cultural construction of the sequence of sin and repentance, further underlined by the entrance of the Friar as eavesdropper/audience.

In the final act of the play the word 'incest' is used in the discourse of Parmesan society. Vasques says the word, and so does the Cardinal: its articulation by these two ambiguous figures is accompanied by the ritual punishment of offenders. Giovanni at this point makes literal the discourse of courtly love using the symbolism of the exchange of hearts in describing his murder of Annabella. His reappearance bearing the bloody organ cannot be interpreted by the characters on stage. For on the one hand the appearance of the real heart makes literal on stage the discourse of courtly love, yet on the other hand it makes evident the inability of this discourse to contain, explain or give meaning to incest, which has a meaning so much more illicit than that of, say, adultery.

The enigmatic but mobile figure of Vasques plays a central role in exposing the faults of women, especially in the final stages of the play. It is only in Act V that we find that Vasques, who hears the confessions of both Hippolita and Putana, is acting for the Father – for Soranzo's father, thence for Soranzo, and therefore for the determination of meaning in relation to the father, law and religious discourse. When, at last, Vasques offers an 'explanation' (or confession) of himself, he says 'this strange task being ended, I have paid the duty to the son which I have vowed to the father' (V. vi. 111–12). In a short prose speech he 'explains' his conduct:

> VASQUES. For know, my lord, I am by birth a Spaniard, brought forth my country in my youth by Lord Soranzo's father, whom whilst he lived I served faithfully; since whose death I have been to this man, as I was to him. What I have done was duty, and I repent nothing but that the loss of my life had not ransomed his.
>
> (V. vi. 115–21)

Vasques's manipulation of language has permitted him to act as a confessor to the women, who are lured into telling him their secrets and thence, through language, brought to their downfall. It is he who has already (at this point) ordered Oedipus's punishment to be inflicted not on Annabella or Giovanni but on Putana.

The uncanny recognitions of incestuous desire in Act I are mapped more fully here when Giovanni reveals to his father the doublings brought about by incest – 'List, father, to your ears I will yield up/How much I have deserved to be called your son' (V. vi. 37–8). The Oedipal punishment for incest is transferred from the male to the female body, as well as down the social scale. Vasques names Putana as 'of counsel in this incest', and he renders up Putana, 'whose eyes, after her confession, I caused to put out' (V. vi. 127–8). In Act I Giovanni endowed the eyes of his mistress with the power to give life, linking this to Promethean fire. In Act V, the only possible reason that Putana's eyes are burnt out is because she has been witness to the incestuous passion. The importance accorded to knowledge at this point in the play suggests the power of incest to confound the boundaries of nature and culture and thus elide any clear distinctions between self and other. The maiming of Putana keeps incest hidden by removing it 'from sight'.

What follows has been disputed by critics. The Cardinal, who is both a Churchman and a powerful manipulator of the language of the city, begins his summing up:

CARDINAL. Peace! First this woman, chief in these effects;
My sentence is, that forthwith she be ta'en
Out of the city, for example's sake,
There to be burnt to ashes.
DONADO. 'Tis most just.
(v. vi. 133–7)

Soon after this Vasques is banished 'with grounds of reason', but not because of his crime. It is not entirely clear who is to be burnt. Two women are on stage, the body of Annabella and the blinded (but living) figure of Putana. It seems likely that it is Putana who is the object of the Cardinal's sentence. In delivering his judgement he takes the figures in reverse order, moving from the bottom of the social scale to the top. He turns to Annabella last. Moreover, he and Vasques have just been talking of Putana, who appears to remain on stage until the end of the play. Donado – another wronged father – is given responsibility for the burning of whichever body it is, and it seems unlikely that he would be given rights over Annabella's body in preference to her father. Thus, it seems to be Putana who is pronounced 'chief in these effects'. As Hippolita is punished by civil society for sharing Soranzo's desire, so Putana is punished by a combination of church and state for seeing and knowing but, above all, telling. The Promethean fire of Act I is translated into the purgative fire of Act V.

If Putana is to be burnt, how can the body of Annabella be read in the final scene? Her brother has taken her heart and the significance of this is explored in metaphors of consumption:

GIOVANNI. You came to feast, my lords, with dainty fare;
I came to feast too, but I digged for food
In a much richer mine than gold or stone
Of any value balanced; 'tis a heart,
A heart, my lords, in which mine is entombed:
Look well upon 't, d'ee know 't?
VASQUES. What strange riddle's this?
GIOVANNI. 'Tis Annabella's heart, 'tis; why d'ee startle?
I vow 'tis hers: this daggers point ploughed up
Her fruitful womb, and left to me the fame
Of a most glorious executioner.
(v. vi. 23–33)

We know that Giovanni and Annabella have been lovers for 'nine moons', but we do not know when she conceived. It would be possible to play Acts IV and V with her very heavily pregnant. Annabella's body is first exposed to violence when she becomes pregnant, and the wound by

which she was murdered might run from her womb to her heart in the cut an anatomist might use to open a body. Many signifiers converge on Annabella's body. It is food, or has food buried within it. It is simultaneously a mine, an evidently vaginal image, in which Giovanni has 'digged' and found something more exotic than the minerals yielded by mining in distant places, a heart. The heart is her body, but it also signifies his heart within her breast. Her body is a rich vagina-womb-mine, but also a burial ground (ploughed up) from which Giovanni must disinter *his* buried heart. The uncanny doublings of the vows come to a mordant fruition here. The child is cut off and the womb invaded, not by a doctor extracting a child but by the brother-lover in search of her heart which signifies him, his identity. The vows, sworn by Annabella 'by our mother's dust', by Giovanni 'by my mother's dust', (I. iii. 254, 257), are fulfilled here as Giovanni possesses and consumes singly all those relations which have become so doubly double.

The opposition here is between inner and outer, and between surface and depth (unlike the metaphors in Annabella's speech of repentance above). The heart, now exposed, is endowed by Giovanni's public confession with all the private and confused meanings of incest. At one level, of course, it is a religious emblem and the emblem of the lover's heart, but like Annabella's dangerously pregnant body, the flesh itself cannot be completely interpreted without language.[23] Giovanni stands on stage with a dripping heart, but the meaning of the murder is constructed by language. Evan Vasques, that underminer of plots and reader of signs, cannot answer this sphinx's incestuous riddle. He, however, returns to the stage to inform the feasters that Giovanni has, indeed, ripped out Annabella's heart. It is possible to read Giovanni's final confession, or explanation, of her heart as once again re-inventing the meaning of his love, and of Annabella's body, for he concentrates the illicit multiplicity of relations on her heart. If we read the end of the final act this way, it comes as no surprise to find that when the Cardinal finally mentions Annabella's sin, he does not speak of all those double meanings Giovanni had elicited from her body in that half-emblem, half-meat, her heart. The Cardinal's address transforms the incest once again into something containable within the single realm of culture when in the closing words of the play he pronounces, "tis pity she's a whore'.

This phrase reconstitutes the dominant position of family, state and the church within society. Simultaneously, however, it calls attention to the failure of the secular and sacred languages used in the play to contain or reinterpret incest.[24] The bodies of the incestuous couple have been

represented by the lovers themselves (particularly Giovanni) in the languages of courtly love and Platonism. The Cardinal's words appear to be a bid for closure, marking a point at which the irreconcilable nature of the conflicting claims of church, state, family and economics on the body – particularly the reproductive body – fail to be resolvable and fail to verify and stabilise the meaning of incest.

Incest, which is the central concern of the play, disappears once more in the Cardinal's words which reinstate the social placing implicit in the designation 'whore'. The centre, for Derrida, is 'the point at which the substitution of contents, elements or terms is no longer possible',[25] and incest signals the collapse of the structure of separateness between bodies and families. Instead of substitution there is doubling. In the Cardinal's closing line of the play (also the title) the waters of language return to cover incest and to substitute a crime which allows the meanings of femininity to remain stable. Annabella is returned from incest to the dangerous (but less dangerous) general category for the desirous female. As a 'whore' Annabella once again signifies within the problematic of endless female desire.

However, the Cardinal's closing words leave unresolved the theatre of competing demands which the play has articulated. The tension between what we hear ('whore') and the incest which we 'know' to have taken place remains. His words present another riddle which, by asserting one of the meanings of Annabella's dead body, throws into relief all the others which remain unspoken.

III

The competing discourses of the play are interwoven with its context, but are not reducible to 'sources': they are re-invested with new meanings in the 'symbolic performance' of theatre.[26] The body alone has no meaning. But the question of what happens to the body in a play such as *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* and what gives that body meaning is complex. How is a critic to interpret the body in a play? For an anatomist, meanings exist within the body, but in the theatre only the combination of script and other codes makes the meaning of the theatrical figure. Obviously, much depends on production decisions, but the relationship between text and context is important, if fraught. As Roger Chartier says;

> To understand a culture . . . is above all to retrace the significations invested in the symbolic forms culture makes use of. There is only one way to do this: to go back and forth between texts and contexts; compare each specific and localized use of one symbol or another to the world of significance that lends it meaning.[27]

Put this way, the relationship of text to context is very complicated for symbolic bodies in the theatre, with all their precarious and slippery meanings. The context can only be other texts, other bodies in texts and the field of discourse within which these textual bodies exist.

Of course, it is not possible to talk with the dead, or to fully re-animate a field of discourse of which literary language is only a part.[28] Nor is it possible to work out exactly how the seventeenth-century theatre audience for *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* made the leap from their own experience of sexual crimes in the community to an analysis of a symbolic performance. According to Derek Hirst, policing of 'the proper order of personal relationships' in early modern England was part of the role of neighbours, and this included regular denunciations for sexual deviance. Hirst suggests that as many as one person in seven might have been denounced by neighbours for sexual deviance.[29] This might lead us to ask how we can begin to imagine the relationship between an audience who participated in such a very active neighbourhood policing and the incestuous bodies in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*.

One answer must be to compare the play with other texts in a similar field (what, for instance, might a theatrical text share with legal texts, conduct books, etc.?). Another might be to attempt to identify the specific purposes and investments of a particular discourse, which might not be shared with other texts in the field. For example, Michael MacDonald's recent study of suicide suggests that the significance of self-murder changed with the rise of the newspaper. He suggests that eighteenth-century newspapers 'altered the reader's relationship to events: attitudes to crime, like suicide, were increasingly determined by reading, rather than by direct experience and by rumor'.[30] The newspaper, with its pretensions to forensic veracity, might fix and report 'facts' for private consumption; the theatre, with its reputation for tempting fictions, might endow the body with an ephemeral plethora of meanings. Thus, evidence from texts in a similar field help to illuminate the script of the play, and we can to some extent move between text and context to map a loose set of relationships between punishments in the ecclesiastical courts and the significance of the body in the theatre. Yet, in both the theatre and the church court the body on display does not reveal its own significance. Without explanation from script, set and costume the body of a pregnant woman cannot be fully 'read' either by the figures on the stage or by the audience. Veltrusky, quoted at the beginning of this essay, suggested that script and the actions of the body on stage were parts of independent discourses. He went as far as to say that the body on

stage and the dramatic text (language) belong to completely different sign systems; as he sees it, the dramatic text, where it exists, can control everything except the actor.[31] This makes it possible to regard the incestuous body in *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, with the attendant gaps and misrepresentations in the script, as being constituted by the cultural understandings of the audience in relation to the interdependent contexts of analogous texts and theatre practice.

unpaginated. The phrase about clothing has been inserted, suggestively, as an afterthought.

45 Bartoli's version of *L' Architettura* was published with *Della pittura*, trans. Lodovico Domenichi (Monreale, 1565); Jones's copy is at Worcester College, Oxford.

46 L.B. Alberti, *On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. Cecil Grayson (London, 1972), p. 71. See Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators. Humanist observers of painting in Italy and the discovery of pictorial composition 1350–1450* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 121–39.

47 Vasari, Milanesi, I, pp. 168 ff.

48 I give the title of the second section of Fialetti's manual; the principal title is *Il vero modo et ordine. Per Dissegnar Tutte Le Parti Et Membra Del Corpo Humano* (Venice, 1608).

49 David Rosand, 'The Crisis of the Venetian Renaissance Tradition,' *L' Arte*, XI–XII (1970), 5–53; Vincenza Maugeri, 'I manuali propedeutici al disegno, a Bologna e Venezia, agli inizi del Seicento,' *Musei ferraresi 1982, Bollettino annuale 12* (Florence, 1984), pp. 147–56.

50 Vasari, *Delle Vite* (Worcester College), p. 327.

51 *Tempe Restored*, lines 47–50, in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, II, p. 480.

52 Daniele Barbaro, *La Pratica Della Perspettiva* (Venice, 1569; facsimile, Bologna, 1980), p. 129: 'questa mostra, che in tale pittura si rappresenta'.

53 Barbaro, Vitruvius, pp. 319 ff; Vitruvius, as note 23, VII.5. See David Rosand, 'Theatre and Structure in the Art of Paolo Veronese' in *Painting in Cinquecento Venice* (New Haven/London, 1982), pp. 178 ff.

54 Barbaro, *La Pratica Della Perspettiva*, p. 3.

55 This is the Preface to Part Three; for the qualities of the *istoria* see Vasari, Milanesi, I, p. 174.

56 Ibid., IV, pp. 9–12.

57 Roy Strong in Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, pp. 34–5, suggests Jones had instruction from Isaac Oliver.

58 Vasari, Milanesi, V, p. 442: 'il giovamento che hanno gli oltramontani avuto dal vedere, mediante le stampe, le maniere d' Italia . . .'

59 Ibid., pp. 405–6.

60 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, pp. 196–7, no. 53.

61 Bartsch XIV. 295. 390.

62 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, pp. 185, 187, no. 50.

63 Bartsch VIV. 13. 12.

64 Vasari, Milanesi, IV, p. 11.

65 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, pp. 247, 250, no. 81.

66 Bartsch XIV. 186. 23 and XIV. 248. 329. For a fuller discussion of this design see John Peacock, 'Inigo Jones and the Florentine Court Theatre,' *John Donne Journal*, V (1986), 207 ff.

67 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, I, pp. 262–30. no. 84.

68 Engraving by Adamo Scultori, Bartsch XV. 427. 103; see Stefania Massari, *Incisori mantovani del '500* (Rome, 1980), p. 51.

69 Vasari, Milanesi, III, pp. 390, 396.

70 Bartsch XIV. 343. 461.

71 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, II, pp. 452, 469, no. 204.

72 Bartsch XIV. 275. 361 and 317. 422; see also Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986), pp. 191–2 (No. 158), 232–3 (No. 199).

73 Bartsch XV. 426. 28; see Massari, *Incisori mantovani del '500*, pp. 53 ff., No. 62 (illustrations for Nos. 62 and 63 here wrongly transposed).

74 Orgel and Strong, *Inigo Jones*, II, pp. 536, 565, No. 274.
75 Fialetti, *Il vero modo et ordine*, pl. 3, Bartsch XVII. 296. 202.
76 Ibid., pl. 7 (part 2), Bartsch XVII. 299. 218.
77 For a fuller discussion see John Harris and Gordon Higgott, *Inigo Jones. Complete Architectural Drawings* (New York, 1989), ch. XI, 'Figurative Drawings'.
78 *Abécédario de P.J. Mariette*, ed. Ph. de Chennevières and A. de Montaiglon (Paris, 1854–8), Vol. III, pp. 314–16.
79 Vasari, *Delle Vite* (Worcester College), sig. *****3 verso.
80 I am grateful to Gordon Higgott for his advice on this point.
81 Daphne Foskett, *Samuel Cooper 1609–1672* (London, 1974), pp. 70–1.

8 *Susan J. Wiseman, 'Tis Pity She's a Whore; Representing the Incestuous Body*

1 John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, IV. iii. 49–53. The edition used here is John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, ed. Derek Roper (Manchester, 1975). Subsequent references in text.
2 The dates of first performance are between 1615 and 1633, when the play was first printed.
3 Jiri Veltrusky, 'Dramatic Text as a Component of Theatre,' in *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, ed. Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (Cambridge, Mass/ London, 1976), pp. 94–117, esp. p. 114.
4 Kathleen McLuskie, *Renaissance Dramatists* (Hemel Hempstead, 1989), pp. 129–30. Freud also discusses the choice of a lover but concentrates on the choice of a bride by a male lover. The opening act of *'Tis Pity* emphasises the mutuality of the choice, though in Act V Giovanni's language restructures the process as controlled by him. See Sigmund Freud, 'The theme of the three caskets' in his *Complete Works*, ed. James Strachey (London, 1958), XII, pp. 289–301.
5 *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* is discussed as a 'city tragedy' in Verna Foster, *''Tis Pity She's a Whore* and City Tragedy,' in *John Ford: Critical Re-Visions*, ed. Michael Neill (Cambridge, 1988).
6 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), p. xi.
7 For a critique of arbitrary connections between texts within a field of discourse see Walter Cohen, 'Political Criticism of Shakespeare,' in *Shakespeare Reproduced: the Text in Ideology and History*, ed. Jean E. Howard and Marion F. O'Connor (London, 1987), pp. 37–8.
8 See for example Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body* (London, 1984), pp. 3–4.
9 Michel Foucault, 'The Repressive Hypothesis,' *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley (Harmondsworth, 1981), I, pp. 17–21. First published as *La volonté de savoir* (Paris, 1976). Robert Muchembled, *Culture populaire et cultures des élites dans la France moderne* (Paris, 1978).
10 Martin Ingram, 'The Reformation of Popular Culture? Sex and Marriage in Early Modern England,' in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. Barry Reay (London/Sydney, 1985), p. 157.
11 Stephen Greenblatt, 'Fiction or Friction,' *Shakespearean Negotiations* (Oxford 1988), p.75. See also the essays in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1987); her *Fiction in the Archives* (Cambridge, 1987); Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters* (Brighton, 1983).
12 William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London, 1622); Edmund Tilney, *A Brief and Plesaunt Discourse of Duties in Mariage* (London, 1568).
13 Heinrich Bullinger, *The Christian State of Matrimony*, trans. Miles Coverdale (London, 1541), ch. viii, 'Of matrimonye,' p. xviii. Bullinger also refers critically to the stringent Roman Catholic laws on incest within the degrees of affinity in ch. xix.
14 *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (London, 1690), p. 177.

15 Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage* (Harmondsworth, 1979), p. 309. See also Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations* (Cambridge, 1977).
16 Lenore Glanz, 'The legal position of English women under the early Stuart kings and the interregnum, 1603–1660,' unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago, 1973, p. 195; *C.S.P.D. Chas. I*, IX, pp. 190, 500–1. Other recorded punishments include fines: see Glanz, 'The legal position of English women,' p. 196; *C.S.P.D. Charles I*, V, pp. 41, 62, 90, 91, 102, 108.
17 Glanz, 'The legal position of English women,' p. 202.
18 Ibid., pp. 202–9.
19 Jacques Derrida, 'Structure, Sign and Play' in his *Writing & Difference*, trans. Alan Bass (London/Henley, 1978), p. 284.
20 See Joan Kelly, 'Did women have a Renaissance?' in her *Women, History and Theory* (Chicago/London, 1984), pp. 30–6. Reprinted from *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston, 1977).
21 Plato, *Phaedrus*, 255d, 'he appears to have caught the infection of blindness from another; the lover is his mirror in whom he is beholding himself, but he is not aware of this.' *The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett (Oxford, 1953), III.
22 Sigmund Freud, *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. J. Strachey et al., vol. xvii: 1917–1919 (London, 1955), 'The Uncanny,' pp. 217–52, esp. p. 245.
23 See for example Christopher Harvey, *The School of the Heart* (1647) in *The Complete Works*, ed. Alexander Grosart (London, 1874). See also Michael Neill, ' "What Strange Riddle's This?" Deciphering *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*,' in Neill, ed., *John Ford: Critical Re-Visions*, pp. 153, 155–6. The range and violence of critical opinion quoted by Neill points to the opacity of the final scene of *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*.
24 Jacqueline Rose, 'Sexuality in the reading of Shakespeare: *Hamlet* and *Measure For Measure*,' in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (London, 1985), p. 118.
25 Derrida, 'Structure, Sign and Play,' p. 279.
26 See Derek Roper's introduction to Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, pp. xxvi–xxxvii for summary of discussion of sources.
27 Roger Chartier, *Cultural History*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1988), p. 96.
28 Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, pp. 1–3. Greenblatt begins, 'I began with the desire to speak with the dead,' and goes on to explore the difficulties around this idea.
29 Derek Hirst, *Authority and Conflict* (London, 1987), p. 49.
30 Michael MacDonald, 'The Secularisation of Suicide in England 1660–1800,' *Past and Present*, CXI (May 1986), 50–100, esp. p. 51; see also D.T. Andrew's comment and MacDonald's reply in ibid., CXIX (May, 1988), 158–70.
31 Veltrusky, 'Dramatic Text as a Component of Theatre,' p. 115: 'the general function of drama in the shaping of the semiotics of theatre can be brought out only by means of confronting the two sign systems that are invariably present, that is, language and acting.' See also, Patrice Pavis, 'Notes Toward a Semiotic Analysis,' trans. Marguerite Oerlemans Bunn, *The Drama Review*, LXXXIV (1979), 93–104, esp. p. 104: 'Very often it is the *out of sync*, the absence of harmony between parallel scenic systems, that . . . produces meaning.'

9 Maurice Howard, Self-Fashioning and the Classical Moment in Mid-Sixteenth-Century English Architecture

1 *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Marquess of Salisbury*, XV (London, 1930), pp. 382–3. The letter is undated but endorsed '1603'.
2 Lawrence Humphrey, *The Nobles or of Nobilitye. The Original nature, dutyes, right and Christian Institucion thereof. Three Bookes* . . . (London, 1563), v. III. v.

3 Numerous early Tudor palaces are known to have been painted, either to accentuate the colour of the brick or to disguise it in yellow and black. See Peter Curnow, 'The East Window of the Chapel at Hampton Court Palace,' *Architectural History*, XXVII (1984), pp. 1–14 and H. Colvin, et al., eds, *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. IV: *1485–1660*, part ii (London, 1982), pp. 68–74, on Dartford Priory. On dress at this period and the issue of decorating the structure of costume, see Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality* (London, 1986), pp. 59–66.

4 Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning* (Chicago/London, 1980), p. 2.

5 Most useful on Elizabeth I and her country house visits is Jean Wilson, *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge, Suffolk/Totowa, N.J., 1980). See also Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, pp. 165–9 on the queen and role-playing.

6 David Starkey, 'Ightham Mote; Politics and Architecture in Early Tudor England,' *Archaeologia*, CVII (1982), pp. 153–64, presents what he sees as the transfer of part of a particular temporary royal structure into a courtier house. Malcolm Airs, 'The English Country House in the Sixteenth Century,' *Oxford Art Journal*, II (April 1979), pp. 15–18, argues for the considerable knowledge of the aristocracy in the later sixteenth century in architectural matters; M. Girouard, *Robert Smythson and the Elizabethan Country House* (New Haven/London, 1983), pp. 4–6, is less convinced.

7 In general, see Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds, *The Mid-Tudor Polity c. 1540–1560* (Basingstoke, 1980) and particularly Dale Hoak's article on Northumberland and the Council, pp. 29–51. A counter-argument in many respects, stressing the continued importance of the Privy Chamber, is presented by John Murphy, 'The Illusion of Decline: the Privy Chamber 1547–1558' in David Starkey, ed., *The English Court from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War* (London/New York, 1987), pp. 119–46.

8 See John N. King, *English Reformation Literature. The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, 1982), *passim*, and Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1988), ch. 4.

9 On mid-century patrons, see John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830* (5th edn, Harmondsworth, 1969), ch. 2; E. Mercer, *English Art 1553–1625* (Oxford, 1962), ch. 1, 2; Adam White, 'Tudor Classicism,' *Architectural Review*, CLXXI (1982), pp. 52–6.

10 See M. Howard, *The Early Tudor Country House. Architecture and Politics 1490–1550* (London, 1987), ch. 9, for a full list and comments on the appearance of the new classical idiom. See R. Haslam, *Country Life*, CLXXVIII (1985), pp. 943–7 on Newark; H. Gordon Slade, *Archaeological Journal*, CXXXV (1978), pp. 138–94 on Broughton; Colvin et al., eds, *The History of the King's Works*, IV, pp. 252–71 for the most recent published work on Somerset House. The issue of the classical loggia at Lacock is discussed by M. Howard, 'Adaptation and Re-adaptation: The Fate of Some Early Country House Conversions' in *Dissolution and Resurrection* (Papers of the 1985 Oxford Conference, forthcoming).

11 C.H. Talbot, 'On a Letter of Sir William Sharington to Sir John Thynne, June 15th, 1553,' *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, XXVI (1891–2), pp. 50–1 and W. Douglas Simpson, 'Dudley Castle: the Renaissance Buildings,' *Archaeological Journal*, CI (1944), pp. 119–25.

12 For a useful discussion of Holbein's portraits and ways of reading sitters and their imagery, see Mark Roskill and Craig Harbison, 'On the nature of Holbein's portraits,' *Word and Image*, III, no. 1 (1987), pp. 1–26.

13 On the Wentworth portrait, see Roy Strong, *The English Icon: Elizabethan and Jacobean Portraiture* (London, 1969), pp. 67, 69–74.

14 Anthony Blunt's extremely useful 'L'influence française sur l'architecture et la

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SUSAN J. WISEMAN

10 'History digested': opera and colonialism in the 1650s

Why, truly, your great enemy is the Spaniard. He is. He is a natural enemy, he is naturally so. He is naturally so, throughout, as I said before . . . And truly when I say that he is naturally throughout an enemy, an enmity is put into him by God.
Oliver Cromwell, Speech at the opening of Parliament, 17 September 1656[1].

I

In 1517, the Spanish missionary Bartolomé de las Casas, taking great pity on the Indians who were languishing in the hellish work-pits of the Antillean gold mines, suggested to Charles V, King of Spain, a scheme for importing blacks, so that they might languish in the hellish work-pits of the Antillean gold mines.[2]

Thus Borges describes the processes of colonialist displacement which invents non-European races for the intellectual consumption of the European. The noble savage and the barbarian, Ariel and Caliban, are equally products of a conceptualisation of an other, obviously invented to serve the value system of the representer, fabulator. Borges is drawing our attention to the logic of this process (in which Cromwell's speech participates), by which values and characteristics are attributed to 'natives' and other peoples only in order to inscribe them in the definitional codes of the naming nations.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the connotations of such displacements and constructions in four interregnum dramas and operas by William Davenant, performed under the restrictive conditions of production prevailing in the 1650s. The closure of the theatres in 1642 (and further strictures in 1647 and 1648) meant that to publish or perform drama became an obviously political act, though not necessarily a pro-monarchical gesture. Theatre could no longer be innocent of its ideological status either in terms of plots or in terms of the kind of representation displayed. All aspects of dramatic and theatrical texts were overtly politicised by the Civil Wars, the regicide and, in the 1650s, the continued ban of the theatre under the Protectorate. This is the context for my

examination of *The First Days Entertainment at Rutland House*, *The Siege of Rhodes* (I and II), *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* and *The History of Sir Francis Drake*. This chapter explores the anxieties the texts manifest around the interconnected issues of their own status as drama and problems of rule and government, using Michel Pecheaux's simple insight that language ('words, expressions, propositions') is always incribed in ideological formations, and that words alter according to the position from which they are spoken.[3] I propose a reassessment of Davenant's work which contends with previous critical studies which have characterised it as either participating directly in an undivided and identifiable 'royalist' ideology, or solely in terms of the arrival of opera in England – a supposedly depoliticised and contextless event in dramatic and musical history.[4] I shall not be discussing the musical aspects of the opera, only the ideological implications of the drama presenting itself as such. The civil, ideological and epistemological crisis of the Civil War created a moment when the English 'nation' must be perceived as capable of many different kinds of definition (or none). The execution of the king, for example, made evident certain differences previously united under the mystifications of divinely sanctioned absolutism and helped to inaugurate that re-definition of the state played out during the later 1650s.

Patricia Coughlan's chapter, which follows, demonstrates the construction of Ireland as an 'other' to England. Here I am concerned with representations of colonial 'others' in discourses of colonialism in the drama written by Davenant and performed at Rutland House and at the Cockpit between 1656 and 1659. These plays constitute themselves in response to the particular ideological conflicts in politics and in the politics of theatrical representation. They appear to avoid all obviously dangerous political ground including the old genres, domestic topics and the representation of Christian kings. Analysis of their position must begin by pointing out that these are plays whose political involvement is inaugurated by their attempt both to avoid controversial forms and their inevitably doomed attempt to avoid reference to an unavoidably political present. Nevertheless, these plays can, at points, be linked fairly closely to Cromwell's foreign policies of the later 1650s.[5] The structure of the plays also provides evidence about the relationship between the legal and political and pragmatic status of performed drama under the Protectorate and it constitutes a response to the terms of the strictures against the theatre in the constructions of the new genre adopted. These new 'operas' also suggest the political implications of the instability of meaning, especially the meaning of the nation, at the moment of production. Additionally, with the exception of *The First Days Entertainment*, the plays' references to the internal politics of Protectorate England – the constant topic of many published dramatic pieces from the Interregnum – takes place through a discourse of the

other.[6] Notably, two of the plays, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* and *Francis Drake*, operate with reference to England's Elizabethan past. These references exist literally in terms of a glorification of Elizabethan foreign policy (similar to Cromwell's as suggested in the opening quotation) and in terms of a reworking of a Protestant politics, or analysis of the state (as in *The Siege of Rhodes*). Just as the formal aspects of the drama are distanced from pre-war public drama, so the representations of traditional 'others' distance the plays from obvious representation of domestic political conflict. Inevitably, these generic factors and the colonialist discourses interweaving in the plays actually form the mode of entry of these texts into political debate.

The plays Davenant wrote demonstrate anxiety about the position of drama. He himself, as a favourite dramatist of the Stuart court, was in some ways a surprising choice as an officially sanctioned Protectorate dramatist, although he was perhaps vulnerable because of his accidental presence in England. The political positions of dramatists appear to have been much more fluid than any notion of 'royalist' or 'cavalier' allegiance would suggest. Indeed, although Davenant was the only officially sanctioned theatrical figure during the Interregnum, he was not the only dramatist favoured by Henrietta Maria to have had work performed during the Protectorate 1650s – James Shirley's *Cupid and Death* was acted before the Portugese ambassador and he was author of the well-known, even notorious, *Triumph of Peace* (1634). Even John Tatham, who seems to have tried to approach the queen's circle with his first volume of poems and a dramatic pastoral *The Fancies Theater* (1640), made several movements between political positions in the 1650s and ended up writing for the reconstituted Lord Mayor's shows.[7]

Nevertheless, Davenant's performances were the only dramas sanctioned by the state (they were vetted by Thurloe, who might have had a closer involvement) and he may have been helped towards these productions by Bulstrode Whitelocke. These texts of the 1650s were operating in a legal and a discursive context formally, if not actually, determined by the moves against the theatre in 1642 and subsequently (including the harsh enforcement of these measures at the beginning of 1649). The fact that the rhetoric of these legal objections was to a degree moral provided the dramatists with their rhetorical and political positions.[8] It gave them the cue to reply with offers of a 'reformed' stage. Writers, including James Shirley, Richard Flecknoe and Davenant, used the new fashion for opera as a way of offering a reformed drama (in Flecknoe's case the drama was dedicated to Cromwell's daughter-in-law).[9] This was true of plays both for those who saw them and for those who put them on. Accordingly, Davenant's operas avoid the tragic formal structures which would imply a direct analysis of the issues of absolutism and other forms of govern-

ment.[10] In terms of personnel, however, they were irrevocably linked to courts, kings and court entertainments.

II

Davenant's first intervention in the debate about the reformed stage was performed, unlike the others, on a quasi-public stage in his own house. *The First Days Entertainment at Rutland House* (staged on 23 May 1656) was the first piece of theatre permitted by the Protectorate government and it addresses directly the problem of the nature and value of theatrical representation, an issue also addressed by Edmund Gayton in his preface to the Lord Mayor's show of 1655.[11] The formal aspects of the play initiate the oblique generic relationship between these plays and pre-war genres, an obliquity which I interpret as a response to a perceived crisis in that which it is permissible to articulate. Like a masque, the piece was called after the occasion of its production, but unlike a masque it was called after that only; the title tells us nothing at all about any aspect of what is actually to be performed. Later we learn that the drama is to be 'by declamations and musick after the manner of the ancients'. Such a description clearly places the piece in the context of a reformed theatre: the play demands to be considered as a 'reformed' and 'moral' play. It also displays a radical uncertainty about what a theatrical representation might be, or might be permitted to be.

The drama itself continues the privileging of occasion over narrative found in the title, and the emphasis is on the morally beneficial effects of the stage upon spectators. Not only is it careful to say nothing to offend the government, but it consists largely of a debate between Aristophanes and Diogenes, on the topic of the pros and cons of 'Publique Entertainments by Morall Representations'. So it becomes drama about the possibility of staging drama and it seeks to answer allegations against the theatre on the moral ground set out by the 1642 and 1647 attacks on plays. However, outside the legal sphere, Davenant's opera was operating in the very different context of the Protectorate and had close links with government officers. The form of the piece reflects this in that it hardly resembles a play at all. Instead it is set up as a pair of public debates, which demonstrate literally that the stage could, indeed, teach by delighting.

The First Days Entertainment is a response to the specific ideological and political position in which the theatre found itself. It addresses the issues directly in both the adaptation of its shape from drama to discussion, and in the discussion itself which raises the question of the possibilities of a morally reformed theatre. While representing a revival of the theatre it also represents a visibly radical break with many pre-war conditions of

the theatre, but in doing so it also shifts the modes of representation employed by public theatre perceptibly towards the kind found at the court of Charles I. This is evident in the way the title and its construction present it as an occasional piece, as well as in the abandonment of anything approaching narrative, and in the use of spectacle including perspective scenery. Henrietta Maria rarely visited the theatre and Charles I never went, in contrast to the Restoration custom. Arguably, in this piece we see the change between the pre-war and the Restoration stage actually taking place. It could be said that *The First Days Entertainment* was the occasion of the theatrical conventions which before the war had been primarily associated with the court moving on to a stage that was 'public' in the sense that it was open to the public. At any rate, *The First Day's Entertainment* sets the scene for theatre under the Protectorate as radically different from most things which preceded it. The other dramas by Davenant from this period do not emphasise their status as moral representations within arguments conducted as part of the play. It is possible that while this text does not contain elaborate analyses of theatrical representation derived from Aristotle (as do the theatrical treatises of Hedelin and Chapelian) the fact that debate about theatre was permitted in France is very likely to have influenced a dramatist who had been present at Henrietta Maria's court in France. Certainly, this drama is unique in Davenant's mid-century plays in the fact that it actually addresses the question of what a 'moral representation' might be. Nevertheless, the shape of the play, and its status as a particularly oblique kind of metatheatre from beginning to end, is contiguous with the anxieties about the status and nature of drama in these other operas of the period. Davenant had held discussions with Thurloe before the plays began to be staged, and documents make evident the fact that the state had a close interest at least in the ideological nature of the plays.[12]

The drama which Davenant wrote and which was performed subsequent to the performance of *The First Days Entertainment* and the first part of the *Siege of Rhodes* was *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, first performed at the Cockpit during 1658 and simultaneously printed by Henry Herringman.[13] In *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* the text evidently presents itself as a new kind of drama in its formal aspects and in its construction of Englishness through the representation of the 'natives' and the Spanish. This echoes both generically and in the literalisation of the colonialist metaphor Davenant's assertion in the 'Preface to *Gondibert*' that:

> Such limits to the progresses of every thing (even of worthiness as well as defect) doth Imitation give: for whilst wee imitate others, wee can no more excell them, than he that sailes by others Mapps can make a new Discovery.[14]

It is a particularly novel piece of public drama in terms of the ideologies of the nation and of colonisation which it presents and in the relation between the play and the libretto which was simultaneously printed. It demonstrates even more obviously than *The First Days Entertainment* the drama's anxiety about its status and about the political position of opera as constituted both in the shape any performance might take and in terms of the actions represented.

The Cruelty of the Spaniards intermittently tells the story of the arrival of the English in Peru, where they rescue the natives from the evil Spanish. Thus it draws on mythologisations of the English as conquerors in South America established around Drake, Raleigh and others. At the same time the resolution of the play takes place in the future, in the form of a fantasy of the reconquest of South America by the English – and so the play unites past and future, ignoring anything which might pass between. It fuses mythologised past (the golden age of Elizabethan conquest) and the future (the age of reconquest) and so contextualises the present, or moment of production, in a historical continuum which has direct access to Elizabethan politics of nationhood and conquest, obliterating any Stuart history. The political implications of the displacement in Davenant's case are in many ways as obvious as the implications of the structure of both *The First Days Entertainment* and this play in terms of the status of theatrical representation.

The piece, like *The First Days Entertainment*, is not easily placed in generic terms. Music and song are used as a semi-choric comment on tableaux and mimed actions. The mimes also include a variety of tumbling, juggling and acrobatics. The piece does not offer any obvious narrative links between the various 'entries' which are presented as singular, though sequential, episodes. Thus the action provides tableaux which are commented upon in song and speech but which would not be easily understood as a narrative when performed. The connotations of each tableau and mime would not be wholly obscure to the audience, but connection between the scenes and narrative does not inhere wholly in the spectacle. However, in the central role accorded to the libretto, this drama acknowledges the multiplicity of meanings that any actual theatrical performance might generate. It also acknowledges the politicised nature of the interregnum audience. While the libretto is, clearly, there to help the audience follow what is going on, it also tells them what the play in front of them means. It seems of signal importance that Davenant took the trouble to send the text to Bulstrode Whitelocke before the play was produced.[15] This supports my argument that the text actually attempts to contain meaning. The problem of the theatre to the authorities in the 1650s is, in part, how to contain meaning, to deny and circumvent the radical instability of theatrical signs and the multiplicity of potentially subversive

meanings generated by direction, acting and the ideological commitments of an audience. Davenant's drama is an isolated event permitted by a government which attempted to control theatre by a more complete suppression. It comes as no surprise, then, to find that the play's anxieties about the politicisation of meaning are 'internalised'. *The Cruelty of the Spaniards* makes a bid to foreclose on interpretation. The narrative, and thus much of the ideologically laden signification of the drama consists not in what actually happened on stage, but in a libretto sold at the door and giving a very detailed description of what is witnessed on stage. The libretto gives a 'definitive' interpretation of events on stage (i.e. scenes, songs and acrobatics) by fitting them into a narrative and ascribing meaning to that narrative.

The libretto supplies a hermeneutic code, which links the visual and aural codes into a narrative strongly suggesting an interpretation to the audience. The libretto inserts itself into the audience's interpretation by putting the meaning outside 'the play', outside whatever is actually taking place on stage. The publication of the libretto can also be seen as an attempt to fix the dynamics of actual theatrical production in one manifestation, that is in the printed, published text which can be presented as standing for the performance.

The natives of North and South America had been commonly represented as both vicious and noble savages.[16] If the savages here are noble then it is Arcadian and Edenic. And if it is Eden, then Spain is the serpent. Fulke Greville (for whom Davenant worked) described it in his *Life of Sidney* (published 1652) as the ultimate land of opportunity – for an overwhelmingly English way of life:

> To Martiall men he [Sidney] opened wide the door of the sea and land, for fame and conquest. To the nobly ambitious the far stage of *America* to win honour in. To the Religious divines, besides a new Apostollical calling of the land of the heathen to the Christian faith, a large field of reducing poor Christians, mis-led by the Idolatry of Rome to their mother *Primitive* Church. To the ingeniously industrious variety of naturall richnesses, for new mysteries and manufactures to work upon. To the Merchant, with a simple people, a fertile and unexhausted earth. To the fortune-bound, liberty. To the curious, a fruitful womb of innovation. Generally the word Gold was an attractive Adamant, to make men venture that which they have, in hope to grow rich by that which they have not.[17]

As Roland Barthes puts it in *Mythologies*, the differential between the way of life there and the way of life in Europe was sufficient for the natives and their culture to become idealised, as they did to a degree for Las Casas on whose narrative the text and visual tableaux of *Cruelty of the Spaniards* are fairly closely based. This idealisation can be directly linked to material and national investments. Just as Greville, Davenant's mentor in his youth, associated the Americas with opportunity, wealth (gold) and the

validation of masculinity, so Las Casas saw it as a paradise, an Eden spoilt by the exploitation of the noble natives. Davenant, like Greville, in turn both valorises the English and represents the natives as tractable, but also produces a scapegoat – Spanish nationalism, Catholicism and colonial ambition.

The Spanish are represented as truly vile, and their colonialism signals corruption through their indulgence in the rankest torture. In terms of the displacements effected in Davenant's interregnum work, here the Spanish are represented as venting tortures on the noble natives very similar to those which the natives themselves are sometimes represented as inflicting on Europeans. Vivid pictures of the cruelty of native South Americans to other natives are particularly found in such places as Purchas's *Pilgrims*. Here, for instance, the Mexicans are contrasted with the Peruvians, and the Spaniards are the 'civilising' influence,

> They of *Peru* have surpassed the *Mexicans* in the slaughter and Sacrifice of their children . . . yet they of *Mexico* have exceeded them, yea all the Nations of the World, in the great number of men they have sacrificed and the horrible manner thereof . . . The *Spaniards* that saw these cruell Sacrifices, resolved with all their power to abolish so detestable and cursed butchering of men, and the rather, for that in one night they saw threescore or threescore and tenne *Spaniards* sacrificed.[18]

The play presents an almost exact replica of these circumstances, except that the torturers are the Spanish, the Peruvians the tortured. The libretto/narrative provides a particularly appetising description at Entry 5:

> A dolefull pavin is plai'd to prepare the change of the Scene, which represents a dark prison at great distance; and farther to the view are discerned Racks, and other Engins of torment, with which the Spaniards are tormenting the natives and english Marriners, which may be suppos'd to be lately landed there to discover the Coast, two Spaniards are likewise discover'd, sitting in their cloaks and appearing more solemn in Ruffs, with Rapiers and Daggers by their sides; the one turning a Spit, whilst the other is basting an *Indian* Prince, which is rosted at an artificiall fire.[19]

Needless to say, the English triumph sees the Spanish grovelling and the natives gambolling in delight. They are no longer particularly similar to their virtuous English conquerors. The play sets up the co-ordinates of the colonial discourse which has three terms, the Christian conquerers, the pagan 'discovered' and the Spaniards characterised as a diabolic agency. Thus the status of the fantasised campaign is elevated to that of a crusade against not the Peruvians – whose country is a locus of desire, filled with possibility perceived as a country with a (European) future – but against the Spanish. The narrative presents a futuristic fantasy of a battle for primacy between a Protestant and a Catholic European nation

acted out in a remote location. The colonial ambitions of England are justified and validated in their treatment of the Spaniards and, particularly as the narrative is set in the future, there is no need to address the dynastic question of in whom the rule over the noble Peruvians would be invested.

The play's analysis of colonial ambition reverses the positions of the civilised and the barbaric through this addition of a third term, a third nation, the Spanish. Ideologies of nationhood are not made explicit except in the broadest possible way: Roman Catholic Spaniards are defined against good Protestant English but no question is raised about whether the good Protestants are monarchic or republican Protestants. The disappearance of the present between past and future is one factor which enables the question of national authority to – conspicuously – disappear. Also, the discourses of colonial conquest engulf the pressing questions of nationhood.

A further dimension is given to *The Cruelty of the Spaniards* when we find that the narrative from which it was taken was inscribed very firmly in a specific ideological tradition. John Phillips who translated *The Teares of the Indians* (1656) dedicated it to Cromwell.[20] Phillips is voluble about the urgent need for the Peruvians to be protected by the English. He writes to Cromwell of 'the cry of Bloud ceasing at the noise of Your great transactions; while you arm for their revenge' (A3v). The 'revenge' for which Phillips argues is thus enacted in Davenant's narrative of a glorious future crusade. Analogues can be found for Davenant's use of sources with ideological profiles of high nationalism in the narrative material used in *The History of Sir Francis Drake*, Davenant's other interregnum play which dramatises a story from an Elizabethan expansionist past. Philip Nichols's *Drake Revived* (London, 1626) is the text on which *The History of Sir Francis Drake* is based. Nichols calls upon 'this Dull or Effeminate age, to follow in his Noble Steps for Gold and Silver', though here the context for the 'effeminacy' would appear to be the accession of Charles after James I. Davenant and Nichols replicate one another in their appeal to new regimes for an active foreign policy following broadly that of Elizabeth and it comes as no surprise to find *Sir Francis Drake Revived* reprinted in 1652. Moreover, the other Drake material, *The World Encompassed* (1636), offered itself 'especially for the stirring up of *heroick spirits*, to benefit their Countrie'.[21] Drake literature was periodically reprinted, and while it is of course possible that Davenant explicitly studied these books for his trip to Virginia, the narratives were also apparently woven into national consciousness and seem to have formed a part of the *mythos* of Elizabethan foreign policy. This policy Cromwell reiterated, for example in the 1656 inaugural speech to Parliament, where he combined it with a call to action: 'Truly our business is to speak Things; the dispensations of God that are upon us do demand it.' (Abbott, 4, p. 260). The

colonialist representations of both *The Cruelty of the Spaniards* and *Francis Drake* echo Cromwell's foreign policy, call up memories of a heroic Protestant past and avoid issues of contemporary domestic import.

If the Americas provide a model of otherness against which a present Englishness can be established with reference to the past of the nation and its future, then the representation of the Turk in *The Siege of Rhodes* offers a more complex colonial representation. In the 'Preface to *Gondibert*' Davenant wrote of the Mohammedian 'vaine pride of Empire', and Walter Benjamin, writing on the German tragic drama aptly commented that for Europe, 'the history of the Orient [was] where absolute imperial power was to be encountered', yet in *The Siege of Rhodes* I and II, we find this mythologisation gradually subverted and unravelled.[22] It is also one which serves to illuminate Davenant's reinscription of Greville's political analysis and, to some extent, his dramatic poetics, into an almost Hobbesian analysis of the contemporary crisis in the right to rule. On the one hand the play provides a 'love and honour' drama in which issues of fidelity, honour and loyalty are raised. On the other hand it is a play which presents and partially undercuts historically determined notions of the Turk as Satanic and offers, at least potentially, a critique of militaristic and absolute government (while at the same time Cromwell drifted daily closer to being a *de facto* hereditary monarch). This complex representation of the Turk as both other and similar draws on diabolised mythologisations of the Turk alongside which trading relations had existed, but I would argue that this particular representation also utilises the implications of a particular event in the year in which the play was first produced.

The first part of *The Siege of Rhodes* followed a few months after *The First Days Entertainment*, in 1656, and was published in that year and again with *Francis Drake* in 1659. In 1661 both parts of *The Siege of Rhodes* were staged alternately at the Lisle's Tennis Court theatre, and in 1663 the revised version (and very different second part) were all published.[23] Substantial differences exist between the representation of politics in the first and second part. Here I shall examine briefly the representation of the Turk on the English stage in the 1656 version, and the issues of absolutism and the will of the people raised in the second part. The first part, sometimes described as the first English opera, is interestingly balanced between public and private theatre. The two parts of the play provide, firstly, a definition of European values in relation to an 'other' (the Turk). But later that scheme is questioned when the Turk, previously constituted as the other, comes to represent values similar to those of the Europeans.

The play describes the siege of Rhodes in 1522, when the English were involved in the garrisoning of the island. It presents the audience with two rival armies fighting over the town. The English ('lions') are represented in Rhodes, but the central conflict is between the Rhodian forces

and the Turks. The Turk is initially represented as a powerful force, with his fleet moving towards Rhodes:

> ADMIRAL: Her shady wings to distant sight,
> Spread like the curtains of the night
> Each Squadron thicker and still darker grows,
> The Fleet like many floating forrests shows.
> 1 *Siege of Rhodes* I.i. 11–14

Initially at the start the Turk is represented as an 'other' – dark, plethoric, dangerous; an apparition to contrast with the European virtues of Rhodes. However, as the play goes on this reassuringly different 'other' shows evidence of increased affinity to the Rhodians. The initial presentation of the Turks draws on the historical status of the Turk as a threat to European Christendom, to the kingdom of God itself. As C. A. Patrides notes, the equation between the Sultan and Satan was a commonplace. The play activates those discourses with which (in the words of Edward Said), the east 'has helped to define Europe . . . as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience'.[24] Just as in *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* a battle is joined, but here it is situated on the edge of Europe, at the border with beyond. Instead of presenting two European powers struggling for dominance in a landscape empty of values (or of questionable values), it presents a united Europe defending an outpost against an enemy which was traditionally perceived as pressing on the frontiers of the western world, threatening disruption, destruction and the end of Christendom itself.

If the Ottoman empire historically provided an 'other' by which Europe defined itself, then the genuineness of this 'otherness' was constantly undermined by the close trading links between Turkey and Europe. *The Siege of Rhodes* draws on the double standard by which the Ottoman empire was seen as a recognisable 'other'. The play also presents an uncanny similarity or replicatory re-presentation of the west to itself. Its detailed hierarchies might be seen as in many ways analogous to European, or specifically English monarchies of types both *de facto* and *de jure*. Furthermore, that which made the Turks available for this dual representation as 'other' and 'similar' was, in part, the fact that the Ottoman empire suffered its worst defeat since Lepanto, when the Venetian fleet came close to destroying the Ottoman fleet at the mouth of the Dardanelles on 26 June 1656 – months before *The Siege of Rhodes* was entered on the stationers' register.[25] At the end of August 1656 Giavarina was finally granted an audience with Cromwell and he reported the Protector's response to the news of the Turkish defeat:

'he [Cromwell] added that now the strength of the Turks was so attenuated it

would be advisable for all Christian powers to join forces.'[26]

The fact that Ottoman empire was at the time a declining threat to Europe allowed the Turk to be represented as both a grotesque of otherness and, at the same time, a humanisedly similar subject.

The Turk, in Davenant's play the 'external' subject, becomes in fact a mirror image of not merely European, but English questions about government. Earlier representations of the diabolic Turk are reinscribed in a context which is sensitive to the power of the notion of the religious unity of Islam. The discourse of colonialism is turned upon itself, and the issue of power and the struggles for power are presented as ubiquitous. Both the Sultan and the Rhodian leaders are represented as ultimately at the mercy of the will of the people. Both Solyman and the Grand Master of Rhodes confront the problem of negotiating a connection between absolute rule and the people's will. The powerlessness of the Turkish absolute monarch at the hands of his people is echoed in the rebellion of the Rhodians against the continuation of battle.

SOLYMAN: Of spacious Empire, what can I enjoy?
Gaining at last but what I first Destroy.
Tis fatal (*Rhodes*) to thee,
And troublesome to me
That I was born to govern swarms
Of Vassals boldly bred to arms:
For whose accurs'd diversion, I must still
Provide new Towns to Sack, new Foes to Kill

. . .

For I shall find my peace
Destroy'd at home, unless
I seek for them destructive Warr abroad
2 *Siege of Rhodes* II.ii. 52–64

The Sultan is presented both as an eastern despot, and as a ruler facing the inevitable problems of absolute rule. It is consonant with the representation of the Turks offered by Giovanni Botero:

The Turkes give their minds to nothing but warre, nor take care of anything else but the provision of armour and weapons: courses fitter to destroy and waste, than to preserve and inrich provinces.[27]

The uncontrollable force of the people is echoed in the Grand Master's acknowledgement of their will (2 *Siege* 1.263–71). Eventually, the people take control in Rhodes and Ianthe is elected as their ambassador to the Sultan: Villerius comments: 'Who can resist if they will have it so.' (2 *Siege of Rhodes* I.198–200). As Ann-Marie Hedbäck points out, this implies

a quasi-Hobbesian analysis of power.[28] Neither the absolutist monarch nor the Rhodian militarised aristocracy are capable of overruling the desires of the people. The only difference between the Rhodians and the Turks is that the warlike disposition of the Turkish people forces the Sultan to acts of aggression whereas the Rhodian people demand peace; the question of who rules and how that rule is effected remains present. Villerius comments:

> *Ianthe* needs must go. Those who withstand
> The tide of Flood, which is the Peoples will,
> Fall back when they would onward row,
> We strength and way presume by lying still.
>
> (2 *Siege of Rhodes* I.i. 18–20)

The quotations show that by the end of the play the presentation of Rhodian and Turkish states as binary opposites has broken down. The Turks do not rebel, as the Rhodians do, but then their leader epitomises, rather than opposes, them. The representation of government as hanging on the will of the people strikingly echoes a line in Fulke Greville's *Mustapha*, when Rosten says:

> Towards *Solyman* they runne: and as the *Waters*
> That meet with baks of Snow, make Snow grow Water:
> So, even those Guards, that stood to interrupt them,
> Give easie passage, and passe on amongst them.[29]

Davenant also appears to draw on Greville's *Treaty of Warres* in *The Siege of Rhodes*.[30] Both the *Treaty* and *The Siege* initially appear to be ideologically committed to a defence of national war, and each text contains an inbuilt critique of its apparent assumptions. The *Treaty* slips and slides syntactically from one position to another until the whole issue of a just war is called into doubt. Ideas which each text implicitly question include the notion that a ruler's sanction justifies war, the assumption that colonial wars are justified and the assumption that a simplistic sort of obedience is the duty of the people to the ruler. It seems likely that Davenant was influenced here by both the literary output of his former employer and by the ideas in Greville's texts about government. However, the Protestantism of Greville is transformed in Davenant's text into an analysis which presents government as expedient and pragmatic, not an issue of right at all.

III

Walter Benjamin suggests that 'the theory of sovereignty which takes as its example the special case in which dictatorial powers are unfolded positively demands the completion of the sovereign as tyrant'. (*Origin of*

German Tragic Drama, p. 69). *The Siege of Rhodes* subverts this pattern found again and again in interregnum drama, whereby the sovereign is replaced by the tyrant, and avoids both generically and ideologically the tragic completion of the absolutist sovereign. Instead the drama untangles the interwoven issues of absolutism and tyranny, undoing the tragic pattern (and genre) simultaneously as it undoes the opposition between east and west. The rulers of Europe and Turkey are represented as equivalent, and powerless, at the moment at which the 'dictatorial powers' – absolutely absolute, tyrannical, powers – would otherwise come into being.

In this way *The Siege of Rhodes* seeks to dissolve the problematic pressure of civil politics. Elsewhere in these interregnum plays we find nationalistic and colonialist drama. These dramas mobilise mythologisations of old enemies – the Turks and the Spanish – to represent an 'other' against which to define present Englishness. Yet at the same time, in the case of *The Siege of Rhodes*, they undermine the validity of such enterprises. These plays seek to avoid exploration of problems of England's internal conflict and the uneasy position of the theatre itself in terms of that conflict. With the exception of *The First Day's Entertainment at Rutland House*, these plays seek to solve questions of rule and government by dramatising international crusades, in which the imperialist and colonialist English are seen not only to crush opposition, but are also the bearers of positive values of good government.

This way of reading Davenant's interregnum drama illuminates the situation of drama and theatre in the conflicts of the mid-seventeenth century. In Davenant's case an analysis of this interregnum drama in terms of suppression of pressing issues of national conflict and the substitution of colonial fantasies and histories, relying on the representations of 'others', provides a fruitful place to begin a re-reading of the drama of the interregnum period. This drama is implicated in positions and dialogues which cannot be represented as straightforwardly and consistently divided between royalist and republican interests. Davenant's interregnum drama can tell us stories about the representation of nationhood – but these stories are double edged. Generically, Davenant's interregnum drama challenges our continued assumptions about seventeenth-century drama and its relation to absolutism. Davenant's plays from this period represent a group of which it is significantly and unusually *not* true to say 'the sovereign . . . holds the course of history in his hands like a scepter' (Benjamin, p. 65). However, in so far as we can read these plays as marginally unravelling and de-coding the dominant myths of monarchical/absolute power, we must simultaneously read the concomitant displacement of the absolute power struggle into fantasies of colonial dominance.

NOTES

1 *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Wilbur Cortez Abbott, 4 vols. (Cambridge MA, 1947), IV, p. 261.
2 Jorge Luis Borges, 'The Dread Redeemer Lazarus Morell', *A Universal History of Infamy* (first published as *Historia universal de la infamia*, (Buenos Aires, 1954; Harmondsworth, 1973, 1975), p. 19.
3 Michel Pecheaux, *Language, Semantics, Ideology*, trans. Harbans Nagpal (1975; London, 1982), p. 111: 'words . . . change their meaning according to the positions from which they are used'.
4 See A.H. Nethercott, *Sir William Davenant* (1938; New York, 1967); Alfred Harbage, *Sir William Davenant, Poet Venturer 1606–1668* (Philadelphia, 1935), and *Cavalier Drama* (New York, 1936).
5 Eric Walter White, *A History of Opera* (London, 1983), p. 65.
6 Published plays dealing directly with the political crises of the 1640s and 1650s include Samuel Sheppard, *The Commitee-Man Curried* (1647), *Crafty Cromwell, or Oliver Ordering Our New State* (1648), *The Mistress Parliament* plays of 1648, John Tatham's *The Scots Figgaries* (1652) and *The Rump* (1659).
7 John Tatham provided shows from 1657 to 1663.
8 The Ordinance of 11 February 1647/8 speaks of plays in moral terms as 'condemned by ancient Heathens and much less to be tolerated among Professors of the Christian Religion'. Charles Firth, ed. *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum 1642–1660* (London, 1911) I, pp. 1070–1.
9 Richard Flecknoe, *Love's Dominion* (London, 1654). Flecknoe's dedication to the Lady Elizabeth Claypole runs, 'never a more Innocenter thing appeared in court . . . For the rest, I dare not interest you in its more publique Representation, not knowing how the palat of the time may relish such Things yet, which, till it was disgusted with them, was formerly numbered among its chiefest Dainties', A3r–A3v.
10 Franco Moretti in 'The Great Eclipse' writes of tragedy as the form which acknowledges the implications of absolutism. Moretti seeks to demonstrate that 'tragedy disentitled the absolute monarch to all ethical and rational legitimation. Having deconsecrated the king, tragedy made it possible to decapitate him.' *Signs Taken For Wonders* (London, 1983), p. 40. A similar reading of the relation between absolutism and the tragic genre can be found in Walter Benjamin's *Origin of German Tragic Drama* trans. John Osborne (London, 1977), pp. 69–72.
11 Edmund Gayton, *Charity Triumphant, or the Virgin-Shew*, acted 29 October 1655 (London, 1655), p. 3.
12 White, *History of Opera*, p. 65.
13 *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, performed by July 1658.
14 *Gondibert*, ed. David F. Gladish (Oxford, 1971); 'The Author's Preface', p. 7.
15 Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* 4 vols. (1732; Oxford, 1753), III, p. 462; IV, p. 273.
16 In Davenant's *Francis Drake* they are represented as both at different points in the plot. See also Peter Hulme's *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797* (London, 1986).
17 Fulke Greville, *Life of Sidney* (London, 1652), pp. 132–3.
18 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrims* (London, 1625), in five books, the third

part. Book V, p. 1037 line 25; p. 1039, line 50. Thanks to Ms. Claudia Strasky.

19 *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* (London, 1658) p. 19.

20 Bartolome de las Casas, *The Teares of the Indians*, trans. John Phillips (London, 1656), A3v.

21 Philip Nichols, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (London, 1621; reprinted 1626, 1652). Quotation from titlepage of 1626 edition. *The World Encompassed*, (London, 1636).

22 'Preface,' *Gondibert*, p. 12; Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, p. 68.

23 William Davenant, *The Siege of Rhodes*, ed. Ann-Marie Hedbäck (Uppsala, 1973). Hedbäck gives two editions – the 1656 edition and the 1663 additions to the first part. The play exists in 4 quartos – 1656, 1659, 1663, 1670. 1SR entered on Stationers Register, 27 August 1656.

24 C.A. Patrides, 'The Judgements of God' in *Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Princeton, 1982) pp. 137–51; Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978), p. 1. See also Christine Woodhead, 'The Present Terrour of the World? Contemporary Views of the Ottoman Empire c1600' in *History*, 72, 234 (Feb 1987).

25 Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey* (Cambridge, 1976) I, p. 200.

26 Abbott, 4, p. 273.

27 Giovanni Botero, *The Traveller's Breviat* (London, 1601), pp. 41, 43. Incidentally, Joan Rees thinks that the *Breviat* may have influenced Fulke Greville's *Treatie of Warres* which would seem to have in turn considerable bearing on Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*. See Fulke Greville, *The Writings of Fulke Greville* (London, 1973). David Norbook, *Poetry and Politics in the Renaissance* (London 1984). 'Voluntary Servitude: Fulke Greville and the Arts of Power', pp. 157–74 provides a clear and convincing analysis of Greville's unease with the mystifications of kingship.

28 Ann-Marie Hedbäck, ed., *The Siege of Rhodes: A Critical Edition* (Uppsala, 1973), p. lxvii.

29 *Mustapha*, Actus Quintus, scena tertia 25–31 in *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, 2 vols. (Edinburgh and London, 1939), II.

30 Fulke Greville, *Treaty of Warres*, G. Bullough, ed. *Poems and Dramas*, I.

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Chapter 11

Unsilent instruments and the devil's cushions: authority in seventeenth-century women's prophetic discourse

Sue Wiseman

> To speak the word of exhortation, and information, to the conforming of Saints in the truth, is to prophesie. ... Another passage to this purpose is Revel.19.10. *For the testimony of Jesus Christ is the spirit of prophesie.* This passage gives a most clear answer to the question, What is it to prophesie?[1]

Where, if anywhere, is the authority, or the voice of authority, in seventeenth-century prophetic discourse by women? This was the question which I began this article hoping to answer. Where does the voice of the female prophet 'come from' – the Bible? God? A fixed subject position? These are not clear questions, and the prophetic texts do not supply clear answers, but the problematic of what authorizes the voice or writing in women's prophetic discourse is central to an analysis of the relationship of women to the genres of Puritan polemic and sacred writing. It brings together the issue of women's identity in radical sectarian writing and the Pauline interdictions against women's speech. In prophecy by women these two intersect at the place where women's speech is most visibly gendered and therefore prohibited – the public sphere of the written or spoken word – and the place where women, if they are accepted as prophets, are most *not* themselves in that they are speaking 'for' (in favour of, but also more literally on behalf of) God. For this reason writing which presents itself as prophecy (and which was or was not accepted as such) provides a limit case in any discussion of the relationship between women and the radical Protestant discourses which emerged in the mid-1640s. This in turn has more general implications for the way in which we think about political/religious authority in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, it has a sequence of implications for the contemporary feminist drive to 'recover' texts by seventeenth-century women and see them as 'feminist'.

Although this essay does examine conversion narratives, preaching and justifications of women's speaking, the focus is an analysis of the relationship between an 'I' inevitably gendered as female (in the eyes of God?) and prophetic language. The word 'language' here points towards the frequent ambiguities and irresoluble questions around prophetic discourse by women,

one of which is how far they are to be considered printed texts and how far transcribed speech. For instance, Hester Biddle's tracts, such as *A Warning From the Lord God of Life and Power Unto the City of London and to the Suburbs Round about thee*, use address and the techniques of dramatic monologue although they are printed texts which were not, unlike Trapnel's *The Cry of A Stone*, or Sara Wight's prophecy or the 'dumb woman' Elinor Channel's *A Message From God By a Dumb Woman*, a transcribed record of speech mediated by an amanuensis who might interfere.[2] (Arise Evans did interfere in Channel's prophecy, attempting to use his own spiritual authority and literacy to give it a royalist interpretation.)[3]

Sometimes it is difficult to decide whether to consider a text as fully written, or as fully spoken – Biddle's written text reads like a monologue or rant, and Trapnel's recorded spoken text reads, with some interjections from the transcriber, like a polished and finished piece of poetry. This in turn pinpoints the problematic of women's prophecy; where does the voice we hear (the text we read) come 'from'? Is it written or spoken? Is the voice that of the woman, the gathered church she belongs to, or God? What seems to generate this rhetorical doubleness? How does the question of projected voice (ventriloquism?) relate to the issue of whence a text, written/spoken by a woman and dealing with the Logos derives its authority.

There are several different kinds of prophecy in the mid-seventeenth-century period, from Lady Eleanor Douglas's literal predictions based on voices that she heard, through visionary communion with God (as in the case of Jane Lead), mediated and multiple relationships to God (Anna Trapnel) and the intricate intellectual fusion of typological and historical calculation found in the writing of the Fifth Monarchist prophet Mary Cary. In each case God is the central authority of the prophecy, though of course the texts have to negotiate a path between the speaker's femininity, prophetic authority and any body of readers. In each case the reader is invited to understand not an eruption of the semiotic into the symbolic but a combination of spiritual inspiration and generic horizon of expectation. Interwoven in these texts are invitations to the reader to respond to the 'experience' of the prophet (which we might think of as coded in the aspects of the texts which call attention both to the prophet's interior experiences, bodily manifestations and, in the text, the use of the idea of the speaking voice) and the explanation of Biblical precedents which work as a structuring rhetoric for prophecy and which signal its 'readerly' status (in Barthes's terms) by calling attention to its rich intertextuality.[4]

The way authority is conceptualized in such texts, with constant recourse to Biblical discourse, is sharply distinguished from the texts by seventeenth-century women which have drawn most critical attention hitherto. These texts have been in the dominant *literary* genres – poetry, fiction, drama – and surprisingly often have followed the pattern of royalist writers set out so long ago by Virginia Woolf in *A Room of One's Own*.[5] For instance, the much-

anthologized royalist writer Margaret Cavendish, sometimes claimed by critics as feminist, slides from positions which are recognizable as 'feminist' to a twentieth-century critic to positions which are equally recognizable as anti-feminist. But, either way, any conception of authority in Cavendish's writing calls up the figure of a man like a genie from a bottle.[6]

It seems that generic unfamiliarity combined with a radical Protestant and even implicitly republican/millenarian conception of authority has kept the wide range of women's prophetic writing off the agenda of twentieth-century feminist criticism, yet it is here, I shall argue, that we can see not only an attempt to manipulate what might generally be called patriarchal codes, but to use the space of religious writing to reinvent models of authority, language and control. Of course, radical Protestant theology and the revival of the new age of prophecy never quite delivered the potential it had to actually de-gender speaking, and even as they claim the 'free space' offered by speaking with the grace of God female prophets negotiate the material and ideological constraints of their circumstances.

Texts by fairly well-known women prophets (the Fifth Monarchists Anna Trapnel and Mary Cary) as well as Eleanor Douglas, Ann Wentworth and Jane Lead give me a chance to explore these questions in relation to both dominant kinds of radical prophecy (and preaching) and to outline the beginnings of a theory of the relationship between prophetic utterances/writing and the material circumstances of women 'speakers' within the gathered churches of the mid- and post-Restoration period. But first, what was the relationship of sectarian women to the Pauline interdiction? The most readily available response is that of the Quaker Margaret Fell (later Fox). Although it has been said that she was carrying on the ideas of her husband George Fox, to whom she was married by the time the tract was published, Margaret Fell's *Women's Speaking Justified* is a free-standing polemic.[7] Fell's text does what Ann-Rosalind Jones has perceptively called manipulating the codes which exclude women and making forwardness appear to be virtue.[8]

Jones is discussing women and poetry, but Fell's commentary is not on secular discourse but on the key texts interdicting women's speech – the last part of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 14:34 and 35). Importantly, this interdiction follows the rest of the chapter on the nature of prophecy and the ordering of meetings at which Christians are prophesying and speaking in tongues; Paul has been giving advice on the ordering of prophetic oratory in gatherings – 'For ye may all prophesy one by one' – to prevent confusion (14:31), and therefore his strictures apply to women in particular relationship to sacred language.

Fell's rhetoric is that of the polemic Protestant tradition of revision, exegeses of Biblical texts based on the insight afforded by truth. Therefore *Women's Speaking Justified* demonstrates her rhetorical competence (the rhetoric concerned being that of Protestant debate) and the insights she draws

from exegesis at the same time as offering a re-reading of the texts which denied that such things were possible.[9] This makes the text doubly a meta-commentary, first in that it is a commentary upon the interdiction of women's speech, and second in its deployment of tropes and structures by a woman in the very mode of the Protestant discourse which is denied. However, by weaving a seamless web of commentary upon and by deployment of the discourses forbidding women's speech, the piece participates in the discourse it is justifying as available to it – a complex rhetorical sleight of hand. The sophistication of the tract's entry into the rhetoric proper to the discourse does not mean that *Women's Speaking Justified* is weak in the re-explication of Corinthians that Fell proposes. All forms of speech are assumed to be available to women and the Pauline interdictions apply only to gathered churches in 'confusion' (1 Cor.14:33); in this way she turns Paul's words against himself, and makes them actually authorize women's preaching. The Bible is reinterpreted from Genesis:

> Let this Word of the Lord, which was from the beginning, stop the mouths of all that oppose *Womens* Speaking in the Power of the Lord; for he hath put an enmity between the Woman and the Serpent; and if the Seed of the Woman speak not, the Seed of the Serpent speaks.
>
> (p. 4)

Fell uses the ungendered 'seed' of woman to put in place an opposition between women's speaking and the voice of the Devil (important, as I shall suggest later, in terms of very real possibilities of the accusation of witchcraft). She also uses the woman clothed with the sun from Revelations 22. But centrally, the way Fell justifies women's speaking is by invoking 'the Power of the Lord'. As we will see in a moment, this emendation serves to cover all eventualities in which women might be forbidden speech, for the Lord may speak through anyone, including Anna the prophetess (Luke 2: 36–8). The interdiction is, she suggests, for those without grace and interweaves 1 Corinthians 14 and Eve's sin to explain that it is circumstances and spiritual state, not gender, which authorize or forbid women's preaching. Corinthians,

> speaks of women that were under the law, and in the transgression as *Eve* was, and such as were to hear and not speak publicly, but they must first ask their husbands at home.... And what is all this to Women's Speaking? that have the Everlasting Gospel to preach, and upon whom the promise of the *Lord* is fulfilled, and his spirit poured upon them according to his word *Acts 2, 16, 17, 18.*

The scriptural exegesis and echoing of Biblical language situates the writing as a document of sectarian polemic. However, 'the Power of the Lord' (p. 4) as the quality which lets Fell off the Corinthian hook also foregrounds the dialogism of the preaching text, and therefore reintroduces the question of authority in a different place. Who is to say whether or not anyone is speaking

with God's blessing; 'by their fruits ye shall know them' but what are the proper, decorous, fruits of women's prophecy?[10] The power of the Lord is something which can be contested between the speaker and the hearer, and historically during the seventeenth-century prophetic revival (as in the cases of Anna Trapnel, Ann Wentworth and Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers locked up by the Inquisition in Malta) this was exactly the site of struggle.[11]

Fell's justification of women's speaking relies on her re-reading of Paul which, in turn, relies on him addressing situations in which people were 'confused' (and therefore should not speak) or enlightened (and therefore might). Such a justification relies on a community of recognition which sees grace in a speaker's words. This relationship between the female 'I' that at least appears to speak (though it may also be the voice of God) and the authority or 'Power of the Lord' of that voice is a problem in play in different ways in the prophetic utterances of each of the three prophets discussed below, displayed most evidently in prophecy because of the potentially high sacred status of that discourse (and the correspondingly high possibility of demonization for the female speaker).

In her *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England* Mary Cary demonstrates her awareness that the decision about who has the power of the Lord is in the hands of the reader by pointing to the reader's own spiritual state: 'Whoever thou art that readest the insuing discourse, know, that if thou art one that art active in helping on of that which I call the positive part; then thou dost what lies in thee to bring happiness and tranquility of thy native Kingdom' (A2v) – implying that those who do not believe her words are sowers of discord.[12] The coercive power of words like 'tranquility' in the years after the first civil war (1647 was also the year of the Putney debates between the army leaders and the agitators) cannot be underestimated, and are used here to situate the 'Power of the Lord' in the accepting and agreeing reader (see also p. 9 of the same tract). In this tract Mary Cary negotiates the borders between the politics of preaching, testimony and prophecy (with the material implications of demonization) and the imperative for truth to be spread. She argues in favour of an accommodation between earthly and heavenly powers whereby the former endorse only speakers with the blessing of the latter – another attempt to structure the bestowal of the 'Power of the Lord', phallogocentric authority and permission to be within the symbolic.

In *The Resurrection of the Witness* Cary also locates the authority of her prophetic voice in the overriding 'Power of the Lord', but in this case it is in signs external to the prophet rather than visionary experience, which causes her to prophesy:[13]

> Amos 3.8. '*The Lion hath roared, who will not fear? The Lord hath spoken, who can but prophesie?* ... Acts 4.20. *For we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard.* In both these places it appears, that it is not

possible for instruments to be silent, nor to sit still, when God hath spoken to them, and given them commission to doe his work.'

(Preamble p. 19)

Again the text attempts to annex the judgement of the reader through Biblical analogy and by the exteriorization of inspiration which is made to seem empirically measurable.

The non-sectarians constantly mocked the relationship between women and sacred discourse in the sects; such ridicule is present for example in the parodic and satiric pamphlet literature such as *The Ranters Monster* (discussed below), *The Mistris Parliament* (1648), playlets, and in *A Brief Dialogue Between a Zelotopist one of the Daughters of a Zealous Round-head, and Superstition* (1642). The sexual relationships of the government leaders were also satirized – see Hugh Peter as characterized in *The Famous Tragedy of Charles I* (1649) and elsewhere.[14] Within the sects though, leaving aside questions of the Ranters (as at least their enemies identified them, and there are several arguments for seeing them as a group of some sort), where a religious community may also have been a sexual community the position was unstable and variable.[15] For example their 'literal interpretation of the Bible' led Baptists to be much less willing to hear women preachers than Quakers or Fifth Monarchists and both Quakers and Baptists policed women's behaviour after the Restoration and the imposition of the Clarendon Code (1661–5).[16] During the 1640s and 1650s attitudes to women's speaking also varied from church to church and congregation to congregation.

An example of negotiation of boundaries, and a particularly clear case of the erasure of a gendered 'I' from the main part of the text can be found in Mary Cary's double publication *The Little Horn's Doom and Downfall.* Cary has been described as one of the clearest expositors of Fifth Monarchist doctrine.[17] However, in this dual text one of her writings is suggested as acceptable and the other is presented as dubious – *The Little Horn's Doom.* It is a case of the gender erased (or repressed) from the speaking voice returning in the extra-prophetic situating material. This return takes the form of an introduction to the text written by the army chaplain, Hugh Peter. It can be seen as both constituting the return of the repressed of Cary's text and demonstrating, in its language, the return of its own repressed – which could in turn be read as the anxiety of castration and/or the overproductivity of the female body as structured in a repressed fantasy of sexual rapaciousness returning in language.

The Little Horn's Doom[18] was printed in 1651 (Thomason dates his copy April), during the Commonwealth, when for republicans and millennial Puritan sects it must have seemed that the events of history and Biblical typologies were finally weaving themselves together in the last age. The death of Charles I in 1649 seemed like a world-historical event, and did indeed play a part in transforming European political relationships and political theory.

Accordingly, Cary writes that her prophecy reveals the way in which history and Biblical typology are enabling prophets to interpret the new and coming age and revealing the meaning of 'the late tragedies which have bin acted upon the Scene of these three Nations: and particularly the late King's doom and death, [which] was so long ago as Daniel pre-echoed' (A1v).

The organization of the text itself amounts to a complex rhetorical negotiation of where the authority of the text lies, whether prophetic discourse is to be taken seriously, and it exposes the lineaments of the contradiction of women (forbidden to speak) prophesying (with the grace of God). The first thing a reader encounters in this book is the dedication, not to Cromwell and Ireton (later reviled by Trapnel during the Protectorate), but to their wives, 'the Vertuous, Heroicall and Honourable' ladies Cromwell, Ireton and Role. This suggests both the invocation of a community (of some sort) of independent women and an appeal to some sort of female readership to endorse the text's authority as prophecy. Moreover, it repeats Cary's ploy of attempting to appropriate the 'Power of the Lord' for her text and coerce the reader into granting her text to be inspired by grace. She continues, 'being pressed in spirit to divulge this insuing discourse',

> And observing, how that among the many pious, precious and sage Matrons with which this Commonwealth is endowed; as with so many precious jewels, and choice gemmes ... God hath selected your Ladyships and placed you in some of the highest places of honour (according to your present capacities) in these Nations;
>
> (A4r–v)

Thus the wives of the army leaders are both decorations to the Commonwealth and exemplify the high authority the new age invests in women, while at the same time the highest honour of prophecy is withheld from them ('according to your present capacities'). Cunningly, Cary both points to other culturally important women (significantly wives rather than maids), weaving together the religious and political significance of her dedicatees.

Cary follows this with an address to the reader which is also a careful placing of the reader as one who recognizes truth, understands scripture and can discern true typology. Distancing and dignifying *The Little Horn's Doom* with the claim that it was written 'above 7 years ago' (A7r) but not published, we are invited to attend to the text as knowing and acquiescent readers.[19] The prophecy was not published when it was first written because 'men would then generally have been more incapable of receiving such things, then now they are, because now these things are fulfilled; and prophesis are then best understood when they are fulfilled' (A7v). Once again the truth status of the text is put into play, here using several different kinds of time and prophecy. First there is Daniel's prophecy, and then Cary's exegesis of the prophecy and its annexation for a Fifth Monarchist reading of history. Obviously Cary here seizes upon historical events to factify a text which would otherwise be

wholly prophetic, and we are asked to read the text as prophesying events which have already happened, and which underwrite its truth.

Finally, Cary points to the truth value of her words as inspired by God, suggesting that her own agency in their production was as non-existent as if she had been a pen or pencil:

> If any shall hereby receive any light, or any refreshment, let them blesse the Lord for it, from whom alone it came: for I am a very weake and unworthy instrument, and have not done this work by any strength of my owne, but have been often made sensible, that I could doe no more herein, (wherein any light or truth could appeare) of my selfe, then a pencill or pen can do.
>
> (A8r)

This rhetorical doubling of the status of the text works alongside the earlier dedication in the text's attempt to use the rhetorical positioning of the reader to establish as much as possible the typological, historical, spiritual and factual veracity of the coming narrative. The text does this very thoroughly and I have tried to suggest the ways in which it attempts to manipulate the reader to acquiesce to the text as truth, rather than question the sex of the author. I have dealt with these manoeuvres at length not because of their relationship to the extraordinary (though ordinary) introduction which follows. This is by Hugh Peter, famously zealous in the cause of the army and like Cary in favour of the use of violence to establish the reign of the Saints. It appears to be an introduction endorsing the tracts though in fact it sits like a little bomb or Pandora's box filled with all the assumptions, demons, stereotypes and interdictions of the feminine which Cary's introductory material has so carefully positioned. The first thing Peter's piece does is to question the truth value Cary has so carefully established by saying that he agrees with the tract only in part.

Peter's introduction reads like a classic demonstration of the Freudian commonplace that there is no negative term, coupled with the impossibility of the woman's 'no' in her desire to be desired. The other, undifferentiated, is desired and this text projects its own desire on to the object of that discourse, at the same time that it purports to be cancelling, contradicting, the idea that the other desires to be desired. Or, to put it more simply, it uses its articulation of the cancellation of sexuality in Cary's text to reimport it; the female prophet is reinscribed as sexual in a public place (writing) by the way in which Peter denies the potentially demonizing link between prophetic discourse and femininity which I outlined in the introduction. He writes,

> She hath taught her sexe that there are more ways than one to avoid idleness (the devils cushion) on which so many sit and sleep their last. They that will not use the Distaff may improve a Pen.
>
> Secondly, a holy, modest and painfull spirit runs through her endeav-

> ours; which I desire may not be slighted by any, nor thrown by: for good wine may be found in this Cluster: in this dress you shall see neither naked Breasts, black Patches, nor long Trains; but an heart breathing after the *coming of Christ* and the comfort of saints.
>
> (A2r)

Printed without Cary's own prefatory material this looks suspiciously like the parodic discourse of anti-sectarian journalism which, though at its most extreme when addressing Familists and Ranters, consistently links the language used by sectaries to describe spiritual experience with the desire (indeed to be desired – to have 'congress' with the 'spirit', etc.) of the female Puritan sectary represented as unpoliced, rampant and endless. This extract returns the female prophet to the domestic sphere and invokes the language of conduct books, the dominant discourse which delineates the borders of that sphere in its opening reference to idle femininity. The cushion directs our attention to the female body (lower parts) and the wilfulness of the female prophet is pointed out by the phrase 'they that will not use the Distaff', as though, after all, that is what the woman should use. Peter continues:

> More I would say; but my feeble thoughts or words will adde but little to her labours. Doubtless she had good help from above in her traval for this birth: but I will bequeath her Solomons last words of his good housewife.
>
> *Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain; but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.*
>
> (Prov.31: 30)

Alongside Peter's self-marginalizing rhetoric is a turn from the texts to Cary as a woman. He has already compared her to other clever women, but this, as the conclusion of the introduction, gives Peter the opportunity to both domesticate Cary's text using the comparison of her and a housewife and to end by using Proverbs to praise her, rather than her text.

Two movements are detectable in Hugh Peter's introduction; first the return of the repressed in the way that the female body, sexuality, the conduct of women reappear (each of these was excluded from Cary's own introduction), second, there is a parallel movement from attention to text and argument to the person of Mary Cary and her relationship with God. We can see the contradictory ways in which the text is producing the authority of the prophetic voice. Peter's intervention mediates reception of the prophecy by acting as a doubting reader who reads the prophecy sceptically, but who also refuses Cary the benefit of the 'Power of the Lord' in redirecting the reader's thoughts to a pre-textual source which is a woman (and we are carefully reminded of the place of women) rather than a prophet – the conjunction of femininity and prophecy are posed by Peter in terms of the proper role of the Christian woman. By contrast a second mediating document, 'Touching this Treatise' by Henry Jessey, returns our attention to the

prophetic text, albeit sceptically, commenting 'for the *application* here of the *Little Horn* to the *late King*. . . . Time will make the truth evident' (A4v). The presence of yet a third introduction, by Christopher Feake compounds the text's anxious prevarications, but it also actually addresses the question of the authority of the female prophet: 'Indeed, many wise men after the flesh have been (and now are) much offended, that a company of illiterate men, and silly women, should pretend any skill in dark prophesies, and to have foresight of future events' (A5r).

Although Feake goes on to affirm the importance of prophecy he has articulated the problems about mid-century prophecy. 'Wise men after the flesh' (Anglicans of sorts?) might well question the authority of sectarian churches to take up the prophetic tradition which was abandoned after Malachi, and this must in Cary's case be exacerbated by the vehicle or vessel of the prophecy being female.

At times millenarian and prophetic rhetoric sat at the centre of government; for example, when Cromwell opened the short-lived Barebones Parliament of 1653, with a speech which ended with him revealing the instrument of government – as Wilbur Cortez Abbot notes, proof of his acceptance of his own 'ascendancy in civil as in military affairs' – he spoke of the rule of Saints in prophetic terms.[20] Referring to Psalm 68 he regards it as 'a glorious prophecy, I am persuaded, of the Gospel churches – it may be, of the Jews also'.[21] So in 1653 Cromwell was anticipating, possibly, the conversion of the Jews which was considered to herald the millennium. Such thinking is central to the millennial hopes of both Mary Cary and Margaret Fell. But although millenarian thinking was, for a time, part of the religio-political centre the place of a woman inspired by God to speak in public was fraught with cultural perils. As Nigel Smith notes, women prophets 'needed to be part of godly communities in order to have the authority to prophesy', but although such a community might ensure them an audience (in Cary's case for a written rather than an oral prophecy), the context of the gathered church might import problems which undermine the authority of female prophets.[22] Sarah Wight, the female prophet on whom Trapnel seems to have modelled herself, plays on the issue of the authority of the word in her signature to *A Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter Written by Mrs Sarah Wight*.[23]

The letter, which outlines her affliction and rebirth in God's love, was published (we are told) without her consent for '*the many* bewildered ones *to whom it might serve as a* Witness' ($A3^2$). The way the text is organized as a private (feminine) document brought without the author's agency into the public sphere points once again to the question of the authority of a woman's religious text, which here seems to rely on a collective decision to publish it ($A3^2r$). Even more interesting is Sarah Wight's signature as 'Sarah Wight,/an empty nothing, whose fulness is all in that Fountain that filleth all in all' (p. 80). The play on 'empty vessels', and feminine identity as a cipher, points towards the authority of Wight's text as derived from God, which fills her

voice. Indeed, *A Wonderful ... Letter* involves God's voice as it spoke in Biblical phrases to Wight – reproduced in italics. So Wight uses her femininity, or status as cipher, nothing, to underwrite her text as filled with God's meaning. The intricacy and careful 'placing' of the authority to speak by both Fell and Wight underscore that we cannot see prophetic texts by women as wholly 'highly personalized'; if they point 'out' of the text towards a self it is to a self that is instrumental, both gendered and not gendered, a 'vessel' for God's purpose, a channel for God's signals, a multiple self having agency only in the grace of God.[24]

The cases of Cary and Wight are instances of the mediation of prophetic discourse produced by women, and so far I have examined the way in which women prophets (in the seventeenth-century sense of visionaries and, in the case of Cary, typographical predictors) manipulate the codes of prophecy and Biblical exegesis to underwrite their status as prophets. A more specific question of authority remains: what is the voice to be heard in the prophecy itself, and what relationship does this bear to the feminine 'I'? It must be evident already that the conceptualization of authority in sectarian texts is radically different from that in many royalist texts. I shall return to this later on, but first I want to examine the way in which authority inhabits many voices (and none) in the prophetic writings and testaments of Anna Trapnel.

Anna Trapnel, as her autobiography for her gathered church tells us, was born and bred in Stepney. She became a Fifth Monarchist and a prophet. As she relates in her autobiography, she had visions and direct communications of various sorts with God, who explained the situation of the nation to her in quasi-typological terms, and she then explained it to the nation in language drawn from the scriptures. As long as she was in London the nation was relatively receptive, but her *Report and Plea* published in 1654 tells of her prophetic mission to the South-west, which ended with her in jail in Plymouth and then in Bridewell. She was tried and accused of drunkenness, madness, witchcraft and – importantly, she suggests – she was accused of sedition. Her best-known prophecy, *The Cry of A Stone* draws on Esdras in which it is said that even voiceless stones will prophesy. Like a stone Trapnel, voiceless in her femininity and social status, prophesies. It is now well known that she became famous for her prophecy at Whitehall, transcribed in *The Cry of A Stone*, when she fell into a trance on 11 January 1654 while waiting outside the trial of Vavasour Powell after the dissolution of the Barebones Parliament in the previous December. The beginning of Cromwell's Protectorate was marked by the arrest of Fifth Monarchists and provoked Trapnel's first public trance, at which many came to see the spectacle of the fasting, singing, prophet and Trapnel's status was confirmed after her examination by John Simpson.[25]

Characteristic of her writing is the emphasis on voice and the connection between that and political circumstances and God. The title itself gives voice to an altogether voiceless aspect of the Creation, and is evidently a

commentary on the question of who society allows to speak, and what they are allowed to say. And in the summary of her best visions to date, given in the spiritual autobiography that precedes the prophecies in *The Cry of A Stone*, we find politics as scripture (and vice versa) – Cromwell becomes a bull from Daniel, England the New Jerusalem and so on – all transpositions familiar from the radical sectarian writing of the Civil War. With the radical writers of the Civil War Trapnel also shared an emphasis on the word, the word of God mediated through the Saints who spoke His word and did His work, enacting the building of the New Jerusalem. By 1654, when *The Cry of A Stone* was published, the Saints were becoming visibly excluded from any say in Government.[26]

Trapnel's prophecies were delivered when she was 'siezed upon by the Lord ... carried forth in a spirit of prayer and singing from noon till night' (p. 1), a performance lasting twelve days. What she said in the trance was set down by a 'relator', sometimes in a garbled and incoherent way. This means that the written texts of Trapnel's visions, prayers and prophecies are a written record of an abnormal event, very possibly not 'truthful' or absolute renderings of what was spoken, nor, necessarily, pure vessels containing the 'meaning' of the spoken prophecies. At points the relator comments that he just transcribed as much as he could. We might say that Trapnel's *Cry of A Stone* is not attributable to a single subject or voice. The issue of authorship however is not only between Trapnel and the 'relator'; in her introductory remarks she suggests that it is the Lord Himself speaking through her.

The overriding concern of Trapnel's text is the speaking and writing of God's word. The tract is initiated by a passage linking the coming day of wonders and Trapnel's own voice, not explicitly defined as female. We read:

> It is hoped in this day, a day of the Power of God, a day of Wonders, of shaking the heavens and the earth, and of general expectations of the approaching of the Lord to his Temple, that any thing that pretends to be a Witness, a Voice, or a Message from God to this Nation, shall not be held unworthy the hearing and consideration of any, because it is administered by a simple and unlikely hand.
>
> (*Cry of A Stone*, sig.a2)

Her voice expresses a message from God. Authority for speech here is returned to the ultimate source and origin of all things; like those of her male contemporaries Trapnel's prophecies use Biblical language extensively. The text allies itself linguistically to that of the canonical prophecies.

The only part of *The Cry of A Stone* which is written from a gendered subject-position is the conventional autobiographical conversion narrative inserted between a description of the trance-like state in which Trapnel delivered her songs and prayers and the songs themselves. The emphasis on self here and in the *Report and Plea* contrasts with her prophetic mode, but even here the two voices of Trapnel and the relator are interwoven. The

autobiography begins by placing Trapnel in the context of the usual nexus of family authority, whereas the ensuing songs and prayers present a speaking voice, or voices, in direct communication with God. The autobiography tells us her identity – 'I am Anna Trapnel', followed by her family status – 'the daughter of William Trapnel', followed by his occupation, 'shipwright', also implying a class position, and ends by pointing out that her parents died 'in the profession of the Lord Jesus'. This mode, acknowledging as it does all the social axes of authority which bring an individual into being in society, appears in sharp contradistinction to the discourse of politicized prophecy which ensues. Within a paragraph of this statement Trapnel is talking directly with God, and soon he is advising her to pursue her visions and vocations. In this way the discourses of political prophecy and civil society cut across one another. At the end of the autobiographical fragment the narrator suddenly intervenes to ask Trapnel how she felt when speaking, and she replies, 'I neither saw, nor heard, nor percieved the noise and distractions of the people, but was as one that heard only the voice of God sounding forth unto me.' The relator confirms that she looked like one in 'the Visions of God'. When asked why she fell silent she replies, 'It was as if the Clouds did open and recieve me into them: and I was swallowed up of the glory of the Lord and could speak no more.' This emphasizes that God's authority inheres in the visionary speech and silence of Trapnel – for both come directly from God.

Trapnel's prophecies are clearly concerned with contemporary political issues of national importance, and are replete with religious and class connotations. For example she characterizes Cromwell as a bull from Daniel (13–14), yet as they are also the words of God spoken by one in a trance Trapnel is removed as the source or author of the utterance. At the same time the interventions of the relator call attention to the fact that the text is incomplete, heightening the distance between the text and the 'author' who utters the speech it records. There is a continuous ambiguity about *who* is speaking. Is the subject-position that of the narrator (Trapnel?) as mediated through the words of the relator, or is it God who is speaking, or an entangled mixture of the two? The aporia between recorded speech and absent subject tends to blur any question of gender-subjectivity, since this is in any case a filtered discourse; while the text cannot be read as by 'a woman', or anyone at all, as long as its prophetic status is accepted. The fact that the text may represent the word of God problematizes any critique of the issue of the right of a 'woman' to speak, at least for those who accept the validity of prophetic discourse.

The issue of what a 'genuine' prophetic discourse might be probably affords no answer (except in terms of generic conventions and what Habermas would call the 'speech communities' of seventeenth-century England; and Trapnel seems, as I have suggested, to have been accepted by her London sect). But of more general interest is the way in which these texts disrupt the authority

of any anterior 'author', in a way analogous to the practice of the group of British writers using the 'multiple name' Karen Elliot – a name which anyone can use. In some ways God is the ultimate multiple or composite name which gives the text simultaneously no authorial authority and the ultimate authority. In her record of the journey into Cornwall, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea*, she writes of her defence before the court which accused her:

> In all that was said by me, I was nothing, the Lord put all in my mouth, and told me what I should say, and that from the written word, he put it in my memory and mouth: so that I will have nothing ascribed to me, but all honour and praise given to him whose right it is, even to Jehovah, who is the King that lives for ever.[27]

To put it crudely one could say that Anna Trapnel's work is not recognizable to a humanist feminist critical approach as having anything to do with feminist practice or ideas because texts by her present us with no unified and gendered subject-position and no masculine representation of authority short of God. God is the transcendental significant and the guarantor of meaning and authority which, in these texts, reside inseparably in the Word with all its many meanings. The word of God, as spoken to, by or through Trapnel is an intervention at a super-linguistic level in the symbolic order. To represent oneself as speaking God's word is theoretically to dissolve the unified subject-position of the speaker – for when is the speaker an 'I' and when God's agent?

Thus the language of 'prophecy' as constituted in these texts permits them to encode in Biblical language a criticism of the present which is offered as underwritten by God. Meaning does not rest in a patriarchal order but with the great patriarch in the sky: there are no intermediate steps. God is the law, word, father. The authority of the text is not located in any subject with attendant socio-economic conditions: access to the logos liberates it from this. Authority rests in the word, and the power to speak it. Trapnel in a narrative passage presents temptation as a 'hoarseness' which mars speaking: it is the Devil, rather than human agencies, which might threaten to silence her.

Finally, what are the sexual politics of Trapnel's writings? These texts, as I have suggested, comment on politico/spiritual issues from a multiple subject-position – trance voice/God/Trapnel – in a way which attempts to subvert gender distinctions, and the problems of a woman writing. The prophetic voice is never an 'I', a unified subject, and therefore is never directly addressing the symbolic order from a marginal (feminine) position. To a humanist/feminist criticism they are not readily recognizable as 'feminist'; there is no obvious *woman* standing behind the text to guarantee it as 'women's writing', nor do the texts consistently or explicitly pursue the notion of the oppression of women.

If Cromwell was using millenarian language in 1653, by 1654 he was one

of the culprits in Trapnel's visionary texts. After 1654 and the fall of the Barebones Parliament the Fifth Monarchists were in opposition; in her vision of the bulls Anna Trapnel reread the Bible in order to read Cromwell in relation to the new situation in which he was the enemy. The millennial sects were marginalized for the rest of the 1650s, and after the restoration of Charles II in 1660 their situation worsened once more. I want to use the example of Jane Lead, who joined John Pordage's group at Bradfield when her husband died and who published prophetic writings in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, to examine the relationship between disenfranchised Puritan polemic and religious rhetoric. Jane Lead claimed to have 'communed with good and evil spirits' and certainly claimed to be able to distinguish between them.[28]

From this it is possible to map out briefly a connection between marginalized prophetic writing, gender and rhetoric. Recently rhetoricians have been attempting to articulate the connections between magic and rhetoric, starting from the assumption that rhetoric is a sanctioned form of persuasion and making something out of the multiple nothings that are words, and magic an unsanctioned discourse which also makes something out of nothing. Lead's endless visions, dreams and contemplations demonstrate a different appeal to authority – one based on marginalization in both genre and discourse (a marginalization which has been re-enacted by literary history, feminist or otherwise, which has seen prophetic writing as peripheral, doomed, uninteresting for those without faith). As John O. Ward argued recently, 'the conjunction of magic and rhetoric ... promises interesting insights into both *authorised* social and intellectual power structures ... and *unauthorised* ones'.[29]

It has been my contention that both before and after the Restoration the conjunction of radical religious discourse and rhetoric would serve to illuminate authorized and unauthorized power structures in terms of gender. Ward goes on to point to the distinction between control (which he associates with legitimate rhetoric, ultimately the sanctioned exegesis of the state church in the case of Protestantism) and a less satisfactory category 'emotional power' which attends unsanctioned rhetoric, such as prophecy (pp. 66, 72). In terms of historical circumstances we might draw broad parallels between the punishment of nonconformists in post-Restoration England and other religious deviants, but more circumstantial evidence is available in the characterization of the worship of Ranters and Brownists as secret rites and rituals and the accusations of witchcraft levelled against women prophets such as Trapnel. A poignant example is that of Mary Adams who features in *The Ranters Monster* (1652). A Baptist, then Familist and finally Ranter, Mary Adams's sad story is told by way of an awful warning in the introduction to the pamphlet:

The Ranters Monster: Being a True Relation of one Mary Adams living at

> *Tillingham in Essex*, who named herself the Virgin Mary, blasphemously affirming that she was conceived with child by the Holy Ghost; that from her should spring forth the saviour of the world; and that those who did not believe in him were damned; with the manner how she was delivered of the ugliest ill-shapen *Monster* that ever eyes beheld, and afterwards rotted away in prison.[30]

This suggests clearly enough the associations made by the dominant church between antinomianism and its wild exegesis and rhetoric, diabolism (evidenced in the monster) and femininity. In another article on witchcraft Peter Brown uses Mary Douglas's insight that the practitioner of sorcery is likely to be interstitial, inhabiting the borderland between systems of power. Such a position seems to me strongly to recall the social organization in which women prophets operated, excluded from the centres of political power and speech on the grounds of gender, sometimes demonized and hunted as witches (as in Trapnel's *Report and Plea*), as prophets fostered but also perhaps policed by their religious peers (as is clear in the mediation of Mary Cary's *Little Horns Doom and Downfall*) and inhabiting a Protestant rhetoric 'by the Power of the Lord' which might use the Pauline injunction against them (as I have suggested in relation to Margaret Fell's *Women's Speaking Justified* and as the Baptists did through their literal use of the Bible).

Thus women prophets and their claims to authority exist between two (at least two) social contexts, one religious rhetoric as expounded by those in control and the other the shifting perceptions of gender in the sects – Quakers, Fifth Monarchists, Baptists. The apparent mysticism (even occultism) of the visions of Jane Lead seems to me to signal the role of gender in a culture of nonconformity which, in the period following the Restoration found itself marginalized. Lead's increasingly millenarian thought and her isolation in a community suggest the transformation of the role of the female prophetic voice after the Restoration from the interstitial position between dominant and alternative cultures to a new border between the marginalized silenced sects, and mainly silenced women prophets, and the occult. Lead describes her visions including the meaning of beasts seen and their Biblical and millennial implications (see her *Signs of the Times*).[31] The interstitial status of the woman prophet in the 1640s and early 1650s is suggested by the way in which in 1649 Eleanor Douglas reprinted the judgement of the court against her when she prophesied the death of Charles I. Under the new order she reprints her condemnation by the old (her judges recommended 'Excommunication', 'Bedlam') as vindication of her status and absolute authority as a prophet of the 1640s.

Indeed, read in the light of events up to 1649, Douglas's pre-war condemnation does suggest a corresponding change in status is due to her, but in each case it is her position between (and subject to) both sanctioned (monarchical/legal) and unsanctioned (religious, prophetic, millenarian) dis-

courses. What changed is the power relations between the two discourses. The first had denied her authority in the 1630s when she predicted the death of Charles I, and this may have strengthend her authority when the millenarian discourse moved towards the centres of power in the 1640s; after all, her judges had accused her as follows:

> touching those matters of high nature, which concerned his Majesty [i.e. her prediction of his death] the Court did not anyways proceed against her, as holding them of too high a nature for this *Court* to meddle withal, but forasmuch as she took upon her (which much unbeseemed her Sex) not only to interpret the Scriptures, and withal the most intricate and hard places of the Prophet *Daniel*, but also to be a Prophetess, falsely pretending to have received certain Revelations from God, and had compiled certain Books of such her fictions and false Prophesies and Revelations.[32]

She was imprisoned and the keeper told not to supply 'pen, ink or paper to write anything in respect that she hath so much abused her liberty in that kind already'.[33] The nature of her punishment reminds us that for a woman access to written words depended on a relationship not only to God but to a whole socio-cultural system beginning with the family (which Lady Eleanor, like several other prophets, evaded).

If Eleanor Douglas's pre-war persecutions lent her some credibility in an age of prophecy, but one where women might also be driven out of their churches for speaking, the situation was more extreme after the Restoration. Lead's mystic and even occult visions, like Ann Wentworth's individual project for New Jerusalem, suggest that after the Restoration, prophecy, and women's prophecy in particular, was placed on an outer border of consciousness, overlapping with madness and the occult. The way in which these texts attempt to manipulate the codes which authorize prophetic speaking, and how such textual assertions alongside various mediations suggest both a concept of authority and a social context operates to police prophets in a way quite distinct from the free spiritual speech and access to truth which their prophecies assert.

Women's prophecy of the seventeenth century can be seen as drawing on a range of contradictory codes and meanings to emphasize and underwrite their prophetic status. I began this essay by calling attention to the way prophetic utterance, or writing, endeavours to mediate between writing (and rhetoric) and speaking (and experience); as the essay progressed I hope it became clearer that this was not the only contradiction. The women present themselves as lacking agency, yet the texts I have examined negotiate a special position for women prophets in relation to God. Both Trapnel and Cary are at pains to establish the high status of prophecy in relation to the ministry of the gathered churches. The female body was also a theatrical signifier in the way the women refused food, had visions, fell into trances – again Trapnel is probably the most theatrical of these. As Diane Purkiss says, 'the staging

of the divine voice emanating from a female body' meant that women were constantly negotiating 'their bodily and spiritual identities'.[34]

Most important, however, for a reader of printed texts, is the multiplication of subject-positions found in prophetic writing, and which I have elucidated in the writing of Fell, Cary, Trapnel and Lead. Cary presents her prophecy as reading the typological and historical signs of the times, registering her position as free of agency, an instrument who, nevertheless, is filled with the authority to 'read' the signs. Trapnel talks to God, sees visions, and like Wentworth she constantly draws on Biblical intertexts. But the question of who, exactly, speaks shifts: the authority of her text is in the relationship between her and God. Wentworth's Biblical intertexts and denials of madness work to voice the scripture intertextually through her own voice, and Lead offers her own spiritual methodology as a guarantee of her visions. Thus, although the prophetic 'experience' and 'understanding' are central to women's prophecy, such claims are very carefully validated by the rhetoric of the texts. I would suggest, by way of a generalization, that these texts seek to evade the dangerous charge of not having the 'Power of the Lord' (Margaret Fell's phrase again) by putting the authorizing voice of their text into perpetual motion in between – between speech and writing, between an agent and an instrument. The prophet herself and her voice is the 'vessel' between God and the people, between the Bible and the present (Trapnel, Wentworth), at the interstices of typology, history and contemporary politics (Cary), between gender and un-gender.

Perhaps these textual manoeuvres themselves suggest a social context; certainly, the mediation, policing, validation and rejection of women's prophecy can be seen to be central to their texts, as I have shown; we can see the shifting authority of women's prophecy as between opening up and structuring new potentially anti-patriarchal conceptualizations of political and religious authority, at the same time as attempting to negotiate the material dangers which attend upon a woman claiming the highest privileges of a spiritual elite in a culture which was predicated on 'women' being what men were not, but also on the subordination of women to men (we remember the charges against Trapnel, Douglas, Elizabeth Poole).

Finally, it is this implicit but continuous rejection of the patriarchal model of authority which has made the prophets invisible to feminist scholars searching, in Francis Barker's phrase, for similarity deployed along a continuum.[35] Monarchist and literary texts from the same period are available to an a-historicized humanist definition of feminism, or women, because, in both their feminist and anti-feminist modes they ascribe all authority to *men*. They emerge from a set of political ideas which perceive the king and father as absolute ruler: the recognizability of Margaret Cavendish's texts as feminist rests on their emergence from a conservative politics which sought to reinforce the supremacy of king and father. The multiple positions of authority available to a republican text, or a millenarian one such as Cary's or Trapnel's

prophecy, or Fell's polemic, or Lead's visions, both bypass earthly powers and negotiate with them: authority is in speaking, but also in manipulating an audience that was material rather than heavenly. But the texts do not invoke a king or father.

The marginalization of seventeenth-century prophetic discourse in relation to the literary canon, and the repeated movement of marginalization in the work of male and feminist scholars, means that the power structures of the seventeenth century appear to be patriarchal, organicist or Hobbesian. But perhaps prophetic discourse offers us a gap in those moments of the grand narrative of the history of political thought. It also enables us to consider the relationship between gender, religio-political theory and specific circumstances in relation to women's entry into discourse. As Philippe Sollers notes,

> the historical field is *discontinuous*; it discloses, first, the exclusion by means of which 'literary history' has made and continues to make its ideological profit, exclusion in the sense of 'repression' or 'negation' (Freud). Its strategic points, its *borders*, are designated by the words 'mysticism', 'eroticism', 'madness'.[36]

Sollers here places the texts excluded by literary history as ensuring the value of those it includes: women's prophecy undercuts literary history, and some emergent feminist literary histories, by disclosing a concept of authority which is double, treble, multiple and perpetually shifting, disappearing and negotiating.

NOTES

1 Mary Cary, *The Resurrection of the Witness* (London, 1648 version), p. 67.
2 Hester Biddle, *A Warning From the Lord God of Life and Power Unto the City of London and to the Suburbs Round about thee* (London, 1660).
3 See Elaine Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity: English Women's Writing 1649–88* (London, 1988), p. 29.
4 Christine Berg and Philippa Berry, 'Spiritual Whoredom: An Essay on Female Prophets in the Seventeenth Century', in *Literature and Power in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Francis Barker (Essex, University of Essex), 1981: 'prophecy in its most exaggerated form – that is, in the form in which it most clearly distinguishes itself from a rational discourse – has much in common with that phenomenon described by Luce Irigaray as "the language of the feminine", and by Julia Kristeva as the semiotic' (p. 39).
5 *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse*, ed. G.Greer (London, Virago), 1988. Exceptions include *Her Own Life* and *Virtue of Necessity*.
6 See, for example, *Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet, Playes*, London, 1662, Part 1, Act 3, sc. 5, p. 131; *The Worlds Olio* (London, 1653), p. 41.
7 The editor of the Augustan reprint sees Fell as only continuing the work of Fox, page v. As Elaine Hobby notes, other earlier defences of women's right to prophesy included Richard Farnworth's *A Woman Forbidden to Speak* (1654), Priscilla Cotton and Mary Cole, *To the Priests and People of England* (1655). See Hobby, op. cit., pp. 43–4.

8 Ann-Rosalind Jones, 'Surprising Fame: Renaissance Gender Ideologies and Women's Lyric', in Nancy K. Miller, *Poetics of Gender* (Columbia, 1986), p. 80.
9 Margaret Fell, *Women's Speaking Justified* (London, 1666), reprinted Augustan Reprints no. 194, 1979. Subsequent references are in the text.
10 See, for example, Nigel Smith on the ambiguous status of dreams, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 73–103.
11 See Elspeth Graham, Hilary Hinds, Elaine Hobby, Helen Wilcox, eds, *Her Own Life: Autobiographical Writings by Seventeenth-Century Englishwomen* (London, 1989), esp. p. 123.
12 Mary Cary, *A Word in Season to the Kingdom of England* (London, 1647). Subsequent references are in the text.
13 Mary Cary, *The Resurrection of the Witness* (London, 1648). Subsequent references are in the text. This tract was reprinted in ?1653 with corrections probably drawn from *The Account Audited* (London, 1649), which responded to *The Resurrection of the Witness.*
14 *A Brief Dialogue Between a Zelotopist, one of the daughters of a Zealous Roundhead, and Superstition* (London, 1642), *The Mistris Parliament Plays* (London, 1648), ed. Lois Potter, *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*, NS vol. 1, no. 3, 1987, pp. 100–71, *The Famous Tragedy of Charles I* (London, 1648). See also *The Life and Death of Mistris Mary Frith* (London, 1662), A2v–A3v.
15 For the debate on the Ranters and Marxist versus revisionist versus 'oppositionist' historiography, see Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (Middlesex, 1975); J. C. Davies, *Fear, Myth and History* (Cambridge, 1986). A recent article is an important analysis of different ways of thinking about history: James Holstun's 'Ranting at the New Historicism', in *English Literary Renaissance*, nV, 19, no. 2, 1989, pp. 189–226.
16 Graham *et al.* (eds), op. cit., p. 181.
17 Alfred Cohen, 'The Fifth Monarchy Mind', *Social Research* vol. 31, no. 2, 1964, pp. 195–213, p. 200. There are problems with Cohen's argument about totalitarian thinking and he gives a perhaps rather misleading idea of the aim of Cary's prophecy.
18 *The Little Horn's Doom and Downfall* (London, 1651). Subsequent references are in the text.
19 Cary's claim is challenged by Alfred Cohen who compares it to the tract *The Glorious Exercise of the Spirit*, 1645, which he finds theologically very different: Alfred Cohen, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Radicals in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Richard L. Greaves and Robert Zaller (Brighton, 1983), 3 vols, vol. 1, p. 128.
20 *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, ed. Wilbur Cortez Abbot (Cambridge, 1937), vol. 3, p. 67.
21 ibid., p. 65, 'Speech to the Nominated Parliament July 4 1653'. Elizabeth Poole, the Baptist prophet, spoke to the government; her message was against the regicide.
22 Nigel Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed*, p. 51.
23 Sarah Wight, *A Wonderful Pleasant and Profitable Letter Written by Mrs Sarah Wight* (London, 1656). Nigel Smith, ibid., p. 51.
24 Berg and Berry, op. cit., p. 38.
25 See also Hobby, *Virtue of Necessity*, op. cit., pp. 31–2; Nigel Smith, pp. 46–51. Smith notes that 'At Whitehall she was visited by many people, members of government and respectable society as well as Fifth Monarchists' (p. 51).
26 Anna Trapnel, *The Cry of A Stone* (London, 1654). Subsequent references are in the text.

27 Anna Trapnel, *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea* (London, 1654).
28 Jane Lead, *The Enochian Walks With God* (London, 1694), p. 19.
29 John O. Ward, 'Magic and Rhetoric From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Some Ruminations', *Rhetorica* vol. VI, no. 1, Winter 1988, pp. 57–118, p. 57. See also Mary Douglas's influential analysis of sorcery as interstitial which I draw on here: *Purity and Danger* (London, 1966), new edition 1984, pp. 171–9.
30 *The Ranters Monster* (London, 1652), Reprints of English Books 1475–1700, ed. Joseph Arnold-Foster, 1940, p. 1.
31 Jane Lead, *Signs of the Times* (London, 1699), pp. 1–2.
32 Eleanor Douglas, *The Blasphemous Charge Against Her* (London, 1649), p. 10.
33 ibid., p. 13.
34 Diane Purkiss, 'Producing the voice, consuming the body', forthcoming.
35 Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body* (London, 1984), pp. 15–41.
36 Philippe Sollers, *Writing and the Experience of Limits* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 6.

Part IV

Representations