

University of Warwick institutional repository: <http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap>

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD at the University of Warwick

<http://go.warwick.ac.uk/wrap/2708>

This thesis is made available online and is protected by original copyright.

Please scroll down to view the document itself.

Please refer to the repository record for this item for information to help you to cite it. Our policy information is available from the repository home page.

'Rime and reason.'
The Political World of the
English Broadside Ballad,
1640–1689

Angela McShane Jones

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in the Department of History
November 2004

University of Warwick

CONTENTS

i.	Acknowledgements.....	ii
ii.	Declaration.....	iv
iii.	Abstract.....	v
iv.	Abbreviations.....	vi

Section One: The Market

1.	Introduction: Romancing the Ballad.....	1
2.	Chapter One: The Ballad Market.....	30

Section Two: The Medium

3.	Chapter Two: The Ballad as News or the Ballad as Muse?.....	90
4.	Chapter Three: Harmony 1640 – 1689.....	166

Section Three: The Message

5.	Chapter Four: Tyranny 1640 – 1660.....	237
6.	Chapter Five: Love 1660 – 1689.....	314
7.	Conclusion:.....	402
8.	Appendix I: Typeface.....	413
9.	Appendix II: Ballad Production Chart	414
10.	Bibliography.....	415

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the outstanding help and support I have received from the History Department, University of Warwick. In addition, I would like to thank the History Department, University College Northampton and the Research Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum for offering me over the years the means by which I could sustain and develop both research and higher education teaching experience. It is not often that a wage slave has cause sincerely to thank her masters, but in this case their willingness to believe in my ability to deliver and to purchase my labour has been a boon and a pleasure. I would also like to thank the librarians at the Bodleian Library, the British Library, the Manchester Central Library, the National Library of Scotland, and (at a distance) the Houghton Library and Durham University Library for all their kind assistance.

If anyone had told me at the outset how hard this project would be I would have walked away, and would have missed both the hardest and the most satisfying years of my life so far. I have learned over the period of this study what it means to build up personal debts, repayable only by gratitude and respect. The staff and postgraduate community at Warwick have provided a constant source of intellectual stimulation, generous assistance and a forum for sharing, discussing and developing ideas. I would like to thank friends and colleagues who have helped me through the process in innumerable ways, with time, patience and practical help, especially Ian Chambers, Dr Kevin Gould, Tim Reinke-Williams, Dr Lyn Robson, Lisa Lavender, Dr Matt Adams, Dr Claudia Stein, Dr Adrian Pearce, Molly Rogers, James Corbett, Michael Jones and Tony Morris. I would also like to thank academics and teachers who have given invaluable advice and support especially, Professor Colin Jones, Roger Magraw, Professor Steve Hindle, Dr Beat Kümin, Dr Rebecca Earle, Dr Phil Withington, Professor Michael Mendle, Professor Patrick Collinson, Professor Newton Key and Dr Hilary Marland.

Mrs Ros Lucas, postgraduate secretary, has provided help, support and a shoulder to cry on from the first day of this project to the last. Through times that were often very difficult she has acted as advisor and friend, offering kindly and sometimes tough love, and has finally given unstinting, eye-boggling help with the preparation of the typescript. Without her this whole process would have been unbearable.

My thanks to Bernard Capp – to whom this experiment in academia is entirely due – are almost incapable of being put into words. Anyone who has had the privilege of working with Bernard knows him as an exceptionally generous and deservedly renowned scholar. In the six years of working with him on this thesis, without ever a negative or discouraging word, he has set me a scholarly standard and a model of reflective teaching that can only be wondered at. He has also been a constant and an understanding friend. It has been a major concern that through my frequent incompetence and ineptitude I would try his patience and his friendship too far. I hope not.

In fine I dedicate this thesis to my teachers: To Miss Dorothy Pike, Dr Martin Fitzpatrick and Professor Edmund Fryde, who taught me to love history, and to Professor Bernard Capp, who, against all the odds, has almost taught me to write it.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work in its entirety and has not been submitted for a degree at another university or for any other award. Appropriate reference is made in the footnotes and bibliography to my published and forthcoming articles, all of which are based on research undertaken during the period of doctoral study.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores political broadside balladry in England in the period from c.1640 to the Glorious Revolution, and argues that it was a medium by which the political ideals of Christian humanism were transmitted to a socially and geographically diverse audience. The investigation is based on an analysis of all extant broadsides and titles of the period in conjunction with contemporary sources such as diaries, discourses on literature and politics, state papers, and court records. No comprehensive historical study of this material across such a broad period has been done to date.

The thesis is divided into three sections: the market, the medium and the message of the broadside ballad world. These analyse the range and nature of products and consumers in the political ballad market, set out the functions of the political ballad and present the political analysis that ballads offered contemporaries as they sought to render comprehensible the political world in a period of momentous change.

The findings of the thesis are first, that the use of cheap print as a source by historians necessitates a serious engagement with the material culture, the genre and the content of print products. Second, it challenges the long-standing orthodoxy that the broadside ballad functioned primarily as a news medium and offers an accurate assessment of the ballad genre as political cultural broker between centre and periphery and a more nuanced explanation of the ballad as vehicle of choice for political debate. Third, in the light of material and generic insights and through detailed content analysis, it reveals the way in which the most traditional broadside ballads, printed for the most part in black-letter, used Christian humanist ideas, based on Aristotle and the New Testament, to explain the trauma of the civil war and interregnum, to complain at the incursions into law and liberty by corrupt and radical Stuart government and to lay out the constructs and constraints of a political world which made it possible for the xenophobic English to eject an English King in 1688-9 and make a Dutch one acceptable, by dressing him in the mantle of an English Protestant hero.

ABBREVIATIONS AND A NOTE ON BALLAD CITATIONS.

Citation of ballads follows the pattern:

1) Author, if known, 2) Title and tune where relevant 3) Place of publication, 4) Date of publication, 5) Format information, 6) Collection and Shelfmark, 7) Publisher where relevant, 9) Other editions where relevant.

1) **Authors:** Ballads are anonymous unless cited otherwise. Where an author has been attributed but no name appears on the broadside, name of author followed by attrib. Where initials of an author appear on the broadside and a likely name is known, the name is completed within square brackets i.e. M[artin] P[arker].

2) **Titles:** Title, if long, usually given up the point of sub title ('or'), tune direction also given if relevant to discussion.

3) **Place of publication:** London unless cited otherwise

4) **Dating of ballads:** The dating of ballads is problematic. In particular black-letter editions were rarely dated by publisher or collector. Where they do exist, printed dates are not always reliable and manuscript dating by collectors may refer to date of purchase rather than publication. The following conventions are used:

(1660) or (m/s 9 March 1659) imprint date, m/s date, licence date, combination internal and external evidence (preamble, tune, publisher, content).

(RI215 14 November 1657) registration date (not always the same as publication date)

[RI229 3 Sept 1640] registration date on non-extant ballad title.

{1660} or {1660/61} speculative, based on content.

[between 1670 and 1675] date range based on printer/publisher information.

5) **Format, Typography and Illustration:** Ballad citations include information on the typography and layout (referred to as 'format') of broadside ballads (see ch. 1 and appendix I).

b/l – indicates a 'traditional' or black-letter ballad, with woodcuts, in landscape orientation.

w/l – indicates a ‘white-letter’ ballad, without woodcuts, in portrait orientation.

n/b – indicates a ‘notation-ballad’ : a white-letter ballad, with music illustration, in portrait orientation.

Deviation from these basic formats is indicated by,

+w/c - indicates illustrated with woodcut on white-letter ballads.

no w/c - indicates no illustration on black-letter ballads.

b/l/p - indicates black-letter type in portrait orientation.

w/l/l format - indicates white-letter type in landscape orientation.

5) Citation of collections and shelf marks. The following conventions have been applied,

Bodleian Collections

Collection title, Wood, Douce, Rawl, Ashm., Firth, Harding, Don., G. Pamph., Vet.,
Johnson or Bod., followed by shelfmark.

British Library Collections

Bagford Ballads: citations begin BB followed by shelfmark.

Luttrell Collection: citations begin Lutt followed by shelfmark.

Roxburghe Collection: citations of originals begin Rox followed by volume number and page number. Where the ballad covers two sheets (many Roxburghe ballads have been cut into two) I cite the first page only. Rarely, the printed version has been cited, which appears as *RB* followed by volume number and first page of ballad.

Thomason Tracts: Citations begin 669 followed by volume and sheet number.

Un-named Collections: citations begin BL followed by shelf mark.

Other Major Collections

Crawford Ballads, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Citations begin CB followed by sheet number/box number.

The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads in the Library of the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1971). Citations begin Euing followed by ballad number.

Manchester Ballads, Central Library, Manchester. Citations begin MB followed by volume number and page number. Where two ballads or scraps have been stuck onto the same page, the use of a or b after the page number indicates this.

Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Pepys Ballads Facsimile Volumes 1 – V (Cambridge, 1987). Citations begin Pepys followed by volume and page number.

Early English Books Online. Citation begins EEBO followed by name of the holding library, such as Harvard. This source is cited for ballads held in US collections.

Frequently Cited Printed Primary Sources

Baxter, *Autobiography* - N. H. Keeble (ed.), *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter* (1974).

Bramston, *Autobiography* – Richard Griffin, Baron Braybrooke (ed.), *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston of Kress* (Camden Society, Old Series, 32, 1845).

CSPD – *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*.

Ethics - Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by W. D. Ross, *The Internet Classics Archive*: <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.html>.

Flemings, *Papers, or Accounts* - J. R. Magrath (ed.); *The Flemings In Oxford Being Documents Selected From The Rydall Papers* (2 vols, Oxford, 1904). Includes Daniel Fleming's 'Great Account Book' and his 'Autobiography'.

Josselin, *Diary* – Alan Macfarlane (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616 – 1683* (Oxford, 1976).

Pepys, *Diary* – Robert Latham and William Matthews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (11 vols, 1970 – 83).

Politics - Aristotle, *The Politics*, trans. T.A. Sinclair, revised by T.J. Saunders (1992).

RB - The Roxburghe Ballads, eight Volumes, edited for the Ballad Society by W. Chappell (Vols 1 – 3, Hertford, 1880 – 1881), and J.W. Ebsworth (Vols 4 – 8, Hertford, 1881 – 1901, reprinted edition, 8 vols, New York, 1966).

Rugg, *Diurnall* - W. Sachse (ed.), *Diurnall of Thomas Rugg, 1659 – 1661* (Camden Society, Third Series, Vol. XCI, 1961) and T. Ruge, *Mercurius Politicus Redivivus* (1659 – 1665), Vol. I. BL Add. MS 10116, Vol. II. BL Add. MS. 100117.

Stationers' Register – E. Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London ... 1554-1640* (5 vols, 1875-94) and G. E. Briscoe Eyre (ed.), *Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708* (3 vols, 1913)

Wood, *Life* – Andrew Clark (ed.), *The Life And Times Of Anthony Wood, Antiquary Of Oxford, 1632 – 1695, Described By Himself* (5 vols, Oxford, 1891 - 1900).

Frequently Cited Reference Works

RI - Hyder E. Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557 – 1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Hatboro, Penn., 1967). Registered ballad entries are cited from this source rather than the *Stationers' Registers*.

C&P - Hyder E. Rollins, *Cavalier and Puritan Ballads and Broadsides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion 1640 - 1660* (New York, 1923)

Simpson - Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, 1966).

**'RIME AND REASON.'
THE POLITICAL WORLD
OF THE
ENGLISH BROADSIDE BALLAD,
1640–1689**

These lines I do present
And better would; if that I could
My brains get to invent

Richard Rigby, *A New Song in
Praise of the Gentle Craft* (1689).

SECTION

I

The Market

my collection of ballads ... continued to the year 1700 when the form, till then peculiar thereto, viz.^t of the Black Letter with Picturs seems (for cheapnes sak) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter without Picturs.

Pepys I. Frontispiece

INTRODUCTION

i. Romancing the Ballad

Francis James Childs is still the acknowledged guru of the ballad world. Compiler and editor of the renowned collection of English and Scottish folk ballads, his views on what constituted a 'true' ballad and the relationship of ballads to an authentic folk past have been amended but never superseded. Indeed, in referring to ballads, scholars frequently distinguish between 'Childs Ballads' and other ballads not included in his collection.¹ Childs was uncompromising in his attitude towards the 'topical' song sheets in the Roxburghe and Pepys collections, describing them as 'veritable dunghills'.² It is with these dunghills and others like them, that we are concerned here.

This thesis sets out to explore the political world of the printed broadside ballad from 1640 to 1689. This period was chosen both because it was a time of great political upheaval and expression, and because the broadside ballad came to play a particular role in the 'paper wars' of the period. The thesis, particularly chapters four and five, will focus primarily on the black-letter ballad. These differed significantly from white-letter ballads in terms of accessibility, content, form and aims. The thesis will argue that black-letter ballads not only

¹ F. J. Child (ed.), *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 Vols, 1882-98, reprinted New York, 1965). See, for example, one of several 'scholarly' ballad web sites, many of which seek to reprint otherwise unobtainable material, http://www.pbm.com/~lindah/ballads/early_child/#what: 'we characterize the modern definition of "ballad" as "whatever Child was pointing to when he used the term."' Following Child, this site offers the following definition of a ballad: '(i) A ballad tells a story. (ii) The emphasis is on action and dialogue, not description or characterisation. (iii) A ballad has a simple metrical structure and sentence structure. (iv) It is sung to a modal melody. (v) It derives from an oral tradition, and is of anonymous authorship.' It is useful to contrast this with the reality of a political ballad which rarely 'tells a story', and frequently has no 'action' at all, consisting solely of description, characterisation, reflection and speculation.

² Letter to Grundtvig, 25 August 1872, quoted in Alan Bold, *The Ballad* (1979), p. 96. Childs was not entirely original here. Sir Thomas Overbury had made this unsavoury connection long before, *Sir Thomas Overburie his wife with new elegies vpon his (now knowne) vntimely death: whereunto are annexed, new newes and characters* (1611) (no page descriptors), described a 'Rimer' as 'a fellow whose face is hatcht all ouer with impudence, and should he be hang'd or pilloried tis armed for it. Hee is a Iuggler with words, yet practises the Art of most vncleanly conueyance. He doth boggle very often; and because himselfe winks at it, thinks tis not perceiued: the maine thing that euer he did, was the tune he sang to. There is nothing in the earth so pittifull, no not an Ape-carrier, he is not worth thinking of, and therefore I must leaue him as nature left him, a Dunghil not well laid together.'

supplied a commentary on the upheavals of the period but provided too a political frame of reference for their often unsophisticated, but not uninformed readers. It also hopes to show that this political world, still largely unexplored by historians or literary scholars, was of considerable contemporary importance and deserves to be far better known.

Alan Bold has pointed out that whilst popular ballads were orally transmitted, timeless, rural entertainments, printed ballad broadsides were ephemeral fodder for the 'urban masses'.³ Francis Childs imagined his own collection as the repository of 'the genuine ballads of the people' in the sense of 'untarnished' by the urban mass or sophisticated worlds of the elite.⁴ This attitude prevailed even in the seventeenth century when the piping of rural swains in Arcadia was compared to the raucous noise of theatre song and tavern wit.

The danger of falling into this morass of romantic musical nostalgia is ever-present. 'Folk Music' is an important part of the culture of song in our country and there have been many attempts to rediscover and recreate the sounds of the past. Underlying this is a political agenda which understands popular song as an expression of conflict: the struggle of the weak and virtuous against the oppressions of class and capitalism. It also seeks for an identity of 'the folk', separate from establishment jingoism and nation-building. If all this sounds very nineteenth century in its approach, it is. Most 'rediscovered' tunes are nineteenth-century ones and much of the approach to popular song is informed by a simplistic and anachronistic application of Marxist dogma. A good example is a CD collection called *English Rebel Songs 1381-1914* by Chumbawamba, dedicated to 'all the poor oppressed in the Land of England'. It claims to be 'The Folk music of struggle, written by and for the common "folk"'. The collection includes just one seventeenth-century piece, 'The Diggers Song, 1649', allegedly written by Gerrard Winstanley himself. It is well known to folk singers but to my knowledge was never printed in the period.⁵ The Diggers, who according to the CD notes, were attacked

³ Bold, *The Ballad*, p. 66.

⁴ See Sigrid Rieuwerts, "'The Genuine Ballads of the People": F.J. Child and the Ballad Cause', *Journal of Folklore Research*, 31 (1-3) (1994), pp. 1-34.

⁵ But see the 1649 manuscript copy printed in C.H. Firth (ed.), *The Clarke Papers* (4 vols, Camden Society, New Series, 49, 54, 61, 62, 1891-1901).

under orders by 'Priests and Lords,' showed that 'common and equal work ... can be a practical alternative to the robbery and inequality of capitalism'.⁶ Ironically, whereas ballads of the seventeenth century saw sobriety as radical and identified heavy drinking as a means of inducing unthinking loyalty and courage to fight in the wars of the state, the folk musician sees it as an act of defiance, an escape from sober institutional oppression.

Whilst undertaking this project I have frequently been approached by people who play and listen to 'folk music' or who seek to preserve and revere it. I always feel woefully inadequate in my responses to their queries, since it is the broadside ballad as a textual and material product that is the focus of my study. I do discuss tunes below, where they have seemed relevant to market, medium or message, but frequently I have found, distressing though this is to the musical fraternity, that even the tune direction was text, a satirical jibe rather than a description of a melody. On political ballads a tune designated by a name otherwise unknown to us may well in fact be 'Greensleeves', as David Zaret points out, but often this is completely to miss the point of the title chosen.⁷ The use of the verb 'to sing' had a much broader meaning in early modern England than that given it today. In a classically educated mind, 'to sing' was to play the part of the poet, to speak out in order to offer learning or entertainment. Take for example the opening declaration of a 1680s prose pamphlet: 'I Sing (like the Cuckoe in June) to be laught at; if therefore I make a scurvy noise, and that my tunes sound unmusically (they being altogether lame in respect of the bad feet...)'.⁸ Use of the verb 'to sing' here has nothing to do with the requirements of music, but relates to the speaking out of truths, in this case through satire.

Musical compilers have not engaged seriously with song texts as satire, or with the hard-headed reality of marketing the more popular broadside ballads. An example of the simple acceptance of the word on the page is to be found on one vinyl LP by a well regarded

⁶ Chumbawamba, *English Rebel Songs 1381-1914* (Woodlands Studio, 1988). At least they put their politics into action; this was the group that threw water over John Prescott at the Brits Awards ceremony in 1998: see <http://www.spunk.org/library/music/chumba/sp001737/>.

⁷ David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton, 2000), p. 116.

⁸ Samuel Overcome [Samuel Vincent attrib.], *The Young Gallants Academy* (1674), p. 1.

'folk group', who, on the basis of his initials appearing at the top of so many sheets, commends Roger L'Estrange (licenser of the press), as 'that prolific ballad writer'.⁹ This romantic view even affected Claude Simpson's magisterial compilation of broadside ballad music. His shocked admission that he could not identify the tune 'the Turd', cited as the tune direction on a Rump ballad, and that the ballad contained 'a number of lines which suggest that the ... tune title is not the name of an independent ballad or melody' is just one of a number of examples of this.¹⁰ The self-referencing language of tune titles is an important discourse throughout our period because it indicated an expectation of a wide knowledge of ballads both from their titles and their refrains. On the other hand one cannot help but suspect that the constant re-titling of tunes in reference to other ballads was actually a way of maintaining secrecy - useful to the performer as he or she became an essential part of any sale of a song for singing. For many the purchase of a sheet without a performance to accompany it must have rendered the ballad as text alone.

This study of political ballads offers a rather more jaundiced eye on the 'reality' of the broadside ballad world. Romance, traditionalism, 'Hey nonny' and 'falala' play almost no part.¹¹ We must take our cue from William Hornbye whose description of the balladeer summed up a common contemporary attitude:

The Thrid (sic) bare Poet, or the ballad maker,
That of lasciuious rimes is full partaker
And baudy songs writes with his unchast pen
Which stink i'th nostrils of vertuous men:
These shew the very dreggs of wit,
Which are unprofitable and unfit.¹²

⁹ Strawhead, *Farewell Musket Pike and Drum* (Traditional Sound Recordings, 1978).

¹⁰ Simpson, p. 277. My reading of his attitude here may be a little unfair; it is set in the context of a full perusal of the Simpson text.

¹¹ 'Falala' is actually part of a refrain on a regicide ballad, see ch. 2 below, though it was hardly romantic in intent.

¹² William Hornbye, *Hornbyes Hornbook Iudge Not Too Rashly, Till Through All You Looke; If Nothing Then Doth Please You, Burne The Booke* (1622), p. 12.

These dirty sheets, often badly sung or read out, were meat for drunken gangs of men and women in alehouses or out on the street. People selling and singing these songs were sometimes set upon in the street, arrested for sedition by constables, or challenged by those who did not hold with the political views they contained. But they were far more likely to be arrested because they were drunk and brawling in the street, or because they had organised pickpockets to operate while they performed, or because they had been selling old ballads for new and had got caught by a disgruntled customer, all incidental side-lines to ballad singing.¹³ In a sense, Child's definition of 'dung hills' more accurately conjures my view of the kind of atmosphere in which these ballads may have been enjoyed, than the lilting and harmonious modes of the excellent but elite-sounding consort renditions of non-political ballad song in Christopher Marsh's *Songs of the Seventeenth Century*.¹⁴

ii. Popular Culture and the Political Broadside Ballad

Distaste for the ballad, rather than their romance, has had a similar blinkering effect on historians. Even amongst the champions of the cheapest print and extensive literacy there has been an unwillingness to acknowledge the political as part of popular literature and a tendency to deny mutual interaction between high and low cultures. This has been defended on the basis of what seemed a truism, articulated by David Cressy, that 'normally these ordinary people were indifferent to the political and religious controversies, which exercised their betters'.¹⁵ Though Margaret Spufford disagreed with Cressy over levels of literacy and over the question of popular religious consciousness, and acknowledged the political content

¹³ Examples of all these circumstances are encountered in ch. 1 below.

¹⁴ I am very grateful to Dr Marsh for sending me a set of these excellent song recordings. Recently, Robert Darnton employed the services of an opera singer to give renditions of eighteenth-century French political song (accessible at <http://www.indiana.edu/~ahr/darnton/songs/>). Such elitism seems to be an effort to deny or avoid the 'pop' status of these songs. A CD offered by the National Portrait Gallery to accompany their Painted Ladies Exhibition called *Music at the Court of Charles II* (2001) was at least much clearer in its awareness of the elitism of the performances. Disappointingly, the only rendition of a political song, an illustrated, white-letter ballad, is rendered incomprehensible by the professional singer employed. My thanks to Tim Reinke-Williams for drawing my attention to this CD.

¹⁵ David Cressy, 'Literacy in Seventeenth-Century England: More Evidence', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8 (1977), pp. 141-150, p. 145.

of almanacs as demonstrated by Bernard Capp, her seminal work on reading, and the production and distribution of 'chap-books' was nevertheless rather dismissive of what she largely assumed to be the non-political and 'useless' content of 'popular print'.¹⁶ To the unknown authors of her chapbooks, she suggested, 'The real world of the county gentry, the world of quarter sessions and country politics was closed.'¹⁷ Describing the 'popular print Pepys collected in the 1680s' as mere 'pass-times' she suggested that 'the Restoration and the Civil War might never have happened.'¹⁸

Ostensibly, one might argue, Spufford was not writing about ballads. She based her analysis on chapbook literature from the Pepys collection and a number of trade lists, a methodology she defended as being a protection from the 'distortion based on accidents of survival' or 'on whims and fancies of more than one collection'.¹⁹ However, she adopted this approach because she believed that by the middle of the century the ballad was no longer an important part of the cheap print producer's portfolio. She argues, on the basis of trade lists, that by 1664 chapbook production was already 'more important' than ballad production. She cannot understand why Thomas Passenger (who between 1665 and 1689 published 75 of the titles in the Bodley collections and 179 in the Pepys collection) still took the name ballad partner on taking over his master Charles Tias's business, when according to her research ballads were no longer a feature of what he produced.²⁰ She could only suggest it was because 'they held their stock in a building known as the Ballad Warehouse', as there would be no point in him 'putting the clock back' and concentrating on ballads.²¹ Spufford's concept of the chronology of ballad production was based not on the very large Pepys collection, but on the

¹⁶ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. xviii; pp. 32-33; p. 249. Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press, English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London, 1979).

¹⁷ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 249.

¹⁸ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 219. This opinion was influenced by two things, one known and one unknown; known was the fact that the Ballad Partners and Charles Tias sold both pamphlet and ballad; unknown was that the Pepys ballad collection, unlike the Wood, Roxburghe, Manchester or Euing collections, contains no political ballads printed in the 1640 to 1660 period.

¹⁹ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. xix.

²⁰ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 99.

²¹ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 100.

views of Robert Thomson, whose history of English folk song led her to assert that 'ballads of satisfying content and artistry ... were in decline after the first decades of the seventeenth century' and that 'printing led to the fossilising of ballad creation'.²² She defended this view through an analysis of the 1689 trade list of unsold items belonging to the 'ballad partner' William Thackeray.²³ Spufford simply assumed that the content and authorship of chapbooks and ballads were identical, and indeed, quite extraordinarily on the basis of the research presented here, that the ballad form had already died out in favour of the chapbook by the middle of the century.

Tessa Watt's equally influential study of cheap print was heavily influenced by this analysis. Though she set out a number of differentiated products up to 1640, elaborating on Bernard Capp's list of the main genres of popular literature, 'ballads, chapbooks, jestbooks and almanacs' to include tables, penny merriments, penny miscellanies and penny godlinesses, in effect she too conflated them into a single genre of 'cheap print'.²⁴ She excluded the political from her study, and made assumptions about the chronology and content of cheap print production based not on the products themselves, but on information obtained from the Stationers' Registers. Without any reading of the thousands of sheets available, influential assumptions have been made about the quantity, quality and content of ballads, based on registers or trade lists or the contents of one or two collections, on a basis of 'once you've read one you've read them all.'²⁵ Historians have been content to accept that

²² Spufford, *Small Books*, pp. 9-10.

²³ Spufford, *Small Books*, *passim*. As I explain below, for a picture of ballad production in the late seventeenth century, publishers such as Philip Brooksby and Joseph Conyers were better examples. Nevertheless, six highly political ballads printed by Thackeray in 1689 appear in the Pepys collection.

²⁴ Capp, 'Popular Literature', p. 198, defined popular literature as 'short tracts that seem, by style and price, to have been aimed at the lowest level of the literate; cheaper and simpler than the material described in L.B. Wright's *Middle Class Culture*'. Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991).

²⁵ Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 44, suggests that 'Historians have not shown much interest in English Political Poetry ... [because] ... Unlike prose, verse was not a vehicle for political argument.' He denies it was 'a voice of the people' because 'the people did not compose any of this material'. He does not appreciate this is because he has chosen largely 'elite' verse to work with. Mark S.R. Jenner 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, 177 (2002) pp. 84-121, has also commented on historical distaste with political satire 'for understandable aesthetic reasons', p. 88, but like Monod he makes no distinction between accessible balladry and inaccessible satirical poetry.

ballads represent part of a static and unchanging 'popular culture', which had nothing to do with the shifting politics of the elites. When dealing with the ballad, scholars assume they should seek out the traditional and the fictional.²⁶ Despite the promising beginnings in the study of political cheap print made by Bernard Capp's study of the almanac, by the early 1990s we had gone little farther than the attitude of Andrew Clark, editor of Wood's diaries, who noted of the very large collection of ballads in Wood 401, many of which are political, only that 'Robin Hood ballads are well represented'.²⁷

The concentration on the socio-cultural content of balladry has been of benefit to social historians, such as Anthony Fletcher, who heralded the ballad as 'one of the great neglected forms of evidence for early modern mentality' which could give access to a popular cultural milieu.²⁸ James Sharpe, and especially Joy Wiltenburg, despite the dangers of 'fiction', used ballads to access a more affective, or a more colourful viewpoint on early modern life than that conveyed by the inevitably bleak and negative court records.²⁹ However, the misapprehension of the true range of content and genre available in the most popular of print has severely hampered the potential for using popular literature as a historical source for popular political *mentalités*. Even Fletcher assumed the range of the ballad to be 'love and marriage, religion and morality, work and leisure'.³⁰

Spufford argued that although levels of reading literacy were likely to be far higher amongst the lower orders than had previously been believed, a potentially crucial contribution to popular political scholarship, her study of chap books only served to accentuate the

²⁶ See, for example, Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p. 3: 'popular cultures do not follow the tight chronologies of political history.'

²⁷ Wood, *Life*, Vol. I, p. 18.

²⁸ Anthony Fletcher, *Gender Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, 1995), pp. xix-xx.

²⁹ James Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence From Popular Literature', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 36 (1986), pp. 69-90; Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville, 1992), esp. p. 4: 'Human beings do not build their social identities on a logical compilation of rules; they draw, instead, on a wide range of models, associations, identifications, and prescriptions, linking them together in ways that are both idiosyncratic and culturally bounded ... key aims [of street literature] is to help people solidify their social identity.'

³⁰ Fletcher, *Gender Sex and Subordination*, p. xx.

separation of popular from elite groups in society. Only the childhood reading of the elites closed the gap. Not reading skills but reading tastes, she argued, increasingly operated as a barrier between popular and elites.³¹

In considering the methodology employed, there seems to have been an element of self-fulfilling prophecy here. In a similar way Peter Burke's seminal study of European popular culture, which took in a broad sweep of 'traditional' cultural vehicles such as literature and ritual customs, found a disappearing series of cultural tropes and rituals from which the elites increasingly withdrew.³² If scholars refuse to look for the novel, the fashionable or the topical they are bound to find decline.

Bob Scribner and Tim Harris have disputed this construct of a stagnant, declining and non-political, popular culture. As Bob Scribner pointed out some time ago, there is a temptation to see 'popular culture' as a static thing which is 'taken over' and destroyed, rather than as a process, the chronology and adaptation of which requires mapping. Instead, Scribner argued, the historian of popular culture should 'explain and understand when and how polarities were evoked' and should demonstrate that the main picture that can be seen when looking at the relationship between popular and elite cultures is one of interaction and not separation.³³ In the popular political context, Tim Harris has argued that his work on London crowds in particular showed that interaction between all social groups was a major feature in crowd and political activity.³⁴ Similarly, Adam Fox's analysis of the process by which a manuscript ballad ridiculing a superior was written and in time found its way to print in London, demonstrates that ballads offer patterns of interaction between literates and

³¹ Spufford, *Small Books*, ch. 3, especially pp. 72-75.

³² P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978), p. 270. Cf. p. 1: 'Popular culture is unofficial culture, the culture of the non-elite'; p. 173: 'craftsmen and peasants ... had to structure their world through models provided by the dominant group.'

³³ B. Scribner, 'Is a History of Popular Culture possible?', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989), pp. 175-193.

³⁴ Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987). See also *idem*, 'The Problem of "Popular Political Culture" in Seventeenth Century London', *History of European Ideas*, 10 (1989), pp. 43-58 and his key discussion, 'Problematizing Popular Culture' in Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 1-27.

illiterates, town and country.³⁵ While Nigel Smith has argued that literary genres adapted and changed to match new circumstances and markets, and were dynamically affected by the political events of the seventeenth century, pointing out that the publishing trade worked with existing customs to create new genres or use old ones in different ways.³⁶

In this thesis I will argue that political broadside ballads, ignored and indeed denied existence by the acknowledged champions of cheap print, express in the most traditional and 'low-brow' form the highest of political ideas and represent both the extremes and the interactions between elite and popular culture and between centre and periphery. While sometimes this was a process of elite appropriation of a low cultural form for satirical effect, more frequently it was a matter of low appropriation and application of high classical learning in the face of elite opposition. Moreover, although ballads were a form sometimes used by elites to influence popular opinion, many, notably Monmouth ballads, were produced independently of any powerful political groups.³⁷ The writers and publishers of the most accessible political print were not of the elite, nor did they operate in worlds closed to the real world of politics, county or national, or the assize courts. Of the political ballad writers we can identify, Martin Parker was one of the lowest of the middling sorts, and Richard Rigby was a lowly shoemaker, while Tom Durfey, playwright and song writer, who called himself a gentleman and changed his name to D'Urfey after he came to know the King, was still never too proud, or too rich, to allow his songs to appear in the cheapest print products. These men, like John Taylor, could be 'cultural amphibians' or mediators, but mostly their feet were firmly planted on the 'wrong' side of the cultural divide.³⁸

³⁵ Adam Fox, 'Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), pp. 47-83.

³⁶ Nigel Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England 1640-1660* (New Haven, 1994), chs 1 and 9. Cf. p. 1: 'the literature of mid-seventeenth-century England underwent a series of revolutions in genre and form ... this transformation was a response to the crises of the 1640s ... literature was part of the crisis and the revolution'. Smith's concern is not with popular literature as such, but he does occasionally include popular items in his analysis.

³⁷ See ch. five below.

³⁸ Hyder E. Rollins, 'Martin Parker' *Modern Philology*, XXV(1919); J. Baker, *Thomas D'Urfey: The Life and Work of a Restoration Playwright* (Birmingham, 1985). For Rigby see below, ch. 1.

iii. Political Ballads and Political Print

Despite the pioneering work of Bernard Capp on almanacs, a combination of 'popular culturalism' and the now much maligned analysis of Jürgen Habermas, led to rather conservative interpretations of popular political participation and the role of the popular press, such as that put forward by Gary De Krey. He argued that the emergence of popular political debate in the late Stuart period was an essentially new and metropolitan phenomenon and suggested that,

What was revolutionary about the communications revolution was not simply the volume or the variety of publications, but also the cheapness of publications. The explosion of print in Anne's reign ... scattered printed materials of political interest into the hands of people from even the most humble social ranks.

While acknowledging the widespread debate of the 1640s, he remarks, 'Only in the revolutionary decades of the 1640s and 1650s had politics and print been so closely connected', and believes censorship in the 1660s, 70s and 80s to have stifled any debate in the intervening period.³⁹

This view has since been challenged on a series of fronts, including analysis of popular political action, oral debate and cheap political print throughout the seventeenth century. Buchanan Sharp and Keith Lindley have shown how seditious words at least from the 1640s demonstrated a good deal of independent thinking amongst some of the poorer sorts of both sexes.⁴⁰ Wrightson and Walter have brilliantly analysed the underlying concepts of

³⁹ G. De Krey, *A Fractured Society. The Politics of London in the First Age of Party 1688-1715* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 213-215, 221. Krey was much influenced by the characterisation and dating of the emergence of the public sphere of J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (trans. Thomas Burger, Cambridge, Mass., 1989), pp. 32-33. Much of the political debate described above has served to render engagement with this analysis unnecessary.

⁴⁰ Buchanan Sharp, 'Popular Political Opinion in England, 1660-1685', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989). Keith Lindley, 'London and Popular Freedom in the 1640s' in R. C. Richardson and G. E. Ridden (eds), *Freedom and the English Revolution* (Manchester, 1986).

mutuality in the social order, which both constrained and occasionally condoned the riot.⁴¹ Harris's now extensive work on London crowds and popular culture concludes that far from being an unthinking mob, people of all sorts participated knowingly together to agitate for both wings of the political spectrum.⁴² David Zaret's work on petitions also suggests that there was a broad interest and participation in politics across the social range, while Steve Pincus has accentuated the mixed social composition of the coffee-house, which was not 'limited to the metropolis, not gender or class exclusive and not defended or used exclusively by Whig ideologues' as traditionalists suggest.⁴³ Work by an ever-increasing array of scholars has demonstrated the diversity of venues and distribution systems by which political opinion could be disseminated.⁴⁴ They no longer accept that because members of the elite described the world from time to time in terms of 'them and us', this is how they thought the world actually was, what Zaret has called the 'dialogic paradox'.⁴⁵

Popular political literature in the seventeenth century underwent a process of specialisation, with newsbooks, pamphlets and popular broadside ballads each performing the particular functions for which their form and target audiences were best suited. This analysis is put forward by Nigel Smith, although he makes no distinction between political broadside

⁴¹ John Walter & Keith Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', *Past & Present* 71 (1976), pp. 22-42.

⁴² Harris, *London Crowds* and *idem*, 'Introduction' and "'Venerating the Honesty of a Tinker": The King's Friends and the Battle for the Allegiance of the Common People in Restoration England' in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).

⁴³ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, esp. ch. 8. S. Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffee-houses and Restoration Political Culture', *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), pp. 811, 816, 830-832. Pincus points out that Halifax was removed from the Privy Council for championing the coffee-house.

⁴⁴ For an earlier period Tom Cogswell, 'Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture' in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995) examined the spread of political opinion concerning high politics through the medium of 'pot poets' who used the *mêlée* of the Exchange and St Paul's to broadcast their political diatribes and Alistair Bellany, "'Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse": Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628' in Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London, 1994), argued that 'Rayling Rimes' served a purpose in making public figures vulnerable to attack and in making the public, in a wide sense, aware of debates and differences of opinion.

⁴⁵ See also Blair Worden, 'Wit in a Roundhead. The Dilemma of Marchamont Nedham' in Amussen and Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics*, p. 322, who discusses the view expressed by cavaliers and parliamentarians alike that the 'herd of readers' should not be informed whilst at the same time both sides were anxious to convince a wide public opinion of the righteousness of their cause through popular literature.

ballads and other satirical or popular forms.⁴⁶ We only need to look at Burke's work on Louis XIV's image makers to be sure that it was perfectly possible for seventeenth-century ministries to pursue conscious, co-ordinated and efficient 'PR' programmes through a whole variety of media.⁴⁷ Work on Sir John Birkenhead, Marchamont Nedham and Sir Roger L'Estrange suggests that in England, while there was 'official' propaganda, no clear evidence has emerged of any more than a loosely organised propaganda machine.⁴⁸ However, in the 1640s Charles I went nowhere without direct access to a printing press and hack writer.⁴⁹ Both royalists and parliamentarians got the benefit of Marchamont Nedham's talents, clearly valuing his effectiveness more than his loyalty. L'Estrange produced a government-sponsored paper for the benefit of the misled vulgar, and both Whigs and Tories made constant use of the printing press to advertise their own views and to attack those of their opponents.

Joad Raymond's work on newsbooks and pamphlets has further supported the view that new genres of politically informed and informative literature were widely available. His most recent work on pamphlets has been inspirational in its focus on the material culture of the pamphlet. But Raymond overlooks questions of accessibility. He is concerned to establish the generic nature of the newsbook or the techniques of 'pamphleteering' but he makes no clear analysis of the market, or even the potentially prohibitive cost implication of buying serial publications, and no explicit distinction between poems by Dryden or Marvell, or a large pamphlet by Milton and a small black-letter pamphlet by some anonymous hack. In his anthology of newsbooks, Raymond simply reasons that, 'A newsbook would have been more

⁴⁶ Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, esp. chs 1 and 9.

⁴⁷ Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (London, 1992), ch. 4, esp. pp. 58-59.

⁴⁸ P. Thomas, *Sir John Birkenhead 1617-1679: a Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford, 1969). Worden, 'Wit in a Roundhead'; George Kitchin, *Sir Roger L'Estrange. A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1913, reprinted New York, 1971); Hinds, Peter. 'Roger L'Estrange, the Rye House Plot, and the regulation of political discourse in late-seventeenth-century London'. *The Library*, 3:1 (2002), 3-31. L'Estrange's roles as oppressor and contributor to the press have received considerable attention in many of the discussions of the press considered above.

⁴⁹ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, p. 199-200; 'When Charles I rode north to Newcastle to confront the Scots in 1639, the Earl of Arundel ... at once wrote off to the Secretary of State for a printer and press to be sent to the town ... in 1640 the same hurried request came from York.' In 1642, a press was set up 'immediately after the King's arrival at York ... at so short a distance from the royal residence, as to admit of a quick and unobserved communication between the King and his printer'.

accessible to a poor audience than a large expensive volume, and it is reasonable to suggest that their audience included the middling and poorer sort (the 'vulgar'), whom some of the middling and better sort of people then and subsequently regarded as naïve, gullible and credulous'.⁵⁰

The view of censorship as an important barrier in the way of distributing oppositional political views has also been challenged. Christopher Hill's 'vision of all-embracing, remorseless censorship' has effectively been demolished.⁵¹ Work by Sheila Lambert has shaken the traditional certainties about the effectiveness rather than the rhetoric of early Stuart censorship.⁵² The key to effectiveness, as Siebert said as long ago as 1952, is not legislation but enforcement.⁵³ Historians, such as De Krey, had taken the very few examples of successful prosecutions to mean that there were many others. In fact, it would appear, there were only a very few. Mark Knights, for example, sees no real difference in the output of subversive or political literature before and after the relaxing of the licence in 1679. Trade publishers, he points out, found in the 1679 Habeas Corpus Act an unexpected protection from indefinite imprisonment and made so much money that 'they were prepared to be locked up for a twelvemonth' rather than reveal their sources.⁵⁴ Moreover, work by R.L. Greaves, amongst others, has demonstrated the efficient and insidious nature of the seditious press connected to radical religious groups in Restoration England.⁵⁵ Greaves also argues that the development of satire was in itself a means of avoiding the censor.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ Joad Raymond, *Making the News: An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641-1660* (Gloucs, 1993), p. 10; *Idem*, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003); *Idem*, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford, 1996).

⁵¹ Anthony Milton, 'Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998), p. 627, Sabrina Baron, ch. 10, in J. Anderson and E. Sauer (eds), *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2002).

⁵² S. Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: The Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910* (Winchester, 1992).

⁵³ F. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana, 1952), p. vii.

⁵⁴ Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-1681* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 161, 159.

⁵⁵ R. L. Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet. Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain 1664-1677* (California, 1990), esp. pp. 170 -172; *Idem*, *Deliver us from Evil, The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (Oxford, 1986), p. 8: 'the revolution of the 1640s and 1650s lived on because the government failed in its efforts to choke off the propagation of radical ideas, either in the press or in the pulpit'. See also David J. Hall, 'The fiery Tryal of their Infallible Examination: self-control in the

Despite the views of the 'popular culturalists', research on popular political involvement in the seventeenth century has drawn a picture of a widespread contemporary understanding of political structures and responsibilities that is remarkably homogeneous. Recent work by social historians has also served to overturn the view that 'ordinary people' were unconcerned with politics. The discovery of official 'popular' participation in local politics has far outstripped what anyone had thought before. Moreover, since the state was expanding in terms of its demands for taxation and military participation, and in terms of its requirements and regulation of social policy as in the poor law, 'local' politics often meant in reality the implementation of national politics. The social depth of involvement is reflected in an important recent collection of essays entitled the *Politics of the Excluded*.⁵⁷ The contents of the volume render the title almost meaningless since those who had no agency in wielding or negotiating the political system were the only ones excluded from the book. According to these historians, even the weak, the poor, the destitute, the female, the young, the old, given a 'friend' or enough language to put their case, could wield some negotiating power in a culture that saw reciprocity and social responsibility as crucial to the national good and personal salvation. Concepts of inheritance, legality, rights and justice were clearly enunciated, understood and used as a basis for debate or action, legal or otherwise. Where did all that knowledge come from? Like Fox's old wives' tales, they originated in print, in classical discourses, in parliamentary law, and yet they were disseminated throughout the country. In a modern state where we can still fail to teach a significant proportion of our population to read, this is remarkable.⁵⁸

regulation of Quaker publishing in England from the 1670s to the mid-nineteenth century' in Myers and Harris (eds), *Censorship and the Control of Print*, p. 59, in which he notes that Friends' publications in the 1660s averaged approximately 13 per cent of the total recorded by Wing.

⁵⁶ Greaves, *Enemies under his Feet*, p. 178.

⁵⁷ Harris (ed.), *Politics of the Excluded*.

⁵⁸ Although it is salutary to note that the illiterate even in our own society are not thus excluded from knowledge of or ability to negotiate with the political or social functions of the contemporary, bureaucratic state.

All this has demonstrated that Cressy's, Spufford's and De Krey's analysis was mistaken. It has become clear that popular – or at least cheap – literature such as newsbooks, pamphlets, libels and political ballads, both manuscript and printed, were highly political in content, and circulated widely in England from the 1640s onwards. Dagmar Freist's discussion of political awareness from 1640 to 1647 shows the way in which opinions could be broadcast widely through networks of hawkers and booksellers as well as more informally through letters and word of mouth, while for the later Stuart period Mark Knights has uncovered the post and the club as a further means of distributing newsbooks and newsletters. In particular he points out the speed with which topical material could be produced and distributed all over the country.⁵⁹ We have come a long way from a time when J.P. Kenyon could suggest that there was 'almost total ignorance of the Popish Plot' due to the fact that there was only one 'official newspaper'.⁶⁰

In fact, there was no shortage of cheap print in seventeenth-century England. Accurate figures are naturally difficult to come by but estimates by Watt, Capp and Spufford suggest that by the end of the sixteenth century there could have been several million ballad copies in circulation. In the 1660s there were 300-400,000 almanacs a year being sold and in 1664, 90,000 chapbooks and 37,500 ballad sheets were held by one London wholesaler alone, whilst Mark Knights calculates that between 1678 and 1681 there were perhaps 5-10 million pamphlets in circulation.⁶¹

Political ballads were also extremely numerous. Although Rollins's index of black-letter ballads records only three thousand ballad titles in the Stationers' Register for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this gives no indication of the real level of production, as from the 1640s ballads were usually unregistered and of course the white-letter ballad is

⁵⁹ D. Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (1997). Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 173-175.

⁶⁰ J.P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (1972), pp. 237-238.

⁶¹ Capp, *Astrology*, p. 23. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, pp. 98-99. Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 11. Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 170.

ignored in this analysis.⁶² Of the ten thousand or so sixteenth- and seventeenth-century ballad sheets remaining to us, perhaps between eight and nine thousand are separate titles. Just three hundred date from before 1600.⁶³ In my own database of political ballads from 1640 to 1694, I have between two and three thousand titles of black- and white-letter ballads.

This overturns the current orthodoxy on the rise and decline of the broadside ballad as put forward by scholars such as Margaret Spufford, Tessa Watt and Natascha Würzbach, and is discussed in detail in chapters one and two. Part of the problem leading to misunderstanding has been a tendency to accept without question the highly inexperienced view of Samuel Pepys on changes in ballad production by 1700, and the aesthetically rather than factually motivated judgement by Hyder Rollins, that with the death of balladeer Martin Parker in 1656 the ‘best part of balladry passed away.’⁶⁴ These influences have led scholars to study the medium only up to around 1640, or the Restoration at the latest. Tessa Watt’s own work went up to 1640, whilst Natascha Würzbach dated the ‘rise of the street ballad’ only up to 1650, by which time she believed it was already in decline.⁶⁵ The British Library copies of the printed Stationers’ records have pencil annotations showing extant copies only up to 1640. Tessa Watt’s analysis of the publication levels of godly ballads, acknowledging that perhaps only 65 per cent were registered in the sixteenth century, was based on figures compiled by W.W. Greg, editor of the Stationers’ Registers, who was also only interested in the figures up to 1640. After that, apart from some studies of white-letter ballads and pamphlets, or some undifferentiated studies which use ballad texts from printed sources as part of a narrative up to 1660, we are led to assume that printed balladry had nothing interesting to say and that political ones disappeared under the welter of alternative print products, notably the

⁶² Hyder E. Rollins, *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557-1709) in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (Hatboro, Penn., 1967), henceforth cited as RI.

⁶³ Carole Rose Livingstone, *British Broadside Ballads of The Sixteenth Century. A Catalogue of The Extant Sheets and an Essay* (New York, 1991).

⁶⁴ Pepys, Vol. I. Frontispiece, (see quotation below, ch. 1). Hyder Rollins, ‘The Black-letter Broadside Ballad’ in *PMLA*, Vol. 34, Issue 2 (1919), p. 261.

⁶⁵ Natascha Würzbach *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (trans. Gayna Walls, Cambridge, 1990).

newspaper after 1700.⁶⁶ However, in the second half of the century, whilst quantities of publication were increasing, registration was decreasing, apart from two blips in 1656 and 1657. By 1689, when more political black-letter titles were printed than in any other year, the registration rate was 0 per cent. Do we need to re-assess likelihood of survival and registration rates earlier in the century?

Ballads were subject to a patent monopoly held by Thomas Symcock in the early seventeenth century and in the later seventeenth century by Sir Roger L'Estrange, who also kept the keys to the catalogue until his dismissal in 1685. This meant that avoiding registration was probably more to do with avoiding trade restrictions and fees than fear of censorship or competition with other printed products. Ballads were cheap to produce, using little paper of the poorest quality. They were seen as the only way to make a living for the excessive numbers of journeymen printers in London who did not otherwise have a licence to print.⁶⁷ Despite this enormous resource and the obvious interest in popular politics and cheap print, there has been no attempt at a systematic study of the political ballad.

iv. Conflating Political Genres: ballads, libels and news

Whilst many historians have made occasional use of 'political ballads' as sources, they have done so in order to add to their discussions of other kinds of cheap political print, rather than to analyse the genre or product *per se*. Printed and manuscript political poetry, manuscript squibs and libels, newsbooks and pamphlets and white-letter and much less frequently black-letter political ballads have all been jumbled together in historical analysis, leading some to the impression that only the metropolitan elites really concerned themselves with high politics in this form.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Such as Jenner's 'Roasting', Paul Denzer, *Ideologie und literarische Strategie : die politische flugblattlyrik der englischen Bürgerkriegszeit, 1639-1661* (Tübingen, 1991). There is an extended discussion of the ballad in relation to newsprint in ch. 2.

⁶⁷ W.A. Jackson, *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602-1640* (London, 1957), pp. xix-xxii. On L'Estrange's licence, see Kitchen, *Sir Roger L'Estrange*, pp. 106, 200-202, on his holding the keys to the catalogue of licensed books, p. 205.

⁶⁸ Even specialist studies have done this, see for example, Denzer, *Ideologie und literarische Strategie*.

An example of this confusion is David Zaret's use of the ballad as a small and relatively unimportant part of his argument that political print imposed a dialogic order on society, encouraging and influencing debate during the highly charged periods of the 1640s and 50s. This important work is largely based on the sermon, the pamphlet and especially the petition. He writes that

the use of printed petitions to constitute and invoke public opinion occurs in the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was neither limited to urban areas, reliant on state bureaucracy, nor oriented principally to economic debates. The ineluctable conclusion then, is that the emergence of a public sphere has few if any, direct links to anything 'bourgeois'.⁶⁹

However, in a section on 'Oral News; Rumours and Ballads' he argues,

Political rumours were only part of the larger stream of libels, songs, and popular verse in contemporary English culture. These and other modes of expression, though predominantly non-political, offered many opportunities to convey opinions on public events.

As so many commentators do, he describes the ballad largely as journalistic product, although he agrees with Würzbach that 'accuracy in news was subordinate to moral instruction'.⁷⁰ He makes no distinction between the scribal or printed ballad, or oral transmission, but he asserts that the 'printed ballad as a genre declined as its functions were assumed by printed news and chapbooks.'⁷¹ I will challenge almost every aspect of this analysis of the ballad, apart from the argument that it was important as a vehicle of political communication and that it was part of the growing dialogic order of seventeenth-century England.

The confusion of manuscript and highly sophisticated printed ballads, without due regard to the genre, product or market, led Tom Cogswell and Richard Cust to argue that

⁶⁹ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, p. 32.

⁷⁰ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, p. 113; Würzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad*, pp. 5-9.

⁷¹ Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture*, p. 118.

there was no sophisticated interest in politics at the lowest level in society – at least not in the 1620s and 30s. The ‘pot-poetry’ discussed by Cogswell was largely in manuscript or at best printed in white-letter and was the kind of material discussed by Michelle O’Callaghan’s analysis of the metropolitan tavern poets.⁷² A strong element of distaste and a certain lack of appreciation of the power of humour emerges in Cust’s conclusion that the content and level of information in libels indicate a more educated target audience, while the political ballads ‘were akin to political cartoons’ and had ‘no real political purpose’. This meant that there was a ‘tendency for the lower orders to view politics in terms of radical and clear cut distinctions’.⁷³ He does not specify what he means by ‘political ballads’ here, but this analysis cannot be made from the very few survivals of the printed product in his period, and ignores the very powerful fear of shaming that ‘political cartoons’ could inflict.

Most frequently, like Zaret, historians have tended to see the political ballad merely as a poor alternative to the pamphlet, newsbook or poem. Long ago Rollins told us that ballad and news-books were undoubtedly connected, citing Martin Parker, John Taylor, Samuel Sheppard, John Cleveland, John Hakluyt and ‘one Crouch’ as ballad writers who were brought in to aid the royalist propaganda machine.⁷⁴ He argued that it was inevitable that the disputes and propagandising that emerged in the pamphlet wars should also show themselves in the form of ballads when the same writers were employed.⁷⁵ Hugh Dunthorne, in his study of sixteenth-century ballads on the Dutch Revolt, argued that ‘No-one who reads the journalism of these years alongside contemporary English political ballads can fail to notice a correlation between the two’.⁷⁶ It is occasionally the case that books on the same subject were

⁷² Michelle O’Callaghan ‘Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London’ in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 37-54.

⁷³ Richard Cust, ‘News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England’, *Past & Present*, 112 (1986), pp. 67, 90.

⁷⁴ One assumes that he refers here to Humphrey Crouch who certainly wrote ballads although his political ballads tended to be neutral in tone, seeking peace rather than polemic. John Crouch specialised in producing pamphlets and the periodical ‘The Man in the Moon’ which was royalist.

⁷⁵ *C&P*, pp. 21, 32.

⁷⁶ Hugh Dunthorne, ‘Singing the News: The Dutch Revolt and English Street Ballads, c.1560 - 1660’, *Dutch Crossing*, 21, 2 (1997), p. 56.

advertised at the end of a ballad. However, more frequently ballad and pamphlet versions of the same event existed without acknowledging each other as they performed different functions and perhaps sought different markets.⁷⁷ Historians universally believe that ballads served as a medium for transmitting information when other avenues were closed, especially when Corantos had been banned in the 1630s. Charles Firth, the first modern historian to use political ballads, argued that they were the only medium left to the royalists in the 1650s due to what he believed to be the harsh and effective censorship of the Interregnum.⁷⁸ Again, this analysis will be challenged in the chapters ahead.

David Underdown offers an extensive discussion of 'political ballads' in the context of his analysis of John Crouch's periodical *The Man in the Moon*.⁷⁹ He emphasises the localism of popular political interests rather than the national affairs discussed in the ballads, a concern which, he implies, was limited to the middling and upper sorts.⁸⁰ Underdown suggests that popular ballads of the 1640s promulgated the same values as those expounded by Crouch, that is patriarchal monarchy and the concept of the body politic, expressed through the medium of gender, inversion and scatological imagery.⁸¹ Underdown's failure to differentiate between song products, and his extensive use of the collection of political ballads published by Thomas Wright in 1841 may well account for this analysis. This collection contains a large number of elite white-letter verse broadsides, mainly from the Thomason tracts, products which were not at all representative of the more popular black-letter product.⁸² His assumption, for example, that the tune 'Hey then up go we' was a 'popular

⁷⁷ On ballads advertising books, *A New Prophetie* (1657), b/1, BL.C20.f.14(27), advertises a book on Margaret Hough, the 'voice' in the ballad. On ballad and pamphlet existing side by side, see [Untitled] (1649), b/1, MB.II(13) a ballad on a fire on London Bridge, and *Deaths Master-Peece* (1649), a pamphlet on the same fire. However, see the discussion of the differing function of ballads in ch. 2.

⁷⁸ J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England* (Oxford, 1996), p. 27: 'In 1632, ballads rushed in to fill the void created by the ban on corantos'. Firth, 'The Royalists under the Protectorate', p. 638: 'Ballads, a third channel through which Royalist opinion found vent, almost disappeared during the protectorate'. Lord Macaulay was really the pioneer in making use of ballads as sources for social history.

⁷⁹ David Underdown, *A Freeborn People. Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996).

⁸⁰ Underdown, *A Freeborn People*, pp. 7-18, 46-50, 59-64.

⁸¹ Underdown, *A Freeborn People*, ch. 3.

⁸² Thomas Wright (ed.), *Political Ballads Published in England During the Commonwealth* (1841).

song' enjoyed by all sorts and then parodied by the Marquis of Hertford in a letter to the Queen is a mistake as no black-letter song to this cavalier tune, written by Francis Quarles, was published until the Exclusion Crisis of the 1680s. It was an elite royalist song.⁸³ Mark Jenner runs into a similar problem in his account of gender and scatology in a recent article based on the Rump ballads and a number of political pamphlets. Jenner's broad range of sources and his dependence on the large and expensive 1662 anthology *Rump* led him to assume a level of language far beyond that actually to be found on the broadside ballad.⁸⁴ The enormous *Rump* collection contained many hundreds of pieces most of which were never published in broadsides and of which only three were ever published in black-letter. One of the great surprises in studying the genre has been the very sober nature of the political black-letter broadside ballads. Examples of scatological humour are few and far between. The message of most broadside ballads was that the institutions of government needed to be respected and honoured by the population at large. This may have restricted the type of humour available as a form of attack, even in printed productions which clearly had no intention of going anywhere near officialdom of any kind. This self-imposed censorship is therefore an interesting feature of the political broadside ballads and it is borne out by the persistent concern for order that emerges from all the ballads of this period, of whatever complexion.

Two historians have used black-letter ballads as examples of political print. Hugh Dunthorne's study of sixteenth-century political broadside ballads on foreign affairs, though by its nature not extensive, nevertheless led him to two important suggestions. First, that ballads may well have been expressing a consistent and significant point of view and second, that their existence 'suggests a populace better informed and more politically aware than

⁸³ Underdown, *A Freeborn People*, p. 70; Simpson, pp. 304-308 and see discussion of 'crossover' ballads below, ch. 1. In the 1640s and 1650s the song was distributed only in manuscript until its publication in the large, expensive *Rump* anthology in 1662 (see ref. fn 84 below). Many cavalier songs replicated this process, from manuscript to book publication.

⁸⁴ *Rump: or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times* (1662).

historians have generally assumed'.⁸⁵ The only other extensive work was by Sir Charles Firth, who like so many others, concentrated on political ballads only in the period up to 1660, though he worked on naval ballads right up to the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ He saw ballads as an essentially cavalier or conservative medium, tended not to look at the conceptual ideas of political order being promulgated and assumed a very limited, London-based audience.⁸⁷ However, it was Firth who first suggested that political ballads were worth the study. 'Little indications of the undercurrents of political feeling are worth notice' he remarked, 'because during the whole of this period public opinion was prevented from finding utterance through the channels in which it had expressed itself.'⁸⁸ Firth's belief in the success of early modern censorship, as mentioned above, has been much amended in more recent years, though his premise that ballads were, usually at least, a royalist if not a cavalier medium, was largely correct.⁸⁹

A lack of systematic analysis has led to misunderstandings of the genre, product, market, chronology, content and function of the broadside ballad. Natascha Würzbach defended her rejection of political ballads, which perhaps seemed reasonable in the context of her arbitrary chronology of the 'rise' of street ballads, since relatively few political ballads exist for the period before 1650, on the basis that their 'essential historicity would require a close historical analysis', and that 'texts of this kind frequently appear in the earlier period in a song form which was not yet typical of the street ballad, and again in the second half of the seventeenth century'.⁹⁰ Her analysis of rhetorical techniques for selling ballads depended entirely on the premise that they were performed and sung. Where any political consideration was involved, as for example the question of the ballad's function as news, she simply bowed

⁸⁵ Dunthorne, 'Singing the News: The Dutch Revolt and English Street Ballads', p. 63.

⁸⁶ C. H. Firth, *Naval Songs and Ballads* (Navy Records Society, 1908).

⁸⁷ Firth, 'The Royalists under the Protectorate', pp. 634, 638, and 'The Reign of Charles I', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Third Series, 6 (1912), p. 38.

⁸⁸ Firth, 'The Royalists under the Protectorate', pp. 634, 638.

⁸⁹ There were expressly Puritan ballads such as *The Zealous Soldier* (m/s 16 April 1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(50), which was allegedly sung by troops as they destroyed icons in churches, *C&P*, p. 163. See detailed discussion below, chs 3 and 4.

⁹⁰ Würzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad*, p. 9.

to the wisdom of earlier scholars such as Rollins and Shaaber. Though her work did much to explain ballad marketing techniques and rhetorical strategies, it failed to illumine the gaps and served only to confirm the many misunderstandings discussed above.

The undertaking of a systematic study has much to commend it at a time when scholarship has opened up the world of popular politics beyond what Firth or Rollins could ever have conceived. Political broadside ballads formed part of an ongoing interaction between popular and elite cultures and could have reached and been understood by a wide audience encompassing all sorts of people in seventeenth-century society. There is evidence of a wide popular political consciousness to which political ballads could have spoken and made a contribution. Historians who have used cheap political literature as a window into popular political consciousness have called for further study of the medium. For example, Tim Harris's conception of the audience for national political affairs is far wider than Underdown's and he highlights the implications for popular and elite interaction in the political sphere, but his discussion of political propaganda during the reign of Charles II only uses white-letter ballads as part of a general survey of printed political propaganda. A systematic study of the most accessible forms would add much to an argument for and clarification of popular political consciousness.

Alastair Bellany's work on manuscript poems, libels and songs agreed with Cust and Cogswell that libels 'are evidence of a spatially and socially broader degree of interest in national affairs than some revisionist histories of the period allow', though he argued, 'It has to be shown that what verse libels said mattered, and that they did not trivialise politics', and he alludes to the need for 'a more complete study which would require a detailed reading of each poem in its context and a more nuanced consideration of the different audiences at which the verses were aimed.'⁹¹ Though Bellany does not mean the printed broadside here, the advice is relevant. Dagmar Freist has also stipulated a methodology for any meaningful

⁹¹ Cogswell, 'Underground Verse', Bellany, 'Rayling Rymes', pp. 292, 295.

analysis of the 'merging of "folk" culture and politics' through close textual reading, contextual analysis and setting literature against the events.⁹²

Mark Knights, in his outstanding analysis of political opinion and the flood of political publications during the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, concentrates on pamphlets and the role they played in the widespread interest in political events, locating them in people's hands, in the markets, on the streets and in the courts. In the face of so much material, archival as well as print, he is able to make only oblique references to the ballad material of the period, but he acknowledges that work on media such as these would fill an important gap.⁹³

In pursuing this project I have sought to follow this advice in attempting to fill part of the gap in our knowledge of the political ballad. I have been particularly inspired by the work of Mark Knights and Tim Harris whose analysis of popular politics in the Restoration and late Stuart period has made clear that the content of cheap print and the systems by which it operated should matter to the historian of popular and elite politics.

I follow, though I have not succeeded in emulating, the unsurpassed model of analysis set by Bernard Capp in his studies of the almanac, described by Margaret Spufford as a 'magisterial and exhaustive treatment.'⁹⁴ In *Astrology and the Popular Press*, Capp offers a detailed and thorough analysis of the content, product and market of the almanac extending across the whole early modern period.⁹⁵ He analyses the interaction of the form with political and cultural change over the period, and examines the full range of market appeal that a single genre could have.⁹⁶ His clear analysis of the genre is set within the context of other print products and he uses the eclectic mixture of material available in the almanac to conclude that

⁹² Freist, *Governed by Opinion* pp. 19-20, though Freist herself does not distinguish between types of verse productions, see her discussion, pp. 147-164.

⁹³ Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, pp. 153-155.

⁹⁴ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 146. I should point out that Professor Capp has asked me to cut this paragraph from my introduction. However, I felt I should acknowledge that his influence has been paramount in this thesis.

⁹⁵ Capp, *Astrology*.

⁹⁶ Capp, *Astrology*, esp. ch. 2.

there was a conscious attempt to win a wide audience by offering 'something for everyone' in the same text.⁹⁷ This study of the almanac should have enabled historians to stop looking for 'hidden' political messages, as Jerome Friedman believed was necessary, because as the study of the almanac demonstrated, there was no need to hide. High politics was widely and openly available in cheap and accessible print, and bought in vast numbers by the population of England.⁹⁸

In addition, Capp's work on John Taylor the 'cultural amphibian', a latter day Thomas Nashe, demonstrated the interactions between popular and elite modes of discourse, the snobbery and desperation of aspirant authors in the popular print market, and the sheer range of subjects that interested the early modern reader. Taylor's multi-faceted life and work, his portfolio of jobs and makeshifts, his self-advertising and self-conscious construction of a popular literary persona who sought to appeal to the many rather than the few, was a revelation in understanding the broad sweep of literate, articulate and popularly 'learned' people in early modern England, and the way their desires as consumers affected the market for print.⁹⁹

Finally, I have been indebted to the work of Adam Fox, whose groundbreaking research has done most to blur the lines traditionally drawn between oral and literate cultures, and between social and political boundaries. Walter Ong had paved the way, examining how orality and print interacted to affect each other in terms of expression, structure and meaning, arguing that, 'Writing can never dispense with orality.'¹⁰⁰ Adam Fox has demonstrated that in early modern England orality was also dependent on writing and that popular culture could be literate without literacy.¹⁰¹ In chapters four and five we will see that printed ballads at the lowest end of the market conveyed a level of classical learning, though different from that

⁹⁷ Capp, *Astrology*, *passim*.

⁹⁸ Jerome Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution* (1993), esp. ch. 1.

⁹⁹ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford, 1994).

¹⁰⁰ Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word* (1982), p. 8.

¹⁰¹ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000). I am very grateful to Professor Patrick Collinson, who, finding he had extra copies, gave me this book as a gift and an encouragement.

found in white-letter market, that most commentators would believe was beyond the grasp of the lower sorts, perhaps even the middling sorts. Fox has uncovered a conceptual framework which enables the historian to understand this apparent paradox without having to accept the limitations of readership to a middle class culture as set out by Louis B. Wright.¹⁰²

What follows is a story of open texts, not of 'hidden transcripts', of the commercial marketing of morals and politics, and sometimes of shameless 'spin'.¹⁰³ However, despite what many have regarded as the all too mundane nature of the political broadside ballad, I hope the study is also part of another story, 'the heart of [which] is the interaction or bargaining between governmental authorities (rulers) and popular political actors (subjects) which can be said to account for the path of state and political-cultural formation within specific political domains'.¹⁰⁴

The focus of the thesis is on the black-letter ballad, though it is set in the context of the whole market and all ballad products of the period. Time and space alone have prevented me from making the many interesting comparisons and highlighting the key differences that exist between the white- and black-letter political worlds. I have chosen the black-letter product as my focus because this is the material with which historians have been much less familiar, because it was the most accessible product, and, as Dunthorne suspected, because it does indeed follow lines of political discourse that are in many cases, consistent, surprising and unique.

Chapter One provides a detailed examination of ballad broadsides as product, and the interactions between content, format and market appeal. Chapter Two challenges the long entrenched view that the political ballad operated as an inadequate purveyor of news,

¹⁰² L.B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (2nd edn, New York, 1958). In terms of political balladry, Wright only cites foreign affairs as ballad theme.

¹⁰³ I refer here to the influential work of James C. Scott, esp., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990), for example p. ix, where he argues that grosser distinctions or contradictions were prevalent amongst the poor because 'the poor sang one tune when they were in the presence of the rich and another tune when they were among the poor. The rich too spoke one way to the poor and another among themselves.'

¹⁰⁴ Wayne Te Brake, *Shaping History: Ordinary People in European History 1500-1700* (London, 1998), p. 19.

declining as news-books and news-papers took over, through a detailed examination of production levels, content and genre, and a reinterpretation of the ballad function. Chapter Three examines why the ballad form was such an ideal vehicle for political messages. It examines the conceptual role of music in politics and religion to which balladry contributed. Chapters Four and Five survey the range of political messages conveyed by political broadside ballads from the historical turning points of 1640 to the Glorious Revolution of 1688-9, but, as we will see, in ballad terms this means from the incursions of the Scots in 1639 to the death of Mary II in 1694. Here we will uncover the strong 'ancient' or Aristotelian influences that operated at the root of ballad political analysis, and that demanded affective mutuality or love and justice in the relationship between ruler and ruled, considering anything less as tyranny. Though ballad analysis slowly adapted to more 'modern', Platonic (as opposed to 'ancient' Aristotelian), rational elements as the century progressed, using notions of 'obedience', 'duty' and 'allegiance' rather than love to describe the bonds that bound the state, it maintained an expectation of contract between King and people, which obliged the King to protect the 'natural' liberties of Englishmen, their rights and religion.¹⁰⁵

Political ballads performed several functions. They could attack and laud individuals, shame the dead, report (or misreport) skirmishes or sea battles, and condemn the vices of the times. If we look at the ballads most likely to be read or heard by the very lowest in society the picture that emerges of their function is not one of inadequately reporting or disseminating news but of promoting ideas about the nature of government and the expectations of give-and-take which demands for loyalty involved. For individuals, and for the state, ballading mattered, and it was a two-edged sword. On one hand, as we shall see, to be balladed could be a shame far beyond a bit of tittle-tattle. Ballading made scandal and accusation available even to the children in the street, and created a notoriety that might last literally for ages. On the

¹⁰⁵ See the excellent discussion by Karina Williamson, 'From Heavenly Harmony to Eloquent Silence: Representations of World Order from Dryden to Shelley', *The Review of English Studies*, 55 (2004), pp. 527-544, which assesses the slowness of the 'poetic' in adapting to 'modern' concepts of the harmonic political cosmos.

other hand, as we shall also see, ballading could create a reputation for heroism and virtue that would extend beyond actual events or actions and beyond the death of the individual concerned. Ballads were also a vehicle for the expression of political desires, ideals and debate. They offered a frame of reference for readers to understand and assess events, a means of education and a spur to discussion. The black-letter market, coming as it did from the people and to the people, meant much of England had access to a world of political reading and singing. I hope an analysis of those ballads will offer insights into the changing world of cheap print in the second half of the seventeenth century, and also to the modes of thinking, the political desires and ideals that appealed to the 'imagined community' of England.

CHAPTER ONE

The Ballad Market

i. Defining the Product

At the outset we need to pose three questions of definition, strictly pertinent to the content of this study. The first is what was a broadside ballad? Alan Bold has described the broadside ballad thus: 'Technically, a broadside is an unfolded sheet printed on one side ... hastily issued for commercial gain, ... usually the work of hacks.'¹ Though rather a crude definition, as we shall see, not least in relation to authors and motivation, and though it gives no sense that ballad broadsides were neither unchanging nor undifferentiated, it captures the essentials of the product. A broadside ballad was a song sheet, usually of folio size, and, usually, printed on one side of the cheapest quality paper. Containing anything between three to fourteen verses, and sometimes illustrated, ballads often sported a mixture of typefaces, though as a rule either gothic or 'Old English' (known as black-letter) or roman-letter (known as white-letter) typeface predominated. The broadside ballad was offered for sale, or distributed free, as a single sheet.²

The second question is what *cannot* be recognised as a broadside ballad? It is axiomatic to this thesis to understand the political broadside ballad as print product. Only then can we place it accurately in its cultural and social context and understand its function and message. Many surviving songs have only been preserved for us through the medium of transcription, such as transcriptions by Thomason, which appear from the spelling and

¹ Alan Bold, *The Ballad* (1979), p. 66.

² See, Dani Zweig, *Early Child Ballads* at http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/early_child/#what, 'George L. Kittredge, in his edition of the Childs ballads [Cambridge, Mass, 1922], described the ballad as, "... a song that tells a story, or - to take the other point of view - a story told in song. More formally... a short poem, adapted for singing, simple in plot and metrical structure, divided into stanzas, and characterized by complete impersonality so far as the author or singer is concerned.'" Kittredge's identification of the ballad as a literary form first, and only secondarily as song is closer to mine but further from the modern ballad scholar who sees the ballad as song first. For a survey and analysis of the study of Childs and narrative ballads as literature see David C. Fowler, *A Literary History of the Popular Ballad* (Durham, N.C., 1968).

handwriting to have been taken down in a hurry - perhaps from an oral source.³ Some 'ballads' were printed at the end of prose pieces, such as 'A Hymne to Cromwell', a number of verses printed at the end of a seditious pamphlet, *A Curse Against Parliament Ale* (1649).⁴ Others are known by being collected from oral or manuscript sources and printed in book anthologies, such as the many catches and songs in *Choyce Drolleries* (1656), or *An Antidote against Melancholy: made up in pills. Compounded of witty ballads, jovial songs, and merry catches* (London, 1661), or W.N., *The Second part of Merry drollery, or, A Collection of jovial poems, merry songs, witty drolleries, intermix'd with pleasant catches* (1661), or *Rump: or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times Rump*, (1662). But these methods of collection cannot be taken as evidence of *broadside* publication. Indeed, a key selling point of the printed volumes was that they offered material 'never before seen in print'.

Manuscript libels, manuscript copies of songs, printed songs in books or pamphlets, records of remnants or scraps of verse overheard in a street are not to be considered here as broadside ballads, unless it can be shown that such items directly correspond to items printed on one side of a single sheet. This does sometimes happen. For example, manuscript copies of known broadside ballads such as Walter Pope's *The Catholic Ballad* (1674) and what is described as a 'Ballad of routing the Rump' (in fact a copy of *The Parliament Routed* (1653)), appear in some estate papers in Norfolk.⁵ A manuscript transcript, from an unknown source, of *Alas Poor Scholar* appears in the Manchester collection along with the broadsides. Moreover, John Rous, who wrote in his diary, 'I hate these railing rimes yet keep them for

³ See 669.f.17(4), E.267(2), E.548(28). They are given titles and printed in *C&P*, pp. 336-337, 'The Hungry Bloodhounds' (1653), pp. 150-153, 'A Satire on James I and Charles I' (m/s April 1645), pp. 222-223, 'O Brave Oliver' (m/s December 1648). J.W. Ebsworth makes frequent use of what he calls 'Mr Thomas Toon's contemporary m/s' see e.g., *RB*.VIII p. cxlvii*.

⁴ Anon., *A Curse Against Parliament Ale* (1649), E.575(33). Sometimes pamphlets and broadside ballads could be connected, e.g., Joseph Brookbank, *The Organs Funerall Or The Quiristers Lamentation For The Abolishment Of Superstition And Superstitious Ceremonies* (1642), a prose pamphlet with three verses at the end of it, was in part referring to an earlier ballad, *The Organ's Eccho* (1641), w/l+w/c, 669.f.4(32).

⁵ In Hamond of Westacre estate papers, Norfolk RO HMN 3/23/ 1-5), HMN 7/274/1, 2.

president of the times', copied out versions of several black-letter ballads, 'Gramercy Good Scot' (1640), 'Alas Poor Scholar' (1641), and 'The Masse Priests Lamentation'.⁶ He also mentions a number of 'rimes [which] came out these late times about 1634 and 1635, on both sides, some against the othodoxe, others against these Newe Churchmen', of which there is no printed record.⁷ In cases like these, manuscript copies can serve as valuable evidence of distribution, consumption, reception or simply collection of broadside ballads.

My intention here is by no means to ignore or to deny that the interrelation of orality and literacy, and of scribal and printed sources are important factors in a wider understanding of early modern culture, especially in the area of spreading political information and opinion.⁸ However, as a rule there were important differences of style, distribution, content and function, between manuscript items, larger, more expensive printed items, oral tradition and the broadside ballad as a product. My intention is to address the problem that without a clear understanding of the implications of genre, form and market, some scholars have assumed a generic connection of the printed ballad with the manuscript libel, and have also assumed the 'hidden transcript' of the libel to be superior as a window into popular political *mentalités*.⁹ However, to compare a private manuscript libel and public printed ballad is not a matter of

⁶ Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *The Diary of John Rous* (Camden Society, Old Series, vol. 66, 1856), pp. 109, 110, 115, 118, 79. 'Gramercie Good Scot' was printed as *The Subiects Thankfulnessse: or, God-a-mercie Good Scot* (1640), b/1, BL.Huth.50(67); Robert Wild, attrib., *Alas Poore Scholler, Whither Wilt Thou Goe: Or Strange Alterations Which At This Time Be There's Many Did Thinke They Never Should See* (1641), b/1, Rox.III.633; *The Masse Priests Lamentation For The Strange Alteration, Begun In This Nation, Wherefore He Makes Great Mone* (1641), b/1, EEBO/ Harvard.

⁷ Alastair Bellany, "'Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse": Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603-1628' in K. Sharpe and P. Lake (eds), *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (London, 1994), p. 291, suggests that all these verses had been passed on as manuscript libels.

⁸ As in Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-century England* (Oxford, 1993); Alistair Bellany, 'The Information: Script Print and Political Communication in Early Modern England' in *Journal of British Studies*, 37, 3 (1998); Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2000); Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds), *The Spoken Word*, (Manchester, 2002), esp. ch. 1; Ian Atherton, "'The Itch Grown a Disease": Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in Joad Raymond (ed.), *News Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999); Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004).

⁹ See Bellany 'Rayling Rymes', discussed in the introduction. Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, ch. 6, esp. pp. 322-324, is keenly aware of the gap between printed broadside ballad and the local manuscript libel but believes the 'libel' is more valuable as a window to mentality. He suggests that it is only by a study of the action of 'libel' as it appears in the court record that we 'can move beyond the study of form and content and towards the analysis of performance and reception'. However, a printed ballad, concerning national politics, particularly a black-letter one, was not very likely to end up in court (though occasionally white-letter ones did).

like with like. The political libel and the printed ballad were not connected either by genre or form. They operated on different rules, in different kinds of language, for different markets, and for different reasons. Manuscript libels were direct and personal, they used extreme scatological metaphors and foul language, and attacked even the King directly.¹⁰ These items are usually hard to decipher, sometimes written in Latin, and deliberately using 'in' phrases and references that restricted their meaning to a readership already in the know. Libels may well have provided a source for balladeer plagiarism – nothing was safe from the hack's pen – but the style of construction and discourse of ballads was quite different, and the self-censorship quite severe. Unlike libels, ballads operated in a very public arena and took seriously their responsibility for promoting the existing social and political order. They avoided too radical an attack therefore.¹¹ Even white-letter political ballads were fairly tame in their language compared to libels and no King, however incompetent or ungodly, came in for direct ballad criticism in the seventeenth century. For example, the name 'Rowley' for Charles II appeared as the initial 'R' on just one extant white-letter ballad up to 1689, though it was frequently used in manuscript libels.¹²

Contemporaries knew instantly what a broadside ballad was. Through the many changes in print products over the century, and especially after 1640, the ballad was one of the most stable genres appearing in the Stationers' Registers, while a 'libel' could be anything from a hand-written prose sheet to a printed pamphlet.¹³ All ballads, and especially black-

¹⁰ See Andrew MacRae, *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, 2004). I am very grateful to Dr MacRae for allowing me access to the proofs of his book.

¹¹ Detailed discussion of these points are to be found below, chs 4 and 5.

¹² *A Ballad* {1673-4}, w/1, CB.610/4, an attack on the Duke of Buckingham. This ballad stands out both because of its virulence and specialist terms. It is printed on a very large sheet, and the verses are full of blanks making it very difficult to decipher. The Crawford copy has the blanks filled in by an unknown hand. Printed libels such as these were described by Luttrell as 'private things', see Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-1681* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 171, although both Luttrell and the original purchaser of the Crawford copy managed to obtain copies of this one.

¹³ Sometimes at a loss to describe some novel print item, licensers were reduced to entering the term 'a sheet of paper' (Richard Westbrooke's entry in the Stationers' Register, 23 October 1654), or even 'a thing in verse' and 'a book or thing' (Stationers' Register I p. 103, December 1603). See also *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey* 016831212-2, 12 December 1683 where Langly Curtis is whipped for publishing a libel, in fact a pamphlet called *The Nightwalker of Bloomsbury*. Many 'libels' were prose and not verse. T. Blount, *A Law Dictionary* (1670), defined a libel as 'literally signified a little Book,

letter ones, had an established place in the market and a distinct 'brand' to maintain in regard to their political content which the new pamphlet press and unrestricted manuscript circulation did not need to regard. Though Marchamont Nedham defended his inclusion of 'ballad verse' in *Mercurius Pragmaticus* to the Puritan authorities by arguing that they were 'only to tickle and charm the more vulgar ... who little regards truths in a serious garb', the verses he included were far more sophisticated than black-letter ballads on broadsides.¹⁴ Attacked by cavalier writers for having prostituted wit, 'to defile and strumpet one of the greatest ornaments God and nature have bestowed upon us and to make wit, which was born to rule, the fool and jester of the people', writers of white-letter broadsides had no intention of committing the same demagogic atrocity.

The third question of definition we need to establish is what constituted a 'political' broadside ballad.¹⁵ Bruce Smith has suggested that 'to ballad is to make a political gesture ... the politics of ballads comes in the relationship between the balladeer and the thing being

... it signifies also a scandalous report of any man cast abroad, or otherwise unlawfully published in Writing'.

¹⁴ Blair Worden, 'Wit in a Roundhead. The Dilemma of Marchamont Nedham' in Susan Amussen and Mark Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995), p. 319. Worden suggests that Nedham made a living by writing ballads in the late 1640s, p. 322. However, the only verse broadsides I can find relating to him were verse broadsides, and not really ballads at all. There was an awareness of course that the length of a product could increase circulation – Henry Care admitted he kept his polemic to single sheets in order to reach the 'vulgar', quoted in *Knights Politics and Opinion*, p. 169, and Richard Baxter was persuaded to write on single sheets in order to attract a broader audience: see Richard Baxter, *Reliquiae Baxterianae, Or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative Of The Most Memorable Passages Of His Life And Times* (1696), p. 116: 'Some Men about this time persuaded me, that if I would write a few single Sheets on several Subjects, though the Style were not very moving, yet it would do more good than larger Volumes, because most people will buy and read them, who will neither buy nor read the larger.' He wrote a number of sheets including 'an open Sheet to stick upon a Wall, Entituled, *Directions for Iustices of Peace, especially in Corporations; for the Discharge of their Duties to God; (suited to those Times).*'

¹⁵ Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 47 suggests political ballads 'straddled the line between secular and religious concerns.' Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 5-17, defines 'politics' as happening in any situation 'where power is reasserted, extended, or challenged'. His argument is that historians need to explore the 'subtle means by which the lower classes of early modern England became reconciled to authority', but that this did not necessarily imply the imposition of a cultural hegemony. It is within the framework of arguments like these and represented by work such as the collection by Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), that I have based my own thinking about popular politics.

ballatted'.¹⁶ In this case 'the thing being ballatted' was the state, its governors and subjects, and the principles of governance. The term 'topical' is often used of this kind of ballad, though this is not particularly helpful as a descriptor since ballads were frequently political without at all being topical. Reprints of civil war ballads in the 1680s, for example, were not strictly topical, but they were certainly political and relevant.

I define a ballad as political if it comments on any aspect of domestic 'state affairs', loyalty to church or state, ministers or bishops, relationships between King and people, or concerns that affected the community at large. A printed ballad opposing the draining of Sedgemoor would certainly 'count' as political in the broader sense of representing conflict, as defined by Andy Wood.¹⁷ As an artefact commissioned in London for use in the locality of conflict, it does represent a connection between centre and periphery, just as election ballads did until the liberalisation of printing in 1695. However, my concern here is with the periphery's knowledge of the centre, and the extent to which the ballad was a 'point of contact' contributing to a sense of a national community.¹⁸

The ballads I deal with here are almost exclusively English. Indeed, as ballads of all kinds were frequently written and, until 1695, almost always printed in London, there is some question as to whether political ballads were essentially metropolitan in concern.¹⁹ As we will see, many balladeers, though by no means all, did focus on London, the home of Parliament and one of the largest cities in Europe, acting as a major entrepôt for the nation.²⁰ The 'city

¹⁶ Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 188-196. This stimulating discussion seeks to develop a 'psychology of listening,' and sets out a framework within which one can better understand the importance and meaning of sound in Early Modern England.

¹⁷ *The Sedgemoor Bill, Or the tricks and fate of Halter and Gibbet* (1669), Somerset CRO, DD\SAS\s/416/5. For Andy Wood, see footnote 15 above.

¹⁸ Geoffrey Elton, 'Tudor Government: The Points of Contact', in *idem, Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Volume III: Papers and Reviews* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 3-57.

¹⁹ A few political ballads were printed in Edinburgh and in Oxford.

²⁰ The range of the ballad is indicated by what I think of as 'tourist ballads' such as *Shrovsbury for me* [between 1641 and 1674], b/l, Wood E25(44), often reprinted, sometimes with Royal portrait as illustration, *Lancashire's glory. Or, High for Lancashire lads and lasses* [between 1662 and 1672], b/l, 4o Rawl.566(34), which defends Lancashire against its reputation for witches and *Darby-shires Glory* [between 1670 and 1677], b/l, CB.965/6, which describes all Derbyshire's glorious towns. These all seem to be being produced at a time when towns were trying to bring in trade thus ballads were printed that aimed to promote certain areas. On the changing fortunes of towns, see Paul Slack and Peter Clark *Crisis and Order in English Towns* (1972), and Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford,

poets', especially Thomas Jordan in the 1660s and Matthew Taubman in the 1680s, often composed political ballads that were printed in black-letter on broadsides. However, publishers sought to make their products saleable and relevant outside the metropolis by appealing to an 'imagined community' of 'true English-men' and 'loyal subjects' with shared interests, concerns and values.²¹ Although the question of just who was 'in' and who 'out' of such a national community over the period 1640 to 1689 was in constant dispute, the ballad, for reasons I will make clear, became an important forum in which the issues were debated.

Barry Reay has suggested that 'there is a prima facie case for a hierarchy of print corresponding to a hierarchy of literacy, with a grid of consumption covering all social groups but weighted towards the middling and upper levels and favouring town over country.'²² I would acknowledge that there was a hierarchy of political poetry – the 'state' libel was at the top, the white-letter ballad in all its formulations in the middle and the black-letter ballad at the bottom. However, I will argue that the black-letter ballad was able to appeal across the whole range of social levels, in both urban and rural environments, potentially uniting all parts of England in a shared political world, an 'imagined community'.²³

ii. Typography Matters

1989). Ballads like these sought to compete with the hegemony of London as a centre not just for printing but for influence; a centre where opinions and fashions, formulated and promulgated through the ballad, were emulated by all those who could do so. Even a London oriented ballad could be of interest to an aspirant 'culturite' in a provincial town.

²¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York, 1983), esp. chs 2 and 3, is a fascinating discussion of the development of nationalism, which unlike Linda Colley's focus on 'the other', emphasises serial newsprint and the time of reading as the catalyst for the imagined community. Anderson perhaps underplays the importance of other oral and print forms and communal consumption in creating unified national consciousness.

²² Barry Reay, *Popular Cultures in England 1550-1750* (New York, 1998), p. 50.

²³ On the appeal of black-letter ballads across the social range see below for the varied readership of a Parker ballad. Pepys read unspecified ballads, see *Diary*, IX, p. 200, 15 May 1668: 'to Sir Thomas Teddiman's burial ... how unlike a burial this was, O'Brian taking out some ballads out of his pocket, which I read, and the rest come about me to hear! and there very merry we were all, they being new ballets', and at least one ballad that became available printed in black-letter, see *Diary*, IX, 16 June 1668, p. 242: 'a song of the old *Courtier* of Q. Elizabeth. And how he was changed upon the coming in of the King did please me mightily and I did cause WH to write it out'. An updated version of this song appeared in the Pepys collection: T. Howard, *An Old Song of the Old Courtier of the Kings, With a New Song of a new Courtier of the Kings* (1670), b/1, Pepys II.211.

It has long been a truism for historians and literary scholars that ‘the printed broadside was the cheapest and most accessible form of print’.²⁴ The issue of accessibility for political balladry is more complex than this suggests and it is my contention that for political ballads, typography, format and content are the key criteria by which accessibility must be judged. Though certainly cheap, indeed sometimes free, much political ballad debate was not accessible to the less informed, traditional ballad consumers, and probably intentionally so.²⁵

I will argue that a close analysis of the material culture and content of political ballads, within the context of the whole genre and its market, makes it possible to identify a spectrum of political ballads ranging from ‘popular’ to ‘elite’, or, since these terms have limited usefulness, from accessible to inaccessible products, where ‘access’ is determined by information, by sophistication and sometimes by proximity, either social or geographical. These products, I will demonstrate, were intentionally adapted for different kinds of consumers.²⁶ I will suggest that by understanding the product-range and its markets better, we can more confidently enter and explore the multiple and sometimes overlapping political worlds of the broadside ballad. Due to the constraints of time and space this thesis, though based on a thorough analysis of all printed political balladry in the seventeenth century, will largely concentrate on the lowest end of the ballad market.²⁷

²⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 1.

²⁵ By ‘traditional’ I mean black-letter broadsides with illustrations, see discussion below. This difference has not gone un-remarked but its significance has. For example, Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 169, quotes contemporary Roger North’s view that some pamphlets were ‘adapted to deceive Men of fortune and education, well penned, and, perhaps, in Heroic Verse; others for the Rabble, and drunken sottish clubs, in Ballad Doggerel, with witty pictures affixed’. Also see Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1635-1645* (1997), pp. 147-164. Thomas Cogswell, ‘Underground Verse and the transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture’ in Amussen and Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture*, p. 284, likens the pot-poet to something between ‘court literati and a humble balladeer’.

²⁶ Cf. Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 37, who argues that cheap print was ‘not expressly aimed at or written down to the understanding of ... lower orders.’

²⁷ Further examinations of the following discussion appear in my three published or forthcoming essays: “‘The Gazet in Metre; or The Rhiming Newsmonger’: The Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer. A New Narrative”, in Joop Koopmans (ed.), *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800* (Leuven, forthcoming); “‘England’s Darling’ or “Senseless Loon”: Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth’ in C. George and J. Sutherland (eds), *Heroes and Villains: The Creation and Propagation of an Image* (Durham, 2004); ‘Ballading the Rump: A response to Mark S.R. Jenner “The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England”’, *Past and Present* (forthcoming).

During most of the seventeenth century, the production and marketing of political ballads was unlike that of other ballad broadsides. Political ballads came in a range of different formats and typefaces, directly linked to their content and style. By the seventeenth century, 'traditional' broadside ballads were usually printed on one side of a single folio sheet of cheap paper, largely in black-letter, or gothic type, in four columns, in 'landscape' orientation and often divided into two parts, with woodcut illustrations.²⁸ Most white-letter ballads had only two columns, in 'portrait' orientation, on the same size and quality of paper as black-letter ballads. White-letter ballads were not usually illustrated and were printed mainly in roman type.

White-letter ballads varied enormously in appearance, however. The full range of formats and level of content of white letter productions was complicated, partly reflecting industrial experimentation and changing market needs over the period, partly to separate them from the traditional product and its consumer. [See Appendix 1.] From the 1640s to the 1660s, a few white-letter ballads or verse broadsides, royalist and parliamentarian, sported illustrations at the top of the page, always new, specific to the ballad, and of reasonably good quality.²⁹ Some of the 'Rump' ballads in 1659-60 and a few ballad sheets in the 1680s were printed in clear roman type and on thicker, better-quality paper of larger size than the usual folio. In the 1670s and 80s, a few ballads displayed many of the qualities of a white-letter ballad but with a fine black-letter typeface and an engraved or finely worked woodcut illustration.³⁰ From the 1680s, as numbers of ballads along with all newsprint increased

²⁸ 'Landscape' and 'portrait' are the terms used by printers to describe respectively the longest side as the top of the page [set out widthways] or the shortest side at the top of the page [set out length ways].

²⁹ This was an older style for verse (not ballad) broadsides, as in *Mistris Turners farewell to all women* (1615), an illustrated broadside against the vanity of women. Another example is the well-known, 'bonfires and bells' illustrated broadside *The high and mighty prince Charles, prince of Wales, &c. The manner of his arrivall at the Spanish court* (1623). Though often cited as a ballad, this sheet contains a series of short poems. A white-letter broadside by William Hockham, *Prince Charles his welcome to the court, or a true subjects love for his happy returne from Spaine* (1623), again a poem not a ballad, had a woodcut picture that was frequently reused on ballads as a royal picture for the rest of the century. All the above are held by the Society of Antiquaries but copies can be found on the Bodley web or EEBO.

³⁰ These products were probably specially commissioned and were most frequently Tory songs such as *The Triumphant English Commanders, or, The Rebels Overthrow and Utter Desolation* (1685), b/l/p, EEBO/Harvard and some of the Rye House Plot execution ballads - see discussion below, ch. 2. An

rapidly, some white-letter products were printed on two sides of a folio sheet, while others were printed on one or two sides of a half-size sheet.

Up to 1680, white-letter ballads only become numerous at times of heightened political division. They sought to attack and counter-attack rather than to complain, comment or moralise generally on politics, as black-letter ballads did. By the later seventeenth century however, publishers were beginning to publish ballads of all kinds in white-letter. Romantic theatre songs, for example, began to appear in white-letter format.³¹ A brand-new product, the 'notation' ballad, was printed as a white-letter ballad but carried a 'picture' of music notation, at the top.³² This picture of music was frequently nonsensical, or irrelevant to the ballad in question, and it operated as an identifier, necessary when many broadsides nestled together on a stall, or hung along with other sheets outside a publisher's shop. In the 1680s, political notation ballads played a large part in campaigns against the Whigs, Monmouth, and Presbyterians, orchestrated by Tory publishers and writers.

For simplicity, ballad formats are usually divided into two. Samuel Pepys used the term 'white-letter' to indicate anything other than a black-letter ballad.³³ Although this has led to some misunderstanding of the form, it is a useful designation, as typefaces other than roman were often used on ballads, such as italic or engraved script.³⁴ It has been observed that in this period to read roman letter could have been as difficult as reading handwriting for

exception is W. Pope, *The Catholic Ballad* (1674), see below, ch. 3. Engraving was a technique usually reserved for more expensive products, such as royal print portraiture. Claire George, University of Durham, who is currently researching the advertising of prints has found that woodcuts would have been the cheapest at only a few pence, the price for portraits in mezzotint and line engraving was often somewhere around 6d., 1s. and 1s. 6d. Even 2s. 6d was not unusual. A good deal depended on the age of the print (prices reduced after early impressions), size and probably the engraver.

³¹ For example, a romantic ballad *The Scotch Lasses Constancy* (1682), n/b, Rox.III.913, also published in black-letter, see Don.b.13(79).

³² Simpson, p. 629. There were at least three earlier examples of notation ballads, an Albermarle ballad noted by Pepys in March 1667, *Diary VIII*, p. 99, and *The Catholic Ballad* and *The Seekers Ballad* in 1674, both discussed below, ch. 3.

³³ Pepys, Vol. I, frontispiece to the collection: 'my collection of ballads ... continued to the year 1700 when the form, till then peculiar thereto, viz.^t of the Black Letter with Pictures seems (for cheapnes sak) wholly laid aside, for that of the White Letter without Pictures.' Hyder Rollins and the Earl of Crawford both use the term 'Roman' to indicate ballads not black letter.

³⁴ For an engraved ballad see the following edition of the often reprinted *A Turn Coat of the Times* (uncertain date - publisher E. Barnet unknown), Douce Ballads 2(229b).

the less educated.³⁵ Adam Fox cites a number of examples of difficulties with reading handwriting, such as Richard Jerard (1611), who ‘cannot reade written hand’, and Thomas Mumby (1621), who tried to read a hand ‘but could not, but here and there a part’. A libel against a Gloucester alderman was ‘framed in Romaino lettres’ and another with letters in ‘a large Romaine hand’, but had still reached ‘even amongst the baser sort of the people’ because of the pictures.³⁶ They were not expected to be able to read this lettering. Even ‘black-letter’ ballads invariably used roman type for titles, or italic type or to indicate names and places in the text.³⁷ White-letter ballads sometimes used black-letter in titles (often for the word ‘Ballad’) as a nod to the traditional form, and sometimes for particular words in the text, to highlight the satirical effect of their attack. Readers of the pamphlet press were accustomed to authors using typeface as well as language and form for satirical effect. Black-letter was often used in texts to represent rustic or ‘mobile’ opinion.³⁸ Thus, typography and format matter, but they are not everything.

The white-letter verse broadsides of the 1640s and 50s, the well known Rump ballads in 1659-60, and the huge number of song sheets in the 1680s were entirely different from traditional ballads not only in typeface, and in the case of some ballads quality of paper and printing, but also in the sophistication of their language, content and style.³⁹ It seems likely from the high levels of allusion to individuals, Latin and legal terms, and to pamphlets and the press in white-letter broadsides that both the target group and authors were familiar with the political world of London and especially courtiers, lawyers and parliamentarians. The detailed

³⁵ K. Thomas, ‘The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England’, in G. Baumann (ed.), *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 97-131; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 74-75.

³⁶ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, pp. 312-314

³⁷ For an illuminating essay on the changing use of the italic and the traditional ‘value’ of typeface and layout see Richard Wendorf, ‘Abandoning the Capital in Eighteenth-century London’ in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 72-98.

³⁸ For example, *Thirty and Two Extremes of these times discovered and reduced to sixteene Golden Meanes* (1647), Thomason 669.f.11(6), *A Free Parliament Letany* (1660), w/l, Thomason 669.f.24 (19), *Treason made manifest, or, A Discourse by way of dialogue between Richard and William* (1681).

³⁹ Broad-sides of satirical poetry, elegies and dialogues were also invariably printed in a white-letter format (ie portrait orientation and two columns) suggesting a link in production terms between the various poetic broadsides and the printed book.

naming of MPs, or even more difficult the use of initials only, and allusions to intimate personal peccadilloes or (unpublished) speeches in parliament would be incomprehensible to any but those closest to parliamentary affairs and gossip.⁴⁰ Sometimes highly informed collectors such as Luttrell or Wood filled in the gaps left by the use of initials and a line on a ballad sheet, but often they did not - perhaps because they could not. And if they could not, what hope for those at a distance from Westminster and the street gossip around it, or for those who could not afford or manage to read the Gazette? White-letter ballads expected their readers to be versed in newsprint; they made very frequent reference to the pamphlet and newsletter press, often ballading authors and publishers alike.⁴¹

iii. The Black-letter 'Brand'

Unlike the white-letter product, traditional ballads were constantly in production throughout the period, covered almost every aspect of life, and were far more constrained by the market.⁴² Black-letter type had a 'brand' value. It conveyed tradition and guaranteed accessibility of content; it was, after all, the chosen typeface of official pronouncements of the government, the visual voice of the King to his people. The style and content of the political messages black-letter ballads conveyed had a secure place in the market, and publishers maintained the 'brand' of the black-letter ballad through careful selection and self-censorship.

⁴⁰ Alastair Bellany makes this point in reference to libels in Bellany, 'Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England', pp. 288-290.

⁴¹ For example see a series of defamatory ballads issued between Benjamin Harris, Francis Smith and against Nathaniel Thompson. *The Protestant Cuckold A New Ballad Being a full and Perfect Relation how B. H. the Protestant News Forger caught his beloved wife Ruth in ill circumstances* (m/s 5 April 1681), w/l, EEBO/Luttrell was printed by Francis Smith. The reply, bought by Luttrell on the same day was, *The Lecherous Anabaptist of The Dipper Dipt A New Protestant Ballad* (m/s 5 April 1681), w/l, EEBO/Luttrell, printed by Benjamin Harris, (Luttrell added the m/s note, 'on Francis Smith'). *Tompson his repetition to his Vvife: Bewailing his present state* {1681}, n/b, CB.1355/8 was printed by Joshua Deacon and was about Thompson while he was in prison as was *Tompson Tell-Lyes* (1682), w/l, C20.f.6(13). Publishers Henry Care, Langley Curtis and Vile were attacked in, *A Congratulation on the Happy Discovery of the Hellish Fantastic Plot* (1682), w/l, Wood 417(91), and in *The Loyal Health* (1682), w/l, Wood 276a(559). Many w/l ballads include one or two lines about the press and printers.

⁴² See Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.4, on Roger Chartier's model of cultural 'consumption' and the cheap print consumer as 'cultural creator'.

It was an accepted practice for a ballad to be commissioned from a writer and put with a printer, for a whole range of purposes. As we shall see, ballads were used as gifts, as love songs, as jokes or as vehicles for attack or self-defence. They sang for royalists, parliamentarians, discontented cavaliers, Whigs, Tories; and for other groups such as brewers and vintners, soldiers, tailors and sailor's wives. The choice of format may have been at the behest of the commissioning client. Restricting ballads to white-letter may have done something to control the venues in which they were likely to circulate, certainly as far as literacy skills were concerned. However, commissioned ballads seem always to have been printed in white-letter. It would seem that unless they complied with the language, tone, content and accessibility that appealed to the broader black-letter market, publishers offered only a white-letter service to commissioning clients. The existence of 'cross-over' ballads, that is ballads that were printed in both formats, strongly suggest that at some point someone believed a product could be sold or distributed in two separate markets. One example of this is the *Sale of Esau's Birthright*, a white-letter election ballad, possibly written by Charles Blount. Mark Knights explains how this ballad was given away in Buckingham in 1679 as part of the hotly contested by-election campaign there and has noted that the distributor of the free copies was reprimanded for undermining prices in neighbouring areas.⁴³ The ballad had become very well known, and a white-letter version was sent to 'Mr Bailiff' in a printed open letter 'which you may do well to cause to be read in your Town Hall'.⁴⁴ It was published in black-letter with the addition of an illustration of an owl being shaved by 'Henry Howard shaver in Ordinary to her excellency Madge Owlet'.⁴⁵ The list at the end of who voted for

⁴³ Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 170. Knights suggests, p. 161, that Nathaniel Thompson may have printed the w/l version of this anti-court ballad. Cf. G. M. Peerboons, 'Nathaniel Thompson, Tory Printer, Ballad Monger and Propagandist' Unpublished Dissertation (Enschede, 1983), where he lists all Thompson's work and a number of false imprints. Thompson certainly did not publish the black-letter version. For a detailed discussion of this election and the 'pamphlet war' surrounding it see Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 257-265.

⁴⁴ *A Mild but Searching Expostulatory Letter from the Poor and Plain Dealing Farmers of the Neighbouring Villages to the Men of Buckinghamshire* (1679), BL Miscellaneous Tracts, 1603-1795 T100 (24).

⁴⁵ The only extant black-letter edition can be found in BL.C20.f.6(22). A number of white-letter editions, mostly annotated, one by Anthony Wood, can be found in Wood 417(5), Bodleian MS. Willis 22(f.46). Not annotated are Firth b.20(69), Vet.A3.c.29(2), Ashm.G.16(40) and CB.1365/8. For a

whom in the election was slightly adapted to remove potentially seditious asides. Perhaps this was the election ballad Henry Robinson was singing when he forced the fiddlers to accompany him at the George Inn in Buckingham in August, 1679.⁴⁶

While white-letter Rump ballads in 1659 and 1660 attacked the discredited regime with detailed scatological metaphors, of the myriad black-letter ballads that welcomed the King home only one 'cleaned up' black-letter ballad even came close to using the same virulence of toilet humour.⁴⁷ A black-letter ballad had to appeal across a much wider section of the population and country. When, for example, a black-letter ballad sang the shame of Miles Prance in the pillory, it made very clear how far that song was expected to travel: 'I send my mournful ditty/ through every town and city/ Let me not fail, but now prevail/ to get the Nations pitty'.⁴⁸

Was the connection of typeface between public government publications and traditional ballads indicative of a more direct propagandising relationship? It is at least possible that government agents employed ballad hacks, or encouraged publishers to write and publish traditional pieces in praise of the government, attacking their enemies, or as part of a deliberate image-making campaign. The apparently 'charmed' career of Martin Parker might give this impression. Rollins points out that in 1640 a pamphlet called Parker 'the Prelats Poet'. Parker published a ballad celebrating the King's calling of Parliament in April of that year, and also a series of intensely loyal but virulently anti-Scots ballads, for which,

detailed discussion of this election and the 'pamphlet war' surrounding it see John Miller, *After the Civil Wars* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 257-265. Though the black-letter ballad gives no clue to the identity of Henry Howard, the barber in the illustration, this must refer to the man who languished in prison because the election dispute had led to a break down of relations between two Lords: see *ibid.*, p. 265.

⁴⁶ Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 172.

⁴⁷ *The Case is Altered, or Sir Reverence, the Rump's Last Farewell* (1660), b/l, C120.h.4(3), published by John Andrews, who produced many political black-letter ballads and pamphlets in the 1650s and 1660s. Unusual for a political black-letter ballad even in its limited use of scatological language, it seems to have been written by a lawyer as it refers to 'Pleydon'. Ebsworth assumed this was a reference to Sir Thomas Pleydon, imprisoned for plotting against Cromwell in 1656, [RB VIII, p.xix*], however, it is probably a bowdlerisation of Plowden, especially the name is linked with the phrase '*The Case is Alter'd*'. Andrews produced a pamphlet attacking the Cromwellian regime with this title in August 1660, E.1869(2).

⁴⁸ *Perjury Punish'd with equal Justice; or, Miles Prance His sorrowful lamentation for his foul offences* [between 1665 and 1688], b/l, Pepys II.236.

the pamphlet said, he 'hardly escaped' Justice Long's prison. Parker was brought before Archbishop Laud's commission three times in June 1640, but in each case he seems to have escaped punishment.⁴⁹ Was this a case of collusion?

In fact, Parker's charmed life predated Laud's career as Archbishop and scourge of 'paper persecutors'. In January 1629 Parker had been arrested along with fellow balladeers Richard Kempsall and William England as vagrants and on a charge of pick-pocketing. At the Bridewell Court hearing, Parker was released on bail while his two colleagues were whipped.⁵⁰ This may have been a case of his own celebrity working in Parker's favour. Parker was frequently mentioned in texts, and even to contemporaries his name was almost synonymous with balladry.⁵¹ Parker himself denied the accusation of 'Prelat's Poet' in print, claiming he 'never wrot but in the just defence/ Of's King and Countrey' and after a spirited defence of Laud wrote, 'Calling me the Prelat's Poet and such tearmes/ which nothing but his spight at all confirmes,/ For I ne're wrot i'th'Bishops cause so much/ As now I have on this occasion touch'.⁵²

I would argue that since the black-letter market appealed to all, including women and children, even when dealing with political matters, writers and publishers sought to avoid controversy, operating in tandem with, but independently of, government.⁵³ A telling example

⁴⁹ The term 'Prelates Poet' is likely to have been a slur occasioned by Parker's political stand at a time when perhaps the majority opinion in England was pro-Scots. The pamphlet *Vox Borealis* suspected the rush of pamphlets and ballads to be part of a government policy. See C&P, 'Introduction', pp. 7-10. For detailed discussion of the political ballads in this period see below, chs 3 and 4.

⁵⁰ Guildhall Library, Bridewell Court Book, MS 33011/7, f.105, 18 January 1629. Kempsall was clearly a difficult character, and repeat offender: in 1627 he had refused to come to the court and had 'laid on the ground till the Marshall got a cart and brought him': 14 July 1627 f.35v. I am very grateful to Professor Capp for all the Bridewell references cited in this thesis.

⁵¹ See for example, Anon., *Bibliotheca Parliamenti: libri theologici, politici, historici, qui prostant venales in vico vulgo vocato Little-Britain. Classis secunda. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines* (1653). A satire on the Commonwealth in the form of booksellers' lists, this pamphlet has references to 'hymn writers', Martin Parker, parliamentarian pamphleteer, preacher and balladeer Henry Walker, 'Ironmonger', and two other authors. The last two leaves contain Birkenhead's 'The four-legg'd elder'.

⁵² Martin Parker, *The Poet's Blind Man's Bough* (1641), sig a2, B2 ii.

⁵³ It was rare for black-letter publishers to appear before the court for printing seditious literature, though see *CSPD 1640-41*, pp. 378-415, between January-May 1640, when Richard Harper, Francis Grove and Richard Burton were called to answer a number of charges. Like Parker, the worst that happened was an 'admonishment.' In May 1693, Alexander Milbourne, printer of many black-letter ballads was accused of 'composing and printing a scandalous libel with intent to disturb the King'; people rushed to speak up for him, including his local minister and booksellers, who all testified that he

of this can be seen in the letters of John Chamberlain. In January 1619 Chamberlain reports the Bishop of London's call to his clergy 'to inveigh vehemently and bitterly in theyre sermons against the insolencie of our women, and theyre wearing of broad brimd hats' and other fashion outrages. In February 1620 he writes 'Our pulpits ring continually of the insolence and impudence of women: and to help the matter forward the players have likewise taken them to taske, and so to the ballades and ballad-singers, so that they can come nowhere but theyre eares tingle.'⁵⁴ In view of the fact that the clergy were first amongst those who sought to condemn ballad-singers, it seems apparent that the street entertainers have seized a marketing opportunity here.

The 'branding' of black-letter ballads as a whole was directly linked to the consumers they attracted and the venues in which they were to be found. The typeface suggests that many were bought by or for the young or early readers. Anthony Wood bought his first ballad at the age of eight in 1640. Daniel Fleming and his wife often bought ballads for their children. When the 'oppressed printer' William Jones complained in 1640 that he had been denied master status after being a printer for fifty-four years, he swore that he had 'refused to print ... scandalous pamphlets, Popish books, or ballads, or anything tending to poyson youth.'⁵⁵ Women were also important to the market and ballads had to appeal to them, as gifts, as reading exercises for their children, as potential decorations in their homes or as past-times and expressions of emotion. Women in fields, in dairies and while looking after children, often sang ballads while at work.⁵⁶ In one ballad of 1689, a mixture between politics and advice to young maids, *The Welsh Fortune-Teller* said his new song 'was writ here in

was 'a very honest and discreet person, and a man well affected to the present government', *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey* t16930531-36.

⁵⁴ N.M. McClure (ed.), *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia, 1939), Vol. II., pp. 286-289.

⁵⁵ Wood, *Life*, Vol. I. p. 48-49. Flemings, *Accounts*, Vol. I., p. 494, 16 April 1679, Vol. II., p. 369, 16 May 1686. *CSPD 1640-41*, p. 327, 29 December 1640.

⁵⁶ In the 1650s Dorothy Osborne, in a letter to her future husband, described Chicksand Common: 'where a great many young wenches keep sheep and cows and sit in the shade singing of ballads', quoted in Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven, 1995), p. xx; Smith, *Acoustic World*, p. 26.

verses for lasses to sing'.⁵⁷ The appeal of the ballad to young women was a considerable cause of concern for the writers of conduct-books. In 1653, Thomas Hilder complained of 'locusts' who 'purposely do invent obscene, lascivious, scurrilous, and filthy songs and Ballads, on purpose to pollute and poyson young virgins and maids'.⁵⁸ In 1664, Robert Codrington's 'excellent directions for the education of young ladies' castigated the 'too much accostumed delight, which many young women have in reading vain pamphlets and singing vainer ballads'. He warned that, 'passion doth take fire with the Loves, which these ballads do decipher' and having 'made young maidens bold, it afterwards doth make them to practise what they read or sing'.⁵⁹

The market was not restricted to the early reader, it also appealed to the older untutored reader who, though never very advanced in literacy skills, could still enjoy black-letter ballads. Ballads were freely available at the local tavern or alehouse where they might be pasted to the walls or sung by a balladeer or read by a local during the evening.⁶⁰ They formed part of a range of entertainment facilities; taverns kept their own instruments, packs of cards and other games for use by customers, and some may have encouraged ballad-singers as a means of attracting custom.⁶¹ Many complaints were made by constables that musicians had encouraged rowdy drinkers to over-indulge. By the later part of the century 'Musick-houses' appear in the London court records through a number of violent incidents.⁶² One in Rosemary

⁵⁷ *The Welsh Fortune Teller* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.320.

⁵⁸ Thomas Hilder, *Conjugall counsell, or, Seasonable advice, both to unmarried, and married persons* (1653), p. 170. My thanks to Tim Reinke-Williams, U. of Warwick, for this reference.

⁵⁹ Robert Codrington, *The second part of Youths behavior, or, Decency in conversation amongst women containing excellent directions for the education of young ladies, gentlewomen and other persons, and rules of advice how at the first to deport themselves and afterwards govern the affairs of a family* (1664), pp. 154-156.

⁶⁰ See, for example, *An elegy, on the timely death of John Warner Late Lord Maior of the Citie of London* (m/s 17 November 1648) 669.f.13(45) [EEBO gives 43 as the folio number]. This mock elegy contains an invitation to sit down in a tavern and hear the song read - 'Gentlemen, pray sit down; listen to mee/ and whilst y'are serv'd I'le read this elegy'.

⁶¹ S. Overcome [possibly Samuel Vincent, attrib.], *The Young Gallant's Academy* (1674), suggests this: 'I would further intreat our Poet to be in league with the mistress of the Ordinary; because from her, upon condition that he will but Rime knights and gentlemen to her House, he may easily make up his Mouth at her cost gratis', (p. 48).

⁶² Daniel Fleming attended a 'Musicke-House' in Oxford in August 1653: Flemings, *Papers*, Vol. I., p. 62. In a footnote (fn3), the editor John Magrath notes that the first Music House in London was *The Mitre*, later called the *Goose and Gridiron*.

Lane was described as being 'no better than a bawdy house'. These were places where people listened and sang to music while drinking wine. They were frequented by a whole range of people, men and women, servants and gentlemen.⁶³ Ballads could be heard or bought on the streets, sung and sold often by female hawkers or by travelling ballad singers and pedlars at fairs and markets.⁶⁴ Ballads could be sung at work and, like other cheap print, their content could be discussed.⁶⁵ More expensive items might be produced in a 'digest' for the cheaper end of the market - there were, for example, ballad-almanacs, ballad-histories and ballad versions of sermons.⁶⁶

These are places where we know balladeers sang or ballads were read and perhaps heard. However, one venue seems to have been closed, at least to the black-letter market. The coffee-house was unlikely to be a place where ballads were sung. Coffee-house rules usually precluded noisy behaviour, they encouraged reasoned conversation rather than a crowd of rowdy singers. Though, it has been argued, the coffee-house was more diverse socially than previously thought, ballads are universally scathing in their attacks on coffee.⁶⁷ Ballads complained that the coffee-house ruined the trade for wine, beer and women on which the balladeer depended. Drinking, love and bawdy ballads were major staples of the trade. Many political ballads recommended drinking as means of demonstrating or guaranteeing loyalty,

⁶³ Rosemary Lane Musick-House, *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey* t16840903-18, 3 September 1684; The Musick-House at the Hermitage, scene of a brawl leading to death, *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey* t16880425-31, 25 April 1688; The Gun Musick House at Salisbury Court mentioned in a case of death through a brawl with drawn swords, *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey* ti6910422-10, 22 April 1691. On 20 July 1698 a woman and maidservant 'falling into a musick-house' were conned by a fortune-teller and robbers, posing as lovers, into letting them into the master's house, *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey* t16980720-30.

⁶⁴ Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp. 14-30; Margaret Spufford, *The Great Reclotting of Rural England* (1984); B. Capp, *Astrology*, p. 287. John Feathers, *History of British Publishing* (1988), p. 12: 'The basic mechanism of trade certainly existed through fairs and markets.'

⁶⁵ Baxter, *Autobiography*, p. 80, pointed out that trades such as weaving were particularly suited to group reading and discussion: 'it was a great advantage to me that my neighbours were of such a trade as allowed then time enough to read or talk ... as they stand in their loom they can set a book before them or edify one another.'

⁶⁶ J. Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press during the English Revolution* (London, 1993), ch. 1, esp. p. 9, gives an idea of the range of products available.

⁶⁷ See Steve Pincus, "'Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffee Houses and Restoration Political Culture', *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995), who argues that the coffee house was mixed both in terms of 'sorts' and gender.

while others simply revelled in the experience and enjoyment of drink. Of course, some ballads castigated drinking as a social curse, but even these failed to recommend tea or coffee as alternative drinks, as poems did; they advised moderation, not a change of drink.⁶⁸ The coffee-house may have been a place for wit and poetry, but not for song, as *A Cup of Coffee* pointed out in 1663: 'No Draught so loathsome as foul Coffee is, / Of which this onely is a taste, and those / Would know its Vertue, may go look't in Prose, / For 't cannot stand in Verse, (though 't lye in Print) / Because there's neither Rime nor Reason in 't.'⁶⁹

The broad range of consumers, which must often have overlapped, does much to explain on one hand the sobriety, deference and morality of some broadside ballads, and the riotous, yet still linguistically decorous, revelry in others. It was not advisable to sully the brand with inappropriate material, which could ruin the market. Though there is little or no evidence of direct censorship of political black-letter ballads, it was important to a business to balance consumer demands with fear of stepping on important toes. The black-letter market was entirely commercial, and though targeted at the lower end of the market, these ballads were, ironically, more expensive to produce than the white-letter productions. They were also more expensive to buy. White-letter ballads, often part of a deliberate campaign, could be distributed free to the right people. Until fear of detection led printers to dump Rump ballads on the streets they were given to gentlemen and only sold to lesser sorts.⁷⁰ The black-letter market was socially wider and distributed further. Publishers depended on bulk buying by pedlars, hawkers on the streets around London, shops and stalls to get the product to the market. These products were then sold publicly in fairs, taverns, and streets all over the kingdom. Both seller and buyer needed to be free from the threat of prosecution. Any political messages carried by these ballads needed to be more or less legal, and deferential, but above

⁶⁸ See Angela McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: the Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads 1640-1689' in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne - Drink and Conviviality in 17th Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 69-87.

⁶⁹ *A Cup of Coffee or Coffee in its Colours* (1663), w/1, BL.C20.f.2(373), 'A loathsome Potion, not yet understood, / Syrrop of Soot, or Essence of old Shooes, / Dasht with Diurnals, and the Books of News?'

⁷⁰ See Rugg, *Diurnall*, pp. 28, 33.

all, they had to be intelligible and acceptable to a broad range of people, geographically and socially.

The language of the political broadside ballad was overwhelmingly male and often military in tone.⁷¹ Many sang about loyal healths and were particularly geared towards the male dominated environments of the tavern and alehouse rather than the hearth. However, this did not exclude women from ballad politics. The hawkers and singers of these ballads were frequently women, and women illicitly drank loyal healths in ballads as in life.⁷² The effect of government policies on women was frequently used as a measure of the regime's care for the country. However, the masculinity of political ballads made clear the public rather than the private nature of their content.

Black-letter may well have become less saleable as more people, especially the young, found it harder to read. Black-letter hornbooks and primers were slowly dying out from around 1660 in preference for roman-letter ones.⁷³ However, publishers were careful not to lose touch with the older traditional market by retaining black letter in headings for emphasis, or by introducing notation instead of expensive woodcuts, thus making it clear to buyers what sort of a broadside this was.⁷⁴ The change from white- to black-letter was therefore very slow; more political black-letter ballads were published between 1688 and 1690 than at any other time in the seventeenth century.⁷⁵ Publishers had to find some way of

⁷¹ See discussion of military ballads below', ch. 2.

⁷² Printer Richard Herne had five hawker women working from his press at home: F. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776* (Urbana, 1952), p. 186. For other female hawkers of political material, see pp. 177, 211. Freist, *Governed by Opinion, passim*, gives numerous examples of female hawkers and mercuries. On women drinking see Beat Kümin, 'Introduction' in Beat Kümin and Ann Tlusty (eds), *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002), and McShane Jones, 'Roaring Royalists', pp. 84 -87.

⁷³ See Charles Hoole, *The Petty-Schoole* (1659) pp. 9-10 but cf. Anon., *The Best And Plainest English Spelling-Book Containing All The Different Words, Syllables, & Letters In The Old English Character* (1700). Hoole, as master of grammar schools, was most concerned with the teaching of Latin and the reading of roman type was essential to his pupils.

⁷⁴ The music aspect is interesting - ranging from nonsense music (instead of a woodcut) to real music: see Simpson, p. xii. Luckett suggests the former is an appeal to snobbery, the latter to the musician: see Richard Luckett, 'The Collection: Origins and History' in *Catalogue of the Pepys Library, Vol. II, Ballads, Part ii: Indexes* (Cambridge, 1994), p.xv.

⁷⁵ In 1688-9 over 160 political ballad sheets were published of which 88 were in black letter. See Appendix II for overall publication figures. Although it would be desirable to distinguish between black- and white-letter publications in this chart, such a calculation is beyond the scope of a doctoral

changing without losing the 'brand.' From 1688, some publishers, such as John Wallis, published traditional style broadsides (illustrated, landscape etc), but used white-letter type.⁷⁶ Everything changed for the publishing trade, however, in 1695. The liberalisation of printing led to presses being set up all over the country. The loss of monopoly meant a proliferation of styles and products which destroyed any 'branding' built up in the small world of London publishing. By 1700, publishers had transferred the accessible black-letter ballad not to a white-letter format but to the 'slip' ballad. Much shorter, these 'slips' were often still illustrated by a single woodcut, but three could be printed on a single sheet.⁷⁷

As we saw in the case of *The Sale of Esau's Birthright*, political ballads were occasionally issued at the same time (sometimes by the same publisher), in different formats, and I call these 'cross-over' ballads. As ever, this process was complicated; for example, sometimes ballads were printed originally in one format and then reprinted at a later date in a different one.⁷⁸ However, a close attention to these cases reveals that although the essential thrust of the ballad remained similar, the style and level of discourse were adapted to different formats. Though the thesis will throw up many examples of this point, we will take two case studies here as illustration.

Bloody News from Chelmsford: A 'careless parson', a 'cavalier gelding', or a 'cut for non-conformists'?

dissertation. I will take account of this distinction in a further chart in revising the thesis for publication.

⁷⁶ For example see, *Good Sport for Protestants* [between 1689 and 1691], b/l, Pepys III.46, *The Jesuits Lamentation* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.286, Richard Rigby, *A New Song* (1689), w/l/l, Pepys II.293; Thomas Sibley, *The Royal Health* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.343.

⁷⁷ Even slips were not new; a number of royalist white-letter verse libels of the 1640s were slips, see e.g. *The Parliaments Knell* (1646), w/l, CB.389/3 and *The Souldiers Sad Complaint* (1648) w/l, CB.703/4. Black-letter ballads, which often came in two parts, may also have been cut and sold as two separate songs, though there is only a very little evidence of half sheets in collections. (The Roxburghe collection were all cut in half for mounting.)

⁷⁸ For example, *Rebellion Give Over Housekeeping: Or A General Sale Of Rebellious Household Stuff* [orig. 1660, earliest edition between 1681-1684], b/l, Wood E25(21), and *A General Sale Of Rebellious Houshold-Stuff* (1687), w/l, Wood 417(154).

In February 1663, as King, ministers, cavalier parliamentarians, churchmen and Presbyterians were wrangling over issues of 'comprehension,' a terrible murder was committed in Chelmsford, Essex. A butcher, finding his wife and a local clergyman *in flagrante*, mutilated the clergyman who died almost instantly from his injuries. Three ballads, one black-letter and two large white-letter ballads, one of them illustrated, were soon published concerning this politically sensitive event.

During the Interregnum, cavalier poets had used the age-old method of accusations of sexual incontinence as a weapon against puritans, both sects and Presbyterians, in white-letter ballad broadsides.⁷⁹ Republican army officers, politicians and divines were subjected to rumours about their own or their wives' illicit sexual affairs. The puritan divine Hugh Peters was alleged in many cavalier pamphlets and Rump ballads to be having an affair with a butcher's wife. Some ballads were based on other puritan sex scandals. *The Four Legged Elder* (1647), reprinted in anthologies in 1660 and on a broadside in 1677, created the framework for these sex and puritan songs. To the (unknown and perhaps spurious) tune of 'The Lady's Fall' and 'fourty other tunes', it told the tale of Jane, maid to a Presbyterian elder, and Swash, the elder's dog. The ballad told how 'One evening late [Jane] stepp'd aside/
Pretending to fetch eggs/
And there she made herself a Bride/
To one that had four legges'. The ballad claimed this meant, 'according to the directory,/ They two were man and wife.' The Elder, on discovering them, 'Not dreaming, without his consent/
His Dog would ever marry', laments that now 'They'll many graceless ballads sing/
Of a Presbyterian/
That a Lay-Elder is a thing/
Made up half dog, half man.' The outcome of this sorry tale was that Swash was executed for buggery, while Jane was taken to Newgate where she was 'naked stript' and

⁷⁹ Similar accusations were made against Lollards in the fifteenth century see Richard Rex, *The Lollards* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 82. On civil war pamphlets of similar ilk see Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 22-23.

'They whipt her till the cord did fail'. However, the balladeer pointed out, 'had she been a cavalier,/ Surely she had been hang'd'.⁸⁰

A similar piece, 'A Relation of a Quaker' appeared in 1659, but was amended and reprinted in white-letter with an illustration a few years later as *The Four-legg'd Quaker to the tune of the Dog and elder's maid, or, the Lady's fall*. This version told the tale of George Mosse, a Quaker who, according to the ballad, had raped a young mare, an event that 'reveal'd why Quakers meet/ In Meadows Fields and Pastures'.⁸¹ In 1662, *Bo-Peep and the Jerking Parson*, told of a turn-coat presbyter (un-named), who took too much pleasure in beating his maid.⁸² This may have been based on accusations made against Zacharay Crofton by his disgruntled and eventually perjured maid in 1657. Bernard Capp points out that despite Crofton's successful rebuttal of these malicious accusations, they had re-emerged after the Restoration in *The Presbyterian Lash* (1661).⁸³ The first two of these white-letter ballad broadsides were attributed to cavalier propagandist Sir John Birkenhead, and were frequently alluded to in the white-letter press.

Bearing this background in mind, we can turn to the murdered minister of Chelmsford. The ballading seems to have begun with a white-letter ballad of three columns, sporting a graphic and specially made woodcut, illustrating the moment of discovery. It was entitled, *The fanaticks barber or, A new cut for non-conformists Being a true relation of the*

⁸⁰ Sir John Birkenhead, *The Four-Legg'd Elder, Or, A True Relation Of A Dog And An Elder's Maid To The Tune Of The Lady's Fall, Or, Gather Your Rosebuds, And Fourty Other Tunes* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(70), reprinted 1677 for D. Mallet.

⁸¹ Originally, *A Relation of a Quaker* (1659), w/l, 669.f.21(35). In this ballad the Quaker was called Green and he was seeking to 'marry' the mare by having sex with her. Reprinted in Alexander Brome, attrib., *Ratts Rhimed To Death. Or, The Rump-Parliament Hang'd Up In The Shambles* (1660), pp. 69-72, and finally amended and reprinted as [Sir John Birkenhead, attrib.], *The Four-Legg'd Quaker To The Tune Of The Dog And Elder's Maid, Or, The Lady's Fall* [between 1662 and 1668], w/l+w/c, Wood 416(70). Wood adds an m/s note to the ballad, 'Joh. Birkenhead the Author - Sr Joh. Denham hath such another Ballad in his poems & translations, printed at Lond. 1668'.

⁸² *Bo-Peep and the Jerking Parson*, (m/s 23 March 1662), w/l+w/c, 669.f.26(72), another copy at BB.C40.m9(85). The colophon 'Printed for the Belman of Algate by order of the Ward', suggests this was given as a New Year (old style) gift to the residents in the Bellman's ward. If so then perhaps the Bell-man was an old cavalier as this was a discontented cavalier ballad. The parson defends himself as a typical 'turn-coat' Presbyterian by saying 'He's a friend of the King he brags/ as back-friend to all rumps/ Hee'd tar'd Bum politick to jags/ and put um to their trumps'.

⁸³ Capp, *When Gossips Meet*, pp. 173-4.

*parson that was lately gelt at Chelmsford in Essex, being taken in bed with another mans wife. Very proper to be sung in all corporations of this nation, to the (spurious) tune of, 'All the town shan't save thee', and sought to make political capital from the tragedy.*⁸⁴ In a ridiculous ballad metre, with much repetition of lines, the balladeer tells us 'my song concerns a parson' and alleges 'they say he was a presbyter/ the which I do believe'. It made two allusions to the Birkenhead ballad of the Quaker's mare: 'for Saints will crie/ Give me a mare behind/ If that a man must pay so dear/ for boaring woman kind', and (on the discovery of the couple): 'So Troy town after ten years was taken unaware/ And as the learned do recount/ So Mosse did catch his mare.' The ballad is not altogether simple reading. At one point 'The Priest thought to have scar'd the Butcher/ With a syllogism in Celarent', to which the Butcher replies, 'Priests were not made/ Ut Butchers wives amarent'. Like the *Bo-Peep* ballad, in a sudden switch to the discourse of the 'discontented cavalier', the moral of the story is directed very specifically at Presbyterians, especially at court; 'all you that have long ears/ reach them unto my text/ For faith y'are all so given to't/ that God knows who'll be next ... if you ask/ where all the sawcie trade is/ Why with players among Gentlemen/ and Parsons among ladies.'

This ballad was answered by another, a long ballad with four columns, printed in Oxford in at least two editions. It was entitled, *Bloody news from Chelmsford: or, a proper new ballad, containing a true and perfect relation of a most barbarous murder committed upon the body of a country parson who died of a great wound given him in the bottom of his belly, by a most cruel country-butcher for being too familiar with his wife, and was set to the*

⁸⁴ Possibly by Samuel Butler, (Hudibras), *The fanaticks barber or, A new cut for non-conformists Being a true relation of the parson that was lately gelt at Chelmsford in Essex, being taken in bed with another mans wife. Very proper to be sung in all corporations of this nation. All the town shan't save thee* (m/s 'came out in ye Beginning of Februar: 1662'), w/l+w/c, Wood 416(94). This ballad is incorrectly dated 1655 on EEBO. Wood's m/s note and the reference to 'corporations' clearly refers to the religious debates of 1661-1662.

cliché tune of 'Chevy-Chase'.⁸⁵ The ballad admonishes the author of the first, making apparent his own knowledge of the allegations in the Birkenhead and Rump broadsides:

Give o'er, ye rhiming Cavaliers,
That jeer'd at every turn;
And sung how Jane towards Elders Cur
In flames of love did burn.
You too that writ how Peters Hugh,
Was Butchers Cuckold-maker;
Or penn'd the Courtship past between
She-Filly, and the Quaker.

Referring once again to a Birkenhead song, the author denies the parson concerned was a Presbyterian, 'Where once was bred a Roundheaded Colt,/ And now a Cavalier Gelding/ Neer Chelmsford Town a certain grave/Conforming Parson dwelt,/ Chast from the Navil to the Teeth;/Yet this good man was Gelt.'

The ballad combines a witty tale with a concerted attack on the inadequacy and popish tendency of the restored ministry. The Parson is a 'reading rogue' who spied the woman from the pulpit as he had nothing else to do but 'utter Sermon by retail/ which might be done by [a] dolt' and the woman was 'purer text/ to handle than an Homily'. He rushed through the 'printed lurry' of his sermon 'with greater speed than a nun sings pater noster', to pursue the woman after church. Full of learned allusions such as Priapus, Rosamund, Trulla, the Cornelian tub, Dr Faustus, and an attack on Cambridge University, the ballad concludes with an address to its 'Courteous reader.'

The black-letter version of this story, illustrated with woodcuts indicative of the action rather than descriptive of it, is a very different matter. *The careless curate and the*

⁸⁵ The first (?) edition was printed on a large sheet, *Bloody news from Chelmsford: or, a proper new ballad, containing a true and perfect relation of a most barbarous murder committed upon the body of a country parson who died of a great wound given him in the bottom of his belly, by a most cruel country-butcher for being too familiar with his wife: for which fact he is to be tried for his life at this next assizes.* (Oxford, 1663), w/l, CB.425/3.

bloudy butcher, following black-letter ballad convention, sought largely to extract morals 'to dehort all sorts of men and women from adultery' and to prevent discredit to the clergy.⁸⁶ The ballad wished the story 'were false because there is / A Clergy person in it' and hoped 'none will be so rude/ To judge the clergy for't.' As the ballad sadly observed, faced with the Devil, 'Princes and Priests are all but men'. Whilst not seeking to exonerate the woman from blame (the tune is 'o woman monstrous woman'), the ballad acknowledges that, 'she met much disadvantage when/ her tutor proves her temptor'. No attempt was made to label this 'Parson of the Parish' as conforming or otherwise, but the ballad does refer to the puritan past. Finding the 'jolly gamester' Parson's black coat, the butcher thought 'Hugh Peters had been alive again/ and fumbling with his wife', reminiscent of women in puritan sects, and once they are caught the 'parson and the woman to[o]/ began to preach and pray'.

The Whig Rampant and The Popish Tory's Confession.

At the peak of the Exclusion Crisis, as parliament tried to thrash out differing views of loyalty, reason and law with 'Protestant flails' in Oxford, and political insults were developing into accepted labels, Tory and Whig writers used both black- and white-letter ballads to attack each other in public, each side accusing the other of being devils in disguise. While Whigs accused Tories of using extravagant claims of loyalty to King and Church to hide the fact they were papists, Tories accused sober, demagogic and seditious Whigs of being Presbyterian rebels. The context and content of some of this ballading, are explained in Chapters three and five below. Four titles are of particular interest, however, as they demonstrate the processes of adaptation of the political ballad for the white- and black-letter market-place.

⁸⁶ *The careless curate and the bloudy butcher* (m/s 'mense Feb: 1662'), b/1, Wood 401(187). A good example of the way woodcuts could be adapted to different uses, the first woodcut on this ballad was adapted, much as the clergyman was, by the removal of the private parts, for use on *Romes Cruelty or, The Earl of Essex Barbarously Murthered in the Tower* {1688-1689}, b/1, Pepys II.177. On this ballad it was used to indicate the examination of Essex's body by the authorities.

A Tory notation ballad entitled *The Whig's exaltation a pleasant new song of 82*, 'To an old tune of 41', was both printed and published in spring 1682 by the prolific, arch-Tory publisher, Nathaniel Thompson.⁸⁷ Several verses were taken from an old civil war song by the cavalier poet, Francis Quarles, while the rest have been attributed to the playwright and court favourite, Tom D'Urfey.⁸⁸ By 28 March, it had been answered by a Whig white-letter ballad, published by 'T. H.' (on another edition by John How), entitled *The Tories confession, or, A merry song in answer to the Whigs exaltation*, 'to the same tune of Forty one'. At the same time, two major traditional ballad houses, Philip Brooksby, and the ballad partnership, Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, Passenger and Coles, published respectively a Tory black-letter ballad, *The Whig Rampant or, Exaltation*, 'A pleasant new song of 82. To a New tune of Hey boys up go we', and a Whig black-letter ballad, called *The Popish Tories confession: or, An answer to The Whiggs exaltation*, also, 'to the Tune of Hey boys up go we'.⁸⁹

Both the white-letter ballads were adapted for the black-letter market. Illustrations had to be chosen, and *The Whig Rampant* carried a large woodcut of two men speaking and selling medicines to a crowd from a platform. One of the men on the platform says, 'My book you see, Remember me', while the second man says 'Then the Old cause, We will set free'. There were also two part pictures, one of a tub-preacher who says 'Remember the good old cause' and one of a crowd.⁹⁰ Black-letter ballads were usually longer than white-letter, and so *The Whig Rampant* needed two extra verses, probably written by a hack, but otherwise it was almost exactly the same as the notation ballad. This was perhaps no real surprise, since it had

⁸⁷ Though cf. Knights's assessment of Thompson's willingness to be bought, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 161. F. Quarles and T. D'Urfey, attrib., *The Whig's exaltation a pleasant new song of 82* (1682), n/b, Ashm.G.16(56) *The Tories confession, or, A merry song in answer to the Whigs exaltation, to the same tune of Forty one* (1682), w/l, EEBO/Huntington.

⁸⁸ Simpson, pp. 304-306.

⁸⁹ F. Quarles, T. D'Urfey and anon., attrib., *The Whig rampant: or, Exaltation* (1682), b/l, Don.b.13(104), *The popish Tories confession: or, An answer to The Whiggs exaltation* (1682), b/l, Douce Ballads 2(182a)

⁹⁰ The woodcut of men selling medicines had appeared on Salvator Winter, *A pretious treasury: or a new dispensatory. Contayning 70. approved physycall rare receipts* (1649).

been written by a combination of professional songwriters, accustomed to the entertainment market and with a real nose for what would sell.

The Whig Rampant accused Whigs of being republicans, who wanted to overturn the social order by attacking the nobility, the gentry, breeding, 'good manners' and 'haughty monarchy'. The ballad alleged that since Whigs believed 'every man's a brother/ what reason then in church and state/ one man should rule another'. It said the Whigs wanted 'Religion and the Laws' to stoop to their demands. It accused them of revelling in political division and creating confusion. It was 'their sunshine weather' if 'King and parliament cannot accord together' because, 'if good reason should take place/ and they should both agree ... Z--- [Zounds], who'd be in a roundheads case'.⁹¹ Though harping heavily on civil war discourse there was no loss of contemporary reference.⁹² Much was made of 'preaching in tubs', but it was the committee chair from which Whigs 'will such laws invent/ as shall exclude a lawful heir/ by Act of Parliament' that concerned the balladeer. The two extra verses reminisced further about when 'Rebellion was a thriving trade' and made an allusion to Stephen College, executed in 1681 for sedition and alleged involvement in a planned rebellion, warning, 'now the days are alter'd since [the civil war]/ as College plain did see'.⁹³ Having used the ever-popular language of religious intolerance as a hook to catch buyers, the ballad also attacked Whig sexual preferences: 'we'l make their plump young daughters fall'. Just one or two careful adaptations were made from the white-letter edition. The word 'Bishops' was reduced to the initial B----- in the black-letter ballad and the word 'elders' was changed to 'deacons'. Interestingly, the white-letter phrase, 'Tap the good old cause' (a reference to Shaftesbury) was altered to 'Top the old cause'.⁹⁴ This could have been a typographical error, but Shaftesbury was a popular figure, and he had his own black-letter ballad, *The Subjects Hope*,

⁹¹ The swearing was satirical – since that was what Whigs accused Tories of doing.

⁹² Whigs wanted to 'cut his highness down/ e'en shorter by the knee', an allusion to a recent attack on a portrait of James which had cut off his legs at the bottom of the painting.

⁹³ Stephen College was supposedly author of the seditious ballad *A Ra-Ree Show*, and had one balad dedicated to him *A New Ballad of the Protestant Joyner* {1681}, w/l+w/c, my thanks to the Harvard Library for a copy of this ballad.

⁹⁴ For Shaftesbury's 'spigot' see K.D. Haley, *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (Oxford, 1968), p. 202.

or, *The Loyal Peers friend*. I suspect the change of 'Tap' to 'Top' could have been a calculated marketing move.

The Popish Tories confession, by contrast, was so heavily adapted from the white-letter version that only the first line and the general gist of the response remained the same. The white-letter version was a direct and detailed answer to the Tory ballad, accusing Tories of being willing to sacrifice liberty and law to the power of the church, 'to the Crape Gown we'l cringe and creep/ supposing 'twere a pope;/ say what he will we'l him believe,/ if true or false it be/and while he prays/ we'l Drink his health'. The Tory idea of 'breeding' was directly attacked: 'now dam me is good manners grown/ and tends to gallantry', as was their drinking: 'when al[l] those zealous Whigs are down/ we'l drink and fall a roaring'. The Tories were made to declare all their evil intents: 'Religion that shall stoop to us,/ and so shall liberty ... The Poor we'll banish by our laws/ and all the rest we'll burn/ The Abbey-Lands shall be possest/ by those whose right they be ... what care we for a Parliament/ no money comes from thence ... These two penny states-men all shall down ... we'l plunder 'em ... we'll chuse their sheriffs and Juries too/ and then pretend its law'. However, the traditional ballad publishers seem either to have believed this was all a little too near the knuckle or that it was not appealing or accessible enough for their buyers. What would they care about the rights to 'Abbey lands', now ancient History, while 'liberty and property' arguments would never sell black-letter ballads. The black-letter *Popish Tories confession* kept to more recent allusions, though retaining the imputation of Tories wearing a 'masque of loyalty' and being popish priests in disguise. The ballad illustrations were of Coleman, with a caption reading 'a popish Tory', and of popish clerics. It concentrated on the gulf between popish Tories and 'Jack Presbyter', and the way in which Tories tried to divert suspicion away from themselves by lumping Presbyterians together, with 'sneaking anabaptist' and Quaker, 'all of a pack', in order to 'make Whigs monstrous appear'. It was particularly indignant at the way the Tories had embraced their insulting name, which 'from the worst of Irish thieves at first had its

beginning'; 'No honest man who King and State does love/ Will of a name so odious approve'. Though they 'thunder forth forty one/ to make the People mad', these 'Priests and Jesuits ... now Tories us they call,' are shown admitting that during the war they had been assisted by the Presbyterians to kill the King. The ballad also responded in kind to attacks on sexual behaviour, claiming that Tories would make all Presbyterian 'sisters' into nuns so they could 'use their females as we please'.

Although representative of content and style differences in the ballad market, in some respects these ballads present an unusual example. As a rule, Tory writers tended to eschew the traditional black-letter market, except for songs which called for unquestioning loyalty and contentment, spurred on by hard drinking, such as Matthew Taubman's loyal drinking song, *The Courtiers Health or, Merry boys of the Times*, another cross-over ballad from 1682.⁹⁵ For royalist and loyalist writers who valued their literary reputations, such as Sir John Birkenhead and Alexander Brome in the 1640s and 1650s, Samuel Butler in the 1670s, and John Oldham or Mathew Taubman in the 1680s, occasionally choosing the ballad form as a literary vehicle, at times of heightened political tension, was not a means of increasing its accessibility. Choosing the ballad form enhanced the impact of political satire and the ridicule of attack, by using what was acknowledged as the very lowest form of poetic production. Writers of more sophisticated ballads often aped or appropriated generic forms such as the 'lamentation' or the 'litany', creating an instantly recognisable comic effect. Professional songwriters such as Thomas Jordan, Aphra Behn and Tom D'Urfey, or campaigners such as Presbyterian Robert Wilde, or devoted Williamite Matthew Prior were much more willing to adapt their output, or allow it to be adapted, for the popular market.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Matthew Taubman attrib., *The Courtiers Health; Or The Merry Boyes Of The Times* [between 1672 and 1696], b/l, Firth b.19(4), *idem*, *The Courtiers Health: Or, The Merry Boys Of The Times* (1682), w/l, Rox.II.89. This ballad is misdated 1648 on EEBO.

⁹⁶ Robert Wilde's career as political balladeer and religious campaigner for the Presbyterian cause was the longest standing, though the authorship of ballads attributed to him cannot be proven. Ebsworth attributes *Alas poore scholler* (1641) to Wild, and a number of political ballads, in both black- and white-letter including some crossovers, were adapted from his work – notably a ballad entitled *Iter Boreale* (w/l) and *The Noble Progress* (b/l) both published in 1660. His pamphlets and broadsides were frequently autographed as 'The Author of *Iter Boreale*'. By the 1670s he seemed only to be writing in

What conclusion can be drawn from all this, of use to the historian, about accessibility? Based on a close reading of the political content and style of all these different products, and in particular a study of the 'cross-over' ballad, I would argue that we can be reasonably confident that traditional style political ballads were seen by contemporaries as accessible and 'popular' in a broad sense, while white-letter ballads were intended for the political cognoscenti, whoever they might be. Scholars have made aesthetic distinctions between the oral and printed, the 'timeless' and 'topical', but have not sought to distinguish between more and less accessible ballads. Though Hyder Rollins included only black-letter ballads in his *Analytical Index*, his reasons for doing so were aesthetic and romantic rather than because he perceived a difference in content between the two forms. He believed the black-letter ballad represented a dying cultural form, when in fact it was simply a changing cultural product. Where scholars have dealt with political ballads at all, they have too frequently assumed that because a ballad was cheap and in a 'low culture' form it was, therefore, 'popular' or accessible, and that because it specified a 'tune' it was necessarily sung in public.⁹⁷ Even those who have worked closely with collections have failed to see the consistent connection between the choice of typeface and the content and complexities of texts.

Adam Fox relates how some libellers in 1607 believed their libels legitimate provided they did not touch the person of the King or his ministers. But as one indictment against them put it, 'they breed a most dangerous opinion in the harts of the common people as though it were lawful to libel and traduce their governors both ecclesiastical and temporal'.⁹⁸ By the 1640s, literacy and the print market had grown, as had political and religious division. The

the white-letter market – his non-conformist message perhaps having become less generally saleable, or his influence on black-letter authorship less discernible. Matthew Prior wrote *The Famous Orange* (1688), a crossover ballad, see ch. 3 below, and a great deal of panegyric poetry for William, see C.C. Barfoot, 'Hey for Prose and Panegyric. William III and the Political Poetry of Matthew Prior' in Paul Hoftijzer and C.C. Barfoot (eds), *The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 135-189.

⁹⁷ See, for example, Mark S.R. Jenner 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, 177 (2002), pp. 84-121.

⁹⁸ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p. 333.

national ballading in print of governors both ecclesiastical and temporal that took place from the 1640s was without precedent, but importantly, much of it was produced in formats that would not have been familiar to the traditional broadside ballad buyer. Nevertheless, as a prose broadside, *A Word In Season*, pointed out in early 1660, the example of ballading and versifying, or ‘venting follies’, against the highest powers of every kind had woken a spirit of satire that had made ‘the people of this nation, having tasted the forbidden fruit ... become sinfully wise’.⁹⁹ Despite the best efforts of Charles II’s Surveyor of the press, Sir Roger L’Estrange, or ‘Towzer’ and ‘Olivers fiddler’ as he was known in the white-letter press, the taste for political song of every kind expanded mightily after the period of ‘liberty and contagion’ as L’Estrange put it.¹⁰⁰

iv. Production and Consumption

Though they emerged from the presses of London, perhaps in their millions, and everyone agreed that they could be seen or heard everywhere, ballads were often despised, as were the balladeers. Some commentators, like William Hornbye, argued that the benefits of literacy had been wasted on ‘The Pot poet’ who ‘with good liquor doth accute his wit ... These make brave songs, and for their greater graces/ Sing them in priuate, & in publicke places.’¹⁰¹

Others saw the production and consumption of ballads as a scourge of the time:

‘Ye Ballet-makers, and ye Ballet-sellers, Stationers and Printers of them and buyers of them ... your jests and songs shall be turn’d into howling ... you that make songs and ballads upon wicked people ... oh how are the world in many places, & streets, and walls painted with ballads and fables’.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ *A Word In Season to the Ranting Royalists and the Rigid Presbiterians* (1660), 669.f.24(57).

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in G. Kitchen, *Sir Roger L’Estrange* (New York, 1913, reprinted, 1971), p.152. See Publication Chart, Appendix II.

¹⁰¹ William Hornbye, *Hornbyes hornbooke Iudge not too rashly, till through all you looke; if nothing then doth please you, burne the booke* (1622), p.13.

¹⁰² Anon., *A Declaration from the Children of Light (who are by the world scornfully called Quakers) against several false reports, scandals and lyes, in several news books and pamphlets, put forth by Hen. Walker, R. Wood, and George Horton ... Also a warning from the Lord to all ballad-makers, and image-makers, with them that print and sell them, who are found without the fear of God, contrary to*

Even when praising the making of songs that had brought comfort to Interregnum England, a distinction was made between the high- and low-class ballad-maker. In a poem of congratulation to John Wilson, the author of a book of *Cheerful ayres or ballads*, his admirer writes, 'Those low and creeping words we ballads call/ Thy power has made celestiall ...here's musick for the meanest capacity,/ and for the skilfullest too deep harmony.'¹⁰³

Adam Fox has shown how ubiquitous was the culture of rhyme in early modern culture. He writes, 'there seems to have been scarcely a subject on which there was not a couplet or verse to be of assistance'.¹⁰⁴ Fox's work opens up a world in which men and women loved to play with words, enjoyed the challenge and the wit of rhyme, and used rhyme as innocent entertainment and social weapon. This ubiquity of rhyming meant there was no shortage of potential ballad-writers in early modern England. However, to be published in black-letter in London, as Adam Fox has also shown, was to reach a level a cut above that usually reached by the run-of-the-mill local alehouse poet.¹⁰⁵ It meant making a rhyme that was funny enough and with enough general appeal to succeed in the open market. Details and names were not then necessary as in *The Credit of Yorkshire*, a royalist jest ballad, in which the writer gives just enough detail but no more: 'Neere Pomfret doth this couple dwell,/In London rode tis known full well,/ the Maltmans friends did me intreate,/ None of their Names I should relate.'¹⁰⁶ In the black-letter market a ballad dealt in 'worldly wisdom', applicable to the nation as a whole, rather than immediate village gossip or local politics. Some of the products I deal with here were the work of people who had succeeded in making it to the national song market perhaps only once in their lives, while others 'made it' on a regular basis.

the command of God, who saith, you shall not make an image of male nor female...(1655), p.4. The writers separate the pamphleteers and the 'ballet-makers' in their attack.

¹⁰³ 'To the Ever Honoured Dr John Wilson', John Wilson, *Cheerful ayres or ballads first composed for one single voice* (1660), p.3.

¹⁰⁴ Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p.25.

¹⁰⁵ Adam Fox, 'Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994), pp. 47- 83.

¹⁰⁶ Charles Hamond, *The Credit of Yorkshire* (1651), b/1, MB.I(6).

The idea for a ballad could come from a whole range of sources. Rather like the old blues riff, 'I woke up this morning', many ballads begin with variations of the stock line, 'As I walked out', followed by the description of what was observed, or overheard in the street. The balladeer's observation, hearing, and gathering of information and his reflection on it was the essential beginning to political song.¹⁰⁷ For example a ballad by the established London balladeer Humphrey Crouch, *My Bird is a Roundhead* (1642), beginning 'As I to London tooke my way' was based on a conflict between neighbours, one a puritan and one who had set up a maypole, in Northamptonshire.¹⁰⁸ There is evidence of verses on letters being brought to a printer, and coffee-house talk, tavern talk, talk in the printers' shops and booksellers, talk in St Paul's, outside Westminster or Whitehall was all grist to the ballad-writers' mill.¹⁰⁹ Stories would sometimes come in from the provinces to be printed 'to prevent scandal'.¹¹⁰ Many ballads were based on events in the home circuit assize courts. Sermons, theatre songs, pamphlets and gazette reports could all be sources for ballad fare. By the 1680s the political dining-clubs were hothouses for producing material.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ See for example *The Maidens Merry Meeting* {1647}, b/l, MB.II(55a), [...], or *the Parson of the Parish* [1642-5], b/l, MB.II(53a) 'I have travell'd farr', *A Common Observation* (1645) w/l, 669.f.10(31), 'As I about the town did walke/ I herd the people how they talke,/ of the brave parliament.'

¹⁰⁸ Humphrey Crouch, *My Bird is a Roundhead* (1642), b/l, Ashm.H23(24).

¹⁰⁹ On political talk see Thomas Cogswell, 'Underground Verse and the transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture' in Amussen and Kishlansky (eds), *Political Culture; Freist, Governed by Opinion*. E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979) cites printers' shops as places where information could be exchanged.

¹¹⁰ See for example *A New Song of the Taylor and his Maiden* (n.d.), b/l, Pepys III.40: 'it being truth they did desire it might be put in print ... and now is made openly known.'

¹¹¹ Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, pp. 163-4, discusses the role of the Green Ribbon Club in producing oppositional literature. Robin Clifton *The Last Popular Rebellion* (1984), pp. 61-63, analyses the political role of dining clubs outside the capital. Also see Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800* (Oxford, 2000), ch. 2; Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987), esp. pp. 100-133, and Michelle O'Callaghan, 'Tavern Societies, the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 37-54. Though early, her analysis of the way tavern wits collaborated over verse is relevant.

Authors

The 'who' of political ballad-writing is a question almost as difficult to answer as the 'who' of ballad-reading. The 'riotous' editor of the Roxburghe ballads, J.W. Ebsworth, lists the names of those he believed had authored some of the ballads he reprints.¹¹² For the forties and fifties, the best-known black-letter authors were Martin Parker, Humphrey Crouch and Laurence Price. They frequently appended their names or initials to ballads and enjoyed some fame, being mentioned by other writers in newsbooks and other literature. Rollins suggested that some balladeers became involved in pamphleteering during the war and gave up ballading.¹¹³ John Looke, who wrote ballads in support of parliament up to 1641, seems to have given up his trade. In 1647 a three-stanza poem at the end of a pamphlet stated that it was 'A manuscript of John Looks sometime contriver of ballets'.¹¹⁴

There was a long-standing connection between the broadside ballad and the theatre. *The Actors Remonstrance* (1643) complained that playwrights had been forced to turn to ballad writing by the closure of the playhouses. Many cavalier ballads referenced Ben Jonson's plays, songs and music, and from the 1670s, political ballads increasingly originated in theatre tunes.¹¹⁵ Usually this meant the first two or three stanzas might be known to come from Shadwell, D'Urfey, or Behn, the remaining seven or eight being by unknown authors, probably writers retained by the publisher. Of course, this may not have been a voluntary process; as Otway pointed out in his prologue to *The Atheist*, 'there are poets prove not very good, / who like base sign-post dawbers, wanting skill, / steal from Great Masters hands and copy ill'. Otway clearly put himself in the latter rank. He complained of the tides of 'politick

¹¹² The charitable description of 'riotous' appears, along with the epithet 'learned', in H. Rollins (ed.), *A Pepysian Garland. Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595-1639* (Cambridge, 1922, reprinted Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p. viii. Cf. Simpson, p.xvii and *passim* where he points out Ebsworth's many errors in a much less tolerant manner.

¹¹³ *C&P*, p. 31.

¹¹⁴ John Lookes (?), (*Hey Hoe for a Husband*,) or *The Parliament of Maidens* (1647), p. 6

¹¹⁵ Anon., *The Actors Remonstrance* (1643). See also Cogswell, 'Underground Verse', p. 285, for the connection between pot poets and the theatre.

ditties, full of sage debate,/ and merry catches how to rule the state' chanted by 'lousie thespis at a country fair'.¹¹⁶

Historians, however, are not driven by the need to seek authorship and the 'authentic text' that was for so long such a concern of the literary scholar, especially not where contemporaries themselves found it unnecessary. The most striking thing about balladeers is that their anonymity, whether desired or enforced, seems to have been an integral part of the product. We can be certain that white-letter ballads were often written by 'great men', as anthologies liked to claim. So great indeed that, as the 1662 *Rump* anthology pointed out, the gentlemen authors were now ashamed to be connected with such low stuff: 'we have not subjoined any authors names; heretofore it was unsafe, and now the gentlemen conceive it not proper', though, it added, "'Tis hoped they did his majesty some service, 'twas for that end they were scribbled'.¹¹⁷ We might seek to know, however, what 'sort' of person tended to write black-letter political ballads, and how publishers marketed their work. Beyond the well-known figures of Parker and Price, this requires authors occasionally to break cover, and identify themselves.¹¹⁸ One interesting character emerges in 1689, a man who sometimes broke cover and sometimes retreated into anonymity, but still left clues to his identity on the ballads he wrote. Richard Rigby was apparently a 'shoomaker' by trade and, I would like to suggest, he represents the typical ballad hack.

A London tradesman, who wrote to entertain his fellow craftsmen in their guild activities, Rigby is named as author on five Pepys ballads, three of them political, dating from 1689. However, on closer analysis it becomes apparent that he was also responsible for at least two more political ballads, his authorship attested by the similarity of the words, and a

¹¹⁶ Thomas Otway, *The Atheist, Or, The Second Part Of The Souldiers Fortune Acted At The Duke's Theatre* (1684), sig. A2 iii-iv.

¹¹⁷ 'Preface to the Reader', in *Rump: or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times Rump*, (1662), sig. A3v.

¹¹⁸ On Parker's life see Hyder E. Rollins, 'Martin Parker', *Modern Philology*, XXV (1919); on Lawrence Price see comments in Bernard Capp, 'Popular Culture and the Civil War', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989).

woodcut of shoemakers drinking. If we are to believe his own writing, Rigby appears to have begun writing on a whim, but certainly in an effort to attack James II's Catholic regime. *The Cobblers New Prophecie*, published by the ballad partnership, Coles, Vere, Wright, Clarke, Thackeray and Passenger, was a typical political black-letter ballad. Demanding that if wandering shepherds and astrologers could predict the times, why shouldn't shoemakers, 'When Ale to thought gives wings?', it opens with the line, 'As I sat singing in my stall ... a fancy took my brain'. As if in prophecy, the ballad attacks the misery popery has brought to England but claims, 'we must be content/ since we have got a parliament/ will find out Romes great cheat.' At the end of the ballad the cobbler returns to his proper work, 'for whilst that I did make this song/ for all you'l say it is not long/ I might have earn'd a groat'. Though unnamed, Rigby's trademark cobbler woodcut appears on the ballad.¹¹⁹

Rigby wrote several ballads welcoming William's arrival.¹²⁰ Most interesting, was a pair of ballads, which demonstrate the deliberate care of the author both to hide and yet to be known. The first, uncredited but certainly by Rigby, was *Great Britains Delight*. This black-letter ballad gave no clues to the publisher, the imprint stating merely 'Printed in 1689', but the author was easily discernible, and teased, 'If anyone questions/ who made these few lines/ 'Tis myself if I may you convince'. A woodcut of shoemakers drinking, and a verse exhorting 'shoemakers all ... give the deaths wound unto Rome', make it very apparent who the author is.¹²¹ In this ballad, the delighted Rigby announced that the Prince of Orange had 'come not to reign / But our rights to maintain.' *A New Song*, also published in 1689, was openly published by John Wallis, in black-letter format, landscape and illustrated, but with Roman type. This time, Rigby was named on the ballad and there was no cobbler woodcut, just an

¹¹⁹ Richard Rigby, *The Cobblers New Prophecie* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.230.

¹²⁰ R. Rigby, *The Cobblers Corrant* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.231, published by C. Bates in black-letter, stated it was 'written by Richard Rigby, faithful brother to the gentle craft', and also carried a woodcut of shoemakers as did *idem*, *A New Song in Praise of the Gentle Craft* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.233, a call up ballad to fight against Tyrconnel, 'written by R. Rigby of the same trade' and printed in black-letter by Alexander Milburn.

¹²¹ Richard Rigby, *Great Britains Delight* (1688), b/l, Pepys II.242.

illustration of William mounted and striking down the Pope.¹²² *A New Song* was much like the old one in many respects. It was set to the same tune as the first, an old tune from the early 1680s called 'the Prince of Oranges Delight,' and most of the verses were identical. However, there was one important difference – the verse that claimed William had not come to be King was removed. Rigby's ballads were each issued by a different publisher and his songs were printed in the full range of formats available. His political ballads, though in one case politically risky, were clearly seen as saleable on the wider market, and were printed in black-letter formats. However, in the 1690s, Rigby's non-political ballads about the ancient royal history of the shoemakers were printed in white-letter.¹²³ If Rigby is a typical case, could it be that a re-reading of ballads with a closer eye to visual and verbal clues might uncover a range of semi-amateur writers, men of other trades who 'dabbled a bit' in popular poetry, and wanted to speak out to the people, in a way they enjoyed and understood? As a ballad called *The Common Cries of London Town ... with Turners dish of stuff* said in 1662, 'The world is full of thred-bare poets/ that live upon their pen;/ But they will write too eloquent,/ They are such witty men/But the Tinker with his budget/ The beggar with his wallet/ And Turner's turn'd a gallant man/ at making of a Ballet'.¹²⁴

It was probably impossible to make a living only from ballad-writing. Ballads were written by vintners, such as Francis Mussell, apprentices like Robert White, by lawyers, by apothecaries, by clerics, by sailors, soldiers and even by prisoners.¹²⁵ Some men were driven

¹²² Richard Rigby, *A New Song* (1689), w/l/p+w/c, Pepys II.293.

¹²³ Richard Rigbie (*sic*), *The Shoemaker's Triumph* 'as was sung at a general assembly of shoo-makers, ... 1695' (1695), w/l+w/c, Pepys V.427. This white-letter ballad, published by C. Bates, had woodcuts of cobblers; *idem*, *The Shoe-makers Delight* 'to the tune of 'the low-country soldier' {c.1690}, w/l, Pepys V.392, published by J. Shooter. Both ballads told the histories of the princely shoemakers, Crispian and Crispianus, the shoemaker martyr, Sir Hugh, and Sir Simon, the shoemaker Lord Mayor.

¹²⁴ W. Turner, *The Common Cries of London Town ... with Turners dish of stuff* (1662) b/l, CB.841/5.

¹²⁵ Francis Mussell, Vintner, *Good Newes for all True Hearted Subjects* (1641), w/l+w/c, C20.f2(10) - a very large broadside; *idem*, *The Prisoners Observation* (1645) w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(17); Robert White, apprentice, *The Prentices Resolution* (1643), b/l, Ashm.H23(54); Lawyer: John Wenlock, 'of Lincolns Inne Esq.', *Upon Our Royal Queens Majesties Most Happy Arrival* (1662), w/l, BL.C20.f.3(18); apothecary: Francis Shenton, *A true relation of a notorious cheater one Robert Bullock* (m/s November 1663), b/l, Wood, 401(197); clerics: 'a student of God', *Englands Pleasant May-Flower* (1660), b/l, Euing 100, divines, presbyterian, Robert Wilde and Anglican, Thomas Robins; sailor: Tom Smith, *Gallant Newes From the Seas* (1649), b/l, MB.I(45), 'gathered together by a Sea-Man lately come from sea, and framed into a song by him'; prisoners: William Starbuck, *A Spiritual Cordial* (1645), w/l

to write a ballad because they were moved by events, for example Peter Fancy's poor but clearly well-meant effort at the Restoration.¹²⁶ Even the best-known writers seemed to have included ballad-writing as part of a whole 'economy of makeshifts.' The pamphleteer and preacher Henry Walker, who may have written the white letter ballads *A Word in the Kings eare* (1647) and *The Kings Last farewell to the World* (1649), was also an ironmonger.¹²⁷ Martin Parker was described as a 'vintner' in one of his court appearances.¹²⁸ James Dean, a Tory printer/publisher until the Glorious Revolution, claimed to have written a number of his own white-letter ballad titles and worked for the Post Office.¹²⁹ For balladeers who attached their names the satisfaction of 'fame,' that great ballad commodity, was in large part their reward, for those who did not, the 'fame' they inflicted on others could be equally satisfying. Financially, authors benefited if at all, to the tune of between eighteen pence and five shillings for their copy.¹³⁰ Not until the great explosion in the market of the 1670s did balladeers complain in song at the unfair treatment they received at the hands of the press, though as part of a rhetorical strategy, ballad-singers were often given final verses begging their audience for a penny or the price of a drink as a reward for their performance.¹³¹

Printers and Publishers

+w/c, 669.f.10(15), 'made while in the counter he did lie/Of Woodstreet, in the prison house'; S[ir] F[rancis] W[ortley] B[art.], *Mad Tom or Bedlams Desires of Peace* (1648), w/l, 669.f.12(59), 'by a constant, though unjust sufferer (now in prison) for his majesties just regality, and his Countrys Liberty, SFWB'.

¹²⁶ Peter Fancy, *Joyfull News to the Nation* (1661), b/l, Euing 147.

¹²⁷ Henry Walker, attrib., *A Word in the Kings eare* (1647) w/l+w/c, 669.f.11(78); *idem*, attrib., *The Kings Last farewell to the World* (1649), w/l+ several w/c, C20.F2(18).

¹²⁸ C&P, p. 10.

¹²⁹ See James Dean, *Oates's bug-bug-boarding-school, at Camberwell. A song* (1684), w/l, Ashm.G.5(53), on which appears the following claim 'Writ by J. Dean, author of the Wine Cooper. The Hunting of the Fox. The Badger in the Fox-Trap. Lord Russel's Farewell. The Loyal Conquest. The Dutch Miller. Etc.' See G.M. Peerboons, 'Nathaniel Thompson' p. 176, fn 496, Dean was reputed as being 'desperate'. This is the only example I know of a ballad publisher claiming authorship of his ballads.

¹³⁰ Kitchen, *Sir Roger L'Estrange*, p. 201, quotes an anonymous complaint made against Roger L'Estrange's monopoly on papers 'not exceeding 2 sheets of paper'. It claimed he charged balladeers 'for licensing [ballads] when the poor poet hath but 18d for his pains'. Some balladeers claimed they received 'a crown' for a commissioned ballad, see e.g., *The Prodigal Son Converted; Or-The Young Man Return'd From His Rambles* [between 1660s and 1670s], b/l, Rox.III.188.

¹³¹ As in Turner, *Common Cries*: 'And to him that writ this song/ I give this simple lot:/ Let everyone be ready/ to give him half a pot'. See chs 3 and 5.

As Margaret Spufford's pioneering work on chapbooks has shown, publishing cheap print, unlike ballad writing, appears to have been a lucrative business, and increasingly so as the century wore on, at least until the liberalisation of printing after 1695.¹³² The contrast in benefits did not escape authors. *A New Ballad called the Protestants Prophecie* suggested that 'covetousness out of England shall run' when 'News-mongers they do refuse the great gain/ That comes by their pamphlets though they are prophane'.¹³³ While brilliantly opening up the workings of the cheap-print market, Spufford's work has unfortunately also contributed to a misleading idea of the declining position of the ballad in that market. Whether their ballad production accounted for more or less than their 'chapbook' sales, Passenger and Thackeray, along with their apprentices and later associates, Brooksby, Deacon and Blare, published many hundreds of political ballad titles and perhaps millions of sheets, in increasing quantities from the 1660s onwards. Both Spufford and Blagden were wedded to an idea of 'partnership' in established, fictional, traditional titles, and they both assumed a lack of political production that was quite simply a misreading of the market. If few reams of ballads remained at these men's deaths perhaps - unlike the small books still lingering in the warehouse - they had been sold. The following discussion is based largely on information gleaned from the colophons, imprints and titles on many hundreds of ballad sheets.

The publisher of the black-letter ballad was in business not politics, but politics sold, and he printed what would sell. Unless commissioned, a publisher or printer took a financial risk when he decided to print a ballad, and it was he (or occasionally she) who reaped the benefits if it did well. Publishers usually paid for the copy with a one-off fee to the author and then put the ballad into a printing shop. Most ballads suggest they were 'printed for' the publishers. The larger publishing companies appear to have used a number of print shops,

¹³² Spufford, *Small Books*, does not consider liberalisation and the increased competition this involved as a factor in her comparisons of publishers' wealth. The law of libel that came in to replace it may have increased problems for ballad hawkers in the eighteenth century, see Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street. Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678 - 1730* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 58 - 62.

¹³³ *A New Ballad called the Protestants Prophecie* [m/s 'Jan. or Feb. 1688'], b/1, Wood E25(117).

which probably accounts for the very varied quality of products emerging from the same publishing house.¹³⁴ Competition to get material into the press may have been quite fierce at times of heightened political activity, and printers were under pressure to get the work out quickly. Spufford reports the long hours spent by Thomas Gent, who feared his press would be torn to pieces by the hawkers seeking his work.¹³⁵ As already suggested, this may account for some of the 'nonsense music' on notation ballads. Ballads were useful products to keep an idle press going while a larger work was being set up, but they had to be swiftly produced. The cost of paper was high, and added to this was the cost of ink and labour. Cyprian Blagden suggested that a printer might run an edition of a whole ream – perhaps 500 or 510 sheets.¹³⁶ If the ballad did not sell he could lose a considerable investment. One pamphlet in 1647, complaining at the treatment a 'Tavern-Poet' had given to a local incident of murder, commented that 'sure the printer wanted work, that would print so ridiculous a piece, but I hope he did not give much for the copy, and then his pains was not great, if he did not lose his paper'.¹³⁷

If a ballad did sell well then it would have to be set up again, which may explain why some ballads, apparently printed at around the same time, were illustrated with different woodcuts or lay-out. The nineteenth-century ballad enthusiast the Earl of Crawford, collector of nearly 1,500 ballad broadsides, suggested that ballads may have been ideal as training-pieces for apprentices. He notes a number of examples where small details had been altered on a second edition of a ballad that had mistakes.¹³⁸ Certainly at the Frost Fair in 1683 printing apprentices set up a tent and printed off broadsides, including at least one ballad for

¹³⁴ See, for example, Anon., *The Danger of Pride and Ambition* (1685), 'printed by H.B. for P. Brooksby'.

¹³⁵ Spufford, *Small Books*, p. 90.

¹³⁶ Perhaps 500 [Spufford] or 510, [Blagden] sheets, Spufford, *Small Books*, p.107, n. 55. Dr Adam Fox has pointed out to me that strictly speaking a ream was 480 sheets but 500 or perhaps 510 might be run off to account for wastage.

¹³⁷ Anon, *The copy of a letter written from Northampton: containing a true relation of the souldier's preaching, and murdering a woman* (1647), p. 5.

¹³⁸ Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana Catalogue of a Collection of English Ballads of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries Printed for the most part in Black-Letter* (Aberdeen, 1890), p. x. 'It is the rarest thing to find a genuine duplicate ... very few copies of any sheet were pulled at the same time ... if the supply was not up to the demand, the type was set up again for a new issue.'

the passers-by.¹³⁹ In the event of a ballad not selling, one possibility in order to recoup losses was to reuse unsold sheets and to print new ballads on the verso. A number of political broadsides have ballads printed on both verso and recto. Frustratingly, it is usually impossible to be certain which was the ballad that could not sell, and there are no obvious connections between the verso and recto ballads. There are several examples of this in 1689 where the political ballads seem the newer ones.¹⁴⁰ It is possible that with the huge explosion in black-letter printing in 1689, after a period of relative dearth during James's reign, publishers may have run out of paper and decided to print on the back of their existing stock.

Some political ballad publishers, such as Nathaniel Thompson, did their own printing. He was frequently in trouble with the authorities for printing offensive material and for printing secretly at night. He was briefly imprisoned, but he did not live to see the disappointment of the Glorious Revolution that finally silenced his press in the hands of Mary his wife.¹⁴¹ Thompson did not print any black-letter ballads, but he had invested in musical notation type.¹⁴² The lines of music on his notation ballads were far more frequently relevant to the ballad than on ballad-partner ballads. The partners put a good deal of printing 'out', and a printer, who, having had a tune set up (many depict the tune of 'Great York'), may well have kept it like that to speed up the type-setting of new songs. The number of broadsides and pamphlets published between 1680 and 1682 was enormous and it must have been difficult to keep up with demand. Though he made his living by printing, offering anthologies of his loyal songs for sale, and publishing a range of Tory prose and pamphlet products, Thompson

¹³⁹ See, *News From the River of Thames* (1683), n/b, Harding B39(15a), 'printed on the frozen Thams by the Loyal Young Printers viz. E And A Milbourn, S. Hinch, J. Mason'. A. Milbourn went on to be a major ballad publisher. See also, *News From Frost-Fair Upon The River Of Thames : Being A Description Of The Boths, Tents, Accomodations, Frolicks, Sports And Humours Of Those Innumerable Crowd's Of Resorters, The Like Never Before Published* (1683), b/l, EEBO/Huntington.

¹⁴⁰ For example, *The Papists Prayers for Father Peters* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.346 had on the verso the much older, *A Groatsworth of Mirth for a Penny* [between 1683 and 1685], b/l, Pepys V.ii.53. The white-letter coronation ballad, *Englands Holiday or the Nations Joy* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.35 had on the verso *Jocky and Jenny: or the Scotch Courtship* [between 1680 and 1691], n/b, Pepys V.ii.56. *A View of the Popish Plot* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.281 had on the verso *The Scolding Wives Vindication* [between 1683 and 1696], b/l, Pepys V.ii.30. *The Scolding Wives* was also on the verso of a coronation ballad, *The Kingdom's Cares Endu'd with Comfort* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.271.

¹⁴¹ Peerboons, 'Nathaniel Thompson', p.109.

¹⁴² Peerboons, 'Nathaniel Thompson', p. 103.

was not a business-oriented ballad-publisher in the way traditional publishers were. He printed mainly for a metropolitan audience, and engaged in virulent exchanges in the ballad press with Whig publishers such as Francis Smith for a distinct political purpose. For all his protestations about how influential his songs were, one has to wonder about his circulation figures.¹⁴³ It is significant, I think, that Samuel Pepys had no copy of any Thompson broadside or anthology.

Philip Brooksby's production career from c.1670 to 1696, as gleaned from his output, is a good example of the way black-letter publishers operated after the 1660s, especially in regard to political publishing, though Brooksby published ballads and pamphlets on every conceivable subject.¹⁴⁴ Plomer simply states the whereabouts of Brooksby's shops (as advertised on his ballad sheets), while Blagden and Spufford relate his relationship through apprenticeship to the 'ballad partners' Wright, Clarke, Thackeray and Passenger and fellow apprentices Deacon, Blare and Back. Brooksby also had other partnerships, for example with Richard Burton, E. Oliver, and Charles Bates, as well as publishing many titles under his own name.¹⁴⁵ He seems to have passed his business on to a wife or child.¹⁴⁶

In the very first year of his business Brooksby demonstrated a good eye for the market by publishing a reprint of the 1657 'Mardyke' ballad. This was enjoying a new

¹⁴³ Nathaniel Thompson, (ed.), *Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* 'To The Reader', Sig. A2: 'it cannot be imagined how many scatter'd flocks this melodious Tingling hath reduced ... [to the] discipline of obedience'.

¹⁴⁴ Wing suggests that Brooksby's first ballad publication appeared in 1670, *A True Character Of Sundry Trades And Callings: Or, A New Ditty Of Innocent Mirth This Song Is New, Perfect And True, There's None Can This Deny; For I Am Known, Friend, To Be One That Scorn To Tell A Lie* (1670), b/l, C.22.f.6.(166.) and Rox.III.592.

¹⁴⁵ Brooksby was in partnership with Burton by 1673 when they published a pamphlet. Many other ballad partnerships can be found such as, *The Valiant Sea-Mans Happy Return To His Love, After A Long Seven Years Absence* [between 1672 and 1696], b/l, printers P. Brooksby and E. Oliver. T. Shadwell, attrib., *The Delights Of The Bottle. Or, The Town-Galants Declaration For Women And Wine* (1675), b/l, printers P. Brooksby and R. Burton. This ballad was a great success and much reprinted - some editions carried only Brooksby's name. *The Court And Kingdom In Tears: Or, The Sorrowful Subjects Lamentation For The Death Of Her Royal Majesty Queen Mary Who Departed This Life The 28th. Of This Instant December, 1694; To The Unspeakable Grief Of His Majesty, And All His Loyal And Loving Subjects.* (1695), b/l, printed for P. Brooksby, at the Golden-ball, and C. Bates, at the Bible and Sun; both in Pye-corner. He also had partnerships with, William Thackeray, John Williamson, and John Hose in 1676-7, with W. Thackeray, T. Passenger and J. Williamson in 1677-1680 and with J. Clarke in 1678.

¹⁴⁶ See, *The Bonny Scot: or, The Yielding Lass* (1700) 'printed for E. Brooksby, at the Golden-Ball in Pye-Corner'.

popularity, having been referred to in a D'Urfey play of that year. Brooksby published every kind of format, black, white, notation and engraving. He also reprinted the same ballad in different formats. Black-letter publishing houses seemed to have no fixed relationship either with authors or their political preferences. Brooksby published all the major writers and work representing both Tory and Whig viewpoints. For example, he published 'Tory' work by Thomas D'Urfey, Thomas Shadwell, and Matthew Taubman and 'Whig' work by Thomas Robins. Brooksby noticeably printed a large number of 'West Country' ballads. These seem to have become popular, or at least numerous, sometime after Monmouth's unofficial 'tours' in the early 1680s and again after his execution.

Nonetheless, up to 1688, one is tempted to see Brooksby as a Tory, or at least a 'court' ballad printer. He undertook a good number of Tory commissions - one notable example being *The Triumphant English Commanders*, a ballad celebrating the attack on the Duke of Monmouth's rebel army. Though in black letter and illustrated, this ballad was quite different from the usual black-letter ballad. The illustration was an engraving, based on a much larger engraved broadside Brooksby had also published in 1685.¹⁴⁷ The black letter was very fine and of high quality. The orientation of the ballad was portrait rather than landscape, and the size of the ballad was smaller than usual. Brooksby also printed Monmouth's execution ballads, but he seems to have had no problem in adjusting to the changing times after 1689. In 1685 he had published *An Excellent New Song*, a ballad praising the Stuart dynasty up to the newly crowned James II.¹⁴⁸ In 1689, along with his partners Deacon, Blare and Back, he reprinted the same ballad but with all reference to James removed and a verse praising William instead.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ *The Triumphant English Commanders, Or, The Rebels Overthrow And Utter Desolation* (1685), b/l+engraved illustration, EEBO/Huntington, the picture was taken from *A Description of the late rebellion in the West a heroick poem* (1685), poem broadside, large engraved illustration, both printed for P. Brooksby.

¹⁴⁸ *An Excellent New Song; or, A True Touch of the Times* (1685), b/l, Euing 82.

¹⁴⁹ *An Excellent New Song; or, A True Touch of the Times* (1689), b/l, C22.f.6(33).

The creation of ballad partnerships has been studied using imprints, wills, inventories and trade lists, by both Cyprian Blagden and Margaret Spufford.¹⁵⁰ As they make clear, ballad partnerships were formed in respect of certain ballad titles, but where political titles were concerned this did not preclude members publishing alone at the same time, and nor did it ensure protection of the ballad title. Ballads were frequently re-issued by another publisher with minor alterations in the text and with different woodcuts. This could have been as a 'catch-penny', [trying to sell an old song as a new one] or it could have been stolen from a competitor. For example, two ballads of the early 1690s describe the conversation between Mary and William on his return from the wars. *The Royal Salutation* was printed by J. Millet and ended with an advertisement to 'countrey chapmen' who might want 'New and Old small books and Ballads'. Brooksby, Deacon, Blare and Back produced *The Courtly Salutation* in the same year. The wording of these two ballads is remarkably similar.¹⁵¹ Anthony Wood was caught out with a catch-penny in 1689, when he bought, presumably as a valentine for himself, *The Green Sickness cured*, on which he wrote in irritation, 'Bought at Oxon for a new ballat 14 Feb 1688'.¹⁵²

Partnerships were extremely fluid and were formed in order to share the risks involved in publication. As with any business, costs needed to be kept down as much as possible to make the venture profitable. The black-letter with woodcut format was expensive (white-letter ballads without woodcuts could be half the price to produce) and though woodcuts were constantly re-used and adapted, they had to be kept up to date and were an important part of the printer's investment. Poverty-stricken printers, hoping to make a few shillings by printing off a ballad, may have had access only to the most outdated, perhaps discarded woodcuts, and used them on some old traditional ballad titles. On the whole, however, woodcuts were consciously chosen as part of the publishing investment and in order

¹⁵⁰ Cyprian Blagden, 'Notes on the ballad market in the second half of the seventeenth century', *Studies in Bibliography*, VI (1954); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books*.

¹⁵¹ *The Royal Salutation* (1690s), b/l, Pepys II.325 and *The Courtly Salutation* (1690s), Pepys II.334.

¹⁵² *The Green Sickness Cured or How de'e now* (m/s 14 February 1688), w/l, Wood 417(177).

to target buyers in the market. It is noticeable that woodcuts were not unique to any publisher or publishing group; they were a shared resource, and must have belonged to the printer or perhaps a group of printers. So often dismissed by scholars as 'irrelevant' or even 'preposterous', woodcuts were by no means an unimportant part of ballad production.¹⁵³ Re-use of images does not mean inappropriate use. The text gave meaning to the images, and the images were clearly valued by ballad buyers. They were kept up to date in terms of fashion, they were almost always directly relevant to the story, or as we have seen may have indicated something about the author. Though that provenance of a woodcut, a major concern of scholars, was probably irrelevant to printer or audience - the woodcut itself was not.¹⁵⁴ People sometimes bought their ballads just for the woodcut, as mutilated ballad-sheets and the evidence of Pepys himself suggests.¹⁵⁵

Black-letter ballads were not 'traditional' in the sense of unchanging, as scholars have too often assumed.¹⁵⁶ They kept up to date by adapting content, formats and production styles.

¹⁵³ See, M. A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476 – 1622* (reprint, 1966, original edition, Philadelphia, 1929), p. 193: '[ballad] poetry is such poor stuff we need other reasons to explain its popularity, the fact it could be sung, the preposterous woodcuts. Its very close dependence on the event or the sentiment of the hour'; Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, p.x: 'the woodcuts were very rarely made for the purpose, but were taken from stock without being often, in any way appropriate'; Sheila O'Connell *The Popular Print in England* (BM Press, 1999), p111: 'recycled woodcut [was] not relevant', and Watt, *Cheap Print*, p.169: 'the precise significance of the illustration was presumably lost on ordinary ballad buyers.' Similar views are expressed by Natascha Würzbach *The Rise of the English Street Ballad*. Cf. Christopher Marsh, *Songs of the Seventeenth Century* (Queen's University Belfast, 1994), p.9 and A. McShane-Jones, 'Revealing Mary', *History Today* (March 2004).

¹⁵⁴ See Margaret Aston, 'Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation' in Simon Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West. Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 106-130. Aston suggests, p. 106, it would be 'an unlikely event that [readers of a ballad], he or she studied the illustration as well as the words', and p. 108, 'we can hardly suppose that those who bought read, learned and sang ballads gave much thought to the pictures in their texts'. However on p. 129 she acknowledges that contemporaries did set value on the illustrations though she still describes them as 'simply decorative'. Cf Patricia Fumerton's stimulating if somewhat fanciful analysis of ballad woodcuts, 'Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England', *The Journal of Mediaeval and Early Modern Studies*, 32 (2002), pp. 490-518.

¹⁵⁵ See for example [Untitled](1649), b/1, MB.II(13) where the large woodcut has been removed.

¹⁵⁶ See Pamela Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep* (Ithaca, 2003), p. 27, where she suggests jests and ballads appeared 'almost unchanged in the nineteenth century'. But most ballads of the nineteenth century were very different - in form and content. Technological changes in paper-making had massively reduced the cost and the sizes of paper available. It led to the production of enormously long ballad sheets - the LP - with many songs on them; others were luridly illustrated broadsides of murders and so on. The nature of printed political ballading, meanwhile, had become much more aggressive, though many jingoistic ballads appeared in time of war.

Competition with other print products was increasingly fierce and publishers responded by increasing the novelties that they produced and changing the range of ballad titles. It is sometimes hard to remember that ballad jokes, which seem so obvious, were a novelty then. This particularly struck me when I came across a ballad entitled *Loves mystery: or, A parcel of clouded waggery* where the author had the brilliant idea of making the rhyme at the end of each line replace the rude word that was clearly intended. The delighted reader enjoyed himself by writing in all the jokes.¹⁵⁷ The ballad publisher Jonah Deacon produced paper novelties, such as printed sheets, illustrated with pictures and verses that could be folded into picture boxes. Like a ballad, this was something that might appeal to adults as well as children, and Anthony Wood wrote on his paper 'toy', 'Bought in Oxon in Feb 1688/9'.¹⁵⁸ Many bought or received such novelties as presents. New Year was traditionally the best time for the market as people gave New Year's gifts. Many ballads, as their titles testify, were intended for this seasonal market, some reflecting on the events of the year, or looking to moral or political reform. This aspect of the market became a satirical trope, especially in white-letter ballads. An awareness of their market meant that ballad publishers were extremely careful of what they published and in what format they had it printed. This suggests that a consideration of the political black-letter market will give us an insight into what political viewpoints the market believed appealed to the majority of ballad consumers in England.

Consumers

In October 1640 a group of people were playing cards in Mrs Black's house in St Martin's Lane. Though mainly of the middling sort, they were very well connected, as Mrs Black was the wife of the King's tailor and one of the guests was Lady Willoughby, the daughter of the

¹⁵⁷ *Loves mystery: or, A parcel of clouded waggery* (1663), b/1, Rox.III.254, printed for William Kenrick.

¹⁵⁸ Wood E25(10). George Thomason had bought a similar toy, published by B. Alsop in 1650. (669.f.15(4)). I am particularly grateful to Professor Michael Mendle for demonstrating how this toy worked at the *Cheap Print and the Scholar* Symposium held at University of Warwick, June 2004.

Bishop of Worcester. During the evening one of the guests, a Dr Seaton, 'produced a ballad about two Welshmen, lately printed, which he said he had sent to Scotland, where it would make very good sport'. A discussion ensued in which Dr Seaton called the Archbishop a 'nout' and wished he could send Laud's head as well as the ballad to Scotland to give them sport. When asked to describe the content of the ballad, Mrs Black said that 'there were some jesting passages upon reading the ballad of which she did not take any notice'.¹⁵⁹

The ballad can be identified as Martin Parker's *Britaines honour. In the two valiant Welchmen, who fought against fifteene thousand Scots, at their now comming to England*, which had been printed at some point after July 1640.¹⁶⁰ This is an exceptionally funny ballad, one of Parker's best, though the overall message was to exhort the English to make more effort to repel the Scots.¹⁶¹ The tone of the ballad smacks of desperation, and exasperation at English failure to rise in support of their King. At around the same time, a copy of this ballad was bought by a young boy of eight years in Oxford, his name Anthony Wood. He used the back of the ballad to try out his signature and the sides of the ballad to try out the end of his new quill.¹⁶² However, unlike Dr Seaton, as far as we know, Anthony kept his ballad, and it was to be the first in a very large collection.

To be able to place a black-letter political ballad in the hands of several readers is an exceptional situation, which we need to make the most of. The first thing to notice here is the social and geographical range of the audience, for though the purchasers were both male, those who accessed the ballad included adult and child, female and male, metropolitan and provincial, English and Scottish. The audiences that we see were urban and of the middling sorts. There is also an audience that we do not see in Scotland, of whom we can know nothing. The performance and reception of the ballad are also interesting. Dr Seaton, whose

¹⁵⁹ CSPD 1640-41, p. 169, 189.

¹⁶⁰ Martin Parker, *Britaines Honour. In The Two Valiant Welchmen, Who Fought Against Fifteene Thousand Scots, At Their Now Comming To England* (1640), b/l, Wood 401 (131), printed at some point after July and before 13 October 1640.

¹⁶¹ It is discussed at some length below, ch. 4.

¹⁶² A facsimile of the signatures can be found in Wood, *Life*, Vol. I. pp. 48-9.

subsequent comments about Archbishop Laud make it clear that he connected the subject matter - and perhaps the author of the ballad - with the Archbishop, reads the text aloud to people who are only half listening. Mrs Black remembers it was a funny ballad with 'some jesting passages', but that is all. Dr Seaton, who likes to share his good humour and his political views, as well as reading the ballad aloud to the assembled throng, has sent another copy of the text elsewhere where its full ironic properties will be properly appreciated. Of Anthony Wood's reception we know a great deal less, but his interest proves no less significant. As well as defacing the un-printed parts of his new ballad, which suggests he had it to hand, we must assume he also read the text, and enjoyed it as he went on to buy many more.

The interaction of orality and literacy and the informality of transmission and distribution this story uncovers, along with the sheer extent of the reaches of Parker's ballad, gives some idea of how broadside ballads may have brought together an 'imagined community' of England. Although it was clearly not a united community, Seaton's reading of Parker's ballad in no way reflects the author's intention. The combination of established methods of personal transmission by word of mouth and personal post, and the formal process of distribution represented by the trade routes of pedlar and book-seller and systems of fairs and markets, meant the influence of the black-letter ballad could be far-ranging, appealing and completely accessible to old and young. One notable aspect to emerge from this case is that the purchasers of this ballad appear to be buying words not music. Though in the case of Dr Seaton the performer is known, there is no indication of singing.¹⁶³ Another point to note is that it was Dr Seaton's seditious words, not the ballad, that were being subjected to governmental scrutiny. The ultimate fate of the three copies mentioned here is also significant. One was distributed by post to Scotland, while another was folded and pulled in and out of a pocket to be read and shared. Both these copies were lost. The paper of a ballad

¹⁶³ Many examples of ballad exhortation to read or sing can be found see e.g. *A Good Wish For England* (1641) 669.f.4(40), 'Buy and Read or Sing with me',

was rarely robust enough to survive for long the kind of treatment its performance required. The third copy, however, benefited from the less gregarious and antiquarian character of its purchaser. Rather than being handed around, it became part of a collection, giving us the only copy in existence. Since it was unregistered, there was no formal record of this ballad's existence.

While it seems apparent that there was an enormous market for cheap print of every kind, we cannot say for sure beyond a very few examples who the consumers of political ballads actually were, nor how many or of what 'sort'. This has left historians sceptical about the reach of the ballad beyond the middling sorts, or at best an urban population as seen in the example above.¹⁶⁴ Though work by Spufford on small books, Frearson on corantos and Knights on seditious literature has done much to establish that there were trade routes and systems which enabled printed goods to be distributed throughout the country effectively and speedily - of particular importance where products were topical - Barry Reay comments, 'It has to be said that the evidence is rather fragmentary and elusive'.¹⁶⁵ Reay argues that barriers of cost and distribution suggest that printed products were more likely to have been bought in large numbers by a few wealthy and literate households and he surmises, 'it would

¹⁶⁴ It could be argued that black-letter and white-letter ballads appealed primarily to the middling sorts. The idea of a distinct middle-class culture was pioneered by L.B. Wright, though in this analysis, the middling sorts responded most strongly to Puritanism and it was they who were responsible for many of the attacks on traditional culture, which does not seem to suggest a ballad consumer: L.B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (2nd edn, New York, 1958). However, as Barry Reay has argued, the idea of a separate middle class culture has its problems - 'we must guard against replicating the same kind of cultural homogeneities for this "group" that we are challenging elsewhere. The point is that this variegated group - comprising 20 to 40 per cent of early modern English households - disrupts neat bipolarities': Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p. 204. In a collection of essays edited by J. Barry and C. Brooks, *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (London, 1994), Jonathan Barry's Introduction and D'Cruze's essay 'The Middling Sort in Eighteenth-Century Colchester' look in detail at just who the middling sort may have been and what their role in society was *vis a vis* the upper sorts. D'Cruze defines the middling sorts as 'independent trading households' (pp. 2, 186-187, 207) which, Barry suggests, could account for up to 50 per cent of families (p. 3). The picture that emerges of the middling sorts from this analysis is of a very broad class band based on economic independence and a social and political interdependence between middling and upper sorts. A 'group' of this very large size, who additionally shared an interest with the upper sorts in the genre, seems more likely as a potential ballad market.

¹⁶⁵ Spufford, *Small Books*, and *The Great Reclotting of Rural England* (London, 1984); M. Frearson, 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Serials and their Readers, 1620-1914* (Winchester, 1993); Knights *Politics and Opinion*; Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p. 49.

have been really tempting for the ... distributors of cheap literature to have targeted ... consumers in the towns'.¹⁶⁶ The 'urban' nature of print has been supported by Ian Maxted, who points out that the outlying villages of Devon did not receive printed material until the latter end of the eighteenth century.¹⁶⁷

If, as Maxted suggests, parts of Devon saw no printed matter until the eighteenth century, parts of Cornwall certainly did. A Cornish petition of the 1640s complained about pamphlets that 'flye abroad in such swarmes, as are able to cloud the pure ayre of truth, and present a darke ignorance to those who have not the two wings of justice and knowledge to fly above them'.¹⁶⁸ Evidence from court records shows that balladeers and hawkers were imprisoned or tried in places as distant as Ely and Devizes, Bridgwater, Norwich, Middlesex, York and Loughborough.¹⁶⁹ Laurence Morris was committed to Ely gaol in 1681 for dispersing almost 1400 copies of *Vox Populi, Vox Dei*. He had received them from Philip Brooksby in London, and those he could not sell he simply scattered about.¹⁷⁰ Thanks to Morris's information, his fellow political hawker, Lawrence White, came to the attention of the authorities as one who 'rides to fairs and markets with pamphlets to inflame the people'.¹⁷¹ Although the cases that came before the courts were almost inevitably urban, both performers and their ballads sometimes originated in the countryside. In 1653, for example, Thomas Smyth of Hungerton and Thomas Squire of Loughborough were both sent to the

¹⁶⁶ Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p. 48. However, cf Jonathan Barry's more optimistic view on this same point in Jonathan Barry, 'Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective' in Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp. 74-75, 79-82.

¹⁶⁷ Ian Maxted, 'Single Sheets from a Country Town: the Example of Exeter' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Spreading the Word: The Distribution Networks of Print 1530-1850* (Winchester, 1990), p. 128.

¹⁶⁸ *Petition of Gentlemen of County of Cornwall* (1642), A Volume of Petitions Remonstrances, 1636-1675, BL.190.912(53).

¹⁶⁹ For Ely, Norwich and Loughborough, see this page and fn 170 below; Devizes: B. H Cunnington (ed.), *Records of the County of Wiltshire* (Devizes, 1932), p. 230: 'Wm. Withers of Devizes sent to the house of correction by the Mayor for singing ballads contrary to the statute in 1655 and sharply punished.'; Bridgwater, Middlesex, York examples, see p. 88 below.

¹⁷⁰ Margaret Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues and Vagabonds: Restoration Control of Pedlars and Hawkers' in P. Isaac, and B. McKay (eds), *The Mighty Engine The Printing Press and its Impact* (Winchester, 2000), p. 92; Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p.170, cites the same case including the complaint 'what he could not dispose of for money, he scattered up and down gratis'.

¹⁷¹ *CSPD 1680 - 81*, 11 April 1681; Knights *Politics and Opinion*, p. 174; Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues', p. 92.

Bridewell in Leicester for singing ballads in the city, showing that some balladeers came from the country into the town to sell their wares. Similarly, schoolchildren in Leicester were heard singing a libel against Cromwell which, upon investigation, turned out to have been brought into the city by John Hall, a fiddler from Hinckley and several copies were sold by him, for example, to a saddler, John Fawcett.¹⁷² There was a continual interchange between the town and country with fairs and markets attracting rich and poor from all the outlying villages. Barry Reay himself admits that markets and fairs could operate to bring people of all sorts together creating a 'cultural mix'.¹⁷³

The purchase of ballads by wealthy households for the purposes of gift-giving could also be a means of dissemination. Nicholas Blundell, a squire, overcame the barrier of cost and transcended the urban boundary by distributing ballads to his workers in the fields of Lancashire.¹⁷⁴ In Westmoreland, Daniel Fleming and his wife bought many ballads virtually every year from pedlars and from fiddlers at fairs and they often gave money to musicians at entertainments. As part of their Christmas preparations they hired in the 1660s a piper and in the 1670s a fiddler to play and almost always had 'New Years Boys' to sing over the holiday period.¹⁷⁵ Daniel Fleming expressly bought ballads at Ambleside fair as gifts for 'my young men'.¹⁷⁶ The number of times they come across music being played, as shown by the frequent payments made, and the easy access and means by which this northern family obtained ballads, books, newsletters and gazettes is a testament to the thriving and successful

¹⁷² Leicester County Record Office, Hall Papers, BR11/18/26B, f.530 and BR11/18/27, f.566.

¹⁷³ Reay, *Popular Cultures*, pp. 205-206

¹⁷⁴ B.J. Bagley (ed.), *The Great Diurnall of Nicholas Blundell* (2 Vols, 1972), Vol. 1, p. 91.

¹⁷⁵ Flemings, *Accounts*, Vol. I, p. 402, 1660, May 28 'ballats 6d.'; p. 407, 1661, July 24, 'Disbursed by my wife for ballads etc 4s . 6d.'; 1662 January 10 'Given to Ro Benson [a piper] for playing all Xmas, 5s.'; p. 408, 1662, March 3 'Paid for Gloves Pictures and Ballads 2s. 4d.'; p. 418, 1663, Jan 8 'given unto Ro. Benson for his piping here this Xmas, 5s.'; p. 427, 1666, February 23 'Paid for ballads etc 1s.'; p. 471, 1674, Dec 9 'Paid for Ballads 1s.'; p. 482, 1676, October 19th 'for Ballads 6d. given ye Fidler 6d.' [from now on a fiddler (usually 'Rainy Fiddler') rather than a piper plays at Christmas]; p. 494, 1679 April 16, 'Paid for 7 ballads to my children 3d.'; p. 502, 1680 May 12 'Paid for 8 ballads 4d.'. Vol. II. p. 330, 1683 April 13 'paid for ballads 6d.'; p. 352, 1684, January 9 'Paid to a pedlar for Bookes and Ballads 6s'; p. 368-369, p. 307, April 18 'paid unto Robert Satherthwait Fiddler in full of all work, 8s. 6d.'; p. 352, 1684 January 9 'paid to a pedlar for Bookes and Ballads [no sum recorded]'.

¹⁷⁶ Flemings, *Accounts*, Vol. II, p. 369, 1686 'Paid for 9 ballads for my young men'. Fleming seems to have bought them at Ambleside fair as the previous item is '1s. to Rainy Fiddler at Ambleside Fair'.

distribution of the print trade. Also, despite being a magistrate of some importance in the county, Fleming can only be seen as encouraging the ballad trade both as print and performance.

Though an early example, letters in the papers of the Herrick family of Beaumanor, Leicestershire, also offer some useful insights. Ballads were clearly a pleasure shared by the young men of the family. William Heyricke was apprentice to a goldsmith in London when in 1579 his impecunious cousin Thomas wrote 'that he cannot find the ballad for which he had asked, nor remember the words'. In 1584, Thomas wrote to thank William for sending two books and a ballad, and sends in return a bone comb as a New Year's gift. Thomas also hoped 'the market in New Year gifts had been profitable' for his brother.¹⁷⁷ The purchasing of ballads went far beyond just one or two. In a further, undated letter Thomas asked his brother to send 'six pictures and one hundred ballads', as many of 'Shaking of the Sheets' and 'Mannington' as he can. He is sending twenty pence for this, but they may come to more, in which case he is to ask the bearer of the letter for the excess.'¹⁷⁸ Since only 300 sheets now remain for the whole of the sixteenth century and here we have someone buying a hundred at a time, this serves to make crystal clear just how much of the ballad world we have lost.

It seems reasonable to assume that cost may have restricted the purchase of cheap print to husbandman categories and above.¹⁷⁹ Chapbooks, almanacs and pamphlets could cost between 2d. and 6d. while most ballads sold for anything between a halfpenny and 2d.¹⁸⁰ Anthony Wood was still paying 1d. per ballad in 1663, but the Flemings' purchases in the later part of the century suggest a cost of about a halfpenny per ballad, while Luttrell may be indicating a halfpenny when he puts a d. with a stroke through it instead of 1d. on his

¹⁷⁷ Bodleian Library Ms.Eng.hist.c.474, fols.74 -5.

¹⁷⁸ Bodleian Library Ms.Eng.hist.c.474, fols 152, 159. I am quoting here from the calendar extract as it appears via the search engine <http://www.a2a.org.uk/>.

¹⁷⁹ See Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 261.

¹⁸⁰ Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 261; Capp, *Astrology*, p. 41. A broadside printed by Michael Spark senior cost 2d., see 669.f.10(11)

broad-sides.¹⁸¹ In 1641 Henry Peacham's much reprinted and adapted *The Worth of a Penny* said that, 'For a penny you may have all the Newes in England, of Murders, Floods, Witches, Fires, Tempests, and what not, in one of *Martin Parkers Ballads*'. In the 1667 edition this line was changed to read 'in the weekly news-books', perhaps because Parker was known to be dead, or because ballads were no longer that price.¹⁸² Sometimes ballads were deliberately made very expensive, limiting their accessibility; for example white-letter broadside poems on Edmund Calamy's imprisonment cost 2d., while a black-letter verse broadside, *The Cabal*, cost 6d.¹⁸³ Books were hugely expensive by comparison; the renowned 'King's Book', *Eikon Basilike* (1649), cost between 8s and 10s.¹⁸⁴ The 1662 anthology of Rump ballads cost 3s.¹⁸⁵ Crouch's histories cost one or two shillings, Sydney's *Arcadia* in a bound edition cost 9s., while Holinshed's *Chronicles* cost £1. 6s.¹⁸⁶

Despite the costs, there is good evidence that money was laid out for printed products by the lower sorts. Apprentices and maids had low incomes but their terms usually included all their board, lodging and even clothes. This meant their wages, though small, were in fact disposable income.¹⁸⁷ There are many references to young people buying 'fairings', such as

¹⁸¹ Wood, *Life*, Vol. I., p.486 'February, 17 T[uesday], to Jones for three ballads, 3d.' Clarke believes one of these ballads must be *The Careless Curate* (1663) - discussed above - which was dated Feb 1662 (old style).

¹⁸² Henry Peacham, *The vworth of a penny [sic]* (editions in 1641, 1664, 1667, 1677, 1690), lists a number of entertainments that could be bought for a penny, including, in the 1667 edition, 'you may heare a most eloquent Oration upon our English Kings and Queenes, if keeping your hands off, you will seriously listen to *David Owen*, who keeps the Monuments in Westminster', going to see the Lions, climbing to the top of St Paul's (though surely not in 1667!), a dish of coffee (this must be another alteration from 1641), a horn book, an almanack or a news-book.

¹⁸³ Wood, *Life*, Vol. I., p. 468. *The Cabal* (m/s 18 February 1680), b/1 no w/c, C20.f4(23) has '6d' marked on it.

¹⁸⁴ See quotation from Verney Memoirs, 1892, II, p. 402 in Jane Roberts, *The King's Head* (Royal Collection, 1999), p. 35, fn.75. The book remained expensive even after the Restoration.

¹⁸⁵ Fleming, *Accounts*, Vol. I, p. 416, Daniel Fleming paid 3s. for a copy of 'ye Rump Songs' in July 1662.

¹⁸⁶ Reay, *Popular Cultures*, p. 56.

¹⁸⁷ Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority. Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 220-221: 'Fees were quite generous. Nor were 'pocket money' from home or money wages the only sources of income'. He also points out that 'youth' and ballad sellers were seen as one problem with the terms 'boyes' and 'idle youths' levied against balladeers. See also David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 129, who points out that 'servants and apprentices in London were ... extraordinarily literate' with 31 per cent inability to sign although he gives a figure of 76 per cent inability to sign for servants in Norwich, Exeter and Durham. He admits, however, that both of these figures are based on very limited evidence.

ribbons, trinkets and ballads, and we should not assume, moreover, that people spent only money they could afford. In 1681, Justice Scroggs declared that the poor would 'deny their children a penny for bread, they will lay it out for a pamphlet'.¹⁸⁸ Lorna Weatherill's study of inventories, where ballads and small books were often not mentioned, found that even labourers and husbandmen between 1675 and 1725 spent perhaps four per cent of their income on books. This was the lowest proportion; the next lowest was seventeen per cent for lower class trades, reflecting the urban market for print.¹⁸⁹ John Styles has shown that servant girls would go into debt in order to buy fashionable clothes they thought important, while some notable bibliophiles, such as George Thomason and Nehemiah Wallington, demonstrate that people buy what they want despite their needs or capacity to spend.¹⁹⁰ In an economy where much purchasing was done on credit or by barter, it would be feasible to buy a great many things without the cash means to pay for them. No wonder that in so many ballads, the ballad-singer demands either cash or a drink.

It was not necessary to possess an item, of course, in order to know what it said. It was common practice to share printed material, while ballad-singers, professional fiddlers and their boy singers transmitted songs without necessarily selling sheets. In this sense the professional performer was as much a consumer of the product as the man on the street. It was important that they sustained a broad repertoire, and an advantage that it was only through an intimate knowledge of a very wide range of ballads that the correct tune to a ballad could be deciphered. As Walter Ong pointed out, although print 'technologised' the spoken and written word, the oral form nevertheless survived.¹⁹¹ In David Zaret's phrase, the ballad

¹⁸⁸ Quoted in Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 170.

¹⁸⁹ Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660-1760* (1988), see p. 168, Table 8.1 and esp. her study of husbandman, Richard Latham's accounts.

¹⁹⁰ John Styles, 'Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England' in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003). Paul S. Seaver, *Wallington's World, A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth Century London* (1985) p. 5, and see his entry in the new Oxford DNB: '[Wallington] admitted to spending too much on books, particularly on news-sheets during the 1640s, and had a library of more than 200 works'; see David Stoker's entry in the Oxford DNB, which points out that Thomason died a poor man, his wealth being tied up in his collection.

¹⁹¹ W. Ong, *Orality and Literacy. The Technologising of the Word* (London, 1982).

and all oral performance of print took the 'imposition of dialogic order', which was such a feature of the development of print culture from the 1640s, beyond the boundary of literacy.¹⁹² Whilst ballad texts frequently addressed their audience as readers as well as listeners, the fact was that ballads could be passed on and accessed without recourse to the printed object and were geared to group rather than individual reception.

It is difficult to do more than add further fragments to the 'fragmentary evidence' already provided by other scholars of the widespread distribution of the cheapest political print, but the elusiveness of the subject is due to its ubiquity not to its absence. Too ordinary to be mentioned, even political balladeers appear to have been so unremarkable as to make significantly few appearances in the record. Since, as I have suggested, black-letter ballads were rarely offensive to the state, this is perhaps not surprising. Even if they were potentially offensive, both printer and author could hide behind anonymity, and when taken hawkers, frequently women, would refuse to talk. Abigail Price, a pregnant hawker, was taken with a quantity of pamphlets and newsbooks but refused to say where she got her wares. The authorities could do nothing, and she was released.¹⁹³ The fact that so many ballads were successfully printed and sold without official sanction is an indication that the focus of state censorship was rarely to prevent the distribution of this kind of material.

There were several unsuccessful attempts to suppress hawkers in London and elsewhere, and though this sometimes led to arrests, the need for reiteration itself testifies to their failure.¹⁹⁴ The use of satire made censorship difficult, as it could not easily be prosecuted

¹⁹² Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton, 2000), ch. 7, esp. pp. 177-178. Also see J. Holstun and S. Achinstein on Bakhtin's 'dialogical model' in J. Holstun (ed.), *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (London, 1992).

¹⁹³ Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, p. 211. Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, pp. 163-4, suggests that for printers of seditious material there was an expectation of fines and imprisonment and most had enough put by to cope with a few months in prison, or could rely on political clubs like the Green Ribbon Club to bail them out. See Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues', pp. 89-96, on post-Restoration attempts to suppress pedlars in the provinces because of their role in the distribution of seditious literature.

¹⁹⁴ Reports in the papers suggested draconian penalties. For example in February 1651, *Perfect Passages*, 30 (31 January-7 Feb 1651), pp. 202-3, reported the Lord Mayor's enforcement of laws against the buying or selling of 'scandalous or libellous ballads, pamphlets etc', and in May, *Severall Proceedings in Parliament*, 85 (8-15 May 1661) p. 1295, reported that people had been arrested for buying and selling unlicensed publications, some of them being fined 40s., which was a warning to all sellers of print 'though but a sheet of paper for a penny'. Nevertheless, unlicensed and political ballads

in the courts.¹⁹⁵ Mark Knights has described how hawkers had to be restrained from crying their wares outside the royal court.¹⁹⁶ The ballad was an especially slippery product as it could be transmitted to crowds, private and public, both through print and orally, often in circumstances when tongues and inhibitions had been loosened, in taverns and alehouses. Archbishop Laud himself despaired of ever bringing print under control; it was reported to him that there was just one 'parish clerk chosen to view all the ballets before they were printed, but he refuseth to doe it'. Though the clerk was ordered to do it, the papers state, 'This is not worth the sentence of the court'.¹⁹⁷ Later Roger L'Estrange, as licenser of the press, was to complain constantly about the lack of co-operation from the Stationers' Company, counting that 'between 1660 and 1664 there had been 460 "treasonable and schismatic" books published'.¹⁹⁸ He wrote to Secretary Jenkins in 1682 arguing that many publishers distributed outside London first in order to avoid the censor.¹⁹⁹

Despite laws and occasional crack-downs, ballad-singers remained an integral part of the urban and rural landscape, acting as cultural mediators between town and country, centre and periphery, and indeed increased in number rather than otherwise. Their presence was an irritation but was nevertheless accepted, indeed, as Daniel Fleming's dealings demonstrate, even welcomed. Only a very few records of political singing can be found in court records. When balladeers appear before the authorities it is because they tended to be a rowdy, drunken and frequently dishonest lot. The eternal combination of drink and song conveyed by the term 'pot poet' extended to performance as well as creation, and the relationship of ballad-singing with cut-purses or robbery was not simply a theatrical construction. In 1621

continued to be sold - a number were even registered in 1656 and 1657; see below, ch. 4. On inadequacy of censorship see Sheila Lambert, 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice, the Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640' in R. Myers and M. Harris (eds), *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600-1910* (Winchester, 1992); Anthony Milton 'Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (1998); R.L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet. Radicals and Non-Conformists in Britain 1664-1677* (California, 1990).

¹⁹⁵ Greaves, *Enemies*, p. 178.

¹⁹⁶ Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 183

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in S. Lambert 'State Control of the Press', p. 11.

¹⁹⁸ Greaves, *Enemies*, p. 167.

¹⁹⁹ Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues', p. 91.

John Jeffrey was taken before the Bridewell court because 'he useth that course to draw company together for his m[aste]r to pick purses', and Parker himself was taken for alleged pickpocketing in 1629.²⁰⁰ But such misdeeds were not the only crimes of distraction ballad-singers committed. In 1651 Helen Aspinall, wife of a 'musitian', was bound over because the inhabitants of Cow Crosse, Clerkenwell said her ballad-singing was 'the cause of many tumults and uproares at Smythfield barrs, the butchers complayning that their meate is stolen off their stalls there by pilfering people that doe accompany and follow the sayd Helen Aspinall'.²⁰¹ Richard Baxter famously wrote about a pedlar calling at his father's door selling ballad-sheets, and it seems to have been a fairly common practice to offer a song at a door.²⁰² This could also give thieves the opportunity to use ballad-singing as a distraction to break into homes; thus, in 1684 a group of men, one Irish, having been drinking in a house and seeing the plate locked up in a trunk, 'sent first one and then another of their companions, down to the street-door to sing a ballad, that by the help of that noise it might not be heard when they pick'd the locks of the said trunk.'²⁰³

Whilst ballads were accepted, ballad-singers were thus regarded as 'idle' and as 'vagrants', a disruptive influence and potential strain on the parish purse. When taken, as Methuselah Flowers, 'rogue and balladsinger', was in London in September 1642, they were always given a discreditable name. Flowers had quite a history; he came from Tewkesbury, and was arrested again in 1654 in Bristol for 'singing of ballads thereby contracting people together in a tumultuous manner'.²⁰⁴ Ballad singers were described as enticers of 'lewd persons', singers of 'bawdy songs', 'night-walkers' and beggars, rather than as political

²⁰⁰ Guildhall Library, Bridewell Court Books MS 33011/6, f.243, 28 July 1621. MS 33011/7, f.105, 6 January 1629.

²⁰¹ LMA, MJ/SR/1062/126, 22 January 1651.

²⁰² N.H. Keeble (ed.). *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter* (1974), p. 7.

²⁰³ *Proceedings Of The Old Bailey*, t16841008-9 8 October 1684.

²⁰⁴ Guildhall Library, MS 33011/8, 30 September 1642, Methuselah Flowers 'rogue and balladsinger'; A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men* (1985), p. 98.

subversives, although the fact that they could draw a crowd was always cause for concern, increasingly so during the civil war and Interregnum.²⁰⁵

That political balladeering could raise and reflect the temperature of political emotion was occasionally noticed on the record. In 1643 *Mercurius Aulicus* judged that popular opinion had changed by the content of the ballads being sung on the street: 'the ballad singers were that day heard to sing some ballads in commendation of the king, and dispraise of the two Houses which triviall circumstance shewes that there is a declination of that dreadful power which formerly awed and kept under all degrees of people.'²⁰⁶ In 1645 men in Middlesex were taken for singing songs against Parliament in a tavern.²⁰⁷ In July 1649 soldiers in London were raised to a fury by an old ballad-singer, who was defended by the local traders; 'This Evening a poor woman singing of a Ballad neer Creplegate, a trooper standing by, assayl'd her, and tore her Ballads, insomuch that many Butchers and others, came out of their shops [and] rescued her, and endeavoured to pacifie this young Gallant', however, other soldiers joined the fray, and it turned into a major brawl.²⁰⁸ In April 1658 in Derbyshire, one Samuel Buckberry was accused of singing a song and proposing a health to the late King and his son.²⁰⁹ In 1664, James Wright, a ballad singer from County Durham, was prosecuted for saying Cromwell was better than the King.²¹⁰ In 1683 at Bridgwater fair a satirical ballad,

²⁰⁵ Guildhall Library, MS 33011/6, 12 February 1619/20, Mark Water 'a ballad singer and common rogue', and 11 November, Robert Guy, 'vagrant that useth to sell ballads and books and liveth idly and will not work'; f.237v, 23 June 1621, James Stanley 'liveth idly, a ballet singing', MS 33011/7, f.74v, 24 May 1628, Aylesly Boulton who was taken in a ballad singers house at 1 am, and was 'reputed to entice lewd persons'; MS 33011/9, f.441, 24 May 1650, Ellen Sharpe 'vagrant ballad singer', and Mabell Sherwood 'vagrant balladsinger; f.469, 8 November 1650, Elizabeth Walker, 'balladsinger and common nightwalker'; f.524, 21 January 1651/2, Edward Burgess taken for 'begging and singing bawdy songs'. I am very grateful to Professor Bernard Capp for all these Bridewell and London references. See David Scott Kastan, 'Performances and Playbooks: the Closing of the Theatres and the Politics of Drama', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 167-184 on crowds being seen as more dangerous to the Interregnum government than reading. Balladeers attracted drunken crowds more often than not, see Kent Quarter Sessions Q/SRp/m.4v [n.d. {1630-31}], Thomas Hacking fiddler ... continued fiddling till night so that a great company of people assembled there and William Gilbert sold his ale'.

²⁰⁶ *Mercurius Aulicus* (Thursday 20 July 1643), p. 409. My thanks to Dr Catherine Armstrong for drawing my attention to this passage.

²⁰⁷ J.C. Jeaffreson (ed.), *Middlesex County Records* (4 vols, Middlesex County Records Society, 1886 – 92), 3, p. 178.

²⁰⁸ *The Moderate Messenger*, 14 (23-30 July 1649), p. 93.

²⁰⁹ Derbyshire Records Office: Derbyshire Quarter Sessions, Q/SB/2/629, 24 April 1658.

²¹⁰ J. Raine (ed.), *Depositions from the Castle of York*, (Surtees Society, 40, 1861), p. 94.

called by the authorities, 'a parcel of vermin', against the Duke of York, was openly sung and sold, though the Mayor simply laughed at the complaints made to him about it.²¹¹ Also in the 1680s violent crowds in both London and Cheshire sang political drinking ballads that threatened violence to those who would not join in their loyal healths.²¹²

Conclusion

It is indisputable that the poorer sorts, rural and urban, may have been cut off from many sections of the print world by price, literacy or availability. But the ballad could transcend these barriers, once we take into account the implications of orality, borrowing, gifting and the second-hand trade, along with the fact that the poor often came into towns to markets and fairs and could hear ballads sung along with everyone else. Though the evidence is fragmentary, these fragments are sufficiently plentiful to make it plausible that almost everyone had some access to the world of cheap print and so had a good chance of finding out about the political world of the broadside ballad.

²¹¹ Robin Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion* (London, 1984), p.65. Bell, 'Sturdy Rogues', pp. 92.

²¹² See below, ch. 5.

SECTION II

The Medium

'Literature is News that stays news'

Ezra Pound, *The ABC of Reading* (1961)

CHAPTER TWO

The Ballad as News or the Ballad as Muse?

i. The myth of the 'news-ballad'

In 1689 a satirical white-letter ballad called *The Gazet in Metre; or The Rhiming Newsmonger*, made an attack on the proliferating newsprint of the time:

Since the whole World is so set upon News,
And every Tom Farthing's a Statist;
Catching at Stories, of Turks and of Jews;
Of Protestant also and Papist:
Instead of a whining dull Ballad of Love,
I'll give you a Gazet in Metre.

The ballad both satirised and set itself apart from the news that could be read in the London Gazettes in 1689. It mimicked the way gazettes cited their anonymous sources, such as 'Letters from Rome say', 'ditto informs us', 'Advice ... out of Holland and Flanders' and their dubious spin on information, such as 'The success of the Dutch against France has its Ri[se]/ From the conduct of English commanders.' The ballad deemed all this information as merely tedious - 'I care not a pin'; 'I'm of an indifferent temper' - and sardonically congratulated the Gazetteers for their wild imagination: 'Your stories exceed all the Records of Fame,/And go beyond Poets Devising'. In conclusion, the balladeer claimed that only the poetry of a ballad could give due credit to great events: 'Such mighty successes our brave armies does crown,/as cannot be matched in Story.'¹

In this chapter I will argue that the current entrenched view of scholars, already alluded to in chapter one, that the political ballad functioned primarily as a particularly inefficient purveyor of news, and that as such it suffered a demise in the face of competition

¹ *The Gazet in Metre; or The Rhiming Newsmonger* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.124

from other more successful journalistic productions needs some radical reconsideration. I do not, of course, seek to suggest that ballads had nothing to do with the dissemination of news, rather I hope to show that ballads functioned as muse rather than news in early modern English society, seeking to teach, to satirise and to comment on the meaning of events rather than to inform about them, and that their success depended upon an already efficient and widespread oral dissemination of news. Without prior knowledge, it was impossible to understand many ballads - or to get the joke, if there was one. Thus the *primary* function of ballads was not to spread the news but the fact that they could comment on political events to the vast extent that they did, demonstrates that domestic political news of every kind was widely available and debated at every level across the country, throughout the seventeenth century.

In the first half of this chapter I will survey and critique the historiographical background to the current orthodoxy and I will make a case both for a new narrative of ballad history and a new formulation of the function of the political ballad. In the second part of the chapter I will assess ballad coverage of events in the light of this altered conceptual framework.

Myth making

The historiography of the English broadside ballad as a political news vehicle seems to have been a matter for little debate - indeed, the pioneering historian of the early English news media in the sixteenth century, M.A. Shaaber, suggested, perhaps of little importance.² The now universally accepted story goes something like this: from the development of printing to the mid-seventeenth century, broadsides of various kinds, proclamations, edicts, and especially so-called 'news-ballads', along with occasional pamphlets sold and cried in the

² M.A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476-1622* (Philadelphia, 1929, reprint 1966): 'the form in which news was printed throughout the period under discussion ... is not a matter of importance', p. 11.

streets, were the only way for the ordinary populace to get information about domestic or foreign political news.³ Shaaber suggested that unlike 'ancient popular ballads' which were 'specimen[s] of the art of the people', what he called 'news-ballads' were 'a second class of ballad'.⁴ Ballad news was invariably thin, irregular and largely moralistic rather than informative, in fact so uninformative that Shaaber argued, 'we must conclude either that the news secreted in [ballads] was sufficient for their readers, or that unable to buy better news ... they were content with what they could get'.⁵ From about 1620, translations of Dutch 'corantos' came to England.⁶ With them came hard (if sometimes dull) information about foreign news never before available to what was assumed to be a heavily censored English press (hence, as above, news had been 'secreted' in ballads). When suppressed in 1632 by a government concerned about undue public access to news, 'news-ballads' took up the role of the coranto until the collapse of censorship in 1640 led to the emergence of the news book, and ultimately to serial gazettes and daily newspapers. The inadequate 'news-ballad' was no longer needed as a source of information and could not compete. Indeed, as one historian has argued, ballad news would have been 'intolerably silly to a commercial society,' whereas serial news - letters or papers - 'were particularly suited to a mercantile class'.⁷ The 'news-ballad' was not sufficiently serious to play a part in a Habermasian 'public sphere'.⁸ Thus, ballads fell into political obscurity, declining in number and ultimately disappearing with the dawn of the eighteenth century. I hope to show that what Philip Jenkins, in another context,

³ See, for example, S. Shesgreen (ed.), *The Criers and Hawkers of London* (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 100, 186; F. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England 1476-1776* (Urbana, 1952), p. 118; L. Shephard, *The Broadside Ballad* (1962), p. 24; Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 190; J. Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (Sutton, Gloucs., 2001), p. 5.

⁴ Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 189-190

⁵ Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 114.

⁶ Incidentally, they came to France too in that year, but by 1631 serial news had arrived in France via the *Nouvelles ordinaires* and the Richelieu-sponsored *Gazette* under the editorship of T. Renaudot: Marie-Noele Grand-Mesnil, *Mazarin, La Fronde et la Presse, 1647-1649* (Paris, 1967), pp. 23-25.

⁷ C. J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England* (New York and Oxford, 1996), p. 27.

⁸ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (trans., 1989). Also see the useful discussion by Joad Raymond 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century' in J. Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (2002), pp. 109-140.

has described as ‘ the accretions and variations that accompany a developing academic folklore,’ applies directly to this narrative.⁹

This highly influential story, originally told entirely from the point of view of the present, has been uncritically received and embellished by historians and literary scholars for well over a century.¹⁰ Following the example of early work by J.W. Ebsworth, H.E. Rollins, M. Shaaber, F. Siebert and L. Shephard, the story has been retold in newspaper histories from Joseph Frank’s in the 1960s to Joad Raymond’s in 2003. In order to un-pick the development of this ‘tale of the ballad as news,’ let us consider the ‘accretions and variations’ developed by literary and historical scholars over the years on the relationship between news-press and ballad.

We will begin our story in the nineteenth century when the ‘riotous’ editor of the Roxburghe and Bagford ballad collections, the Rev. J.W. Ebsworth, said of the ballad that, ‘They were the news-sheets of their day; with their other side left blank, pasted on walls’.¹¹ Ebsworth commented on *A Looking Glass for Traytors* (1678), a ballad on the execution of the popish plotter, Edward Coleman that it:

offers a fair specimen of the uses to which such broadsides were turned, as substitutes for cheap newspapers among the lower classes, on occasions of excitement ... the public journals, issued from either camp of rival pamphleteers during the excitement

⁹ Philip Jenkins, ‘From Gallows to Prison? The Execution Rate in Early Modern England’, *Criminal Justice History*, 7 (1986), pp. 51-71, p. 53.

¹⁰ For purveyors of this narrative see Shesgreen, *The Criers and Hawkers*, p. 100: ‘A form of musical journalism, ballad singing was an organised, extensive business giving livelihoods to printers and tavern poets in the seventeenth century (before it dropped off when newspapers multiplied)’; p. 186: ‘The same class of people who in the middle ages cried out declarations of war etc became, in the seventeenth century, the hawkers and mercury women’ selling government announcements, legal notices, and newspapers - official and unofficial.’ David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton, 2000), p. 11: ‘[the] printed ballad as a genre declined as its functions were assumed by printed news and chapbooks.’ H. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1603-1640* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 186: ‘for the first two decades of the century printers ... published such news as they could get in the form of pamphlets or broadsheet ballads. In the next decade news appeared in a new form known as the coranto ... This form of newspaper soon gave way to small quarto newsbooks.’ Bold, *The Ballad*, p. 67: ‘the broadsides were the metrical journalism of the masses.’

¹¹ J. W. Ebsworth, *RB*. VIII, p.xvii*** (*sic*).

of the Popish Plot, gave only meagre scraps of information. Details were sought in broadside ballads.

The fact that this ballad was published after the event was already well known, gave few details and had a clear political and moral agenda, was simply ignored.¹²

In 1923, Hyder Rollins, the still much esteemed ballad-scholar, argued that as ballad writers (such as Martin Parker and Samuel Shepherd) were involved in writing some of the early news books, *ergo*, they had always been trying to achieve the same thing as news-book writers – information for the public - which ballads were increasingly unable to do.¹³ He wrote that:

Ballad writers helped to develop a medium that led to some diminution in the popularity of the ballad and, ultimately, to its decay ... the range of ballads was greatly lessened and their clientele diminished. That newspapers, through the stages of corantos and the books of news, arose from ballads is indisputable, but equally important is the fact that, in the beginning of the newspapers, professional ballad-writers and ballad - singers played an important part.¹⁴

Rollins frequently used phrases like ‘journalistic endeavours’ and ‘ballad journalism’ in his discussions of political ballads. He took for granted a draconian censorship in early modern England, and he concentrated largely on what he saw as the accuracy or audacity of ballad reporting.¹⁵ However, Rollins made no sustained study of the political aspect of the ballad.¹⁶ Though well versed in ballad lore and variety, Rollins constructed a narrative that

¹² *RB* IV, p. 129. A detailed discussion of all traitor execution ballads of the period follows below.

¹³ *C&P*, pp. 31-44. This view has been repeated for example by Shesgreen, *The Criers and Hawkers*, p.186: ‘[The revolution] created a call for news unprecedented in London. Ballads could not deal with the complexities of political events, so newspapers took their place.’

¹⁴ *C&P*, p. 43.

¹⁵ *C&P*, pp. 47, 49, 52, 58, 251, 273, 284, 304, 309, 315, 361, 477 sees the repetition of the words ‘surprising’ and ‘daring’ about the publication of a political ballad. The frequency of these occasions might perhaps have suggested his viewpoint needed to be reconsidered.

¹⁶ Mark S.R. Jenner ‘The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England’, *Past and Present*, 177 (2002), pp. 84-121, has suggested Rollins wrote extensively on political ballads, but this seems a rather generous commentary on his admittedly numerous but extremely short editorial notes in explanation of individual black-letter ballads.

sought to fit politics into the 'democratic project' of informing the people, central to the hearts of American scholars then and now.¹⁷

Though old, Rollins's views on these matters continue to be influential in informing scholars up to the present day about the nature of the ballad. His *Cavalier and Puritan* collection, for example, still acts as a reference point.¹⁸ In that collection Rollins printed five ballads from 1640. Four were Martin Parker ballads on domestic affairs.¹⁹ Rollins had a particular affection for Parker ballads, believing them to represent the best of balladry, and he had written a brief biography of Martin Parker.²⁰ No doubt this had influenced his selection. In fact, only three dealt with definitive 'events'. *An Exact Description of the manner how his maiestie and his nobles went to the Parliament* was described as 'a fine journalistic account'.²¹ *Britaines Honour*, though set in the real situation of the invaded North, describes a fictional event in which two Welshmen stand up to an army of 10,000 Scots.²² *Newes from New-castle* bemoans the loss of Newcastle, and the death and imprisonment of some of the King's officers, but its main aim was to denounce the Scots as 'not good meaning to England ... a fond opinion (which too many doe conceave)'.²³ *Good Newes from the North* told of a minor skirmish protecting Mr Thomas Pudsie's house from plundering Scottish troops. This ballad, unusually, appended a list of the names of the prisoners taken. Rollins describes this list as 'a typical war bulletin ... showing how admirably seventeenth century ballads were adapted to journalism'.²⁴

How far was it the case that these 'typical' ballads represented a journalism from which listeners might learn for the first time what was happening? In the case of *The Exact*

¹⁷ I would argue the work of Siebert and Zaret also fits into this 'democratic project'.

¹⁸ Note the entry on Martin Parker in the newly published *Oxford DNB*. This states that 'the ballad was seen as a popular news genre' and that Parker's 'news ballads were used as propaganda'. The author, Joad Raymond, does not cite Rollins but in every respect he follows his analysis.

¹⁹ The fifth was an anonymous ballad about the Turk in Germany.

²⁰ H. Rollins, 'Martin Parker' *Modern Philology*, XXV, (1919).

²¹ *C&P*, pp. 77-82

²² *C&P*, pp. 89-94.

²³ *C&P*, pp. 95-99

²⁴ *C&P*, pp. 100-106.

description, what is described is the order and grandeur of the King's procession, both physical (Masters of Chancery, the King's 'Councill') and spiritual – 'the King of Kings did's Angels send'. This is a typical piece of loyal ballad panegyric. One verse declared that parliament was being opened and added the lines, 'For we may be assur'd of this,/ if any thing hath beene amisse,/ Our King and State will all redresse'. This was hardly informative, though it was certainly suggestive - what could have been 'amisse'? The ballad gives no clue. *Britaines Honour* and the fourth ballad, *A True Subject's Wish*, were 'call-up' ballads, exhorting listeners to join up and pay up to support the war, another typical ballad function.²⁵ *News from Newcastle* combined call-up with propaganda in an attempt to convince people that the Scots were rebels, the castigation of rebels and traitors being another traditional ballad function. It gave few details but it admonished the listener that 'three thousand men in Garison/ They left the Town to luke upon, / They seas'd and seal'd th'warehouses all,/ Is this the thing you friendship call?' *Good news from the North* is a description of an insignificant skirmish, though, as Sir Henry Vane wrote to Secretary Windebancke, 'By this you see we begin to recover our hearts and courage.'²⁶ The ballad function here was to engage the emotions of the listener, to boost morale by describing a victory, to condemn the plundering Scots as rebels and to call for more support. Here we see the typical ballad functions are indeed fulfilled - panegyric, call-up and the shaming of traitors - but information was not their prime concern.

Rollins's selection was based on aesthetic preferences. 'Parker's loyalty has an irresistible appeal', he writes, giving a rather skewed impression of ballad politics in the 1640s.²⁷ Twenty-seven political titles no longer extant were registered in 1640. Seven welcomed the opening of parliament in April and a further seven, registered from October welcomed the re-opening of parliament in November. Nine were call-up or military ballads,

²⁵ *C&P*, pp. 83-88.

²⁶ *CSPD 1640 – 41*, p. 80.

²⁷ *C&P*, p. 77.

two were ballads declaring against rebels. Two more were ballads of 'warning' for England. There are extant at least four complete political ballads printed in 1640 not quoted by Rollins, and two ballad fragments about the Bishops wars. Of the whole ballads, *The Lofty Bishop, the Lazy Brownist and the Loyal Author* (a white-letter ballad), *The Subject's Thankfulness : or God a Mercie Good Scot*, and *Alas Said the Papist, Now Wee Must Depart* were pro-Scots and anti-Laudian or anti-Jesuit (pretty much the same thing as far as these ballads were concerned).²⁸ Two scraps in the Manchester collection cannot be dated with certainty though 1640 seems likely; one was pro-Scots, the other attacked Scottish plundering.²⁹ *The Soldiers Delight in the North* (registered in April 1640) was a typical 'Soldier leaving his loved one' call-up ballad.

The Parker ballads are typical, though they take up an unpopular stance (anti-Scots and pro-Charles), but not because they gave 'war-bulletins', as Rollins believed. When discussing Parker's choice of minor skirmishes for his ballads, Rollins gives the impression that other ballads on the more important battles were written, but there is no evidence of this. These ballads were typical because they acted as panegyric, as call-up ballads for men and money, were used as a weapon against rebels and traitors, and lastly because they were highly entertaining - for friend and foe alike.³⁰

In his detailed study of the ballad as news in the sixteenth century, M.A. Shaaber accepted the Rollins thesis and set out to analyse the ballad as a failed newspaper.

We find that most of the news of rebellions and treasons ... is news in a very weak solution, watered down with stern reproof of the rebels, unchivalrous crows of triumph over executions of traitors, and fulsome praise of the Queen ... unsatisfactory as news of this insipid kind must have been ... [they] do not so much tell us what has

²⁸ *The Lofty Bishop, the Lazy Brownist and the Loyal Author* (1640), w/l, Rox.III.712. *The Subject's thankfulness : or God a mercie good Scot* (1640), b/l, BL.Huth 50(67), and *Alas Said the Papist, now wee must depart* (1640), b/l, MB.II(49b)

²⁹ [Untitled scraps] MB.II(49b) and (30b).

³⁰ See the reference to Parker's ballad being sent to the Scots in Chapter One.

happened as they comment upon it. Incidentally, of course, they frequently impart more or less information but never as much information as sound patriotic doctrine.³¹

Shaaber precisely noticed, but was un-interested in what ballads actually did do. He was disappointed by their failure to supply information, which is what he thought they ought to do, and by their uncouth display of bad manners.³² In his discussion of ballads on the Armada - which survive largely only as titles in the Stationers' Registers - he surmises that they were:

ballads of defiance and jubilation in which there was doubtless little news indeed. If it should seem, then, that the London press failed to do justice to this glorious subject and satisfied only meagrely the voracious demand for news which surely existed, we must put down its partial failure to the difficulty of ensuring a supply of news from a distant place.

In the 1950s, F. Siebert, keen to trace the origins of the free democratic press, took up the story as it had been told so far and added a new twist of his own. It was Siebert's suggestion that after the prohibition of corantos in 1632 'the streets were flooded with news ballads touching by indirection or by metaphor the current events of the day'.³³ He cites as evidence the 'amazing entry of ballads in 1632'.³⁴ It would indeed be amazing if ballads had suddenly changed overnight to deal with specific detailed foreign news as a coranto did, even if only metaphorically or indirectly. However, Siebert's evidence for this is less than convincing.

The ten political ballads to which Siebert refers were registered between June 1632 and July 1633. Three of the ballads lamented the death of Gustavus Adolphus, two sang of battles in the Netherlands and three celebrated Charles I's progress to and from, and

³¹ Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, p. 113

³² Though note Shaaber's comment, *Some Forerunners*, p. 193: 'as contemporary historical documents these ballads are highly unsatisfactory, but as revelations of the majority opinion on passing events they are perfect'.

³³ Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, p. 157. Even if this were so, it was hardly what the coranto did - the coranto used neither metaphor nor indirection in its approach to foreign news being a rather pedestrian and detailed recounting of reports from abroad.

³⁴ *Stationers' Registers*, IV, p. 297.

coronation in Scotland. These last three were not in any case the material of the coranto, which dealt in foreign not domestic news. If we compare the list of seven ballad titles registered in 1625, a time when corantos were still going strong, it appears equally 'amazing'. This list includes ballads on Count Mansfield's landing, Breda, the death of Tilly, the death of James I, the coronation of Charles I, and a song on the King's navy. Since none of these titles survive for either year there is no way of establishing whether these ballads were in any way different from the kind of ballads that had always been sung about aspects of foreign and domestic news, praise for the King and great men, fears for Protestantism and military call-up ballads.³⁵ Moreover, to a balladeer, a 'coranto' was a dance not a news-sheet.

Finally, Siebert suggested that ballads were superseded by newsbooks, as they were unable to satisfy the demand for news. '... Established means of communication were unable to satisfy the demand,' he commented. 'News ballads had existed since the sixteenth century but poetry, no matter how bad, was too restricted a medium for the presentation of such a burning question as the rights of members of parliament ... what the public wanted now was information as well as argument'.³⁶ Argument usually requires some prior knowledge of the issues at stake, however. Ballads had clearly always relied on the dissemination of information by other means.

In the 1960s some further embellishments were made to the tale. Leslie Shephard added to the 'news-ballad' story of the rise and fall of the coranto, the rise of the newspaper and the decline of the ballad as news by tracing its origins.³⁷ He suggested that the printed 'news ballad' emerged from the turmoil and uncertainty of the Reformation era. He argued that the broadside ballad emerged as part of the world of the edict and proclamation, coinciding with the decline in status and reputation of the traditional professional minstrel.³⁸ His evidence for this was that the ballad looked like and was performed in a similar way to

³⁵ Only twenty-three ballad titles survive for the whole 1630s decade. Of these twenty-one are singularly non-political and two deal with aspects of the Thirty Years War.

³⁶ Siebert, *Freedom of the Press*, p. 148.

³⁷ Shephard, *The Broadside Ballad*, p. 24.

³⁸ Shephard, *The Broadside Ballad*, p. 51.

the edict - both were printed in black-letter, were broadsides, and were cried in the street. This connection is hard to defend. After all, many things were printed in black-letter and on broadsides. Ballads were sung and could be entertaining or even funny, something a proclamation never intentionally was. The venue and manner of their performance was far more varied and far less predictable than the proclamation.³⁹ Ballads, even when fulfilling ostensibly loyal functions, such as ballading a traitor's execution or singing coronation ballads, were unofficial mouthpieces, which accounts for the trouble balladeers could be in if caught at the wrong moment singing one. Lastly the language of the proclamation was straightforward, informative prose whilst ballads used a whole range of dramatic and literary effects to work their magic.

Joseph Frank was just as happy to include the traditional ballad-as-news story unchallenged in his own discussion of the newspaper, but naturally he too had one or two of his own points to add.⁴⁰ Frank suggested that when in 1632 the 'King's council banned all news books [it led to] prompt developments: a rise in the number of news ballads sold on the streets of London.'⁴¹ It is difficult to see what evidence could be offered for such a bold claim. It is impossible to know how many ballads were printed or sold as the Stationers' Registers did not list most of the ballads that were printed whether in that year or in any other. Frank is simply elaborating Siebert's point here. Frank's second twist to the tale was radical. He argued, in a reversion of the usual story, that news books declined in the 1650s as a result of competition from 'relations and news-ballads'.⁴² He writes, 'These ephemeral publications could be bought on the streets of London almost as soon as a newspaper whenever there was a

³⁹ Although venues were shared with other political announcements, Wood, *Life*, reveals these as posts (Vol. I, p. 95) gates, church doors (Vol. I, p.98) and market places (Vol. I, p.195). But ballads might be heard (and objected to) at weddings at private gatherings or in taverns and ale-houses.

⁴⁰ J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper 1620-1660* (Camb., Mass., 1961), p. 2: 'The immediate predecessors of the early newspaper were a mixed breed, including not only newsletters but ballads, proclamations, political tracts, and any other form of communication that at once gratified and whetted the public appetite for news.'

⁴¹ Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, p. 14.

⁴² He does not say so but he could perhaps have been influenced by the two very large entries in the registers in 1656 and 1657.

crime or an off-color story juicy enough to interest author and printer.’⁴³ This is the fairy tale equivalent of Red Riding Hood eating the wolf.

This radical view has been challenged recently by Joad Raymond, who argued that the number of newsbooks fell not because of competition from other genres, but because Nedham’s *Mercurius Politicus* was a significant ‘magnum opus’, ‘an extraordinary, multi-generic text, with a wide and diverse audience, a more complex beast than any previous newsbook’.⁴⁴ Raymond suggests that after 1649 there was a shift to ‘predominantly cautious journalism, resulting in reliable reporting with a minimum of scurrility’, a change that had disappointed previous historians of the newsbook, such as Frank. ‘They see [the 1650s] as a barren and dull period devoid of the scurrilous *argumentum ad hominem* which fascinates them’, writes Raymond. ‘Frank concluded that ... “the early newspaper never regained that smell of health it had briefly acquired in the later 1640’s”’.⁴⁵

Though he rescued the news book from this Whiggish narrative, Joad Raymond, whose inspirational and important work has challenged, disrupted and renewed historical and critical studies of communication networks at pamphlet level, has allowed the ballad part of that story to go unchallenged. In *The Invention of the Newspaper* (1996), he states that ‘after the Star Chamber decree of 1632 ... the reading public returned to imports from Holland and France and to Ballads’, while in *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering* (2003) he further claims that:

In 1688 ... ballad singer[s were] a rare sight in London ... chapmen and ballad singers, it seems, have been driven out by the more respectable vendors of books. The thrill of a new ballad is not what it was ... you have a sharper appetite ... than for an old tale penned anew and sung to an antique tune.⁴⁶

⁴³ Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper*, p. 242

⁴⁴ Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford, 1996), p. 79. Successful government censorship of new books may also have been a factor in the 1650s: *C&P*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁵ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, pp. 77-78.

⁴⁶ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 12, and *idem*, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 2.

However, as we have seen, 1632 was not a significant year for ballad production, while more political ballads were printed in 1688/9 than in any other year of the seventeenth century.

They were sung to new and wildly popular tunes, such as 'Lili burlero', which Burnet and Defoe claimed had chased James II from his throne.⁴⁷

And so, the tale of the ballad as a vehicle of news without much information in it and soon replaced by a sleeker more efficient model has held sway from the nineteenth century until the present day. In their desire to discover how the past got to be the present, early historians of the newspaper simply connected all those items they deemed as informative 'forerunners of the newspaper' - such as proclamations, ballads, newsletters, newsbooks and gazettes - into a seamless and linear narrative leading to the development of the great British, (and American) newspaper. In all these accounts, the story of the ballad as news was one of failure and disappointment: 'News in a very weak solution', 'unsatisfactory and insipid', 'lean fare', 'disappointingly vague and general'.⁴⁸ The originators of this tale, especially Rollins and Shaaber, writing in the early part of the twentieth century, not only assumed that apart from ballads 'there was seldom any other kind of report available', they judged 'ballad news' against their own contemporary view of what news or journalism should be. 'Political News' was hard information about important events and people. Shaaber looked for 'a straightforward recounting of facts ... not encompassed by a cloud of pious ejaculations', and he compared this with what he believed was the objective reporting of his own day when 'we discover significance ourselves'.⁴⁹

Both Rollins and Shaaber preferred the poetic 'art of the people' to these 'second-class ballads' and they set ballads into a newspaper narrative to make them more respectable.⁵⁰ In doing so they coined generic names unknown to contemporaries such as

⁴⁷ Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time* (abgd. Thomas Stackhouse, 1979), p. 284; Daniel Defoe, 'The Ballad Masters Plea', *Applebee's Journal* (13 October 1722).

⁴⁸ Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁹ Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 207, 210.

⁵⁰ Hyder E. Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA*, Vol. 34, Issue 2 (1919), pp. 258 - 339, p. 265.

'news-ballad' and even 'interview-ballad' and wrote of political balladry in terms of 'letters to the editor', and 'editorials'. In defending this sorry stuff to readers of his seminal article on the black-letter ballad, Rollins wrote, 'They were not trying to write poetry, or even ballads; they were writing news-stories and editorials.'⁵¹

But balladeers *were* writing songs and poetry. The function of ballads as song was to be affective, panegyric, mocking and entertaining, and as poetry they aimed to praise and blame and express the essential truths of life.⁵² In his still influential anthologies, Rollins turned to pamphlets and official sources to explain the context and content of ballads. However, contemporary ballad buyers and listeners did not have the benefit of his gloss, or access to the extensive libraries of Harvard or the Bodleian. They did not need it. They already knew the news. The ballad was doing something different.

Authoritative news dissemination in the seventeenth century, though facilitated and augmented by newsbook and gazette, was still largely by letter or by word of mouth.⁵³ Printed accounts were untrustworthy, even for those who could have un-stinted access to them, and where possible were checked against personal communication. Anthony Wood, the Oxford historian and diarist, gained or verified his news from the letters that were sent from London or from conversations with visitors to the town. He took almost as much notice of the 'common rumours in the town' as of the 'coffee house letter'.⁵⁴ It was reliable, oral news that he most valued, when he could sort it from wild rumour. News from other sources was a

⁵¹ Rollins, 'The Black-Letter Broadside Ballad', p. 267.

⁵² See more detailed discussions of this below, chs 3 and 4.

⁵³ John Miller, *After the Civil Wars* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 55-57, p. 62: 'Postmasters and customs officers spoke to many people - especially if they also kept a tavern.' He gives a number of quotations from Sir Ralph Verney's letters to his son John, e.g., p. 53, 'your news supplies us all with chat for a week after until the carrier comes again and then we are greedy of more as you can imagine', pp. 63-66, 'Sir Ralph Verney remarked, Sir John Busby could give him more news in an hour than could be written on a quire of paper ... where face-to-face contact was not possible the written word had to suffice.'

⁵⁴ Wood, *Life*, Vol. II, pp. 342-343, 390, 444, 450-451, 466, 470, 476, 484, 504, 506, 510, 515, 531, 560; Vol. III, p. 3, 14, 34, 36, 57, 95, 134, 148, 151, 164, 180, 183, 187, 217, 253, 278. It is only from the 1670s that Wood begins to specify where his news has come from. In earlier years he simply repeats what has happened. This increase in critical reading may have come with experience of research, or because there were so many more printed sources to choose from.

stopgap. As a coranto publisher in 1630 complained, 'the greatest talkers of newes (as the Pauls Walkers) are the poorest buyers'.⁵⁵

The oral discussion and dissemination of news that went on at every level of society indicates that printed news was not necessary to inform the public of what was going on.⁵⁶ As Tom D'Urfey's *Sir Hercules Buffoon* declaims, 'Burn the gazette, we know what news there's in't before it come out ... I'll be better inform'd in the Country at a Thatch'd Alehouse, where the Gentry meet three times a week to communicate news'.⁵⁷ Ballads on state affairs addressed an audience that already knew the news. In one ballad Miles Prance, in the pillory, sings to his audience, 'I need not tell you, you know full well/ My touchstone did deceive me'.⁵⁸ Other ballads simply mention names without any context or explanation, while still others begin with a denial of official stories you are expected to know about. For example *Romes Cruelty Or The Earl Of Essex Barbarously Murthered In The Tower*, begins 'The Earl of Essex in the Tower/ He did not cut his own dear throat.'⁵⁹

Ballad audiences could be knowledgeable about high politics, whether or not they could read or buy a newspaper, as is evident from court cases involving seditious words.⁶⁰ Oral news was available wherever you went - and was demanded from friends and especially from strangers. In a ballad of 1688, 'West Country Tom', a loyal soldier, is 'vexed to the heart by the newsmongers of the town' and 'vow'd he'd neither talk nor prate/ or [any] news

⁵⁵ Quoted in Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 6

⁵⁶ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 65, quotes from the 1670s *Diary* of Thomas Isham of Lamport, Northamptonshire, whose news sources, like Wood's, range from letters, visitors, reports brought back from London, Northampton, Leicester and Althorp and the *Gazette*, which is criticised for its omissions. Miller observes 'throughout the *Diary* there is evidence of the interaction of print, manuscript and word of mouth, as in country houses, coffee houses and taverns, at markets and fairs, people discussed the latest news.'

⁵⁷ T. D'Urfey, *Sir Hercules Buffoon or the Poetical Squire* (1684), p. 5.

⁵⁸ *Perjury Punished* (1686), b/l, Pepys II.236.

⁵⁹ See *The Traytors Last Farewell* (1684), w/l+w/c, EEBO, *The Cuckoo of the Times* {1678}, b/l, Firth b.19 (5), *Romes Cruelty or the Earl of Essex Barbarously murdered in the Tower* {1689}, b/l/p, Pepys II.177. *Lord Russell's Farewell* (1683), b/l, Pepys II.165, gives no details of the Rye House Plot but alludes to it throughout. Examples of this are innumerable.

⁶⁰ See, for example, R. Cust, 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-century England', *Past & Present*, 112 (1986); Dagmar Freist, *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637-1645* (London, 1997); Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678-1681* (Cambridge, 1994); Buchanan Sharp, 'Popular Political Opinion in England 1660-1685', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989), pp. 13-29.

would give/ concerning affairs of State'. As he walks through the streets of London he is constantly accosted by people, including a cobbler, a barber and gallants, asking him for news of the Prince of Orange's army. He answers angrily, 'I will neither meddle nor make' and goes to a tavern for a drink. There he finds it worse than ever, with a regular debate going on. The only thing worth talking about in the tavern is politics and Tom's news is particularly worth having, because it is a direct oral account.⁶¹

An inveterate collector of newsprint, Wood never refers to ballads as sources in his discussions of the news, as he does to his pamphlets, gazettes and newsletters. Obviously as an elite and, indeed, privileged, observer of events he would hardly have needed ballads as a news source. However, he often made marginal comments to indicate their inaccuracies, their political stance, or to 'fill in the gaps' where individuals were alluded to rather than named. In other words, Wood brings his knowledge to the ballad rather than the other way round.⁶² Similarly, Narcissus Luttrell collected and annotated his ballads, binding them together with pamphlet material and other broadsides.⁶³ Like Wood he did not consider them as news sources, but as one of the participants in a wide public debate, which was both oral and printed.⁶⁴ The ballad was not about accuracy of detail but moral gloss or emotional response.

⁶¹ *West Country Tom Tormented* (1689), b/1, Pepys IV.322.

⁶² On one occasion, a ballad, *A true relation of a notorious cheater one Robert Bullock* (1663), b/1, Wood, 401(197, 402 (91, 92), tells of a 'great cheat' in Oxford concerning people Wood knew himself. He has two copies both annotated with additional descriptions and details of the people involved. The details of the case are left to those who know or care to worry about. For readers who did not know the details the ballad functioned as a warning as well as an entertaining story. As William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586) had taught, the role of poetry was to entertain through 'delighting men with pleasant matters of small importance', but on the other hand, 'here is not forgotten some profitable consaile', sig. D.iiii.

⁶³ While Wood, like Pepys, separated out his black- and white-letter ballads, Luttrell, who collected few black-letter ballads, seems to have kept them together with his white-letter ones. However, the breaking up of Luttrell's collection may have altered the organisation of his broadsides. George Thomason also mixed up the two formats, but he too collected very few black-letter ballad broadsides.

⁶⁴ Unlike Wood or Luttrell, Pepys acquired his collection late in the century, after his enforced retirement, as a bulk purchase and then set about arranging them. He did not annotate the many political ballads in his collection, nor are they chronologically arranged, which suggests he was more interested in their appearance and their general, rather than their specific, content. Pepys occasionally reveals himself in his diary as a consumer of political ballads. In February 1660 [*Diary*, I, p.41], he began to copy a song of Mardyke but found it silly, in April [*Diary*, I, p. 114] he disapprovingly heard a Rump ballad sung, in March 1667 [*Diary*, VIII, p.99] he read a 'ridiculous' ballad about Albermarle. But none of these ballads appear in his collection. One ballad he did enjoy in June 1668 [*Diary*, IX, p. 242] is represented in the collection, but this was more likely by accident than design since, at the time, he 'did cause WH to write it out'.

If it was journalism, it was not effective but affective. Politics was a concern of the heart as far as ballads were concerned.⁶⁵ This aspect of ballading, seen as a disadvantage by most commentators, was the whole point of the genre. As Parker's ballad at the opening of parliament in 1640 had pointed out, he had written it so that 'absent (loyall) hearts may be/ participants as well as wee' and 'of joy to feele a pleasant gust'. As we shall see, a feeling of joy was a major concern for political balladeers.

While newsbooks or gazettes dated themselves to the week or the day, ballads, if dated at all, date themselves to a year. The only reason we can sometimes give more specific dating to some white-letter ballads is when buyers added the date of purchase or publication.⁶⁶ Occasionally, ballad preambles specified a date, but this was no indication of time of publication. Ballads were written, reprinted and sung long after the events they described or commented on.⁶⁷ There was never an intention to limit a ballad to a particular event in time. Ballads expect to be memorised for the future - they anticipated a permanency - newsbooks did not, they were truly ephemeral as ballads hoped not to be.⁶⁸

Ballads were certainly concerned with events, political and otherwise, but those events were used as exemplars of wider truths or warnings of generic evils rather than as information.⁶⁹ The ballad sought to offer 'sowre sawce to the pallat' and was concerned with continual currency.⁷⁰ The ballad aimed to render comprehensible (or reprehensible) political

⁶⁵ See below, ch. 5.

⁶⁶ Evidence of marginalia seems to suggest that Wood's dates and Thomason's were of purchase, while Luttrell's may have been of publication: see James M. Osborn's essay reprinted in Stephen Parks, *The Luttrell File* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).

⁶⁷ The best example of this is *The True Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminster-Hall, by the High Court of Justice* (RI2727 12 March 1656). It exists in several later editions up to the eighteenth century. It was one of the titles on Thackeray's stock list in the 1680s. Sea-battle ballads were often reprinted and ballads on the Earl of Essex's execution in 1601 were perennially popular.

⁶⁸ This applies more to traditional black-letter ballads than white-letter ones. The term ephemeral is misleading as collectors not only held on to their newsbooks, they sought to fill the gaps in their collections. However, newsbooks were not frequently reprinted years later as ballads were.

⁶⁹ This was true of the way ballads treated all events. For example, both pamphlets and ballads often covered gory crimes. While the pamphlet would dwell on the details, the ballad would be sketchy on details and focused on the emotional and moral aspects of the story. See Lynn Robson, "No nine days wonder": Embedded Protestant Narratives in Early Modern Prose Murder Pamphlets 1573-1700' Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Warwick, 2003), p. 22-23.

⁷⁰ *Few words are best* (1661), b/1, Euing 123.

events in terms the genre and its consumers would understand and be tempted to buy. It was as much, perhaps more, concerned with how the world ought to be as with how it was.

Though ballads often claimed 'truth', 'authority' and accuracy for their accounts it was the general truth and applicability of events rather than their immediacy that concerned the ballad writer. The ballad form operated within a constructed political conceptual framework and all events were judged and discussed in the light of that framework. The interests of the genre in godliness, harmony, love, drink and sex were the modes of interpretation that the ballad used to approach politics, as we shall see.

The overall function of the ballad, then, was to explain and delineate the boundaries of a recognisable and universally accepted political world. Ballads approached events entirely from the point of view of this political construct - which is why they 'mysteriously' concerned themselves with minor stories and not major ones and why the most successful ones were often reprinted.⁷¹ If the political ballad sang about any kind of current news (as Frank suggests newspapers must) why was it, for example, that the two most newsworthy events of the decade after the Restoration, the Fire of London and the Plague, inspired in total, one ballad each?⁷² When it came to warfare, treason, threats to Protestantism or the monarchy, however, it was a different story. Ballads on treason plots were numerous - and on the accession of Charles II or William III and Mary II almost innumerable. The ballad market

⁷¹ For example, the only civil war conflicts that were covered in ballad were small skirmishes in and around Newcastle and a fictional Royalist victory at Tredagh in Ireland in 1649; see *C&P*, p. 89. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners*, pp. 120-129, 190-195.

⁷² Other plagues had been more balladed than this, for example at the beginning of the century. However, singing about the plague was potentially a disloyal subject. Wood wrote during the plague in May 1654, 'The phanaticks use to say that king James and king Charles I brought the plague with them when they were first crown'd. The cavaliers do now say that Cromwell did the like when he became Protector': Wood, *Life*, Vol. I, pp. 185-6. Meanwhile, the fire of 1666 greatly affected printers' shops which had been set up around the St Paul's area. This hampered printing - and may partially account for the lower numbers of political ballads at least from 1667-70. There are a number of ballads about fires and accidents. The events are usually described in a prose preamble followed by a song which tends to harp on the sheer misery caused, followed by exhortations to take care of causing fire; to keep water nearby; and the need for continual repentance in case of sudden death. One, unusually, ended with a prose list of the names and addresses of those hurt when Mr Porter's gunpowder shop blew up [*Untitled*] (1649), b/1, MB.II(13). See another fire ballad, a fire on London Bridge, [...] *pitty, to all people that shall heare of it ... fire that hapned (sic) on London Bridge* [11 February n.d.], b/1, MB.I(50).

had its own interests. The 'news' as 'the thing we're all talking about today', was not necessarily one of them. Fires and plagues only became interesting to political ballad writers when they could include them in a more general warning against papists and/or Presbyterians and the need for political harmony.

ii. A New Narrative of the Ballad and News

The time to sing a new tale to a new tune has finally arrived. The old narrative of displacement and replacement presents a real problem of chronology. There was no linear development, as political news products, new and old, newsletters, corantos, newsbooks and ballads were circulating and interacting at the same time, although the spaces they inhabited may have differed quite substantially. Joad Raymond has demonstrated that the news book was not connected to the coranto in form, nor was it dependent upon the collapse of censorship for its appearance. There was no 'seed' waiting the better conditions of a relaxation of censorship to allow it to grow. The news book, he argues, was new, emerging unique and unexpected at a moment in time and unconnected to any alleged forerunners of the newspaper.⁷³ The chronology of displacement and decline of political ballads is also hard to sustain if one makes a closer study of ballads printed throughout the period. I hope to achieve what Raymond has done for the newsbook: to offer a new narrative and a different view of the relationship between the broadside ballad and the development of the news media.

I base my analysis here on all extant broadside ballad sheets, black- and white-letter and on the titles of ballads, obviously political, but no longer extant entered in the Stationers' Registers. Since most ballads were never entered in the registers, especially in the seventeenth century, and many ballads have been lost my figures here represent at best the *minimum* number of political ballads printed.⁷⁴

⁷³ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, ch. 2, esp. p. 81.

⁷⁴ The problem of dating ballads, and ballad reprinting means that these numbers are not as reliable as the more scientific may prefer. I have not included different editions unless a ballad has clearly been reprinted some years later.

We depend on collectors for the survival of ballad sheets of any kind, and very few are available before 1640. However, looking at numbers of political titles in the Stationers' Registers from 1600, it is clear that political ballads increased in number around the time of King James's accession and first parliament in 1603-4; the executions of the gunpowder plotters in 1606; the death of Prince Henry in 1612; and in 1613 with Princess Elizabeth's marriage and Prince Charles becoming Prince of Wales. The events of the Thirty Years War made their appearance in ballads only when England's interests were involved, when Protestantism seemed under threat, or when great generals disappeared from the scene, especially Gustavus Adolphus, a regular ballad hero until his sudden death in battle at Lützen in 1632.⁷⁵ This pattern can be followed throughout the century.

I have constructed a chart showing all political ballad production, white and black letter, from 1639 to 1689 based on extant sheets and no longer extant titles in the Stationers' Registers. [Appendix Two] Though the numbers can only be regarded as approximate, this demonstrates that regardless of coranto or newsbook, political ballad production increased from 1639 onwards. In 1639, balladeers seemed more concerned about renewed threats to Protestantism from Spain than the threat to England from the Scots rebellion. Twenty-two ballads were registered of which nineteen were political. Half were about the Dutch sea-battles with Spain that year. Two had something to say about events in Scotland, one was a call to arms against the Scottish rebellion and three were 'loyal subjects' supplications'. None of these sheets now exist. In 1640 and 1641 priorities changed. The opening of parliament, forced on the King by the invasion of Scots rebels and fears or hopes over church reform, led to a further marked increase in ballad commentary. Output continued at a minimum of five to ten per year until the army revolt of 1647 when nearly thirty were printed (at the same time as an increase in newsbooks) and in 1649, after the King's execution, at least sixteen appeared.

⁷⁵ From 1603 to 1604 of nineteen political ballad titles, fifteen concerned James I, two sang of the execution of traitors. From 1630-34 of twenty-three political titles in the registers there were eleven about Charles I, five about war activities, four on the death of Gustavus Adolphus and three on the plight of Frederick of Bohemia (brother-in-law to Charles I).

For most of the Interregnum, between 1649 and 1658, only between three and six ballad sheets are extant. However, one hundred and sixty-five ballads were registered in 1656. Of these fourteen were political titles and a further eight political titles were listed in 1657, suggesting that many ballads must have been lost. Fifty-five white-letter broadside ballads survive from late November 1659 to the end of April 1660, while over fifty black-letter ballads survive and thirteen white-letter were published after the Restoration in 1660. Of one hundred and twenty ballad sheets, not one was registered.

From 1661 to 1678 a minimum of five to ten per year were published. The Popish Plot (1678-1681), Exclusion crisis (1680-1682), Rye House Plot (1683-1684) and Monmouth rebellion (1685) saw partisan groups, Whigs and Tories, using ballads as part of their political campaigns. From 1678 there were at least thirty each year and considerably more in the years of greatest uncertainty. At the Glorious Revolution in 1689 alone, well over 100 political ballads were printed. Numbers remained high in the 1690s with wars in Ireland and against France in Europe, as well as the new and romantic monarchy to concern them. Romantic, at least, until 1694 when the much-serenaded Mary II died.

The evidence would seem to suggest that neither the suppression of corantos nor the appearance of newsbooks or papers influenced political ballad production. Balladeers had their traditional political subjects - monarchy, war, treason and threats to Protestantism at home or abroad - and they sang about them openly, largely undisturbed by the authorities and uninterrupted by newcomers to the world of newsprint.

The peaks of political ballad production surrounded the axes of royalty, warfare, and political and religious insecurity. In 1640, the opening of parliament, the Scottish rebellion and fears over church reform led to a massive increase in ballad commentary. The army revolt of 1647 and the execution of the King in 1649 led to another rush. In 1659, the collapse of the Rump and the uncertainty of events led to a white-letter ballad deluge, much of it (though not all) clearly originating from a fairly organised group of Royalists in exile, while the

Restoration in 1660 prompted a flood of black-letter ballads. From 1678 to 1684, when the Popish Plot, exclusion crisis and Rye House Plot split royalist ranks, both sides used ballad discourses as part of their political campaigns. Finally, in 1688 and 1689, James II found that balladeers, their traditional loyalty undermined by his religious policies, threw in their quills with the Protestant William and Mary of Orange.

It may be that the collapse of effective censorship in 1640 and the lapse of the licensing act in 1678 had an effect on ballad production, but as political events spurred composition at the same time this is hard to say. Numbers increased substantially in 1640 but were already increasing by 1678. Ballad writers and singers may well have been much less likely to be prosecuted than others - despite the many failed attempts to suppress them. John Miller describes how 'Secretary Coventry remarked in 1675 that it was wiser not to prosecute persons of humble status, as it gave their news and views unnecessary publicity'.⁷⁶ In any case, ballad-writers were not writing about new subjects - they had always commented on *arcana imperii* - they were just writing more.

As we saw in the last chapter, by 1700 two things happened to the way printed ballads were produced, which commentators have misinterpreted as a decline. First, even traditional broadside ballads had begun to look different from the later part of the century onwards. Black-letter, once easier to read, was replaced by roman-letter type. Though woodcuts were sometimes still used, they were often replaced with lines of music and by the eighteenth century many ballads were printed on slips of paper rather than folio sheets. These changes meant that collectors such as Pepys lost interest in the ballad, but the market did not peter out.⁷⁷ Second, London lost its printing monopoly and ballads began to be printed all over the country. To be sure there was a good deal of reprinting of old songs, some newly applied to the Jacobite interest, but there was no need of a 'ballad revival' in the eighteenth

⁷⁶ Quoted in Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 65.

⁷⁷ Thankfully other collectors did not share his distaste. Many of the slips were collected by Francis Madden. His large collection is held at Cambridge.

century as some historians have suggests, since new ballads continued to be ideal medium where political debate grew hot, especially at election time, and they remained a vigorous part of print culture.⁷⁸ Ballads continued to comment on the glory or failure of the monarchy, politicians, policy and warfare in a language of jest, satire or hyperbole. In the nineteenth century political ballads on the Napoleonic wars, the Chartists, the Boer and, later, First World Wars were printed and sold just as before. The real decline of the broadside ballad and sheet music came with the invention of the vinyl record, which meant that songs, political or otherwise could be bought, as it were, in performance, and the printed words were no longer sold for amateur performance in unlicensed venues.⁷⁹

The lack of detailed textual or generic analyses of political ballads has led to a misunderstanding of the differences in function between what were mutually supportive, rather than competing political literary forms.⁸⁰ The ballad was not threatened or superseded by the emergence of new newsprint forms and genres, because there was a functional difference in balladry that continued unabated and undiminished. Indeed, it was augmented by the continuing political instability that prompted the ballading of politics and politicians in time honoured ways. Political ballads sang to their own tune, and as we have seen, had

⁷⁸ Diane Dugdaw, 'The Popular Marketing of "Old Ballads": The Ballad Revival and Eighteenth-Century Antiquarianism Reconsidered', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue I (Autumn, 1987), pp. 71-90, has argued that there was a popular ballad revival in the eighteenth century as well as the well-known elite one. Her desire to pursue the notion of 'revival' means she mentions the narrow slip-songs, 'pieces of fashion and novelty' p. 83, but distinguishes these from the 'old ballad' market. However, my argument here is that there was a continuity of interest, that the form remained dynamic and that reprinting of old songs had always been a feature of the ballad market and did not constitute a new departure. H. Barker, & D. Vincent, *Language. Print and Electoral Politics, 1790-1832. Newcastle-under-Lyme Broad-sides* (Woodbridge, 2002). There are a number of eighteenth-century election ballad collections in local records offices (Northampton for example) and many family papers collections contain election ballad sheets.

⁷⁹ However, a political song called *Blame it on Florida* to the tune 'If you're happy and you know it clap your hands', which was sent around the world by email for peace campaigners at the time of the outbreak of the war with Iraq in 2003, suggests a possible comeback.

⁸⁰ Raymond discusses the associations between newsbooks and corantos, almanacs, parliamentary printing, sermons, play-pamphlets and poetry but not ballads. In Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, his chronology of the news press ignores completely the implications of Raymond's work and leaves out the ballad altogether, but suggests that from the reign of Charles II, ballads, prints, and playing cards along with the reading aloud of newsletters or newspapers 'made written news available to the semi-literate or the illiterate,' p. 55.

reached a crescendo rather than suffering a diminuendo by the end of the seventeenth century.⁸¹

Newsbooks used ballad techniques to improve their entertainment factor, but that did not imply a unity of function.⁸² While the newsbook had something new to offer - periodicity and serialisation and an extensive range of intelligence - the fact of its newness meant that it did not have established techniques and devices (as ballads did) which were instantly recognisable to the reading public.⁸³ The use of ballads, or ballad-like verses, in newsbooks was in part an attempt to attract a market rather than a sign of the demise of the ballad.

Raymond suggests that the inclusion of speech modes in newsbooks that 'addressed readers personally, implicating them in ideological conflict' meant 'the public idiom of seventeenth-century newspapers articulated a new mode of writing and perhaps a public sense of forum for the exchange of politics and news'.⁸⁴ However, neither this mode, nor its content was new, but a technique borrowed from printed ballads, dialogues and perhaps plays. Ballads, political

⁸¹ Ballads did, however, make a mockery of newsprint. Many ballads attacked newsbooks and their writers, just as ballads themselves were denigrated. Ballad titles satirized newsprint such as *The Wooers Newe Curraunto* (RI3029 4 March 1606), and the *Gazette in metre, Public Occurrences*. The satirist's intention was to attack newsprint by placing it in the context of a much lower medium, not to compete with it.

⁸² This use of ballads in newsbooks is frequently commented upon. See for example, J. Enkemann, *Journalismus und Literatur* (Tübingen, 1983). In his chapter 'Die Flugblattballade vor Beginn der Zeitungsgeschichte: Verbindung von Nachricht und populärer Dichtung', Enkemann discusses the ballad as a forerunner of the newspaper, and cites the inclusion of ballad rhymes in later newsbooks as a mark of their being subsumed into the newsbook form (pp. 11-23), without ever considering the possibility that the ballad was the 'superior' form, being borrowed from rather than subsumed within the new genre. Ballads had an established market, production and distribution systems, recognised composers, performers, styles and discourses. Ballads were extremely lucrative and they kept many in work. Newsbooks failed all the time, and some, like *The Man in the Moon*, tried to use and extend ballad discourses. Ballads had also a strongly developed sense of belonging in popular culture and though frequently legislated against, they were never successfully controlled. Indeed, as John Selden had pointed out, they were used as a gauge to the temper of the times.

⁸³ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 127: 'As studies of modern newspapers have shown, a number of criteria determine the newsworthiness of a given event: from its un-ambiguity through its unexpectedness to its conformity to the readers' world view. All the news that's fit to print is too un-circumscribed: so editors print what fits. Once an event has been selected, it is transformed by diverse rhetorical practices into the kind of item found in newspapers, into a 'public idiom.' He goes on to point out that newsbooks had to develop these forms - but ballads had a head start; they had developed their rhetorical devices and had already worked out 'what fits'.

⁸⁴ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 158.

or otherwise, frequently address the listener directly, and often refer to the debate that is going on, and their own contribution to it.⁸⁵

The ballad story is not of failure, competition, and decline as a vehicle of news, but of sharing space and time and working as inspiration to, advertiser of, and plagiariser from the newsbook. The newsbook had emerged because there was a gap in the market. There was no printed way in which such polemical information had ever been disseminated in such easily accessible language or quantity. Newsbooks competed between themselves and were undoubtedly stiff competition for corantos, but not for ballads. They considered themselves as part of a quite different branch of literature.

In order to understand those generic rules, or the form of the ballad, we must analyse the obvious connection between the ballad, poetry and to some extent the theatre, largely ignored by those who have tried to shoehorn it into the newspaper narrative.⁸⁶ Joad Raymond has recognised that there was an important difference between the burgeoning newsbook and the ballad trade, though he sees it as a matter of class rather than genre. 'Ballads [were] a more debased and more inaccurate literary form than the newsbooks, a further step down from the stage on the ladder of prestige.'⁸⁷ The broadside ballad was not on the same ladder as the newsbook, though it certainly had a direct route to the stage. The ballad used theatrical techniques - dialogue, comedy, imagery, music and even dance - to put across a message

⁸⁵ See *Vox Populi* (1642), w/l, BL.C20.f.2(15): 'The minds of the multitude divers wayes stand'; *The Covenant or No King but the old Kings Son* (1660), b/l, Euing 43: 'All sorts of people of it take a view/ you surely will confess that I say true'; *The Tradesmans Lamentation* (1688), b/l, Pepys IV.315: 'All over the nation stranges stories are told,/ And one by the other is often Controul'd:/ Some said the Dutch-men are come to the shore, / And others declar'd they wou'd never come o're:/ Thus we cou'd sacarce find, two men of a mind'; *A Common Observation* (1645), w/l, 669.f.10(31): 'As I about the town did walke/ I heard the people how they talke,/Of the brave Parliament./ Some praise the Lords and some the Scots,/ Some think that they have further plots,/ Some blame the Government'.

⁸⁶ Note the exchange in D'Urfey's *A Fond Husband* (1676), Act IV Scene II, 'Bubble: I got this song made purposely ... Ranger: Were you at the Poets Lodging? Bubble: Yes, but they had none ... they were so busie getting plays up for the next Term, that I could hardly get one made.' *C&P*, p. 14 and Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 206, quote *The Actors Remonstrance* (1643) saying on closure of the theatres playwrights will have to degrade themselves by joining 'Martin Parkers societie and write ballads', but there was a strong element of irony there. They did anyway.

⁸⁷ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 206.

through performance.⁸⁸ Shortened ballads were often included in play performances and many political ballads were extended versions of theatre songs. The newsbook, while it sometimes added verse and occasionally dialogue to its prose, did not need to be performed in order to fulfil its function.⁸⁹ For the ballad, it was the performance that encouraged the participation the balladeer was after. Reading a ballad is only a small part of the experience it really represents.⁹⁰

Christopher Marsh has complained that ballads are usually studied as texts and their music is ignored. He has argued that the jokes and meaning behind ballads are consequently lost. The point is an important one.⁹¹ Most political ballads were songs - or were at least intended to be read aloud. They had to fit within the recognised forms and generic 'rules' that all ballads conformed to if they were to be successful. Political ballads were not the 'mass journalism' of the people, they were the street theatre, the poetry and the counsellors of the people. And not just those people without the discretion to know any better. Political ballads were an important point of contact between rulers and ruled - and the flow of ideas ran both ways.

Raymond suggests that 'The anxieties which Jonson expressed in the 1620's over the power of the journalist to supplant the poet as the counsellor to princes were not fully realised

⁸⁸ On dance as part of ballad performance see T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 35-36.

⁸⁹ Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 208, comments that while play pamphlets may have been performed, the singing in them is not a dramatic technique but 'a different register of discourse.' However, the songs in Samuel Smithson's anti-Ranter play pamphlet *The Joviall Crew* (1651) were based on typical royalist drinking ballads, and were clearly intended for singing and dancing, while the woodcut shows both. Pointing out (p. 210) that some play pamphlets made reference to recent political events he argues 'these play-pamphlets do not generally require detailed background knowledge, but fulfil a news-function. This is journalism and effective reporting as well as political satire and wish-fulfilment'. We could say this about ballads - but what do 'journalism' and 'effective reporting' mean here? Surely this is *affective* reporting, engaging the emotions and loyalties? To assess effective reporting depends on analysis of circulation and impact.

⁹⁰ See Natascha Würzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (trans. Gayna Walls. Cambridge, 1990) for a detailed analysis of performance strategies.

⁹¹ C. Marsh, 'Melody and Meaning in Early Modern England: the Broadside Ballad as Song', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds) *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004). I am very grateful to Dr Marsh for kindly letting me have a typescript of this article some time ago, references below are to typescript pages.

by the corantos of the 1620s or 30s but they were by the 1640s news book'.⁹² However, though balladeers undoubtedly fancied themselves as poets, and as fulfilling the same functions as poets, they were unlikely to be as disturbed by this possibility as Jonson was. Ballads were poetic counsellors, but not to Princes.

While the discourse of ballad and newsbook consistently reveals their differences in content, form and function, contemporary discourse relating ballads to poetry and the stage was always about the outrageous pretensions of balladeers. Ballad writers, like playwrights, clearly saw themselves as true poets. Everyone else attacked them as bad poets rather than as bad journalists. To have one's work rubbished as mere balladry was enough to spark harsh responses in like kind.⁹³ Ballads, it was said, fooled a gullible public into thinking they were poetry, so that genuine poets were not properly respected.

Much of this was expressed by William Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586):

I shall let passe the uncountable rabble of ryming Ballet makers, and compylers of sencelesse sonets, who be most busy [to] stuffe evry stall full of grosse devises and unlearned Pamphlets ... For though many such can forme an Alehouse song of five or six score verses, hobbling upon some tune of a Northern jygge, or Robyn Hood, or la lubber etc. And perhappes observe just number of syllables, eight in one line, five in another, and then withall to make a terche[sic] in the end: yet if these might be accounted poets (as it is sayde some of them make meanes [to] be promoted to the Lawrell) surely we shall shortly have whole swarmes of poets: and every one that can frame a booke in ryme, though for want of matter, it be but in commendation of copper noses or Bottle Ale, will catch at the garland due to poets; whose pottical poetical (I should say) heads, would wyshe, at their worchipfull commencements

⁹² Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*, p. 92.

⁹³ John Taylor found this particularly galling; see B. Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford, 1994), p. 76.

might in steede of Lawrell be gorgeously garnished with fayre greene barley, in token to their good affection to our English malt.⁹⁴

Webbe went on to describe the nature of true poetry as laid down by the classical authorities. Horace had imposed strict rules about the 'meetnesse' of 'the matter' in poetry. People, things and places were to be recognisable and fit an established pattern: 'everyone must observe ... convenientiam fitnessse: as it is meete and agreeable everywhere: a man to be stoute, a woman fearefull, a servant crafty, a young man gentle'.⁹⁵ The proper 'matters' of early classical verse, 'were exhortations to vertue, dehortations from vices, or the praises of some laudable thing' sung in the form of 'fine ditties and wittie sentences, tunably to their musick notes.' These early verses, wrote Webbe, came to be the early comedies and the forerunners of morality plays, 'to present in shapes of men, the natures of vertues and vices, and affections and quallities incident to men, as Justice, Temperance, Poverty, Wrathe, Sloth, Valiantues and such like'. Poetry 'displayed the noble actes and valiant exploits of puissant captains, expert soldiers, wise men'. Poetry should never offend the hearer, comic poetry was not to be 'lascivious or Rybaldlike, or slanderous', poets were to be learned and not 'mean', and their poetry was to run sweetly and smoothly.⁹⁶

The rules of any genre constrain the nature of the world it can describe. Most balladeers had at least a smattering of classical knowledge, as is clear from frequent allusions to classical figures, and their all-encompassing humanist approach to the political world and the rules of poetry, as described by Webbe, were part of the classical education that any grammar school boy might learn. It was to these rules, forms, and subjects that the ballad, as poetry, adhered. Ballads dealt with political issues in terms of vice and virtue, they concentrated on the fortunes of the great, their glory or their ignominy. As with epic poetry and the classical theatre, the function of ballads was to create powerful feelings of admiration,

⁹⁴ Webbe, *Discourse*, sigs. D – D.ii.

⁹⁵ Webbe, *Discourse*, sig. K.ii.

⁹⁶ Webbe *Discourse*, sig. D.ii.

horror, awe, love, loyalty and/or moral outrage in order to teach great and eternal truths about the world. Ballads sought to appeal to the emotions and loyalties of Englishmen as soldiers, taxpayers and participants in the Christian *res publica* of England.

This was the ideal. But sophisticated white-letter ballads were produced by writers who were more influenced by the Satyr or Silenus as muse than Melpomene or Thalia, and who ignored the laws of Horace that decried bawdy verse or inappropriate matter.⁹⁷ The hack balladeers that wrote black-letter ballads were of low social standing and limited education, their inspiration inflamed by the muse of beer. They rarely aspired even to satire and they too constantly flouted the rules of poetry.⁹⁸ Webbe railed, 'I scorne and spue out the rakehelly rout of our ragged Rhymers ... which without learning boaste, without judgement iangle, without reason rage and fume'. The fact that ballads were written and published overnight, without care or consideration, 'balde ditties made over the beere potts, which are nothing lesse than poetry', gave poetry a bad name.⁹⁹

In order to be successful, black-letter ballads had to appeal to as wide an audience as possible and that audience expected ballad discourses to fit into a circumscribed world picture and to instruct listeners in the conceptual comprehension of that world. It is only by understanding the boundaries, rules and structures of the generic political world which ballads addressed and informed that we can connect the ballad with the political consciousness of the writers, publishers, readers and listeners.

A newspaper is only current for the day. Though inspired by topical matters, a black-letter ballad hoped for eternal currency. It wanted to be a best seller, to be reprinted, to become an anthem (as *When the King* or *The Ballad of the Cloak*). It aimed to find general truths and to be generally popular. Of course many missed the mark, and in the more sophisticated white-letter market the intention was often to hurt rather than to instruct. The

⁹⁷ Black-letter ballads rarely aspired to real satire, this appeared only in white-letter broadsides.

⁹⁸ Though many 'true' poets claimed the inspiration of wine, Jonson, Herricke and Rochester for example.

⁹⁹ Webbe, *Discourse sig. Ei*

ballad was about entertainment, instruction, comment, explanation and complaint, not about information. The ballad was not and never became a journalistic enterprise in the sense of a newspaper. It served an entirely different purpose; it aimed to cure the times, not to inform them. As Samuel Rowley's Poet said in 1634, 'A Poets Inke can better cure some sores/ Then Surgeons Balsum.'¹⁰⁰ There was no such thing as a 'news-ballad'. It was not a failed newspaper, if anything, it was failed poetry.¹⁰¹

iii. The Ballad as Muse

We have established that political ballads discussed and commented on political events rather than relating them, and that they depended on the prior knowledge and political engagement of their audience. This is not to say, however, that ballads contained no information, or that they did not have a role in transmitting the theatre of high political events around the country. It is to argue that the function of balladry was not primarily that of informing the public. By 1640 the primary functions of the traditional political ballad were clear. They celebrated and promoted the interests of virtuous monarchy, they encouraged English men to reply to the call-up at times of war, they shamed traitors and they promoted the Protestant interest whenever it seemed to be at risk at home or abroad. However, as we shall see, they were far from being official mouthpieces. Ballads spoke not for the crown's interest, but for the commonwealth's. They supported a virtuous state that was pursuing the national interest, they promoted wars where a good cause could be shown, and they balladed traitors who had demonstrably posed threats to church and state. Where this was not certain, the black-letter market often rejected the partisan balladeer; ballads promoting views of more dubious national interest were published in white-letter formats. Since the following chapters

¹⁰⁰ Samuel Rowley, attrib., *The noble souldier. Or, A contract broken, justly reveng'd A tragedy* (1634), Act III, Scene One.

¹⁰¹ *C&P*, p. 385 suggests a ballad and a 'noble sonnet' by John Milton 'may profitably be compared ... to see how poetry differs from balladry. But as the aim and audience of the ballad writer were far different from Milton's, the comparison is not wholly fair' because he argues the ballad was a 'journalistic rhyme.' However, their poetic aims were the same, though undoubtedly the outcomes were different.

concentrate heavily on the ballading of church and state affairs, here we will analyse the functions of the ballad in military affairs and as perpetrators of the traitor's disgrace in the period 1640 to 1689.

The Ballad and War

The Loyal Subjects resolution

In Defence of his King will fight

For to maintain his countries right

Inviting all his Fellow Peeres

To List themselves for Volunteerers.¹⁰²

Ballads traditionally sang of war and peace. Engagements - especially naval ones - were recounted in more or less accurate detail, officers and generals were praised, and peace, when made, was heralded and terms laid out. The function of these ballads, as has been argued above, was not primarily to inform, and songs of old engagements were just as likely to be issued at time of war as new ones. They aimed to encourage volunteers, to explain current hardship and to engage the nation in an admiration for glory and honour that might distract them from their sufferings in terms of increased taxation, loss of trade and the fear of impressment.

Ballads were inextricably linked with military affairs and whenever the state went to war the numbers of ballads increased. Soldiers and sailors were a mainstay of ballad fare, romantic figures constantly leaving and returning to their loves, seducers, rescuers, declarers of their bravery, honour and fortitude. During the civil war they appeared everywhere; for example, in one song about a domestic murder, soldiers perform the role of constables, being called in to examine the bodies and look for the perpetrators.¹⁰³

¹⁰² *The Loyal Subjects Resolution* (1665), b/l, Euing 161.

¹⁰³ See *Three Horrible Murders* {1650s}, b/l, MB.II(21).

For the army, martial tunes were important to the spirit, atmosphere and orderliness of battle. Drums and pipes kept marchers synchronised, trumpets could call the advance or the retreat, while words and music created the emotional upsurge required for battle.¹⁰⁴ With no standing army and no professional school of military music on which to rely, balladeers had an important function in devising tunes and songs. In 1660 one ballad was sung 'To the tune of General Moncks right march that was sounded before him from Scotland to London.'¹⁰⁵ Another ballad sang of 'Each regiment from other/ Known by their several notes', whilst yet another referred to the 'musical charmes' of the 'States Arms'.¹⁰⁶ Ballads had an important role to play in creating a willing band of brothers and perhaps maintaining morale, although songs about soldiers returning home to find their lovers had left them or returned soldiers forced to beg and sing ballads for a living cannot have been encouraging.

Ballads did describe battles - especially sea battles - and therefore did bring detailed information to shore. There was clearly nothing a sailor loved more than hearing how we 'banged the Dutch' in the great detail demanded by the professional. The culture of tale telling was strong amongst army and navy personnel, as is indicated by the number of soldiers and sailors who tell tales in all kinds of literature. However, the function of these songs was affective rather than informative. Music played an essential part in recruitment: drums and trumpets would sound and songs would be sung, heralding the need to raise an army or navy. In 1659, for example, Thomas Ruggie heard 'drumes beat up for to geather together soldiers for Dunkirk.'¹⁰⁷ Ballads aimed to inspire the desire to join up in young men and a willingness

¹⁰⁴ I am grateful to Regimental Bandmaster John McShane, ARCM, IVth Queens Regiment, Rtd., for his helpful comments on this.

¹⁰⁵ *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* (1660), b/l, Euing 160. Tunes were often military, especially in the mid-century. A few examples from 1650 – 1660: 'Brave Sons of mars', Firth b20(24a); 'Gallant Soldiers do not Muse', Euing 95; 'Collonel Downes his men', MB.II(11); 'When Cannons are Roaring', *RB* VIII, p. xli*; 'Sound a Charge', Euing 309. Many of these tunes continued to be used throughout the century.

¹⁰⁶ *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* (1660), b/l, Euing 146; *Englands Captivity Returned*, (1660), b/l, Firth b20(24a); and [*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, CB.213/2 (the two halves of this ballad have become separated into two different collections). Soldiers and sailors were often referred to as ballad makers, see the anthology of quotations at the end of Würzbach *The Rise of the English Street*.

¹⁰⁷ Rugg, *Diurnall*, p. 40, February 1659. Pepys makes several references to drums being beaten to raise the militias and reported on 30th June 1667 while in Rochester that 'Here in the streets, I did hear

to pay up in older ones. *The English Seamans Resolution* was issued in spring 1666, 'Plainly demonstrating the Justness of his cause,/ Incouraging his Friends to Daunt his foes', and declaimed, 'pay your money with speed, for that we do need/ or else come to the seas to Dye'.¹⁰⁸ Songs recounting previous battles were issued at the opening of a new war as an encouragement for men to join up. In 1640, *Brave Bristowes Renowne an Incouragement to all English Soldiers*, and in 1657 and again in 1665, *The Honour of Bristol* sang of a victorious battle fought against three Spanish ships by the *Angel Gabriel* in which there were few casualties, 'only three men slain:/ and five men hurt', but a good prize 'two hundred pounds in coyn and plate.'¹⁰⁹ Titles, such as *Belona's Encouragement* (1640) and in 1665 *Englands Valour and Hollands Terrour: being an encouragement for seamen and souldiers to serve his majesty in his wars against the Dutch*, along with myriad others full of words and phrases like 'Resolution', 'Valient-hearted', and 'Loyal subjects', made it quite clear what their purpose was.¹¹⁰

Accounts of battles issued around the time they occurred were also primarily call-up ballads, and morale boosters. They were aimed at the professionals, and no doubt formed a part of the entertainment when sailors met in the alehouses and taverns of Wapping and elsewhere. Laurence Price described the ballad of the *Angel Gabriel* as 'a noble song/ which to the seamen doth belong'.¹¹¹ Pepys records on 18 July 1666 that the Duke of York had

the Scotch march beat by the drums before the soldiers, which is very odde.': Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p.311.

¹⁰⁸ *The English Seamans Resolution* (1666), b/l, Euing 106.

¹⁰⁹ *Brave Bristowes Renowne an Incouragement to all English Soldiers* [RI229 3 Sept 1640]; *The Honour of Bristol* (1665), b/l, Euing 142. This ballad was also printed in white-letter at the end of a pamphlet by Laurence Price, *Fortvnes Lottery* (1657): 'A book of news worth the hearing containing many pretty passages concerning the times, which will prove to be delightfull to the readers, pleasant to the hearer, comfortable to the buyer, profitable to the seller, and hurtfull to no man: whereunto is added a most excellent song, shewing how a noble ship of Bristoll, called the Angel Gabriell, fought against three of Spains great ships and overmastered them all, to the honour and credit of England.' There were also later editions, for example in 1684.

¹¹⁰ *Belona's Encouragement* [RI184 7 May 1640]; *Englands Valour and Hollands Terrour: being an encouragement for seamen and souldiers to serve his majesty in his wars against the Dutch* (1665), b/l, Euing 103.

¹¹¹ Price, *Fortvnes Lottery*, p. 9.

finally calculated the Dutch losses from the disastrous Four Days Battle in June. At this,

Coventry:

did publicly move that if his Royal Highness was of a certainty, it would be of use to send this down to the fleet, and to cause it to be spread about the fleet for the recovering of the spirits of the officers and seamen - who are under great dejectedness for want of knowing that they did do anything against the enemy, notwithstanding all that they did to us.¹¹²

This may account for the ballad *Englands Tryumph, and Hollands Downfall*, which described the, at best, pyrrhic victory of the battle. This ballad was no part of the premature celebrations that had occurred immediately following the battle as it included references to the burning of the *Henry*, with the loss of at least 100 men.¹¹³ One couplet laments, 'More valiant Men kill'd in three dayes,/ Then three and twenty years can raise.' However, the ballad adds the caveat 'we can't avoid such brunts as these/ to guard the soveraign of the seas' and it also enumerated Dutch losses, 'Fourteen of theirs were took and Fir'd ... Four of their greatest ships were sunck ... a gallant ship of theirs was Fyr'd,/with seventy six Guns double tyr'd.'

The ballad concludes,

To summe up all, 'tis thought they are,
Unfit to raise another war;
'Tis much presum'd, 'cause they did fail,
When they had made out all their Sayle.¹¹⁴

Later that summer *Holland turn'd to Tinder, Or Englands Third Great Victory*

described in great detail the battle of 25 to 26 July 1666, but it too had more than 'an exact

¹¹² Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 209. Pepys wrote, 'though it be true, yet methought one of the most dishonourable motions to our countrymen that ever was made'. See also pp. 180, 188 for his awareness of demoralisation.

¹¹³ Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 154-5; Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667* (Oxford, 1986), p. 243.

¹¹⁴ This line may refer to the sighting of the Dutch Fleet on 26 June and its apparent disappearance after 13 July: Pepys, *Diary*, VII, pp. 182, 205.

narrative' in view.¹¹⁵ The preamble spelled out its sources - Lord Coventry himself - after the fiasco of June that year when the government had encouraged celebrations of what, on later reports, turned out to be terrible losses at sea, so that the credibility of government sources had been compromised. The ballad set out to give 'a joyful and Royal relation,' to such 'That's honest and true,/(and is not a Jew).' Most sea ballads of this period began by attacking those who opposed the war or the government. The ballad explains, 'two hundred almost/ of our men were lost,/ such victories seldom are gain'd without cost' and claims 'the prest men (wel mingl'd with stout voluntiers)/ Did drink away dolour and fight away fears'. The ballad then moralises,

It is far better in a good cause to dye,
Than with a bad conscience to live great and high:
And in acts of honour there's no better thing,
Then to dye a true Martyr for God and the King.

This ballad is clearly addressing an audience well versed in warfare at sea, and who it hopes to encourage to enlist. From 1666, there was an increasing problem with recruitment as losses and especially the horror of the four-day battle caused experienced men to melt away from the ships as they came home.¹¹⁶ There was little point in falsifying accounts of losses as the audience was already fully conversant with the facts; the assurance about the arrangement of the 'prest men' and the experienced volunteers in particular seems to indicate this.

One strand of ballad discourse in call-up ballads, throughout the century, was based on the classical trope of controversy between the Gods of war and love. Mars and Bellona would call up soldiers but Venus - represented by their wives and sweethearts - would try to persuade their men to stay at home. This ubiquitous story line emphasised the manliness and glory of the soldier, while women were depicted as weak and with no idea of honour. As one

¹¹⁵ *Holland turn'd to Tinder, Or Englands Third Great Victory* {1666}, b/1, Euing 134. There is no guarantee this ballad was issued soon after the events; the publishing partnership on the imprint is not thought to have been in operation until 1674.

¹¹⁶ Hutton, *The Restoration*, pp. 243-244. Pepys, *Diary*, VII, pp. 187, 189-190 is a catalogue of the difficulties of recruitment and pay for the sailors and the need to have experienced sailors on board.

ballad sang, to stay behind 'will be a shame ... and to my name a foul disgrace'.¹¹⁷ It also dealt head on with the problem of fear, feminising it by making the women in these stories describe what might happen; 'Thou'lt either be drowning or burning / in Crimson waves of Gore.' This gave the man the opportunity to express his courage, and assurance that no French/Dutch/Spanish/Cavalier/Roundhead soldier could 'vapour his life away'. At the same time he could promise wealth and honour, as part of the booty of warfare.¹¹⁸ A ballad perhaps written after the taking of Mardyke registered in 1656, and re-registered in 1675, tried appealing to the gallants of the taverns in these terms. It sang, 'do not lose your Valors Prize,/ by gazing on your Mistress Eyes;/ But putt off your petticoat Parley'. In this ballad Mars wins the day: 'Since the sword so bright doth shine,/ we'll leave our wenches and our wine,/ And follow Mars where e'er he runs/ ... We shall have Gold or a Grave, Boys'.¹¹⁹ Frequently, the women in ballads then wished they could also go to war, (thus putting to shame any man who was still too scared). This needed to be nipped in the bud. As John says to Betty in *The Faithful Lovers Farewell*, when she offers to dress up as a man and follow him, 'I can tell by my reading/ When Cleopatra put to sea, /Mark Anthony lost the day.'¹²⁰

Sometimes Venus won the battle. In *A New way of Hunting*, published in 1656 and again in 1671, Fidelia succeeds in persuading her lover to 'Stay here and try/ A victory/ With me thy friendly foe.' There was of course a distinct reality to this tropic imagination, apart from the classic tension in gender relations upon which it so brilliantly draws. Men were sometimes persuaded not to join up by their wives and lovers, and they were certainly influenced by fear. Samuel Pepys described the wailing of women at their men being

¹¹⁷ *The Gallant Seamans Resolution* [RI940 12 March 1656], (RI939 1 March 1675), b/1, Pepys IV.92. This registration may have occurred some time after publication.

¹¹⁸ *The Faithful Lovers Farewell* [1664], b/1, Euing 118. See also *The Soldier His Salutation* {1650s}, b/1, RB. VII, p. 653 and *The Gallant Seamans Resolution* (1675).

¹¹⁹ *The Soldiers Fortune or the Taking of Mardyke* {1675}, b/1, Rox.II.431, BB.I.69, Douce Ballads 2(195v), Euing 338, Huth II(93), CB.1299/7. This was a very popular song, Pepys records a manuscript version of it circulating in 1660, Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 41. Several sheets still exist of the 1675 edition, and it was reprinted again in 1678 after its re-appearance in Thomas D'Urfey's *The Fool Turn'd Critick* (1678).

¹²⁰ *The Faithful Lovers Farewell* (1664), b/1, Euing 118

pressed.¹²¹ Governments depended on the press and volunteers - and the 'friendly foe' of the little women at home, on top of the natural fear of fighting was a real problem to contend with.

When troops were raised for the civil war, balladeers appear to have fallen silent. Just one call-up ballad by Robert White published in 1642 remains. It appealed to apprentices to join up with the earl of Essex, 'a noble general'. It followed traditional lines. It refers to an 'invitation' from Mars and Bellona while 'Guns, Drums and Trumpets bravely play.' It addressed those, 'who have made a promise to spend their best blood/ for the glory of the King and the Parliaments good.' It encouraged its listeners with the right and glory of their cause:

we have

to stand for England's glory

Let us not be afraid to fight

'Tis for our King and Countries right

and the perfidy of their enemies, 'The cavaliers it seems are Bent ... to ruinate our parliament ... we will quell their haughty pride ... O we will march couragiously/ against the Gospels enemy.'

Where Mars and Bellona are, Venus cannot be far behind, and sure enough, the ballad went on,

Alas the maids are Discontent ...

To see their loves so warlike bent ...

In heart they wish that they were men

Onely to march along with them.¹²²

Though Parker and others wrote so many call-up ballads for the Bishops' wars, as discussed above, there is now no evidence of any royalist recruiting songs for the civil wars.

¹²¹ Pepys, *Diary*, VII, pp.189-190.

¹²² R. White, *The Prentices Resolution* {1642}, b/l, Ashm.H23(54).

Royalist white-letter broadsides attacked parliament's soldiers, but as the King's forces were out of London, they did not have access to London's black-letter presses. Perhaps this proved a disadvantage. The cavalier armies were never adopted by traditional broadside balladeers, their generals were not celebrated as heroes; both Rupert and Goring were attacked, and eventually the royalist cause suffered ignominious defeat. Though after the King's execution loyal cavaliers received a good ballad press, it was as drinkers, lovers and mourners, not as fighters. In 1645, a ballad to be sung 'to the Tune of Plundering Jack or Nobody Else Shall Plunder but I' highlighted the differences between a force that was to be respected or despised. In it Prince Rupert discusses his role in the war with his brother Maurice as they prepare to leave the country:

R: Amongst all the Roundheads I'me generally hated;

Did ever man meet with such Divells before?

M: I'll tell the what, Rupert, in that they had reason,

For thou plaid the Divell too, there a long season;

And if, by such Divells, the Divell was tamed,

In this the bold Round-head is not to be blamed, ...

R: Some men for their conscients their lives goes to hazard,

And I only fought for the Luker of Gold.¹²³

The close relationship of the ballad form to the raising of the rank and file meant that even during the civil war, ballads were usually loathe to attack an army until it was defeated. A force that was well disciplined and had a cause, and especially one that was successful, could count on black-letter ballad support. On the other hand, it could well have been the case that with the strong military presence in London and indeed all over the country it was simply unwise to draw unwanted attention to singers from armed men who would almost certainly be listening. *Joyfull Newes for England, and all other parts of Christendome*, a ballad celebrating

¹²³ [..]nd with the manner of their taking ship Dover, and their departure, set forth in dialogue verse {1645}, b/1, MB.II(27).

the peace with the Dutch in 1654, summed up the traditional ballad attitude to any English army or navy, including the New Model forces:

We have as braue a Navy,
As ever bore up saile,
Wee have as brave Commanders,
As euer did prevaile:
Wee have a braue Land Army,
Of souldiers as 'tis found,
No bouldar sparks did ever breathe,
Nor tread on English ground.¹²⁴

However, *England's Monthly Predications* (1649) was less supportive of the army. It predicted trouble for officers, new armies coming from the north east, rebellion by the Scots, invasion by the Danes, and a mutiny. It claimed that 'Bad actions of Officers' would come to light and that 'A principall Souldier or great Officer,/ will be in great danger and breed a demur'. Finally it claimed, 'At impartiall justice some grandees now raves,/ and being discovered they prove arrant knaves.'¹²⁵

Up until the execution the army was always depicted as loyal to the King. The changing situation in 1647 and 1648 prompted a whole range of ballads, mainly in white-letter, which debated what the army would do, but all anticipated the return of the King.¹²⁶ One licensed parliamentarian black-letter ballad, *Strange and Wonderfull Prodictions*, said to be based on a death-bed prophecy by John Saltmarsh, criticised General Fairfax: 'He told Sir

¹²⁴ *Joyfull Newes for England, and all other parts of Christendome* (1654), b/1, BL.C20.f.14 (23).

¹²⁵ *England's Monthly Predications* (1649), b/1, MB.II(44).

¹²⁶ Thirty-five political ballads and two broadside poems remain for 1647-1648, twelve were in black-letter, none were registered in that year. These ballads mainly follow events in London, between the army, the King and parliament. All supported the King, some looked to Fairfax to bring about peace and a restoration. Many were expressly anti-Scots (even those that are pro-Royal). One illustrated white-letter ballad, *A Word in the Kings Eare* (1647), perhaps written by parliamentarian propagandist Henry Walker prayed, 'May King and parliament, and Army eke, / joyne hearts in one treangle as they speak'. None at all were sympathetic to the City of London, which was attacked in the Royalist ballads for not standing up to the army.

Thomas this much too,/ Hee'd honour him no more ... 'Cause he had lost his former Love,
and so unconstant now doth prove.'¹²⁷ It also encouraged the army to disband: 'our
parliament/ disbands the army for our good,/ to give the land content ... With promise they
shall have their pay', and it concluded that the King must be brought back. Another ballad, in
black-letter but with no woodcut, *Strange And True Newes Of An Ocean Of Flies*, took a
slightly different view: 'God send Sir Thomas Fairfax right/ and send us our arrears', but it
also claimed peace would not come until 'the king enjoy his rights and dignities/ His Queen
and everything'.¹²⁸

After the Restoration in 1660 some black-letter ballads attacked the army. Complaints
were made about 'Garrisons of Lubbers' who 'plunder, drink and gather pay ... and though
they swear/ we will not care/ Nor to such Skowndrels servile be;/ We will not styand/ with
cap in hand,/ beseeching them to let alone/ the goods which justly are our own'.¹²⁹ These
cavalier complaints concentrated on plunder and especially sequestration - but references like
this were not very numerous. *The Covenant Or No King But The Old Kings Son, Or, A Brief
Rehearsal Of What Heretofore Was Done* (1660) put the case for the soldiers in the army,
debating the reasons for the covenant and the disputes between army and parliament in the
war. It claimed that the army had always wanted the King.¹³⁰ In *Englands Joy in a Lawful
Triumph* (1660) everyone but the army was blamed for the civil wars: Jesuits, Jews,
Anabaptists and Quakers, Fifth-monarchy men, 'preaching-house-hanters', Independents,
Brownists, Ranters and excise men.¹³¹ Policies of the regime, which had of course been
upheld by the army, were attacked, but the army had brought about the Restoration as well as

¹²⁷ *Strange and Wonderfull Prodictions* (1647), b/l, MB.II(40).

¹²⁸ *Strange And True Newes Of An Ocean Of Flies* (1647), b/l no w/c, BL.C20.f2(17). Rollins prints a
1648 m/s ballad in the Thomason collection that attacks the army but there is no evidence it was
printed as a broadside, in black or white letter, though Rollins points out that in September and
December *Mercurius Pragmaticus* referred to a 'new song' containing the lines 'Who but Oliver? O
brave Oliver' etc : C&P, pp. 221-3. The ballad parodied the traditional rustic song 'Arthur Bradley'.
This strategy was typical of royalist satire of the period, but not of black-letter balladry.

¹²⁹ *A Country Song Intituled The Restoration* (1660), b/l, 669.f.25(20), attacked major generals,
sequestration, decimation and said 'soldiers plunder no more'.

¹³⁰ *The Covenant Or No King But The Old Kings Son Or A Brief Rehearsal Of What Heretofore Was
Done* (1660), b/l, Euing 43.

¹³¹ *Englands Joy In Lawful Triumph* (1660), b/l, Euing 98.

the Republic, and once brought into existence the country depended on it for security, and ballads sang its tune.¹³²

The military events of the civil wars were alluded to in ballads but they were not described in any detail and were mainly written long after the event.¹³³ The 1646 ballad of Rupert and Maurice's departure discussed above listed the major battles of the first war, while *Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost* referred to the engagements of the second.¹³⁴ *Jockies Lamentation* was perhaps published at the time but it was certainly reprinted in the 1670s. It contains the only description of a civil war battle:

Prince Rupert he at Marston Moor,
in time of yore,
did bang us sore
being forc'd to flie,
had it not been for English men
to charge agen the Battel then
and victory
was bravely gain'd by our General
But Lashly [Leslie] did run with his blew caps all ...
their legs they were weary with running so fast
And yet the bald Cavies were routed at last.¹³⁵

¹³² See the following supportive restoration ballads, [*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, CB.990/6: 'we all will pray/ and for George Monck, both night and day,/ and for his army large and small/ God bless and eke preserve them all' and *The Royall Subject's Joy* (1660), b/l, Euing 309: 'Good soldiers will not daunt... what though they money want ... their arrears are all at hand'. Ballads were at pains to point out that the army had agreed to the calling back of the King, such as *Englands Rejoycing* (1660), b/l, Euing 95: 'The Army it doth take a part/ for they joyn with hand and heart'; see also Euing 167, Euing 43, Euing 130.

¹³³ There was one largely fictional account of a Royalist victory in Ireland in 1649 (in which Ireton was allegedly killed); a much reprinted ballad, perhaps about the siege of Chester, *The Valiant Commander with his Resolute Lady* (1645), b/l, several later editions exist, e.g., Pepys II.208, Euing 367, and Tom Smith, *Gallant News from the Seas* (1649), which mentioned the 1648 – 9 naval mutiny. In the 1650s two royalist love ballads mentioned the civil war sieges at Bristol and Pontefract and one referred to the battle of Worcester. See discussion of these ballads below, ch. 4.

¹³⁴ *Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost* (1648), b/l, 669.f.13(46)

¹³⁵ *Jockies Lamentation* (RI1293 16 July 1657, only later editions c. 1680), b/l, Pepys IV.345.

If ballads were low on battles they were filled with calls for peace, with mourning for a lost monarchy and with lamentations for the disruption to social, economic and spiritual security. They were full of soldiers, speeches and promises, plans and programmes, hopes and fears. In particular, ballads tried to make sense of what had happened in a variety of retrospective songs, which blamed those responsible, laid out the main events and called for peace. One ballad was willing to forgive all the inevitable depredations of war despite terrible losses:

Our husbands Sons and fathers
Our unckels and our Cozens
Are slaine out-right
Or maimed quite
And so undone by dozens
Our wives, our maids, and daughters
In our own sight defiled;
This to prevent
Let the parliament
And the King be reconciled
If peace come yet
we will forget
how war hath us turmoyled.¹³⁶

Traditional ballad military discourses were about glorious victory against a foreign, catholic enemy. The trauma of war within the community meant that ballads concentrated on calls for peace rather than glorifying and commemorating acts of war.

We have already noted that ballads covered the events of the Dutch wars as part of their function as recruiters and morale boosters. The great victory of June 1665 was

¹³⁶ [Untitled scrap] {1642-1647}, b/1, MB.II(30b).

celebrated in *The Royal Victory*, of which there are several extant copies.¹³⁷ This ballad contained a long list of the ships taken and burnt. It pointed out, 'to mock at mens misery is not my aime', although clearly to depict these events as revenge for the massacre at Amboyna, and to maintain support for the war was.¹³⁸ Several ballads celebrated the real and accidental victories of July and August 1666, although the only copy of *Englands Royall Conquest* exists on the verso of another ballad, which suggests it did not sell. After that, there was a silence. Balladeers were not disloyal, there was no song about failure - either about the Medway disaster in 1667, or 'St James' flight'.¹³⁹ The fire in September 1666 had burned many printers out of their premises, or perhaps, like so many of the deserting recruits, balladeers had ceased to believe in the war. Perhaps, as Pepys had put it in July 1666, they felt there was 'no great matters to brag on'.¹⁴⁰ Two ballads were made of the peace treaty in 1667. They sang of an end to the fear of the press, exhaustion, interrupted trade, and low grain prices. One sang, 'Poor men shall no more be afraid of the Press,/ Nor forc'd to leave children and wife in distress,/ they need not hereafter in holes for to lurk,/ But boldly and freely may follow their work/ [and] The seamen and soldiers their limbs shall not lose'.¹⁴¹ This was hardly glorious victory.

The Third Dutch war, as usual, saw the singing of ballads describing land and sea battles and the first appearance of the Duke of Monmouth as a heroic figure fighting for the Prince of Orange.¹⁴² But it also saw ballads about dead sailor lovers, and the attempted suicide

¹³⁷ The closure of fairs around the country due to the plague may have had something to do with this lack of production. As fairs and markets were some of the main trading venues for black-letter ballads it may be that fewer ballads were demanded.

¹³⁸ *The Royal Victory* (1665), b/l, Euing 311. *More News from the Fleet* (1665), b/l, 4oRawl.566(118b), to the royalist tune 'The king enjoys his own again' celebrates a successful attack on the Dutch shore on 8-10 August. It has another ballad on the verso.

¹³⁹ Hutton, *The Restoration*, p. 273.

¹⁴⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, VII, p. 226.

¹⁴¹ *Great Brittain's Joy and Good News for the Netherlands* (1667), b/l, Wood E25(101). *The Triumphs of Four Nations* (1667), b/l, Euing 351, compared the battle with the Dutch to the disunity within the state, and also referred to the fear of the press and the need to rebuild London now peace had come.

¹⁴² *News from the Netherlands; being a full and true relation of a sharp and bloody battel fought betwixt the prince of Orange, and the French army* (1678), b/l, Wood E25(106).

of their bereaved fiancées at home.¹⁴³ There was no ballad about the peace. Balladeers had found more to complain about than to praise in Stuart warfare.

The Ballad and Treason

Give Traytors their Due,
Give Traytors their Due,
Or else we shall find loyal hearts but a few;
For it is a sad thing,
To Murther a King,
And destroy, and destroy Religion too.¹⁴⁴

The cause, process and consequence of treason were succinctly described by George Whetstone in *The Censure of a Loyal Subject: Upon Certain Noted Speech and Behaviours of those fourteen notable traitors ...* (London, 1587):

Pride, envy and ambition are the roots of treason; the body of treason is murder and all that mischief may devise; the fruits of treason are ruins of kingdoms and commonwealths; the general reward of treason is the destruction of traitors and for that shame and perpetual infamy lead them to the gallows: to colour, if it were possible, their treason, they make religion their ground of rebellion and with this holy show strengthen themselves. But when justice has delivered them to the hangman, death summons their wickedness before their consciences and then the fear of hell makes them openly to confess the matter to be damnable which they took to be a holy ground of rebellion.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ See, for example, *The Sorrowful Ladies Com[plaint]* {1676 – 8}, b/1, Pepys IV.195

¹⁴⁴ *Long Lookt For is Come at Last* {1678/9}, b/1, Rox.III.78.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in and brilliantly analysed by Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Protestants, Puritans and Papists: Agency and Appropriation at the Foot of the Gallows', reprinted in Peter Lake with Michael Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, 2002), p. 235.

All aspects of this blue-print of treason and execution, indeed in some cases the very phrases, can be seen in the ballad coverage of state executions from the late sixteenth century onwards. The desire of the traitor to bring about the destruction of the Kingdom became of increasing significance after the civil war, and this may account for the added emphasis on the pain of execution in ballads on those deemed to have been particularly dangerous. Like pamphlets, ballads might sing of the traitor's confession, or his conviction of conscience, or if there was no confession or admission of guilt, on other aspects of the execution process - the crime, the trial, or the death itself. Unlike pamphlets that 'opened spaces for catholic agency and speech,' there was rarely opportunity for Catholics or any other traitors to have their say in black-letter ballads by the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁴⁶ In a ballad dying speeches and execution could be conflated, as in a ballad on Strafford's execution in 1641: 'after some prayers said/ and certaine speeches made/ O'th'block his head he layd'.¹⁴⁷ In *Treason Justly Punished* (1679), the popish plotter William Staley's answer to the charges against him is described as 'very small,/ Which did unto the purpose tend'.¹⁴⁸ In ballad terms there was no question that these voices were legitimately silenced, and, like the trumpets at Sir Harry Vane's execution, their music helped to drown them out.¹⁴⁹ Ballads traditionally accused traitors of being motivated by pride or ambition, which were often described as diseases affecting the reason of the traitor and the health and harmony of the body politic. As *The Happy Return* explained in 1685, 'The chief disease which troubles us,/ swells from ambitious eyes,/ which doth molest the Kingdoms health'.¹⁵⁰ Where the balladeer left out

¹⁴⁶ Lake and Questier, 'Protestants, Puritans and Papists', p. 230.

¹⁴⁷ *The True Manner of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641), b/l, BL.C20.f.2(8).

¹⁴⁸ *Treason Justly Punished: or, A full relation of the condemnation and execution of Mr. William Staley who was found guilty of high treason, at the Kings-bench-barr at Westminster, on Thursday the 21st. of Nov. 1678. For speaking dangerous, and treasonable words against his most Sacred Majesty the King* (1679), b/l, EEBO/Harvard. The silencing of voices could be due to a practical concern. Many sales were to people on the day of the execution (one ballad refers to 'we here'), as well as afterwards (e.g. the King's trial ballad was not published until 1656), therefore the victim's words were not yet known. See *Upon the execution of the late Viscount Stafford* (1680) w/l, Lutt.III(136): 'Now ballad-wise, before he's dead,/ to tell ye what the sufferer said/'. The emphasis in ballads was shame not speeches.

¹⁴⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, III, pp. 108-109, 14 June 1662.

¹⁵⁰ *The Happy Return or The Parliament's Wellcome to London* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.234

terms such as these, he doubted guilt. As we shall see, black-letter ballads frequently contested the guilt of traitors who seemed to them to have the interests of the Protestant State of England at heart. Though they shared the moral imperative of the pamphlet, ballads did not seek to report on the details of an execution as pamphlets did. Ballads had a part to play in the judicial process. The execution ballad was a means by which the 'shame and perpetual infamy' described by Whetstone could be achieved.

Shame was cast on all aspects of the execution process; the victim, the hangman and the balladeer were all referred to disparagingly. The reputation of the hangman often suffered in ballads along with the victim. In the *Masse-priests Lamentation* 'yong Brandon' the hangman was described as a 'Domineering Knave' who could 'hardly be more grieved/ than when the priests their judgements have/ and afterwards reprieved'. Moreover, the ballad had more gossip about him: 'it is beleev'd', the ballad intimated, 'had not the sawcy elfe/ at this last sessions been repriev'd/ he had beene hang'd himselfe'.¹⁵¹ Another ballad let slip the cause of the trouble, 'There is another that hardly thrives,/ Which many men of life deprives,/ He was in Newgate for having two wives:/ It is the young hangman; Alas, poor hangman.'¹⁵²

The rhetoric of shame and the role of the ballad within it were well understood as an aspect of the theatre of justice, and the utter degradation of death 'with your shoes on'.¹⁵³ Ballads could make their victims live long after the events, naming and shaming, reiterating the lessons, the warnings, the admonitions and the horror of the traitor's death. The execution ballad bestowed a shameful immortality on the common felon and the aristocratic traitor alike, as *Upon the execution of Viscount Stafford* pointed out:

Shall every Jack and every Jill,

That rides in State up Holborn Hill,

¹⁵¹ *The Masse Priests Lamentation for the Strange Alteration begun in this Nation* (1641), b/1, EEBO/Harvard.

¹⁵² *The Organ's Eccho* (1641), w/1+ 2 x w/c, 669.f.4(32).

¹⁵³ See Samuel Rowley, attrib., *The Noble Souldier. Or, A Contract Broken, Justly Reveng'd. A Tragedy* (1634), Act III, Scene One: 'The Poet: 'The King! Shall I be bitter 'gainst the King?/ I shall have scurvy ballads made of me,/ Sung to the hanging tune, I dare not, Madam.'

By aid of Smithfield rhymes defie,
 The malice of mortality ...
 Ruffians and bauds and whores and thieves,
 In ballad records live new lives;
 And shall a Lord because a traytor ...
 Want that which others, saints to him,
 Ne'er want to fame them Words and Rhime?¹⁵⁴

A black-letter ballad of 1647, claiming to be a record of a thirteenth-century traitor, outlined the 'confession' of a parliamentarian traitor. One verse sings,

...Tybourne,
 How would I blesse thee, couldst thou take away,
 My life and infamie in one day
 But this in ballads will survive I know
 Sung to that solemn tune Fortune my foe.¹⁵⁵

In some cases the shaming rhetoric of the state execution ballad was used where no execution had taken place. Cursing traitors who had got away, one pamphleteer declared, 'Death and shame take them and their cause', and to threaten them with ballading was another way of achieving the effect of the execution without the satisfaction of blood spilt.¹⁵⁶ In 1641, a black-letter ballad, *Canterburies Conscience Convicted*, sees Archbishop Laud confessing his crimes, and lamenting, 'But now I'me fallen from my seat/ And every child at me doth laugh'.¹⁵⁷ The balladeer John Lookes, addressing Bishop Wren and Secretary Windebank,

¹⁵⁴ *Upon the Execution of the Late Viscount Stafford* (1680), w/l, Lutt.III(136).

¹⁵⁵ *The Penitent Traytor, or, the humble confession of a Devonshire Gentleman, who was condemned for high treason, and executed at Tyborne for the same in the raigne of King Henry the Third, the nineteenth of July, 1267. You may sing this if you please. To the Tune of Fortune my Foe* (1647), b/l no w/c, 669.f.11(35). See a detailed explanation of this ballad below, ch. 4.

¹⁵⁶ Anon., *The Groanes and Pangues of Tibvrne* (1648), Frontispiece.

¹⁵⁷ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641), b/l, Ashm.H.23(42) and BL.1475.c8.

who had escaped the country in 1640, because they 'car'd not for seeing/ the Deputy dye'¹⁵⁸
demanded,

Didst thou the hangman cozen[?]....

And now I thinke there's many a Ballet singers

With thirsty throates for thy returning lingers

They'd laugh to see thy name in print betwixt their fingers.¹⁵⁹

In a royalist pamphlet, *Knaves are no honest men*, Justice Waterton, a notoriously puritan London magistrate, describes how he was threatened by a 'knave so scawcie on Tower Hill the other day for I did but bid him to be gone, and not to stand bawling of his ballads in that manner, and he told me that he would sing there when I was hang'd, nay, perhaps (quoth he) one that shall be of thine owne Execution.'¹⁶⁰ When Colonel Rainsborough was murdered in 1648, a royalist black-letter ballad re-constructed the event as if it were an execution.

Narrated by his lamenting, confessional ghost, a 'trial' takes place at which his murderers charge him with the murder of two royalist captains.¹⁶¹ He fails to defend himself against the charge but resists his accusers and this leads to his 'execution'. The ballad justifies the murder as quasi-judicial, and even the way his murderers cleverly enter and leave the enemy camp in a mysterious manner seems to indicate the hand of providence.¹⁶²

If shame was itself a death by execution then one of the great villains of the age Judge Jeffreys certainly suffered it. As one ballad claimed, 'All people do hate him, in Country and Town/ There's no man doth Value old Jeffry's Froun'.¹⁶³ Lord Chancellor Jeffreys had

¹⁵⁸ John Lookes, *Good Admonition, or, Keepe Thy Head on Thy Shoulders* (1641), Ashm.H.23(8), MB.II(48).

¹⁵⁹ John Lookes, [Untitled]{1641}, b/l, MB.II(52a). Lookes sense of justice was greatly offended, 'the greater is the pittie/that so great oppressor/should have lesser/than he deserves to have'.

¹⁶⁰ Anon., *Knaves are no honest men* {c. 1648}, p.13.

¹⁶¹ Colonel Rainsborough had Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle shot at the Siege of Colchester. His murder was also recounted and defended as righteous in a play pamphlet: Anon., *The Famous Tragedie of King Charles I* (1649).

¹⁶² *Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost* (1648), b/l, 669.f.13(46).

¹⁶³ *The Protestants Jubilee or a Farewell to Popery* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.285. Before his death *The Lord Chancellor's Villanies Discovered or his rise and fall in the last four years* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.288 [also published as n/b], promised 'I'll sing of a villain I cannot abuse' and ran through all the chancellor's various villainies; such as whipping Prance and Oates, the execution of Henry Cornish, the murder of poor men in the west, the placing of Catholics at Cambridge and his general cruelty and

'fitted/ the hangman, and cousen'd him of his fees' as he died in prison before he could be executed. Nevertheless he was balladed incessantly in 1689.¹⁶⁴ In a 'last speech' ballad he was made to declaim, 'I have been made the scorn of the Town, ... Every Rascal's running me down, ... There's a thousand deaths invented,/ for honest George, ... a shameful end the Rabble wou'd please'.¹⁶⁵ Just ahead of Jeffrey's in opprobrium was his partner in crime, Father Petre, advisor to King James II, who also escaped the hangman by fleeing abroad. In 1689 one ballad depicts Petre asking his master the devil if he will die a traitors death. He is told, 'Thy own fate thou has guest (*sic*) at well/ If Traytor thou or Martyr fell/ Thy Ballad to the world will tell.'¹⁶⁶

Ballads sometimes concentrated on just one aspect of the process described by Whetstone, sometimes they covered all of them. The choice tended to depend both on the actual events of the trial and execution (plotters who did not repent could not appear in a confessional or lamentation ballad) and on the attitude of the balladeer to the condemned. For example, a ballad might only focus on the confession and lamentation of the victim, the point at which they were 'convicted by conscience', a crucial part of the process.¹⁶⁷ In Laud's case, his ballad was literally entitled *Canterburies Conscience Convicted*: he was not executed until several years later and no further black-letter ballad was written.¹⁶⁸ Alternatively a ballad might relate the crime, its providential discovery, or the trial and execution, as in the case of

injustice to orphans and widows. In *The States-man's last will and testament* (1689), b/l, CB.18/1, one of two ballads in the form of wills (see Pepys II.287), he writes: 'My small guts let honest musicioners take/ that they of the same may fiddle stings make/ and then scrape my guts till their very hearts ake'.

¹⁶⁴ Jeffreys suffered shame at the hands of at least four black-letter ballads dedicated solely to him, while there were numerous references to him as the 'goggle-eye'd monster' (goggle eyes the effect of hanging), 'wolf' or 'Bear in the tower' in triumphant 'Orange' ballads of 1689. White-letter ballads also attacked him; see, for example, Pepys V.25 and V.122.

¹⁶⁵ *The Chancellors Resolution, or, his last sayings a little before his death, to the tune of Liliburlero* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.278.

¹⁶⁶ *A New Song of Father Petres and the Devil* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.290. At least nine black-letter ballads celebrated the downfall of Edward Petre, several of which were crossover ballads; see e.g. Pepys II.282, II.286, II.295, II.296, IV.346, IV.275, Rox.II.393 and Harding B39(131).

¹⁶⁷ See J. Sharpe "'Last Dying Speeches": Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985).

¹⁶⁸ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641) b/l, Ashm.H.23(42) and BL.1475.c8. The BL ballad resides in glory alone in an otherwise blank collector's volume. It has the number 48 inscribed on it in m/s indicating it was originally part of a larger collection. A white-letter ballad of the execution was published, *A Prognostication Upon W. Laud* (1645), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(18).

Coleman and the other popish plotters. Rarely did balladeers use the real or published words of the victims, and in some cases, as we shall see, they simply created confessions that never happened.

The execution of traitors was a double-edged sword, a balance of the scales. It was through the execution of traitors that governments were both at their strongest and weakest.¹⁶⁹ Though they demonstrated strength and success in discovering, defeating and inflicting the ultimate penalty on rebels, at the same time government was exposed as a victim of rebellion and subject of discontent. The execution ballad potentially played an important political role, emphasising the need for obedience to the monarch, unity of religion, the virtues of the good subject and the vices of the bad. The importance of the traitor recognising and confessing his guilt was also crucial, but here the ballad could open a door to uncertainty. While the ballad market usually agreed with the judgement of the state, it did not invariably follow the state's view of guilt or justice. Some traitors, such as the Earl of Essex, executed in 1601, had always been dealt with sympathetically by ballad writers and became heroes, their songs frequently reprinted throughout the century, but this was only true where victims were Protestants.¹⁷⁰

The classic case of ballad disagreement with a political execution was naturally enough the King's execution in 1649. A series of ballads followed and contested the whole process of imprisonment, trial and execution.¹⁷¹ An allegorical ballad, *The Pensive Prisoner's Lamentation*, styled as a 'breefe relation taken out of the cronacle of Edward the second', sang of the injustice and inhumanity of the King's imprisonment, denied his rights or even his family.¹⁷² A ballad detailing the King's trial and execution was registered and printed in 1656,

¹⁶⁹ Lake and Questier, 'Protestants, Puritans and Papists', p. 265, argue that at the point of execution a number of 'ideological and social energies were released by the rituals of the gallows' and that puritan divines who surrounded the dispatch of Catholics with their own views of the issues between English and Catholic churches sought not just to represent the Protestant state but to constitute it.

¹⁷⁰ There were many reprints of *A Lamentable Ditty, Composed Upon The Death Of Robert Lord Devereux, Late Earle Of Essex*, for example, [between 1640 and 1665], b/l, Wood 401(75).

¹⁷¹ The Duke of Monmouth's execution was also contested before and after his death from. See below, ch. 5.

¹⁷² *The Pensive Prisoners Lamentation* {1648}, b/l, MB.II(5).

and possibly followed an earlier version.¹⁷³ This ballad accurately outlined the charges laid against the King and the King's denials in dialogue form, where usually victims had no space afforded them for self-defence. It traced the last meeting of the King with his children, and his words and gifts on the scaffold. There was no explicit moral glossing of the story, but equally there was no suggestion of 'conscience convicted' or any uncertainty about the King's salvation. The only uncertainty expressed in the ballad was about what would happen next in the world the King left behind. 'I wi[s]h the Kingdoms peace and Churches bliss,/ For now religion out of order is./ Lawful succession I do hope shall be, / (Granted by parliament) now after me'.

Balladeers sang at least two versions of a last dying speech by the King, one in his 'own voice', and the other a witness narration of the last speech. Both ballads, rather than demonstrating a conviction of guilt by conscience, served as a defence and a denial of the charges against him:

Upon the scaffold then, ...

In hearing of all men

this he made knowne,

That hee was innocent

of all the blood was spent,

He strove with Parliament

But for his owne.

The King declares, 'I dye by tyranny', and 'I am innocent like to a Lamb.' All the accounts showed his acceptance of a sacrificial death – 'cheerfully, cheerfully,/ [he] went to his dying place,/ to end all strife' - and his secure knowledge of salvation as one of God's elect –

¹⁷³ *The True Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminster-Hall, by the High Court of Justice* (RI2727 12 March 1656), b/1, Euing 357. This ballad was often reprinted; see Pepys II.203, Wood 401(145), Douce Ballads II(145b), possibly becoming a Jacobite text - see a much later edition Harding B3 (68).

'though scandals flye,/ which do report that I a Papist am', 'I a Protestant so dye ... For Grace I look and on Gods book/ I plighted have my troth'.¹⁷⁴

The whole discourse of these black-letter ballads was without shame or disgrace. A pro-parliament ballad, attributed to the radical pamphleteer, ironmonger and preacher, Henry Walker, entitled *The Kings last Farewell to the World or The Dead Kings living meditations, at the approach of death denounced against him*, was issued in 1649 and used the 'correct' language of conviction of conscience.¹⁷⁵ It spoke of the King's 'fear of sharpe and bitter paine', and described how:

in sighes by day, and groanes by night
with bitternesse I moane,
and doe consume away with grief,
my end to think upon.

The King acknowledges 'mine offences foule', which were 'very great', and that 'In all things here Gods providence,/and will alone commands'. The King is made to confess 'I have gone astray,/ and cherisht war and strife,' and he anticipates 'they that go down into the pit/ destructions them devoure' and that 'to worms I must be hurl'd'. There was no certainty of salvation here.

This ballad was only issued in white-letter, however. Though topped with a suitably illustrative woodcut and printed by Robert Ibbitson and entered in the register by Francis Grove, both black-letter ballad publishers, it appears the black-letter market was not asked or was not willing to offer a home for this production. Black-letter ballads such as *The Kings Last Speech* made their purpose clear - 'which shall in verse and not in prose,/ through

¹⁷⁴ *The Kings Last Speech At His Time Of Execution As He Made Upon The Scaffold* {1649}, b/l, Pepys II.203. This edition is probably a 1660s reprint. *King Charles His Speech and Last Farewell to the World* (1649), b/l, MB.II(54a). Only the first half of this ballad remains. It may have been the ballad registered by Francis Grove, 1 February 1649, RI1375. Rollins suggested this was the parliamentarian Walker ballad - see fn. 175 below. However, the dates of purchase and printing would not fit this theory and the Walker ballad was printed for Robert Ibbitson.

¹⁷⁵ Henry Walker, attrib., *The Kings last Farewell to the World, or, the dead Kings living meditations, at the approach of death denounced against him* (m/s '1 February 1648', Imprimatur January 31 1648 (1649)), w/l+w/c, a very large broadside, BL.C20.f.2(18) and CB.1180/7.

England range to friend and foes'. Their intention was to promote the King's certainty of salvation as a faithful and innocent Protestant. No other information was important. This ballad concluded, 'Here I must dye for what, and why,/ It is well known to you.' As far as the black-letter market was concerned, the shame and infamy in this case belonged to the prosecutors - and would be advertised as such. Though among historians there is still some confusion over who the executioner actually was, one white-letter market, as an elegy at his death, described the hangman Brandon's shame in killing the King. Brandon confesses, 'I gave the blow caus'd thousand hearts to ake ... to satisfie thy ne're contented Lust' and complains to Death, his master, that he has to take 'those black staines I in thy service got' with him to the grave. The ballad concludes with the epitaph, 'The poorest subject did abhorre him,/ And yet his King did kneele before him/ And yet no Judas; in records 'tis found/ Judas had thirty pence, he thirty pound.'¹⁷⁶

Though providence usually played a part when traitors were brought to justice, this discourse was problematised in execution ballads during the war and so the 'wheel of fortune' and not providence had to be brought into play. Balladeers could indicate their own sense of justice by choosing which of these two images of fate was to be held responsible for tipping the scales of justice against the condemned. Fortune was to blame when 'traitors' were supporting aspects of government and religion held sacred by balladeers - royalists in the 1650s, and Protestant exclusionists in the 1680s. An example of this can be seen in *The Fatall fall of Five gentlemen, and the Death of three of them* (1649).¹⁷⁷ The ballad expressed the same sense of instability as in the King's execution ballads. It called to 'You that in England once bare sway,/ expecting no mishap to come', and blamed the turn of Fortune for their fate:

... the fall of some

that once were held in great esteem

¹⁷⁶ *A Dialogue or A Dispute between the late Hangman and Death* (m/s 3 July 1649), w/l+w/c, 669.f.14(51).

¹⁷⁷ *The Fatall Fall Of Five Gentlemen, And The Death Of Three Of Them. Shewing The Manner Of Their Falling Into Relapse, And The Sentence Pronounced Against Them In Westminster Hall, On Tuesday March 6. 1648* (1649), b/l, MB.II(43).

of noble birth and high renowne,
By Fortunes frown and fickle wheele,
are from their dignities cast down.

There was no sense of the victims being convicted by conscience as the balladeer mused, "Tis like they thought 'twas for the best', though he covered his back with the authorities with the line, 'When as 'tis sure they did amiss'. Though the ballad expressly sets out to 'name and shame' and to teach its moral lesson:

They were condemned all to dye
That others might behold with fear
And learn to mend their lives thereby,

in fact, four of the five are given eulogies rather than condemnation. 'Hambleton' [Hamilton], is described as 'noble', 'brave' and 'beloved' in city, town and court. Holland was 'in request', 'in favour with the best', his 'tongue seemed an oracle'. 'Cappell' [Capel] 'had a 'valiant minde, / as is to Town and Country known', 'for charity,' had 'a good report,' and 'many heavy moan do make/ that he should dye in such a sort'. Sir John Owen, was described as a 'valiant welch-man stout' and 'one that never betrayed his trust'.

The fifth figure was Lord Goring, whose condemnation was clearly not so contrary to this balladeer's sense of justice. 'He sided with the patentees, / which was a burden to England'. The ballad describes no other part of the process, though in this case not because the condemned men inconveniently disagreed with their sentences. Rollins quotes Sir Edward Nicolas's horror that the proper procedure of execution was not gone through:

The Duke and the Earl it seems died in their sin of rebellion against the King, according to the Scots damnable Covenant, without demanding (openly) pardon of God for it, or so much as publickly declaring their sense of sorrow for the same. But

the truly noble Lord Capell died like a person of honour and much courage, as a Good Christian and true-hearted Englishman, being much lamented by all worthy men.¹⁷⁸

In ballads, treason was described as a disease that had to be purged or cut out of the body politic, 'First to take away the Cause, then to purge away the treason.' By its nature treason was 'foule' and thus could encourage infection. Those who escaped the purge had 'the running disease'.¹⁷⁹ The Royal execution, the ultimate treason, was described as a 'foul and filthy act'.¹⁸⁰ *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors* examined the regicides entirely in these terms.¹⁸¹ These traitors,

...wanted a Phisicion (*sic*)

For the grand Disease that bred,

Nature could not weane it;

From the foot unto the head,

Was putrifacted treason in it:

Doctors could no cure give,

Which made the Squire then believe [Squire Dun, the hangman]

That he must first begin it.

Having diagnosed the disease and cause, a 'dose' of hemp - the hangman's noose - was to be administered, after which the patients were laid down and the 'doctor' would 'bleed a vein in every one' (i.e. cut and quarter them). The cause of the 'treason disease' was, as Whetstone had said, always ambition, pride and envy. Infecting men with these vices could lead to a full-blown case of treasonous rebellion. Several execution ballads explain how the vices of pride and ambition could grow; through the desire for power, through deliberate infection by Jesuits, as with Coleman, or by flattering tempters. The effect of this was to

¹⁷⁸ C&P, pp. 241-246.

¹⁷⁹ Lookes, *Good Admonition, or, Keepe Thy Head on Thy Shoulders* (1641).

¹⁸⁰ *The Kings Last Speech At His Time Of Execution As He Made Upon The Scaffold* {1649?}. Only edition [between 1678 and 1680], b/1, Pepys II.203.

¹⁸¹ *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors* (1660), b/1, BL.C.120.h.4(6).

overthrow their reason. Often some element of craft, cunning, or deception was involved. Whatever governments might like to think, the health of the body politic was everyone's affair. Disease in this period was not a matter of 'fact'; it was a matter of debate and conjecture, dependent upon a view of the universe and the workings of forces within and outside the body. It was important to identify the location and nature of the disease within the body through a moral and spiritual consideration of the whole individual, or in this case, the 'body politic'.¹⁸² Rebellion or treason, as with any disease, had to be diagnosed individually, and if a cure were to be found, the nature of the cause would inevitably be the subject of debate. One ballad in 1685 argued that the debate itself was like picking at the scab and so division would never heal:

The chief disease which troubles us,
swells from ambitious eyes,
Which doth molest the Kingdoms health,
and small things magnifies:
Instead of mending up the hole,
we pick at Seditious rent.¹⁸³

Despite all this bloodthirsty language, Philip Jenkins has shown that after 1630 there was an enormous decline in the number of executions in early modern England. The experience of execution as a mode of justice was likely to have involved an increased sense of horror and perhaps a greater questioning of its justice and execution ballads went to some lengths to justify this extreme punishment.¹⁸⁴ We will now turn to a brief consideration of

¹⁸² Claudia Stein, 'The Medical Gaze and the "French-diseased"-Body in Early Modern Augsburg', unpublished, but forthcoming, paper given at Wellcome Conference, University of Warwick (July, 2003). Roy Porter, *Bodies Politic* (2001), pp. 47-48, 89-90.

¹⁸³ *The Happy Return or The Parliament's Wellcome to London* (1685),

¹⁸⁴ Philip Jenkins, 'From Gallows to Prison?', pp. 57-58. Jenkins points out there were perhaps as many as 90 executions a year in London between 1630 and 1660 but the number fell after that date. This made the rise in numbers of executions at times of political crisis more shocking, especially from 1641 to 1646, when 29 Catholics were executed, and from 1660-1662 with the deaths of the regicides, 10 in one day. From 1678 to 1681, 34 Catholics were executed and in 1685 400 rebels were executed, though not in London.

some of the most notable bouts of 'treason disease' suffered by the English body politic between 1660 and 1689.

Regicides

Regicide was the most heinous form of treason, carried out rather than merely attempted or threatened and even more shocking in the 1660 trials because the traitors refused to acknowledge any guilt in their actions. While punishment of the regicides, as we have seen, was described in terms of disease, the treatment could not be successful without the legal conviction and repentance of the traitors. *The High Court of Justice at Westminster arraigned at the Bar* directly contrasted the legal forms of justice used to try and condemn the regicides in 1660 with the illegal mechanisms they had used to cover their crimes in 1649. While these traitors had tried to make new laws, sang the ballad, the 'Old law shall hang them up.' The preamble declared this would be a 'legal trial, according to the known laws of the land.'¹⁸⁵ *A Relation of the ten grand infamous Traytors* pointed out that the regicides had been 'arraigned, tried and executed ... Which in perpetuity will be had in remembrance unto the worlds end'.¹⁸⁶

Although *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to all traytors* reassured its listeners that 'This is good news indeed/ for every honest man,/ The Law will now proceed', and demanded of the traitors, 'What answer can you give?' and *The Traytors Downfall* declaimed, 'May these rebels howl and cry', this satisfaction was not to be had.¹⁸⁷ Most of the regicides were defiantly unrepentant.¹⁸⁸ In traditional execution ballads about papists, this could be explained by their deluded and obstinate adherence to Rome, but what was making these men so staunch in their opinions? One ballad sang that 'Bold Harrison, (as the wild rumour doth run)/

¹⁸⁵ *The High Court of Justice at Westminster Arraigned at the Bar* (1660), b/l, Euing 139.

¹⁸⁶ *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors* (1660). The standing and reputation of the bench was important to everyone – Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 263, 10 October 1660, listed the members of the presiding bench and concluded it was 'such a band of noblemen as hath not been ever seen in England'.

¹⁸⁷ T. R., [Thomas Robins?], *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to all Traytors* (1660), b/l, Euing 310; *The Traytors Downfall* (1660), b/l Euing 350, [w/l crossover - see Luttrell II(36)].

¹⁸⁸ Hutton, *Restoration*, pp. 132 – 134 and Pepys *Diary*: see fn. 190 - 191 below.

Will justifie this bloody fact he hath done.’¹⁸⁹ There could be only one explanation: ‘these men had hearts more hard than barbarians.’¹⁹⁰ Secretary Nichols commented on Harrison that he had ‘a hardness of heart that created horror in all who saw him,’ and said ‘his head and his heart were shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy’.¹⁹¹ Even Pepys was puzzled when he saw Barkstead, Okey and Corbet drawn to the gallows: ‘all looked very cheerfully... all die defending what they did to the king to be just – which is very strange.’¹⁹²

For ballads one answer to this problem was to use the kind of language usually used of papists. Without doubt these men had been infected by pride and ambition, which had worked against their reason. Like Papists, they were a ‘Phanatick crew,’ and despite their refusal to be convicted by their consciences one ballad insisted,

It was a great sin ‘gainst their conscience I’m sure
That no law or Gospel could ever indure,
Although with a colour of pureness they did it
Under a mask of religion they hid it.¹⁹³

Ballads accused regicides of deluding the people by using ‘crafty cunning charms’ and referred to them as ‘Base presumptuous wizards.’¹⁹⁴ In Abraham Miles’s *The Last Farewell of Three Bould Traytors* the ‘excellent cunning and wise’ Cromwell had ‘craftily fooled the people with lies’.¹⁹⁵ A favourite trope was the ‘mask’ or ‘cloak of religion’. This had been used of Scots rebels in a 1642 broadside illustration and became a very popular and much reprinted ballad title through the rest of the century.¹⁹⁶ In 1660 *The Noble Prodigal* had sung of ‘Jesuite[s who] in the Pulpit appear,/ Under a Cloak of zeal.’¹⁹⁷ Where usually papists

¹⁸⁹ T.R., *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to all Traytors* (1660).

¹⁹⁰ *The High Court of Justice at Westminster arraigned at the Bar* (1660), b/l, Euing 139. In *The Traytors Downfall* (1660), Cromwell had a ‘heart of gall’.

¹⁹¹ Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 265 fn., 13 October 1660; *CSPD 1660-61*, p. 312.

¹⁹² Pepys, *Diary*, III, p. 66, 19 April 1662.

¹⁹³ T.R., *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to all Traytors* (1660).

¹⁹⁴ *Englands Object* (m/s ‘September 1660’, 1660), b/l, Wood 401 (175).

¹⁹⁵ Abraham Miles, *The Last Farewell of Three Bould Traytors* (1661), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

¹⁹⁶ Anon., *A Cloak for Knavery, or, The Scottish Religion Worn Out* (1642). See, for example, *The Ballad of the cloak, or, The Cloaks knavery* (1681), b/l, Firth b.20(50).

¹⁹⁷ *The Noble Prodigal* {1660}, b/l, Don. B13 (69).

were jeered at because the Pope could not save them, the regicides would find the 'Rump can't save you.'¹⁹⁸

As a rule, execution ballads focused on lamentation and the shame, rather than the detail, of the tortures of death. The key was to break down reverence and respect for these individuals; concentrating on the pain of their punishment might well have the opposite effect. Mockery, meanwhile, was reserved for those who had escaped the noose.¹⁹⁹ However, regicides had not only showed no repentance, they had died 'good deaths', which had gained them credit and so ballads turned to triumphalist mocking and horror in order to achieve their objective.

Regicide ballads in 1660 were sung not to 'Fortune my foe' or dirge-like lamentations, but to jigs or drinking tunes; one was sung to the dance tune Packington's Pound; one to 'Come let us drink the time invites'; two to 'Fa la la'; and two more to 'hey ho my honey'.²⁰⁰ Not one was a traditional execution tune of lament. Jokes, for example about Oliver's nose, or Hewson losing his 'awl' or Hugh Peters's sex life were used to heighten the joy of justice done. Partly, this change in style was due to their partisan cavalier authors and the influence of the white-letter Rump Ballad phenomenon of November 1659 to April 1660. This was to have an impact on future execution ballads. For the popish plotters, ballad tunes alternated between dance tunes, especially for Coleman, and traditional lamentations, while some Rye House plotters were sung to their deaths by new Tory tunes such as 'Now now the fights done', and the theatre tune 'Let Oliver now be forgotten'.

Hutton has described the macabre scenes at the posthumous 'execution' of Cromwell, Ireton, Pride and Bradshaw, where apprentices cut toes off the dangling, decomposing corpses.²⁰¹ A highly detailed ballad of these desecrations emphasised the continuing fear of these men's power, the instability of the restored state and the difficulties in expressing new

¹⁹⁸ T.R., *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to all Traytors* (1660) and *The Traytors Downfall* (1660),

¹⁹⁹ As for example in Lookes, *Good Admonition, or, Keepe Thy Head on Thy Shoulders* (1641).

²⁰⁰ All of these tunes were to be found on cavalier ballads of the 1650s.

²⁰¹ Hutton, *Restoration*, p. 134.

authority and legitimacy. The ballad explained the rise and fall of these traitors, especially Cromwell, using the discourses described above and showed how the degradation of these bodies showed that the power of these people had gone:

Then Ireton next to make a Triangle ...
They here by the neck in a halter did dangle ...
Now these Traytors have lost their powers
Who formerly had gained Towns and Towers
Did hang at Tyborn six or seaven hours ...
Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton farewell, ...
A mess under Tiburn for the devil of hell ...
from Tyburn they e're bid adiew,
And there is an end of a stinking crew.²⁰²

Again, this was to have a lasting effect on execution ballad discourse where the description of pain in ballads became directly related to the level of fear and instability represented by the traitor.²⁰³

Popish Plotters

Popish Plot ballads, printed in traditional black-letter formats, made great efforts to emphasise the credibility of the plot and the legality of the executions by using the discourse of disease and by concentrating on the trials of the plotters. Woodcuts depicted the hanging, drawing and quartering of victims, and preambles repeated the official language of the prosecution and sentence. Compare the preambles on these two ballads:

The examination, tryal, condemnation, and execution, of Edward Coleman Esquire
Who was convicted of high treason, the 27th. day of November, at the King-Bench-

²⁰² Miles, *The Last Farewell of Three Bould Traytors* (1661).

²⁰³ I am writing this at a time when the disfigured bodies of Saddam Hussein's sons were altered, authenticated and displayed in order to convince the Iraqi population of much the same thing.

Barr at Vvest-minster, for plotting against the life of his most sacred Majesty, and for endeavouring to subvert the government, and the true Protestant religion establish: he received sentence the 28th. day of November 1678. to be drawne hang'd, and quartered, and was executed at Tyburn the 3d. Of December.²⁰⁴

And:

A full relation of the condemnation and execution of Mr. William Staley who was found guilty of high treason, at the Kings-bench-barr at Westminster, on Thursday the 21st. of Nov. 1678. For speaking dangerous, and treasonable words against his most Sacred Majesty the King. For which he was sentenced to be drawn, hang'd, and quartered. And was accordingly executed upon Tuesday the 26th. of this instant Nov. 1678. at Tyburn.²⁰⁵

As ever, the ballads set out to highlight the shame of this death, the sin of pride and ambition and the lack of reason in such traitors' actions. Staley was 'striving to be high and great.' He was 'blinded with false zeal', and 'by Jesuits misled' which had 'brought him to a shameful end/ with torture and with pain'.²⁰⁶ Of Coleman *The Plotter Executed* sang,

Tis of Coleman I sing, who once was of fame,

And good reputation, but now to his shame,

Foul treason has sullied his nobler parts.²⁰⁷

Ireland, Pickering and Grove were 'Popish Contrivers ... out of their wits'.²⁰⁸ *The Looking Glass* pointed out that 'Ambition is a bait the Devil lays', and of which 'Haughty Spirits' fall foul.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ *The Plotter Executed* (1678), b/l, Rox.III.32.

²⁰⁵ *Treason Justly Punished* (1678), b/l, EEBO/Harvard. See the very similar preambles on *Treason Rewarded at Tiburn* {1678/9}, b/l, Wood E25 (99) and *A Looking Glass for Traytors or High Treason Rewarded* (1678), b/l, Wood E25 (33) which adds the wonderful phrase 'utterly to extirpate the Protestant Religion.'

²⁰⁶ *Treason Justly Punished* (1678).

²⁰⁷ *The Plotter Executed* (1678).

²⁰⁸ *Treason Rewarded at Tiburn* {1678/9}.

²⁰⁹ *A Looking Glass for Traytors* (1678).

Those who were 'to blood inclin'd', like Staley or Coleman, deserved all they got. Coleman's sentence was described in graphic detail, to the tune 'Packingtons Pound'; he was sentenced,

...in full show
to all the spectators [to] be drawn on his way.
To the place of Destruction t'encounter grim death,
And there by a Cord to resign half his breath:
His Bowels rip'd out, in the flames to be cast,
His members dissever'd, on poles to be plac'd
A sight full of horror, but yet its most just
That they should first bleed, that after blood thirst.²¹⁰

As with the Regicides, the emphasis on the pain of death for these victims served to emphasise the enormity of the threat to the state that they presented. They had wanted, said *A Looking Glass for Traytors*, to destroy the king, change the 'fundamental laws', and to bring in popery with fire and sword.²¹¹ The ballad warned ominously that 'Too many are concerned in this thing, /Against religion and our gracious King'.²¹²

The image of treason as a disease was also used to explain Coleman's actions: 'Twas Popish infection, to Ruine the State, / That wrought his confusion, and hast'ned his fate'. Coleman had been infected because 'Rome's Tripple tyrant had Buz'd in his Ears', and 'this sting/ had Poyson'd his Loyalty.' Having 'suckd in the treason' he 'vents it again' by sending intelligence to Catholic powers abroad.²¹³ An illustrated white-letter ballad entitled

²¹⁰ *The Plotter Executed* (1678).

²¹¹ *A Looking Glass for Traytors* (1678).

²¹² The promotion of fear was certainly an aspect of these ballads. A 'prophecy' ballad which told of the Popish Plot, *Poor Robins Wonderful Vision* {1678/9}, b/1, CB.1291/8, foresaw 'Horrors and deaths' by papists. It claimed the King had had a lucky escape: 'But all the agents mistook the deed/ Instead of C.S. they had decreed/ They seized on E.G. and made him to bleed' (an easy mistake to make) and it alluded to Oates' testimony: 'by an O. in season bewray'd'. Its final message was 'let England be warn'd by my dream/ and purge herself of so dangerous a Pest'.

²¹³ *The Plotter Executed* (1678).

The Plotters Ballad: Being Jack Ketch's Incomparable Receipt For the Cure of Trayterous Recusants: or Wholesome Physick for a Popish Contagion made the nature of this disease and its cure very clear.²¹⁴

Popish Plot ballads were keen to advertise the credit-worthiness of evidence and witnesses and the certainty that the convictions were unquestionable. The ballad of William Staley's trial, *Treason Justly Punished*, sang, 'by evidence of witnesses made clear/ By Gentlemen of worth and note/ who did the treason hear'; the 'Learned jury' believed the 'crime...did appear so plain' that they came to a quick verdict.²¹⁵ In *The Plotter Executed* a discredited Coleman was brought before 'That great seat of justice' where he was offered a pardon if he would recant his Catholicism. However, this made 'no impress on his obstinate breast ... [he] team'd it a jest.' His jury thus brought him in guilty. In *A Looking Glass for Traytors* the focus was once again on the justice of his conviction:

The Evidence against him did appear

And prov'd the accusation to be clear

His small evasions could not satisfie

The truth was as apparent as the sky.²¹⁶

The trial 'Before my lord chief justice ... and many other learned men' took eight hours at least, sang the ballad. *Treason Rewarded at Tiburn* repeatedly emphasised the security of the evidence by which they were convicted; 'Such evidence plainly against them appear'd/ As made them despair of all hopes to be clear'd'; then 'Twas proved they conspired to murder our King'; and again 'All this was attested by evidence clear/ Unto the jury most plain did appear'.²¹⁷ Some ballads insisted that the plotters had also been convicted by conscience

²¹⁴ *The Plotters Ballad: Being Jack Ketch's Incomparable Receipt For the Cure of Trayterous Recusants: or Wholesome Physick for a Popish Contagion* (1678), w/l+w/c, BB.C40. M11 (50). The illustration is reproduced in *RB IV*, p. 128.

²¹⁵ *Treason Justly Punished* (1678).

²¹⁶ *A Looking Glass for Traytors* (1678).

²¹⁷ *Treason Rewarded at Tiburn* {1678/9}.

before their deaths. Staley had 'time and space, / his faults for to bewail,' while Coleman, allegedly, 'cracked' at the gallows where at first,

... with strong resolution he stifled his fear,

But his conscience awaken'd, remorse did prevail

And then to his purpose his sins did bewail.

The ballad then gave two verses of a fictitious confession and moral warning to listeners.

According to *Treason Rewarded at Tiburn*, Ireland, Pickering and Grove all had 'Hearts full of sorrow though laden with guilt/ As for their confessions but little they said/ Their crimes to their consciences closely were laid'.

Though by 1680 some white-letter ballads sought to attack the promoters of the plot, in black-letter there was no argument against it. The use of traditional discourses of disease, the attacks on popery, the emphasis on the legality of the convictions made for an impressive case and a saleable commodity in black-letter ballad terms. This would be a difficult message to turn around when, finally, the Tory reaction came after the Rye House Plot.

Rye House Plotters

In 1683 and 1684, it was mainly commissioned black- and white-letter ballads that sang of the wicked crimes of Lord William Russell, Colonel Algernon Sidney, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, all executed for their role in the Rye House Plot. However, the tune 'Russels Farewell,' became a standard for a whole range of songs from 1683 onwards, including songs about the defeat of the Monmouth rebels.²¹⁸ Other Rye House plotters such as Shaftesbury, Hone, Rouse, Walcot, Gray and Ferguson, were named in some of these ballads, but there is no evidence of ballads solely dedicated to their executions.²¹⁹ The aim of Tory balladeers was

²¹⁸ The tune was not new, but the title of the tune 'Russel's farewell', originally used by James Dean on a notation ballad *The Lord Russels Last Farewell to the World* (1683), n/b, Wood 417 was used on fifty or more ballads between 1683 and 1700. Many were in white-letter. Simpson, pp. 621-624.

²¹⁹ See *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy* {1683/4}, b/l, Pepys II.225 and *The Traytors Last Farewell* (1684), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

to strip the noble Rye House plotters of all reputation and so destroy the basis for all belief in the Popish Plot.

This presented a number of problems. Regicide and Popish Plot ballads had used established discourses of papist treason, deception and disease, and had been published in traditional black letter. They had used the public trials to emphasise the legality and certainty of convictions and, failing that, the pains and shame of death. Tory balladeers, supportive of the Duke of York, could not draw upon established anti papist discourses, and as the victims they were most anxious to ballad were beheaded, and one committed suicide, they had less scope for images of shame, pain and torture.²²⁰ They needed to impute the sins of pride and ambition and the subsequent loss of reason to these traitors without the advantage of a disease discourse. They also needed to find a way of demonstrating the credibility of convictions, where the legal courses taken were neither open nor secure and the victims themselves vigorously denied their guilt. If possible, the sins of the civil war were to be wrested from the papists, and loaded on their heads.

The balladeers of the Rye House Plot seem to have worked out a careful strategy. They could argue that with these men, as with other traitors, sin had overcome reason. They could accentuate the shame and infamy of execution, indicating a complete loss of worth and credit in the traitor and if the victims would not co-operate by confessing their crimes, then ballads, that most shameful of print media, would do it for them.²²¹

Everyone understood that pride and ambition were the causes of treason, but in this case the people accused were men of impeccably Protestant reputation or 'fame' already at

²²⁰ Russell and Sydney were beheaded in 1683, Armstrong was hung, drawn and quartered in 1684. Hone, Rouse and Walcot were all hung, drawn and quartered but as less known and less creditable characters their sufferings were of small value in this campaign. Their sufferings appear in just two lines of a white letter ballad, 'At Tyburn for certain each man took his turn,/ and then in the fire their bowels did burn': *A Terror for Traitors or, Treason Justly Punished* (RI2605 23 July 1683), w/l+w/c, Rox.III.796.

²²¹ Disease discourse had been used by Tories during the Exclusion Crisis, for example, in *The Oxford Health* {1680/1}, b/l, Wood E25(27), 'No matter for those that promoted petitions,/ To poyson the nation'. Whigs were frequently portrayed as distributing poisoned or adulterated drinks of sedition; see my, 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: the politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads 1640 –1689' in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne - Drink and Conviviality in 17th Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004).

the highest level in society.²²² Why would these men have been ‘corrupted’ in this way? Shaftesbury, though dead in 1683, was blamed as the moving force behind the plot, and had been the subject of black-letter ballads defending him as *The Subject’s Hope, Or, The Loyal Peers friend* in 1681.²²³ A black-letter ballad, unusually and expensively printed with both woodcuts and music, *The Lord Russell’s Farewell* pointed out, ‘Pride the bane of human creatures / will corrupt the best of natures.’ Russell was blinded not by religious zeal but greed. While Russell could have lived in the King’s favour, ‘false hopes ... did deceive him’ and he turned to bloody plotting. The ballad explained,

Reason is no more our jewel,

When our dearest thoughts are cruel

All her maxims are forgot

Else what reason was for treason,

In this base inhumane plot.

The answer was that ‘Pride did only him besott’.²²⁴

The idea of being ‘besotted’ with pride was a new approach to explaining treason in execution ballads. The implication here was that instead of being deceived by Satan or his imps in some religious guise (which was usually the case), this traitor had become enamoured of pride itself, and thus he had lost his reason. An illustrated white-letter ballad, *A Terror for Traitors*, demanded, ‘What would you have had or intended to do?’ It answered, ‘The laws of this nation you would have thrown down/ Aim’d at a sceptre and crown’.²²⁵ But did this mean Russell had aimed at the crown for himself? If not Russell, who was the intended replacement? This approach left too many questions unanswered. After the executions of

²²² The Latin for reputation is ‘fama’, which can be translated as ‘fame’, see M. Clanchy, ‘Documenting the Self: Abelard and the individual in history’, *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), p. 294. In ballads ‘fame’ implied reputation and the distribution of that reputation abroad on ‘wings of fame’.

²²³ *The Subject’s Hope, Or, The Loyal Peers friend* {1681}, b/l, Bute Broadside, Houghton Library, Harvard. I am very grateful to Jennie Rathbun, librarian, for sending me a copy of this ballad.

²²⁴ *The Lord Russell’s Farewell Who was beheaded for High-Treason, in Lincolns-Inn-Fields July 21st 1683* (1683), b/l, w/c and n/b, Pepys II.165.

²²⁵ *A Terror for Traitors, or, Treason Justly Punished* (RI2605 23 July 1683).

Russell and Sidney, balladeers tried some other ideas. *Englands Miseries Crown'd With Mercy* suggested that 'Satan to these men had given power', while in 1684, *Sir Thomas Armstrong's Farewell* blamed 'Old Tony' [Shaftesbury], who had 'led you to ruin', which, in Tory minds, was almost the same thing.²²⁶

Ballads focused on defaming the victim and on the everlasting shame of the noble traitor's death. *The Lord Russell's Farewell* harangued Russell with the unforgettable infamy of his crime:

Those False hopes that did deceive him
With his nature will not leave him
Nor with his poor body rot
Whilst records the world affords
His treason ne'r will be forgot.

The ballad moralised that 'Obedience and allegiance/ Should have kept him from this plot'.²²⁷

A Terror for Traitors gleefully mocked those who were left to bear the burden of his shame:

But now this a Blot on your 'scutcheon will be²²⁸
For being concerned with this gross villainy
But now your dear parents in heart may lament...
Your Lady may grieve, and lament for her loss
To lose you for treason it proves a great cross.²²⁹

Algernon Sidney, a well-known republican figure whose guilt was widely doubted, was balladed in a fictional 'Last Dying Speech' sung to the Tory tune 'Now, now the fight's done'.²³⁰ Though in black-letter type, it was unquestionably a commissioned piece.²³¹ It was

²²⁶ *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy* {1683/4}. *Sir Thomas Armstrong's Farewell* (1684), b/l, Rox.IV.29.

²²⁷ *The Lord Russell's Farewell* (1683), b/l+music and w/c, Pepys II.326.

²²⁸ The same phrase appeared in *Long Lookt For is Come at Last* {1678/9}, a Popish Plot ballad looking forward to the calling of Parliament, it had sung to papist traitors, 'in each of your Scutcheons there's damnable blots'.

²²⁹ *A Terror for Traitors or, Treason Justly Punished* (RI2605 23 July 1683).

²³⁰ *Collonel Sidney's Overthrow; or, an Account of his execution upon Tower Hill on Friday the 7th of December, 1683, who was condemned for High Treason* (1683), fine b/l, portait+ special w/c,

in 'portrait' orientation, illustrated by large, well-executed and specially commissioned woodcuts and the print itself was extremely clear and well defined. This song was reminiscent of the 'official' version of the King's last speech in 1649, and just as unconvincing. Sidney declares, 'My Sprits are ready to sink', he admits 'I was guilty of disloyalty', and he laments:

Poor I that have flourish'd in credit and fame
Now finished my days with dishonour and shame
Name of a Sidney long famous hath been
Eclips'd by my weakness.

Following this, he begs God for forgiveness and salvation. The ballad made up for a lack of legal detail with two specially commissioned woodcuts of the trial and execution.

The extent of the fabrication is perhaps highlighted most by a Tory poem, *The Reformation a Satyr*, which turns to mockery the fortitude Sidney had shown at his death:

How Roman-like did our Old Rebel Dye,
With His last breath, profaning Majesty?
And braving Heav'n it self, he w'd not stay
(Lest 'twere a piece of cowardise) to Pray.²³²

This certainly seems to give the lie to the picture drawn by the Tory balladeer. But why had no more accurate ballad been written? This poem also gives a clue as to why all the 1683 execution ballads were uniformly Tory in tone:

And cannot all this Gallantry Engage
Some Zealot, spurr'd up to Poetick Rage?

Rox.IV.121. Blair Worden, 'The Commonwealth Kidney of Algernon Sydney', *The Journal of British Studies*, 24, 1 (1985), pp. 1-40, p. 13, has suggested that the rhyme 'Algernon Sydney / Of commonwealth Kidney' became a favourite with 'balladeers and polemicists' but the phrase does not appear on any broadside ballads of the period.

²³¹ Blair Worden, 'The Commonwealth Kidney', emphasises the failure of the state to convince people of the Rye House Plot - 'the execution of Russell had provoked a revulsion of feeling' - and suggests Sidney hoped to be let off: p. 11. But cf. Tim Harris, "'Venerating the Honesty of a Tinker": The King's Friends and the Battle for the Allegiance of the Common People in Restoration England' in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), who believes government promotion of populist propaganda had been successful. Tim Harris tells me he has found no record of government commissioning of ballads.

²³² Anon., *The Reformation, A Satyr* (1684).

But not a word - there's not one Ballad made,...

For Rhymers now begin to Renegade. ...

Jack's a great bug-bear – for his very sight

Did our bold Whiggish Oracles so fright,

That there's not one of all the Canting Fry,

Can write a failing Brothers Elegy.

Nay, lesser yet – Their Club will not afford

A Farewel Speech; unless't be for a Lord.²³³

If the threat of hanging had scared off the astute and informed white-letter rhymers, this poet was sure it had had an effect on the lesser black-letter balladeers too: 'The meaner Tyburn Saints have nought to say, / Besides their Pater-Noster, and Away –.'

The reason for this silence is intimated in the following lines: 'But Subtle Roger bids Us have a Care,/ Tis dangerous yet to Trust these Saints too far'.²³⁴ Roger L'Estrange, after frustrated efforts since the 1660s, had finally been able to rely on the full power of the state in order to clamp down on the printing presses. However, he was still not wholly successful. The writer of the Sidney speech ballad acknowledged that not everyone agreed with this version of events: 'There's some that before me already have gone, / That many had mighty opinions on' it sang. His final lines also left some doubt about his own loyalties: 'God prosper and Keep our most sovereign King/ And all that from his Royal Loins ever spring': this would seem to indicate Monmouth rather than York.²³⁵

After the main trials of 1683, it was thought best to release some details of what this plot had been.²³⁶ A traditional black-letter ballad, *Englands Miseries crown'd with mercy*,

²³³ This was a reference to the publication of a defensive (but offensive to the government) 'Last Dying Speech' allegedly by Russell but believed to be by Gilbert Burnet. This had sparked off a major clamp down on Whig printers, but not on the black-letter ballad press.

²³⁴ Anon, *The Reformation, A Satyr* (1683).

²³⁵ *Collonel Sidney's Overthrow* (1683).

²³⁶ Charles II issued an instruction that the details of the plot were to be disseminated in 1684. On Charles II's deliberate appeal to popular political opinion see Tim Harris, 'Venerating the Honesty of a Tinker'.

directed to be sung to the highly traditional traitor's tune 'Aim not too high', explained in just four verses the plot, which 'was surely hatcht in hell', to kill the king and his brother. It had two woodcuts, one of a city, protected by an angel in the sky, being attacked by death, and another of the (young) crowned King and Queen. To make it all sound much worse, the accidental fire at Newmarket that had prevented the plot was conflated with the actual plans of the plotters:

First at New-Market they a fire contrive,
Thinking to leave no Christians there alive:
But Blest be God the fire was sooner blown,
Than they expected, so the plot was known.

This had the advantage of linking these plotters to fire-raising - previously a habit imputed only to papists. The ballad claimed (anonymous) confessions as evidence: 'Some of these traytors had confest and said/ Within the cart they had convey'd, ... Pistols Guns and Blunderbusses'.²³⁷ Finally, it attacked the main political victims:

Down on your knees you rebels great and small ...
Your greatest Gods are gone that gave you light
Lord Russel he hath took his last goodnight
Shaftesbury, Hone, vile Rouse, and Walcot too,
Hath of fair England too their last adieu...
Four rebbels more lies ready to be try'd.

But there still remained the unanswered question of why.

In 1684, ballads of the last Rye House plotter, Sir Thomas Armstrong's execution were published in traditional black-letter, and saw a return to some established discourse. Sir Thomas Armstrong was a known criminal and an unpopular figure. He was penitent at death and, though not quite the trial it might have been, he was condemned in a manner

²³⁷ *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy* {1683/4}.

recognisable to the public. A traditional ballad, *Sir Thomas Armstrong's Farewell*, sang of his death to the dance tune 'Packington's pound'. The preamble used 'official' language and emphasised the public nature of his punishment:

Who for High treason (conspiring against the life of the King and his Royal brother, and the subversion of the government;) was on the 14th day of June, 1684, condemned to be drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd; and was accordingly executed at Tyburn on the 20th of the said month, in the view of many spectators.

Pamphlets suggest that Armstrong prayed for half an hour on the cart at the scaffold and the ballad took the form of a confessional speech.²³⁸ Armstrong lamented, 'How might I have lived in splendour and fame', and admitted 'sentence passed on me is nothing but just'. Since he had received a royal pardon for three murders, his fervent praying and acceptance of guilt seemed reasonable. The moral of the ballad was as Tory a line as could be hoped for:

...It is nothing but reason

That traitors should die for the hatching of treason
and bloody designs seldom take their effect
because they're unjust and their course indirect ...

Let reason prevail and your conscience convince

That you ought to obey your most Sovereign Prince.²³⁹

Another black-letter ballad, sung to the Tory tune 'Let Oliver now be forgotten', brought together all the rhetorical ideas of the previous year and created a credible case with crime, motivation and conviction certain. *The Traytors Last Farewell* commenced with a legal preamble:

Being a full and true account of one Sir Thomas Armstrong, who with other rebels,
had conspired the death of our sovereign Lord the King, and subverting the

²³⁸ Anon., *An Impartial Account Of All The Material Circumstances Relating To Sir Thomas Armstrong Kt Who Was Executed At Tyburn For High-Treason On Friday The 20th Of June 1684*. (1684), pp. 7-8.

²³⁹ *Sir Thomas Armstrong's Farewell* (1684).

government: and though he fled beyond the seas for refuge, yet there the hand of justice found him out; and was brought back to England, where he received the due sentence of death, which was accordingly executed on the 20th. of this instant June, 1684.

It claimed that Armstrong was 'besotted' by pride and corrupted by 'politick pates'.

Armstrong's crime had been to adhere to 'Tony's old cause'. Armstrong and the plotters had 'railed against lawful succession,' they had wanted to 'tread down national laws', 'Prince and power they sought to devour' and they 'would have sent Loyal hearts to the Tower.' It even made a passing but cynical reference to the religious motivation they claimed: 'They did it in point of Devotion'. Having been sentenced, Armstrong was 'daunted and with horror haunted'. The circumstances of his being sentenced without further trial (Armstrong had argued that though outlawed in 1683 by the King's 'hue and cry', he should have a hearing) were referred to as a further success: 'he fain would have come to a tryal/ but yet there was a denial.' In a final triumphant flourish of 'Drums and Trumpets', the balladeer called to 'hang up each roundhead.' However, the death of Armstrong carried less weight as he was in any case low in moral credit. His farewell noted he would 'Receive what I long had deserved before'.²⁴⁰ It seemed as if the Tory reaction had finally won over the popular press. In 1685 James II began to revenge himself on the popish plotters. Miles Prance was pilloried and whipped for perjury and the black-letter ballad market saw the first open denial of the Popish Plot. The ballad was pointedly entitled *Perjury Punish'd with equal Justice* and its language repeatedly focused on credibility: 'In Heart I grieve, you may believe'; 'Pray listen now and hear me/ Though false I swore I ne'r will more,/ My friends you need not fear me'; 'I'de have you now believe me ... I need not tell, you know full well,/ My touchstone did deceive me'.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ *The Traytors Last Farewell: or, Treason Miraculously Discover'd* (1684), b/1, EEBO/Harvard.

²⁴¹ *Perjury Punish'd with Equal Justice* (1685), b/1, Pepys II.236. The 'touchstone' refers to Titus Oates. Oates was virtually never mentioned in the black-letter market. As a Catholic, reformed or not, he was an impossible ballad hero., and was rarely explicitly celebrated in Whig white-letter ballads, though expressly much reviled in Tory ones. Whatever his story, black-letter balladeers may have

‘If the saying be good, of *let him laugh that wins*’, at the Glorious Revolution it was the Whig narrative that finally emerged in the traditional ballad history of the plots.²⁴² A black-letter letter ballad, issued in December 1688, had everything the Tory ballads had lacked, a language of trials, evidence and witnesses, dark conspiracies by papists and foreign spies. The fear of prosecution is suggested by the fact that the ballad carries only the initials of the publisher.²⁴³ *Romes Cruelty* disputed the veracity of Essex’s suicide and of the Rye House convictions. It sang that the Earl of Essex had been murdered.²⁴⁴ The opening lines were a classic case of singing to those who already know the story: ‘The Earl of Essex in the Tower,/ He did not cut his own dear Throat’. It showed traditional woodcuts of a stabbing and a corpse laid out on a table with two men examining it. It launched an attack on the failures of the investigation, gave a detailed description of injuries, decried the neglect of the crime scene, alleged Essex’s body had been washed before the jury could see it and claimed ‘a young man would depose ... he see upon his masters hose/ a bloody foot stept on his hose’. The ballad alleged that ruffians, including one French-man, a servant to Essex, were involved. It explained the murder, and the prosecutions as part of a new Popish Plot:

This black and dismal bloody day
Sweet Russell was to tryal brought
That all the world might think and say
Despair did Essex ruin wrought
Rather than bring his crimes to open view
A sweet contrivance of the crew
All this and more black Rome can do.

found Oates’ connections with Rome distasteful – or perhaps the use of his name was seen as too dangerous.

²⁴² *Private occurrences; or, The transactions of the four last years, written in imitation of the old ballad of Hey brave Oliver, Ho brave Oliver* (m/s December 1688), w/l, Wood 417(167).

²⁴³ The publisher’s initials ‘PB’ could have been for Philip Brooksby.

²⁴⁴ *Romes Cruelty* {1686 -1688}, b/l, Pepys II.177. The tune cited on the ballad was not available before 1686. The woodcut on the earlier version is an adaptation of the *Careless Curate* (1663); see above, ch. 1. Versions of this ballad were reprinted after the Revolution with newer, more romantic woodcuts; see Pepys II.172.

Although in the real world this allegation was scotched by the testimony of Essex's own wife, the theory that Rye House had been part of a Popish Plot which had blinded the people and had brought Papists to power under James fitted exactly with people's fears. This was spelt out after the revolution in *A View of the Popish Plot or A Touch of the Cunning Contrivance of the Romish Faction, from the year Seventy-Eight, to this late time*, 'A Ditty as true as ever was told'. It revealed the whole 'cunning and subtile device' and the injustices done to Whig heroes.²⁴⁵ In a brilliant twist of irony, this ballad was set to that most Tory and cavalier of tunes 'The Blacksmith', the chorus of which was 'Which nobody can deny'. It claimed that amongst all the deception and denials of the Popish Plot, Coleman had cried out 'What belief is in Man?' It spoke of the 'false rumours' that had led to 'valiant brave Monmouth' being 'ran down', the deaths of 'honest men' and the whipping and pillorying of others. The discourse of disease and infection was reflected in the descriptions of the papist 'fury', as 'desperate hot' and 'distractions most violent hot.' On the birth of the Prince of Wales it chirped, 'Tis True, if they do not lye'.

In recent debates over what we might call the semiotics of state executions, Peter Lake and Michael Questier have argued convincingly that they were potentially a site of contention. They dispute the views of Jim Sharpe and Michel Foucault that executions were a relatively un-problematised, if inefficient, expression of state power, or that they were, as Laqueur believes, a carnivalesque ritual, tending towards the stabilisation of social norms.²⁴⁶ Lake and Questier, who looked at Elizabethan Jesuit treason trials rather than criminal executions, found that these state executions offered space for a battle over appropriation, which focused on the manner of death as well as the words spoken in a last dying speech. Last dying speeches of Catholics, for example, were often attempts to convert the onlookers – or at the very least to give succour to those left behind. Where Catholic writers would dwell upon the tortures of death, thus emphasising their martyrdom and the cruelty of the State, Protestant

²⁴⁵ *A View of the Popish Plot* (1689), b/1, Pepys II.281.

²⁴⁶ Lake and Questier 'Protestants, Puritans and Papists', ch. 7, esp. pp. 229-32, and *passim*.

writers would simply refer to the 'full penalties' that were inflicted, focusing on the internal and spiritual process of conviction of conscience and repentance. Importantly, Lake and Questier have demonstrated that it was as impossible for the state to control the writing or reading of execution discourses as it was for any text in the market place so that opposition voices rather than establishment ones were able to make use of the bodily inscription of power an execution was intended to represent. In many ways, our discussions here agree with this analysis, although aspects of carnival certainly did play a role in the case of the Regicides.

Conclusion

State execution ballads, and military ballads, demonstrate that neither the State nor influential polemical groups had control over the black-letter market. Though the political broadside ballad embraced certain functions within the theatre of justice and the exigencies of war, it did so on its own terms. Whilst groups could commission white-letter ballads to sing any story they wanted heard, the black-letter market simply fell silent when it appeared there was nothing to sing about, or they openly expressed fears about justice or uncertainty subverting their typically loyal functions into a debate over the virtue of government. These ballads demonstrate that singing politics was about debate and opinion, and not about information. They required knowledge of the news in order to understand their messages far beyond that offered within ballads themselves.

This chapter has argued that ballads must be considered not in the anachronistic light of the newspaper but in the contemporary milieu of the poet and the playwright. It has also questioned the nature of the popular political world as seen from the ballad page. This was not a genre that naively celebrated the state and its achievements, though balladeers did do that when they saw good reason. The ballad form was a forum in which political debate was fierce and fiercely contested. Ballad politics had at their core a bounded world of acceptable

principles of government that no political interest group could overturn for long. Delineating the nature of those boundaries is where we will turn next.

CHAPTER THREE

Harmony

i. The Music of the Political Sphere

Let our subjects rejoyce

With their hearts and loud voice...

Let us all night long

Take delight in this song ...

Let him look like an ass

That won't drink off his glass

And unite and unite and unite in the chorus!¹

Song was a medium uniquely suited to create unity, harmony and true affection in the listener, and thus the rhetoric of song made it ideal as a political vehicle.² In seventeenth-century England, musicology and music printing were at an early developmental stage.³ Manuscript music was limited in scope and still relied on the performer, professional or amateur, to bring an aural knowledge to the performance of music.⁴ In song, the melody played second fiddle to

¹ *The Loyal Wish* (1690), n/b, Pepys V.66.

² See the useful discussion in Chris Marsh, 'Melody and Meaning in Early Modern England: the Broadside Ballad as Song' in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 4-11. Marsh, p. 6, points out that 'Social Historians have not yet devoted much energy to the investigation of music ... as if the commonplace music of the early modern age is considered "incidental".' Though I take some issue with him as regards political ballads, (see below), his understanding of ballads as music and sound has been extremely valuable. I hope my discussions go further than a 'partial investigation' of the melody of ballads [see his criticisms of the historical approach of Capp, Watt, Fox, Smith, Sharpe and Fletcher, p. 4.]. Nevertheless, I am dubious about the sometimes highly intellectual musical connotations Marsh suggests. I think we must ask just how good musically balladeers on average were. Evidence suggests that those who sold ballads were mostly poor female hawkers. Really good fiddle players who were employed to make music in taverns homes and fairs there certainly were - but how large a part did musicians like these play in the construction of political songs? Tune directions on political ballads were frequently part of the text - a continuation of the joke or attack - and sometimes bore no relation to any tune at all. In political ballads, as I argue here, whilst I agree that the *concept* of harmony was important, the *sounds* were less important than the words. To be effective political tunes were largely subject to fashion. If tune and subject were inextricably connected this would make no sense of ballads which cite multiple tunes (e.g. a satirical ballad by Birkenhead, probably not seriously intended for singing, had a tune direction 'to forty other tunes'.)

³ See Richard Lockett, 'Music' in Pepys, *Diary*, X, pp. 258-282, esp. pp. 259-266. In the mid century music was still taught as a branch of mathematics and philosophy (p. 259); it was only by the end of the century that music as an affective phenomenon was studied.

⁴ Monopolies of manuscript printing from 1565 may have restricted music printing on ballad sheets until the mid-seventeenth century when increasing efforts to teach people to develop these skills were

the words and music had the secondary role of 'humouring' the poetic text - *prima le parole, dopo la musica*. Literary and musical sensitivities were closely bound and songs were to make sense, to be reasonable and to be worth hearing for themselves.⁵ Songwriters and balladeers saw themselves as poets rather than composers.⁶ The words of ballads were mainly sold without their music for reading as well as singing, while the tunes were well known – and in the case of political ballads after 1660 increasingly frequently stolen from popular theatre songs.⁷ The re-use and appropriation of a tune could be a useful political jibe- as in the use of 'Young Jemmy', 'The Orange', or 'Lili-burlero', discussed in more detail below.

Samuel Pepys was thus unimpressed on 4 February 1660 when 'Swan shewed us a ballad to the tune of Mardike which was most incomparably wrote in a printed hand, which I borrowed of him, but the song proved but silly, and so I did not write it out.'⁸ His concern was that the words were non-sensical; he already knew the tune, which remained very popular for many years judging from Tom Durfey's character Sir Formal, in *The Fool Turn'd Critick* (1678), who alleged 'There's ne'er a child in Banbury of 7 years old, but can Sing the battle of Mardyke'.⁹ The English were well known for their willingness to put up with variation after variation of the same tune.¹⁰ They often spoke disparagingly of the fashion for Italian and French song, which favoured musical effect and originality over the sense of the words,

made, notably by John Playford. This led to a slow development in standardised music notation or interpretation. Playford had to combat a disapproving attitude towards printed music. In a dedicatory letter at the beginning of *Select ayres and dialogues*, 'Composed by John Wilson, Charles Colman doctors in musick. Henry Lawes William Lawes Nicholas Lancaire William Webb gentlemen and servants to his late Majesty in his publick and private musick. And other excellent masters of musick' (1659), Playford, writes 'I resolve to meet with those mistakers ... that Musick cannot as truly be Printed as Prick'd, (and which is more ridiculous) that no Choice Ayres or Songs are permitted by Authors to come in print, though tis well known that the best musically compositions, either of our own or strangers, have been and are tendered to the World by the printers hand'. Contemporaries clearly found printed musical notation of the period extremely difficult to read - as do modern specialists. I asked three professional musicians to decipher one printed tune, *The Loyal Scot* (1682), and none could do it. Simpson and Marsh both discuss the limitations of the sources in providing a clear record of melodies.

⁵ Lockett, 'Music', pp. 268-270.

⁶ As even their detractors accepted, see Anon., *The Academy of Pleasure* (1656), p. 48 which refers to the 'halting poets', Humphrey Crouch, Laurence Price and Samuel Smithson.

⁷ See discussion in Simpson, pp. xi-xiv.

⁸ Pepys, *Diary* 4 Feb 1660, I, p. 41.

⁹ Thomas D'Urfey, *The Fool Turn'd Critick* (1678), p. 15.

¹⁰ Ian Spink, *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1992), p. 370.

and preferred the simplicity and sense of the traditional English ballad.¹¹ Charles II loved ballad tunes based on dances and Mary II caused great offence to Purcell by preferring an old English song to one of his new-fangled tunes (though a number of Purcell's airs were used for ballads and he adapted ballad tunes).¹² Humphrey Crouch in *A Pleasant new Song* to the popular tune of 'Cuckolds all a row' wrote, 'Come cease your songs of Cuckolds row/ for now tis something stale', but he made this stale song new just by changing the words to a song about beggars.¹³

This is not to imply that the ballad as song was unimportant to the political balladeer.¹⁴ The fact that the ballad was a song automatically conveyed a whole range of

¹¹ See, for example, John Playford's comments in his dedicatory preface to *The Musical Companion, collected and published by John Playford* (1673), sig. A2; Ian Spink, 'Vocal Music from 1660' in *idem* (ed.), *Music in Britain*, p. 175; Luckett, 'Music', p. 271. See also, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, *Playes written by the thrice noble, illustrious and excellent princess, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (1662), Act V, Sc. 19 'Solitary. For my part, I had rather hear a plain old Song, than any Italian, or French Love Songs stuff'd with Trilloes. Censurer. That's strange, when as in those Harmonious Songs the wisest Poets, and skillfull'st Musicians, are joynd to make up one Song, and the most excellent voices are chosen to sing them. Solitary. I know not, but I am sooner weary to hear a famous and Artificial Singer sing than they are themselves with singing, for I hate their Quavers, demy, and semy Quavers, their Minnums, Crochets, and the like Examination. The truth is, I have observed that when an old Ballad is plainly sung, most hearers will lissen with more delight, than to Italian and French Singers, although they sing with art and skill. Solit. The most famous singer in these latter times I have heard in France, it was a woman, and an Italian sent for into France, where she was presented with very rich gifts for her rare singing, yet I durst a-laid my life for a wager, that there were more that could have taken more delight to hear an old Ballad sung, which Ballads are true stories put into verses and set to a Tune, than in all there Italian and French Love whining Songs, and languishing tunes'.

¹² On Charles II, Spink 'Vocal Music from 1660', p. 175, and Luckett, 'Music'. On Mary II, Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993), p. 432: Holman quotes Hawkins *A General History of the Science and Practices of Music* (1776), ii. 564: 'The Queen having a mind one afternoon to be entertained with music' she sent for musicians who come and play Purcell tunes, 'at length the queen ... asked Mrs Hunt if she could not sing the old Scots ballad 'Cold and Raw'. Mrs Hunt answered yes and sang it to her lute ... Purcell ... [was] nettled ... at [her] preference of a vulgar ballad'. In revenge, in 1692 Purcell wrote for the Queen a 'birthday song: May her bright example chase vice in troops out of the land, the bass whereof is the tune to Cold and Raw.' On Purcell and ballad tunes, see Spink, 'Music and Society', p. 6 and Simpson, *passim*.

¹³ Humphrey Crouch, *A Pleasant New Song that plainely doth show, that all are Beggars*{1640/41}, b/l, MB.II(34).

¹⁴ Marsh, 'Melody and Meaning', p. 25: 'Historians ... ignore completely the un-printed messages that can be partially reconstructed only by close attention to melody. An awareness of tunes breathes new life into the medium opening up a world of controversial allusions, contrary possibilities and deeply satirical humour' - effectively destabilising the texts, 'a tactic ... to evade controls, whether official or unofficial'. However, one must also understand the market, the change of fashions and the difference subjects make to a genre. Marsh depicts an unchanging and closely controlled world in which people remember the tune and the words of a ballad over fifty and in one case a hundred years old - with no evidence of reprinting in the meantime. Marsh offers clean, orderly, musical consort renditions of ballad tunes [see tape cassettes], with a whole orchestra of instruments. This smacks of the romantic folklorist rather than the hard-nosed publisher, the single not very able fiddler or single-note, warbling, unaccompanied, ballad singer.

religious and political conceptual tropes making it a potent political vehicle and a weapon of considerable force. Music was a part of everyday life for people in early modern England, as ubiquitous as small beer in the morning. It could be experienced in many forms, and in many places, religious and secular: the playing of organs and singing 'of our tall men' in church; in the musical calls of tradesmen and hawkers in the street; in dance tunes played on bagpipe and fiddle at fairs and weddings; in the humming of the milk maid or the shoemaker at work. Music was live, unlike today, though it could be just as unavoidable in early modern England. In Coventry in 1678, for example, the waits were paid from £2 to £3 'to play through the whole city every morning from Michaelmas to 22 April yearly and are to begin to play on their instruments of music at two of the clock till break of day.'¹⁵ Nevertheless, music and song conveyed social, economic, religious and political meaning and were consciously sought out and worked at rather than merely consumed.¹⁶

In the social sphere, the ballad was an essential outlet for the expression of feeling: of love during courtship or at marriage, of lamentation at unrequited love, of grief at the death of family, of horror at crime and so on.¹⁷ Ballads especially had a part to play in the case of love. Daniel Fleming noted that he had paid out 2s. 6d. to 'a poetaster' on 31 May 1655, and went to buy wedding clothes on 2 June.¹⁸ In *News from the West* (1685), a notation ballad describing the fruitless wooing of a proud maid, we are told that 'Each plowman a spokesman for sooth with him brought/ because they themselves could not court as they ought.'¹⁹ Successful and 'mumped' lovers make up perhaps a half of the ballad sheets that we have

¹⁵ Quoted in Spink 'Music and Society' p. 7, pp.7-9. Spink points out that Waits performed this function in cities throughout the period - including during the Interregnum.

¹⁶ Music - or at least rhyme - was even used as a way of training soldiers: see *The Grounds of Military Discipline* 669.f.6 (45) (1642), A 'memoria technica' which offered drill instructions in rhyme, 'In march, in motion, troop or stand/ observe both leader and right hand'.

¹⁷ William Brouncker (ed.), *Renatus Des-Cartes Excellent Compendium of Musick: with necessary and judicious animadversions thereupon* (1653), p. 1, begins 'The Object of this Art [Music] is a sound. The End is to delight, and move various affections in us. For Songs may bee made dolefull and delightfull at once: nor is it strange that two divers effects should result from this one cause, since thus Elegiographers and Tragoedians please their auditors so much the more, by how much the more grief they excite in them. ... The voice of man ... holds the greatest conformity to our spirits.'

¹⁸ Flemings, *Papers*, I, p. 95.

¹⁹ *News from the West* (1685), n/b, EEBO/Bodleian.

left.²⁰ It was a poor lover that did not entertain his mistress with the performance of a ballad, either written by himself or commissioned and for those who were rejected by their lovers there was always the option of ballading them in revenge.²¹ In *The Young Lover*, a ballad from the 1670s, we get a good idea of the way a mumped lover's ballad might find its way onto the national black-letter market as the preamble explains the whole process. A young man from Northamptonshire, meeting a 'proud, scornful, jeering lasse' from London, 'presently composes this paper of verses, as he thought suitable to her deserts, his way lying to London, threw the song into a stationers shop, as soon as he found them, gets it printed for profit, and sends them through England for pleasure; when the young man returned back, he presented a Ballad to his mistress and departed'.²² For many young people a printed ballad must have provided a means of writing a hopeful letter at one remove.

Song was also a favourite vehicle for moral messages. Far more palatable than the sermon, the godly ballad, though perhaps shrinking as a proportion of total production from the 1640s, was still a strong seller, and even jocular ballads carried their moral.²³ For example, in *The Cooper of Norfolk*, a cooper, finding his wife *in flagrante*, gets money from the wife's lover and they all go together to the alehouse to seal the bargain. The ballad then moralises at the end, 'Let no married couple that hears this tale told/ Be of the opinion this couple did hold/ To sell Reputation for silver or gold/ For credit and Honesty should not be

²⁰ The Pepys collection demonstrates this, divided as it is into subject categories.

²¹ One of the mainstays of ballad business was to play at weddings and celebrations, as the Flemings' *Papers* show. See also Anon., *The Academy of Pleasure* (1656), p. 75, where a couple are determined 'they'll have a whole noise of fiddlers at their wedding though they have to pawn a petticoat' and Anon., *The Court & kitchin of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwel the wife of the late usurper, truly described and represented, and now made publick for general satisfaction* (1664), p. 17 which decried the Interregnum idea of marriage without rites and form or the 'aid and company of a fidler'. On ballads as revenge, see Tom D'Urfey, *A Fond Husband or The Plotting Sisters* (1677), p. 29, where Bubble, who believes he has been cuckolded, says, 'I'll be so reveng'd the World shall tremble at it. I'll first cut off her hair, to affront her family; then the want of a Nose shall proclaim her Bawd, and the Penny-Pot-Poets shall make Ballads on her.'

²² *The Young Lover, or, A New way of Wooing* [between 1673 and 1686], b/l, Douce Ballads 2 (260a).

²³ A point of which the clergy were only too aware, see Lancelot Andrewes, *A sermon preached before His Maiestie, at VWhitehall the fift of Nouember last, 1617. By the Bishop of Elie*, (London, 1618) p. 20. 'But all (in a manner) hearing (as *Ezekiel* complaineth) a Sermon preached, no otherwise then wee doe a *ballad sung*: and doe euen no more of the one, then we doe of the other. Eye-service God likes not (I am sure) no more (should I thinke) doth Hee eare-service.'

sold'.²⁴ It would be easy to dismiss these aspects of popular literature, as mere jest, or mere romance, if we were not so aware of just how crucial a successful marriage relationship and a moral reputation were to survival for the people of early modern England. Besides, events like this did actually happen.²⁵ The role of the ballad in courtship and moral education meant they played a significant part in reinforcing the economy of credit and makeshifts.²⁶

The function of the political ballad, our focus here, was as exemplar and explanation of the world in terms of Christian Humanism. In a sense, ballads conveyed the basic content of the grammar school classical education unobtainable to the majority of the population but essential if the subject, however low born, was to understand the language and nature of the political order and the place of the individual in it.²⁷ The choice of ballad as vehicle was both astute and conscious. Song moved the passions and it was God-given. The greatest songs and singers were biblical; the Song of Solomon was the best known love-song and King David the most famous singer. The use of song to lift the spirits was also biblically sanctioned by St Paul in the letter to the *Ephesians*, v. 19, which exhorted Christians to raise their spirits by 'Speaking to your selves, in Psalmes, and Hymnes, and Spirituall songs, singing and making melodie in your heart to the Lord'.²⁸ Like planetary movements, the mathematical elements

²⁴ *The Cooper of Norfolk* [between 1660 and 1670], b/l, Euing 44.

²⁵ For real examples see Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet* (Oxford, 2003), p.245.

²⁶ See Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 162 (1999), pp. 70-100. R.B. Outhwaite (ed.), *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (London, 1981). James Sharpe, 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence From Popular Literature', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 36 (1986), pp. 69-90. Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000).

²⁷ The language of the social order in ballads is interesting in view of discussions amongst social historians such as K. Wrightson, for example in, "'Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England', in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp. 28-51, and D. Cressy, 'Describing the Social Order of Elizabethan and Stuart England', *Literature & History*, 3 (1976), pp. 29-44. Ballads use the older language of 'degree' throughout the period with only a very occasional use of 'sorts'. The yeoman, the ploughman, the tradesman and the merchant are the most frequently described groups followed by the gentry and the nobility. The meaning of the term 'poor' - as in 'poor tradesman' is distinguished from 'the poor' as a group always in need of support from 'the rich'.

²⁸ *Ephesians*, 19. This verse was repeated on a roundhead ballad, William Starbuck, *A Spirituall Song Of Comfort Or Incouragement To The Souldiers That Now Are Gone Forth In The Cause Of Christ. Admonish your selves in Psalmes and hymnes and spirituall songs.* (1644), 669.f.8(47).

that made music work had something of God about them.²⁹ Plato had argued that music was a model on which to build the laws and education of the state.³⁰ In the preface to his music manuals John Playford always repeated his understanding of Plato's views on Music: 'The Grave Philosophers reputed it an invention of the gods, bestowing it on men, to make them better conditioned then bare nature afforded ... from the efficacy it hath in the moving of the affections to virtue.'³¹ These sentiments were echoed in *Unfeigned Friendship* (1680) which began, 'Concord is that by which the world does move' and sang, 'How happy the State where no discords are breeding'.³²

Music was orderly and beautiful, and song brought with it deep affections of joy or despair. Aristotle described it as 'a stimulus to virtue' and quoted Musaeus' dictum that 'singing is man's greatest joy'.³³ More importantly, Aristotle pointed out, 'there seems to be a certain affinity between us and music's harmonies and rhythms; so that many experts say that the soul is a harmony, others that it has a harmony'.³⁴ Sir Thomas Browne expressed these same ideas when he wrote in 1642 that the soul 'is harmonically, and hath its nearest sympathy to musick'. Of course, Aristotle's concern was with the education of patricians and citizens not plebeians. He attacked the 'mechanic' music of the professional and his common audience, pointing out that the goddess Athena had invented the pipes only to throw them away as contributing 'nothing to the intellect'.³⁵ But this did not prevent balladeers using popular music as a medium any more than the disdain of their contemporaries caused them to

²⁹ Kepler, *Harmonie Munde* (1616): 'God the creator himself has expressed [the harmonic system] in harmonizing the Heavenly Motions'. See also the discussion of a royalist who wrote, 'Yet I know in Civil as well as natural bodies it is proportion and harmony in Humours that makes them strong and healthful a *melius terminus*': Lincolnshire Archives: Monson Papers, Mon 19/7/2/4 c.1646-1649.

³⁰ See Plato, *Republic*, Book III, and *idem*, *Laws*, Books I, II and VII.

³¹ John Playford, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1658), sig. A2-A2v. He made the same points in the 1655 edition.

³² *Unfeigned Friendship* {1680}, b/1, Pepys IV.348.

³³ *Politics*, pp. 462, 464.

³⁴ *Politics*, p. 467.

³⁵ *Politics*, p. 465 - 'we call performers 'mechanics' and think that a man should not perform except for his own amusement or when he has had a good deal to drink'. For Athena see p. 470. The frequent reference to Scottish pipes in white-letter ballads, see below, may be a reference to this insult.

think of themselves as other than poets. Marsh points out that for Browne, even 'the vulgar music of the tavern was touched by divinity and possessed of the power to move souls'.³⁶

With such authorities behind them, the imagery of sound, of harmony, of unity, of concord and discord became common tropes in religious, social and political discourse in early modern England.³⁷ Paintings of the family engaged in musical concert were visions of the harmonious working of godly patriarchy.³⁸ English music manuals, such as John Playford's, many of them geared towards the 'young beginner', extended the possibility of family music making and explained the significance of harmony. The praise of God and King was also effected through music, if in very different tones, in those two great venues of drinking and communal singing, the church and tavern (or alehouse).³⁹ In church, psalm- and liturgical singing and the passing from person to person of the communion cup (often stamped with the royal arms) represented a declaration of unity and loyalty to church and state.⁴⁰ In the tavern or alehouse, political ballad-singing and loyal health-drinking also involved sharing from a common cup, with the bowl 'trouling' from person to person, and were similarly intended to demonstrate loyalty and unity.⁴¹ For a balladeer this was of key significance - the soul was the seat of harmony and religious truth while the heart was the place for melody and loyalty. As in the family, so in the state, each person was to play his part

³⁶ Browne quoted in Marsh, 'Melody and Meaning,' p. 8.

³⁷ See Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago, 1999), ch. 1, esp. pp. 23-29 and the recent discussion by Karina Williamson, 'From Heavenly Harmony to Eloquent Silence: Representations of World Order from Dryden to Shelley', *The Review of English Studies* 55, 221 (2004), pp. 527-544.

³⁸ See, for example, Mariët Westermann, *The Art of the Dutch Republic 1585-1715* (London, 1996) pp. 15, 135-136.

³⁹ For a discussion of how far these venues were competing and how far complementary sites, see Beat Kümin, 'Sacred Church and Worldly Tavern: Reassessing an Early Modern Divide' in W. Coster and A. Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space: The Redefinition of Sanctity in Post-Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2004). By the late seventeenth century the 'Music House' had become a sort of specialised tavern - where drinking and music could be guaranteed. This term appears frequently in records of drinking and violence that appear in Old Bailey proceedings.

⁴⁰ See, for example, the examples of communion cups in the Victoria and Albert Museum, British Galleries, esp. VAM.4636-1858, made by John Jones, Exeter, 1571-1574.

⁴¹ I am currently undertaking research into this area of political culture, using songs, court records, personal papers and including a study of the material culture of health drinking. The practice of individual drinking vessels was not typical in this period, and vessels for shared health drinking, during the Interregnum and throughout the rest of the century were expressly made for households, rich and poor, and bought by taverns.

of the melody. Each member of the State's family needed to be in tune with each other - equally listening and playing. Political broadside ballads literally embodied and enacted this imagery.

The conscious use of the ballad as a vehicle for religious and political messages by all sides can be traced in black and white-letter throughout the period 1640 to 1689. From the outbreak of the civil war, but more especially after it was over, royalists made an effort to appropriate the imagery of 'merry singing', and to create an image of the dour, non-singing Puritan, an effort so successful that modern day commentators have taken it at face value.⁴² Even before the war they had enlisted perhaps the most famous balladeer, Martin Parker, to their cause. His ballad campaign in 1640 and 1641 set out the conceptual model for future balladry and his song *When the King enjoys his own again* became so intimately linked with the Stuart cause that it was identified with Jacobites in the eighteenth century.⁴³

It was a royalist myth, however, that music belonged only to the cavaliers, though puritan MPs or aldermen certainly did not favour ballad singers. For example, in 1655 a balladeer was committed to the House of Correction by the Mayor of Devizes and was to be 'sharply punished' for singing ballads.⁴⁴ It may well have been that this disapproval steered popular parliamentary writers towards squibs and pamphlets. However, as Hugh Dunthorne points out, 'it is said ... that Puritans disapproved of ballads: ... yet the militantly Protestant tone of the ballads ... was surely at one with the Puritans' convictions'.⁴⁵ Despite Parker's efforts, it was the parliamentarian balladeers who most successfully used the call-up ballad, and the parliamentarian balladeers libelled the Bishops and used the popular tunes of the moment to condemn papists. It is true that from the 1650s more Royalist ballads survived than parliamentarian ones, but several clues suggest at least the possibility that there may

⁴² For example, see C.H. Firth, 'The Royalists Under the Protectorate', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 52 (1937), pp. 634-648; Spink, 'Music in Society', p. 2: 'A strong Puritan streak actively discouraged the use of music', and Marsh, 'Melody and Meaning', p. 19.

⁴³ See below.

⁴⁴ B.H. Cunnington (ed.), *Records of the County of Wiltshire* (Devizes, 1932), p. 230.

⁴⁵ Hugh Dunthorne, 'Singing the News: The Dutch Revolt and English Street Ballads, c.1560-1660', *Dutch Crossing*, 21, 2 (1997), p. 62.

have been an enormous loss of non-royalist ballads during this period: the survival of pro-parliament ballad scraps, the large numbers of ballads registered in 1656 and 1657 and other titles of ballads no longer extant, the adaptation of the most popular ballads by parliamentary writers, and the numbering on ballad sheets indicating many lost collections.⁴⁶ The Royalist campaign to capture music for monarchy may have been aided by the accident of the archive, and perhaps the unwillingness of collectors to revere and keep these songs.

Just as ballads played a role in shaming traitors or in smoothing the path of true love, music played a role in the religious, social and political conception of the state. It was a vehicle for bringing the soul to God, a means of promoting neighbourliness through communal singing and harmony, and a crucial part of God's natural order.

ii. Ballads Battle over Heart and Soul Music: 1639-1660

A debate over the role of music as inspiration for the soul had been going on since the beginnings of the Reformation in England. The question was both a classical and biblical one. Could instrumental music help raise the soul to God, or did it simply appeal to the senses? Was it possible for polyphonic or choral music to instruct the rational soul or was it an example of the same kind of superstitious abuse as other papist ceremonies?⁴⁷ Puritans (that is, those within the established church who sought further reform) disapproved of the ritualistic music of the established church, especially cathedral music, represented by organs, choirs and church bells, because they believed such music was not spiritually efficacious and

⁴⁶ This applies especially to the Manchester collection - one of the best collections of civil war ballads. Many of the ballads sheets have several 'page' numbers written in a variety of hands. This suggests the existence of a number of collections, which were broken up, and individual ballad sheets moving from collection to collection. The age of the ink and script, and comparison with similar markings from other collections needs to be investigated to make this observation really useful.

⁴⁷ P. Scholes, *The Puritan and Music* (1934), argued that Puritans such as John Bunyan loved music as an art and owned musical instruments. Scholes drew particular attention to the considerable amount of music printing during the Interregnum. G.L. Finney, "Organical Musick" and Ecstasy', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 (1947), pp. 273-292, suggested that while strict Puritans had no reverence for music, moderate puritans, such as Richard Baxter, loved instrumental music and believed it was a help to religious contemplation. However, as Lockett, 'Music', p. 279 points out, a distaste for music was not restricted to radical religious groups; for example Lauderdale and Dean Bathurst of Trinity College, Oxford both disapproved.

was only a sop to the senses.⁴⁸ Radical groups such as the Quakers denounced such music as damaging, in appealing to the carnal senses. Perhaps inevitably, ballads became entangled in the debate over the form and order of worship and the role that music should take.

The Bishops' Wars saw the opening of a ballad skirmish over religious harmony. White-letter balladeers attacked each other using a combination of liturgical and secular song forms as a means of debating the extent of church reform. In 1639 a Scots broadside, hoping England would be able to rid herself of Bishops as Scotland had, referred to itself as a 'sorrowing song'.⁴⁹ In 1641, the Scots were encouraged to return home in *A New Carroll*, while *The Organ's Eccho*, to the tune of 'The Cathedral Service', celebrated the downfall of Laud and the Bishops.⁵⁰ In the same year *A Good Wish for England*, attacking sectarians, was set out as a Litany. This was just the first example of what was to become a satirical ballad trope, attacking the factious in the form of united, common worship.⁵¹ Parliamentary soldiers can be found turning cathedral music to ridicule. In 1642 soldiers danced to the music of the organ during the service in Hereford Cathedral and a civil war tract of 1646 reported that parliamentarian soldiers in Canterbury 'began to play the tune of *The Zealous Soldier* on the Organs ... which never were in tune since'.⁵²

⁴⁸ Wood, *Life*, I, p. 298. In December 1659 he noted that Presbyterians and Independents 'love and encourage instrumentall musick; but did not care for vocall, because that was used in church by the prelatie partie'.

⁴⁹ *O Yes O Yes I do cry* (Pomadie, 1639), w/l, BL.1870.d.1(8*).

⁵⁰ *A New Carroll compyled by a Burgess of Perth* (1641/2), w/l, BL.C20.f4(31). (The tune direction was 'Gramercie Good Scot', referring to the pro-Scots black-letter ballad *The Subjects Thankfullnesse* (1640), b/l, EEBO/BL.Huth 50(67)). *The Organs Eccho* (1641), w/l, BL.C20.f.4(11).

⁵¹ *A Good Wish for England* (1641), w/l, 669.f.4 (40). Directions were 'Buy and read or sing with me'. The next example was *The New Letanie* (1647), w/l, 669.f.10(120). Only royalists used the litany as a satirical device until 1660, but from 1680 both Whig and Tory writers used it in a series of tit-for-tat attacks - see discussion below. The Thomason broadsides contain a run of verse attacks and counter attacks on the liturgy in 1641 - see for example *A Divine Oade* (1641), w/l, 669.f.4(62) and the reply *A Divine Paternoster* (1641), w/l, 669.f.4(68).

⁵² CSPD 1642 - 43, 7 October 1642, p. 398. Also quoted in C&P, p. 163. For attacks on organs in the 1640s see Margaret Aston, *Englands Iconoclasts* (1988). *The Zealous Soldier* (m/s 16 April 1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(50).

Puritan Singing

In 1642 a pamphlet entitled *Newes From Pauls* set out a dialogue between 'Orange Tawnie' (a Brownist) and Purple (an Anglican), 'being a contention about the lawfulnessse or unlawfulnessse of organs and other ceremonies'. Orange-Tawnie alleges against Purple:

that you made a song against us, the burden of your ditty being 'And as for Brownists we'll have none'; though I contemne your organs, if you dare sing it, I will answer you verse for verse, you shall very well understand the Bretheren can poetize, and have some skill in Prick Song.

A song-battle ensues in which Purple complains:

Your wit abounded gentle Roundhead
When you abus'd the Bishops in a Ditty,
When as you sanged they must be hanged,
A Timpany of malice made you witty.⁵³

It is clear that some puritans did approve of simple songs, to known tunes, in which the word was paramount. Puritan-inspired broadsides of spiritual songs and ballads were used to convey their messages of triumph and reform.⁵⁴ In black-letter ballads from 1640 balladeers with parliamentarian sympathies were at pains to distinguish between Protestant and papist music. In 1640-41 a ballad to the popular tune 'Open the Door' suggested that the godly Scots had successfully chased Jesuit priests out of England. Set out as a dialogue between a Scot and a defeated Jesuit, the Jesuit remarks, 'I hear that of Organs thou wilt not allow', to which the Scot replies by attacking the 'vain ceremonies' and 'impure' ways of the papists.⁵⁵ The

⁵³ Anon., *Newes From Pauls* (m/s 4 November 1642), pp. 5-6. Orange-Tawnie also complains 'You write strange posies on our noses'! The impact of ballads on Laudian bishops should not be underestimated – they were referred to by balladeers and pamphleteers, at the time, as here, and much later. See, for example, the *Geneva Ballad* (1674), discussed in detail below.

⁵⁴ See, for example, the much annotated, *Berachach or Englands Memento to Thankfulnessse being an hymne or a spiritual song* (1646), 669.f.10.77, illustrated with engravings of Essex and Fairfax. Cf. Patrick Collinson, *The Religion of Protestants* (1982), esp. pp. 236-283, argued that puritans in the late sixteenth century flirted with popular forms but abandoned and disapproved of their use by the beginning of the seventeenth century leading to a 'widening rift between Protestant reformers and the broadside ballad'. Cf. also, Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print*, p. 54, who argued that the ballad 'ceased to be an acceptable vehicle for the Protestant message'.

⁵⁵ *Alas Said the Papist* {1640/1}, b/l, MB.II(49b)

existence of the ballad itself suggests a willingness, at least by some Puritans, to accept secular popular music as a vehicle for religious messages. The tune 'Open the door' came from *The Repulsive Maid*, registered in 1640. In this ballad a young man tries to persuade his young lover to let him in as she has done before. However, the girl repulses him; she has discovered he is not a faithful lover; she had offended her parents and had been beaten, and her parting words are, 'if the hangman don't get your coat, / I'll meet you at Holbourne-hill in a boat/ If ever I love you more.'⁵⁶ This story was an ideal vehicle for the Scots message of the cheating Jesuit who had been let in the door but was now, the sorely beaten English having realised their mistake, being repulsed.

A range of traditional, black-letter ballads used popular tunes to support the anti-episcopal actions of the Long Parliament in the 1640s. The inevitable 'O hone' was used in *Canterburies Conscience* and *The Masse Priests Lamentation*, but many other tunes and ballad modes were also used.⁵⁷ The ever popular 'Greensleeves' was the tune for *A Most excellent Godly New Ballad*, while the tune of *Alas Poore Scholler, whither wilt thou goe* - a ballad attributed to the young Presbyterian Robert Wilde which described the plight of scholars expelled by parliament from the Universities - was frequently cited on ballads by both sides.⁵⁸ In 1641 John Lookes attacked Laudian Bishops in a drinking ballad to the tune 'merrily and cherrily (*sic*)', while in 1643 Robert White wrote traditional ballads calling for apprentices to join the Earl of Essex to the tunes of 'The Prince's Birth' and 'Hey Lustick'.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *The Repulsive Maid* (RI2278, 17 July 1640), b/l, a later edition Pepys III.115.

⁵⁷ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641), b/l, Ashm.H.23(42) and BL.1475.c8. *The Masse Priests Lamentation for the Strange Alteration begun in this Nation* (1641), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

⁵⁸ *A Most Excellent Godly New Ballad [Shew]ing The Manifold Abuses Of This Wicked World, The Intolerable Pride Of People, The Wantonnesse [Of] Women, The Dissimulation Of Flatterers, The Subtilty Of Deceiuers, The Beastlines Of Drunkards, The Filthinesse Of Whoredome, The Vnthriflines Of Gamesters, The Cruelty Of Landlords, With A Number Of Other Inconueniences*: 'to the tune of Greene-sleeues' [between 1641 and 1674], b/l+no w/c, MB.I(4). STC suggests a date of 1615, however, if 'RB' was Robert Burton this must have been a later ballad. Robert Wilde, attrib., *Alas Poore Scholler, Whither Wilt Thou Goe: or Strange altrations which at this time be there's many did thinke they never should see*. 'To the tune of, Halloo my fancy' (1641), b/l, Rox.III.633. Simpson gives no account of this tune though it appeared on a number of political ballad broadsides right up until 1674 and its first line was frequently adapted on other ballads.

⁵⁹ John Lookes, *Good admonition. Or, Keep thy head on thy shoulders, and I will keepe mine*. 'To the tune of, Merrily and cherrily' (1641), b/l, MB.II(48) and Ashm. H 23(8). Simpson, p. 488. This tune appeared in all editions of Playford's *Dancing Master* from 1651. Robert White, *The Prentices*

Whatever royalists might claim, ballads and songs of every sort abounded in the period of Puritan hegemony, during the war and Interregnum. For example, though the festival itself was expressly banned, Christmas carols were still openly published and sold - books of new carols were registered in 1652. Hundreds of ballads, many of them new, were registered in the 1650s and many song anthologies were published. The 1650s also saw the beginning of John Playford's long and successful music publishing career. He published editions of *The Dancing Master* and *Ayres and Dialogues* throughout the decade, and these volumes were immensely popular amongst the better sorts.⁶⁰ Daniel Fleming, scion of the Cumberland gentry, bought a copy of *The Dancing Master* every few months whilst a student at Oxford in the 1650s, presumably to keep up with all the latest tunes, and perhaps to give as gifts.⁶¹

Singing was not merely tolerated, for Puritans were making melody themselves.⁶² During the war years *The Zealous Soldier* (1646) attacked all mercenary soldiers, 'though I denie not they usefull are', and urged parliamentary soldiers to be virtuous. The ballad claimed the reason for the war was that 'God hath no doubt a purpose to bring on... for his glory and our good', so that 'we may have cause rejoyce and sing'. The proper kind of singing the *Zealous Soldier* would enjoy was suggested: 'Sing to the Lord a Psalme of thanks and praise', and the manner was suggested too. The singing should be rousing and enthusiastic: 'let's an eccoe raise/ With our loud voyces may to Nations ring,/ far distant from us, chaunting loudly thus,/ Prais'd be the Lord that hath assisted us'.⁶³ *The Zealous Soldier*

Resolution, 'to the tune of Hey Lustick' {1643}, b/l, Ashm. H 23(54) and *idem*, *Englands Doubtfull Hopes, or, Long lookt for may come at last*, 'to the tune of The Prince's Birth' {1643}, b/l, Ashm H23(65). Neither of these tunes known.

⁶⁰ See Lockett, 'Music', pp. 260-262 - on the continuing range of musical activity during the Interregnum, including an account of Cromwell's own organist, John Hingston, and Playford's music business.

⁶¹ Flemings, *Accounts*, I, pp. 46, 57, 73, 418. Fleming buys a copy of *The English Dancing Master* or 'a dancing book' on the following dates (cost in brackets): 1653 (could be 1654) 25 Feb 25 (2s), 22 March (2s. 6d.), 13 June 13 (2s 6d), 1663, 8 Jan (2s. 6d.).

⁶² *The Zealous Soldier* (1646), *The Mercenary Soldier* (m/s 16 April 1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(49). See also William Starbuck, *Spiritual Song of Comfort* (m/s 15 March 1643/4), w/l+w/cut [depictions of the parliamentary leaders], 669.f.8(47) and *idem*, *Spiritual Cordial* (m/s, Jan 9 1644/5), w/l+w/c [depiction of cleric (Laud?)], 669.f.10(15).

⁶³ *The Zealous Soldier* (1646).

had a partner ballad, entitled *The Mercenary Soldier*, printed in exactly the same white-letter format and with a similar woodcut. Both a shocking depiction of the mercenary -

No money yet why then lets pawn our swords

and drink a health to their confusion ...

Lets to the Sutlers and there drink and sing ...

Let the drum cease and never murmure more

until it beat, ... for to receive cash good store ...

I came not forth to doe my country good,

I come to rob, and take my fill of pleasure

- and perhaps a swipe at the royalist soldier, this ballad made it clear that those soldiers who put drink, song and wenching before fighting for God and their country's good were hardly to be taken seriously when they attacked the godly as 'mirths apposers'.⁶⁴

Though under the Interregnum governments it was not until the treaty with the Dutch in 1654 that a non-royalist political ballad explicitly sang of Joy, there was some 'merry morality'. Lawrence Price's *The Merry Mans Resolution* (1650), sung to 'a gallant new tune called The Highlanders Rant', showed a young man leaving his bachelor ways and finding a virtuous woman to suit him.⁶⁵ Ballads continued their role of mending manners. The very witty *Invective against the pride of women* (1655), made it clear that cheerful ballads were a means (if not always effective) of moral education. The balladeer exclaims, 'Shall Poets all their spirits spend/ And women never the better? / Wil Bagnols Ballad hath done no good/ To the head that['s] hid in the Taffety hood'. Women, he laments, 'hold such wicked councils between 'um / we can do little but make Ballads agen 'um'.⁶⁶ Humphrey Crouch's *The*

⁶⁴ *The Mercenary Soldier* (1646).

⁶⁵ Lawrence Price, *The Merry Mans Resolution: or, His last farewel to his former acquaintance declaring how hee rambled up and down through all the suburbs of fair London town where pretty wenches he did plenty find but some of them agreed not with his mind, till at the last by chance he found out one, which pleas's him best, so left the rest alone to her he then clinged close as I heard tell, made her his mate and bid the rest farewell.* 'To a gallant new tune, called the Highlanders new rant' (1650), b/l, C20.f.14(9) and Rox.II.342.

⁶⁶ *Invective against the pride of women* (m/s May 1655 [British Library Catalogue gives 1657]), w/l, 669.f.20(56).

Downfall of Pride. Riband-cod-pieces, black-patches, and whatsoever is antick, apish, fantastic, and dishonourable to a civil government was annotated by one unknown owner as 'A most proper new ballad' and made great fun out of the many new and ungodly fashions such as powdered wigs and false hair for women.⁶⁷

It has to be admitted that puritan ballad singing was not usually cheerful. In 1655 and 1657 ballads were used to promote Cromwell's campaign to raise money to help Protestants who had survived massacres in Lorraine and Poland, while ballad-sheet almanacs and prophecies, a new feature in the 1650s, tended to harp on doom and gloom.⁶⁸ *Englands Bell-man* was a traditional godly ballad character who warned his listeners of the doom to come if England did not mend her ways. In the 1650s his ministrations continued in apocalyptic strain in *Englands New Bell Man* (1652).⁶⁹ However, Laurence Price's *Prophecy of Christian James* (1656) suggests that the godly did value music that stirred the affections. In the ballad, a seemingly, if sickly, young woman, is briefly called back from her voyage to heaven and her 'singing of Psalmes and Spiritual songs'. Christian James warned men and women who 'live in discord' that punishment was on the way. Then,

At her decease an Harmony

Of Musick there was heard to sound,

⁶⁷ H[umphrey] C[rouch], *The Downfall Of Pride. Riband-Cod-Pieces, Black-Patches, And Whatsoever Is Antick, Apish, Fantastic, And Dishonourable To A Civil Government* {1656 (Wing)}, b/1, Don.B.24(13). The fashions of the 1650s were particularly revealing for women and increasingly decorative for men - a tendency that historians have usually equated with the Restoration period but which had already taken hold, on London at least. See Evelyn's comment in 1653, when he described the fashions as 'formerly... used only by prostitutes': quoted in H. A. Dillon (ed.), *A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1885), p. 311.

⁶⁸ *A Dreadful Relation, Of The Cruel ... Massacre And Butchery, Committed On The Poor Protestants, In The Dominions Of The Duke Of Savoy, 'to the tune of the Bleeding Hearts'* (1655), b/1, BL.C20.f.14(20), *Blood Cries for Revenge* [RI 215 14 November 1657]. See discussions of all these ballads below, ch. 4.

⁶⁹ *Englands New Bell-Man, Ringing Into All Peoples Ears Gods Dreadful Judgment To This Land And Kingdom, Prognosticated By The Great Eclipse Of The Sun, March 29, 1652, The Strange Effects To Continue 1654, 1655, 1656, To The Amazement Of The Whole World* (1652), b/1, Rox.II.141. Sheila O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England* (1999), pp. 26-27 points out that bell-men in London gave ballads as new year's gifts to their clients in hopes of receiving money in return. S. Parks, *The Lutterell File* (New Haven, Conn., 1999) records that between 1691 and 1707 Lutterell collected at least fourteen 'gratis' ballads given as New Year gifts by Thomas Bamber the bell-man. However, in polemical and godly ballads like these, the 'bell-man' personified the passing of time rather than a street servant.

Which ravish'd all the standers by,
It did with sweetness so abound
It pierced the Earth and Air also
Yet no man knew from whence it came
But each one said it came from Heaven.

This ballad proved a hit and it appeared in a number of editions both before and long after the Restoration.⁷⁰

Royalist Responses

It was easy to write popular songs when they sang a popular message. In 1647 Tom May recalled of the Bishops' Wars:

Never were the people of *England* so averse from any Warre, as neither hating the Enemy against whom, nor approving the cause for which they were engaged ... Nor was this onely the thought of wisest Gentlemen, but the common people in generall were sensible of the mutuall interest of both Kingdomes.⁷¹

However, with the outbreak of civil war any popular consensus over the Laudian bishops and the threat of popery they represented soon broke down. Attacks on the liturgy, on the ritual calendar and on church lands turned the tide.⁷² Royalist ballads sought to capitalise on this. In 1646, a white-letter ballad *The World is Turned upside down* castigated the changes: 'Holy-

⁷⁰ L[auarence] P[rice], *A Wonderful Prophecy Declared by Christian James, a Maid of twenty years of age, late daughter to Daniel James, who was born and bred near Padstow in the County of Cornwel, who departed this life upon the 8th of March, ... Contrived in metre by L. P.*, (RI3025 26 March 1656), editions in 1656, BL.C22.e(2) and Euing 400; in 1690, Pepys II.55, and in 1720, Rox.III.664. Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), p.213, points out that Price's ballad was topical, based on a real Cornish girl who died in 1656, but the story of a brief resurrection from death in order to deliver an oration was a trope in godly literature, going back to the sixteenth century.

⁷¹ Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England, which began November the third, MDCXL with a short and necessary view of some precedent yeares* (1647), p. 46. The government certainly had plenty of reports of such an attitude - see *CSPD 1640 - 41*, 23 July, p. 528: 'Thomas Webbe, clothier of Devizes, Wilts, informed that 'William Horne told him ... it was Bishop Laud who was the cause of raising this army, and that the King was ruled by him, adding that Laud was turned Papist.' See also *CSPD 1640 - 4,1* p. 230, for a lampoon on 'Laudless Will of Lambeth Strand'.

⁷² A change in tune of balladeers was noted as early as 1643, see *Mercurius Aulicus* (July 20 1643), Vol. 1. p. 409 - full reference and quotation in ch. 1.

dayes are despis'd/ new fashions are devis'd,/ Old Christmas is Kickt out of town' and was 'kild at Nasebie fight,/ Charity was slain at that same time, / Jack tell-troth too, a friend of mine, / Likewise then did die'. Worse than this, 'Hospitality it selfe is drown'd'.⁷³ Once the armed hostilities were over, a full-blown campaign to take over music and singing began in earnest in both black- and white-letter ballads. Royalists clearly feared that popular parliamentary music was influential. Since the outbreak of war, royalists had made little concerted use of the traditional ballad sheet, apparently preferring the verse satire and the white-letter ballad.⁷⁴ Now the war was over they sought to tread a fine musical line. On one hand, especially in white-letter broadsides, they attacked parliamentarians for the low, 'mechanic' and dismal nature of their songs and the way they sang them, but at the same time they sought to appropriate popular black-letter ballad modes, such as merry drinking ballads, to themselves.⁷⁵

In their white-letter attacks on puritan singing, royalist writers played the 'race-card': parliamentary ballads were lower than low, they were Scottish. Ballads referred to puritan music as 'Scottish Jigges' (a pun - 'jigges' were also tricks) and 'An English Dance to a Scottish bagpipe'.⁷⁶ In *Jockies Lamentation* (1657) the Scots 'did dance a jig', while the effect of Cromwell's invasion of Scotland made 'every Lord with one accord cry O Hone'. In 1659 Haselrigge, one of the *Noble English Worthies* at Portsmouth, 'resolves to lead a Scottish Gigge' and the *Fortunate Rising of the Rump* claimed the Republic's 'communication line was a jigge'.⁷⁷

⁷³ *The World is Turned Upside Down*. 'To the tune of When the King enjoys his own again' (m/s 8 April 1646), w/l, 669.f.10(47).

⁷⁴ This impression may be mistaken, but even Parker's famous song did not appear in black-letter form until after the Restoration, though it was referred to - for example see fn. 94 above and the reference in Anon, *The Gossips Feast; or, Morrall tales taking a view of things past, discoursing of things present, and conjecturing of things to come. By a well known moderne author* (1647).

⁷⁵ The fact that traditional ballads became more royalist may have had more to do with a change in attitude towards the new regime by some balladeers rather than a deliberate campaign. I deal with this in chapter four on tyranny. Parliamentary drinking ballads ceased with the outbreak of the war - singing was accepted, but not if fuelled by excess of drink.

⁷⁶ *A Justification of our Brethren of Scotland* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(77). See also *A New Letany* (1659), w/l, 669.f.21(75) and Lutt.II.114.

⁷⁷ *Jockies Lamentation* (1657), b/l, Wood 401(151) and later edition, Pepys IV.345. *Noble English Worthies* (1659), w/l, 669.f.22(36) and Lutt. II.75. *The Fortunate rising or the Rump upward* (m/s 20

In 1648 *The Cryes of Westminster* likened parliamentary singing to the vulgar and unmusical cries of the pedlar and street-seller hawking 'parliamentary wares of all sorts in my pack'. The speaking and singing of the puritan or mechanic preacher was always ridiculed as 'through the nose', unlike the clear-throated lusty singing of the royalist.⁷⁸ The only good parliamentary singing was a lamentation for their crimes, as in *The Penitent Traytor*, a thinly veiled allegorical attack on parliamentary leaders. The prisoner cries that 'Love, grief and Zeal doth make me sing this ditty', and calls on listeners to unite in his repentance; 'you may sing this if you please', and 'I beseech you sing the lamentation'.⁷⁹

Faced with liturgical change and the hated Directory, royalists, as episcopalian, traditional Protestants, could appropriate the ritual music of traditional Protestantism for themselves. In 1648 one ballad described itself as 'A new carrol ... to be said or sung of all the well affected in the Kingdom .. before they eat any plumbroth at Christmas.'⁸⁰ *A Justification of the Synod of Sion* connected the role of music with the community and hierarchy of the church, asking its readers, 'Shall we have Musick now and Copes ... [and] Have Common Prayer chanted?'⁸¹ *The True Protestant humble desires* entreated the King to make no deals with Presbyterians and claimed it represented a 'commination or a chorus of the people' in favour of preserving the order of the church. It begged him not to replace 'verie good prose' with 'bald rime'.⁸² Puritan religious music was mocked. A satirical pamphlet

Jan 1659/1660), w/l, Wood 416(35) and 669.f.23(7). The bagpipes were in fact used by all nations - this was a satirical device, possibly relating to Aristotle's story of Athena noted above, rather than a reference to reality

⁷⁸ *The Cryes of Westminster. Or The parliament pedlar, with his whole pack of knavery opened, and set to sale* (1648), w/l, 669.f.11(128). Also see *The Rump Ululant; or, Penitence per force* (m/s February 1660), w/l, 669.f.23(57); *The Rump servd in with a Grand Sallet. Or, a new ballad* (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(70): 'they could twang and nose it', and *London and England Triumphant* (1660), b/l, Euing 167: 'our saints sung though the nose'.

⁷⁹ *The Penitent Traytor, or the humble confession of a Devonshire gentleman, who was condemned for high treason, and executed at Tyborne ... 19 July 1267* (1647), b/l no w/c, 669.f.11(35).

⁸⁰ Thomas Jordan, attrib., *The Anarchie, or the blessed Reformation since 1640. Being a new Caroll ... To a rare new tune* (1648), b/l no w/c, 669.f.11(114) and 669.f.13(60)

⁸¹ *A Justification of the Synod of Sion Colledge, against those, who say they have sate long, and done nothing* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(76).

⁸² *The True Protestants humble Desires to the Kings most excellent Majesty. Or, Protestant-like propositions for His Majesties perusall, tending to a safe and well-grounded peace. With a commination or chorus of the people against those that desire it not* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(79).

published in 1649 ended with 'A Hymn to Cromwell', in which Cromwell and his supporters all go to heaven 'the clean contrary way' - that is, to hell.⁸³ In 1659 the *Anabaptists faith and belief open'd* was laid out as a mock-creed. The author declared that, 'These Amsterdamian tunes which they do sing, / in conventicles will them shortly bring into hell'.⁸⁴ A ballad supposedly sung by a disbanded parliamentarian soldier in 1660 admitted that of 'liturgie we made a song', in other words that religious music had been demeaned by Puritan hymn singing.⁸⁵ Liturgical music was used by royalists in ballads as a symbol of the harmony offered by a unified and orderly church. The loss of that music equally symbolised the break-up of the Christian community. Whatever the spiritual efficacy of music might be, the royalist ballad message was that only a church that sings and prays together stays together.

Royalists were faced with a problem. Influential as it was, how could they deplore the low music of their rivals and at the same time use it to their own ends? However, as the Interregnum governments' antagonism to ritual celebration, to dancing and to health drinking became more pronounced - some of the prime motivations for communal music and the inspiration for ballad song - this left an opening for royalists to attack them on the popular music front. Music, as St Paul said, came from the heart.⁸⁶ In 1647 *The Braggadocia Soldier* prayed to Heaven to 'give us hearts, to play our parts, / And sing a grateful dittie'.⁸⁷ Royalist ballads now suggested that the affections that moved the heart to sing were the sole preserve of the royalist. Stuart monarchy, royalists argued, was the only true inspiration for hearty, joyful, communal music. Looking back, Martin Parker's *The Wandering Jews Chronicle*, reprinted and adapted in 1656, claimed that the healing reign of James I had meant that

⁸³ C&P, pp. 288-290. Printed at the end of Anon., *A Curse against Parliament-Ale: With a Blessing to the Juncto; a Thanksgiving to the Councel of State; and a Psalm to Oliver* (1649).

⁸⁴ *The Anabaptists' Faith and Belief, Open'd* (m/s 12 September 1659), w/l, 669.f.21(72).

⁸⁵ *The Lamentation of a Bad Market: or, the Disbanded Souldier* (m/s 17 July 1660), w/l, 669.f.25(58)

⁸⁶ Ephesians v. 19. *I Thanke You Twice, or, The city courting their owne ruine, Thank the Parliament twice, for their treble undoing* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(65) and (72) ironically pointed out that Parliament had 'made King Charles a glorious King' so that 'Now he and his subjects have reason to sing / O God a mercy parliament' - in effect a cry of despair not joy.

⁸⁷ *The Braggadocia Souldier, and the Civill Citizen* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(81).

'English men sang merry sonnets'.⁸⁸ When Charles II was crowned in Scotland in 1650 the *Articles of agreement* celebrated the occasion by setting out a ballad dialogue between Charles and the Scots in which he accepted the Scottish Covenant and they offered to fight for him. Though, as we have seen, royalists had been at some pains to attack all things Scottish, in a remarkable, if short-lived, turn-around, the *Articles* inspired by the newly-crowned King, could sing of 'merry Scotland'.⁸⁹

Royalists sought to appropriate all the instruments of unity and loyalty - church bells, children's voices, harps and (when they could wrest them from the opposition) drums and trumpets. In 1648 the royalist writer of *The Turne of Time*, predicting a successful end to the second civil war, sang, 'Drum and trumpets Sound/ Let all the people now sing loud/ In mirthful joyous sort'.⁹⁰ However, the deep affinity of the ballad with call-up and military music made attempts to appropriate trumpets and drums difficult whilst Parliament had control of the army and its music. In 1656 the 'drum and trumpets sound' called the *Gallant Seaman* to fight for the Protectorate, just as it had done in the King's times.⁹¹ In 1657 *Mardyke or the soldiers sonnet of his sword* claimed that 'The Trumpet ... Has blown away Babylon's strumpet'.⁹² The royalists could not recapture military music until the army returned to loyalty. In the meantime, whilst it was in rebel hands, white-letter ballads claimed 'Good People ... have been undone/ By Guns and Drums and the Trumpets tone / and new hard words since forty and one'. The Republic's drums had 'drowned your processe and your writs'.⁹³ It was not until March 1660 that *The Cock Crowing* could celebrate the fact that

⁸⁸ Martin Parker, *The wandring Jews chronicle: or The old historian his brief declaration made in a mad fashion of each coronation that past in this nation since William's invasion for no great occasion but meer recreation to put off vexation*, 'To the tune of, our Prince is welcome out of Spain' (RI2837 3 July 1656), b/l, Wood 401(121).

⁸⁹ *Articles of Agreement Betwixt Prince Charles and the Parliament of Scotland, brought over by their Commissioners from Holland* (1650), MB.II(18).

⁹⁰ *The Turne of Time, or, The period of rebellion dedicated, to the infamous members late sitting at Westminster* (1648), w/l, BL.C.121.g.9(2.). Incorrectly dated 1640 on EEBO/Huntington.

⁹¹ *The Gallant Seamans Resolution* (RI940 12 March 1656), b/l, later edition RB. VII, p. 495.

⁹² *Mardyke or the Soldiers Sonnet of his Sword*, 'sung to the organ' ({1657}, reprinted in April 1660), w/l, BB.C40.m.9(69) a later b/l version, *The Soldiers Fortune: or The Taking of Mardyke* {1670s}, Euing 338.

⁹³ *The Fortunate Rising or the Rump Upward* (m/s 20 January 1660), w/l, 669.f.23(7).

royalists 'drink and pray no longer/ for the King in mystical fashions/ but with trumpets sound/ his health shall go round'.⁹⁴ At the Restoration, a black-letter balladeer sang at last of an end to the 'musical charmes' of the State's Arms. The trumpet was once again a royalist instrument, and he told the rebels, 'now you may all go fiddle'.⁹⁵

Joyful singing and bell ringing was also claimed by royalists to be in their gift alone. David Cressy has shown that Puritan governments did have the church bells rung for victories and for fifth of November celebrations, but royalist writers would not let that stand in the way of good song.⁹⁶ The distaste of some sects, especially the Quakers, for worship where bells were to be heard was condemned in *The Downfall of Women Preachers* where the writer attacks zealots who will not go to a church 'Which hath the bells hung in the steeple'.⁹⁷ In 1647 royalist white-letter ballads anticipated the ringing of many bells in London as they waited for the army to come and speculated over peace negotiations. *Have among you my masters* promised that London 'bells should ring' and 'children should sing' in praise of Fairfax if he brought the King back.⁹⁸ *A Mode* (1647) asserted that 'Sir Thomas now will make his peace' so that 'the Royallists will sing/ Aloud Vive le Roy', and 'Each Parish Bell

⁹⁴ *The Cock-Crowing At The Approach Of A Free-Parliament, or, Good newes in a ballat more sweet to your palat, then figge, raison or stewed prune is a countrey wit made it who ne'r got by th' trade yet, and Mad Tom of Bedlam the tune is* (m/s February 1660), w/l, Wood 416(49)

⁹⁵ *Englands Captivity Returned* (1660), b/l, first half, Firth b.20(24a), second half, CB.213/2. In *A Turn-Coat of the times, Who doth by experience profess and protest, That of all professions, a Turn-Coat's the best* {1662?}, engraved but b/l format in all other respects, BL.1876.f.1(18), b/l version {1663}, Rox.II.478, the turn-coat reminds his listeners how he had 'sequestered mens estates/ made 'em pay monthly rates/ to Trumpeters and their mates'. Edmund Gayton, *Upon Mr Bobards Yew-men of the Guards to the Physick Garden* (m/s 'Ed. Gayton 1662', Oxford, 1662), w/l, Wood 416(93), celebrated that now 'No Quakers dare to come/ Fanaticks that song all and some/ Not anything with fife and drum/ t'inslave us'.

⁹⁶ David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells : National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (1989). Royalist balladcers, as Aristotelians, were more interested in constructing a world to their liking than describing it as it was. In 'A Hymn to Cromwell' (1649), Hugh Peters and Henry Ireton were both said to have been killed in Ireland. Few outright lies occur however, as ballads, on the whole, did not concern themselves with details.

⁹⁷ *The Downfall of Women Preachers or Mrs Abbigale Upon her Last Text* {1650-53}, b/l, MB.II(25).

⁹⁸ *Have among you my masters* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(25). The same promise was made to Monck in 1660; see *An Exit to the Exit Tyrannus* (m/s March 1660), w/l, 669.f.24(18.), Lutt.II.249 and BB.C.40.m.9(68), and *The Noble Prodigal; or the young heir newly come to his estate. A new medley of six ayres* {1660}, b/l, Rox.II.372: 'If his spirit and his tongue agree/ the Land shall celebrate his fame/ all the world embalm his name/ bells shall rung town dance and sing.' The BL Catalogue suggests 1675 as a date for this ballad; if so it must have been a reprint.

for joy shall ring'.⁹⁹ By contrast, the bells that would ring for puritans would signal their doom and destruction when the King came back, as *The Parliament Knell* intimated.¹⁰⁰ But the King did not come back. In 1650 *The Disconted (sic) Lover*, a black-letter 'mirror' ballad, set the verses of two very different songs, an unrequited love song and a cavalier drinking ballad, alongside each other, using similar words and images to produce very different effects. While the first song begins 'Toul, toul, gentle bell for a soul/ killing care doth controule', the drinking ballad sings 'Ring Ring many bells while we sing/ Drinking healths to our King.'¹⁰¹ This expressed exactly the despair and undying loyalty of the true cavalier, and the dual approach taken by royalists to living with defeat.

Other instruments also played their part. In 1649 *Gallant Newes from Ireland* (sung to the tune of the executed heroes 'Essex and Drake'), declared that 'The Irish Harpes in Tune' would bring back the King.¹⁰² Anticipating this, *The Twelve Brave Bells of Bow*, promised 'stately ringing at Charles's returne', that 'Beggars and Cripple will dance', and that 'the shepheards will pipe like rural swaines.'¹⁰³ However, by August *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* was forced to concede that 'The Irish harpe is out of tune', and recommended drinking healths and singing loyal songs as alternatives to military action.¹⁰⁴

From 1647, Royalist balladeers reacted to the imposition of the excise and increased attempts at a reformation of manners by seizing the opportunity to appropriate the merry

⁹⁹ *A Mode: The Cities profound policy, in delivering themselves, their city, their workes and ammunition into the protection of the Armie* (1647), w/l, BL.C20.f.4(4).

¹⁰⁰ *The Parliament Knell* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(64).

¹⁰¹ *The Disconted (sic) Lover* (1650), b/l, MB.I (11). This may have been a means of hiding the royalist nature of the ballad, though the first half is a rather popish love song and may possibly refer to Henrietta Maria in exile. Alternatively, there may have been a joke in the way such a ballad was performed as the verses are so nearly similar - sung together they may have had a comic effect. EEBO, following STC gives the date of the Coles edition of this ballad as 1640 and following Wing has dated the Harvard edition 1643. However, the printer Francis Coles was active between 1624 and 1680. It seems likely that the Manchester and the Harvard editions were the originals. They have a misprinted title - *Disconted Lover* - and the printer's name, Richard Harper and 'Imprinted in London, 1650' appears on the sheet. These ballads also have a woodcut of Prince Rupert on them.

¹⁰² *Gallant Newes from Ireland* (1649), b/l, MB.II(19a), compared Lord Inchiquin's victories at Drogheda, Dundalk and Trim to the 'Planetary warre' of the Titans against Jupiter. Inchiquin captured Drogheda on 11 July 1649, though he was finally defeated in August.

¹⁰³ *The Twelve Brave Bells of Bow* {1649}, b/l, MB.II(14).

¹⁰⁴ *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (1649), b/l, MB.I(44).

drinking ballad for themselves.¹⁰⁵ Royalist ballads claimed 'civil' drinking and singing of loyal healths as their own. Like the litany of common prayer, healths called for unified harmony and they required drink, preferably wine, from a shared cup. Royalist broadsides frequently stated, 'You may sing this', in one form or another, as an encouragement to communal singing.¹⁰⁶ Drinking played an important part in that loyal and united harmony. Many royalist ballads indeed equated drink and harmony, such as *A Harmany of Healths*, which had welcomed hopes for peace in 1647.¹⁰⁷

In contrast, royalist ballads argued, everything the puritan government did discouraged communal singing and the expression of joy. The new excise on drink inevitably brought resentment and discord. In 1647 *The Good Fellows Complaint: who being much grieved strong licquor should rise In putting a farthing a pot for excise* ironically punned on the 'burdens' of state and song: 'Come hither my joviall blades/ and listen unto my Song/ you that of several trades/ have borne the burden long'. The author recalled a time when cheap merry drinking and singing was the norm - 'The Tinker ... merrily us'd to sing,/ the Tune of Malt's come down'.¹⁰⁸ A royalist broadside asked 'whether to be daily drunke, be as great a

¹⁰⁵ The carousing and singing of cavaliers had been the subject of broadside attack since 1641. See Anon., *The Sucklington Faction or (Sucklings) Roaring Boyes* (1641), 669.f.4(17): 'what with wine and women, horses, hounds and whores, dauncing, dicing, drabbing, drinking ... Pride of Spirit makes him to scorne and Alehouse ... therefore ... he daily haunts Tavernes ... having a noyse of renegado Fidlers, Musicke-abusers they with him and he with them, sings and danceth, danceth and sings like a Nightingale, or Canarie-bird', and a royalist response in Anon., *A Health to all Vintners* (1641), 669.f.4(91). See also Anon., *The Dammee Cavalleers Warning Piece* (1643), 669.f.6(114),

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, *A Coffin for King Charles: a Crowne for Cromwell: a Pit for the People* (1649), w/l, 669.f.14(22) and *The second part to the same tune or the Letany continued* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(87): 'which may be sung or said, morning or evening before or after supper'. The second section (1648) added, 'A Hymne to be sung after supper' praying 'libere nos domine ... From another civil war/ From men with treason tainted'.

¹⁰⁷ *A Harmany of Healths* (1647), b/l, MB.II 38. Though during the war years and the Interregnum cavalier health drinking could be violent, in ballads violent, exclusive health drinking emerged only after the 1660s. Royalist balladeers sought to create a public reputation as peace keepers - as good fellows not tipplers.

¹⁰⁸ *The Good Fellows Complaint: who being much grieved strong licquor should rise In putting a farthing a pot for excise.* {1647}, b/l, MB.II(23). Another ballad, *Sack for my Money* [between 1640 and 1665], b/l, Rox.II.408, suggested that this tax led to a move to wine drinking (a royalist tipple) and to the end of music: 'we'l sing and laugh and quaff/ and quite renounce the ale-house/ For ale and beer are now both dear/ The price is raised in either'. This will lead them all to drink in the tavern where 'The fidling crowd that grows so proud/ will pawn their Pipes and Fiddles/ They'll strike and crack with bowls of sack/ and cut the queerest whiddles ... their voyces roars like thunder/ and growing curst their fiddles burst/ and break 'em all asunder'.

sinne as it was wont to be, by reason it makes the excise of Beare, and Ale, to come in the quicker?'¹⁰⁹ When, sometime before 1649, *The Merry Maidens* 'civilly went for to sing' whilst 'drinking healths to their King', roundheads criticised them for 'drinking so prophanely.'¹¹⁰ Cheekily, a royalist balladeer borrowed John Looke's pre-war tune, with which he had welcomed the fall of Strafford and the Bishops, to celebrate, 'merrily and cheerily' *The Parliament Routed* in 1653.¹¹¹

Royalist balladeers claimed that their merry singing was under attack by oppressive, censoring Puritans.¹¹² *Mad Tom a Bedlam* sang, 'Bless the printer from the Searcher' and 'bless the ballad maker', but this ballad was attributed to Sir Francis Wortley, who was actually in prison at the time.¹¹³ In 1649 *Gallant Newes from the Seas* sang 'God Blesse the Man that made this song,/ ... 'tis pittie he should suffer wrong,/ Who loves the Prince with all his heart'.¹¹⁴ That they made this claim in uncensored but outraged ballads suggests, perhaps, they did 'protest too much'. Singing and roistering groups caught drinking healths were certainly prosecuted by the authorities, as in 1653, when Anne Goad, a milkwoman, was reported by two Cromwellian soldiers billeted in the room adjacent to her lodging. They accused her of using her room as a bawdy house and complained at her 'singing and domineering', claiming she had 'sung a song That Olyvers Nose shall serve for a candle to charge the Navie'.¹¹⁵ But there is little evidence that balladeers were expressly targeted.

¹⁰⁹ Anon., *A Quarterne Full of Quearies* (1647), 669.f.11(61). After the Restoration this argument was used in royalist ballads such as *Englands Triumph and the Subjects Joy* [between 1666 and 75], b/l, Euing 102, where loyal blades claimed 'we drink to show our loyalty and to fill his coffers full' of excise money.

¹¹⁰ *The Maidens Merry Meeting, or, the Maidens Healths who being together did civilly sing, Drink Healths to the Prince, Queen and King* {1647-1648}, b/l, MB.II(55a).

¹¹¹ S[amuel] S[Smithson], attrib., *The Parliament Routed or heres a House to be Let*, 'to the Tune of Lucina or Merrily and Cheerily' (m/s 3 June 1653), b/l, 669.f.17(12).

¹¹² On attempts to censor balladeers see above, ch. 1.

¹¹³ S[ir] F[rancis] W[ortley] B[art.], *Mad Tom a Bedlams Desires of Peace or his Benedicities for distracted Englands restauration to her wits again. / By a constant, though unjust sufferer (now in prison) for his Majesties just regality, and his countreys liberty* (1648), w/l, 669.f.12(59).

¹¹⁴ Tom Smith, *Gallant Newes from the Seas: being a relation of certaine speeches*(1649), b/l, MB.I(45).

¹¹⁵ LMA, MJ/SR/1108 (263) 16 June 1653. My thanks to Bernard Capp for this reference. This song is unknown to me, but a similar sentiment appeared in *The Traytors Downfall, or, A Brief Relation of The Downfall of That Phanatick Crew Who Traiterously Murthered The Late Kings Majesty of Blessed Memory* (1660), b/l, Euing 350; w/l, Lutt.II.36. See p. 294 below.

However, *The Disconted Lover* (1650), a loyal drinking ballad which advised an early departure and payment of the score 'to be scurvily betraid,/ To the Constables aid', and the complaint of *The Noble Prodigal* (1660) which declared that with the return of the King 'Musicians [will] never be noted/ for wandering men of ease/But they shall be finely coated/and permitted to sing what they please', suggests that the authorities were more concerned about drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and vagrancy than political ballad singing.¹¹⁶

Defending royalist drinking as 'more open', the *Delights of the Bottle* (1650) argued that though Puritans also had a taste to 'drink and wench' they did it in an underhand way without music, 'a debauch without clamour or noise.'¹¹⁷ Puritans were hypocrites in this, and every respect, but royalist singing of drinking songs backfired when it allowed puritans and others to liken roaring health-drinking royalists to ranters.¹¹⁸ In 1653 *A Total Rout* sang of 'Princely Hectors' and 'my poor Ranters', who 'like the Devil strut' and 'sell off all their clothes for Ale and Tobacco'.¹¹⁹ This was indeed the outcome in the *Joviall Crevv*, a play-pamphlet attacking Ranters who roister and sing cavalier-like drinking songs.¹²⁰ Royalist writers themselves tried to draw distinctions between mere drunkards and true cavaliers.¹²¹ In 1657 *Roome for a Gamester, or a knot of good fellows* attacked the 'turn coat' drinker who

¹¹⁶ *The Disconted Lover* (1650). *The Noble Prodigal* (1660).

¹¹⁷ *The Delights of the Bottle* (m/s 'made about 1650'), b/l, Wood E25(58). EEBO suggests this ballad originated in a Shadwell play in 1675. The tune 'the Delights of the Bottle' was used on many ballads in the 1670s and 80s, but it also appeared on ballad sheets printed before 1675 and Wood annotated his copy 'made about 1650'.

¹¹⁸ See Anon., *Englands Wolfe with Eagles Clawes* (1646), 669.f.10(106), which claimed royalists worship Charles not God: 'they drink a health to King Charles, in whom they live, move and have their being'.

¹¹⁹ *A Total Rout* (1653), w/l, 669.f.17(56). 'Hector' was a term in vogue in the 1650s used to describe quarrelsome, hard drinking men. For ballads it also had the classical connotation of Hector the great but misled warrior and was frequently used in that sense.

¹²⁰ S.S., *The joviall crevv, or, The devill turn'd Ranter: being a character of the roaring Ranters of these times* (1651).

¹²¹ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 225 mention disaffected royalists 'with sets of fiddlers' at Christmas parties in 1654, and the renowned cavalier debauch, Richard Thornhill, 'the veriest beast that ever was'. They also quote a speech to parliament by Major General Lambert on 25 December 1656: 'They [cavaliers] are haply, now merry over their Christmas pies, drinking the King of Scots' health, or your confusion'.

could sing with blades and comply with Saints at the same time.¹²² In 1660 a royalist ballad *Englands Joy for the Coming In* hoped the Restoration would free people from ‘fear of cavaliers/ that sleep all night and drink all day’.¹²³ Charles II expressly ordered moderation in drinking and behaviour before he arrived in the country, and disowned the ‘sort of men ... who spend their time in Taverns, Tipling-houses, and debauches, giving no other evidence of their Affection to us, but in drinking our health ... [and] have discredited our cause, by the licence of their manners and lives’.¹²⁴ However, many of those who had been children during the war were by the late 1650s the ‘yong men’ of Thomas Rugge’s *Diurnall*, who, unemployed and disenchanted with republican government, spent their time drinking and swearing.¹²⁵ The ritualised drinking of ex-cavalier soldiers and the romance of a prince overseas would certainly have appealed to such young men. It was these young men, with no memory of Charles I, who were willing to welcome his son home as King and it was towards disaffected men like these that ‘Rump’ balladeers targeted their attacks.¹²⁶

A Rousing Chorus: 1659 - May 1660

The collapse of government after the abdication of Richard Cromwell as Protector, and the army’s overthrow of the Rump provoked a flood of royalist broadsides from about November 1659. As in the 1640s, many of these white-letter broadsides were verse satires rather than traditional ballads, their tune directions satirical rather than singable, and their chosen form a way of building upon the attacks that had been made in the 1640s. Even those that were for

¹²² *Roome for a Gamester, or a knot of good fellows* [RI2322 1 August 1657], see RB VIII cii where Ebsworth has transcribed an unspecified m/s.

¹²³ *Englands Joy for the Coming In of our Gracious Sovereign King Charles the II* (m/s 14 May 1660), w/l, 669.f.25(28), b/l version, Euing 99.

¹²⁴ By The King, *A Proclamation against Vicious Debauch’d and Prophane Persons* (13 May 1660), 669.f.25(36).

¹²⁵ Rugge, *Diurnall*, pp. 9, 10, 13, 14, 27. This may have much to do with the changing age structure of the population. Men who at 20 had fought for or against the King were 30 and established figures by 1657. Meanwhile the 10 year olds of 1647 were by 1657 aged 20, away from home and free from responsibility and at their most exuberant time of life. As Ronald Hutton, *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658-1667* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 76-77, points out these men had no direct memory of Charles I’s tyranny. Josselin, *Diary*, 16 June 1659, p. 447, despairs at the effects London has had on his son.

¹²⁶ There is a further discussion of the context of Rump ballads below, ch. 4.

singing were set to tunes published privately or in the expensive Playford volumes. Of the fifty-six roman letter broadsides published between November 1659 and March 1660, seventeen specified no tune at all and three were satirical 'litanies'. Two broadsides specified a tune, 'last parliament sat as snug as a cat', that only existed in cavalier manuscripts from the 1650s. *The Four legged Elder* was to be sung to 'The lady's fall', a tune that did not fit the verse, though it was a nice joke.¹²⁷ Five had the direction 'to the tune of the blacksmith', but were unlikely to have been intended for singing.¹²⁸ Ben Jonson's 'Cook Laurel' was cited on four broadside ballads. This was a typical example of the cavalier appropriation of Jonson's royalist wit, and an allusion to roguery.¹²⁹ A short song in the *Rump* collection, 'Englands Woe' lamented, 'But had these seditious times been when, / we had the life of the Poet Ben, / Parsons had never been Parliament men'.¹³⁰ The dance tune 'Up Tayles All' was called for on two ballads with obvious sexual connotations, though neither ballad could be sung to the tune, nor were they similar to each other in metre. No ballad to the tune existed before 1660, but it was alluded to in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1600).¹³¹ *Colonel John Okies Lamentation, or A rumper cashiered* directed it should be sung to 'And a begging we will go', but was actually set in the metrical form of 'The Blacksmith'. The tune title was clearly intended as a satirical reference to his impending unemployment.¹³² Another ballad, supposedly sung to what appears to be a traditional tune, 'The Blind Beggar of Bednal Green', was 'not [written] in a metre that could be sung to it'.¹³³ In fact, this was a caustic reference to 'blind Hewson', the subject of the ballad.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ Sir John Birkenhead, attrib., *The Four legged Elder* (m/s 17 September 1647), w/l, 669.f.11(70); Simpson, p. 248.

¹²⁸ Simpson, p. 274, points out that of broadsides set in the metrical form of 'The Blacksmith', 'Some of these poems may not be intended for singing'.

¹²⁹ Simpson, pp. 129-130.

¹³⁰ 'Englands Woe' in *Rump: or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times Rump* (1662), sig. D4.

¹³¹ Simpson, pp. 727-728.

¹³² *Colonel John Okies Lamentation, or A rumper cashiered* (m/s March 1660), w/l, Wood 416(63) and (m/s 28 March 1600), 669.f.24(43).

¹³³ H. Wooldridge (ed.), *William Chappell, Old English Popular Music* (New York, 1961), Part II. p. 206.

¹³⁴ *A Hymn to the Gentle Craft; or, Hewson's Lamentation* (m/s 11 January 1660), w/l, 669.f.22(64).

For the writers of these ballads, men like Sir John Birkenhead, Sir John Denham, and Alexander Brome, the 'Rump ballads' were a rhetorical device, which sought to satirise those who had turned the world upside down, the 'mechanics of state', by addressing them in the most vulgar literary form, but in a manner and format inaccessible to the less educated ballad-buyer.¹³⁵ After the Restoration the *Rump* anthology, which contained many more songs, poems and catches than ever appeared on broadsides, declared that the gentlemen authors were now ashamed to be connected with such low stuff: 'we have not subjoined any authors names; heretofore it was unsafe, and now the gentlemen conceive it not proper', though, it added, "'Tis hoped they did his majesty some service, 'twas for that end they were scribbled'.¹³⁶ As *The Royal Health to the Rising Sun* had said back in 1649, 'When Lyon is in England – weel think no more of the plume.'¹³⁷

Rump leaders were once again the pedlars of the 1648 *Cryes of Westminster* (reprinted in black-letter after the Restoration), who, like Justice Waterton, had inspired 'publique curses instead of the Psalter' and would be 'sung to the grave with ev'ry man's laughter'.¹³⁸ An adapted version of the popular black-letter 1653 *Parliament Routed* was reprinted in white-letter in between October and November 1659. The original chorus had been 'Twelve parliament-men are now sold for a penny' but in the new version the price of members had gone down - now you could get twenty-four parliament men for your money.¹³⁹

Royalist white-letter ballads used advanced scatological imagery to ridicule the martial music, the trumpets and drums of the Rump. *A New Years Gift* described 'Ludlow's

¹³⁵ See *The Gang or the Nine Worthies and Champions, LAMBERT etc, To the Tune of ROBIN HOOD*. [m/s 17 January 1660], w/l, 669.f.22(71). The name Robin Hood (an outlaw) is printed as large as Lambert's name, the verses attack the low class virtues of 'the nine heros in scorn'. To accuse a writer of mere balladry was a favourite insult amongst writers. See John Taylor's attitude to ballads in Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor* (Oxford, 1994) pp. 76-77, 182-183, and another jaundiced view, Anon., *On the Answer to Dr Wilds Poem* (1663) BL.C20, f4. (26).

¹³⁶ Anon., *Rump*, 'To the Reader', Sig A3v.

¹³⁷ *The Royal Health to the Rising Sun* (1649).

¹³⁸ *Roome for a Justice* (m/s 31 January 1660), w/l, 669.f.23(20).

¹³⁹ *A Proper New Ballad on the Old Parliament. Or, the second part of Knave out of doores*, 'To the tune of Hei ho my honey, my heart shall never rue, four and twenty now for your mony, and yet a hard pennyworth too' (m/s Wood October 1659, Thomason, 11 November 1659], w/l, 669.f.22(7). Original ballad, S.S. *The Parliament Routed or Heres a House to be Let* (1653).).

fart' as 'a prophetique Trump,' while *A Vindication of the Rump*, in a complicated image that feminised the discredited parliament, also likened the Rump's drumming to the sound of farting:

There's scarce a lady to be found
that loves either pear or plum
One half so well, if she be sound
as taboring at her B... [Bum],
It may be you'l say, I'm wide of the case
Since that music is made in a distant place,
I answer the breadth of your thumb.¹⁴⁰

A New Years Gift also asserted that where song should have order and sense, the effect of the Rump being in charge of the body politic had ruined its 'Rime' and 'Reason':

The Reason is worse, though the Rime be untoward
when things proceed with the wrong end forward, ...
when our brains are sunck below the Middle
And our consciences steer'd by the hey down diddle
Then things will go round without a Fiddle.¹⁴¹

Just as they had done during the war, royalist propagandists poked fun at the plebeian musical tastes and manners of the republican leaders and combined references to secular and religious song. In *Vindication of the Rump* 'Lambert was a Quaker who was once an Ale Draper' and had 'with gravity sung Robin Hood'. An attack on the hated Captain Hewson, who had killed apprentices in London and whose pamphlet persona was a blind cobbler, was entitled *Hymne to the Gentle Craft*.¹⁴² *Hugh Peters Last Will And Testament* carried the marginal direction

¹⁴⁰ *A New Years Gift for the Rump* (Oxford, 1660), w/l, 669.f.22(55); *A Vindication of the Rump* (1660), Vet.A3a.3(2). The 'tabor' was the commonest form of drum. The joke was possibly biblical: Nahum, ch, II, v. 7: 'Her maids shall leade her...tabring upon their breasts'.

¹⁴¹ *A New Years Gift for the Rump* (1660).

¹⁴² *Vindication of the Rump* (1660); *A Hymne to the Gentle Craft* (1660). *Englands Object* (m/s September 1660),b/l, Wood 401(175), celebrated the capture and imprisonment of Hugh Peters and was still harping on this theme. In it Arthur Haselrigg was described as 'a thumper/ to dance a

'Sing this through the nose'.¹⁴³ Having in mind the roasting of Rumps in the street that became a feature of political protest from February 1660, one white-letter ballad declared that as the Rump was roasting, 'It sings, do yee heare', while another claimed the Rump had 'sung in the midst of the flames like a martyr ... and sounded most cheerfully ... Vive Sir Arthur [Haselrige].'¹⁴⁴ Liturgical satires re-appeared, for example, *A Letany for the New Year* and the *Free-Parliament-Letany*.¹⁴⁵ After General Monck forced parliament to re-admit all the excluded members on 11 February, a ballad appeared entitled *A Psalme Sung by the people*, while in April 1660 a new version of *Mardyke or the Soldiers Sonnet* was to be 'Sung to the Organ'.¹⁴⁶

In the early months of 1660, royalist merry-making and drinking reached a crescendo, prompting complaints and the King's proclamation against riotous drinking.¹⁴⁷ *A Proper New Ballad* anticipated that when the King came back 'then Vive le Roy let's merrily sing', and 'hope to be civilly drunk'.¹⁴⁸ The author of *The Cock Crowing* agreed: 'to be sober/ is Scottish in my opinion'.¹⁴⁹ In *St George and the Dragon*, Rumpers were said to be horrified by 'a most hideous Noyse / Of Free Parliament bells, and Rump confounding Boyes'.¹⁵⁰ It was all music to the royalist ear, however, as described by *The Country man's Vive Le Roy*:

For now the Youth in evr'y street

parliament jugg.' This was a preview of the executions of these men that took place to the sound of merry ballad music.

¹⁴³ *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament or, The haltering of the divell*. 'To the tune of, the guelding of the divel' (1660), w/l, 669.f.26(32).

¹⁴⁴ *A Psalme Sung by the People, Before the Bone-fires, made in and about the City of London, on the 11th. of February*. 'To the tune of Up tayles all' (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(43); *Arsy versy, or, the second martyrdom of the Rump*. 'To the tune of, The blind beggar of Bednall-green' (m/s March 1660), w/l, 669.f.24(31).

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Jordan, attrib., *A Letany for the New-Year; with a description of the new state* (1660), w/l, 669.f.22(68) and the *A Free-Parliament-Letany*, 'to the tune of An old souldier of the queene's' (m/s, March 1660), w/l, Wood 416(60).

¹⁴⁶ *A Psalme Sung by the people* (1660), *Mardyke or the Soldiers Sonnet* 'to be Sung to the Organ' (1660).

¹⁴⁷ By The King, *A Proclamation against Vicious Debauch'd and Prophane Persons* (13 May 1660), 669.f.25(36).

¹⁴⁸ *A Proper New Ballad of the Divels Arse a Peake, or Satans beastly place, or, in plain terms of the posteriors and fag-end of a long parliament* (1660), w/l, Wood 416(38). A number of the Rump ballads were entitled a 'proper new ballad' - an ironic touch since they were all highly improper in language, unlike real ballads.

¹⁴⁹ *The Cock Crowing* (1660).

¹⁵⁰ *Saint George and the Dragon, Anglice, Mercurius Poeticus* (m/s ffeb 1659/1660), w/l, 669.f.23(66.)

As they do one another meet,
 Eccho and sing Vive le Roy ...
 Laugh, Quaff and Sing Vive le Roy,
 Come Frank strike up a merry strain,
 Since the King enjoys his own again.¹⁵¹

In *Bacchus Festival* Thomas Jordan, the City Poet, wrote, 'Tis good Canary onely makes men sing, / and truly stand for country God and King.'¹⁵² This was a song published after a feast for Monck at Vintners Hall, and was doubtless also good for business!

At the end of 'the broken times', as Anthony Wood called them, it was the royalists who had won the battle over religious harmony, not only because the organ was restored but because it was their depiction of puritan singing which has proved triumphant.¹⁵³ Reminiscing in 1660, the *Merry Boys of Christmas* recalled bitterly, 'what time those hypocritick knaves/ denounced our harmless joys/ and silenc'd all the loyal staves/chorus'd by roaring boys'.¹⁵⁴ Puritan singing was presented as sour, crude and foreign. *The New Letanie* (1647) had prayed 'Libera nos domine ... From extemporary prayer, and a godly ditty ... From Mouldy bread and Mustie beere' and from 'learning of the Scottish Jigge', and repudiated puritans who wanted to save the nation 'From May-poles and Fidlers and all that is Jolly'.¹⁵⁵ In 1660 John Collop wrote of his hope for a restoration of church order in which:

¹⁵¹ *The Countrey-mans Vive le Roy. Or His Joyfull Exaltation for King Charles his Restoration, In a Dialogue between Dick a Ploughman, and Jack a Shepherd. With Jacks Epigram upon Englands Grand Traytor* (1660), w/l, BL.C.20.f.2(41.).

¹⁵² Thomas Jordan, attrib., *Bacchus Festival; or, a new medley, being a musical representation at the entertainment of his excellency the Lord General Monck, at Vintners Hall, April 12, 1660* (1660), w/l, 669.f.24(63).

¹⁵³ In the black-letter *Lamentation of a Bad Market* (1660), a mercenary soldier, who had enjoyed his power and cruelty, fears that on returning to his 'country town' after being disbanded 'they'l call me a clown/ if I sing them my outlandish playes'.

¹⁵⁴ *The Merry Boys of Christmas: or, the Milk-Maids New-Years-Gift*, 'To the tune of, Hey Boys up go we' {1660}, b/l, Rox.IV.24. The BL catalogue, I think incorrectly, suggests 1680 as a publication date for this damaged ballad.

¹⁵⁵ *The New Letanie* (1647). *Much A-do About Nothing, a song made of nothing, the newest in print, he that seriously minds it, shall find all-things in't*, 'to the tune of, Which nobody can deny' (1660), b/l, Wood 401(169), explained 'The Organ and Altar, and Ministers Cloathing/ In Presbiter Jack did beget such a loathing/ that he must set up a petty-new-nothing/ which Loyalty did deny'. This ballad was reprinted in white-letter in 1664, see Lutt.II.143.

None then shall Organs hate, all Organs be;

Made instrumentall in the serving thee.

No nose tun'd Parson th' Pulpit shall belabour

With noise resembling the *Scotch* Pipe and Tabor.¹⁵⁶

In May 1660, God appeared to have answered these prayers. In *Rebellion Given Over Housekeeping*, a 'General Sale' of Rump furniture made room for the return of parliament to harmony. The 'bellows and tongs' made of 'presbiters lungs', that had been used 'to blow up the coats [*sic*] of rebellion', were to be given 'to some Choir/ to make the organs to roar/ and the little pipes squeak higher/ than ever they did before.'¹⁵⁷ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* welcomed the proper separation of secular and religious singing:

Our pot pipe and Organ shall then be divided

And into the holy Cathedrals bee guided

Our Ouristers (*sic*) small, and our tall singing men

Shall joyfully chant to the organ again.¹⁵⁸

But, though ritual music was back in place, it was soon clear that the Restoration had failed to unite the nation in chorus.

iii. Restoring Harmony: May 1660-May 1661

Thomas Lamplugh wrote to Rev. Thomas Smith on the occasion of the 'Kings coming in':

'Never was any Prince so welcome to his people as Charles 2d, after 12 years banishment was

¹⁵⁶ John Collup, *Itur Satyricum in Loyall Stanzas* (1660), p. 9.

¹⁵⁷ *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping or A General Sale of Household Stuff* (1660) b/l, - only later editions exist, Wood E25(21) and Pepys II.209. This ballad alluded to *Parliament Routed* (1653), which began 'Here's a house to be let' (this sign had been hung outside the parliament house). It offers to sell all the contents 'for an old song'. White-letter versions of *Rebellion Given over Houskeeping* titled just *A General Sale of Household Stuff* were printed in 1682 and 1685: see Bod. Ashm. G 16(195) and Wood 417(54).

¹⁵⁸ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph. Bold phanaticks now make room Charles the Second's coming home. As it was voted in the House on May-day last 1660. 'To the tune of, Packingtons pound'* (1660), b/l, Euing 98. I have found no ballad that was printed in opposition to these sentiments but one poem broadside entitled, *The Wheel of Time turning Round to the Good Old Way ... Written by a Lover of the good Old Cause, etc.* (1661), BL.C.20.f.2(47.), attacked Prelates and Popery, mocked ballads and attacked organ music in churches. It predicted the new monarchy would be 'all over by sixty-three'.

to his. Such state and such acclamations as I want words to express.¹⁵⁹ Ballad after ballad sang in relief and amazement at the enormous and rapturous noise of the Restoration.

Englands Honour claimed the day on which Charles was proclaimed had 'caused all Englishmen loud to sing'. Trumpets had sounded and 'the Bells in the City did answer them then, / such gallant musick hath seldom been heard/ The Trumpets returned their Ecco (*sic*) again'.¹⁶⁰

At the King's return on 29 May *The Glory of these Nations* proclaimed, 'Now all men do sing/ God save Charles our King.'¹⁶¹ Balladeers argued, as they had done throughout the Interregnum, that the Monarch was essential to the harmony of the state. One ballad sang of Charles II:

He will us govern you shall see
In Love and Peace and Unity
Then shall we hear sweet harmony
Without him there's no melody.¹⁶²

The fact that the change had been brought about bloodlessly was evidence that Restoration was providential and therefore a natural part of God's cosmos. *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* offers a good example of the 'natural' musical panegyric produced at the Restoration. The arrival of Charles meant:

our glorious Star [doth] appear
Which long hath been out of the Land
Every meadow flows with such a balm
Harmonious birds sing such a psalm.

¹⁵⁹ Flemings, *Papers*, I, p. 131.

¹⁶⁰ *Englands Honour* (1660), b/l, Euing 97. See also *Englands Captivity Returned with a Farewel to Common-wealths*: 'to the tune of, The brave sons of Mars' (1660), b/l, Firth b20(24a): 'lets all rejoyce with a loud voice', 'let us all make a noise/ both young men and boyes/ with a great acclamation of joy', 'To bring home our King/ 'Twas the only thing/ could make all things well for the people/ and such joy for't there was/ as in the streets I did pass/ that the bells almost leapt out o'th steeple'.

¹⁶¹ *The Glory of These Nations, or, King and peoples happinesse, being a brief relation of King Charles's royall progresse from Dover to London, how the Lord Generall and the Lord Mayor with all the nobility and Gentrey of the land, brought him thorow the famous city of London to his pallace at Westminster the 29. of May last, being his Majesties birth-day, to the great comfort of his loyall subjects*. 'The tune is, when the King enjoys his own again' (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(5).

¹⁶² [Untitled]{1660}, b/l, CB.990/6.

Likened to the rose, to sweet smelling musk, and to a mayflower brought to perfection, Charles, 'this nymph of ours', heralded the coming of an eternal spring. The ballad promised that 'in him shall last our lands fair spring' and that he 'crown'd shall be with garlands of flowers', while 'In Gardens Green / Shall now be seen/ Englands Great King like form'. Song-birds, such as the 'cheerful mounting lark/ that doth in merry noates delight', and 'Loves Querester that sits amidst the thorn / (the Nightingale, so sweet a singer)', sang the praise and 'fame' of the King as he 'doth mount into his sphere'.¹⁶³ *Good News for England* bid its listeners to follow suit: 'As Birds rejoice to usher in the Spring/ With melodious voices bid welcome home our King.'¹⁶⁴

Balladeers also made good use of meteorological imagery. Charles was frequently likened to the sun coming out and clearing the cloudy or stormy sky. But of course, this was England and the real weather did not co-operate. On 8 May, when the King was proclaimed to the soldiers and civilians, there was a sudden hail-storm. But the writer of *London and England Triumphant* contrived to turn even this set-back to an advantage:

The Sun shone very brightly, yet
 The Rain and Hail did fly
 Which shews when lawful sons do reign
 All hail! the Heavens cry.¹⁶⁵

The Traitors Downfall rashly promised, 'Now we have brought the King in, weel have fair weather'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May in which our Royall Prince Charles was born, which grac't that month, and made glad the hearts of all true and free born subjects of England...*, 'The tune is, Prince Charles birth day, or the subjects hearts to cheer' (1660), b/1, EEBO/Harvard.

¹⁶⁴ A. Starkey, *Good news for England: or, The peoples triumph. Then let's be joyful, and in heart content, to see our King united with the Parliament. Long live Charles the Second.* 'To the tune of, Bodkins galliard' (1660), b/1, Euing 131.

¹⁶⁵ *London and England Triumphant: At the proclaiming of King Charls the Second, by both the Houses of Parliament, the Judges of the Land: with the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Council of the City, as it was performed with great solemnity, and loud acclamations of joy by the people in general. May the 8th. 1660.* 'To the tunc of, I am a jovial batchelor' (1660), b/1, Euing 167.

¹⁶⁶ *The Traytors Downfall, or, A brief relation of the downfall of that phanatick crew who traiterously murdered the late kings majesty of blessed memory.* 'To the tunc of, Fa la la, &c' (1660), b/1, Euing 350

Clerical royalist writers believed it was crucial to establish the providential nature of Charles's return and the King's Protestant credentials. This was reflected in the extensive use of Old Testament imagery in Restoration ballads. Charles arrived on St David's Day and was crowned on St George's Day, but he was likened to King David, the great biblical musician, songwriter, lover and King, who had tamed the breast of the maddened Saul with his music.¹⁶⁷ Like David, Charles was the model of divinely appointed monarchy, patient, long-suffering and bringer of calm, reason and harmony to the state. *The Loyal Subjects Hearty wishes* pointed out that 'Like Holy David he/ past many troubles' and like David he was 'by God appointed/ Holy writ doth say/ Touch not mine anointed.'¹⁶⁸ *Englands Pleasant Mayflower*, in which the author refers to himself as one of God's students, declared, 'On David's musick we will sing/ and bravely chant and say/ the glory of the world came in'. The writer fully exploited comparisons with David. Charles had been saved 'As David from the Lyons paws/ whose beard he bore away', while his patience in exile showed that he 'trained was in David's field', he deserved David's praise and his star had followed him like the star of Bethlehem.¹⁶⁹ The author supplied a range of other Old Testament comparisons, offering a collage of Old Testament virtues. Charles had Joshua's hands, Job's patience, was devout like Daniel, had the wit of Solomon, came home like Joseph and finally was wished the length of Abraham's days.¹⁷⁰ Other ballads likened Charles to 'Moses, meek and tender hearted', who had led his

¹⁶⁷ The figure of St George had been taken by General George Monck, so this was not available, but in any case Charles II was never depicted as a military figure.

¹⁶⁸ J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second*. 'To the tune, When cannons are roaring' (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(1). This point was also made by Henry Jones, *The Royal Patient Traveller, or, The wonderful escapes of His Sacred Majesty King Charles the Second from Worcester-Fight and his making a hollow oke his royall pallace* 'to the tune of Chivy Chase, or, God prosper long our noble king' (m/s 'Made by Hen. Jones an old Ballad-singer of Oxon', 1660), b/l, Wood 401(171): 'David, we read had enemies that did him sore annoy/ So Charles I had the same who is for England's joy.'

¹⁶⁹ To make sure his readers did not take the image too far, 'J.P.', the writer of *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* explained that though Charles might be David personified, 'Monck (our Saint George)' was not to be confused with David's General, Joab - who 'through his spleen with envi'd quarrels/ David did betray'!

¹⁷⁰ *Englands Pleasant May-flower or, Charles the second, as we say, came home the twenty-ninth of May. Let loyal hearts rejoyce and sing for joy they have got a gracious king*. 'The tune is, Upon Saint David's day' (1660), b/l, Euing 100. Charles was also compared favourably to Solomon in [*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, RB VIII p. lvii*: 'Solomon was crowned King, so was great Jehoram/ But Solomon did

people out of Egypt.¹⁷¹ Much of this rhetoric stuck, despite the disappointments of the reign. At his death Charles retained all these Old Testament credentials. In 1685 *An Excellent New Song*, recounting the history of the Stuart kings, again compared Charles's virtues to those of David, Moses, Job and Solomon.¹⁷²

It was never in doubt that all the loyal music fought over during the Interregnum would accompany the King's 'coming in'.¹⁷³ *The noble prodigal. Or, The young heir newly come to his estate* (1660) was a medley of all the nations who celebrated 'the Son/ whom wine and musick now do wait upon'. General Monck, as restorer of the monarchy, could be sure that 'the Land shall celebrate his fame/ the bells full merrily shall ring/ all the town shall dance and sing'. The ballad urged 'all you that have musick in ye/ [to] tipple dance and sing'. The Scots, merry once more, resolve that to avoid all controversy, and to distinguish themselves from Puritans, they would dance to an unquestionably loyal instrument:

wees awe be merry and jolly
quaff, carouse and reel
wees put up the bagpipes and organ
and make the welch harper to play.¹⁷⁴

Sorrowful singing had now turned to joy. *Englands rejoicing at that happy day* sang, 'Although we have then suffered long/ we hope now for to change that song/ that peace and truth may bear the sway.'¹⁷⁵ *Gallant News of Late I Bring* promised a future free of taxes and full of trade now that parliament had 'made a choice/ with heart and eke with voice/ which

wisdom bring, which made the Princes to adore him/ But to speak the truth of it, for a wise and prudent wit/ King Charles will go before him'.

¹⁷¹ J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660).

¹⁷² A broadside, Anon., *The Monument of Charles the First King of England* (m/s 5 June 1649), 669.f.14(36), had listed his father's virtues as 'Patient as Job, Mild as Moses, Wise as Solomon, Valiant as David' and with the 'zeale of Joseph'.

¹⁷³ See, for example, *The Glory of These Nations* (1660): 'Southwark Waits did play amain/ which made them all to smile/ The Bells likewise did loudly ring/ Bonfires did burn, and people did sing'.

¹⁷⁴ *The Noble Prodigal. Or, The young heir newly come to his estate* (1660). Even the Frenchman, seeing the possibility of an increase in his trade as dance-master, gloats 'Dancing vill be looked upon/ Now the man of Iron is gone / Me glad his dancing day be done.'

¹⁷⁵ *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day that Peace and Truth may bear Sway, being th' election of that thing, in chusing us a royal king, To the tune of, Gallant souldiers do not muse* (1660), b/l, Euing 95.

will us comfort bring/ In chusing of a King/ we will rejoyce and sing.¹⁷⁶ *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* painted a vivid picture of the King's procession when he arrived in London on 29 May: 'Trumpets bravely sounded/ Horses went prancing along/.../ and seemed to dance amongst the throng/ so merrily'.¹⁷⁷ *The Royall Entertainment*, a ballad celebrating a feast given by the City of London to the King in 1660, celebrated victory too in the battle over the music of State and Church. The entertainment itself had produced the triumph of a royalist music:

With fingers and voices the chiefest that were
 With loud and soft musick did make the Hall ring
 That Science did in its best glory appear
 And was only fit for to welcome a King
 With voices renowned the Banquets were crowned
 In Cathedral manner the Organs did sound.¹⁷⁸

iv. Problems of Dissonance 1660-1685

Of course, much of the harmony was more imagined than real; blood had not been spilt but political and religious wounds were far from healed. Some ballads sought to close down discordant voices. In 1660, *Englands Honour* believed opposing voices had been drowned out- 'so great was the noise/ expressing these joyes/ not one was heard to make any complaint'.¹⁷⁹ *A Loyal Subjects Admonition for Brittain's Civil Wars* (1660) warned, 'If any

¹⁷⁶ *Gallant News of Late I Bring, Tidings of Chusing now a King, whereby true subjects may rejoyce in chusing them so sweet a choyce that love and peace may so agree, to end the days of misery, 'to the tune of, Royal news, royal news'* (1660), b/l, Euing 130.

¹⁷⁷ John Wade, *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph. Or, The kings most excellent majesties royal and triumphant coming to London, accompanied by the ever renowned, his excellence the Lord General Monck. To the tune of, The Scottish lady, or, Ill tide that cruel peace that gain'd a war on me'* (1660), b/l, Euing 146. The whole procession was said to have taken 12 hours; for description see Flemings, *Papers*, I, 131-135.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Jordan, attrib., *The Royall Entertainment Presented by the Loyalty of the City, to the Royalty of their Sovereign, on Thursday the fourth of July 1660 etc. 'to the Tune of Packingtons Pound'* (1660), b/l, MB.I (7).

¹⁷⁹ *Englands Honour, and Londons Glory. With the manner of proclaiming Charles the second king of England, this eight of May 1660. by the honourable the two houses of Parliament, Lord Generall*

man be angry at this song/ What e'er he thinks hee'd best to hold his tongue'.¹⁸⁰ More outspoken was *Good News for England*, which declared, 'If any here be offended at my song/ I wish with all my heart they had ne'er a tongue'.¹⁸¹ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* spelt out a blunt threat for those who sought to silence merry singing:

Our mirth and good company will not be checkt
 By such as do nickname themselves the elect
 But we will be merry, and spend an odd teaster
 At Christmas, Whitsuntide, Shrovetide and Easter
 We'll play our old pranks
 Rejoice and give thanks
 and those that oppose we will cripple their shanks.¹⁸²

Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing warned that the King 'will know all those/ who are his friends and who were his foes/ then let his friends all merrily sing'.¹⁸³ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* also assumed that only the true in heart would sing at the King's return.¹⁸⁴ Robert Wilde's renowned *Iter Boreale*, adapted in black-letter as *The Noble*

Monk, the lord mayor, alderman, and common councill of the city. 'The tune is, Vi vel a roy [sic]' (1660), b/l, Euing 97.

¹⁸⁰ *A Loyal Subjects Admonition, or, A true song of Brittain's civil wars.* 'To the tune of General Moncks right march, that was sounded before him from Scotland to London, or the Highlanders march' (1660), b/l, Euing 160.

¹⁸¹ *Good News for England: or, The peoples triumph. Then let's be joyfull, and in heart content, to see our King united with the Parliament. Long live Charles the Second.* 'To the tune of, Bodkins galliard' (1660), b/l, Euing 131.

¹⁸² *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph. Bold phanaticks now make room Charles the Second's coming home. As it was voted in the House on May-day last 1660.* 'To the tune of, Packingtons pound' (1660), b/l, Euing 98. This same punishment was offered to Papists in 1689. See also *The Royall Subjects Joy, or, Joyfull news to all that faithfull be And doth desire a happy year to see ...* 'The tune is, Sound a charge' (1660), b/l, Euing 309: 'Though Heavy news to Some/ let them say no more but mum'. In *Here is Some Comfort for Poor Cavaleeres:* 'To a pleasant tune called Moncks March, or, Maids will say nay and take it' (1661), b/l, Euing 141, it was 'Quakers yauling' that tried to stop 'loyall hearts' from singing. *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* (1661), b/l, Euing 158: 'all tongues with joy cry vive le roy/ let him ever be sad/ that now is not glad'.

¹⁸³ *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing, or, Long lookt for is come at last, or, The True manner of proclaiming Charls the Second King of England, &c. this eighth day of this present May; to the ever honored praise of General Monck, being for the good of his country and the Parliament :* 'to the tune of Jockey' (1660), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

¹⁸⁴ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660) sang of how, 'our royall Prince Charles ... made glad the hearts of all true and free born subjects of England'.

Progress, rejoiced that not only the common people but the gentry too sang 'vive le roy'.¹⁸⁵

Englands Joyfull Holiday listed the grand ranks of the Dukes, Earls, Knights and Squires who 'with joy of heart they all doe sing', while every important town would 'sing a loud Vive le Roy':

There's York and Lancaster does rejoyce,
Winchester and Worcester raise their voice,
Litchfield, Coventry and Darby Town,
Nottingham and Newark, of great renown,
Lincoln and Leicester of high degree
With Peterborough and Hull all glad to see ...
...Bristow, Bathe and Exeter,
Portsmouth and Plinmouth (*sic*), seats of war
Oxford and Cambridge of great fame
And many more that I'le not name.¹⁸⁶

Thomas Ruge noted the singing of 'The King enjoys his own again' at Bruton, Somerset in May 1661, and described at the Coronation the singing of songs by three seamen, the 'stands

¹⁸⁵ Robert Wilde's renowned poem to George Monk, *Iter Boreale* (1660), a substantial pamphlet, appeared as the title of a white-letter broadside by T. H., *Iter Boreale. The second part, relating the progress of the Lord General Monk, calling in the secluded members, their voting King Charls the second home* (1660), w/l, BB.C40.m11(16), and was adapted in black-letter as *The Noble Progresse or, a true relation of the lord generall Monks politicall proceedings with the Rump, the calling in the secluded members, their transcendent vote for his sacred Majesty, with his reception at Dover, and Royall conduct through the city of London, to his famous palace at Whitehall. The tune is, when first the Scottish warrs began* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(2).

¹⁸⁶ O.G., *Englands Joyfull Holiday, or, St. Georges-day, holy honoured being the joyfull solemnity so long lookt for, of the coronation of King Charls the Second ... on St. Georges Day, being 23 of April*: 'to the tune, The King enjoys his own again', (1660), b/l, Wood 401(28v, 27r). Another feature of all this sound was the Echo - a constant fascination for balladeers. See e.g. [*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(25) describing the King's arrival: 'the joy that did ring / just at his landing/ did pierce the high heavens with /God Save the King/, the Rocks in an eccho/ As loudly did roar ... Trumpets did sound, cliffs did rebound.' 'Many women and boyes/ did make such a noyse/ Kent and Christendom/ Ring with [their joyes]'. This ballad is a good example of the difficulties of the archive. It was printed on the reverse of another ballad, covered in thick paper until 1881 and was cut in half. It is also a good example of the difficulties of cataloguing: EEBO has extended the author's initials to 'Organisation Gestosis'. As far as I can tell, this is a modern organisation to do with pregnancy!

of musick of all sorts', and, 'in the balconies [of the Strand] wine, musick and under it a knot of morris dancers' - though he added, 'the worst that ever were'.¹⁸⁷

For ballads in the 1660s, as in the 1650s, the expression of loyalty through song remained an outward and trustworthy sign of a true subject because music came from the heart.¹⁸⁸ If a loyal subject would drink as well as sing, then all the better. As *A Jolly Company of Jovial Blades* (1660) pointed out, 'Come take off your drink and speak what you think/ strong liquor will make you speak truly'.¹⁸⁹ *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660) proclaimed, 'Let True Subjects sing/ with hearts most loyal', but conceded that,

Many there are we know

within this nation

Lip-love to him do show

in dissimulation

Of such vilde hereticks (*sic*) there are a number

Whose hearts and tongues we know

are far asunder.¹⁹⁰

As the reign wore on, and especially during the wars with the Dutch, loyal singing and health drinking as a device to distinguish the true subject from the enemy within continued to be promoted in ballads.¹⁹¹ In celebrating victory ballads expected a response of joy from loyal subjects - *Englands Triumph* [June 1666] sang, 'String up your hearts, and tune

¹⁸⁷ Ruge, *Diurnall*, pp. 175-176, 179.

¹⁸⁸ For example, at the coronation Peter Fancy, *Joyfull News to the Nation: or, The crowning of King Charls [sic] the II. on the 23. of April being on St. Georges day, of his going from the Tower of London to White-hall, on monday [sic], being the 22. day, with his passing by water from White-hall to Westminster-hall, and from thence to the Abbey, where he was crowned; from thence quite back again with his noble train, with the rare fire-works upon London Thames.* 'To the tune of Packingtons pound' (1661), b/l, Euing 147, pointed out 'people did shout that was round about/ onely the Phanaticks that stood very mute/ grieved such a turn.'

¹⁸⁹ *A Jolly Company of Jovial Blades, who laugh and sing, and are as merry as the maids ...* 'Tune is, General Monk hath advanc'd himself since he came from the Tower' (1660), b/l, Euing 152 and another edition 153.

¹⁹⁰ J. P., *Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660) called for subjects to sing 'with heart and voice' but had to admit that 'like the Israelite there are a number/ that for his love to them/ against him doth murmer/ Read Exodus tis true/ Israelites yield to Egyptian crew.'

¹⁹¹ J. R., *The Valiant Hearted Sea-man; declaring a late skirmish fought between our English fleet and the Dutch ...* 'The tune is, Lusty Stukely' (1665), b/l, Euing 366.

your throats/ with merry and triumphant notes ... the Creeple may cast away his crutch/ and dance the downfall of the Dutch'.¹⁹² As *The Royal Victory* warned, 'that surley fanaticke that now will not sing'/ Is false to the Kingdom and foe to the King.'¹⁹³

In 1667 peace with the Dutch brought with it the hope of harmony at home. *The Triumph of Four Nations* declaimed, 'why should we not live all as brother with brother/ The scripture commands us to love one another ... By Discord we do one another betray/ The Devil and Discord like Lightning and Thunder/ In June and July are seldom asunder.' Could the people of England find peace 'without and within'? However, the ballad declared that the outbreak of peace in 1667 would be a time when 'Singing and Dancing would be in request/ and Jugge will be dancing as well as the rest,' may-poles would be set up and 'ale, stew'd prunes, custard and cake' would be consumed. Though the ballad called for harmony, none of this would please anyone of puritan tastes.¹⁹⁴

In the 1660s although everyone could agree that true religion was the essential basis for harmony, and most agreed that 'true religion' was Protestant, neither the civil war nor the Clarendon code had brought agreement over what form that Protestantism should take. Stuart attempts to enforce Declarations of Indulgence, the licensing of dissenting ministers and the Test Acts were all acknowledgements of this failure. John Spurr has explained how, after the Interregnum, Presbyterian ministers sought to be included within the Church of England, bringing about a united Protestant front against the ever-present threat of the papist.¹⁹⁵ However, in a state looking for harmony through uniformity, the question of whether more than one tune could operate at once seemed to conflict with the perception of a single 'via media'. Presbyterians found themselves characterised as the 'excess' of virtue, guilty of too

¹⁹² *Englands Tryumph, and Hollands Downfall; or, the second royal victory ... 'To the tune of, A fig for France and Holland too'* (1666), b/l, Euing 93.

¹⁹³ *The Royal Victory Obtained (with the providence of Almighty God) against the Dutch-fleet, June the 2d and 3d, 1665 ... 'to the tune of Packingtons pound'* (1665), b/l, Rox.III.240.

¹⁹⁴ *The Triumphs of Four Nations; or, A happy conclusion of peace, betwixt England, France, Denmark, and Holland. 'Tune is, Packingtons pound'* (1667), b/l, Euing 351.

¹⁹⁵ John Spurr, *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998), ch. 9.

much zeal and godliness, while papists were figured as the 'deficiency' of virtue - godless, mercenary and superstitious.

Just as, during the wars and Interregnum, ballads had been used to fight over the issue of ritual music, after the Restoration political ballads concerned themselves with the crucial issue of how to achieve unison in religious singing. The government's failure to achieve comprehensiveness in the post-Restoration settlement had dispossessed many ministers of their cures and created the later problem of licensing for Presbyterian ministers who sought to minister to their like-minded flocks. Like Charles himself and Clarendon, Presbyterians such as Edmund Calamy and Richard Baxter believed the differences between Cloak and Gown were not insurmountable and had hoped to be included within a national religious settlement. Presbyterians emphasised their loyalty to the crown and the role of Presbyterians like William Prynne in bringing back the King.¹⁹⁶ Presbyterian overtures were rebuffed, however, for the tide had turned against them. As with the tests of singing and drinking, the majority of cavaliers saw religious conformity to Anglicanism as a sure way of telling a good subject from a bad one. Charles II was forced to withdraw his Declaration of Indulgence of 1672, and replace it with the Test Act in 1673.

Nevertheless, Presbyterians continued to hope for a Protestant ecumenicalism if not containment within a single church. They argued for the possibility of singing from different hymn-sheets - but still in harmony. A debate over toleration or rather the relative threats of presbyter or papist emerged in a flurry of contesting clerical ballads published from 1674.¹⁹⁷ This was a religious moment in which every kind of threat seemed to surface at once.¹⁹⁸ In

¹⁹⁶ For a very brief moment in 1660 William Prynne and even 'Presbyter George' Monk became Presbyterian ballad heroes; see *The Case is Altered; or, Sir Reverence the Rumps last farewel* {1660}, b/1, BL.C.120.h.4(3).

¹⁹⁷ The word toleration was used derisively in ballads as elsewhere; see, for example, J.P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660)

¹⁹⁸ Spurr, *English Puritanism*, ch. 9, discusses the impact of licensing on Presbyterian debates over their status as 'non-conformists'. *The Answer to the Geneva Ballad* (see below), reflects the 'Duckling' point of view, which accepted separate dissenter status. See John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 210-211, 217-221 on the period 1673 to 1674. Miller emphasises that there was a great deal of anti-popish preaching from 1672, and that confusions continued through to 1674 over whether licences granted under the Indulgence were still legal. The situation was further complicated by the 'bill of ease', introduced in 1673.

1673 the Duke of York had taken a Catholic bride, an act which attracted 'unanimous opposition' in the Commons.¹⁹⁹ He stopped attending Church of England services and was forced by the Test Act to resign his positions, along with a raft of Catholic ministers. Even if not publicly declared, it was apparent to many that this denoted a change of religion. This was also the year in which a Papal Jubilee was announced for 1675, and lastly it was the year of a great debate between Quakers and Baptists in August.²⁰⁰

This 'group' of interconnecting religious ballads is interesting for a number of reasons. They ranged across all ballad formats, white- and black-letter, and instigated the new notation ballad. Two of the ballads in the group - the *Geneva Ballad* (white-letter) and the *Catholick Ballad* (black, white, and notation ballad formats) - became standards, and were reprinted over and over again into the next century. No one collector possessed them all, although the authors clearly knew about each other. Few were dated by their collectors, and apart from one obvious case, there is no evidence to show in what order they were printed. I deal with them here in an order that seems to me to make most sense.²⁰¹

Perhaps the initial source of the disturbance was *The Geneva Ballad*, dated by Anthony Wood as October 1674.²⁰² Its author accused Presbyterians of causing the civil war and being the prime threat to the harmony of the state, declaring 'I would as soon turn back to Mass ... Let the pope ride me like an Ass ... as buckle to Smectymnian laws'. The Presbyterian terror had 'Outweigh'd Queen Mary' because 'His very preaching slew more

¹⁹⁹ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 226.

²⁰⁰ The jubilee was a special pilgrimage originally set up in the fifteenth century, partly to celebrate the conclusion of the great schism and partly to fund the rebuilding of Renaissance Rome. Popes continued the tradition over the centuries of calling occasional jubilees both as an expression of renewal of faith and as a means to bring in revenue.

²⁰¹ *The Matchless Shepheard, Overmatcht by his Mistress. Or, The solid shepheards satyirical song against his schismatical mistress* (between 1663-1674), was registered RI1690 30 May 1656, and could conceivably have been reprinted in this year, as it would have been relevant to the debate. However, I cannot be certain so I have not included it in this discussion. The ballad is discussed in another context below, ch. 4.

²⁰² *The Geneva Ballad To the Tune of 48* (1674) w/l, BL.1876.f.1(10), BB.C40.m11(33), BB.C40.m9(78), Wood 416(125). Wood added m/s notes: '[Jack] Presbitere: Octob. reprinted in 1678'. Firth b.20(51), Wood 276b(105) and Harding B 4(55). Copies are also held in the Huntington Library. This ballad is attributed to Samuel Butler by Wing. However, the *Answer* implies the author was known to be a Divine, which Samuel Butler was not.

men'. The ballad emphasised the discordant noises made by the non-conformist: he roars, whines, barks, brays, 'speaks all the lingua's of the ark', 'with pleasing Twang he tones his prose', 'He bauls aloud, Sirs leave your sins,/ But whispers, Boys stand to your arms', and makes 'domestick broils at home'. The balladeer reflected, 'How quietly Great Charles might reign/ would all these Hot-spurs cross the main/ And preach down Popery in Spain.'

According to *The Geneva Ballad*, in a God-given universe harmony meant that only one voice should be heard:

The starry Rule of Heaven is fixt,
There's no Dissension in the Sky:
And can there be a Mean betwixt
Confusion and Conformity?

Natural harmony was not to be found amongst 'the Enthusastick Breed', who perverted nature. In the war they had drawn for both King and parliament, 'as if the wind could stand North/South', and they had 'Doves Plumes but Vultures claws'.²⁰³ This song certainly sold: eight copies of *The Geneva Ballad* survive in seven collections, and it was reprinted in 1678 and 1705.

A Presbyterian response came in the form of *An Answer to the Geneva Ballad*, of which just two copies survive in collections and no reprints were made.²⁰⁴ It answered in kind, replicating the typography and layout of the original attack, though citing no tune. Paradoxically, the *Answer* criticised the author of the *Geneva Ballad* for using such a low genre as balladry to discuss religion, and incidentally took a side-wipe at ritual music:

None draggs *Religion* up and down,
Or doth the Gospel such *disgrace*...

²⁰³ In a reference to the political ideal of the bee hive the ballad warned, 'Tis bad where Hornets dwell in Hives'. This image of Hornets and Hives was used again in Matthew Prior, *The Famous Orange* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.260.

²⁰⁴ *An Answer to the Geneva Ballad* (1674), w/l, BB.C40.m11(34).

Was ever *syke a Priest* among
All *Gloster Coblers* fulsome Throng,
To pawn his Conscience for a *Song*?

The author drew a distinction between the godly presbyter for whom the word was paramount and the 'modefi'd Episcopist' who used meaningless music, high and low:

Whilst *Presbyter* with active fist,
Makes it his work to *preach* and *pray*
This modefi'd *Episcopist*,
Shews 'tis to Heaven a *Iollier* way:
With Organs and with *Violin*,
And *Ballad* new on merry pin,
He means to *Wheedle* souls from sin.

The *Answer* accused the *Geneva* author of being an agent of Rome, 'Who *Pimps* in Rhime for the *Old Whore*' and of self-interest, 'Would a *fat Benefice* but fall.' The *Answer* suggested a new trade for him if his parishioners chose to go to a different church:

Since *Interest* leads him to complain,
Fearing some *Neighbouring Conventicle*,
His *Incomes* to Low *Ebb* should Drain;
But be not, *friend* at that dismaid,
Should *preaching* prove a *sorry Trade*,
Ballading is not quite *decay'd*.

Where the *Geneva Ballad* harped on the noise of the Presbyter, and the need for monody, the *Answer* insisted that harmony could be achieved through the combining of different notes:

The constant *Rules* of Heaven we know.
VWhose Starrs in *Various Orbs* do move,
VWhich we may *Copy* here below,

VVhilst *several parties* live in *Love*.

VVithout *Yoak* of Conformity,

VVe can keep Christian *Unity*,

As different *Notes* make *Harmony*.

Presbyters were more loyal to the Crown than those who criticised his clemency:

Our Sovereigns pleasure we'll obey,

But scorn to *Truckle* unto thine;

Since *Charles* does liberty display,

How dare such *Phamleteers* (*sic*) repine?

A Presbyterian's behaviour was truly loyal, rather than only seemingly so:

VVe'll not *Recriminate* the case,

Nor make *boast* of our Loyalty,

But still with *thankful* hearts embrace,

Our Gracious *princes* clemency.

Finally, the *Answer* pointed out that Presbyters had done far more to bring in the King than the Episcopal Church or cavalier poets had done:

VVhen *surplice* was an *useless* thing,

And *Miter* a poor *Relique* lay,

The *preaching Cloak* brought back the King,

And turn'd our Dismal *Night* to *Day*:

Mun Calamy, and a few more,

Did then *more* on their *Sovereigns* score

Then *troops* of *Railerists* before.

This was likely to have hit home, despite the claims of Sir John Bramston that 'it was the Cavaleere partie, the loyall gentry, that brought him home in truth' or Roger Vaughan's

claims in parliament in 1670 that 'the Gentlemen were the instrumental cause of the King's restoration'. If Monck had done most, the Gentry had done least to effect his return.²⁰⁵

In what appears to have been a further response to the suspiciously popish *Geneva Ballad*, 'To the Tune of 48', Dr Walter Pope published his *Catholic Ballad* 'To the Tune of [15]88'.²⁰⁶ Pope was an immensely popular writer; Anthony Wood noted that Pope's 1670 pamphlet, *The Memoires of Monsieur du Vall*, 'took so well and sold so much that 'tis thought there were 10,000 of them printed.'²⁰⁷ He clearly enjoyed no less success with the *Catholick Ballad*. Many editions of it were collected and it was reprinted over and over again, though not during the reign of James II. While the *Geneva Ballad* and the *Answer* were elegantly printed white-letter broadsides, the *Catholick Ballad* was printed, without illustration, in the very best of black-letter typeface. Some editions used red-letter titling to signify popish 'red letter men', and some had a musical score, the first of its kind.²⁰⁸ The whole song, including the tune direction, was a satire on popish rites, superstition and mendacity.²⁰⁹ Pope echoed the *Answer*'s attack on the *Geneva Ballad* as popish and an improper vehicle for religious debate:

Since Popery of late is so much in debate,
and great strivings have been to restore it
I cannot forbear openly to declare
That the Ballad-makers are for it.

²⁰⁵ Bramston, *Autobiography*, p. 117; Vaughan quoted in Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p.227.

²⁰⁶ Walter Pope, *The Catholic Ballad, or, An invitation to Popery* (1674), b/l, Wood 416(126). The following year it was translated into Latin and printed in white-letter. *The Catholic Ballad* was reprinted in 1678, 1679 and 1689. Other copies: 1674: Firth b.20(47), C6.2(4), Vet.A1.b.3(37), Johnson a.57(102), G.Pamph.1670(2). Pope wrote a number of very popular ballads including *The Old Man's Wish* (1684), n/b, EEBO/Harvard {1685}, b/l, Rox.II.386. Like his *Catholic Ballad* this one was often adapted and burlesqued.

²⁰⁷ Wood, *Life* II, p. 185 [1670].

²⁰⁸ The 'red letter men' phrase was used to describe papists in *The Cuckoo of the Times* (1679), b/l, Firth b/19(5).

²⁰⁹ The music shown on the English broadsides was neither '88' nor a tune to which the ballad could be sung. The Latin edition of 1675 was printed with a tune to which the ballad could be sung though again it was not '88'. Simpson, p. 393-394

So popular was this attack that a 'continuation of the Catholick ballad', in the same year, *Room for a ballad, or, A ballad for Rome*, 'to the tune of the powder plot' (another satirical reference as there was no such tune), was printed by the proto-Whig printer, Benjamin Harris. This edition was in white-letter but with an old woodcut of a pedlar with a sack full of popish trinkets followed by a devil at his back.²¹⁰ Both these ballads declared that papists had given up proper dispute in books, preferring 'a jollier way' to 'wheedle', as the *Answer* had said. The first declared, 'many do say, 'twill be our best way/ to sing for the Cause hereafter', while the second explained,

Now our Priests are run down, and our Jesuits aground,

and their arguments all prove invalid:

See here he hath got, an unheard of New Plot,

To Proselite you with a Ballad.

Pope's description of Catholic jollity - they were 'Brisk and free and always agree/ allowing ourselves to be jolly ... swearing and whoring, drinking and roaring' - looked all too familiar. As had happened during the war, the singing and drinking that old cavaliers believed was unimpeachably loyalist behaviour was open to attack as a sign of religious delinquency - but this time they looked like papists not Ranters.

Pope's efforts to make the papist threat seem greater than that of the Presbyterians sparked two responses - one in white- and one in black-letter. The white-letter *Reflections on the Catholic Ballad* acknowledged the influence of Pope's piece - 'amongst many that read it, it gained so much credit/ it may pass for a coffee-house psalter' - but dismissed its argument as 'without use or application'. In an obvious case of professional rivalry the author called Pope's ballad a 'petty lampoon' in which 'puns hang like pebbles in halter'. It was 'the

²¹⁰ Walter Pope, *Room For A Ballad, Or, A Ballad For Rome* [1674], b/l, Wood 416(127). Though using fine black-letter and a woodcut, this ballad was printed on an unusually large sheet, see copy at CB.406/3. Harris was not a ballad publisher and may not have had black-letter print. His ballad alerted readers to the forthcoming Papal jubilee to be held in Rome. In 1675 a black-letter ballad *The Popes Great Year of Jubilee*, beginning 'Let me extol (these fickle times)/The Church of Rome in ballad rimes', repeated all the sentiments of the *Catholick Ballad*.

subject that takes and the matter that makes/ the thing sell not the skill of the songster.’

However, more importantly, ‘the matter’ of the ballad, *Reflections* argued, was mistaken since ‘if you’l bewitch the world and grow rich/ I advise you to quaking or dipping’.²¹¹

The second response, taking the advice of the first, was *The Quakers Ballad* of 1674 which attacked both ‘quaking’ and ‘dipping’ fraternities.²¹² A more accessible ballad, this was in traditional black-letter, illustrated with woodcuts including James Naylor riding on his donkey to the cries of ‘hosanna’. The ballad satirised the meetings in August 1674 of Baptists and Quakers to debate true religion. Taking a leaf out of Walter Pope’s book, the ballad’s argument was that having failed to beat the Baptists in debate because the Quakers’ ‘logick [was] too weak to dispute ‘em /we hope by a ballad at least to confute ‘em.’²¹³ It mocked the hypocrisy of the sect in the form it would find most offensive. The ballad was subtitled ‘A hymn of Triumph and Exultation’. It began, ‘I will fit you / with an Hymn that is cal’d by the wicked a ditty’ and declared:

For though Fiddle and Organs are both Babylonish
wherewith the prophane delighted alone is
yet in such a case inspiration may haunt
even us which are perfect to warble a chaunt.

The ballad describes the noise of the four-hour debate that took place between the two sects, and jeers that instead of finding divine harmony, they had used ‘ammunition of lungs’ and ‘that carnal weapon the tongue’ to ‘bawl as high as before ... for we knew that the crowd would the glory afford/ To him that spoke loudest and had the last word’.

²¹¹ *Reflections Upon the Catholic Ballad* (1675), b/l, CB.1062/7, Lutt.III.107.

²¹² *The Quakers Ballad: or, An hymn of triumph and exultation for their victories at the two late great disputes by them held with the baptists; the first in Barbicon, on the 9th. the second in VVheeler-street, on the 16th. of the eight month, 1674.* ‘To an excellent new tune, called, The zealous atheist’ (1674), b/l, CB.1378/9.

²¹³ As well as the ‘argument’, some of the phrases were direct copies from the *Catholick Ballad*, such as ‘lay by your jeers, come prick up your ears’.

The last word in 1674 belonged to *Poor Robbin turn'd Seeker or, The Seekers Ballad*.²¹⁴ Like Pope's ballads, it was printed in fine black-letter with a score, this time set 'To the tune of 49'.²¹⁵ It clearly aimed to align itself with the ballads that had gone before. The choice of tune-title instantly made clear the political implications of confusion over whose hymn-tune the people should sing, while the song itself warned that religious freedom leads to doubt, cynicism, and ultimately atheism and self-interest. The ballad presents a debate between a Protestant, a Presbyterian, an Anabaptist, an Independent, a Socinian, a Quaker and a Papist. They argue over the relative merits of doctrinal and legal authority – Parliament, Synod and Cranmer for 'The Protestant', Long Parliament and the favour of Providence for the 'Presbiter', 'The Spirit' for the Anabaptist, reason and judgement and expounding the text for the Socinian, 'the Light' for the Quaker and, for the Papist, his 'Catholick Mother; the Pillar of Truth'. Finally Poor Robin concludes,

A true seeker still,
for myself I will be,
yet outward as pure,
as any you see.

This was anathema to the working of God's harmony in which all the members of the state should be united and tuned to one another.

Ultimately, the hope expressed in the *Answer to the Geneva Ballad* that there could be two Protestant tunes operating in counterpoint was beyond the imaginative scope of the ballad world before 1689. Though there were many calls for Protestant 'Concord and Unity', even at the height of the Popish Plot, those calls were usually for all Protestants to accept the

²¹⁴ *Poor Robin Turn'd Seeker, or, The Seekers ballad* 'to the tune of 49' [1674], b/1+no w/c but music, Houghton Library, Harvard University. My thanks to the librarian at the Houghton who sent me a copy, free of charge, of the only remaining example of this ballad sheet. It is not currently available on EEBO.

²¹⁵ Simpson, p. 231-232 says he has encountered this tune nowhere else, however, the opening line of this ballad is reminiscent of the 1641 ballad *Alas Poor Scholar*.

Church as it now was, to sing the same tune, especially in black-letter.²¹⁶ Balladeers continued to see Presbyterians and dissenters as threats to the harmonious order of the state and suspected them of being Papists in disguise. The idea of a ballad was that everyone sang the same tune in unison and indeed most ordinary musicians did not have the skill of playing two parts. Counterpoint would have put the music above the sense of the words.

v. 'Let Tories Curse on and the Wiggs let them Rage': Party Discord, 1678-1685

In 1678, rumours of the Popish Plot led to a rash of reprinting. Pope's *Catholick Ballad*, the *Geneva Ballad* and black-letter ballad, *The Pope's Great Jubilee*, to the 'turncoat' tune of 'Have at all', which sought to 'extol (these fickle times)/ The Church if Rome in ballad Rimes', were all reprinted.²¹⁷ However, the terms of engagement had changed. *A Ballad Upon the Popish Plot* (Luttrell annotated it, incorrectly, as 'by ye strumpet the Dutchess of Portsmouth) published in white-letter, declared 'whether you will like my song or like it not/ It is the downfall of the popish Plot'.²¹⁸ This important ballad, to which there were eventually four parts, one an answer and another a rejoinder, made the accusation that this was a 'counterfeit plot' by fanaticks and a 'politick statesman' – clearly a reference to Shaftesbury.²¹⁹ Battle was joined and the press went mad. Following the example of the 1674

²¹⁶ See, for example, *Protestant Unity the Best Policy to Defeat Popery* (1679), b/l, Rox.II.249: 'let presbyters yield unto Just majesty ... by Union our Church so firm founded will stand'. *Here is an Encouragement to Loyalty* (1679), Pepys II.216: 'If in his dominion we were of one opinion ... with unanimous minds, we'll oppose their [papist] designs'; *Unfeigned Friendship, or the loyalists cordial advice* {1680}, b/l, Pepys IV.348: 'treasure and pleasure wou'd flow beyond measure/ If concord it triumphed and discord was gone ... England be wise and let unity flourish/ Let none be precise, their fond fancies to cherish ... then those golden days which the Poets once feigned/ Might to our high praise once again be regained'.

²¹⁷ 'Have at all' was the tune for the satirical *The New Courtier* {1670}, b/l, Rox.II.378, a ballad about 'turncoats'. It was used again by Thomas Jordan for *London Triumphant* (1672). The tune does not fit *The Popes Great Year*, see Simpson, 106 - 107. There is some confusion over the dating of *The Popes Great Year*. The Jubilee was held in 1675. Wood dated his copy of this ballad 1678 (though the last digit is unclear) but the printers of the ballad were in operation from 1663-1675. (British Library copy imprint 1679).

²¹⁸ Elizabeth Herbert, Countess of Powis with John Gadbury, attrib., *A Ballad Upon the Popish Plot. Written by a Lady of Quality* (1679), w/l, Lut.III.143 and BB.C.40.m11(44)

²¹⁹ Ebsworth and the Earl of Crawford differed about the order of these ballads. Crawford ordered them thus: John Gadbury, attrib., *A True Narrative of the Horrid Hellish Popish Plot* (1679), CB.450/3; *The Second Part to the same tune and answer to the Lady of qualities popish ballad* (1679) CB.451/3; *The Third Part* (1679), CB452/3; *The Fourth Part* (1679), CB.453/3; John Gadbury and Lady Powys, attrib., *A Ballad Upon the Popish Plot* (1679), CB455/3. Crawford, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana Catalogue*

ballads discussed above, a new kind of broadside appeared on the market alongside the established formats - white-letter notation ballads. These sheets came with music (though often meaningless or inappropriate) and words. They were produced by established ballad-printers such as Philip Brooksby, Joshua Deacon and Joseph Conyers, and also by new printers on the scene, such as the jobbing printers Alexander Banks and R. Shuter, the Whig publisher, Thomas Johnson and the Tory printers Allen Banks, Nathaniel Thompson and James Dean.²²⁰ Between them Allen Banks, Thompson and Dean flooded the market with Tory songs published in notation ballad or white letter format, in single sheets and anthologies.

To give some idea of the scale of ballad printing during these years and the proportion produced by the Tory printers: if we take 1682, sixty-three white-letter broadsides can be found for that year, of which fourteen were the new 'notation ballads'. Banks, Thompson and Dean certainly produced twenty-five - almost half the total - and they may have been responsible for some of the eight anonymous ones. Established traditional ballad producers published seven, while the remaining twenty were produced by nineteen different printers (two by Johnson and one by Shuter). Only five political black-letter ballads can be found for 1682, three of which were also produced in white-letter. The proportions and range of formats and the content of these Tory songs indicate that this was very much a London phenomenon, intended for the political activists on the London streets that Tim Harris describes in his *London Crowds*.²²¹ Tory writers flooded the white-letter market, while the

of a *Collection of English Ballads of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries* (Aberdeen, 1890), notes that attempts were made to seize these ballads and 'other treasonable and seditious pamphlets in the house of one Turner a Popish Book-seller in Holborn, being ready printed on purpose to be spread abroad ... to shew forth the Innocency of the Papists, and to create a Belief in the Vulgar of the Guiltiness of the Presbyterians'.

²²⁰ Alexander Banks and R. Shuter printed for both sides. A white-letter ballad with woodcuts depicting the two protagonists, *An Excellent New Ballad of a dialogue between Tom the Tory [Danby] and Toney the Wigg [Shaftesbury]*, imprint date 1678, might have been thought to announce the arrival of Whig and Tory in ballad debate, however, Mark Knights, *Politics and Opinion*, p. 158, has argued that both internal evidence - the two men were not in prison until 1681 - and external evidence (Luttrell put this ballad in his collection with other material from 1681), show the imprint must be mistaken. It is interesting, however, that neither Wood nor Luttrell thought to amend the imprint, despite the addition of the m/s date.

²²¹ Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987), esp. chs 5-7.

black-letter ballads of this period, always more geared to a broader audience, were fewer and more circumspect. However, they too presented the debate and, until 1683, tended towards the Whig cause. Black-letter ballads supported the Whig leaders, Monmouth and Shaftesbury, by name, appropriating Behn's song and tune 'Young Jemmy' to sing about Monmouth and dedicated a whole song to Shaftesbury's cause to D'Urfey's theatre tune 'Now, now the fights done'. The Duke of York was referred to obliquely in loyal health ballads but had no black letter broadsides dedicated to him.

As *The Cabal or a voice of the Politicks* put it, 'now England grows mad,/ with strange faction divided,/ each one has his humour,/ and raves if deny'd it:/ the Whigg in Cabals does mutter mis-prision,/ And Tory with Dammees/ holds Whigg in derision'.²²² In 1679 *The Second Part to the same tune and answer to the Lady of qualities popish ballad* sang that 'Hell is broke loose, and the press set a work/ By Jesuit, Jew, Christian Turks/ Fools, fops, rascals knaves/ Counterfeit ladies and Scribling slaves... New fire-balls in Pamphlets and Ballads are hurled/ To cajole the people and amuse the world.'²²³ *The Second Part* called the author of the *Ballad on the Popish Plot* 'a Priest under petticoats, Jesuit Joan/ who in a lewd ballad does sing a loud cry.' *A New Satyricall Ballad* replied that 'The Devil has left his puritanical dress/ And now like a hawker attends on the press/ That he might through the town sedition disperse/ In pamphlets and Ballads in prose and in verse'. However, the *Satyricall* ballad warned, though the Devil 'tells in bald rimes his inventions and lies' it would be to no avail since, 'rimes cannot change times' and the 'Good King, our little world ruler ... is not disturbed at the Actions of fools.'²²⁴

Though much of this debate took place in the white-letter market, in June 1679 *The Ballad of the Cloak, or, the cloak's knavery*, was also published in traditional ballad style, bringing the issue of 'cloak and gown' firmly into the popular market. One white-letter copy

²²² *The Cabal, or, a voice of the Politicks* (1679), w/l, BL.C.39.k.6(68).

²²³ *The Second Part to the same tune and answer to the Lady of qualities popish ballad* (1679). The 'scribling slave' may be a reference to John Gadbury.

²²⁴ *A New Satyricall Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times* (1679), w/l, BL.C.20.f.2(119), Lutt.II.116 and BB.C.40.m11(52).

is annotated, 'made by a Knave and foole, by father Powers'.²²⁵ The ballad proved so popular that it was printed and reprinted in every kind of ballad format.²²⁶ It argued that the Cloak - the non-conformists - were a far greater threat to the Gown - the established clergy - than anyone else.²²⁷ The ballad reminded readers that 'The Cloak' had 'tore common-prayers' and 'In one day it voted down Prelates and Players', it had 'brought in the bag-pipes and pull'd down the organs' and 'did joyn with the Devil to pull down the Pope'. The Cloak had taken mens 'plate' and 'gave it to Tom trumpeter and his mates'. On one edition the caption of the second illustration reads 'Remember the good old cause'. Though it did not defend papists in any way, the ballad denied any possibility of Protestant comprehension or union against the threat of Popery:

Let's pray that the King,

And his Parliament

In Sacred and Secular Things may consent ...

That Papists and Atheists suppressed may be;

And as there's one Deity that doth over-reign us

One faith and one form & one church may contain us

Then peace, Truth and plenty our Kingdom shall crown

And all Popish plots and their plotters shall down.²²⁸

²²⁵ *The Ballad of the Cloak, or, the cloak's knavery* (1679), b/l, Firth b.20(50). I have not as yet been able to identify who 'Father Powers' was.

²²⁶ Father Powers, attrib., *The Ballad of the Cloak: or, The cloaks knavery* (m/s 1679), b/l, Wood 417(4). Many versions of this ballad exist, printed and reprinted in every possible format; see for example, Ashm.G16(129b), G.Pamph.2204(82*), G.Pamph.2228(71), Wood 417(4), Harding B39(140), BB.m9(70), BB.C40.m11(8), Rox.III.394, Rox.IV.32, Pepys II.218, Euing 14.

²²⁷ This ballad was used as part of a pamphlet campaign, for example it was included in Anon., *Presbytery Truly Display'd, or, An impartial character of the Presbyterian being a vindication of that sanctified party from the virulent calumnies of some foul-mouth'd detractors in this modern age : to which is annexed the ballad of the cloak* (1681).

²²⁸ When Exclusion began to fan the flames of debate between 1680 and 1683, white-letter editions included a new verse: 'Letts pray that the King /and his only brother /may be glorious, and helpful to one another /Both firmly united /and lovingly such, /That the sacred succession none may dare touch,/as Charles three Crowns enjoyes in possession /James' title is just to them all in reversion/Then let us endeavour to pull the cloak down /that offers to Quarrel his right to the crown' *The Ballad of the Cloak* {1682/3}, w/l, Bod.27980c.1.

A pamphlet published in 1699 recalled 'the palliated Knavery of the Ballad, of the Cloak', which 'with the pretty defence of its Praelates, Libel[ed] the whole Church it self ... for when the state was to be turned into a *Protestant Republick*, 'twas time to make the *Clergy, Papists*'.²²⁹

As the division between Whig and Tory became more raucous black-letter calls for quiet grew louder. *Loyalty Unfeigned*, 'a pleasant new song', warned that 'Two dangerous Rocks on either hand appear/ we now twixt Scylla and Caribdas steer/ our pilots care (you'l say) had need be great'. It claimed that 'Fanatics ... in the reer, but Papists in the van' had 'plotted our late troubles'.²³⁰ *Unfeigned Friendship* began, 'Concord is that by which the world does move' and declared, 'How happy's the state where no discords are breeding', promising 'treasure and pleasure wou'd flow beyond measure/ if concord it triumphed and discord was gone'.²³¹ Both ballads recommended obedience as the way to banish discord, 'That Concord and Unity, ever may reign'. A black-letter ballad *Religion made a Cloak for Villainy* (1681) tarred Whig and Tory with the same brush. 'Under those names, Rome and Geneva lurk', it warned, 'both strive the nation in wars to engage'. The balladeer reminded its audience that these were old enemies: 'When Gun-Powder plots to destroy us were laid,/ Then Tories and Whigs did each other upbraid;/ Tho' then these vile names they so well were not known,/ Yet Papist and Puritan then they did own ... Now all the noise for religion must be/ when by such as make the stir none's us'd we see'. It declared that if 'Whigg and Tory, that make all this noise ... [were] but once Unmasqu'd ... you plainly would see,/ As to all religion imposters they be:/ For from Geneva and Rome they are sent/To trouble the nation and raise discontent'. Good subjects, claimed the chorus, are those 'that from clamour cease'.²³²

²²⁹ *Remarks upon the most eminent of our antimonarchical authors and their writings* (London, 1699), p. 15. I am grateful to Dr Mark Knights who points out that the ascription by ESTC and EEBO of Henry Neville as author of this pamphlet is incorrect. Neville died in 1694 and the pamphlet attacks his work.

²³⁰ *Loyalty Unfeigned* {1680}, b/l, Rox.II.322.

²³¹ *Unfeigned Friendship* {1680}, b/l, Pepys IV.348.

²³² *Religion made a Cloak for Villainy* (1681), b/l, Rox.II.398.

These calls for peace fell on deaf ears. From 1680, mock litanies once more appeared on the scene. One of the first, *The True Protestant Litany* (1680) was, in fact, a reprint of an old royalist litany published in March 1660. However, unlike the situation in the 1640s, no one side of the debate could appropriate religious singing. Whig and Tory used ballads of every kind; both parties were determined to demonstrate the loyal and conformist nature of their singing. Whigs did not accept the epithets of 'Prebyter' and 'Fanatics' that the Tories laid at their door, any more than Tories accepted the label 'Papist'.²³³ The music of exclusion was, as a consequence, loud and riotous, and all sought, as good music should, to pull on the heartstrings of the loyal subject. *Londons Drollery* described the Pope-Burning Procession on 17 November 1680 in which 'The bell-man tolled and did sadly sing/ Remember Justice Godfrey's death/ He made so sad and strange a noise/ He mov'd poor, young, regardless boys.'²³⁴

For some, the everlasting noise of the town meant escape was the only answer. In 1680 *The Country Mans Delight* praised the peace and quiet of the Country where 'they feel not the tempestuous storms of state/Live all in peace, are strangers to debate'. It described the idyllic country quiet where, instead of being fraught with political meaning, 'birds in groves, woods and fields/ Do hourly pleasant musick yield/ Swains, on slender reeds tune soft lays' bringing blessed relief from 'senseless noise and lewd debate' away from the 'caterpillars of

²³³ See *The True Protestant Litany* (1680), n/b, BL.1876.f.1(16), a reprint of a March 1660 litany, *A Free Parliament Litany* (1680) – Tory; *The Loyal Protestants New Litany* (1680), w/l, BB.C40.m11(41) – Whig; *The Loyal Subjects Litany* (1680), w/l, BL.1876.f.1(7) – Tory; *The Second Part of The Loyal Subjects Litany* (1680), w/l, EEBO/Harvard – Tory; *The Loyal Litany* (1681), w/l, RB, IV, p. 652 – Tory; *The Protestant Dissenters Letany* (1681), w/l, BL.1872.a.1(148) – Whig; *Libertatis Amator. A Litany* (1681), w/l, RB, V, p. 344 – Whig; *The True Protestant Lettany* (1681), w/l, Rox.III.821 – Whig; *Heraclitus Ridens* (10 May 1681), p.1, BL.816.m19(10) – Tory; *The Protestants Petition against Popery* (1681), w/l, Harding B45(5) – Tory; *The Norwich Loyal Litany* (1682), w/l, EEBO/Harvard – Tory; *The Cavaliers Litany* (1682), w/l, CB.409/3 – Tory; *A Letany for St Omers* (1682), w/l, BL.C20.f.6(15) – Whig; *A Litany from Geneva* (1682), w/l, Wood 417(89) – Tory; T. D., *A New Litany, design'd for this Lent* (1684), n/b, Ashm.G16(189) and BL.1872.a.1(69) – Tory; *Loyal Man's Litany* (1685), w/l, CB.403/3 – Tory; *A Short Litany* (1688), w/l, RB, IV, p. 297 – Whig.

²³⁴ *London Drollery; or, the love and kindness between the Pope and the Devil, manifested by some true Protestants, who utterly defie the Pope and his Romish faction, as it was to be seen in London, November the 17th 1680. With nine pageants delightful to behold* (1680), b/l, Rox.II.292.

State/ who strange discord daily breed'.²³⁵ Again in 1680, Tory white-letter ballads attacked Whig attempts to raise a national petition, calling to the King to allow parliament to sit, as Devilish, and suggested that the 'Honest rhyme' of good old country music protected the state. *The Wiltshire Ballad* claimed a 'wonder' at Sarum where 'by Musicks divine and powerful charmes / which Satan and's Saints abhor, Such alarms/ were made, that he fled and they kept from harms'. In the ballad, an old country man, 'Poor Tom', when approached by Whig Lords to sign their petition, answers, that though he was good at 'Mirth and Musick',

In scholarship I'm not profound.

My name sirs

I cannot write, yet set I shall

A Tune to your new Madrigal

And fetch't from forty one withal ...

Poor Tom sings, 'Take 'em Derrick [the hangman]... who in June with a swing / cur'd strange distempers [with] a string.' Just as 'David's Harp did Saul's devil fright' the petitioners go away defeated.²³⁶

The Popish Plot had succeeded in stirring up a great deal of noise but the Presbyterians were no nearer their desired harmony. Presbyterian balladeers tried again, in 1682. *A New Ballad with the Definition of the word Tory* claimed that it was papists, sponsored by Richelieu, who had plotted the Civil War and not Presbyters. Though in white-letter, it sported two traditional style woodcuts, one of an Anglican and the other a Presbyter. Their respective mottos were 'There's nothing essential that divides us two' and 'Let us combine against the common foe'.²³⁷ It named 'Thomson' [the printer Nathaniel Thompson]

²³⁵ *The Country Mans Delight* (1680), b/l, Pepys IV.349. Another ballad in similar vein was *Content and Rich, or, the Glass of Vain Glory* [between 1684 and 1686], b/l, Pepys II.26, which sought escape from 'The tempests and turnings of Church and of State'. It suggested Whig and Tory were playing tennis with poor men as the balls. Though 'Country versus Town' ballads were common enough in terms of love or cleverness, the political difference was new to 1680. The pastoral as a political vehicle was becoming fashionable in theatre tunes; for example, Monmouth was sung of as 'swain' in *Young Jemmy, or, The Princely Shepherd* by Aphra Behn in 1680.

²³⁶ *The Wiltshire Ballad* (1680), w/l, BB.C.40.m.11(63).

²³⁷ *A New Ballad with the Definition of the Word Tory* (1682), w/l+w/c, Lutt. III.104.

and 'Towzer' [Roger L'Estrange, pamphleteer and licenser of the press] as papist agents whose plan was to 'make the Whigs dance a new jig' by 'extinguish[ing] all that Scottish race/ which favours Heresie' and 'set up a Roman in his place.'²³⁸ In 1683, a traditional ballad called the *Ungrateful Son or Gods Justice* attacked a conformist son who had stolen his father's goods while he was in prison for being a Presbyterian.²³⁹ However, the Rye House Plot and the Tory backlash put paid for the time being to any hope for Protestant rapprochement. For the time being, singing Presbyters were silenced. As Robert Wild had said in 1672, 'We wou'd have Musick too, but 'twill not doo,/ For all the Fidlers are conformists too'.²⁴⁰

The accession of James II, a Catholic determined to secure toleration for his fellow-Catholics and, if necessary, dissenters, radically transformed the political and religious situation and with it the whole concept of national harmony. At some time between April 1687 and April 1688, *A Manifestation of Joy*, a black-letter ballad illustrated with pictures of the King and a church, praised James II's 'most Gracious Declaration Allowing Liberty of Conscience'.²⁴¹ Like the declaration itself it claimed 'other Nations our people did drain' and

²³⁸ Anon., *Strange's Case, Strang[e]ly Altered* (m/s October 1680), a mock 'Hue and Cry', claimed 'He has a thousand dog tricks, viz., to fetch for the Papists, carry for the Protestants, whine to the King, dance to Noll's Fiddle, fawn on the courtier, leap at their crusts, wag his tail at all bitches, hunt counter to the Plot, tonguedpad the evidence, and cring to the crucifix, but above all this he has a damn'd old trick of slipping the halter'. On 17 Nov. 1680 he was burnt in effigy by the London mob, who called him the 'Dog Towzer'. See, Anon., *The Time-Servers, Or, A Touch Of The Times Being A Dialogue Between Tory, Towzer, And Tantivee, At The News Of The Dissolution Of The Late Worthy Parliament At Oxford* (1681). Another nickname for L'Estrange was 'Oliver's Fiddler.' Edward Bagshaw accused him of having been frequently in the Protectors company and 'often brought his fiddle under his cloak to facilitate his entry'. In *Truth and Loyalty Vindicated* (1662), pp. 47, 50, L'Estrange vehemently denied this. He pointed out that 'My *fiddle* is the base-vial and that's a somewhat troublesome instrument under a Cloak' and claimed that he had paid a visit one day to the house of John Hingston having heard the organ playing. L'Estrange was asked to take up a 'Viole'. Cromwell suddenly came in and 'He found us playing, and (as I remember) so he left us.' Interestingly, he then says 'I would have made no scruple ... to have given Cromwell a Lesson for my Liberty. But I affirm I did it not.' By 'lesson' here he means a song. See also Anon., *Satirical Letter out of Scotland from Mr. R. L. S.* (10 Jan. 1681), 'since I cannot write as I was wont, because I must be Employed, I am now learning to play upon the *Scotch* Bag-pipes, which I will Endeavour to set up instead of the Organs in Churches: I am also learning to speak thorough the Nose, and am getting by Heart the *Scotch-Covenant*.'

²³⁹ *The Ungrateful Son; or, an example of God's justice upon the abusefull disobedience of a false-hearted and cruel son* {1683}, b/l, C.40.m.10(134.).

²⁴⁰ Robert Wild, *Dr. Wild's humble thanks for His Majesties gracious declaration for liberty of conscience, March 15, 1672* (1672).

²⁴¹ *A Manifestation of Joy* (1687), b/l, Pepys II.247

that the effect would be an increase of trade'.²⁴² Unlike the declaration, the ballad made no mention of papists, though it pointed out that 'the royal indulgence to all does extend' and exhorted its listeners to 'studdy for quiet and peace, /That unkind discord from henceforth may cease'. The end of this study was that 'each his religion in peace may enjoy, /And none by ineroachment each other Annoy'. It suggested that people who 'The ways of Obedience and Loyaltie prize', should 'Renounc[e] for ever all tumult and noise', leaving everyone free to 'joyfully sing, /Long live, reign and prosper our most gracious King.' This argued a case for a secular harmony never before canvassed in the ballad market.

Unique amongst black-letter ballads in its sentiments, this proved a song too far. By April 1688, seven Bishops were imprisoned for refusing to read the Declaration from their pulpits, later referred to in ballads as 'our seven bright candles'. Within the year myriads of balladeers were singing of a Protestant unity the author of the *Answer* could only have dreamed of. James's attempts to achieve toleration for Catholics had effectively succeeded in winning it for Protestant nonconformists. Protestants were brought together in a rousing chorus of anti-papist, anti-French and anti-Teague 'Lilli-bur-lero'. It was not to be the final chorus, of course, for the unity was only temporary. William's 'crass' dealing with the problem of non-conformity re-lighted Tory concerns for the Church.²⁴³ In January 1690, a white-letter ballad libel *Vox Clero, Li-ly Bur-le-ro* attacked Roman Tories who 'had rather see Protestants burn/ Than that their old Liturgy should not serve the Turn' and that anthem of Anglican Toryism, *The Ballad of the Cloak*, was reprinted once again.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and Early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (1993), p. 454.

²⁴³ Spurr, *English Puritanism*, pp. 148-149.

²⁴⁴ *Vox clero, Lil-ly Bur-le-ro, Or, The Second Part Of A Merry New Ballad To Be Sung In The Jerusalem-Chamber, The 24th Of This Instant January*: 'to the tune of Youth, youth, thou hadst, &c' {1690}, w/l, EEBO/Huntington. The ballad is incorrectly dated 1686 on EEBO. 'The Jerusalem Chamber 24th January', refers to the Convocation parliament's debate over the religious settlement in 1690. See Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (1993), p. 142.

vi. Singing 'Vive Le Roy'²⁴⁵

In 1660 Charles II had been welcomed as a bringer of harmony – 'without him there's no melody', sang the ballad. However, during Charles's reign James, as Duke of York and suspected as a Catholic from 1674, had inspired more discord than harmony. Though James had been celebrated as a royal prince up to 1666, after the second Dutch war, he all but disappeared from black-letter ballads, whilst during the Exclusion crisis he continually found himself a matter for white-letter ballad dispute.²⁴⁶ Ironically enough, as early as 1662 a white-letter ballad dedicated to 'To the most illustrious Prince' had celebrated James in Catholic style, referring to itself as a 'votive song'.²⁴⁷

Having inspired a generation of loyal balladeers, Charles II had a number of tunes directly associated with him, the best known being 'When the King enjoys his own again'. This tune, though impeccably loyal up to 1688, later became a Jacobite anthem.²⁴⁸ However, other Charles II tunes became Protestant Stuart anthems. 'The Wandering Prince of Troy', a popular old tune, was used for ballads about his adventures in exile (frequently reprinted during his reign), for a ballad on the Fire of London which described his help to quench the

²⁴⁵ 'Vive le Roy,' was first a cavalier and later a Tory 'tune'. It had been used as a naval password and men wore ribbons with 'Vive Le Roy' printed on them in their hats to display their loyalty. Sir William Sanderson, *A compleat history of the life and raigne of King Charles from his cradle to his grave* (1658), p. 93; Thomas Bayly, *Witty apophthegms delivered at several times, and upon several occasions by King James, King Charls, the Marquess of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Moor ; collected and revised* (1669), pp. 47-48; Sir Richard Browne, *The Lord Digbys designe to betray Abingdon, carryed on for divers vveeks by an intercourse of letters* (1645), p. 13. It was more often cited in ballads 'sing Vive le Roy', than used as a tune direction. Simpson, pp. 738-739 suggests a tune with this title appeared first in a cavalier anthology in 1652. He cites only one broadside using the tune *Englands Honour and London's Glory* (1660). However, one ballad was titled *Vive le roy, or, London's joy a new song on the instalment of the present Lord Mayor of London, to the tune of St. George for England*. (1681), and the tune was cited in the text of loyal ballad broadsides for every reigning monarch: *Iter boreale* (1660); *Much A-do About Nothing a song made of nothing, the newest in print, he that seriously minds it, shall find all- things in't* (1660) *The Western Triumph* (1687), *The Court of England, or, The Preparation for the happy coronation of King William and Queen Mary*, (1689).

²⁴⁶ James II's ballad career is discussed in more detail below, ch. 5.

²⁴⁷ Edmund Gayton, *To the Most Illustrious Prince his Highnesse James Duke of York ... a votive song for her Sacred Majesties happy arrivall* (1662), w/l, BB.m11(30).

²⁴⁸ See, for example, Surrey CRO, Surrey Quarter Sessions, QS2/6/1723/Mid/, 1723, information of Captain John Kelley of Barnes, against 'William Drowne ... victualler on whose premisses tunes such as "the King shall enjoy his own againe" ... had been played by fiddlers.'

flames, and finally for ballads mourning his death.²⁴⁹ Later it was also used for ballads about the Duke of Monmouth and in mourning the deaths of Queen Ann and her consort Prince George.²⁵⁰ 'Let Caesar Live Long', originally a playhouse tune, was frequently used for loyalist ballads in the 1680s, but in the 1690s it was often adapted to 'Let Mary Live Long' and became the standard Orange loyalist tune.

Neither as Duke nor as King was James able to achieve the popular ballad glory of his brother or his rival Monmouth, who had at least three tunes dedicated to his person and memory on black-letter ballads: 'The Duke of Monmouth's Jigg' (1676), 'Young Jemmy' (1680-1690), and later 'The Soldiers Departure' (1685-1689).²⁵¹ Though James, as Duke, did have tunes of his own on white-letter or notation ballads, for example, 'Great York has been debar'd of Late' (1680) (the music of which was printed on many more ballads than it was ever sung to), mostly they were parodies of Monmouth's, for example 'King James Jigg' (1687) and 'Old Jemmy' (1681).²⁵² Once James was King, loyal balladeers, of whom there appear to have been few in number, did their best for him by setting loyal songs to some of the most popular tunes of the time, such as 'Hark the thundering Canons', 'Young Phaon', and 'The Country Farmer'.²⁵³ Royalist tunes from the Interregnum years, such as 'The Two

²⁴⁹ See, for example, *Adventures: The Royal wanderer: or, Gods providence manifested, in the most mysterious deliverance of the divine majesty of Charls the Second, king of Great Britain* (1660); *Fire of London: The Londoners lamentation. Wherein is contained a sorrowfull description of the dreadful fire which happened in Pudding-Lane ... on the second of Septemb. 1666 ... With an account of the King and the Duke of York's indeavors ... for the quenching of the same* (1666), b/l, Euing 312; *Mourning his death: Sorrowful Subject* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.227; *The Mournful Subjects or, The whole nations lamentation, from the highest to the lowest who did, with brinish tears, (the true signs of sorrow) bewail the death of their most gracious Sovereign King, Charles the second; who departed this life Feb. 6th. 1684* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.228.

²⁵⁰ See, for example on the Duke of Monmouth: *The Matchless Murder* (1682), b/l, Wood E25(98); *Mourning: The Mourning Court; or, a tribute of tears for the death of ... Prince George* (1708) w/l, BL.1876.f.1(44), and *The Mourning Court; or, a Tribute of tears, for the much lamented death of our pious Queen Anne* (1714) w/l, BL.1876.f.1(66).

²⁵¹ 'Young Jemmy' continued to be used on Williamite ballads in the early years of his reign.

²⁵² On 'Great York', Simpson, p. xii-xiii, pp. 267-268. The tune was only used for one ballad but the music appeared on four other broadsides, though none could be sung to it. White-letter Monmouth ballads also parodied James's tunes; for example a 1682 ballad entitled *York and Albany's Welcome to England* was cited as the tune title for a pro-Monmouth ballad in 1682. Again in 1689 a white-letter ballad, *The Irish Mens Prayers to St Patrick*, was written to the tune 'Lili burlero' but the tune direction was 'The Country Farmer' - the same tune as 'King James Jigg'.

²⁵³ See *Monmouth routed, and taken prisoner, with his pimp the Lord Gray*, 'A song to the tune of King James's Jigg' (1685), w/l, Firth c.15(35); *The Western Triumph ... 'tune of King James' Jigg'* (1687), b/l, Pepys II.246; *The Manifestation of Joy ... 'Tune of The Country Farmer'* (1687), b/l, Pepys II.247.

English travellers' and 'A New Game of Cards', were also employed to exhort the people 'that with one voice we all may sing'.²⁵⁴

The fear of disharmony at James's accession was openly expressed in black-letter ballads mourning the old King and welcoming in the new. *The Mournful Subjects* prayed, 'let us all united be/ to Gracious James for Charles his sake/ and let there be no more discord.'²⁵⁵ At the coronation, a black-letter ballad to 'the cannons roar', sang, 'Noble Hearted English Boys/ Fill the air with Musick noise/ James is the Fountain of our joys', but it too acknowledged a fear of discord, singing, 'Now the bells of London ring/ Wiggs be wise, obey your King/ While the Loyal-hearted sing'.²⁵⁶ *Brittains Triumph*, in a reminder of the exclusion years, described how 'The Loyalists in every street/ congratulate and sing', but *London's Loyalty* recalled the period of Exclusion as a time 'when madness did make Britain dance'. This ballad, using a line of Tory argument established in the Popish Plot, discouraged political activity and suggested subjects should now 'submit to fate (in every thing)/ Do thy business and sing.'²⁵⁷

It would be easy to imagine that after his experiences in the 1680s the new King had become very tired of ballading. From 1685 to 1688 ballads were depleted in number, de-politicised and de-protestantised. Ballads not only decried the expression of political debate and opinion, calling for obedience and passive 'content', the word 'Protestant' all but disappeared from loyal ballads between 1685 and 1688.²⁵⁸ *The Poor Mans Prayer or Peace in*

²⁵⁴ *Englands Joys Increased by the Happy Coronation* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.229

²⁵⁵ *The Mournful Subjects* (1685)

²⁵⁶ *Englands Royal Re[nown] in the Coronation* (1685), See also *Englands Happy State; or the Subjects joy for the election of a new parliament* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.249: 'I all men advisc/ to be loyal and true, to be merry and wise,/ a nation divided 'tis pittie to see/ But happy when all in one mind do agree/ brave loyal subjects will merrily sing'.

²⁵⁷ *Brittains Triumph* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.230; *London's Loyalty: or a new song on the coronation* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.231.

²⁵⁸ See, for example, *The True Loyalist or the Obedient Subject* (1683), b/l, and (1685), n/b, editions, Wood 417(115); *An Excellent New Song or a True touch of the Times* (1685), b/l, Euing 82; *Englands Royal Ren[own], in the coronation of our Gracious King James the second* (1685), n/b BB.C40.m10(169), b/l, Wood 417(143); *A Loyal Song, on King James Birthday* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.233; *The Happy man; or Content is a continual Feast* [between 1685 and 1888], b/l, Douce 1(93a); *The Happy Husbandman, or Country Innocence* [between 1685 and 1688], b/l, Euing 137; *The Courtiers Health* [between 1685 and 1688], w/l, RB V, p. 90.

these Sorrowful times of trouble vaguely exhorted that 'God and the Kings laws we may obey'.²⁵⁹ *The Happy Return*, a ballad welcoming the re-calling of parliament in November 1685, warned that the 'chief disease which troubles us' was ambition, but made no mention of dealing with papists - unknown in parliament ballads up to that date.²⁶⁰ Just one ballad sported the word, *The Protestant Fathers Advice to his Ambitious Son* (1685), although the ballad suggested the 'ambitious son' should avoid politics and prefer religion.²⁶¹ *Londons Loyalty* linked James's blood, rather than his person, to the role of Providence and anticipated the continuance of true religion, but without mentioning what that was, 'He's the first rate Sovereign blood ... whom Providence ensureth/ Though the true religions vail / Were made Treasons highest sail/ the hope of Hypocrites would fail/ For Truth alone endureth'.²⁶² The first appearance of the word 'Protestant' came in December 1688 in *Englands Joyful Welcome to the King upon his return to Whitehall after withdrawing himself* in which 'each good Protestant' anticipated that 'all Evil Counsellors [would] mount in a string'.²⁶³

While Charles had been compared or linked to all that was representative of God's Natural harmony on his arrival, James enjoyed only limited panegyric of this fashion. *Brittains Triumph* had likened James to a sun 'to cheer the smiling nation' and *The True Loyalist* described him as 'The Royal High Cedar.' Towards the end of his first year, after the defeat of Argyle's and Monmouth's rebellions, *The Happy Return or the Parliaments Wellcome to London*, of November 1685 admitted that:

²⁵⁹ *The Poor Mans Prayer or Peace in these Sorrowful Times of Trouble* (1685) b/l, C22.f.6(166), though full of God and sin it offered not a sniff of Protestantism.

²⁶⁰ *The Happy Return or The Parliaments Wellcome to London* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.234. Parliament had been sent home in the Spring when they would not agree to James's Catholic army appointments. There is one ballad on the opening of an unspecified Parliament entitled *Good News for the Nation*, b/l, Pepys II.235. The preamble includes the phrase 'to the benefit and happiness of all true English Protestants' and begins 'lay sorrow aside', which might suggest 1685, the date given in the catalogue, but it would be more in keeping with the tone and language of ballads in 1689.

²⁶¹ *The Protestant Fathers Advice to his Ambitious Son* [between 1685 and 1688], w/l, CB.1088/7.

²⁶² *London's Loyalty: or a new song on the coronation* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.231.

²⁶³ *Englands Joyful Welcome to the King upon his return to Whitehall after withdrawing himself* (1688), b/l, Pepys II.253. This was followed by *A Comfortable and Friendly Advice for all the True Hearted Subjects of England* (1688), b/l, Pepys II.248, which ended 'God save King James and the Peers of this land ... that they the true Protestant church may maintain.' Things had really got back to normal when *A Third Touch of the Times* (1688), b/l, Pepys IV.311 expressly condemned papists.

State-weather wise men did conclude
 when Charles the Great did dye
 the tempests of the church and state
 would quite eclipse the sky
 but James the Second with his rays
 away the vapours sent.²⁶⁴

James's coronation was naturally ushered in with street singing and bell-ringing, but the need to call up men almost immediately, and James's actions in expanding his army and mounting annual camps on Hounslow Heath, to drill and train them, meant that the ballad as military music soon came to play a large part in his reign.²⁶⁵ Soldiers were naturally great drinkers and singers and many political ballads seem to be directed towards groups of sailors and soldiers. One of the more popular tunes at this time, and a standard on James II ballads, was 'Hark the Thundering Canons roar'.²⁶⁶ It had been used since 1680, especially on ballads celebrating the victories over the Turks in 1683. Frequently, songs using this tune began with the first line, 'Sound a trumpet beat a drum.' The sound of 'sweet fife', 'loud drum' and trumpets in ballads became increasingly deafening as first James and then William called up volunteers for action and built up Britain's professional forces.²⁶⁷

At the coronation, one ballad described the 'drums and trumpets [that] do display/ what shortly must be done', referring to the army that had been raised initially to face Monmouth's rebellion in the West.²⁶⁸ Notably, almost no other music is mentioned.²⁶⁹ In 1686

²⁶⁴ *The Happy Return or the Parliaments Wellcome to London* (1685).

²⁶⁵ John Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), ch. 1 explains how James had been building up the forces throughout the 1680s.

²⁶⁶ 'Hark the Thundering Cannons roar' ballads include *Englands Royal Ren[own] In the Coronation* (1685); *Londons Loyalty* (1685); *The Triumphant English Commanders* (1685); *The Rebels Totally Routed* (1685); *A Loyal Song, on King James His Royal Birthday* (1685); *A Trick for Tyburn* (1686), w/l; *The Christians New Victory over the Turks* (1686) and *The Valiant Souldiers Gallantry or the Glory of the Camp Royal* (1686), w/l, in which 'martial musick ecchoes round/and of the Royal stamp too' and trumpets 'wound the air'. Other military tunes popular in this period include 'The Grenadiers Loyal Health'. It was used for *The Courageous Seamans Loyal Health* (1685), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(103) and Don.b.13(16) in which King James inspires 'a thundering noble noise/ A Harmony for your warlike boys'.

²⁶⁷ *The White Chappel Maids Lamentation* (RI2945 24 June 1685), b/l, Pepys III.338.

²⁶⁸ *The Coronation of Their Most Sacred Majestie and His Royal Consort* (1685).

The Courageous Seamans Loyal Health sang that King James inspired ‘a thundering noble noise/ A Harmony for your warlike boys’; this ballad was set to ‘The Grenadiers Loyal Health’ one of the other military tunes dedicated to James.²⁷⁰ The violence of James’s music was far more noticeable than its harmony. A white-letter ballad, *The Valiant Souldiers Gallantry* (1686), inspired by a camp on Hounslow Heath, described how ‘martial musick ecchoes round/and of the Royal stamp too’, and told how ‘Trumpets wound the air’. Another white letter ballad, *The New Royal March*, introduced the military ‘Ho-boys’ (oboe) to ballads for the first time and pictured the musical impact of James bringing his troops into London. ‘Sound the Hoboys ... Sweetly let their notes agree/To charm and tell aloud their harmony/ Hoboys and the Martial Drum/Every day about Whitehall / do sweetly ring ... let them proclaim/ in Warlike musick Great James his fame.’ In 1688, a James Dean ballad describing the cannons which were fired to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales sang that ‘Jove’s musick Proclaimes/ From the walls on the tower/ and the fleet on the Thames’.²⁷¹

Ironically, *The Manifestation of Joy*, which recommended James’s declaration of Liberty of Conscience to the people, ended with the hope that the country would now be ‘renouncing for ever all tumult and noise’. Whatever harmony he did inspire, from 1688 it was completely eclipsed by ‘shaming’ ballads and a great wave of songs welcoming his replacements on the throne and calling up men to fight against his forces in Ireland. The number of political ballads printed in 1688-1689 is overwhelming, as can be seen from appendix one.²⁷² Unlike the years of popish plot and exclusion, the vast majority of these were in black-letter and intended for the popular market. Everything was happening that ballads were interested in - successful rebellion, the alleged return of the great ballad hero Monmouth, parliamentary elections, the proclamation and coronation of monarchs and warfare. It can be only pure conjecture, but every man, woman and child in the Kingdom

²⁶⁹ The only exception, *Brittains Triumph* (1685), in which ‘the bells sweet musick make’.

²⁷⁰ *The Courageous Seamans Loyal Health* (1685).

²⁷¹ *Englands Happiness or a Health to the Young Prince of Wales* (1688), w/l, Johnson a.58(16b).

²⁷² See numerical breakdown below, ch. 5.

must have seen, sung, heard or possessed at least one. Certainly *The Welsh Fortune Teller* thought there were more than enough to go round when it declared 'Since arrival, Proclaiming and Crowning is o're/And Song upon Song made,/ what wou'd you have more?'²⁷³

The collapse of ballad support for James was not quite instantaneous. In June 1688 *The Princely Triumph*, had called for 'true Loyal voices to strike in a strain', for the 'birth of the young Prince of Wales.' It claimed that 'Not one in ten thousand in loyalty fails', and that 'True joy in the face of each subject appear'd ... the bells loudly ring and 'all loyal subjects did merrily sing'. In 1688, *The Ungrateful Rebel; OR, Gracious Clemency Rewarded with Villany* castigated an unspecified rebel forgiven in 1685 who was now returned to rebel again.²⁷⁴ Perhaps while William was still waiting to sail, or in response to some of the propaganda in circulation, *An Invitation to Lubberland*, to the tune of 'Billy and Molly', mocked the idyllic land [The Netherlands], ruled by the 'King of Knaves and the Queen of Sluts', where 'Hot custards grow on every tree' and where there was 'musick out of measure'. Despite these supportive voices, by 1689 this tune had 'changed sides' and was cited on a number of rabidly anti-James white-letter ballads such as *A New Song ... on King James' Election to be Pope of Rome*.²⁷⁵ After William had landed, *West Country Tom Tormented* demonstrated that London at least was unsure where its loyalties lay. It describes the doubts and debates about the Prince's intentions that Tom comes across in the tavern and on the Exchange. However, in the ballad Tom 'vowed he would not meddle nor make' and despite attempts by gallants 'to change his note' decided to 'stand neuter'.²⁷⁶ In December, *Englands Joyful Welcome to the King* welcomed the King back to Whitehall 'after his withdrawing himself', describing the loyal crowds in a typically martial tone: 'each loyal heart beat a

²⁷³ *The Welsh Fortune-teller; or, Sheffery Morgan's observation of the stars, as he sat upon a mountain in Wales* (1689), b/l, BL.C.40.m10(132), Pepys IV.320 and Rox.II.511

²⁷⁴ *The Ungrateful Rebel; OR, Gracious Clemency Rewarded with Villany* {1688?}, b/l, Pepys II.367

²⁷⁵ *A New Song ... on King James' Election to be Pope of Rome* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.70.

²⁷⁶ *West Country Tom Tormented or Uexed to the Heart by the News=Mongers of the Town* {1688/9}, b/l, Pepys IV.322.

march to's return', although bells too rang a 'merry appeal'.²⁷⁷ This showing hardly compares however to the flood of song sheets welcoming the usurpers of his throne.²⁷⁸

'The Orange' was just one of the numerous tunes, new and old, that welcomed William and Mary as restorers of true harmony.²⁷⁹ It must be significant that the most popular political tune of 1689 was 'Turn coat of the times'.²⁸⁰ This was applied both to a pro-James ballad in 1688, and to many loyal William and Mary ballads, including coronation songs. However, by the 1690s 'Let Caesar live long' had far outstripped any other tune as a political standard. In particular, balladeers sang of harmony being restored to the state by 'the nations Delight', Mary II. *Great Britains Earnest Desires* declared that:

The Protestants now in all parts
They hope for a prosperous reign
And with a true consort of hearts

²⁷⁷ *Englands Joyful Welcome to the King upon his return to Whitehall after withdrawing himself* (1688).

²⁷⁸ For numerical breakdown see below, ch. 5. Unlike the Rump ballads, these were mostly in black-letter and sought to promote a straightforward and popular image of a Protestant deliverer.

²⁷⁹ Marsh, 'Melody and Meaning', p. 22, suggests that the tune 'The Pudding,' used, for example, on *The Famous Orange* (1688), referred to a sexually explicit sixteenth-century ballad and thus was making an oblique reference to William's virility. He also suggests, through the musical connotations of the first line, a connection with 'the [sixteenth-century] Armada tune '88'. The tune '88' was, however, the satirical tune direction for Pope's far more recent and much reprinted *Catholic Ballad*. It had just been reprinted again in 1689. As to making William 'hot and sexy' - neither black- nor white-letter broadside ballads concerned themselves with the sexual improprieties or inadequacies of Kings. Ballads frequently wished the birth of heirs on the royal couple as they had done Charles and James. Marsh cites an example of a 'Coronation ballad', also cited by Paul Monod. This was not a broadside ballad however, but a manuscript libel, a restricted forum in which the gloves were off. Marsh also claims that 'William's balladeering friends ... selected an old tune ... and applied it to a series of intensely Royalist ballads'. The old tune title 'The Pudding' was 'rapidly displaced in favour of a new one "The Orange".' I am not sure how many 'a series' is but 'The Pudding' appeared on just 5 political ballads in 1688-1689 and not at all in the 1690s. 'The Orange' was used only twice on political ballads 1688-9. Though Dr Marsh counted citations of the tune, it seems he did not check the ballad texts. Since political tune titles across the period tended to follow the words of the ballad rather than musical connotations, the reference to the Orange was literally as 'pudding' or dessert, as is made clear in the words of the ballads. Subsequently, the tune having come back into vogue, it was then used, as it had been before, on romantic and love ballads in the 1690s. My reading of these ballads can find no connection with state affairs however. For 'The Orange' and 'The Pudding' see Simpson, pp. 793- 794.

²⁸⁰ The Political ballad 'Top Ten' was as follows: 1688 - 1st: 'Lilliburlero' (6-4 b/l, 2 w/l), 2nd: 'The Souldiers Departure' [Monmouth's tune] (4-4 b/l), 3rd place (shared with 5 other tunes) 'The Pudding' 2 (b/l), Only one (w/l) political ballad sung to 'The Orange' in 1688. 1689 - 1st 'Turn-coat of the times' (12-10 b/l, 2 w/l); 2nd 'The Cannons Roar' (11-7 b/l, 4 w/l), 3rd 'Lilli burlero' (10-4 b/l, 6 w/l), 4th 'Grim King of the Ghosts or Hail to the Myrtle Shades' (6-b/l, 1w/l) 5th shared by 'Let Caesar live long' (4-3b/l, 1 w/l), 'Packingtons Pound' (4-2 b/l, 2 w/l), and 'Billy and Molly' (4-1 b/l, 3 w/l). In the 1690s by far the most political black-letter ballads were sung to 'Let Caesar (or Mary) live long' (15 b/l).

They sweetly strike all in a strain.²⁸¹

A New Protestant Ballad, Called, Englands Congratulation sang that:

Privy-Counsellours too, without more ado,

Are well chosen, and wise ones are new;

They're none of King James's, they never do wrong

But move all in Concord, as does this my song.²⁸²

The usual accompaniment of merry bells ringing, trumpets sounding, 'loud mouth'd' cannons roaring and joyful singing ensued, but this time all Protestants could sing together. A number of ballads accentuated the contrast between the harmonious and unified singing of Protestants, 'all in a strain', with the papists who 'will houle lero lero.'²⁸³ *The Famous Orange* complained of the 'Tory Boys/ that lately disturbed all our nation with noise' and warned 'still they can croak', but the effects of 'the Orange' meant they 'may all sing backwards'. *A New Touch of the Times* said papists had sung their masses, 'an old Antick Song', but now they would 'sing in a contrary tone.' Unlike the religiously divisive singing in 1660, the singing of Protestants in 1689 was without offence to any more puritan groups. *Great Britains Joys completed* suggested that subjects could not help themselves, 'True hearted Protestants had not the power/ their joy and merriment to forbear'. And in any case, sang *A New Touch of the Times*, it was mirth with a 'laudible voice'.²⁸⁴ The new Protestant tune was naturally accompanied by joyful dancing. In *The Protestant Court of England*, the Englishman sang he would 'With Jiggy and Dolly ... dance a Scotch Jig for bonny Billy and Molly.' This was in sharp contrast to the dance of villains, such as the Lord Chancellor, who would 'dance the morris in a hempen string,' and the 'old crew' who would learn 'a new jiggy

²⁸¹ *Great Britains Earnest Desires For the Princess Marys Happy Arrival* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.265.

²⁸² *A New Protestant Ballad, Called, Englands Congratulation* (1690), w/l, CB.755/5.

²⁸³ Thomas Sibley, *The Royal Health* (1689), w/l, Pepys II.342, (typical format of publisher John Wallis) contrasted Catholic howling with Protestant singers: 'we will all our voices join', 'we that loyal are will sing.' See also *The Subjects Satisfaction* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.270: 'all in voice did agree'.

²⁸⁴ *Great Britains Joys Completed* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.338; *A New Touch of the Times* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.316.

to dance.²⁸⁵ Other 'breeders of discord' who had used the press to divide Protestants, such as Roger L'Estrange, were also threatened with deathly dancing. *Rome in an Uproar* warned, 'Observator/ who has a strange name ... T'would be a sad thing should he dance the long jig, / for making division twixt Tory and Whigg.'²⁸⁶

Military music naturally played its part in celebrating the new regime, for the Revolution meant war in Ireland and with France as was soon clear. *The Courtly Triumph*, a coronation ballad to the still popular tune 'the Cannons roar', began, 'Sound the Trumpet beat the drum'.²⁸⁷ But while the papists had 'long knives for stopping of notes' and papist singing had 'braid out', the music of war was not to drown out all other harmony.²⁸⁸ The domestic picture under Mary and William was one of soft civil harmony. Ballads sang of 'musick soft and sweet' and prayed that under William's 'protecting wing/ e'ry soul may sweetly sing'. *Great Brittain's Renown* sang of 'a consort of voices strikes all in a strain' and 'musick so sweet', while in *The Royal Dignity* 'soft musick did sweetly play.'²⁸⁹

Conclusion

The desire for harmony and concord, religious and secular, as opposed to 'Senseless noise and lewd debate' was always paramount in ballad discourse.²⁹⁰ It was faction, debate, dissent or division into 'party' between members of the body politic that brought disharmony or disunity. Ballads repeatedly sought to bring harmony to the discordant state in our period. At the same time they added to the cacophony of debate over the ideal state. Political balladeers wanted the nation to sing in chorus - but whose tune should the people sing?

²⁸⁵ *The Protestant Court of England* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.275; *A New Song Made in the Praise of the West of England* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.291.

²⁸⁶ *Rome in an Uproar; or, the Pope's bulls brought to the baiting-stake by old Father Petres* (1689), b/l, Rox.II.393.

²⁸⁷ *The Courtly Triumph* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.268.

²⁸⁸ *A New Touch of the Times* (1689).

²⁸⁹ *The Courtly Triumph* (1689): 'protecting wing/ e'ry soul may sweetly sing'; *Great Brittain's Renown* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.269; *The Royal Dignity* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.274.

²⁹⁰ *The Country Mans Delight* {1680s}, b/l, Pepys IV.349.

Mark Kishlansky has suggested that the desire for concord rather than difference in parliamentary elections is a key to understanding seventeenth-century England, especially before the civil war, after which time discord made a formalised process of election necessary. John Miller, on the other hand, argues that the desire for harmony was still key even after the war.²⁹¹ Ballads, as we have seen, reflect the tensions between a desire for harmony and the reality of division and divided opinion. At a time when the concept of 'toleration' was seen as devilish, how was a community to settle down after noisy and open divisions, inflamed by elections, popish or Presbyterian plots and attempts at exclusion?

From the outset in 1640, ballads were seeking an ideal of monody that could never be found. As the period went on, some balladeers sought to find a way in which harmonies - two or more tunes - could be sung together without creating disastrous discord. But mainly, balladeers castigated the noise of discord and debate and vainly tried to encourage the nation to sing in chorus. The one thing that was clear by 1689 had already been known in 1640: the tune had to be called by a Protestant King. But the question of bishops and their ritual music was no longer in dispute. That ballad battle had been won by the organ.

As we see from the chart in appendix II, more political ballads appeared in print at times of discord and disturbance within the state than at any other time. Though ballads were clearly intended to be read as well as sung, and some were probably never sung at all, writers deliberately chose the ballad form as a vehicle because it gave them scope to play on the tropes of political discord and of harmony which, however unobtainable, they saw as essential to the orderly state: one King, one Liturgy, one Tune. The ballad, a song sung to a single melody and enjoyed by everyone, was the perfect vehicle for a message of unity and a perfect weapon against those who threatened it. The medium was the message.

²⁹¹ Mark Kishlansky, *Parliamentary Selection, Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986), esp. pp. 71, 81, 84, 106, 114 and Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 85-89.

SECTION III

The Message

Parliament cries Law Law

King cries Aw Aw,

Queene cries Ave Ave

Countrie cries we, we

Copie of a letter written by Mercurius Britanicus to

Mercurius Civicus (1644)

CHAPTER FOUR

Tyranny

1640-1660

i. Classical Concepts and Balladry

[H]e that can feign a commonwealth (which is the poet) can govern it with counsels, strengthen it with laws, correct it with judgements, inform it with religion, and morals ... the exact knowledge of all virtues and their contraries; with ability to render the one loved the other hated, by his proper embattling them.

Ben Jonson, *Timber, or Discoveries* (1640)¹

In these western parts of the world we are made to receive our opinions concerning the institution, and Rights of Common-Wealths, from Aristotle, Cicero and other men, Greeks and Romans ... the Grammerians describe the rules of language ... or the Rules of Poetry out of the poems of Homer and Virgil and by reading of these ... authors, men from their childhood have gotten a habit (under false shew of Liberty) of favouring tumults and of licentious controlling the actions of their Sovereigns.

Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651)²

Classical learning heavily influenced balladeers. Ballads of all kinds were full of classical references and sometimes stories. Monarchs were described in terms of the Olympian Gods, while popular heroes such as Robin Hood could be shown alongside classical figures like Clorinda.³ This was not merely a popular appropriation of half-

¹ Quoted in Brian Vickers, 'Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance', *New Literary History*, 14, 3 (1983), pp. 497-537, at p. 497.

² Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, Or, the Matter, Forme, and Power of a Common Wealth, Ecclesiasticall and Civil* (1651), pp. 110-11. Note Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics* (3 Vols, Cambridge, 2002), Vol. II, pp. 308-09: 'No modern Historian has to my knowledge placed anything like this emphasis on the role of the classics ... in helping to legitimise ... the outbreak of the English Civil War ... there is a great deal to be said for Hobbes' explanation.'

³ *A Proper New Ballad of Bold Robin Hood* [between 1670 and 1697], b/l, Pepys II.116-17. Robin marries Clorinda in this ballad. Maid Marion rarely figured in Robin Hood broadside ballads in the seventeenth century, but see S. S., *A Famous Battle between Robin Hood, and Maid Marian; declaring their Love, Life, and Liberty* {1650s?}, b/l, Wood 401 (21).

understood terms and characters. Balladeers aspired to the classical ideals of epideictic poetry, as described by Ben Jonson above, they aimed to teach eternal truths and to inspire the epic emotions of love, terror and admiration.⁴ Naturally, they fell short of their aspirations, and were hi-jacked by the satirical strain of the age. As the author of *Private Occurrences* announced himself in 1688, 'A Protestant Muse /On the age, grown a little Satyricall, Sings'. Nevertheless it is on classical Learning, and in particular on humanist ideas of the virtuous state, and the hero, that we must rely to understand the way in which balladeers constructed their version of the state. As *The Careless Gallant* sang in the 1670s, 'the poet himself that so loftily sings ... scorns any subjects, but Heros or Kings'.⁵

In 1983, Brian Vickers reminded scholars that they needed to 'reconstruct the principles or assumptions made about literature in past periods, whether formulated explicitly or not', in particular rhetoric and the ubiquity of epideictic poetry whose role was to set out the world in terms of praise and blame.⁶ Quentin Skinner's *Foundations of Political Thought*, his work on Machiavelli and More, and his discussions of theory in *Visions of Politics* have done much to bring the insights of new historicist literary scholars to the attention of historians.⁷ Since then, historians as well as literary scholars have become increasingly aware

⁴ Vickers, 'Epideictic', p. 501: 'virtually all poetry was regarded as a subdivision of epideictic'. His discussion explains the various forms of epideictic oration from which renaissance writers took their examples. On p. 510, he sums up the renaissance concept of the function of poetry, that 'teaches us how to live ... cures the individual ... serves the state'.

⁵ *Private Occurrences, or the Transactions of the Four Last Years* (1688), w/l, Pepys V.101, b/l, Pepys V.ii.52. *The Careless Gallant* {1674-79}, b/l, BB.C40.m11(53).

⁶ Vickers, 'Epideictic', *passim* and esp. pp. 497, 500-501. See also John F. Tinkler, trans. and (ed.), *Cicero On The Genres Of Rhetoric* (1995) at <http://www.towson.edu/~tinkler/reader/cicero.html#introd>, who explains that rhetoric is both the 'art of persuading and dissuading' - as in oratory, political debate, parliamentary and popular politics and giving advice in general - and the 'art of praise and blame' - that is, the 'panegyric' or in Greek 'epideictic' rhetorical form. This ceremonial genre of oratory was especially used for such occasions as funerals and 'may be said to define and celebrate the values of the community'. Though stigmatised by Plato as a mere oratory of display, with the privileging of Aristotle's views in the Middle Ages, epideictic became the acknowledged form for poetry.

⁷ For example, Quentin Skinner, *Machiavelli* (Oxford, 1981), *idem*, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge, 1978). Much of Skinner's conceptual work has been reworked and reprinted in *idem*, *Vision of Politics* (3 vols, Cambridge, 2002). See also the valuable discussions of Skinner's methodology in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Cambridge, 1988).

of the importance of rhetoric in early modern England.⁸ Cynthia Herrup has shown that early modern people of all sorts were fully aware that justice was to be found somewhere between the letter and the practice of the Law. Mark Goldie has analysed the ‘politics of the excluded’ through the conceptual prism of civic humanism while Phil Withington has recently investigated town charters and politics in the light of their classical construction. Paul Slack and Steve Hindle have recognised that the rhetoric of commonwealths-men had ‘real’ meaning in terms of producing public policies on disease, dearth, enclosure and the poor.⁹ Today’s derogatory phrase ‘mere rhetoric’ would not have conveyed much meaning in early modern England. Indeed seventeenth-century thinkers regarded rhetoric as a danger – following Plato Hobbes’ *De Cive* saw rhetoric as ‘a powerful form of eloquence separated from a true knowledge of things’, while John Locke spoke of ‘Rhetorick, that powerful instrument of Error and Deceit’, which could ‘move the passions and thereby mislead judgement’.¹⁰

Political ballads were just one of many means by which the combined ideas of classical and Christian writers, known as Christian Humanism, were made available beyond those who had attended grammar school or university and inns of court. Popular dissemination of these ideas came through a variety of ways. Schoolboy readings of Cicero’s *De Res Publica* or *De Oratore* certainly influenced many of the authors.¹¹ Martin Parker was

⁸ See discussion in Vickers, ‘Epideictic’, pp. 498-99 and Skinner’s examination of classicism in parliamentary and press debates over the decision to go to war in 1642; Skinner, *Visions*, chs 10, 11, 12.

⁹ Mark Goldie, ‘The Unacknowledged Republic: Office Holding in Early Modern England’, in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001); Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998); Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (2000); Phil Withington, ‘Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered’, *The Historical Journal*, 44, 1 (2001), pp. 239-267 and *idem*, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2004).

¹⁰ Quoted in Skinner, *Visions*, p. 266, and see his discussion, ch. 10.

¹¹ See Rosemary O’Day, *Education and Society, 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (1982). EEBO shows that Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* was published in English in 1637 and 1651. *The Politics* was published in English in 1598. *The Nichomachean Ethics* was published in Latin in 1479, 1581 and 1662, and in English in 1547. Elements of Aristotle’s ideas were also discussed in a vast range of political and moral works. Cicero’s works were published *ad infinitum* throughout the period as were schoolboy translations and ‘cribs’ of Latin phrases etc. Sir Walter Raleigh, attrib., *Maxims of State*, based on Aristotle’s *Politics* was published in a short pamphlet format

himself a classical scholar and produced a well-received translation of a Greek text.¹² For the majority, oral and visual performance of all kinds took the major role in promoting an understanding of the nature of virtue, the ideal state, the relations between rulers and people, and notions of commonwealth. Homilies and sermons, written by classically educated, scholars were delivered to vast audiences every week.¹³ Parades, masques, processions and sophisticated theatrical treatments by Shakespeare, Deloney, Jonson, Fletcher and Beaumont, and Heywood all contributed to a popular consciousness of 'Psychomachia' - the battle for the soul of man, the heart of the community or the virtue of the ruler - which was well entrenched and widely understood.¹⁴ Ben Jonson's plays, immensely influential in pre- and post-1640 cavalier ballad culture, were especially full of vices and virtues in personifications or figures, and old morality play tropes such as aptronyms, exempla, animal figures (as in fables) and allegory.¹⁵

Popular ideas of vice and virtue and the nature of the ideal state had come a long way since Plato and Aristotle had discussed them in the *Republic*, the *Symposium*, the *Nichomachean Ethics*, the *Poetics*, the *Politics* and so on. They came down to Renaissance England via the philosophical treatments of Cicero, Augustine and Aquinas, and the debates of scholastics and Humanists at Universities and Court.¹⁶ More's *Utopia* was part of an

(50-100 pages) in 1642, 1650 and 1651. Larger editions (200-300 pages) were published in 1656, 1661, 1669 and 1681.

¹² H.E. Rollins, 'Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger', *Modern Philology* XIV, 9(1919), esp. pp. 113-17.

¹³ Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), p. 6, and discussion pp. 51-64, has noted that cheap print was parasitical upon preaching. It would be perfectly possible for an uneducated balladeer to pick up all his ideas about Christian humanism from the carefully crafted rhetoric of the university-educated occupant of the local pulpit. Note for example the connection of published sermons by Andrew Jones and publishers of cheap print - all his pamphlets were published by ballad publishers and used popular woodcuts.

¹⁴ Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, *Psychomachia* (c.410) was an epic poem set out as a battle between vice and virtue for the soul. In London the Lord Mayor's Parade would often include a sophisticated travelling story in which the Castle of Perseverance was besieged by the vices. Charles II's coronation procession was set out in terms of the virtues of peace etc. Homilies and sermons used these tropes in order to explain their messages.

¹⁵ Aptronyms - as in 'Sir Politic Would be', Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1607) or 'Sir King-Love' in Thomas D'Urfey's *The Royalist* (1682).

¹⁶ See discussions in Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, II, chs 9 and 10, 'Humanism, scholasticism and popular sovereignty' and 'Moral ambiguity and the art of eloquence'. Hobbes translated Aristotle's *Rhetoric* into Latin. See also discussion by Jonathon Scott, *England's Troubles* (Cambridge, 2000) *passim*. Scott's discussions are key to my thesis here, but he sees Aristotelian classicism and the pursuance of the Christian virtue of love as a radical ideology. I argue here that it was traditional.

ongoing debate between ancients and moderns about the role of the scholar in the state, the nature of true nobility and the possibility of a virtuous state ruled solely by the cardinal virtues and reason (that is without the Christian virtues of love, faith and hope).

Did such intellectually elevated ideas reach the political world of the popular ballad between 1640 and 1689? As we shall see, the answer to this was definitely 'yes'.¹⁷ The classically educated Martin Parker was the master of the 'political ballad grammar school'. He knew that as a good poet, if politics was to be the subject and persuasion the aim then strict rules of rhetoric must be employed. Though in 1640 his cause was not popular, Parker's methodology proved influential. In his black-letter ballad campaign against the Scots Parker laid out his accusations of rebellion and his praise of the King's cause in terms of cardinal and Christian virtues and their opposing vices.¹⁸ This was a way of debating politics in song that was to be taken up by balladeers throughout the rest of the century. Even the broadside-width woodcut used for Parker's ballad on the opening of parliament in April 1640 was influential - parts of that processional woodcut appeared on political ballads throughout the rest of the century.¹⁹ From the 1640s onwards, if not before, political ballads were constructed in terms of a 'singing psychomachia' or ballad battle for political virtue. The self-conscious and detailed use of classicism that was frequently evident in ballads suggests that these were cultural tropes that could be fully enjoyed by those who had not attended grammar schools.²⁰

Samuel Pepys expected his brother to be familiar with Aristotle's scientific philosophy. See Pepys *Diary*, IV, p. 267, 7 August 1663: 'I find him [my brother John] not so thorough a philosopher, at least in Aristotle, as I took him for, he not being able to tell me the definition of final nor which of the 4 Qualitys belonged to each of the 4 Elements.'

¹⁷ Classical allusions and exemplars in black-letter ballads: Mars and Venus - see ch. Two; *Twelve Brave bels* (1649) - Apollo Belona, Neptune; *Gallant Newes from Ireland* (1649) - Jove, Jupiter, Typhon, Paphos, Olympus, Titans, the Muses; *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641) - Icarus. Troy was a favourite political allegory as well as a popular tune title. See Humphrey Crouch, *Greeks and Trojans Wars* (1675); *Loyal Subjects Resolution* (1664). References to 'classical' texts; *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) Drinks good sack* (1670s) - Alcidds club (Plato, *Symposium*), Hector; *Mardyke or the Soldiers Sonnet* (1660) - Aristotle; *Alas Poore Scholler* (1641) - 'Austine' (Augustine); *The New Courtier* (1670) - Utopia. Ballads frequently use classical tropes such as 'palms of victory'. See also *The Quaker Ballad* (1674) which used a number of Latin rhetorical terms.

¹⁸ Parker's 1640 anti-Scots campaign is discussed above, in chs 1 and 2.

¹⁹ Martin Parker, *An Exact Description of the Manner how his Majesty and His Nobles went to Parliament* (RI776 9 April 1640), b/1, Wood 410(139).

²⁰ See Laurence Stone, 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past & Present*, 28 (1964), pp. 41-80; M. van Cleave Alexander, *The Growth of English Education, 1348-1648: A Cultural*

For example, Humphrey Crouch's black-letter ballad political allegory on Ireland, *The Greeks and Trojans Wars* (registered in 1658 and 1675) makes detailed references to Achille's role in the history of Troy.²¹ The term 'Hector' was employed in ballads in its purely classical sense of a hero who fights well though he is on the 'wrong side'. Rhetorical ballad campaigns of cavaliers and roundheads and later Whigs and Tories tried to appropriate popular images of vice and virtue in order to persuade a wide audience of the rightness of their cause. The classical literary model which saw the state in terms of a body politic, and which understood the working of that body to involve reason controlling will and passions, whilst proper affections such as love and joy bound the community, was expressly conveyed in song after song.²²

The Aristotelian theory of contraries was a common trope in ballad discourse. Indeed Stuart Clark has argued that an understanding of this view is crucial if we are to unpack the mentalities of the early modern world and understand the early modern 'rules of language'.²³ Though Gary de Krey has argued that the 'black and white' nature of such rhetoric was a contributor to the fractured nature of early modern society, it was an accepted and comprehensible way of explaining the world and was more flexible than it seems.²⁴ Thinking in contraries was not simply Manichaean, it called for man to follow the 'via media' or the mean between vices. Vice was a matter of deficiency or excess of virtue.²⁵ Each

and Social History (University Park, Penn., 1990); H. Kearney, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (London, 1970). Though Stone's 'social revolution' theory has been reassessed, especially in regard to university attendance, there is consensus about increasing numbers of middling sorts going to grammar schools.

²¹ *Greece and Troy* (RI1046 26 July 1658) and H[umphrey] C[rouch], *The Greeks and Trojans Wars* (RI1047 1 March 1675), b/l, 4oRawl.566(184)

²² *Ethics*, Book III, 1: 'Since virtue is concerned with passions and actions, and on voluntary passions and actions praise and blame are bestowed, on those that are involuntary pardon, and sometimes also pity.' See Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, II, pp. 218, 224-229. Tinkler, *Cicero*: 'Virtue is a disposition [*habitus*] of spirit [*animus*] in harmony with the measure of nature and of reason. So when we know all its parts, we will have considered all the force of simple honour. It has four parts: prudence, justice, fortitude, temperance... *honestas*, translated as "honor" means almost the same as "virtue" and does not refer simply to an "honorable fame"' (see web page reference, fn 6 above).

²³ Stuart Clark, *Thinking With Demons* (Oxford, 1997) esp. Part I chs 3, 4, and Part V, chs 40, 41, 42, 43.

²⁴ Gary de Krey, *A Fractured Society* (Oxford, 1985), ch. VI, esp. pp. 215, 219-22.

²⁵ *Ethics*, Book II and Book III, 6-11. See also Joseph Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton, 2002), esp. pp. 1-16 and chs 7-8.

virtue was thus assailed on both sides, and the way to virtue and truth was the mediocre. This was a concept crucial to the understanding of political ballads. Martin Parker expressed it to a nicety in *Britaines Honour* (1640).²⁶ The ballad lauds (if somewhat ironically) the actions of two Welshmen who, it is claimed, stood alone against between ten and fifteen thousand Scots, one hero being killed, the other captured and later released. In the midst of fulsome praise of 'these two martialists so famous' he describes the retreat of the rest of the King's army:

Within their workes neere Tyne intrench'd
Some of our Sovereignes forces lay;
When the Scots army came, they flinched,
And on good cause retyr'd away;
Yet blame them not,
For why, the Scot,
Was five to one, and came so hot,
Nothing by staying could be got.

This, then, was not deficiency of courage but sensible fortitude in action. The two Welshmen, however, decide to stand alone against a vast army. Realising that this might itself be open to criticism as excess and thus a vice, Parker concludes:

Now some may say (I doe confesse it)
That all such desperate attempts
Spring only from foolhardiness; yet
Who ever this rare deed exempts,
From valour true,
(If him I knew)
I would tell him (and 'twere but due)
Such men our Sovereaigne hath too few.

²⁶ See *Ethics*, Book III, 7-8.

For sure it is a fair example,
Who now will feare to fight with ten,
When these two lads (with courage ample)
Opposed fiteene thousand men.²⁷

Community and harmony were to be achieved through the *via media*, reflecting belief in the chaos that could arise through the excess or deficiency of the essential virtues. Charles I, for example, was *too* trusting, and this had brought about disaster. In the *Weeping Widow* (1649), Henrietta Maria warns her son Prince Charles:

Let no deceitful tongue insnare you
Think on your father's fall
Whose heart so kind
By proofs I find
Hath quite undone us all.²⁸

Worst of all for Charles I's posthumous reputation, a white-letter Restoration ballad, *King Charles his Glory and the Rebels Shame*, judged Charles I by saying 'in this he was to blame/ that after all his pomp and fame/ to lose himself in a Scottish game/ 'twas but a foolish thing'.²⁹

Naturally, ballads sought to promote harmony within the state. And nature was crucial since virtue was based on the 'natural'; it chimed in with God's perfect creation. It was generally understood that the virtue of rulers and ruled was vital to the well-being of the community. Perfect loyalty to a Protestant monarchy, perfect charity in the rich, perfect justice in the magistracy and perfect unity in religion would ensure a perfect commonwealth from which, as so many 'mirrors' and 'touch of the times' ballads sang, covetousness, papists

²⁷ Martin Parker, *Britaines Honour. In the two valiant Welchmen, who fought against fiteene thousand Scots, at their now comming to England* (1640), b/l, Wood 401 (131). Other examples of such a concept appeared in proverbs - see Humphrey Crouch, *A Pleasant New Song That Plainly Doth Show That All Are Beggars Both High And Low* (1640), b/l, MB.II(34), which repeats the proverb 'too much money makes men mad/ and want of money makes men sad'.

²⁸ *The Weeping Widow, or the Sorrowful Lady's Letter to her Beloved Children* {1649}, b/l, MB.II(20).

²⁹ *King Charles his Glory and the Rebels Shame* (1660), w/l+w/c, BL.C20.f.4(36).

and all other vices and villains 'out of England would run'.³⁰ This theme became increasingly popular between 1640 and 1689. As these ballads suggested, however, such perfection all seemed rather unlikely - as one ballad put it, it would only happen 'when Cavaleers do all turn Quakers'.³¹ The only way to achieve such a virtuous state would be to have perfectly virtuous rulers, to whom a perfectly reasonable and faithful people would be perfectly loyal. However, hope was itself a virtue - and there was always hope that England, through faith, truth, neighbourliness and godly reformation might approach perfection. Why else look in the mirror?

Though Calvinism offered a pessimistic view of man's nature, in classical teaching man leaned naturally towards the good. Uncorrupted, his affections and passions would lead him towards virtue. Since political poetry was a classical rather than a biblical genre, the roles of affect, passion, fortune and providence tended towards the pagan and the positive rather than the Calvinist.³² Balladeers did not step outside the boundaries of religious social order but they dealt in secular reality and aspiration, much more accessible than the religious construct of the sermon so beloved of and perhaps rather over-privileged by social historians.

As any seventeenth-century grammar schoolboy knew, the ideal constitution was a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. In England, this was represented by the King in parliament, the place where all parts of the constitution, the *res publica*, met together. The pillars on which the ideal commonweal, or republic, was constructed were the cardinal virtues of prudence³³, justice,³⁴ fortitude³⁵ and temperance³⁶ and the Christian virtues of

³⁰ Tim Harris, 'Introduction' in *idem* (ed.), *Politics of the Excluded*, pp. 1-29, who points out that much of the popular concern in politics was about how people 'ought to be' ruled.

³¹ *The Maidens Reply To The Young Mans Resolution, Wherein She Fits Him In His Kind, And Lets Him Know Her Settled Mind* {1660}, b/1, Rox.II.330. BL catalogue, following Crawford, speculates 1665 as date of publication.

³² See Vickers, 'Epideictic', pp. 499, 502-5; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions* (Cambridge, 2003), chs 2 and 3. See Walsham, *Providence*, ch. 1, for a discussion of Calvinism and cheap print.

³³ Tinkler, *Cicero*: 'Prudence is the knowledge of what is good, what is bad, and what is neutral. Its parts are *memoria*, *intelligentia*, and *providentia* [memory, intelligence, and providence - or perhaps, hindsight, insight, and foresight]. Memory is that by which the spirit returns to what has been; intelligence is that by which it sees through what is; "providence" is that by which something that will be is seen before it has been done' (see web page reference, fn 6 above).

caritas (love or charity), faith and hope.³⁷ Law (reason) and religion (truth), which in combination created 'conscience', provided the rules by which the state operated. The end of virtuous government was joy, peace and prosperity, set within the bounds of necessity and security for the community as a whole and, where appropriate, establishing and protecting the rights of the individual.³⁸ In 1660 one black-letter ballad reduced this to explaining that the throne 'is upheld with pillers (*sic*) four,/ Justice and Truth, Mercy and Power,' and promising that the King would 'govern you shall see/ in Love and peace and unity.' The outcome of this virtuous government would be that 'he will us so with love inure,/ and cause us to be more secure'.³⁹ Where these principles were followed, Providence oversaw the good of the state; where they were subverted, the state was subject to the whim of fortune and vulnerable to attack by the agents of tyranny.

³⁴ Tinkler, *Cicero*: 'Justice is a disposition of spirit which, having preserved the common utility [*communis utilitas* - perhaps the "common good"], gives to each his due. Its origin derives from nature; then some rules become custom because of the calculation of utility; and after that both the things that derive from nature and those that have been proved by custom are sanctified by religion and by the fear of law.' 'The right of nature is what is not born of opinion, but is a force implanted in nature, such as religion, duty, gratitude, vindication, respect, truth.' (See web page reference, fn 6 above).

³⁵ Tinkler, *Cicero*: '*Fortitudo* [courage] is considered the undertaking of dangers and the enduring of labors. Its parts are magnificence [*magnificentia*], confidence [*fidencia*], patience [*patientia*], and perseverance [*perseverantia*]. *Magnificence* [sometimes *magnitudo animi*: "greatness of spirit"] is the thinking about and executing of great and lofty things with a certain large and splendid determination of spirit; *confidence* is that by which, in great and honorable things, the spirit places great confidence in itself with fixed hope', '*perseverance* is a stable and permanent persistence in a well-considered calculation.' (See web page reference, fn 6 above).

³⁶ Tinkler, *Cicero*: '*Temperance* is a firm and moderate control exercised by calculation over lust and other impulses of the spirit that are not straight. Its parts are continence, clemency and modesty. *Continence* is that by which desire is ruled by the guidance of judgement; *clemency* is that by which spirits that are rashly and swiftly brought to hatred of an inferior are restrained by gentleness; *modesty* is that by which shame provides the care and stable authority of honor. And all of these things are to be sought for themselves alone when there is nothing of profit attached to them.' (See web page reference, fn 6 above).

³⁷ I Corinthians, 13, v. 13: 'nunc autem manet fides spes caritas tria haec maior autem his est caritas.'

³⁸ Tinkler, *Cicero*: 'The greatest necessity appears to be that of honor; next is that of security; and third and least weighty is that of convenience, which can never contend with the other two ... *Customary right* is what has either been lightly drawn from nature and fed and made greater by usage, such as religion; or if it is one of those things that we said before was derived from nature, we see that it was made greater because of custom; or it is what antiquity has brought into currency by the approval of the people; of this kind are contract, equality, and precedent. *Contract* is what is agreed among different people; *equality* is what is equitable [fair? level?] to all; *precedent* is what has been established by the opinions of another or others. *Statutory right* [lit: legal *jus*] is what is contained in the writing that is set forth for [by?] the people so that they may observe it.' (See web page reference, fn 6 above).

³⁹ [Untitled] (1660), b/1, CB 990/6.

Combined with the Christian ideals of love for neighbours, and demonstrating the fruits of faith through charity, hard work and self regulation, these ideas influenced a majority of people in their thinking about the working of the ideal state (i.e. England), the social order, the political community, and the bonds of love and honour that kept that society together. Aspects of this that have been especially prevalent recently in social history - economic and social concepts of credit, reputation and honesty - were synonymous with the concepts of honour, virtue and the common good in classical and Christian writing.

Happiness or Joy was both the end and means of virtue. The virtue of the ruling as well as the ruled was vital to the well-being of the community. The best state would enable anyone in it to act in the best way and live in the happiest manner but only under a virtuous ruler could happiness be achieved, as only a truly virtuous ruler had the good of the whole community at heart. If rulers were deluded or deceived by evil agents, however, or motivated by self-interest, then the body politic would be open to corruption and disease by pride and ambition, and vulnerable to tyranny.⁴⁰

What led a man to be virtuous and to consider the general needs of the community before his own? A man could not be virtuous by accident, but only through the exercise and control of the will. Blind fortune operated when men were led by their selfish wills but Providence ruled where men were led by reason and virtue. As Cicero wrote, 'Virtue is a disposition [*habitus*] of spirit [*animus*] in harmony with the measure of nature and of reason.'⁴¹ The clear use of reason was, therefore, a vital element in ruling a virtuous state. Anything that hampered or impeded the reason of the king or his subjects would leave the state open to the whim and fancy of blind fortune. Humphrey Crouch, in *A Godly Exhortation* (1642), believed this had happened to England because 'people make their own self will a

⁴⁰ Robert Ashton, 'From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny' in John Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War* (London, 1982), p. 187, offers a quotation from Pym who argued that if the law is disregarded 'every man will become a Law unto himself... Lust will become a Law, and Envy will become a Law, Covetousness and Ambition will become Laws, and what dictates, what Decisions such Laws will produce may easily be discerned.'

⁴¹ Tinkler, *Cicero*, see web page reference, fn 6 above.

law'.⁴² Ballad-writers, as we have seen, in the case of traitors accused wrongdoers of seducing and deluding the people's reason, thus winning them and the state away from virtue and joy, bringing fear, care and a decay in trading instead of peace, prosperity and security.

From 1640 to 1689 ballads debated and explained the ideal constitution, the nature of tyranny, the importance of love, the outcome of political virtue and the effect of vice in the nation.⁴³ Ballads followed the journey of the state, offering advice and direction to governed and governors, as governments tried to find the *via media* between excess and deficiency of love, the greatest Christian virtue, which bound together all parts of the state into a patriarchy and a commonweal. On one side was deficiency: the envy, hate, rage, pride and ambition of papists who sought to destroy the virtuous state and bring tyranny and woe to England, and on the other side was excess: the lusts and passions of dissenters, who sought to pervert love. The events of 1640 to 1660 were explained in terms of the imposition of a tyranny that took away joy and love from the nation. Royalist ballads, in the majority by 1650, argued that without a king neither the joy of a virtuous state, nor the loving bonds of patriarchy was possible.

ii. 1640-1660: 'The Broken Times'⁴⁴ - A Study in Tyranny

The overthrow of kingship is then easy, for when people cease to wish him to be King, a King will be at once a King no more; but a tyrant is still a tyrant even though people do not want him.

Aristotle, *The Politics*⁴⁵

⁴² Humphrey Crouch, *A Godly Exhortation* (1642), w/l, 669.f.6(87).

⁴³ Tinkler, *Cicero*: 'Rhetoric: the deliberative genre is "art of persuading and dissuading", this is the genre of political debate, but it is also the major genre concerned with the giving of advice in general--including private advice (should someone marry? how should one live? etc.) also the oratory of parliamentary and popular politics. Also called "panegyric", and "epideictic" (in Greek), and known as the "art of praise and blame", this is a ceremonial genre of oratory, especially used for such occasions as funerals... Such speeches may be said to (define and) celebrate the values of the community. The genre was often stigmatized in Antiquity as a mere oratory of display--the "set piece" in the Middle Ages, it was the acknowledged genre of poetry.' (See web page reference, fn 6 above). See also, Vickers, 'Epideictic', pp. 500-29.

⁴⁴ Wood, *Life*, I, p. 349. Wood uses this phrase quite frequently in referring to the 'interval' between Kings.

There was a time, before the phrase 'Personal Rule' became current, when the period of Charles I's government from 1629 to 1640 was known as 'the Eleven Years Tyranny.' This construct became problematic as it tied the reign to a fixed view of outcomes and prevented an open-minded assessment of the period. Nevertheless, the epithet of tyranny was contemporary and ubiquitous. Whilst scholarship has tended to focus on republican use of classical ideas, during the parliamentary debates of the 1640s, in publications by John Milton for example, this language was used by all sides in the conflict.⁴⁶ An essay by Robert Ashton showed how contemporaries changed the perception of a cavalier to a roundhead tyranny. He focused on three aspects of concern to politicians and propagandists during the war: the subversion of Law, fiscal oppression, and changes in the social structure of local governance. He also identified two turning-points in the discourse of tyranny, the Nineteen Propositions in 1642 and the Leveller remonstrance in 1646.⁴⁷ Ballads of the period certainly reflect the changes that he charts, but, the approach they adopted was rather different from that adopted by Ashton. The twenty years of political singing from 1640 to 1660, though they certainly concerned themselves with law, fiscal oppression and local governance, were largely a commentary on tyranny as defined in classical texts, in particular the analysis set out in Aristotle's *Politics*.

Aristotle explained the causes and nature of tyranny. He identified two kinds of tyrant- the absolute tyrant and the kingly tyrant - and he explained why tyrannies inevitably destroy themselves. First, he argued, a tyrant, motivated by pride and ambition, usurps power from established kingship through force or fraud, by gaining honours, or by demagogic means. Having seized power, an absolute tyrant rids himself of independent men and the

⁴⁵ *Politics*, p. 342.

⁴⁶ Scott, *England's Troubles*, part II; Skinner, *Visions*, I, chs 11, 12.

⁴⁷ Ashton, 'From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny'. It strikes one that Aristotle's apparent prescience regarding the civil war and Interregnum - even to the point about women emerging in the public sphere- may suggest that contemporaries constructed the period in a form even harder to disentangle than the Whig interpretation. Like balladeers, politicians and writers of the period would have been on the lookout for Aristotelian examples in the tyranny they perceived.

education that might create them. In order to keep the people in awe, the tyrant burdens his subjects, by taxing them heavily, and making war. He will also forbid large communal gatherings, use spies and stir up strife.⁴⁸ The 1650 reprint of the *Maxims of State*, wrongly attributed to 'Sir Walter Rawleigh', explained that this was so the people 'have no means ... to conspire ... or to maintain love amongst themselves' and so that men would 'envy and contend one with other.'⁴⁹ Tyrants, argued Aristotle, depend on flatterers and those of weak spirit, so in a tyranny there will be a dominance of women, foreigners and the baser sort as men of free spirit will not flatter and fawn. A kingly tyranny was more of a threat to established monarchy as the kingly tyrant, though determined to hold on to power, does concern himself with the public good and may be motivated by some virtue. But all tyrannies, argued Aristotle, were bound to fall eventually, because tyrants built up hatred, anger and contempt in the mistreated people. Remarkably, as we shall see, each aspect of tyrannical experience Aristotle described was sung about by balladeers.

Inevitably, Aristotle did not include in his analysis the cause of tyranny most feared in England since the time of Elizabeth - popery, which represented foreign rule, coercion and superstition, the overwhelming of state by the church, the slavery of the people, attacks on property and a threat to the soul of the nation. In ballads, popery was a disease that could affect the body politic through the ears, eyes and hearts of men.⁵⁰ It used the vices of pride and ambition as tools and it could wield magical powers of delusion and deceit. The shock of the civil war was that it revealed another side to the popish coin. In the tradition of contrarieties, the excess of godliness as opposed to popish deficiency was 'proved' to be

⁴⁸ *Politics*, pp. 344-49. By contrast Kings ruled by consent of the people and were chosen for virtue or because from a virtuous family: p. 334.

⁴⁹ Sir Walter Rawleigh, attrib., *Maxims of State* (1650), pp. 45, 48. Mark Nichols and Penry Williams, entry on Sir Walter Raleigh in the new *Oxford DNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23039>, point out that the *Maxims* were not written by Raleigh. I shall refer to the otherwise unknown author by the printed name on the pamphlet.

⁵⁰ See ch. 2 on treason as a disease.

Presbyterianism or dissent.⁵¹ England found that she sailed between the Scylla and Charybdis of Papist and Presbyter, both of whom sought to establish tyranny and enslave the people in England.⁵²

We will see here how black-letter broadside ballads portrayed the events of 1640-1660 in terms of Aristotle's political analysis. First, the actions of Charles's evil ministers Laud and Strafford and of parliament were shoehorned into this pattern and later the effects of government by parliament and Protector were described in the same way. This narrative tested the normal ballad functions of praise and blame and calling to arms. Exhorting the populace to loyalty had been the prime political ballad function since at least Elizabeth's time, but for the first time the nature of that loyalty was being called into question. Where did the subject's deepest loyalty lie? With the King? Parliament? Church? 'Religion, Right and Law'? What was the role of the King - what was the role of parliament in this situation? Ballads in 1640 suggest that whatever the subject's loyalties, the subject's expectations were of comfort, joy, healing, happiness, and reform. Who was to bring that about? By the end of 1640, parliament rather than the King was getting most of the credit for seeking the health, comfort and joy of the body politic.

The difference between black- and white-letter broadsides is particularly important in this period. Virulent complaints were made by royalist propagandists in white-letter verse broadsides from about 1643. Accessing the jokes and attacks in these verse broadsides, such as *The Sence of the House* (1643) required detailed knowledge of the all the individuals concerned.⁵³ Other royalist white-letter broadsides, such as *Mr Hampdens Speech* (1643) and *A Panegyrick* (1646) viciously attacked the 'Most gracious, Omnipotent,/ And everlasting Parliament', in terms of usurping tyranny, 'whose power and majestie/ is greater than all

⁵¹ Presbyterianism also had its supporters in balladry but the sectarian threat from groups such as Quakers was always seen not just as another side of religious extremism but as papist in origin. See Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (1985).

⁵² See *Loyalty Unfeigned* {1680}, b/1, Rox.II.322, discussed above: ch. 3.

⁵³ *The Sence of the House* (m/s 10 March 1642/3), w/1, 669.f.6(117). Each verse attacked a different MP using gossip and allusions based on intimate knowledge of each man.

Kings by odds/ yea to account you lesse than gods/ must needs be blasphemie.' In his *Speech* Hampden is made to admit to crude self-interest: 'I would not majestie destroie/ but only as the way to injoie/ the ruines of the church.'⁵⁴ Royalists had no monopoly on such satires; they were answered in kind by parliamentary propagandists, for example in *The Sence of the Oxford Juncto* (1644).⁵⁵ However, though highly satirical, these broadsides were hardly popular in style and though set out in verses, they did not cite tunes.

It is undoubtedly the case that some extremely popular royalist ballads became well known without apparently having been produced in black-letter or indeed on a broadside at all. Parker's *When the King Enjoys His Own Again* is a prime example and *The Penitiant Traytor* (1647) is another.⁵⁶ On the other hand it is equally clear that we can have no idea of the real extent of printed ballad material, especially during the civil war. George Thomason, on whom we chiefly rely for this period, seems to have been largely uninterested in the black-letter broadside market. Only the unknown collectors of the Euing and Manchester ballads and contemporaries such as Anthony Wood, John Bagford, Thomas Rawlinson, Narcissus Luttrell and the Earl of Oxford made any real efforts to rescue material from the civil war and Interregnum.

Bernard Capp has pointed out that it could be difficult for popular propagandists such as John Taylor to get access to the printing presses in Oxford.⁵⁷ Ballad sheets tended to be used as time-fillers in print shops. A few sheets could be run off, perhaps by apprentices who could be trusted with the type-setting of a simple broadside, whilst a more complicated work was in preparation. However, the pressures under which the Oxford print shops were

⁵⁴ *Mr Hampdens Speech* (m/s 23 March 1642/3), w/l, 669.f.6(122). *A Panegyrick* (1646), w/l, There were very few polemical royalist broadside ballads before 1647. All the known white-letter broadsides are listed above. In black letter the following attacked those who attacked the King: Humphrey Crouch, *My Bird is a Roundhead* (1642); *The Highway Hector* {1642} and [...] *a parson of the parish* {1642}. These ballads all deplored the coming of war and blamed puritan extremists and sinfulness but not Parliament. *The Valiant Commander* {1645}, a rare war ballad, is only known in a later reprint.

⁵⁵ *The Sence of the Oxford-Iunto* (m/s 6 March 1644/5), w/l, 669.f.10(120). See Blair Worden, 'Wit in a Roundhead. The Dilemma of Marchamont Nedham' in Amussen and Kishlansky, *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995).

⁵⁶ The former discussed above, the latter below.

⁵⁷ Bernard Capp, *The World of John Taylor* (Oxford, 1994), p. 152.

operating may help to explain the shortage of traditional populist, royalist, print products, and especially the silence from Martin Parker as balladeer, after his initial London-based ballad campaigns against the Scots in 1640-1641. It is believed that Parker left to join the King in 1642 and was involved in writing for his cause.⁵⁸ However, the royalist propaganda machine (to the extent that it was as constructed as that) concentrated on official material and the pamphlet and the emerging newsbook markets. It was not until after the first war had ended and the more numerous London presses were once again available to royalist writers that a royalist black-letter ballad campaign was re-ignited.

Access to the press may have been only one reason why royalists made poor use of the ballad press. Traditional balladeers, their publishers and we must assume their audience, feared popery and loved the institution of parliament; this was a feature of political balladeering that had promoted parliament's cause during the war, and was to re-emerge unscathed in 1660. Parliament, like the ballad, was the voice of the people and it was depicted by balladeers throughout the 1640s as England's comfort, the healing hand, the agent of Providence and as a Protestant deliverer.⁵⁹ This weight of ballad opinion was discussed in a verse dialogue between Finch and Windebank called *Times Alteration* (1641). It depicted a (winged) Finch with a motto 'who the Devil thought o' the parliament'. Finch replies to the

⁵⁸ *C&P*, pp. 20. On p. 24 Rollins states that 'Mr Finis', the autograph on a number of white-letter broadsides during the war, 'is possibly to be identified with Martin Parker'.

⁵⁹ Some examples of ballads praising parliament: Black-Letter: 1640: *The Subjects Glory or the Kings going to Parliament* (RI2548, 20 March 1640); *Englands Comfort or the Subjects Prayer* (RI689, 23 March 1640); *Englands Comfort Revived* (RI690, 4 November 1640); *England Upon the mending hand* (RI687, 25 November 1640); *Englands Rejoicing* (RI7113, April 1640). 1641: *Englands Comfort Revived* (RI 691, 11 January 1641); *Comfort of the Commons of England* (RI332, 11 January 1641); *Englands Cure after a Lingerin Sicknes* (RI692, 11 January 1641). 1643: *A Warning to all Priests and Jesuites* (1643), b/l, Ashm.H23(47): 'our discreet parliament'; Robert White, *The Prentices Resolution* {1643}, b/l, Ashm.H23(54): 'Parliament stands for Englands Glory'. White-letter: 1641: Francis Mussell, *Good Newes for All True Hearted Subjects* (1641), w/l, BL.C20.f.2(10), praises the parliament as deliverer; *The Organs Eccho* (1641), w/l+w/c, 669.f.4(32): 'parliament found out his knaverie'. 1642: *Thanks to the Parliament* (1642), w/l, 669.f.6(30): 'wise assembly ... men whom we did chuse ... feign would set us free'; *The Bishops Last Goodnight* (1642), w/l+w/c, 669.f.4(61): 'How dare you be so bold / To have the Parliament by you contrould'; Humphrey Crouch, *A Godly Exhortation* (1642): 'men despise good government/ and spurn against the parliament'. 1645: Thomas Herbert, attrib., *A Prognostication upon W. Laud* (1645), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(18): 'the commonalty have made a vow/ no oath no cannons to allow'; *Common Observation upon these Times* (1645), w/l, 669.f.10(31): 'If that the house continues still/ to punish those that have done ill.'

escaped Windebank's question of 'What news?' by telling him 'You and I have been/ the best benefactors to the ragged Regiment of Poets that ever came since Noah's Flood ... more impressions of several kinds of lamentable ballads and pamphlets ([have been] made upon us two) than ever was of the Practice of Piety or Crums of Comfort'.⁶⁰

By attacking the 'hero' parliament, and failing to use the ballad as a tool, royalists showed that they were uncomfortable with using or hearing the people's voice, and this provoked anti-cavalier ballad responses. Indeed, royalist (and later Tory) discourse favoured silence over the expression of popular political opinion.⁶¹ Laud had even attempted to suppress Martin Parker's anti-Scots ballads in 1640. Royalists believed the use of the press had been a rebel tool, as of course it had. The publication of parliament's debates and the whipping up of popular support in London had been a shock that drove many into the royalist camp. Puritans were said to preach from the press: in 1643 *Mr Hampdens Speech* declared, 'all our divinity is news'.⁶² Long before L'Estrange's famous dictum that "'Tis the Press that has made 'em mad and the Press must set 'um right again', many attacks on the press had been launched by royalists, but always in more sophisticated forms.⁶³ Until the war was ended, royalists clearly felt the ballad press was a forum in which they did not wish to debate. After the war, Firth suggested, it was the only forum left open to them.⁶⁴

iii. The Tyranny of 'little popes' and 'cavvies': 1640-1646

After the King had suffered defeat against the Scots in 1640, Martin Parker's ballads tried to argue that the real threat of oppression to the English commonwealth was by the invasion of 'vaunting Scots', self-seeking 'muck-worms', who like vagrants were strangers that burdened

⁶⁰ *Times Alteration* (1641), w/l+w/c, 669.f.4(5).

⁶¹ See, for example, *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) drinks good sack and is free from treason* (1663), b/l, Pepys IV.243 and *Englands Triumph or the Subjects Joy* [between 1666 and 1675], b/l, Euing 102.

⁶² *Mr Hampdens Speech* (1643).

⁶³ Quoted in Joad Raymond, 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century', in *idem, News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999), p. 109.

⁶⁴ C.H. Firth, 'The Royalists Under the Protectorate', *English Historical Review*, 52 (1937), pp. 634 - 648.

the state with their ‘lowance which is much’.⁶⁵ These rebels with ‘suttle wiles’ and fair pretences to beguile’s’, had refused to accept the fair redress for their complaints offered by the King who ‘doth seeke their weale/ with perfect zeale’. Other anti-Scots ballads defamed their credit and accused them of greedy pillaging.⁶⁶ However, despite the obvious attraction of such arguments to the usually xenophobic English, and the undoubted popularity of Martin Parker as a balladeer, it was another interpretation of events that generated most ballads.

Pro-Scots ballads depicted the Scots as Protestant deliverers who, since the King had failed to trust his parliament, the authority usually entrusted with ridding the state of the popish threat, had come to rescue England from infection by parasitic papists. Balladeers did not accuse Charles himself of tyranny, but turned on his hated ministers, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and Archbishop Laud, as agents of tyranny who had deluded the King, and who behaved as tyrants themselves within their own sphere. The idea of ministerial tyrants was not new to popular print and accusations levied against the King’s ministers in ballads of the 1640s were based on a number of earlier models. In 1640 *The Subjects Thankfulness* compared the ‘projectors and papists’ now ruining the state to Henry VII’s notorious ministers Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley and to Giles Mompesson, indicted for corruption as a projector in 1620. *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* compared Laud to Cardinal Wolsey, another great ecclesiastical tyrant of popular history.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ *The Twelve Brave Bells of Bow* {1649}, b/l, MB.II(14).

⁶⁶ Martin Parker, *Good Newes from the North* (1640), b/l, Wood 401(133); *idem*, *A True Subjects Wish* (1640), b/l, Wood 401(141); *idem*, *Newes from Newcastle* (1640), b/l, MB.I(1); [Untitled]{1643?}, b/l, MB.II(30b).

⁶⁷ *The Subjects Thankfulness: or, God-A-Mercie Good Scot* (1640), b/l, EEBO/BL; *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641), b/l, Ashm.H23(42); BL.1475.c8. Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley were Henry VII’s ‘hatchet men’, notorious for taking money in dues from defaulting gentry and executed by Henry VIII in 1510, largely as a means to gain popularity: see New DNB entries by M.M. Condon and S. J. Gunn. Mompesson’s career as a ‘projector’ who used his monopoly to force alehouses and vintners to pay for licences was recorded in *The Deserued Downfall of a Corrupted Conscience Degraded from all Authority and Titles of Knighthood* (1621), b/l, Pepys I.142. The entry in the new Oxford DNB by S. Lee (rev. Sean Kelsey) points out that Empson’s and Mompesson’s names had been linked in the 1620s because the Lords had used Empson’s indictment as a precedent in the proceedings against him. Their names were also linked in a pamphlet, Anon., *The Description of Giles Mompesson Late Knight Censured by Parliament the 17th of March AO 1620* (1620) and a popular anagram on Mompesson’s name was ‘No Empsons’.

Aristotle had argued that tyrants usurped power from established kingship, through force or fraud, by acquiring honours, or by demagogic means. Tyrants, he said, were motivated by pride and ambition, seeking pleasure and wealth for themselves. Unlike hereditary monarchs, they had no noble virtues. Unlike virtuous rulers, who aimed to protect 'the owners of possessions against injustice, [and] the people against any ill-treatment', tyrants had no concern for the commonweal.⁶⁸ In 1641 *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* claimed that Laud had usurped power through fraud, and showed Laud confessing he had let 'Popish Wolves in'.⁶⁹ In the same year John Lookes celebrated the return to virtuous government 'Since no Canterbury/ Nor old woman's tale/ or dissimulation/ will credited be.'⁷⁰ In *Good Newes for all Good Hearted Subjects* (1641) the King's councillors were dismissed as 'ill members' of 'Church and common-weal'.⁷¹ Several ballads attacked the royalists as 'dissemblers', and their actions as 'knaveries'. The illustrated, white-letter execution ballad *A Prognostication upon Laud* (1645) went much further. It claimed that Laud 'did rule the King and the country sway', so that 'The King by hardening to your charmes/ Hugd our destruction in his armes/ and gates to foes did ope.'⁷² This tyrant had tried to 'oretop the state'.⁷³ Laud and his Bishops had 'tread on our nobles to trample them down/ to set up their mitres above the Kings crowne', according to *The Subjects Thankfulness*.⁷⁴ In 1640 Strafford too had usurped power through piling up honours, and by force of arms in Ireland.⁷⁵

⁶⁸ *Politics*, p. 335.

⁶⁹ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641), b/l, "'Twas I that lately made a way/ For Popish wolves to suck thy blood, / 'Twas I that should have beene thy stay, /But ever did more harme then good'.

⁷⁰ John Lookes, *Good admonition, Or, Keep thy head on thy shoulders, and I will keepe mine*. (1641/2), b/l, MB.II(48). Tinkler, *Cicero*: 'Fraud is divided into money, promising, dissimulation, increased haste [and] lying.' (See web page reference, fn 6 above).

⁷¹ Mussell, *Good Newes for all Good Hearted Subjects* (1641).

⁷² *A Prognostication upon Laud* (1645).

⁷³ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641).

⁷⁴ *The Subjects Thankfulness* (1640).

⁷⁵ L[Laurence] P[rice], *The True Manner of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641), b/l, BL.C20.f.2(8): He 'Rose to great dignitie,/ and was beloved' by the King who 'Grac't him in many a thing,/ And did much honour bring/ on his proceedings'. A list of all his positions and titles follows. He 'overcame by might, /Our Kings good subjects.'

Ballads accused both men of self-interest, seeking their own wealth and advancement rather than that of the commonweal, paralleling Aristotle's discussion. Laud is made to admit, 'Ambitious thoughts my mind did sway,' while Strafford had sought in Ireland 'a place of great command/ to raise his fortunes' until 'ambition caus'd his fall.'⁷⁶ Neither man was possessed of noble virtues. *Canterburies Conscience* pointed out that position was no indication of virtue:

Greatnesse with goodnesse seldome meet,

He is not alwaies good that's great:

Where wit and grace each other greet,

That makes a gentleman compleat.

In the ballad Laud admitted that Justice had found his 'grace too light', and that he had 'a cunning tongue' rather than 'an honest heart'. The Earl of Strafford (deliberately reduced to Sir Thomas Wentworth in *The True Manner*), had 'acted mischief' and 'false treachery against King and Country.' His only attribute was 'cruelty possesst [in a] black polluted brest.' The ballad declared, 'He rul'd with Tyranny,/ and dealt most cruelly,/ To men in misery.'⁷⁷

Tyrants represent the antithesis of justice. Aristotle had said that a tyrant 'wants his subjects to have no mutual confidence, no power and little spirit'.⁷⁸ Oppression and arbitrary government offered ways to obtain this end since it was the dispensation of law which gave each man liberty, rights and independence. Both Charles's ministers had failed to rule by or defend ancient 'natural' law and rights.⁷⁹ In *Canterburies Conscience* Laud confessed:

⁷⁶ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641): 'As I did sway faire Englands lawes, /Which made the people daily say /I favour'd not an honest cause. /My power was so mighty growne, /As if it would oretop the State.' 'justice brought down my pride'; P[rice], *The True Manner of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641).

⁷⁷ P[rice], *The True Manner of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641).

⁷⁸ *Politics*, p. 347.

⁷⁹ See *Politics*, p. 227, on law as a mean and the superiority of customary law.

How oft have *I* the lawes abus'd,
My mighty power who durst withstand,
The innocent was still accus'd.

Laud had threatened Judges, and had set up his 'High inquisition Court' - tarring the High Commission with popery - in order to rule by whim not law:

Because that I would have my will,
against all reason right and law
I rul'd the law, the law not me.

In similar vein Strafford had attempted to subvert the known laws. 'New lawes he sought to make' in Ireland, 'against all reason/ he did our lawes abuse/ and many men misuse'. He had, claimed the balladeer, 'done thousands wrong', he had cast people in prison, and instead of defending the law he had 'wrong'd his Countryes right.'⁸⁰

Even though they were gone by 1641, these vicious rulers had encouraged vice to enter the state, generating passion, confusion, disorder and disunity. In 1643 a series of ballads warned of the continuing threat of popery and tyranny. *A Warning to all Priests and Jesuits* pointed out that the 'Kingdom's rage' had been brought about by 'Our Little Pope', while another ballad blamed papist bishops and cavaliers who had already planned to carve up London between themselves.⁸¹ Robert White, an apprentice who produced a call-up ballad for the Earl of Essex, *The Prentices Resolution* and another ballad *England's Doubtfull Hopes*, argued in the first that the gospel was under threat from Catholic cavaliers, while the second claimed, 'If Faith and Truth were joynd hand in hand' then 'King and Parliament would be one' and people's 'Heads full of joys', instead of which country people 'were opprest, ready to despair'.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641); P[rice], *The True Manner of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641).

⁸¹ *A Warning to all Priests and Jesuites* (1643); [Untitled] {1643}, b/l, MB.II(47): 'The Cavaliers so well prepar'd/ Already they have London shard/ Some Lumbard street, and some cheap-side/ and all rich places eke bedside,/ to cut our throates is their intent'.

⁸² White, *The Prentices Resolution* (1643); *idem*, *England's Doubtfull Hopes* (1643), b/l, Ashm.H23(65).

Aristotle had claimed that tyrants sought to 'stir up strife' between people to retain their own power and, sure enough, ballads claimed that enmity between King and parliament and between English and Scot had been brought about by these tyrants, who envied the unity and peace of the united Protestant state. In *Canterburies Conscience*, Laud confessed, 'Twas I that mov'd the King of late/ To take up armes Against the Scots'.⁸³ *The Prentices Resolution* (1643) alleged that while cavaliers aimed to 'ruinate' parliament, apprentices would stand for a unified government, the 'glory of the King and Parliaments good', and would fight for 'our King and Countries right'.⁸⁴ Celebrating the beheading of Strafford, the balladeer now hoped that 'England and Scotland/ might joyne hand in hand.' *A Prognostication upon Laud* in 1645 claimed 'your lewd life/ did fill the church and state with strife/ and trample on the crown.'⁸⁵

Aristotle had warned that tyrants seeking to prevent the development of independent and right-thinking men would also attack education, prevent gatherings of people and use spies. This was precisely what *Alas Poore Scholar* (1640) thought had happened. The ejected scholar in the ballad complained that university men had been corrupted by their need 'to please our English Pope'.⁸⁶ As a result their learning had lost all credibility. In the ballad the scholar complains that women jeered him and preferred a different kind of scholarship; 'I preached with a weaver/ I quouted Austine he quoted Dodd and Cleaver/ I got nothing - him a cloke and Bever'.⁸⁷ In *Canterburies Conscience* Laud admits that as censor of the press he had put down Protestant writers and had licensed books that were 'ladders to climbe to popery.' Popish tyranny had put the soul of the nation at risk. Laud had also persecuted the French and Dutch Churches in exile, complained the balladeer, though 'I know good protestants they are,/ good subjects to the King likewise.' The woodcut on this ballad showed

⁸³ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641).

⁸⁴ White, *The Prentices Resolution* (1643).

⁸⁵ Lookes, *Good admonition, Or, Keep thy head on thy shoulders* (1641), celebrating the beheading of Strafford, hoped that 'England and Scotland/ might joyne hand in hand'. *A Prognostication upon Laud* (1645) claimed 'your lewd life/ did fill the church and state with strife/ and trample on the crown'.

⁸⁶ *A Warning to all Priests and Jesuits* (1643) also referred to Laud as 'our little pope'.

⁸⁷ Robert Wilde, attrib., *Alas Poore Scholar* (1640), b/1, Rox.III.633. Rollins argues that this ballad was actually by Thomas Herbert, *C&P* p. 19, based on an accusation levied in *Mercuries Message Defended* (1641).

Laud riding from London to Rome.⁸⁸ *The Subjects Thankfulness* attacked 'projectors, promoters and informers', and the 'fierce riot and popery' that had been allowed to creep into the country.⁸⁹ Such projectors and promoters also suffered ballading. One illustrated, black-letter broadside attacking Alderman Abel, 'the main projector and patentee for the raising of wines', declared with heavy irony, 'He is (as it seems) a man generally belov'd ... for every man limnes his picture, and scarce any stationer in Towne, but has some Pamphlet, Sonnet or Ballet in his praise'.⁹⁰

Tyrants, Aristotle had declared, deliberately made the people poor, increasing their burdens, especially taxation, and making war in order to keep their power. In 1640 loyalist balladeers such as Martin Parker stressed the subject's obligation to pay his dues. The loyal subject would make both 'person and purse' available to the king for the good of England's honour and defence. However, most ballads claimed that Laud and Strafford had imposed unjust burdens on the people. The effect of these vicious rulers had been to impoverish the commonwealth, as *Thankes to the Parliament* pointed out: 'Poor children oft might want their bread/ by tricks they snatcht it from them'. It blamed papists for these burdens and enumerated them in detail:

With taxes, and Monopolies opprest,
Ship-mony, Souldiers, Knighthood and the rest,
The Coate and Conduct-mony was no jest,
Then think good neighbour how much we are blest.⁹¹

Ballads and broadsides frequently voiced grudges against this most universal experience of state. The level of the fiscal burden played a key part in the propaganda that could be brought to bear against the state, as Robert Ashton has pointed out.⁹² In ballads too it was an important

⁸⁸ The same woodcut appeared on a number of pamphlets.

⁸⁹ *The Subjects Thankfulness* (1640). See also [*Untitled*], {1641}, b/l, MB.II(52a); *Alas Said the Papist, now wee must depart* (1640), b/l, MB.II(49b).

⁹⁰ A. H., *An Exact Legendary* (1641), w/l, 669.f.4(15). This is a prose broadside.

⁹¹ *Thankes to the Parliament* (1642), w/l, 669.f.6(30).

⁹² Ashton, 'From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny', esp. pp. 190-98.

measure by which the state's virtue and its role in defending of the subject's liberties were judged.

However, though they had deluded the King, and for a while the people, neither Laud nor Strafford had succeeded in preventing the Scots from forcing Charles to call in the help of the just agent of Providence - Parliament, which alone could bring King and nation to their senses. As one ballad declared, the nation had been 'almost stupifyde in sence,/ yet now well awakened'.⁹³ A number of white-letter ballads attacked the King's ministers with anti-commonweal arguments. *Thanks to the Parliament* (1642) claimed that before parliament had been recalled things had become desperate: 'like silly sheepe they did us daily sheare ... so greedy were those caterpillars grown'. It recalled how, 'No hope, no helpe, noe comfort did appear, but from the great counsell of the King and the Kings great counsell ... Who did regard our poverty, our teares,/ our wants our miseries our many feares'.⁹⁴ Parliament, as the embodiment of reason and law, alone could redresse complaints by judging and removing the King's evil counsellors. *Judge Berkeley His Penitentiall Complaint* acknowledged, 'Just is my fate, as just the parliament'.⁹⁵ One ballad assured its audience, 'But now the parliament no doubt, these monsters will destroy'.⁹⁶ According to another, complaints about Strafford were universal, 'they him accuse/ quite through the Kingdom'.⁹⁷ In the black-letter *Canterburies Conscience*, though Laud's dissimulation had blinded the King, it did not blind the people's representatives. Laud admits, 'the Commons did complaine/and said I was the popes own sonne', and he goes on to confess, 'I have offended King and State,/ But the Parliament found out my plots'.⁹⁸

Parliamentarian broadside ballads argued that as long as the King was deluded by his ministers, resistance to their popish tyranny was justified and the only way to bring back

⁹³ Mussell, *Good Newes for All True Hearted Subjects* (1641).

⁹⁴ *Thanks to the Parliament* (1642).

⁹⁵ *Judge Berkeley His Penitentiall Complaint* (1641), w/l, BB.C40.m11(4).

⁹⁶ *The Lofty Bishop, the Lazy Brownist and the Loyal Author* (1640), w/l, Rox.III.712.

⁹⁷ P[rice], *The True Manner of the Life and death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641).

⁹⁸ *Canterburies Conscience Convicted* (1641).

virtuous government, however long this might take. In November 1640 one ballad title claimed to find *England on the mending Hand* but in 1643, on the other hand, 'Prentices' were 'Still hoping long look't for, / will come at the last, / And times at more certaine, / we shortly will see.'⁹⁹ Though the tyrants were gone, one executed and one imprisoned, their followers still threatened the state. Virtuous men needed to exercise their reason and take action to attack vice and usher in virtue. *The Prentice's Resolution* warned that 'Cavaliers are bent ... to ruinate our parliament' with 'their haughty pride' and 'old nick their guide'. The ballad explained that, 'Religion must be perfect pure, / then God will he unite us.' The answer was for 'Such men as have been faithfull, / To God King, State and Land', to rise up willingly against those who still threatened England's virtue. This was why, the ballad declared, 'All kindes of tradesman more and lesse, / their voluntary minds expresse, / they'll stand for England's glory'.¹⁰⁰

Despite the promise of *Englands Cure after a Lingerin Sicknes* (1641), the 'good intents' of the 'Prentices' in 1643, and the assurance of William Starbuck's *Spirituell Song of Comfort* (1644) that their godly cause was 'just and equall', more and more balladeers came to feel during the war that the cure was proving worse than the disease, and to wonder whether it was a cure at all.¹⁰¹ *The Western Husbandman* (1644) complained of the misuse and abuse of his goods and chattels by both 'Roundheads and Cabballeero's', and doubted that this was a battle for the subject's freedom from tyranny: 'A Pox upon't, they call it vree, / Chim sure they make us slaves to be, / And every rogue our master'. As so often, it was left to the clown to speak the truth.¹⁰²

By the end of 1646 the war was over but as yet the King had not returned to government. Balladeers had never attacked the King, only the tyrants who had deluded him;

⁹⁹ *England on the mending Hand* (RI687, 25 November 1640); White, *Englands Doubtfull Hopes* (1643).

¹⁰⁰ White, *The Prentices Resolution* (1643).

¹⁰¹ *Englands Cure after a Lingerin Sicknes* (RI692, 11 January 1641); William Starbuck, *Spirituell Song of Comfort* (m/s 15 March 1644), w/l, 669.f.8(47).

¹⁰² *The Western Husbandmans Lamentation* (m/s 14 March 1645), w/l, 669.f.10(19).

they had balladed against tyranny to open the King's and people's eyes and to restore a virtuous kingly government. However, until the King was returned to his rightful place virtuous government could not be restored. As long as the rightful King was kept from his place at the heart of the nation, the body politic was unable to thrive and still vulnerable to vice. A sure sign of the nation's continuing sinfulness came as the country now faced hunger.¹⁰³ *Strange Newes From Brotherton in Yorke-shire* (1646) reminded its audience that Providence had kept Charles safe 'wherever he did go' from the time he had gone to Spain as Prince, up to the present day. Moreover, God had demonstrated his favour for kingly government by miraculously sending wheat to Oxford during the war, and now to Brotherton. It cited authorities and proofs: 'honest men of good renown [had] brought some of the wheat to London'.¹⁰⁴ This ballad appealed to one of the most ingrained aspects of the moral economy in controlling hunger - the role of good government, sin and repentance in coping with dearth.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, *Alas Poore Trades-man* (1646) complained of the absence of good government, to help trade flourish and to 'nourish us'. There was a 'need for Lords and Gentry in the countrey', it argued. Distraction by war and disunity had brought about hardship and 'London's long vacation', while the actions of war - 'digging and ramming' - could not grow 'scarce corn' or defend the 'poorest sort from famine'. It argued that there had been an excess of hope: 'in hopes of peace ourselves have deluded/ that on our store so far have intruded'. Hope was not enough, and only a final peace and full restoration of virtue to the state could save the country from hunger. The *Poore Trades-man's* complaint that 'all things is out of order' and that 'people know not/ by whom they should be guided/ It is too great a matter/ for me to be decided', implied that the blame for bringing faction, vice and hunger

¹⁰³ See, for example, David Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 122-23, on devastation caused by war in the county, and Donald Pennington, 'The War and the People' in Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War*, pp.115-36.

¹⁰⁴ *Strange Newes From Brotherton in Yorke-shire* {1646/??}, b/1, MB.II(39).

¹⁰⁵ John Walter and Keith Wrightson, 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 71 (1976), pp. 22-42.

needed to be re-apportioned. Who were 'the causers of this separation' who had 'bred civil wars' and brought so much woe to England?¹⁰⁶

iv. **Penitent Traitors: The Tyranny of Parliament 1647-1653**

When slaves are turned princes, no tyrants so evil

When beggars are mounted they ride to the devil

No souls so insulting as such sordid slaves

As climb to preferment on honest mens graves.¹⁰⁷

Though royalist pamphlet propaganda had used the language of tyranny throughout the war, it was not until 1647 that balladeers changed their tune and began to accuse Parliament rather than papists of tyrannical rule.¹⁰⁸ Like the pigs in Orwell's *1984*, the Protestant deliverers had begun to act and look just like the tyrants they had overthrown.¹⁰⁹ The same Aristotelian analysis of tyranny, used against papists and cavaliers, was now applied to the actions of parliament.¹¹⁰ Parliament's seizure of power from the King was depicted as usurpation by fraud and force, and the nature of their government was shown to display all the criteria of tyranny; indeed, as time went on, theirs was seen to be a far worse tyranny than ever Charles I's government had been accused of.

Most black-letter accusations of parliamentary tyranny were only made after the Commonwealth regime had fallen in 1653, and even more appeared after Restoration in 1660, but there were a few earlier ballad complaints. Two black-letter ballads stand out. Neither was traditional in format, both were densely printed without woodcuts and both were obtained in

¹⁰⁶ *Alas Poore Trades-man what shall we do?* (1646), b/l, MB.I(38). Other lamentations were published in the immediate post-war years: *Distracted Englands Lamentation* (Reg, 2 July 1646); *The Lovely London Lasse Long Lamenting for a Husband* (RI1578 22 December 1647).

¹⁰⁷ *Holland Turn'd To Tinder or Englands Third Great Royal Victory* (1666), b/l, Euing 134.

¹⁰⁸ This change took place from 1646 in surviving white-letter ballads.

¹⁰⁹ As mentioned above, this change may partly have been because new royalist writers now had access to the London presses and could not easily print in other forms such as news-books. However, the imprisonment and execution of the King emasculated the political ballad form, which as we have seen was entirely predicated upon monarchical government. Ballads *could not* be sung about republican government - this would require a revolutionary new form.

¹¹⁰ *Politics*, p. 334, explains that tyranny is a 'compound of extreme oligarchy and democracy'; p. 342 describes the oligarchic or 'distributed tyranny'.

June 1647 by George Thomason. *The Penitant Traytor* (1647) appears to have originated as a manuscript attack on 'a Devonshire gentleman', probably John Pym (though he is not named in either version), in 1641.¹¹¹ However, in a thinly veiled disguise, which included marginal notes relating to historical events of the thirteenth century, the black-letter version of 1647 claimed in its preamble to be the confession of a rebel against Henry III in 1267. The penitent traitor in the ballad acknowledges that he had used fraud to gain power. Motivated by self-interest, pride and ambition, he admits to using religion as 'a cloak' because 'I did know the state would not admit/ such change unless the Church did usher it.' He had perpetrated his deceit in an 'angels shape' with 'fair seeming piety', had obtained his original place in parliament through 'coyne and cogging [to] get peoples voyces' and had persuaded the commons by 'publish[ing] fictions'. The deluded people did not unite, they 'conglutinated'. This deceit had left the state vulnerable to tyranny since 'Law and equity stood in awe of violence', and, as the ballad explained, once parliament had obtained the means to wield force, it had used this to maintain power.

A New Ballad Called A Review of the Rebellion (m/s 15 June 1647), perhaps by Thomas Jordan, eschewed all disguise and in four, dense, black-letter columns offered its readers 'the Historie of your present State' and the 'tragedy/ of this poore Church and common-wealth.' It explained that the state had been defrauded by parliament and defended the King's government from accusations of tyranny. Britain must now awake, it said, from her 'six yeares dream'. The balladeer urged, 'Listen to this dear bought theame/ you fast asleep were lulde/ by what magick spells so gullde'. The King had been no tyrant but a virtuous ruler, loved and loving, with the good of the commonweal at heart.¹¹² 'When Charles

¹¹¹ *The Penitant Traytor, or the humble confession of a Devonshire gentleman, who was condemned for high treason, and executed at Tyborne ... 19 July 1267* (m/s 28 June 1647), b/1, no woodcut, 669.f.11(35). A version of this song entitled, 'The Penitent Traytor: The Humble Petition of a Devonshire Gentleman who was condemned for Treason and executed for the same Ann. 1641', was printed in *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times* (London, 1662), p. 52.

¹¹² *Ethics*, Book VIII, viii-xi, and Book IX, i., - on the need for the King to be loving if he is to be loved by his people.

first called this parliament/ He did it with a full intent/ Our grievances for to remove/ and to settle us in peace and love/ what'er we did desire/ 'twas but ask and have.' Instead, tragically, 'the freeborne is become a slave'. Parliament had gulled the 'Scots and Wee' into swearing to the National Covenant, 'Ne're after to keep faith and troath'. That the tyrannical parliament had eradicated 'Truth' (and therefore the true Gospel) from the virtuous state was a recurrent royalist theme.¹¹³

In 1647, as the dispute between army and parliament over pay and indemnity began to hot up, and as the army held out better terms to the King than had parliament, ballads tried to deal with the division of loyalties this problem presented. A black-letter almanac ballad, *Strange Prodictions (sic)* lurched from one admonition to another. It expressed a fear that parts of the army had been tempted to leave their 'first principall' - loyalty to the King. However, it also declared that 'The army (once so fear'd)/ Most gallant men have now appear'd/ By standing for Law and Liberty/ And continuance of the Monarchie'.¹¹⁴ *Strange Prodictions* urged the army to obey the Presbyterian order to disband, arguing that 'our Parliament/ disbands the army for our good/ to give the land content', and promised that army pay was coming 'on the 15th of the Month'.¹¹⁵ However, the army had lost faith in parliament's intention to deliver, and was soon to lose faith in the King. In July, *The Souldiers Sad Complaint* declaimed:

We that have spent

Our best of fortunes for a Parliament

¹¹³ Thomas Jordan, attrib., *A New Ballad called a Review of the Rebellion* (m/s 15 June), b/l, no woodcut, 669.f.11(21). *The Cryes Of Westminster. Or The Parliament Pedlar, With His Whole Pack Of Knavery Opened, And Set To Sale* (1648), w/l, 669.f.11(128) and C.175.e.2(8.) attacked 'Parliamentary Knavery', claiming that parliamentary publications would 'Surely unblind your eyes/ that you may read a hundred lyes'.

¹¹⁴ *Strange and Wonderful Prodictions (sic)* (1647), b/l, MB.II(40).

¹¹⁵ Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press, English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London, 1979), pp. 77-87, points out that concepts of tyranny and slavery were a common part of almanac discussion in the war and Interregnum. The Putney debates had revealed that the language of tyranny, slavery and liberty was rife throughout the ranks of the army, see e.g., Mark Kishlansky, 'Ideology and Politics in the Parliamentary Armies 1645-9', in Morrill (ed.), *Reactions to the English Civil War*, pp. 163-84 and A.S.P. Woodhouse (ed.), *Puritanism and Liberty Being the Army Debates (1647-49) From the Clarke Manuscripts* (1974).

we that have sweat in bloud, march'd o're the land
 and where our feet did tread our swords command ...
 when we make humble plea
 with empty entrailles, for our dear earn't pay
 (whilst your enlarded guts, and brawny sides
 Swine it with epicures, and stretch your hides
 with gloryy morsells) are we kickt away? ...
 Who gave your Senate being? The lawes their breath?
 Was 't not our bloud? Our hazarding of death?¹¹⁶

The strong connection between the ballad form and the army came to the fore. In 1647 nearly thirty ballads appeared; several depicted the army as much victim to parliamentary fraud as the people were, and all called for the King to return to power in London.¹¹⁷ *A Word in the Kings eare*, attributed to parliamentary pamphleteer Henry Walker, prayed for a restoration of the whole body politic: 'May King and parliament, and Army eke, / joyne hearts in one treangle (*sic*) as they speak'.¹¹⁸ Others attacked parliamentary failings;

¹¹⁶ *The Souldiers Sad Complaint* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(48).

¹¹⁷ 1647 was a year of many ballads and many newsbooks - see Joad Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 52-59, who points out that many were published in London. Twenty-seven political ballads, of which eight were in black-letter (three without woodcuts), and two verse broadsides remain for 1647. None was registered. Eighteen clearly supported the King, though some looked to Fairfax to bring about peace and a restoration. Many were expressly anti-Scots (even those that were pro-royal). Two, one black- and one illustrated white-letter, sang of parliament sympathetically. None was sympathetic to the City of London, which was attacked for not standing up to the army. The range of styles was wide. In black-letter two are loyal health ballads, two complaints against the excise on beer (but one with half-hearted, possibly mocking, support for the parliamentary government), one is a ballad almanac supporting the parliamentary Presbyterians. One is a pro-army, pro-King wonder story, one a 'history' of a 'projector' from 1267 and one a long attack on parliamentary government and the war. In white-letter two are loyalist mock litanies, one is an attack on sectarians; several are about the propositions put to the King for peace by the army in November, others anticipate (wrongly) the turning out of parliament by the army and the soon to be restored King. Twenty-two can be dated thanks to George Thomason's annotations. January (1) and February (1) as excise taxes were voted in, March (1), after the Scots had sold the King and the last Royalist stronghold had fallen. June (3) after the army mutinied, took the King and put their case against disbandment without pay or indemnity. July (1), Aug (7) and Sept (8) were published after the army's march into London and the attempt to reach a settlement with the King. In November (3) were written after propositions had been put to the King by parliament but apparently before 27 November when the King escaped and signed a new covenant with the Scots. Of the five others, three may have been issued in Jan (1), and Nov (2). The remaining two cannot be dated, but are probably from 1647.

¹¹⁸ Henry Walker, attrib., *A Word in the Kings eare* (1647), w/l+w/c, 669.f.11(78).

betrayed by their leaders, one ballad complained, 'Those good men that have sate seven yeares/ For to Reforme their nation/ The vulgar now them scoffes and jeers/ in an opprobrious fashion' and demanded the King's return and pay for the army.¹¹⁹ However, most of these 'scoffes and jeers' and calls for restoration were in white-letter, and only eight were in black-letter. Not until 1660 did a black-letter ballad offer a full retrospective interpretation of the role of the army, and their 'Good old Cause', as essentially loyalist. *The Covenant* (1660) claimed the army had acted 'to good intent' at the outset of the war, 'the true Cause for to maintain'. It pointed out that, 'By the parliament it was expressed/ Kingly rights for to maintain', and that the covenanters had pledged 'To defend the person of the King'. The army, it claimed, had fought for the general good as they were led to understand it by parliament's proclamations: 'the world they did persuade/ it was for th'subjects liberty', and so 'illuminations did us draw/ to fight for our freedom, and/ to keep our enemies in awe'. However, this was a fraud: 'the truth I do maintain/ It was onely for religion/ And opinions that were vain'. While the parliament had clearly acted 'for their private ends', the army had continuously 'feasted with good hopes' to 'bring home the King again'. Like others they had 'lost all that they had wone' and things had got out of hand because 'Great persons [had] dealt underhanded/ and deprived us of our pay'. The soldiers' actions could be forgiven because, as the ballad claimed, 'By poverty we were tormented.'¹²⁰

A tyrant, wrote Aristotle, 'does not look to the public interest at all ... the tyrant grasps at wealth'.¹²¹ Royalist balladeers now claimed that self-interest motivated the parliamentary leaders. *A Review* (1647) said parliament aimed to 'make [the] whole realm a monopoly'.¹²² *The Penitant Traytor* (1647) confessed that he and his accomplices had grown

¹¹⁹ *The Committee Mans Last Will and Testament* (m/s 2 Sept 1647), w/l, 669.f.11(73).

¹²⁰ *The Covenant, or No King but the Old King's Son* (1660), b/l, Euing 43. Even the hated Earl of Pembroke, in typical oath-filled style, was alleged to have repented his treason posthumously and denounced the 'cause' as a fraud in *Pembrokes Enaration, a little before his death*, (m/s 14 February 1650), w/l, 669.f.15(14): 'now the city they were bull'd to fight for Libertie/ For all the libertie that's to them left/Is that they are of all their wealth bereft'.

¹²¹ *Politics*, p. 335-36.

¹²² Jordan, attrib., *A Review of the Rebellion* (1647).

rich and bought land, and admitted his actions had brought no good either to souls or trading.¹²³ It may have been the sale of church lands, which enriched both MPs and city authorities, that suddenly sparked off the ballad campaign against the corruption of Parliament as rulers. In 1648, a white-letter ballad, *The Cryes of Westminster*, alleged that parliament had 'acted for riches' by 'selling bishops lands', and the sale of church lands was a frequent complaint against the Rump as balladeers looked back in 1660.¹²⁴

These parliamentary tyrants, ballads now began to argue, had abandoned and replaced the known ancient laws and had attacked rather than defended the liberties of England, which they had claimed to protect. *A Review* declared: 'our once renowned common law/ is made by votes not worth a straw'. Ordinances gave 'loyall hearts their deadly doome', and the state was now 'ruled by legislative power'. The liberty of the subject to participate voluntarily in the burdens of the state and to enjoy their own property in peace and security was gone, 'persons and purse [were] under a curse', and estates were charged 'at arbitrarie rates'. *A Review* complained that 'The State if in need bleeds us,/ ... though quite against the lawes'.¹²⁵

Aristotle had argued in his *Nichomachean Ethics* that only nobles possessed of sufficient wealth, through inheritance, could enjoy the upbringing, the freedom from care and the resources to be truly virtuous. Though not unchallenged, this was the prevailing view and an important ideological support to monarchy and aristocracy.¹²⁶ In the *Politics* Aristotle wrote that 'a King is created from among respectable men on account of his superiority in virtue or deeds of virtue, or the superiority of his virtuous family. The tyrant springs up from

¹²³ *The Penitant Traytor* (1647).

¹²⁴ *The Cryes of Westminster* (1648). See also *The Hunting of the Hare* (1660), b/1, Rox.III.202, Wood 402(79); there were very many editions of this ballad, the earliest printed by Francis Grove. Dates by BL and EEBO vary from 1635 to 1648. However, the ballad refers to the Rump and must have originated around 1660. *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping* (1660), b/1, Wood E25(21), Pepys II.209.

¹²⁵ Skinner, *Visions*, II, p. 315, points out that Cicero argued a man was enslaved by a tyrant, even if he had apparent freedom of action, if he was subject to the mere will of another and there was some possibility of coercion.

¹²⁶ See Skinner, *Visions* II, p. 224-36. *Ethics* Book 10 pt 9. Thomas More was directly challenging this view in *Utopia*.

the people.’¹²⁷ Tyrants, therefore, could have neither nobility nor virtue. Their actions were motivated by will rather than reason.¹²⁸

The ‘virtues’ of this tyrannical parliament, argued *A Review*, were to ‘hate all good’, ‘hugge all evill’, and to ‘laugh at conscience.’¹²⁹ Ballads sought to emphasise the vice of parliament by contrasting it with the virtues of the King, as in *The Pensive Prisoners Lamentation* (1648), another allegorical ballad set in the time of Edward II, but in fact the voice of Charles I in captivity. While parliament had shown their prisoner no mercy and offered him no means of defence, either against their charges ‘of horrid crimes which I never knew’, or the violence of his jailer, Charles claims he had always been merciful ‘when I was in full power’. Charles describes the tongues accusing him as ‘poysoning asps’ and ‘doble edged swords’, ‘as false as God is true’, and he bemoans his betrayal by the Scots who ‘(Like Judas) / false friends sould my life-away’.¹³⁰

By undermining virtuous government, parliament had encouraged vice affecting the head (reason), heart (love) and soul (truth and religion) of the nation. Parliament had reversed the meaning of reason (or law) and treason. *A Review* claimed they ‘vote all sence and reason that’s against them to be Treason’. In *The Penitiant Traytor*, parliament was condemned as being ‘devoid of sence’. They ‘do nothing that is just’ and they destroyed the virtue of a true parliament because they ‘pack elections as members decay’. How could the representative body, the seat of reason, have turned against itself? The people had ‘conquered yourselves’, argued *A Review*, which meant that ‘Our Liberty which cost so dear/ [is] lost.’ It told the people of England, ‘Your lawes, Religion Liberties,/ Reputation, Peace and Prosperity/ you might have had... but you fell starke mad’. Instead of love towards rulers and government by consent, ‘Feares and jealousies ... cheate us into chaines’.¹³¹ Followers, as *Colonel*

¹²⁷ *Politics*, p. 334.

¹²⁸ Will led man to the fulfilment of his low animal appetites, reason led him to a higher plane of virtuous fulfilment. See Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions*, chs 2 and 3; *Ethics*, Book III.

¹²⁹ Jordan, attrib., *A Review of the Rebellion* (1647).

¹³⁰ *The Pensive Prisoners Lamentation, being a breefe relation taken out of the cronacle of Edward the second, shewing what misery he endured* (1648), b/1, MB.II(5).

¹³¹ Jordan, attrib., *A Review of the Rebellion* (1647).

Rainsborowes Ghost (1648) admitted, 'serve the state for wealth and fame' and 'hated them that love the King.'¹³² The state was putting souls at risk, as another ballad pointed out, and 'vild sectaries fill the land with sin'. It argued 'this great confusion in the land/ about religion sure/ Do bring mens hearts to hainous sins/ for all they'r counted pure'. The despair of uncertainty had made 'some hang themselves'.¹³³ *A Review* argued that parliamentary government had led to 'schisme sedition and ignorance', and instead of caring for the commonweal, MPs 'starve peoples souls'. The Directory, the parliamentary substitute for the Book of Common Prayer, 'leaves us wholly in the lurch', with Lord's Prayer, Creed and the Ten Commandments all 'out quite', because 'our Synod does not want people to practice or believe aright'. The sale of church lands was benefiting only 'City Atheists', while the 'learned clergy were disgrac'd'. Instead of a religion that was 'purely taught and Protestant', there were now 'unlighted sects' and 'Brethren round' who were nothing but 'Lay Levites', and played the parts of 'The Pope or Parasite, the Turks or Jesuit'.¹³⁴

Parliament had destroyed the Church because, as Aristotle had pointed out, tyrants sought to prevent public gatherings where they might face criticism. Similarly, 'Plays and Playhouses were down' so that 'Two houses may act alone / each member with so much art plays the King'.¹³⁵ Parliament had not prevented private religious gatherings, the 'sects and separates' which 'crept in corners, private teaching, counsell keeping', because they welcomed division, that would prevent the people from rising against them. They had 'wink'd at tumults and at strange religions' in order to break up the Christian community.¹³⁶

¹³² *Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost, or, a true relation of the manner of his death, who was murdered in his bed-chamber at Doncaster, by three of Pontefract souldiers who pretended that they had letters from Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, to deliver unto him* (1648), b/1, 669.f.13(46).

¹³³ [...] *or a brief Relation of an Atheistical creature* (1649), b/1, MB.I(35).

¹³⁴ Jordan, attrib., *A Review of the Rebellion* (1647).

¹³⁵ See *The Cryes Of Westminster* (1648).

¹³⁶ *The Penitant Traytor* (1647). *The Downfall of Women Preachers, or, Mrs Abbigale upon her last Text* {1650-53}, b/1, MB.II(25) attacked 'private meetings' which, the author claimed, were detrimental to 'Christians that are well disposed'.

Tyrants needed to attack the virtuous if they themselves were to maintain power, especially notables and independent men who might lead the people.¹³⁷ The ultimate example of this was the trial and execution of the King. Accusations of tyranny filled the presses, in broadsides and pamphlets.¹³⁸ One anonymous pamphlet, *The English Tyrants* explained the whole history of the parliament since 1640 as a deliberate establishment of tyranny by deluding the people of England, creating jealousies and fears and concluded that this parliament had committed the same 'Treasons for which Strafford and Canterbury lost their heads'. The purged parliament had 'encroached a Tyrannical and lawlesse power to themselves' altering the 'fundamentall laws and Government', and all for 'self end'.¹³⁹ Faced with the execution, balladeers were forced to find a line between their traditional functions of shaming traitors and unalloyed loyalty to the crown. Royalist charges of tyranny and the parliamentary defence of public liberties appeared side by side in *The True Manner of the Kings Trial*, a traditional black-letter ballad, openly registered in 1656 and perhaps printed earlier.¹⁴⁰ The text was laid out in terms of charge and defence. The 'high court of justice', it explained, represented the 'commons of the land'. The King was accused of 'Murther, Treason and Tyranny', and of being 'to the Land a Publick enemy'. He had tried, 'The Peoples rights and Liberties [to] inthrall'. However, Charles denies he was a tyrant. He claims, 'It was for my people's freedom I did stand/ The Liberty and Laws of all the Land.' He had 'ne'er thought ill' of parliament or threatened its privileges. The ballad offered no

¹³⁷ *Politics*, p. 336.

¹³⁸ See, for example, *His Maiesties Declaration to all his Subiects of the Kingdome of England ... on 23 Oct 1649 from Isle of Jersey* (1649), w/l prose broadside, 669.f.14(91): 'under the iron rod of an insolent multitude Tyrannical and unjust power now exercised over them ... the heavy burthens and taxes they now groane under ... the ancient liberties and Freedome of the English Nation ... have by violence imposed upon the People of England a new Yoake of popular Tyranny, to the utter subversion of their Lawes and Liberties'. A white-letter broadside listing the Regicides was entitled *Tyrants Tryumphant, or, The high court of state* (m/s 28 June 1649), 669.f.14(47).

¹³⁹ Anon., *The English Tyrants. Or, A brief historie of the lives and actions of the high and mighty states, the lords of Westminster, and now (by usurpation) Kings of England. Containing all their rebellious and traitorous proceedings and transactions in Parliament. With their levying of war, and bloody practices against their sovereign, their sinister and military designs to alter and subvert the fundamentall government in church and commonwealth, by destroying monarchy, and making themselves free-states, by the power of the sword. Continued from the first convention of this Parliament, 1640. untill the Kings death, Jan. 30. 1648.* (m/s 14 August 1649).

¹⁴⁰ For a full discussion of the King's execution ballads see above, ch. 2.

final judgement, but it did not seek to shame the King, and concluded with emotional renditions of the King's final moments with his family and at the scaffold, and with his final prayers for England.¹⁴¹ Other balladeers were less wary of making their views known. *The Kings Last Speech*, unregistered, claimed that Charles I was 'condemned to dye by tyranny.'¹⁴² In *King Charles His Speech*, perhaps intended as an address to the army ranks, Charles asserts that he strove with Parliament 'but for his owne' since 'the Militia in mine hand/ was granted by the Land', but that parliament had demanded 'the keeping of the same'.¹⁴³ Though up to 1649 Charles had been a failure as a ballad hero, his execution was depicted as the ultimate act of tyranny. Now he was gone, *The True Manner of the Kings Trial* observed, 'God doth know what courses we shall steer.'¹⁴⁴

Without virtue at the helm, there could be no justice or peace. *Englands Monthly Predictions* (1649) complained bitterly of bad officers and justices of the peace. 'If men in authority justly did deal', it lamented, 'Sweet peace would ensue unto this commonweal', but this was unlikely for, 'Noblemens Honours be almost forgot.'¹⁴⁵ Cruelty and discredit were features of the tyrannical state. It was no longer conscience, equity or reason but money and wit that could obtain justice from the state, argued royalist ballads. Some reconfigured old stories of miserly usurers and pitiless maltmen into attacks on cheating roundheads.¹⁴⁶ In *The Credit of Yorkshire*, the wife of a cavalier imprisoned in 'Pomfret castle' has been forced to pay for her husband's liberty and takes revenge by tricking the jailer. However, it remained important to keep the moral high ground. Royalists, the *Credit of Yorkshire* claimed, 'play our

¹⁴¹ *The True Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminster-Hall, by the High Court of Justice* (RI2727 12 March 1656), b/l, Euing 357, Wood 401(145). Wood's edition, published by Francis Coles, may have been printed earlier.

¹⁴² Humphrey Crouch, attrib., [Simpson], *The Kings Last Speech at his time of Execution as he made upon the scaffold* [between 1649 and 1671], b/l, Pepys II.203.

¹⁴³ *King Charles His Speech and Last Farewell to the World* {1649}, b/l, MB.II(54a).

¹⁴⁴ *The True Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminster-Hall, by the High Court of Justice* ({1649}, 1656).

¹⁴⁵ *Englands Monthly Predictions for this Present Yeare 1649* (1649), b/l, MB.II(44).

¹⁴⁶ *The Fame, Wit and Glory of the West, Here in this Song shall fully be Exprest* {1649}, b/l, MB.I (53).

games so fairly we care not who do see' and although 'cavaliers are poor they by their wits must [bubble]/ but let them still be honest.'¹⁴⁷

The fabric of virtuous, orderly, consensual and local government had been destroyed. One of the aspects of tyranny Aristotle had spelt out was that flatterers, 'tittle tattle women' and the 'baser sort' would become dominant.¹⁴⁸ The emergence of women and the lesser sort into the public sphere was an increasing focus for balladeers. The women who had contributed to the funding of Essex's army with bodkins and thimbles were castigated, while the preaching of women depicted in *The Downfal of Women Preachers* {1650s?} revealed all the latent anxieties of disordered gender roles and mutual vulnerability to sin.¹⁴⁹ It related the story of 'Grandam Evah' who 'enticed Adam', so that he 'Did give consent and was content/ the Law with her to be breaking/ thus wives makes husbands to repent'. Promoting the virtues of silence and modesty in women, 'wayting on household' and 'inclin[ing] to husbands teaching', the balladeer accused women preachers of approving 'carnal copulation'. The ballad points out that 'our wise and gravest citizens/ did to the Parliament petition' to put down all these sects.¹⁵⁰

Ballads also denounced the low-born tyrants appearing in local as well as national government.¹⁵¹ They complained about the committees that 'keep peace in the shire ... over gentry and clownes' and that 'Reformation, like Popery ridden like an asse', had led to the

¹⁴⁷ Charles Hamond, *The Credit of Yorkshire, or, The Glory of the North* (1649), b/1, MB.I(6).

¹⁴⁸ *Politics*, pp. 345-6.

¹⁴⁹ See *Cryes of Westminster* (1648); *Law Lies a bleeding* (1659); *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping* (1660): 'old wives who on good troth/ lent thimbles to ruine the nation'. Thomas May, *The History of the Parliament of England, which began November the third, MDCXL* (1647), p. 97: 'The Parliament at that time were very able to raise Forces, and arm them well, by reason of the great masse of Money and Plate which to that purpose was heaped up in *Guild-hall*, and daily increased by the free Contribution of those that were well-affected to the Parliament Cause: where not onely the wealthiest Citizens and Gentlemen who were neer-dwellers, brought in their large bags and goblets; but the poorer sort, like that widow in the Gospel, presented their mites also; insomuch that it was a common Jeer of men disaffected to the Cause, to call it the Thimble and Bodkin-Army.' See *A Humble Petition of Women* (m/s May 1649), w/1 prose broadside, 669.f.14(27) which claimed they were equal with men in the right to petition and hoped by 'weak means to work mighty effect'.

¹⁵⁰ *The Downfall of Women Preachers or Mrs Abbigale upon her Last Text* {1650-53}.

¹⁵¹ On this aspect of government see e.g., John Morrill, *Revolt of the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War 1634-1648* (2nd Edn, 1999), and Underdown, *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum*.

suppression of the church courts.¹⁵² Other ballads complained that apprentices had been ‘made free men’ by parliament, so they could join ‘the wittalls that them guard’ [the trained bands].¹⁵³ Before the King was dead *The Honest Mans Immaginary Dreames* (1648) had contemplated an England where ‘there was no need of committee, /Promoters or Messengers of State.’ However, the quality and standing of officers had become so contentious that one ballad told the tale of a man who sought office so he could prevent young people from marrying unless they were branded first (incidentally very like the ballad story of Queen Eleanor). The balladeer feared that if a man like this did get into office his ‘tyrant hand’ would be like a ‘tyger’. England was in danger of being run by beasts, not men.¹⁵⁴

The reward of virtuous government was joy but the fruit of this parliamentary government had been ‘taxes and tears’.¹⁵⁵ The image of a yoke of slavery, frequent in white-letter, began to emerge in black-letter ballads too.¹⁵⁶ Whilst parliament had promised to ease the people’s griefs, *The Penitant Traytor* admitted, they had ‘racked them more than ten times/ taxes on taxes’ so that the ‘Kingdom groans and under slavery lingers.’¹⁵⁷ *The Royal Health* (1649) complained, ‘No man is Master of his owne’, and predicted that ‘When rulers cast off selfe-respects,/ Then shall our Yoaks fall from our necks,/ Our safeties shall not then depend,/ On promise of a Faithlesse Friend’.¹⁵⁸ *Englands Monthly Predictions* (1649) announced that England ‘once had her freedom, but now she’s inthral’d’.¹⁵⁹

A Review (1647) claimed that parliamentary government had brought ‘shame, beggarie and scarres’, through humiliating fasts, the unjust sequestration of cavaliers and wounds inflicted on the community as a whole. The growing burden of taxation - the ‘Sess’,

¹⁵² Jordan, attrib., *A Review of the Rebellion* (1647).

¹⁵³ *The Honest Mans Immaginary Dreames: and his good wishes for the prosperity of the King, and his posterity* (1648), b/l, MB.II(42a).

¹⁵⁴ [...] or a brief Relation of an Atheistical creature (1649),

¹⁵⁵ *The Penitant Traytor* (1647).

¹⁵⁶ *The Cryes of Westminster* (1648) had commended the decision to pay off the Scots as a ‘new liberty to pay / the saints that King Charles betray’.

¹⁵⁷ *The Penitant Traytor* (1647).

¹⁵⁸ *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (1649), b/l, MB.I(44).

¹⁵⁹ *Englands Monthly Predictions* (1649).

sequestration and especially the excise - was noted in song after song, along with the hope that peace would bring some relief.¹⁶⁰ *The Good Fellowes Complaint* (1647) accepted that 'patentees had gone' and that taxation was a 'companion of war', but claimed that excise on ale and beer, rather than on less essential wine, was a foreign and unnatural imposition. It had been 'bred up' by the Dutch and Spanish and it attacked the poorest levels of society. He pointed out:

I heard an Old Woman to say,
Who'd never a tooth in her head,
Shee'd liv'd this many a day,
Onely with Ale and Bread:
With that she began to weepe,
And sadly to complaine,
Her pention would never keepe
Her till th' pay day comes againe.

Not only old women were made unhappy by the high cost of beer, joked this ballad, for it brought a worse kind of disharmony, making women 'sould and brawl'.¹⁶¹ In 1648 *The Honest Man* had dreamed there would soon be 'no need of excise men/ the war being done and the souldier paid', but in 1649 *Englands Monthly Predictions* could still only hope that 'Receivers and Treasurers [would be] brought to account/ that have brought such hardship/ and do in wealth mount'.¹⁶²

The Good Fellowes Complaint feared the burdens of the poor were unlikely to be relieved, 'Now Charity has grown so scant'.¹⁶³ Through overturning the social order parliament had increased the suffering of orphans and widows, and had cut off their main

¹⁶⁰ *The Good Fellowes Complaint* (1647), b/1, MB.II(23); *The Honest Mans Immaginary Dreames* (1648).

¹⁶¹ Excise was also brought up in army ballads - see *The True Protestant Humble Desires* (1647).

¹⁶² *The Honest Mans Immaginary Dreames* (1648); *Englands Monthly Predictions* (1649).

¹⁶³ *The Good Fellowes Complaint* (1647).

means of relief.¹⁶⁴ Ballads argued that the repression of the nobility and gentry through taxation and sequestration was attacking the very people who had helped to relieve poverty in the past. *The Honest Mans Imaginary Dreames* (1648) looked for the return of 'such who of poore men will take pittie, / who have been made unfortunate.' The charitable cavaliers, it complained, 'by a new fashion have long been made poore, / by them who perhaps have hedged and ditched, / or begg'd a meales meate at your father's doore'.¹⁶⁵ In 1649, a year of terrible hardship in England, the author of *The Royall Health* lamented, 'I heard distressed people cry / our peace and plenty now is gone / and we poore people quite undone'.¹⁶⁶ He claimed that 'Poor housekeepers can hardly live / who us'd in former times to give', and 'poor People's almost starv'd they say, / Our tradings spoyl'd, and all things deare / Wee may complaine and ne're the neare'.¹⁶⁷ *Twelve Bels* declared that 'the Fatherless / are left in deep distress, / it us behooves the Widdow to deplore / Oh factious crew / False-hearted and untrue, / whose stained hands doth fill our land with gore'.¹⁶⁸ At the end of 1652, *Englands Monethly Observations* was still predicting that in the following January, 'poor contrey men will be grounded indeed / when he hath no fodder his cattell to feed', and that in April 'taxes increase, and moneys grow scant, / and the poorer sort shall be in great want'.¹⁶⁹

Felicity Heal has noted that a traditional complaint in ballads, echoed in *Englands New Bellman* (1652), was the lamentation 'Charity's gone cold'.¹⁷⁰ During the Interregnum it

¹⁶⁴ *The Fatal Fall of Five Gentlemen* (1649), b/l, MB.II(43) was addressed to 'You that in England once bare sway' and highlighted the charitable reputation of Lord Capell.

¹⁶⁵ *The Honest Mans Imaginary Dreames* (1648).

¹⁶⁶ See Brian Manning, *1649: The Crisis of the English Revolution* (1992).

¹⁶⁷ *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (1649).

¹⁶⁸ *The Twelve Brave Bells of Bow* (1649), b/l, MB.II (14) - this balladeer believed in the 'trickle-down' effect of riches: 'If the leud wind doe gently blow, / and we were deprived of sorrow and woe, / Dukes and Ladyes masking may have, / Being sumptuously decked with ornaments brave, / the Court may flourish, so will our land / And all things plenty will be, / then faith and truth will goe hand in hand / This troubled Kingdom to free'. Charles' own *Weeping Widdow* (1649), bereft of her husband and children, and his dead daughter, mourned in *The Lamenting lady* (1650), were also victims of tyranny.

¹⁶⁹ *Englands Monethly Observations and Predictions for the year of our blessed saviour, 1653, foretold by those two famous Astrologers of our Age, Mr William Lilly and Mr Culpepper* (1652/3), b/l, Rox.III.237.

¹⁷⁰ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990), chs 3 and 4, esp. pp. 7, 94, 113, 126, 189, 390-93, 403. *Englands New Bell-man, Ringing into all people's ears Gods dreadful judgment to this Land and Kingdom, prognosticated by the great eclipse of the Sun, March 29, 1652 ...* (1652), b/l and w/l editions, Rox.II.141, Firth b.19(31).

was used by royalist writers stressing the gentry's important role keeping people off the poor rate and, moreover, to emphasise that government by tyrants had eradicated the greatest virtue, 'love', the essential bond of the Christian virtuous state, from the commonwealth. In 1649 *The Royall Health* complained that 'True Love and friendship doth now decay'.¹⁷¹ *Englands Monthly Predictions* (1649) was also concerned that 'amongst us there is no true love'. It predicted that:

Our Governours shall labour to keep us still quiete
from civil dissension, mischief and royot (*sic*)
And good moderate people shall labour each day
To persuade rude people to Love and obey
God send our Country-men true Loyal hearts.

This absence of love caused 'much strife in religion', 'tumults and uproars', and 'Plots, envy fury in every place'.¹⁷²

Royalists lamenting the ruin of their cause after 1649 were understandably reluctant to attribute it to divine Providence, and turned instead to the wheel of fickle fortune.¹⁷³ *The Fatal Fall of Five Gentlemen* (1649) told how these noble royalists, though 'expecting no mishap to come', had been overthrown by 'Fortune's frown and futile wheele'.¹⁷⁴ *The Ladies Lamentation* blamed 'Fond Fickle Fortune/ whose wheel is uncertaine' for Prince Charles's defeat at Worcester in 1651.¹⁷⁵ However only an atheist was really 'govern'd by luckless fate'.¹⁷⁶ Providence was in control and tyrannies must eventually fall. In 1649 *Gallant Newes* assured its audience that 'Though fortune do frown/ It is Charles must wear the crown' and reminded them that 'big ambition will swell itself asunder'.¹⁷⁷ *Twelve Brave Bels* (1649)

¹⁷¹ *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (1649).

¹⁷² *Englands Monthly Predictions* (1649) also hoped for 'good reconcilment in country and towne' and 'care for Good of our Kingdom and all our welfare'.

¹⁷³ *The Penitant Traytor*. See Walsham, *Providence*, especially ch. 1.

¹⁷⁴ *The Fatal Fall of Five Gentlemen* (1649).

¹⁷⁵ *The Ladies Lamentation for the Losse of her Land-Lord* (1651), b/1, BL.C20.f.14(32).

¹⁷⁶ [...] or a brief Relation of an Atheistical creature (1649).

¹⁷⁷ Tom Smith, *Gallant Newes from the Seas* (1649), b/1, MB.I(45).

opined that 'pride head-long surely must fall,/ Though most in presumption abound,/ the Lord is King of Kings over all:/ and will all their projects confound', while *The Royal Health* (1649) reassured its readers, 'be not dismaid,/ For when the worst of harmes is past/ we shall have better times at last ... The Sun that sets may after Rise againe'.¹⁷⁸ As the *Articles of Agreement* (1650) pointed out, 'When we have appeas'd our God/ He at length will burn the rod'.¹⁷⁹

But if God was to burn the rod, the country had first to abandon sin. In 1647 *The Strange and True Newes of an Ocean of Flies* warned that sin in the streets of London, rebellion against the King, and a war fought 'to maintain lust' had brought 'clouds [that] upon us judgements showre.' The author, perhaps a soldier, urged that three things were needed: repentance, payment of 'our arreares', and that the King should be returned 'to towne again/ sans jealousies and feares'.¹⁸⁰ *A Harmany of Healths* (1647) also argued that the nation had to leave its 'Luxurie, pride wrath and malice' if Heaven was to 'restore us unto our Joyes againe'.¹⁸¹

When the purged parliament was forcibly brought to an end by Cromwell in 1653, it appeared as if the tyrant had indeed finally fallen. On 30 April 1653 William Clarke noted in his papers that 'A scandalous ballade was this weeke sung generally through London, and bought by most, the burthen whereof was 12 Parliament men for a penny. His Excellency desir'd the Lord Mayor to suppress it, which he did accordingly, and hath since imprisoned the printer.'¹⁸² This ballad was *The Parliament Routed or Here's a House to be Let* (1653), a traditional black-letter ballad celebrating the event and castigating the fallen house.¹⁸³ Its

¹⁷⁸ *The Twelve Brave Bells of Bow* {1649}; *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (1649).

¹⁷⁹ *Articles of Agreement betwixt Prince Charles and the Parliament of Scotland ...* (1650), b/l, MB.II(18).

¹⁸⁰ T. W., *Strange and True Newes of an Ocean of Flies* (m/s 27 July 1647), b/l, no woodcut, 669.f.11(52).

¹⁸¹ *A Harmony of Healths, To the Kings Happy Union, With the Parliaments Communion* (1647), b/l, MB.II(38).

¹⁸² C.H. Firth, (ed.), *The Clarke Papers* (4 vols, Camden Society, New Series, 49, 54, 61, 62, 1891-1901), 3, p. 3.

¹⁸³ S. S., *The Parliament Routed or Here's a House to be Let* (m/s 3 June 1653), b/l, 669.f.17(12). No printer's details were cited on the sheet, though the initials S. S. (perhaps Samuel Smithson) indicated the author.

suppression clearly came far too late to be effective since it was 'bought by most' and Thomason's copy was dated 3 June - almost a month after Clarke reported its suppression. Thomason's copy is the only one that now survives. It sits amongst a run of broadsides by the royalist prophet Arise Evans calling for a restoration of the monarchy. The ballad's preamble prays 'o Lord protect the generall,/ that he may be/ the agent of our unities'. Cromwell is seen as the agent of Providence, a Protestant deliverer who might bring back the King, restoring the state to its natural order and balance. The tyranny of the Commonwealth and its Council of State was laid out. *The Parliament Routed* complained of the treachery of 'Usurpers, that sate there these thirteen long years ... to gull and to cozen all true-hearted people.' The 'freedom of subject they much did pretend', sang the ballad, 'but since they bore sway we never had any'. Godless and full of vice, these men had betrayed the people and abused their position in every way: 'Still making Religion their author and cloak ... pretending religion to rout superstition', they were 'puffed with ambition', and 'coveted more treasure' and 'every member promoted self-end.' They had ruled 'as fancy did guide,' and had destroyed all the liberties of the subject: 'Our freedom was chain'd to th'Egyptian yoke,/ As it hath been felt and endured by many.' The impoverished Commonwealth had as 'sweetly' thrived under these men as 'Lancashire did with the Juncture of Witches'. Everyone had suffered, and the ballad listed widows, the fatherless, the gentry, the poor, tradesmen and citizens. The burdens imposed by the state were so heavy 'our hearts are ev'n broke', while parliament men had grown fat on the people's gold and silver, plate and jewels, land and livings. The soldier too 'had fare'd hard whilst they get the profit'. These tyrants had brought only strife: they had made war with the Dutch, and at home they had brought 'Both friends and dear lovers, to break Civill Lawes/ and in cruell manner to kill one another'.

For many years, the ballad acknowledged, no one had dared to complain for 'fear of shent'.¹⁸⁴ But now it was parliament's turn to feel ashamed: 'When Jack is on Cock horse

¹⁸⁴ 'Shent' in this context meaning disgrace.

hee'l galloping ride/ but falling at last, hee'l repent it at leisure'. The ballad moralised, 'For a man to rise high and then to fall low/ it is a discredit: this lot falls to many,/ But it's no great matter these men to serve so/ Twelve Parliament men are sold for a penny'. One important question remained: 'Oh, what will become of this Old Parliament/ and all their compeers that were Royally stated?'

Many contemporaries were to call on Cromwell to bring back the King. *The Parliament Routed* claimed it was the 'desire of a many,/ For us to have freedome', urging Cromwell to bring back 'Englands blessing/ appointed in heaven to free us again/ For this is the way of our Burdens redressing/ For England to be in Glory once more.'¹⁸⁵ While Cromwell toyed with the idea of making himself king, and though he shared the classical education of his contemporaries which supported the concept of a mixed monarchy, he remained convinced that God's providence had thrown down the Stuarts, and that it would be blasphemous either to restore or to replace them.¹⁸⁶

v. The Kingly Tyrant 1653-1658

The period 1653-1659 sees the poorest survival of political broadside ballad material, despite the fact that the largest ever entries of ballads to the register were made in 1656 and 1657. Collectors such as Thomason were apparently largely uninterested, though Anthony Wood was by now very interested in music.¹⁸⁷ Scholars have tended to assume that the absence of ballads was due to heavy censorship under John Thurloe's tight security regime. It would seem natural for publishers to be more cautious; the news book market certainly became less varied and more controlled.¹⁸⁸ It could be that buyers thought it best not to hold on to items they did buy or read; very little gentry correspondence survives for this period due to what appears to be a cautious self-censorship and the correspondence that does exist smacks of the

¹⁸⁵ S. S., *The Parliament Routed* (1653).

¹⁸⁶ See Derek Hirst, 'The Lord Protector, 1653-1658' in John Morrill (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1990), pp. 119-48.

¹⁸⁷ See Wood, *Life*, I, pp. 189-90, 204-06.

¹⁸⁸ Raymond, *Invention of the Newspaper*, pp. 78-79.

anxiety of discovery. All this seems supremely reasonable. Nevertheless, as we have noted before, it is clear that many ballads were openly published in this period, that balladeers were not severely repressed and that some people did collect them. Moreover, it is the pro-Protectorate not the royalist ballads that are missing from the archive. Of about fifty-five known ballad titles from 1654 to 1658 around half are missing, of which seventeen titles suggest they supported some aspect of the regime and five of the missing titles attack Quakers.¹⁸⁹ Why would Thurloe have acted to suppress pro-government material?

The surviving ballads from this period exist mostly in collections now held in Manchester and Glasgow that were cobbled together through nineteenth-century auctions and acquisitions. However, the manuscript numbers on the sheets indicate that many of these ballads had passed from unknown collection to unknown collection. At the same time, it is clear that some of the large numbers of ballads openly registered in 1656 and 1657 were distinctly anti-puritan, even anti-government. Amongst the titles registered were numerous Robin Hood ballads (always potentially subversive), and songs about merry maids and young men, which though probably non-political, dealt with 'merry' themes far removed from the puritan sobriety endorsed by the government. Some of these titles still exist. Some engaged playfully with the characters of the new regime. For example, one willing *Merry Maid of Middlesex* (1656), due to the interference of her mother, was wooed unsuccessfully by a string of suitors including a soldier with 'seven score pound' and a 'cobler who's been dip't'. Meanwhile another registered ballad, entitled *No Ring, No Wedding*, defiantly defended all the traditional, and now illegal, rituals of marriage.¹⁹⁰

Many explicitly royalist ballads also appeared in the registers. An edition of *The True Manner of the Kings Trial* was registered in 1656 along with *A New game of Cards, or the three Nimble shuffling Cheaters*, which attacked the new regime in transparently

¹⁸⁹ My numbers here are as accurate as possible bearing in mind that not all ballad titles can easily be put into a category of 'pro', 'anti' or even 'political', and the picture is further complicated by the existence of a number of manuscript ballads of uncertain provenance.

¹⁹⁰ Robin Hood ballads are listed in RI, p. 200. *The Merry Maid of Middlesex* (RI1728 12 March 1656), b/l, 4oRawl.566(51); *No Ring, No Wedding* (RI1950 12 March 1656), b/l, MB.II(4a).

allegorical form.¹⁹¹ *The Lamenting Ladies Last Farewell*, allegedly the 'dying words' of Princess Elizabeth, who died in 1650, and *The Matchlesse Shepheard*, another royalist allegory, were openly listed, along with their printers.¹⁹² Even Martin Parker's *The Wandering Jews Chronicle*, illustrated with portraits of all the monarchs from William the Conqueror to Charles I, and the anti-Presbyterian *Roome for a Gamester* and *Jockies Lamentation*, were registered.¹⁹³

This evidence would suggest that during the Protectorate little attempt was made to restrict the publication of oppositional ballads, though ballad-sellers, and perhaps printers, were occasionally subjected to persecution.¹⁹⁴ David Kastan has recently argued that Interregnum governments were less worried about the publication and private reading of print than by public performance. Ballad singers did not just sell ballad sheets, they drew a crowd - a crowd that might 'grow in love' as Rawleigh would say, or create a public, as Kastan suggests.¹⁹⁵ Whilst many of the royalist sheets registered during the Protectorate still exist, only two of the pro-Protectorate ballads listed can now be found. It would appear that ballads of the Interregnum period suffered more from post-Restoration pruning than godly disapproval.

The very popular *A Parliament Routed* had given Cromwell a good ballad press in April and June 1653.¹⁹⁶ The ballad sang hopefully that 'Our Generall and all his brave traine'

¹⁹¹ *The True Manner of the Kings Trial* (1656); *A New game at Cards, or the three Nimble shuffling Cheaters* (RI1873 13 March 1656), b/l, Wood 401(147).

¹⁹² E. S., *The Lamenting Ladies Last Farewell to the World* (RI1409 25 March 1656), b/l, Wood 402(75, 76), Euing 183 and *The Matchless Shepheard, Overmatcht By His Mistress. Or, The Solid Shepherds Satyirical Song Against His Schismatical Mistress* (RI1690 30 May 1656).

¹⁹³ Martin Parker, *The Wandering Jews Chronicle* (RI2837 3 July 1656), b/l, Pepys I.482-83. John Aubrey recalled his 'nurse had the history from the Conquest down to Charles I in ballad', quoted in Capp, *Astrology*, p. 215. *Roome for a Gamester, or, a Knot of Good Fellowes* (RI2322 1 August 1657). Ebsworth prints an m/s, see *RB VIII*, cii., he believes is a version of this title. *Jockies Lamentation, Whose Seditious Work Was The Loss Of His Countrey And His Kirk* (RI1293 16 July 1657), b/l, Wood 401(151).

¹⁹⁴ See discussion above, ch. 1.

¹⁹⁵ David Scott Kastan, 'Performances and Playbooks: the closing of the theatres and the politics of drama' in K. Sharpe and S.N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 167-84.

¹⁹⁶ Christopher Durston, *The Family in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1989), p. 83, mentions a m/s ballad on the 'Barebones parliament' that 'labelled the members of Barebone's assembly as "pitiful

would be the 'agent of our unity' and an 'instrument for England's blessing'. As always, this black-letter ballad showed respect for the needs of the army; 'Soldiers need pay' it admitted. The ballad praised Cromwell's courage and resolution: he had 'perceived [the] lustful desire' of the parliament and had 'bravely ordered' his men to drive out the discredited government 'in defiance of any/ To which they [his men] consented'. Cromwell had rescued the people from a terrible tyranny but the balladeer's hope that he would now restore the King was to be dashed. Instead, Cromwell was to set himself up as a 'Kingly Tyrant'.¹⁹⁷

Aristotle had argued that when an oligarchic tyranny had wronged the people, 'any champion is good enough, particularly when the multitude happens to be led by someone from the oligarchy itself'.¹⁹⁸ Though not in any way a legitimate ruler, this champion might set himself up as the other kind of tyranny that Aristotle had discerned - the 'Kingly Tyrant', one who would not seek to make the people unable to rise against him, but by making himself appear acceptable would render them 'indisposed to do so'.¹⁹⁹ Rawleigh called this kind of tyrant the 'sophistical or subtile Tyrant'. This tyrant would 'make shew of a good King, by observing a temper and a mediocritie in his Government.' He would be 'a cunning politician' and would make himself 'more to be feared and regarded, and is thought thereby, not unworthy for to govern others'.²⁰⁰ Aristotle explained that the kingly tyrant, though his first priority was to maintain power, would also concern himself with the public good. He would inspire respect and fear, if for no other reason than his valour in warfare and military reputation. He would be religious and appear to have 'gods on his side'. As Rawleigh put it,

clowns'' and exclaimed of the justices "the devil take 'um"". His reference is to Bradford District Archives Hopkinson MSS, 32D86/17. There is no record or survival of a printed ballad on Barebones.¹⁹⁷ Baxter's description of Cromwell's intentions at this time are interesting: 'the intelligent sort by this time did fully see that Cromwell's design was by causing and permitting destruction to hang over us, to necessitate the nation, whether they would or not, to take him for their governor, that he might be their protector, being resolved that we should be saved by him or perish ... I perceived that it was his design to do good in the main, and to promote the Gospel and the interest of Godliness more than any had done before him, except in those particulars which his own interest was against... henceforward he trusted ... by doing good, that the people might love him or at least be willing to have his government for that good, who were against it as it was usurpation ': *Autobiography*, p. 69-70.

¹⁹⁸ *Politics*, p. 314.

¹⁹⁹ *Politics*, p. 343.

²⁰⁰ Rawleigh, *Maxims*, p. 46.

'people do less fear any hurt from those, whom they think Virtuous and Religious ... for that they think God protects them'.²⁰¹

Some balladeers were certainly disposed to write in support of the Protectorate. They tried to evoke horror at attempts to assassinate the Protector, they sang joyfully in praise of the peace treaty with the Dutch in 1654, they called up soldiers for service in Jamaica and they celebrated military victories.²⁰² Nevertheless, only two decisively pro-government black-letter ballads survive from the Protectorate. One of these, *Joyfull News for England*, celebrating the treaty with the Dutch in 1654, tried to convince its audience of the Protectorate's concern for the public good and its military prowess. The other, *The Dreadful Relation*, a ballad calling for people to give money for poor, persecuted Protestants in Lorraine in 1655, promoted the religious credentials of the regime.

The ballads that sang in support of the Protectorate were fully in touch with the ballad market. In 1654 *Joyfull news for England* was set, appropriately enough, to the tune of Lord Willoughby, a song popular both in England and in the Netherlands, where it was known as 'Soet Robbert'.²⁰³ Willoughby, a Protestant hero, had fought against the odds for the Dutch against Spain under Elizabeth, and was son of the Protestant ballad heroine the Duchess of Suffolk. A description of his heroic and virtuous parents and the dramatic and providential circumstances of his birth was given in *The Most rare and Excellent History of the Dutchess of Suffolk*, a ballad reissued in 1655.²⁰⁴ *The Dreadful Relation* was set to 'The Bleeding

²⁰¹ Rawleigh, *Maxims*, p. 51.

²⁰² From the Stationers' Registers we can see ballads celebrating other victories, such as in 1657, *The Courageous Victory over the Spanyard* (RI 417) and two ballads deploring plots against the government in 1657: *A Matchlesse treason Plot discovered* (RI1691), and *Strange and Marvelous Newes ... treason plot ag^t England* (RI2532).

²⁰³ *Joyfull News for England, and all other parts of Christendome that bears good will to the happy agreement of peace, which past betweene England and Holland, and Denmarke* (1654), b/l, BL.C20.f.14(23). See Simpson, p. 467-68, 471. The tune 'Lord Willowbies March' was also used for the royalist ballad *Articles of Agreement* (1650), between the Scots and Prince Charles. In this case, the choice may have been made because the Prince had sent Dutch ambassadors to negotiate.

²⁰⁴ The ballad is discussed by Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print*, pp. 91-94, 126.

Hearts', which appears to have been popular in the late 1640s and 1650s, and features on a number of the protectorate ballads.²⁰⁵

Joyfull News challenged the view that a monarchy was the only means of achieving joy for the people or creating love between them. Using a raft of emotive words - joy, happiness, comfort, 'plenty and peace', 'sweet content/ and comfort to our dayes' - the ballad laid claim to the fruits of virtuous government for the Protectorate. This government, it argued, sought the welfare of the whole commonwealth. It claimed that 'We have of victuals plenty ... As much as any tongue can wish/ or heart or man can crave', listing flesh, fish, wheat, rye, beans, peas and barley, cheese, butter, 'and such things/ the which unto a common-wealth,/ content and comfort brings'. The economy was flourishing too: 'Trade [was] good for merchants/ and all tradesmen on the land/ For every man and woman that/ a calling takes in hand'. There could be no cause for complaint.²⁰⁶

Joyful News also served to praise the military prowess of the state. The people of England were now supremely protected, it claimed: 'The world can never hurt us/ though multitudes arise/ of Pagans Iewes and infidels/ and other enemies'. Part of the *Joyful News* was that victory had been won 'against our envious enemies', meaning the royalists in exile, and that the Dutch would now be allies against them.²⁰⁷ This aspect of the regime also appeared in other less panegyric ballads. In *The True Portraiture of a prodigious monster* (1655) the 'monster', speaking for the only time in its life, warned the King of Spain against

²⁰⁵ This tune is lost, though see Simpson's discussion of 'In Crete', pp. 362-65. *A Dreadful Relation of the cruel bloody and most inhumane Massacre and Butchery* (1655), b/1, BL.C20.f.14(20), to 'The Bleeding Hearts', a tune associated with *The Sinners Redemption, Wherein is described the blessed nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, together with his life on earth, and his precious death on the crosse for mankind. To the tune of, The bleeding heart. Or, in creet* (1634). The tune was also used for the royalist ballad *Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost* (1648) and *The Quakers Feare* (1657). The tune continued to be used on ballads up to 1700.

²⁰⁶ *Joyfull News* made no mention of the rural reader. This was very different from the approach of the royalist ballad (a response?), by T[homas] R[obins], attrib., *Jack the Plough-lads Lamentation* (1654), b/1, BL.C20.f.14(26), which addressed town and country: Gentlemen, 'Countrey men', 'yeomandry', apprentices, ploughmen and tradesmen.

²⁰⁷ See further discussion of the ballad's praise for the armed forces above, ch. 2. Wood, *Life*, I, p. 189, notes that in December 1654 Oxford University produced a book of verse in praise of the peace.

superstition and predicted that 'English soldiers will have your mines of silver and gold.'²⁰⁸ In 1656 and 1657 several ballads (no longer extant) celebrated victory over Spain, such as *Englands Honour Revived ... a famous victory obtained ag^t the Spaniards*, and in 1657 the title *St George for England* may well have had military significance.²⁰⁹ A ballad on what the English considered to be their victory at Mardyke must also have been published in this year.²¹⁰

The death of General Robert Blake also offered an opportunity to praise the virtues of the state military. In 1657, at least four broadsides were published, two of them no longer extant - *Sad Newes from Sea*, a 'relacion' of the death of 'Generall Blake and Vice Admirall Badiley' and *Englands Worthies, Worthy to be Remembered*.²¹¹ Two white-letter elegies on Blake, a 'most noble heroe', do survive.²¹² Blake's virtue in supporting the state was particularly emphasised in Harrison's *Elegie*:

Though threats on threats, and promises succeeded,
 From Royalty, yet he never them heeded
 Threats could not drive him, nor allurements high
 Ere make him part with his integrity
 No sceptic in Religion was he found

²⁰⁸ *The True Portraiture of a Prodigious Monster* (m/s June 1655), b/l, long w/l prose preamble and colophon, 669.f.19(51).

²⁰⁹ See 1656 titles: RI1946; RI1316; RI2354; RI940, all 'soldier resolution' and military love ballads. *The Spaniards Great Overthrow* (RI2507) and two other titles, RI700; RI300, celebrated military victories. *Englands Navie* (RI708) presumably praised the navy, a ballad with a similar title. *The King's Navie* was registered under Charles I. In 1657 a title *St George for England* (RI2365) was registered. Early in 1660 a Rump ballad was entitled *The Second Part of St George for England*, which may suggest the 'first part' was offensive to a royalist.

²¹⁰ For a lively discussion of this battle, the subsequent action at Dunkirk and the Protector's communication with France, from the English soldier's point of view see Richard Gough, *The History of Myddle* (edited by David Hey, Harmondsworth, 1981), pp.105-06.

²¹¹ *Englands Worthies, Worthy to be Remembered* (RI722), *Sad Newes from Sea* (RI 2351).

²¹² George Harrison, *An Elegie on the Death of the Right Honourable Robert Blake* (1657), w/l, 669.f.20(61). R. C., *An Elegie on the Death of the Right Honourable and most noble Heroe, Robert Blake, late generall of the English fleet at sea together with a commemoration of the most victories by him heretofore ob[t]ained against the Hollanders : and his remarkable successes, to the glory of the English nation, afterwards against the Spaniard and Turkish pirats, in cleering the seas and taking and drowning their ships, and burning of many of the best of them in their strongest and most fenced havens : who departed this life on Friday, August the 7, 1657* (1657), w/l, EEBO/Harvard.

His head and heart and principles were sound.

The *Elegie* concludes with the exemplar of Blake's active support of the regime, 'midst our various changes [he] still kept free/ Hating cold Dullnesse, base Neutrality'.

Joyful News, celebrating the Dutch peace in 1654, had claimed providential blessings for the government. Victory had been 'brought through Gods great Providence', the ballad insisted, 'we see the powers of heaven/ doe all our actions guide/ then what need we feare danger/ if God be on our side'. Finally, the ballad urged, 'since the Lord have blest us/ With unity and Peace/ Let faithful friendship flourish/ and Brotherly love increase'.²¹³ In 1657 two ballads were registered which celebrated the providential discovery of plots against the regime. *A Matchlesse Treason Plott discovered* (reg. 24 January) probably related to the Sindercombe plot of 8 January.²¹⁴ Parliament did not meet until 19 January, which may account for the delay in publication. In April another ballad title announced, *Strange And Marvelous Newes ... Of A Treason Plot Ag^t England Found Out And Discovered On Ye 9 Aprill*, almost certainly the first of Venner's abortive plots.²¹⁵

The religious credentials of the Protectorate as champion of Protestantism in Europe were supported by two ballads, only one of which survives, that emphasised the dangers Protestants faced abroad and the support they could expect from England. In 1655 *A Dreadful Relation Of The Cruel Bloody And Most Inhumane Massacre And Butchery* told how the massacres of Vaudois Protestants had been carried out by the 'duke of Savoy, with some French and bloody Irish'. Cromwell had refused to make a treaty with the French until these 'wrongs were righted' and offered £2000 as a gift towards the relief of sufferers.²¹⁶ *The*

²¹³ *Look To The Man That Hath Never A Nose, Or, Let Them Tell Noses That Have Them* [RI1529 24 July 1656] sounds particularly intriguing. Could it have been a defence of Cromwell?

²¹⁴ *A Matchlesse Treason Plott Discovered* (RI1691 24 January 1657); Ivan Roots, *The Great Rebellion 1642-1660* (1966), p. 213; Derek Hirst, *England in Conflict 1603-1660* (1999), p. 307.

²¹⁵ *Strange and Marvelous Newes ... Treason Plott Ag^t England* (RI2532). See Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (1972), pp. 117 - 18.

²¹⁶ This referred to 'the massacre of the Vaudois by the troops of the regent of Savoy'. C.H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (Oxford, 1900), p. 370; W.J. Stankiewicz, *Politics and Religion in Seventeenth-Century France* (California, 1960), p.147-48; P.A. Knachel, *England and the Fronde* (New York, 1967), p. 253. My thanks to Dr Kevin Gould for his help in locating this event.

Dreadful Relation did not explain the foreign policy implications but it detailed the bloody atrocities in the song and stated in the preamble that the 'Lord Protector ... appointed a general Fast throughout the nation and ordered relief to be gathered.'²¹⁷ The invasion of Poland by Charles X of Sweden in 1657 had triggered what amounted to a Polish national rising and of reprisals against 'non-Poles' including Jews and non-Catholics. Though he disapproved of Swedish territorial ambitions, Cromwell was debating the danger of popery making ground in Northern Europe as the Danes formed a multi-national alliance against Sweden.²¹⁸ Balladeers were much clearer about where they stood. In November *Blood Cries for revenge* lamented further 'bloody and barbarous massacres in the late flourishing city of Lesna in the Kingdom of Poland'.²¹⁹ The ability, at last, to praise their own ruler as Protestant champion rather than relying on Swedes (or worse still the French) to do it for them was irresistible for balladeers and hearkened back to the days of Elizabeth.

Not all balladeers were convinced by the godly credentials of the regime. They looked for unity of religion and evidence of brotherly love such as neighbourliness and charity. In 1656 *A Wonderful Prophecy declared by Christian James*, paragon of godly virtue, declared that 'Gods ministers are set at nought/ the Sabbath is prophaned also/ The Poor lies starving in the street/ Opprest with sorrow, grief and woe.'²²⁰ The hostility Quaker groups provoked is evident in the series of virulent anti-Quaker ballads registered in April, May, November and December 1656.²²¹ *The Quakers Feare* also complained that 'Gods ministers

²¹⁷ *A Dreadful Relation of the cruel bloody and most inhumane Massacre and Butchery* (1655), b/l, BL.C20.f.14(20).

²¹⁸ Thomas Munck, *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict, and the Social Order in Europe 1598-1700* (Basingstoke, 1990), p. 206.

²¹⁹ *Blood Cries for Revenge, or, a true relation of the bloody and barbarous massacres in the late flourishing city of Lesna in the Kingdome of Poland* (RI215 14 November 1657).

²²⁰ L[awrence] P[rice], *A Wonderful Prophecy Declared by Christian James, a maid of twenty years of age* (RI3025 26th March 1656), b/l, BL.C22.e(2), Pepys II.55. See discussion in ch. 3.

²²¹ L[awrence] P[rice], *The Quakers Feare* (RI2226 25 April 1656), b/l, Wood 401(165); *A Warning for all Quakers ... ungodly life and miserable death of James Parnell* (RI2857 5 May 1656); *The Quakers Downfall, by the example of one James Naylor, accounted to be the grand Quaker of England* (RI2225 17 November 1656); *James Naylors Tryall, or, the Reward of wickednesse* (RI1271 23 December 1656); *Strange and True Newes from the famous city of Worcester ... life and death of a Quaker whose name was Willm Poole* (RI 2534 March 1657).

are set at naught' and moralised on James Parnell's death after a prolonged fast.²²² It claimed that 'like cursed Tantus [Tantalus], he in the midst of plenty starved', and judged that it was 'No matter if such hypocrites/ for their deserts were all so serv'd'. The rough woodcut illustration literally linked Parnell and Quakers with the Pope. *A New Prophetie* (1657), supposedly by Margaret Hough, who was 'seven-score and fifteen yeares of age', declared that 'Religion now is made a cloake/ Good teachers held in scorne/ Papists little are set by/ church men [are] all asleepe.' The 'old woman' claims she has not seen 'the church so pind up in a Kage/ since the death of queen Mary'. The *Prophetie* concluded with some millenarian mysteries. Though the ballad promised 'Joyes may come/ the Lamb shall with the Lyon feed', in a prose passage at the end of the ballad the prophetess declaimed 'now we live under a new government. But harke son, ther's whim whams, and trims trams, new plays and old games abroad now adaies' and she predicts 'a great alteration here in England'.²²³

Jockey's Lamentation and *Roome for a Gamester* (both 1657) attacked a different target: Presbyterians and the Covenant. *Jockey* alleged that 'the godly Presbyterian/ that holy man a war began/ in Scotland there ... for silver and meat', while *Roome* blamed Presbyterians who had 'broke Britannia's Yoke' for the war. It recalled how the 'Scottish man,/ intent to bring down schism/ Brought forth a Presbyterian/ With canon and a catechism'.

Love had little chance as long as vice remained rife in the Protector's England, as ballads made clear. Humphrey Crouch's *Downfall of Pride Riband-cod-pieces, black patches, and whatsoever ... dishonourable to a civil government* (1656) attacked the way people were vainly following fashion and lacked charity. It insisted that its message had been put 'nearly out of love', so that 'cruelty and pride may cease/ we may enjoy true peace/ Pride may be o'rethrown/ and Charity take place'. The ballad argued that riches and opulence were now enjoyed by those who did not have the breeding for them - and that they did not give charity

²²² L[Laurence] P[rice], *The Quakers Feare* (1656).

²²³ *A New Prophetie: or some strange speeches ... by an old woman ... in Cheshire ... Margaret Hough, she is seven-score and fifteen yeares of age* {1657}, b/1, BL.C20.f.14(27). This ballad advertised a pamphlet called *Cricket in the Hedge*. BL speculates 1650 as publication date but Rollins points out that the pamphlet was registered to Thomas Broad in 1657: *C&P*, p. 477.

as nobles and gentry had done.²²⁴ Just as royalists had commandeered the drinking-ballad, from 1649 romance and pastoral ballads often carried explicit royalist messages. Love songs frequently showed cavalier young men doing much better with the maids than ex-roundheads.²²⁵ *No Ring, no wedding* (1656) was a dialogue between a young roundhead and his cavalier lass. He fails to convince her that he can be trusted. 'Your sect is bent to falsehood', says the young maid. In any case, she points out, he is not properly equipped to make an offer: 'where is your Wedding-Ring:/ Your Bride Gloves and your Ribons', she asks, while he answers somewhat despondently, 'These are but ceremonies / belong to Popery'. The second half of the ballad is lost but the outcome seems determined to be what Pepys would call 'love- unfortunate'.²²⁶

Faced with ballads that were essentially supportive, if sometimes critical, of the regime, royalists could not rely solely on drinking and love songs, and they were clearly anxious to challenge the Protector's standing. *Jack the Plough-lads Lamentation* (1654), inspired by the miseries of sequestration, expressly denied that England was well off under Cromwell. He told of poverty, hardship and social dislocation: 'Poor England is gotten into such a mad strain/ Rich Jack with poor Gill may walk to the spittle'. Jack the Plough-lad is

²²⁴ H[umphrey] C[rouch], *The Downfall Of Pride. Riband-Cod-Pieces, Black Patches, And Whatsoever Is Antick, Apish, Fantastick, And Dishonourable To A Civil Government* {1654-56}, b/l, Don.B.24(13). Humphrey Crouch also wrote a white-letter ballad on an allegorical character from Jonson's *The Staple of Newes*, entitled *The Lady Pecunia's Journey unto Hell, with her speech to Pluto, maintaining that she sends more soules to hell then all his fiends: with Pluto's answer and applause*. (m/s 30 January 1654/5), w/l+w/c, 669.f.17(75). In it Lady Pecunia (representing love of money) goes on a journey to Hades where she argues with other vices such as Pride and Murder about who is the most powerful. Each vice explains how it has brought misery to England. Pecunia promises Pluto 'The Great Church of St Paul's, I'll have it down,/ The wood, the lead, the stones, which some count trash,/ in time may yield the Commonwealth some cash'.

²²⁵ From about 1649 black-letter ballads promoted cavalier lovers as superior and trustworthy and Roundheads as unfaithful and lewd, such as *There I Mumpt you now, or Mumping Meg's resolution* {1649?}, b/l, MB.II(41), in which roundhead Willy who has 'fought against the Cavaliers' comes home to claim Meg but is rejected because he has been cheating her and 'undoing' other women all the time he has been away. See also *The Fame, Wit and Glory of the West* (1649) and *The Credit of Yorkshire* (1649). There was a Puritan equivalent, though not really a ballad, *The Picture of an English Antick* (1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(99) called, 'Maids, where are your hearts become? Look you what here is!' The illustrated broadside parodies cavalier fashions and manners, including 'His chin thrust out, singing as he goes' and 'A great pair of spurres, jingling like a Morrice-dancer'.

²²⁶ *No Ring, No Wedding* (1656). The ballad has been pasted into the Manchester collection along with half of another ballad. The two sheets are different in quality of paper and type, and the two halves are very different in tone but in C&P Rollins has assumed a printer's error has merely disturbed the order of the speeches.

himself 'in great distresse': he complains he is 'a poor servant here sorely opprest /Great Loads and taxations I am brought unto'. He argues that 'every 'un threatens me for to pillage'. Under this tyranny and in the absence of his master [the King], Jack and his ilk seem doomed to live a joyless life, 'toying and moyling in sorrow and pain', for no reward, working 'plough and cart with a heavy heart,/ stir up the ground, and to save our grain/ so small is our share that falls to our part.'²²⁷ This ballad may have been intended as a fundraiser for royalist rebels (Penruddock's rising was in 1655). Jack exhorts his readers to contribute for, as he says, an honest man 'if he be bound then he must obey/ His gold and his money he must not spare/ The cause of poor England for to maintain' and he also calls to the 'yeomendry/ your lands and your livings be they great or small/ your fortunes to pay here as well as the rest'.

Royalist mourning for a lost love turned to songs of betrayal by 1656. *The Matchless Shepherd* (1656) sang allegorically of the King's betrayal by elements of the Church and State. The Shepherd [King] sings 'I / My flock did put in trus[t] / Among a sort of swains,/ That proved to me unjust./ and having given thus/ the staffe out of my hand,/ they streight became my master'. The shepherd mourns for 'the mistress' (England) who has rejected him and broken her vows despite his true and constant love.²²⁸ *The New Game at Cards Or, The three nimble shuffling cheaters* (1656) also sang of betrayal in an allegorical mode.²²⁹ Seeking to discredit the value of Cromwell's military victories, it described the events of the war in terms of a card game and insisted that he had only won by playing without a full pack of cards; he had left out Kings and Queens, leaving only Knaves to rule. The ballad told how

²²⁷ R[obins], *Jack the Plough-lads Lamentation* (1654).

²²⁸ *The Matchless Shepherd Overmatcht by his Mistress or The Solid Shepherds Satyirical Song against his Schismatical Mistress* (1656).

²²⁹ *The New Game at Cards, or, The three nimble shuffling cheaters* (1656) was set to the tune of 'what you please'. Lionel Lockier's, *The Character of a Time Serving Saint* (1652), w/l, 669.f.16(53) was to be sung 'to the tune of the three cheaters'. This may suggest *The New Game at Cards*, which relates to the 'sale' of the King by the Scots, was already current by then, though only registered in 1656. The ballad is often attributed to Laurence Price, but *The New Game* is an aggressively royalist ballad, and Price was usually more circumspect. After the Restoration a triumphant version of the song under the title *Win at First Lose at Last* was published, and this became a royalist anthem. Editions were printed at least until 1720 (by then under the title *A Knave at the Bottom*). By 1680 they sported the initials L.P., and this led commentators to conclusions about the authorship of *A New Game*.

Knave Cromwell was a tyrant who maintained his position through force not love. The soldiers in the ballad threatened that 'The Knave of Clubs as you him call/ Shall one day win the love of all/ Those that abuse him and his banners/ wee'l beat him into better manners'.

vi. Cromwell's pre- and post-mortem ballad reputation: 'rotten' but 'never forgotten'

Old Noll that did rise up to high-thing from low thing

By brewing rebellion, and Nicking and Frothing

in seven years distance was all-things and nothing

Much ado about nothing (1660)²³⁰

It is a commonplace that Cromwell was both hated and grudgingly revered by his enemies. Baxter wrote of him, 'Never man was highlier extolled, and never man was baselier reported of and vilified than this man.'²³¹ Even Clarendon called him 'a brave, bad man' and acknowledged that 'he had some virtues, which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated'.²³² In every respect Cromwell's reputation and career fulfilled the construction of 'kingly tyrant' that Aristotle had described. Even the fall of his regime followed the Aristotelian pattern. Aristotle noted that 'men who have themselves won their position have generally maintained their rule, but those who had acquired it from a predecessor nearly all lose it straight away.'²³³ Ballads explained both how Cromwell's kingly tyranny fell due to his death, either through illness or devilish wind, in September 1658, and the subsequent failure of noble virtue or leadership qualities in his blood line. However, his ballad fame and notoriety lived on long after his demise.

²³⁰ *Much ado about nothing* (1660), b/1, Wood 401(169).

²³¹ Baxter, *Autobiography*, p. 85.

²³² Quoted in Blair Worden, *Roundhead Reputations* (2002), p. 219.

²³³ *Politics*, p. 341.

Only after 1660 did black-letter ballads recall the events of 1658 to 1659, and even white-letter broadsides seem not to have appeared until November 1659.²³⁴ However, opinions were being broached long before that. Ralph Josselin wrote on 8 May 1659 that ‘Cromwells family [were] under much odium for tyranny’.²³⁵ The earliest black-letter ballad to sing of Cromwell’s demise was *Fox too Cunning for the Lyon*, published perhaps late in 1659 (it mentions Booth’s failed rising of August 1659), or early in 1660. A fable allegory, this ballad claimed that Cromwell had died because of a surfeit of power, he had ‘fed beyond his strength’.²³⁶ In 1660, the *Maidens Reply to the Young Man’s Resolution* claimed ‘in great winds away [he was] hurried’, while *The Traytors Downfal* blamed Lucifer, who ‘soon removed His Grace’.²³⁷ The exhumation of Cromwell’s body in 1661 meant that a more rational explanation was required as ‘the people crowded very much to see him’. *The Last Farewell of three bould traytors* admitted, ‘Noll at last fell mighty sick ... Past the care of man or physick’. As the ballad explained, though ‘Twas thought the great wind had him stole ... they dived into a hole ... [and] Oliver’s Nose they quickly found’.²³⁸ Despite this, in 1667, *The Praise of Brewers* preferred the explanation that ‘he was hurried away with a hag’.²³⁹

The swift collapse of Richard Cromwell’s regime was dealt with dismissively. In *Fox too Cunning for the Lyon* the ‘foxes’ [the post-purge MPs] his father had ‘frighted ... drove

²³⁴ These tended to refer to ‘Old Noll’ as someone who, though undoubtedly in league with the devil, had at least kept army and Rump in check.

²³⁵ Josselin, *Diary*, p. 445.

²³⁶ *Fox Too Cunning for the Lyon* [between 1659-1663 {1659/60}], b/l, BL.C22.f.6(119) and CB.314/2, was directed to be sung to the tune of ‘Three Cheaters’ - the sub-title of *A New Game of Cards*. Simpson inconclusively discusses the tune of *A New Game of Cards*, p. 508-11. The idea of a surfeit as a cause of illness in the body politic was a common ballad trope, most frequently in white-letter ballads. A number of broadsides harped on the idea of rule by beasts see: *The Tryall Of Traytors, Or The Rump In The Pound* (1660), 669.f.26(19) and *The Dragons Forces Totally Routed By The Royal Shepherd* (1660), 669.f.26(35). Both of these were very large, highly illustrated broadsides.

²³⁷ *The Maidens Reply to the Young Man’s Resolution* (1660). Crawford dated his copy, CB275/2, 1665. *The Traytors Downfal* (1660), b/l, Euing 350.

²³⁸ Abraham Miles, *The Last Farewel of three bould traytors* (1661), b/l, EEBO/Harvard. Miles had an interest in ‘physick’, and published a medical pamphlet: *idem, The Countryman’s Friend and no ... mountebanck, but a rare method of chyrurgery and physick* (1662). Rugge, *Diurnal*, p. 176, ‘The bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride, were dug up out of their graves to be hanged at Tyburn, and buried under the gallows. Cromwell’s vault having been opened, the people crowded very much to see him.’

²³⁹ *The Praise of Brewers* (1667), b/l, Wood E25(63), 4oRawl.566(187). This ballad carried the fairly common woodcut of a devil carrying off miscreants to the fires of hell. During the Popish Plot one white-letter ballad carried the rumour that Cromwell’s physician had poisoned him.

the young whelp out of his den'.²⁴⁰ *Much ado about nothing* (1660) called Richard, 'Dick that pittiful slow-thing' and a 'cipher'.²⁴¹ *Win at First Lose at Last* (1660) a revamp of the 1656 ballad *A New Game of Cards*, explained that 'Tho' he [Cromwell] so much had won/ yet he had an unlucky son,/ He sits still and not regards/ while cunning gamesters set the cards/ ... poor silly Dick/ he lost the trick'.²⁴² *The Traytors Downfal* (1660) called Richard 'young Dick the fool of his race,' while in 1661 the *Loyal Subjects exaltation* told how 'the Rump reviv'd when Cromwel dy'd/ Protector Puppy Dick/ they from Highnesse soon did kick.'²⁴³

After 1660, black-letter ballads detailed 'the Grand Notorious Facts/ of Cromwels Tyrannies', and heaped blame on the Protector's head.²⁴⁴ Cromwell had gained and maintained his place by fraud and force, imposing his will on the people. *Fox too Cunning for the Lyon* described Cromwell as 'more subtle than the rest' and told how 'this foxes will must be obeyed'.²⁴⁵ In 1660 another ballad complained, 'We were ruled by Tyranny/ And seduced long by Subtilty'.²⁴⁶ *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* (1660) claimed that Cromwell had 'conquered his friends' for 'base power'. It described how 'A terrible Governour quickly arose/ Although Kingly government they did despise/ 'twas treason to meddle with Olivers nose/ he like a Hector/ was their Protector'.²⁴⁷ *The Last Farewell of three bould traytors* described Cromwell as 'excellent cunning and wise'. He had 'cunningly fooled the people with lies'. The ballad told how 'in the first place, he ruled as a King/ had his pleasure, the world in a sling/ he had whatsoever with the beck of his fist/ and those that offended he gave them the twist'.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁰ *Fox too Cunning for the Lyon* {1659/60}.

²⁴¹ *Much Ado about nothing* (1660).

²⁴² *Win at First, Lose at Last* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(149). Reprinted in 1661, 1680, 1683, 1689 and on into the 1700s.

²⁴³ *The Traytors Downfal* (1660); *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* (1661), b/l, Euing 158. See also *A Turn Coat of the Times* (1663), b/l, Rox.II.478: 'When Old Noll did die/ And Richard his son put by'. In white-letter ballads Richard was said to be a drinker like his father.

²⁴⁴ *Englands Pleasant Mayflower* (1660), b/l, Euing 100.

²⁴⁵ *Fox too Cunning for the Lyon* {1659/60}.

²⁴⁶ [Untitled](1660), b/l, CB 990/6.

²⁴⁷ *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* (1660), b/l, Euing 160.

²⁴⁸ *The Last Farewell of three bould traytors* (1661).

Cromwell, ballads argued, had risen 'to high-thing from low-thing'; he had not been a noble leader who could bring virtue to the state.²⁴⁹ Rather he was mocked as a low-born, coarse plebeian, a drunkard and cuckold. He was scorned as a former brewer, which gave opportunity to attack his 'warts and all' nose as that of a drunk and debauch.²⁵⁰ *The Royall Subjects Warning Piece* called Cromwell 'Bold Oliver ... a Brewers son'.²⁵¹ *The Traytors Downfal* described how power had 'caused fire to rise in Oliver's nose: / this ruling nose did bear such sway/ it cast such a heat and shining ray / That England scarce knew night from day'.²⁵² Ballads also mocked Cromwell's wife. She was always called 'Joan' after a ballad character 'Jone', the alewife, whose 'Ale is New'. A new version of this old drinking ballad was issued in 1656. As with the old ballad, all the tradesmen come to drink 'Jone's' new ale, but in this new version the shoemaker drinks as he 'scorned to be a Quaker'.²⁵³ In *Rebellion given over housekeeping*, Cromwell's 'brewing vessels, dray and sling' were sold off, as well as 'Joan Crumwells Kitchen-stuff-tub' in which 'Rump fat' was stored, 'with which she Old Noll's horns did rub/ when he was drunk with bumpers'.²⁵⁴ *The Case is Altered* described the 'Politick snout on old Oliver's face' as a 'rampant nose' and claimed that the army 'red coats' were so called after it. On Cromwell's death, claimed this ballad, 'old Beldam Joan was left to make moan,/ that she was not so good as My Lady'.²⁵⁵ In the *Last Farewell of three bould traytors* she needed an onion to make her cry at her husband's death.²⁵⁶

Like all tyrants in Aristotle's analysis, Cromwell had allowed the social order to deteriorate. *The Noble Prodigal* (1660), celebrating the coming-in of the King, was glad that

²⁴⁹ *Much Ado about Nothing* (1660).

²⁵⁰ The only biographers who deal with this question are Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell Our Chief of Men* (London, 1973), p. 14, who suggests the first mention of this connection was in *Mercurius Elenticus* in February 1649; Pauline Gregg, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1988), p. 15, who states that Cromwell's mother supervised brewing on the Huntington estate; and Christopher Hill, *God's Englishman* (London, 1970), p. 43, n. 5, who cites the royalist propagandist Marmaduke Rawson as the originator of the rumour.

²⁵¹ *The Royall Subjects Warning Piece to all Traytors* (1660), b/l, Euing 310.

²⁵² *The Traytors Downfal* (1660).

²⁵³ *Jones Ale is New* (RI1289 25 March 1656). This is not a reference to 'Parliament Joan', the spy or 'tittle tattle woman'. She did not appear in black-letter ballads.

²⁵⁴ *Rebellion given over Housekeeping* (1660).

²⁵⁵ *The Case is Altered; or, Sir Reverence the Rumps last farewel* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(3).

²⁵⁶ *The Last Farewell of three bould traytors* (1661).

now 'No Dray man shall with his dull feet appear/ Lord in the Commonweal'.²⁵⁷ *Win at First Lose at Last* (1660) sang that under Cromwell, 'Coaches gave the way to carts', while *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* told how:

then any layman
Brewer or drayman
Could make a throne or a pulpit to ring ...
while every ass
was made Justice of the peace
and cavvys must stand sir
with cap in hand sir
at their command sir.²⁵⁸

The outcomes of Cromwell's tyrannical rule had endangered the heads, hearts and souls of the nation. In 1660, *Englands Captivity Returned* lamented that the effect of rule by rascals was 'enough for to make us all mad'.²⁵⁹ The *Loyall Subjects hearty Wishes* reminded its audience that Cromwell was responsible for the Quaker threat as during his rule, 'Opinions up did spring/ by tolleration /heresies, cruel liberties/ by old Noll granted'.²⁶⁰ *Win at First* claimed that 'Old Noll was the Knave o'th' clubs/ And Dad of such as preach in tubs' and *The High Court of Justice at Westminster* told the regicides about to be executed, 'You flatter'd Oliver up in his sin/ Made religion your baud and your Punk'.²⁶¹

Perhaps the hardest part of assessing Cromwell was that Providence seemed to have done little to rid the country of him. Baxter wrote of Cromwell that 'Many sober men that called [him] ... no better than a Trayterous Hypocrite, did begin to think that they owed him

²⁵⁷ *The Noble Prodigal; or the young heir newly come to his estate. A new medley of six ayres* {1660}, b/l, Rox.II.372, Don.b13(69). BL speculates 1675 as publication date.

²⁵⁸ *Win at First Lose at Last* (1660); *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* (1660).

²⁵⁹ *Englands Captivity Returned with a Farewel to Commonwealths* (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(24a), other half, [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB 213/2.

²⁶⁰ J. P., *The Loyall Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(1).

²⁶¹ *Win at First, Lose at Last* (1660); *The High Court of Justice at Westminster arraigned at the Bar* (1660), b/l, Euing 139.

subjection. They knew that the King was by Birth their Rightful Sovereign ... But they were astonished at the marvellous Providences of God, which had been against that Family all along'.²⁶² Though *Win at First Lose at Last* claimed 'Just fates' had thrown out the four knaves, 'Nol, Bradshaw, Ireton and Pride', the popularity of the card game as a trope emphasised the role of fortune rather than that of Providence. The stories of the great wind, or of Lucifer carrying Oliver off, and later in *The Praise of Brewers* (1667) Cromwell's description as 'antichrist,' reflects the difficulty balladeers had in describing a regime that seemed so blessed with success.²⁶³

Balladeers could not but acknowledge a grudging admiration of Cromwell's successes, in particular his military exploits at home and abroad. The royalist defeat at Worcester was ambiguously judged. In 1660, *The Royal Patient traveller* recalled baldly how, 'Cromwell came with a mighty force and did give him [Charles] the rout.'²⁶⁴ However, *The Wonderful and Miraculous Escape* was more circumspect, insisting that 'an uneven ground did rout him'.²⁶⁵ Meanwhile, *The Royall Wanderer* reminded its audience that 'though bold rebellion for a time look brave/ Man shall not slay what God resolves to save'.²⁶⁶ Though Providence had been unwilling to remove Cromwell, at least God had preserved the King in exile. Ballads admitted that royalists had been helpless against Cromwell, and both *Foxes* and *Win at First* wistfully mentioned Booth's failed rebellion. This helplessness is reflected in the 1660 ballad that encouraged Charles to come back because, 'The tyrants dead who tried to Kill you/ Do but return and save us now', and in the post-Restoration *Merry Boys of Christmas*, who were glad the King 'that we so much desired' had come home. Though they had 'wished [him] amongst us for to reign/ when Oliver rul'd here', there had been little they could do about it.²⁶⁷

²⁶² Quoted in N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration* (Oxford, 2002), p. 8.

²⁶³ *The Praise of Brewers* {1667}.

²⁶⁴ *The Royal Patient traveller* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(171).

²⁶⁵ *The Wonderful and Miraculous Escape* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(173).

²⁶⁶ *The Royall Wanderer* (1660), b/l, Euing 312.

²⁶⁷ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB 990/6; *The Merry Boys of Christmas: or, the Milk-Maids New-Years-Gift* {1660}, b/l, Rox.IV.24. BL speculates 1680 as date.

Clarendon wrote that 'Cromwell's greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad.'²⁶⁸ Cromwell's success in making England feared and revered by her enemies could not easily be overlooked. In 1663, *A Turn Coat of the Times* told how in Scotland, 'When Cromwell did but frown/ They yielded every town'.²⁶⁹ *Hell's Master Piece Discovered* claimed that a supposed plot in December 1660 had been orchestrated by one of Cromwell's old allies: 'The Chief ringleader is Mazarine as I do understand/ Chiefest enemy to our King/ when bloody Cromwell rul'd this land'.²⁷⁰ In 1664, renewed war with the Dutch inevitably revived memories of recent victory. Call-up ballads taunted the old enemy. *The Valiant Hearted Seaman* reminded the Dutch, 'in fifty two full well you know/England gave you an overthrow', the *Royal Victory* recalled how Van Trump's 'brains were beat out by the head of the Rump', while *Englands Valour and Hollands Terrour* declared, 'we'll teach you better manners yet then ever did Old Noll ... You were basted pretty well/ and forc't to cry and lower'.²⁷¹ One balladeer remembered it was his duty to moralise; *The Loyal Subjects Resolution* sang, 'When Cromwels Nose they did oppose/ The English pierced their life/But when Usurpers fall at odds/ The Devill must end the strife'.²⁷²

Despite balladeers' hostility to Cromwell, they also recorded with satisfaction how he had rid England of the hated remnant of the Long Parliament in 1653.²⁷³ On its return the

²⁶⁸ Quoted in C.H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell* (1900), p. 381.

²⁶⁹ *A Turn-Coat of the Times* (1663).

²⁷⁰ *Hell's Master Piece Discovered* (1660), b/l, Euing 138.

²⁷¹ *The Valiant Hearted Seaman* (1665), b/l, Euing 366; *The Royal Victory* (1665), b/l, Wood 402(96); *Englands Valour and Hollands Terrour* (1665), b/l, Euing 103.

²⁷² *The Loyal Subjects Resolution* (1665), b/l, Euing 161.

²⁷³ Others thought differently. Baxter, *Autobiography*, p. 69, wrote of this moment 'so ended the government of the Rump, and no sort of people expressed any great offence that they were cast out, though all, save the sectaries and the army almost, did take him to be a traitor that did it'. And see Pepys, *Diary*, I, p. 12: 9 January 1660, 'W. Simons told me how his uncle Scobel was on Saturday last called to the bar, for entering in the journal of the House, for the year 1653, these words: "This day his Excellence the Lord General Cromwell dissolved this House"; which words the Parliament voted a forgery, and demanded of him how they came to be entered. He answered that they were his own handwriting, and that he did it by virtue of his office, and the practice of his predecessor; and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by the command of the King, or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end, he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellence the Lord G; and that for the word dissolved, he never at the time did hear of any other term; and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself when it was six years after, before they came themselves to call it an interruption; but they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did chuse a committee to report to the House, whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the act of indemnity or no.'

purged Long Parliament became a monster in ballad eyes, akin to the wife who murdered her husband. Only burning was good enough, and indeed in 1660 Rumps were burned in the streets.²⁷⁴ Cromwell's action was frequently recalled in the white-letter Rump ballads circulating from November 1659.²⁷⁵ In black-letter *The Noble Prodigal* (1660) sang of his Rumper father, 'he was precisely a politick man/ that gain'd his state by sequestration/ Till Oliver began/ to come with sword in hand/ and put him to the run'. *A Turn Coat of the Times* (1663) described its subject's career as a Rumper: 'in Parliament I gat,/ and there a member sat/ to tumble down Church and State ... there we did vow to sit till now/ But Oliver turn'd us out'.²⁷⁶

By 1667, the shine had well and truly rubbed off the Restoration monarchy. As Pepys wrote, 'here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time.'²⁷⁷ The disasters of the war along with plague and fire led to a period of retrospection and a rehabilitation of Cromwell's reputation. At a dinner in February 1667, Pepys and his friends 'talked much of Cromwell; all saying he was a brave fellow, and did owe his crowne he got to himself as much as any man that ever got one.'²⁷⁸ In July, he commented, 'It is strange how he and every body do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him.'²⁷⁹ Pepys reported that Sir George Carteret had taxed the King himself with Cromwell's reputation:

²⁷⁴ Ruge, *Diurnal*, p. 73: 'but now the Rump Parliament was so hated and jeered at ... it was a very ordinary thing to see little children make a fire in the streets, and burn rumps.'

²⁷⁵ White-letter Rump ballad broadsides frequently referred admiringly to Cromwell's action as the Rump resurrected and re-resurrected itself in spite of the army.

²⁷⁶ *The Noble Prodigal* (1660); *A Turn Coat of the Times* (1663).

²⁷⁷ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p.332, 12 July 1667.

²⁷⁸ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p.50.

²⁷⁹ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, pp.331-32, 12 July 1667.

He do say that the Court is in a way to ruin all for their pleasures; and says that he himself hath once taken the liberty to tell the King the necessity of having, at least, a show of religion in the Government, and sobriety; and that it was that, that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world, and that it is so fixed in the nature of the common Englishman that it will not out of him.²⁸⁰

On 11 August 1667 Pepys was again at dinner with friends where, 'Among other things, I met in this house with a printed book of the Life of O. Cromwell, to his honour as a soldier and politician, though as a rebell, the first of that kind that ever I saw, and it is well done.'²⁸¹

Two ballads, possibly published in 1667, made a case for Cromwell as a Hector, a brilliant soldier on the wrong side, if not a full blown hero. *An Honest mans Delight*, complaining about the growing vice in the nation and the self-interest of landlords, warned that everyone would be judged, no matter how powerful. It concluded:

I aske but this question
Of any stout Hector
If he knows what's become of
Old Noll the protector,
Which once here in England
Was a great Commander
And conquer'd us Brittans
Like great Alexander.²⁸²

The Praise of Brewers was also grudgingly admiring of Cromwell's exploits. On one hand it offered insults: Cromwell was an 'Antichrist [who] came to settle religion with copper and Kettle', he had been motivated by greed, 'he div'd for riches down at the bottom/ and cry'd my masters when he had got 'em'. He had won honour only through blood: 'Though

²⁸⁰ Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 355, 27 July 1667.

²⁸¹ Pepys *Diary*, VIII, p. 382, 11 August 1667.

²⁸² *An Honest mans Delight, or Knavery made known* [between 1658 and 1674 {1667}], b/l, Wood E25(50).

Honour be a Princes Daughter/ The brewer will woo her in blood and slaughter, / And win her else it shall cost him but water'. Nonetheless, Cromwell's military exploits had been great; he had defeated 'Jewish Scots', had 'banged [the] Kirk' and 'in Ireland did much work'. He had been fearless and feared: 'He fear'd no power, nor martial stops/ But whipt Armies as round as tops/ and cut off his foes as thick as hops'.²⁸³ Cromwell, sang the ballad, had had both virtue and the self-control to control his passions:

He had a strong and a very stout heart
and lookt to be made an Emperour for't ...
He kept all his passions so under command
Pride could never get the upper hand
and now may all stout soldiers say
Farewell the Glory of the Dray.²⁸⁴

Like Carteret, the balladeer was unsure whether things were any better under the legitimate regime of Kings:

This was a stout brewer of whom we may brag
but since he was hurried away with a hag
we have brew'd in a bottle and bak'd in a bag
and if his successor had but had his might
we all had not been in that pittiful plight.²⁸⁵

Cromwell's rehabilitation proved brief, however. By 1679, he was ballad-villain once more. *The Cuckoo of the Times* (1679) claimed the Earl of Essex had been 'cuckold in his mate/ By Bradshaw and Cromwell in the State/ When England sang Cuckoo'; *The Oxford*

²⁸³ *The Praise of Brewers* [between 1663 and 1674 {1667}].

²⁸⁴ On this important question of the virtue of controlling the passions see Harold J. Cook 'Boerhaave and the Flight from Reason in Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 74.2 (2000), pp. 221-40, p. 225: 'To most philosophers - especially the Christian scholars who took up Platonic and Aristotelian teachings - the ability to follow "the good", morally and healthfully, lay in the ability to use reason to control or temper the passions. For most early modern philosophers and physicians, both peace of mind and good health derived from placing a check on the passions.'

²⁸⁵ *The Praise of Brewers* {1667}.

Health (1680) declared that 'Oliver now and bold Bradshaw are rotten/ Tho' their cursed names they shall ne'er be forgotten' while in 1681 and 1683 reprints of *Rebellion given over Housekeeping*, and *Win at first lost at last* appeared.²⁸⁶ During the exclusion crisis, Tory ballads used drink-imagery in ballads to connect Cromwell the Brewer to Shaftesbury the Cooper, in particular in the fine black-letter, specially illustrated ballad *The Wine Cooper* (1681). In this ballad Shaftesbury was said to aspire to being 'a second red nose' to 'subdue the whole world' and to be 'as splendid as Noll in his chair',²⁸⁷ After the fall of the Whigs in 1683, D'Urfey's tune 'Let Oliver now be forgotten' was cited on numerous black-letter ballads.

Aristotle argued that tyrants ultimately fell because they would be despised by the people. In October 1660 Rugge noted that 'men in great power (right or wronge gotten) are admired, but once fallen from that are the most despicable men that are.'²⁸⁸ But Cromwell's reputation in ballads, and elsewhere, remained ambiguous.²⁸⁹ Cromwell was, without question, a tyrant and as a traitor he was doomed to suffer ballad discredit, but it was hard to despise him. Cromwell had done much to be proud of, he was an English military hero who had 'banged' the Dutch, the Scots and the Irish, and he had made England revered abroad. Cromwell had saved England from the depredations of the Rump, a far worse tyranny than his. However low his origins, he was indubitably possessed of virtue, and, like Elizabeth's Earl of Essex, or later the Duke of Monmouth, whatever his crimes, he caused balladeers to sing his praise as well as blame long after his death.

²⁸⁶ *The Oxford Health* (1680), b/l, Wood E25(27). See also *An Excellent New Ballad of a Dialogue between Tom the Tory [Danby] and Toney the Wigg* (1681), w/l, Wood 417(1): 'I know thou lov'st of old/the name of a protector/ with all thy treats and all thy cheats'.

²⁸⁷ James Dean, attrib., *The Wine Cooper* (1681) b/l, Rox.III.244-45, and w/l editions, Wood 276a(553), BL.C20.f.6(7).

²⁸⁸ Rugge, *Diurnall*, p. 114.

²⁸⁹ See Worden, *Roundhead Reputations*, ch. 8.

vii. **Collapse of the Commonwealth: The Tyrant Despised: 1659–60**

The death of Cromwell was followed initially by an uncanny calm. As Baxter commented, 'all men looked that they should presently have fallen into confusion and discord among themselves ... And all men wondered to see all so quiet, in so dangerous a time', while Thurloe could report with some satisfaction, 'There is not a dogge that waggis his tongue, soe great a calme are wee in.'²⁹⁰ Ralph Josselin's diary entry for 3 September 1658 said merely, 'Cromwell died. People not much minding it.' On 23 January 1659, Josselin told how in a sermon he had 'remembered the Parliament that most forgett and very few so much as speake of them, a spirit of slumber and remissenes is wonderfully upon the nation' and he wondered 'wither this flattery, and smoothnes of nation and prot(ector) will carry things'.²⁹¹ However, things were not going as smoothly as they seemed. The situation rapidly deteriorated, Richard Cromwell resigned, and on 23 April the army locked the doors of the House and recalled the Rump. Forty-two of the remaining seventy-eight members assembled, while 200 of the members excluded in 1648 were kept out by armed guards.

For the next twelve months the Army Council and Rump were to dance jigs in and out of power. Uncertainty combined with the failed royalist rising in August 1659 and rumours of revolution by Quakers meant that fear of the complete breakdown of government became rife. Baxter wrote that 'these proud distracted tyrants ... thought that they did but pull down tyranny'.²⁹² The absence of a head of state led to the epithet 'Rump', a term originating with Clement Walker in 1649 and now widely applied to the diminished house that sat in Westminster from May to October 1659 and from December 1659 to February 1660. Aristotle had said tyrannies fall when the tyrant is despised, and ballads sought to heap calumny and opprobrium upon the heads of the collapsed republic as never before. As an old proverb of the period said, 'men that have ill names are as good as half hanged.'²⁹³

²⁹⁰ Baxter, *Autobiography*, p. 89 and Keeble, *The Restoration*, p. 5.

²⁹¹ Josselin, *Diary*, p. 438.

²⁹² Baxter, *Autobiography*, p. 90.

²⁹³ Rugge, *Diurnall*, p. 54.

There was undoubtedly manipulation of the press in order to gain the support of discontented groups in London, in particular the apprentices from November 1659.²⁹⁴ Apprentices presented a petition that Thomas Rugge believed had been 'framed by better heade peces'.²⁹⁵ Tim Harris quotes a court spy claiming that the apprentices 'were a great means of ejecting the father' and would 'now prove as great an instrument to bringe in the Sonn', while Fleetwood believed the apprentice riots of December 1659 had been managed by 'the Cavaleere Malignant party'.²⁹⁶ Tim Harris has argued that the bonfires on 11 February that filled the city were not all sponsored by cavalier gentlemen, but many clearly were sponsored by those who sought to make the King seem popular. Rugge pointed out that 'gentlemen' gave money towards the celebrations, while Monk's Life Guard gave up to £500.²⁹⁷

While black-letter ballads awaited the outcome of events before passing judgement, as they had done in the 1640s and 1650s, a sudden flood of white-letter verse broadsides, variously attacking the Rump, the army, the City, the press, individual members or officers, began to appear from 7 November 1659, perhaps encouraged by the fact that Lambert, sent to face Monk in Scotland, had marched out of London with a large part of the army on 3 November.²⁹⁸ These broadsides followed events in Westminster in great detail and their numbers increased over the ensuing months. Five white-letter verse broadsides were produced between November and December, but nineteen appeared in January, by which time the nation was said to be 'full of confusion'. Sixteen were published in February and another

²⁹⁴ A similar technique had been used in France in 1649, to whip up support during the Frondes; see M. Grand-Mesnil, *Mazarin, La Fronde et La Presse* (Paris, 1967), pp. 175-85, 199-209.

²⁹⁵ Rugge, *Diurnall*, p. 9. T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II*, (Cambridge, 1987), p. 42.

²⁹⁶ Harris, *London Crowds*, p. 45.

²⁹⁷ Harris *London Crowds*, p. 49; Rugge, *Diurnall*, p. 39: 'gentilmen was not backward in giving monys to buy faggotts and beere ... and report said that his Excellency's life gard had sent them £500 in gold.'

²⁹⁸ A few white-letter broadsides appeared before that: one in May, *A Relation of a Quaker*; in July, *A Dialogue betwixt an excise man and death*; and two in September, *The Anabaptist faith and belief Open'd* (reissue of a 1640s broadside), and *The New Letany* - this attacked everybody indiscriminately, praying *libera nos* from all the following: 'George Booth and his Cheshire Lyes'; 'a senseless Mayor not fit to rule Hoggs'; 'a city that lies on its back to be gelt'; Anabaptists, Quakers, Presbyters; the 'ranting'swearing crew'; 'printed lyes', and 'Republique spyes'.

sixteen in March. Though a very large number they cannot be identified with the apparently huge number printed in the expensive post-Restoration *Rump* collections, to which scholars have too often been tempted to turn for poetic evidence of 'popular opinion' in this period.²⁹⁹ Only the early 1660 anthology of twenty-three ballads entitled *Ratts Rhimed to Death*, which alone of the Rump anthologies claimed to be a collection of 'excellent ballads ... formerly printed in loose sheets', was representative of what actually appeared on the street. Even so, the *Ratts* collection contained ballads from the 1640s and not all its contents survive as broadsides.³⁰⁰

Rump sheets were handed out to important and useful groups such as gentlemen and apprentices, who, it was hoped might be instrumental in raising the city and bringing the King back. From January, with the Rump back in power, Thomas Scott began a strict censorship campaign and the sheets were hunted down. Thomas Ruge recalled the authorities searching for 'Rump ballards' (sic) along with other 'Rump papers'. So desperate were the distributors to get rid of incriminating evidence that they were 'given to poore girles to sell'.³⁰¹ Thus it was only when fearful of discovery that Rump sheets were pushed into the hands of female hawkers and made more widely available on the street.³⁰² It is possible that only those below the level of gentleman were charged for such polemical broadside literature. Thomas Ruge noted that the (forged) *Watermen's Declaration* was 'printed and given up and down to gentilmen and sould to others'.³⁰³ To anyone without a comprehensive knowledge of events and the people sitting in Westminster these broadsides would have made little sense.³⁰⁴ Even

²⁹⁹ Daniel Fleming paid 3s. for a copy of 'ye Rump Songs' in July 1662, Fleming, *Accounts*, Vol. I., p. 416.

³⁰⁰ Thomason's dating of *Ratts Rhimed to Death* is a mystery. He wrote 'November' on the first edition, crossed out the printed 1660, wrote 1659 by it and added a further m/s note '1659 piece'. However, *Ratts Rhimed to Death* must have been published around March 1660, before the second and much expanded edition acquired by Thomason in June 1660.

³⁰¹ Ruge, *Diurnall*, p. 28.

³⁰² Ruge, *Diurnall*, pp. 11, 23, 28, 29, 51.

³⁰³ Ruge, *Diurnall*, p. 33.

³⁰⁴ See Sean Kelsey, 'The Ordinance for the Trial of Charles I', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), pp. 322-23, who notes in his examination of name lists made by journalists that the names were listed in garbled fashion: for example one man's name appeared in one list as Pury, in another as Rowroy, and in yet in another as Lowrey. This would suggest that journalists included names but clearly did not

so, some of the language of apprentices and ballads seem to have matched up. Thomas Rugge heard apprentices use epithets such as 'blind Hewson', and 'lobsters', also to be found in Rump ballads.³⁰⁵ Rugge also mentions that 'four lines were in almost everybodys mouth' and he wrote them out into his diary:

Monck under a hood, not understood,
The Citty pulls in theire hornes
The speaker is out and sick of the goute
And the parliment setts upon thornes.³⁰⁶

Though these lines were clearly based on the first verse of the thirteen-stanza *The Rump Docket* -

Till it be understood
What is under Monck's Hood
The City dare not shew his horns
Till ten daies be out,
The Speaker's sick of the Gout
And the Rump doth sit upon thorns -

they were rendered into a completely different metre.³⁰⁷ The word 'Rump' was changed to 'Parliment' and the whole point of the ten days' moratorium was omitted. John Aubrey, writing much later, claimed the six-line verse of the broadside was 'writt on the Dore of the House of Commons', which suggests there may have been a manuscript version.³⁰⁸ We cannot

know these people. On the other hand, the writers of Rump ballads which list names with confidence and add a joke to each one must have been very knowledgeable about who they were.

³⁰⁵ Rugge, *Diurnall*, pp. 9, 14, 15.

³⁰⁶ Thomas Rugge, *Mercurius Politicus Redivivus* (1659-1665), Vol. I, BL. Add. MS 10116, p. 49. Rugge was anxious to be accurate in his transcribing of verse, see Vol. II. BL. Add. MS. 100117, p. 646.

³⁰⁷ *The Rump Docket* (1660), w/l, Firth b20 (13). *The Rump Docket* has no tune direction. Two broadsides specified the tune 'last parliament sat as snug as a cat' and this appears to be the tune to which *The Rump Docket* was set. This tune only existed in cavalier manuscripts from the 1650s, which may explain why the popular version was so garbled. See Simpson, pp. 192-93.

³⁰⁸ Oliver Lawson Dick (ed.), *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 279.

be sure of the causal link here; an unknown collector dated the ballad sheet 21 January but Ruge did not date his diary entry exactly.³⁰⁹

Oddly enough there appears to be only one belated verse broadside (though many prose ones) in response to all these attacks. *The Wheel of Time Turning Round to the Good Old Way* (1661) spoke of the hope that the triumph of royalists would 'all be over by sixty three'. In the last throes of the republic, radicals seem to have abandoned verse or song and preferred prose as a vehicle. This no doubt indicates that by 1660 only the most radical were prepared to rail against the tide.

As was noted in chapter three, most of these white-letter broadsides were not intended for singing. The trickle of black-letter complaints about the tyranny of the Rump became rife only after the regime had already fallen. It was not until March 1660 that Ruge reported: 'Att this time there were many printed sheets of paper, and all of them tended [to be] much [the same] in their writing, for the maine aim was for the cominge in of the lawful King.'³¹⁰ In Lucy Hutchinson's account it was only after the King's entry into London on 29 May that she noted 'every ballad seller sung up and downe the streetes ribald rymes made in reproach of the late commonwealth and all those worthies that therein endeavour'd the people's freedome and happinesse'.³¹¹ Perhaps events had been too fast moving and uncertain for black-letter ballads to draw clear lessons, or properly and safely apportion praise and blame, though they made up for it from April 1660 onwards.

Balladeers set out to explain how the nation had been so deceived and misled so long. Royalists had long attacked false astrological prophets: Martin Parker's royalist anthem, 'When the King enjoys his own again', had been a response to astrological predictions. In it Parker claimed his own prognostications were just as good as those of Booker, Swallow,

³⁰⁹ Ruge, *Diurnal*, p. 73: 'but now the Rump Parliament was so hated and jeered at, that the butchers' boys would say, "Will you buy any Parliament rumps and kidneys?"' *The Traytors Downfall* (1660) sang that Monk had 'cleared Whitehall of Lobsters and Geese/ [and] Turned Rump and Kidnies out of the House.'

³¹⁰ Ruge, *Diurnal*, p. 51.

³¹¹ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (edited by James Sutherland, Oxford, 1973), p. 227.

Dove or Dade. Ballads paid close attention to the almanac market and ballad almanacs, a new product, had appeared during the Interregnum.³¹² The 'great eclipse scare' of 1652 had led one balladeer to ask, 'What Magician has bewitched Men/ with unknown characters of's horrid pen ... Was't Laurence Price's Shepherds Gnostication/ With cunning Will's wise astrologisation,/ that put ye in distemper and such fits/As if their folly practis'd on your wits?'.³¹³ In 1660 a number of ballads declared that the star-gazers' frauds were now, at last, revealed to all. Ballads such as *Englands Great Prognosticator* and *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* modelled themselves on Parker's 'When the King', claiming that their work 'not by planets signes nor by stars, but truly tells when ends these bloody wars' - it was not stars but the King that brings peace.³¹⁴ Ballads alleged these false prophets had 'hoped to get a prize'.³¹⁵ *Englands Joyfull Holiday* declared:

Let Booker and Lilly be a shamed (*sic*)
 And all their knowledge much be blamed
 For writing against the King and Crown
 And Prophesying the Clergie down
 For they we see False Prophets are
 Though much made use of in the War.³¹⁶

In 1661 the *Loyal Subjects Exultation*, exulted, 'Lilly (I think) had little wit ... his almanacks told/ King Charls (*sic*) never should/ Return to rule on English ground/ But Lily's a Lyer/ like the Devil his Sire.' *London and England* also rejoiced that the return of the King meant the

³¹² Black-letter ballads make few references to other press products - except for almanacs, they and the theatre are more frequently mentioned than the pamphlet press. White-letter ballads, by contrast, were strongly interconnected with all aspects of the pamphlet press.

³¹³ *On Bugbear Black-Monday, March 29. 1652 Or, the London-fright at the eclipse proceeding from a natural cause* (m/s 2 April 1652), w/l, 669.f.16(46). For discussion of this episode see Capp, *Astrology* pp. 79-80. Lilly's prognostications were also attacked in *Strange Predictions* (1652), w/l+w/c, 669.f.16(73) and *Lillies Banquet* (1653), w/l+w/c, 669.f.17(71). Lilly was briefly imprisoned in 1652 for his predictions.

³¹⁴ *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660), b/l, Euing 96; *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660), b/l, Euing 95. See also *The Glory of these Nations* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(5); *Englands Pleasant Mayflower* (1660), b/l, Euing 100.

³¹⁵ *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660). See also J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(1).

³¹⁶ *Englands Joyfull Holiday* (1661), b/l, Wood 401(28v, 27v).

astrologers' 'art was maim'd'. Now, *Englands Joyfull Holiday* suggested, 'let us laugh at their folly'.³¹⁷

In the 1640s and 50s white-letter broadsides were full of images of witchcraft and magic in describing the delusions perpetrated by Republicans. This language was less prevalent in black-letter ballads, but in the 1660s some did complain in these terms. 'We were ruled by tyranny/ and seduced long by subtilty', sang one ballad.³¹⁸ Others blamed 'pretences demure', or 'fair pretences,' while *Rebellion Given Over Housekeeping* described the bit and bridle of the Rump's saddle as 'curbs of dissimulation'.³¹⁹ It was this delusion that had led the people of England to commit terrible crimes. *Much Ado About Nothing* said that the Rump had 'perjur'd the people', while *Englands Joy* rejoiced that the people would 'no more be deluded by their factious charms/ that all the realm to treason bring' to rise 'in arms against our lawful King', 'nor spend our blood/ we know not why'.³²⁰ Though Lucy Hutchinson contemptuously declared that in May 1660 'The Presbyterians were now the white boyes', ballad writers almost immediately identified Presbyterians with the fraud that had ushered in tyranny, accusing them of dissimulation and causing delusion.³²¹ *Englands Joy In A Lawful Triumph* called them 'preaching house haunters/ with all their enchanters' and *The Royal Wanderer* explained that 'when ravishing religion reigns/ then loyalty is led in chaines'.³²² *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* pointed out that 'some with blind zeal Religion did profess/ [but]

³¹⁷ *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* (1661); *London and England Triumphant* (1660), b/l, Euing 167; *Englands Joyfull Holiday* (1661). See also *A Relation of the Ten Grand Infamous Traytors Harrison, Carew, Peters, Cooke, G. Clement, Jones, Scot, Scroope, Hacker, Axtel; who, for their horrid murder and detestable villany against ... King Charles the first, were executed October 1660* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(6): 'he that can ... shew forth a reason/ for what was done against the King ... let him here with me recite/ for my pen is bent to write the horrid facts of treason/ no learned scribe or arithmetician ever able to decide the usurped base ambition'.

³¹⁸ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB 990/6.

³¹⁹ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB 213/2; *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* (1660); *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping* (1660).

³²⁰ *Much Ado about nothing* (1660); *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660), b/l, Euing 98. See also *Englands Joyfull Holiday* (1661): 'by wicked traytors strong consent/ by their wiles/ kept him from us many miles'.

³²¹ Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, p. 227.

³²² *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660) called them 'preaching house haunters/ with all their enchanters'. *The Royal Wanderer* (1660).

scripture nor chronicle they could not bring/ to shew what subjects ever judged their King'.³²³

Finally, the *Merry Boys of Christmas* declared that Monk, 'the spell he broke', and *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* sang, 'if brave General Monck had not stood our friend/ of sorrows and woes we should never had an end/ but deceit and delusions more and more'.³²⁴

viii. Love and Law lie a bleeding

At some time between 1659 and 1660 a connected pair of black-letter ballads, *Love lies a Bleeding* and *Law lies a bleeding*, summed up the horrors of vicious rule by tyrants and argued that two key virtues were missing. *Love lies a Bleeding* explained, 'True Love and Reason makes the Purest politician/ but strife and confusion,/ deceit and delusion/ will make a sad conclusion'. *Law lies a bleeding* complained, 'Small power the Word has, and doe afford us/ not so many priviledges halfe as the sword does'. Both ballads lamented the unreasoning government of force and fraud, and compared this to government by 'Love' in the past and the benefits that government by love and reason could have in the future. *Love lies a Bleeding* claimed that the arbitrary government of power in the present did not compare with the time, 'When Betty rul'd Brittain'. In the past, it argued, 'Love did nourish, England did flourish'. *Love lies a Bleeding* explained, 'where Love is in Season/ there truth is and reason, but *Law*

³²³ *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* (1660).

³²⁴ *The Merry Boys of Christmas* (1660); *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing, or, Long lookt for is come at last* (1660), b/l, EEBO/Harvard. Other attacks were made on the Rump's greed and injustices and on the burdens they imposed, especially sequestration and 'the sess' or assessment tax. See *The Noble Prodigal* (1660), whose father gained estates through sequestration and *Love Lies a-bleeding* {1659}, on purloined estates. [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB.213/2 complained at 'common wealth rak'd together by stealth'. *Win at First, Lose at Last* (1660) claimed the Rump played for 'spoils of Martyrs and of Crowns [and] as if they had not won enough ... play for tithes and college lands'. *A Loyall Subjects Admonition* (1660) and *The Hunting of the Hare* (1660) attacked all 'that purchased deans and Chapter Lands' and gave 'to some sequestered man/ My skin to make a Jacket on'. The 'sess' was mentioned in: *Iter boreale* (1660); *Good News for England* (1660); *London and England Triumphant* (1660); *King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* (1660); *The Royall Subjects Joy* (1660), and *The High Court of Justice* (1660). *London and England Triumphant* (1660) and J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660) both complained at the Rump's attacks on the clergy. *The Royall Subjects Warning Piece* (1660) accused the Rump of plundering and banishing 'good subjects', and of raising the cost of Newcastle coals to 'four shillings a chauldron'. *The King and Kingdoms Lawful day of triumph* (1660) welcomed freedom from 'all exilements and ill revilmets'. *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping* (1660) complained that with the 'Beesom of reformation' they had 'swept the wealth out of th'Nation /and left us Dirt good store'.

lies a bleeding complained that, 'it is not in season/ to talk of reason/ or to call it loyal when the/ sword will have it treason'.³²⁵

Government without love or reason had led to complete social, religious and political disorder. *Law* pointed out that the sword 'makes the servants quickly better than their masters'. The land was ruled not by true religion but by 'holy hate,' which had led to confusion, deceit, strife and dispute. The absence of a true church meant that 'Loves Altars are alter'd / Piety is painted/ Truth is tainted/ Love is now a reprobate and Schism now is Sainted'. As *Law* pointed out, 'Down drops a Bishop and up starts a weaver'. Political disorder followed: the sword 'conquers the Crown too, the cloak and the gown too/ the subtle deceiver turns bonnet into beaver', and 'makes a Lord of him that was but a Dray man'.

'Love' had never committed the kinds of outrages that had been seen in England, 'killing one another ... with hearts of hatred', 'perjury and murder'. The ambition and so-called saintliness of republican rulers was attacked: 'Paul never converted men by stables filled with horses', 'in mending breaches Love did never play the Tinker ... he never doth quarrel for princely apparel/ nor never fixed a chair of state upon a barrell ... Love never advanceth one by throwing down of twenty', 'The soul of love is never underlaid with treason.'

³²⁵ These two ballads were connected textually and musically and both appeared, I would suggest, between 1658 and 1659. *Love Lies a-bleeding* {1659}, b/l, Euing 174 and MB.I(22) came first. It was set to 'the Cyclops'. *Law Lies a-bleeding* (1659), b/l, Wood 401(167) was set 'To the tune of Love lies a bleeding'. (A white-letter version of *Law* was set to the 'Power of the Sword'). The two ballads were similarly set out with four woodcuts, in *Love* two of men and two of women, in *Law* the woodcuts were all male, a soldier, a lawyer, a soldier with boot entitled 'Hewson', and soldiers. The colophon of *Love* claims F[rancis] G[rove] had entered the ballad but there is no record of it. Both ballads attacked a 'Hebrew Ironmonger' (*Law*) and 'anvil ... preacher' (*Love*), almost certainly the journalist, Henry Walker, Ironmonger, and preacher at Somerset House. Henry Walker had published *A collection of passages ... by one who was groom of his chamber*, a pamphlet fulsomely laying out Cromwell's virtues as ruler, and entered by Robert Ibbitson on 7 June 1659. This may account for these ballad attacks. See 'Beginnings of English Journalism' in *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* (1907-21), Volume VII, and the derisive description of Walker and the pamphlet at the end of *Mercurius Democritus* (7-14 June, 1659). Wing, 2nd edition, dated *Love Lies a-bleeding* in 1653, probably following Ebsworth (who was guessing). Simpson follows Wing and comments, 'The original ballad sung to the tune is Love Lies a Bleeding ... an attack on the Puritans, written c. 1653-54 as a result of which the tune became "political" and was used with no other sort of ballad.' However, he gives no evidence for this dating. The tune was later referred to again, during the Popish Plot, in a crossover ballad, *A New ignoramus: being the second new song To the tune of: Law lies a bleeding* (1681).

In contrast, these ballads suggested, the virtues and benefits of rule by Love and Law were piety, truth, reason, friendship, healing, order, and love's laws that 'do not border/ on strife and disorder'. *Love lies a bleeding* promised, 'Love stops the gradation / Of fury and passion' and that 'he can present yee/ with peace and plenty'. Love alone could staunch England's wounds whilst the sword 'plasters disasters'. But who, where or what was 'Love'? These ballads had set out to explain 'what sorrow we suffer since Love left the Land' and to offer an answer. *Love lies a bleeding* declared, 'the low land the high land/ and my land and thy land/ Grew all in a common strait, when love had left this land/ Where Peace is panting/ and rage is ranting/'tis an undoubted sign the King of Love is wanting.' It exhorted its audience, 'Then let us not doubt it/ but straight go about it/ To bring in love again/ we cannot live without it'. If 'Love' had 'left the land' then it could and must be brought back - in the person of the King.

Conclusion

Classical and poetic influences on the genre meant that faced with the crisis of the 'broken times' ballads reverted to Aristotelian political constructs in order to make sense of the world turned upside down. A closer study of ballad discourses has revealed what balladeers believed would be a popular analysis – comprehensible and in keeping with an accepted view of the state. The fact that though they eschewed the republican rule of the Commonwealth, some balladeers were willing to resume their normal functions under the more King-like rule of Oliver Cromwell suggests that for some parts of the popular political press – and the conservative market – the Protector had gone some way towards winning hearts and minds. This aspect of ballad discourse, previously believed to be a royalist medium, has been hidden by post-Restoration pruning of pro-Protectorate ballads. A careful reading of the texts shows that the royalist ballad had a fight on its hands during the Protectorate and it was only with the final collapse of stable government in 1659 that all balladeers sang a royalist tune.

CHAPTER FIVE

Love

1660 - 1694

i. Kings, Love and Law

In 1660 a ballad entitled *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* announced that the newly restored King would 'rule by Love more than Law'.¹ The dual role of the King as fount of both Justice and Love chimed exactly with the operation of common law and New Testament Christian values of humanist England.² The notions of 'love', 'peace' and 'charity' and their role in the social setting have been much discussed by historians. John Bossy has argued that these ideas were part of an older 'moral tradition' which the development of 'civil' society replaced. By the middle of the century, he argues, these conceptual pillars were on the decline as a political and moral force, overtaken by regulated and institutional systems that he saw as more directly 'human' ways of dealing with conflict.³ Felicity Heal has agreed with this analysis in relation to charity. However, Cynthia Herrup has argued that even in seventeenth-century England, 'neighbourliness - love of God and Monarch, belief in obedience, maintenance of peace - were the same traits that ensured social quiet.' Most social historians agree that neighbourly or brotherly love still provided the bond that gave unity to the community, and that contemporaries believed the whole community suffered if there was an

¹ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May in which Our Royall Prince Charles was Born, which Grac't that Month, and Made Glad the Hearts of All True and Free Born Subjects of England* (1660), b/1, EEBO/Harvard. See also [Untitled] (1660), b/1, CB.990/6 'The throne [is] upheld with pillars four/ Justice, Truth, Mercy and Power'.

² John Bossy, 'Postscript', in *idem* (ed.), *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 287: 'three ... powerful images ... have governed the resolution of disputes in the West ... : the image of feud; the image of charity; and the image of law (or the state)'; p. 289: 'love is not only better than law, it is the way to salvation, especially if it involves some surrender of right.' See also *idem*, *Peace in the Post-Reformation* (1998), which pursues the same concept of decline in a series of case studies.

³ See John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), esp. pp. 143-161, p. 143: 'the ... emergence after 1650 of the idea of civil society ... entailed a displacement of the theory and practice of charity'.

unresolved conflict within it.⁴ The way to resolve such conflict was not through the 'separation' of judgement but through the union of arbitration and agreement.⁵ James Sharpe has noted that 'the widespread recourse to arbitration would seem to support the contention that contemporaries were anxious to maintain some sort of harmony in their communities.'⁶ The need to make peace and to promote love was still, therefore, an accepted part of the understanding of social unity in seventeenth-century England.⁷

To make peace (or love) was seen as an essentially Christian duty. This can be seen, for example, by the following explanation, given in 1619 at an assize sermon in Norwich: 'upon every occasion to go to law, is to be an Outlaw of God, whose whole law is fulfilled in Love.'⁸ In arbitration and peacemaking there was a requirement that remorse be expressed but retribution or revenge on the part of the law was not required. As Sir Richard Grovesnor commented, 'None can dislike this Christian way but men of froward dispositions and turbulent spirits', who seek 'to glutt themselves in revenge, and to delighte in the misery of their neighbours.'⁹

Historians have tended to see the operation of these concepts, in so far as they still existed in the second half of the seventeenth century, as belonging to a local, social milieu.¹⁰

⁴ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990). Cynthia Herrup, 'Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 106 (1985), p. 111, although cf. Steve Hindle, 'Keeping the Public Peace', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996), p. 217.

⁵ Michael Clanchy, 'Law and Love in the Middle Ages', in Bossy, *Disputes and Settlements*, p. 47: traditionally disputants were 'brought together by love or separated by judgement'.

⁶ Quoted in James A. Sharpe, "'Such disagreement betwyx neighbours". Litigation and Human Relations in Early Modern England', in Bossy, *Disputes and Settlements*, p. 186. See also, p. 177: 'there is evidence that a breakdown in neighbourly relations, far from being regarded as a normal state of affairs, provoked real disquiet within a parish', and p. 179: 'the concept of Christian charity was ... an important one ... of some relevance to the population at large.'

⁷ See Sharpe, 'Such disagreement betwyx neighbours', p. 175: 'arbitration however informal, was widely accepted as an alternative to fighting a suit through to the bitter end, and was something which members of the litigants' community might be anxious to help bring about ... there was a widespread attitude which regarded litigation as a breach of proper neighbourly relations, and which saw arbitration or less formal methods of reconciling those at law as an attractive method of healing such a breach'.

⁸ Sharpe, 'Such disagreement betwyx neighbours', p. 169.

⁹ Hindle, 'Keeping the Public Peace', p. 228.

¹⁰ Although see John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 102-3, where he describes the rhetoric of harmony and affection in speeches between King and parliament.

Indeed, it has been suggested that such concepts were rather opposed to the interests of the monarchy since they bypassed the legal structures and strictures, which gave the monarch or his agents a monopoly of authority. However, it could also be in the monarch's interests to be seen as an arbitrator. The anthropologist, Simon Roberts, has argued that 'Rulers tend to object strongly to sustained fighting among their subjects, to present themselves as authoritative agents of dispute settlement and to do their best to make sure that they are treated as such.'¹¹ As Professor Herrup reminds us, 'Mercy, theoretically, was the prerogative of the monarch and was expressed by him through his power over pardons'.¹² This power could set the King above the Law - a very desirable objective, especially for Stuart Kings.

The concept of love in the political sphere was just as traditional as in the social. Michael Clanchy has traced the political application of the concept of love from the twelfth century.¹³ He points out that love was a vital part of the feudal relationship between lord and vassal and highlights the fact that 'in charters, lords addressed their men as their lovers (amantes) or friends (amici) and demanded from peasants "love boons" and "love silver"'. He argues that 'because love alone brings freedom and security, it is seen in the stateless conditions of the early middle ages as being more powerful than law, which it "prevails over" or "conquers"'.¹⁴ This is highly reminiscent of the following lines in *Love lies a Bleeding*: 'He that doth know me/ and Love will show me/ hath found the nearest noblest way to overcome me.'¹⁵

¹¹ Simon Roberts, 'The Study of Dispute: Anthropological Perspectives', in Bossy, *Disputes and Settlements*, p. 9.

¹² Herrup, 'Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 105.

¹³ Michael Clanchy, 'Law and Love in the Middle Ages', in Bossy, *Disputes and Settlement*.

¹⁴ Clanchy, 'Law and Love in the Middle Ages', p. 48. Clanchy discusses the differing approaches of Louis IX and Emperor Frederick to the settling of disputes. He likens the differences to those between Christ, who conquers all by love, and Leviathan, whose emphasis is on coercion and justice. He concludes that 'Louis's way was ... more modern. It drew on the New Testament rather than the old and it reflected not the awesome figure of Christ in Majesty judging mankind ... but the gothic Christ, the teacher who presents a human face': p. 55. However, as a study of English post-reformation political balladry makes clear, though the vision of a gothic Christ may have changed, the concept of Kingly love had not.

¹⁵ *Love Lies a Bleeding* {1659}, b/l, Euing 174 and MB.I(22). The 'me' in these lines is generic.

The vast majority of broadside ballads were love songs. It was on these that the ballad market chiefly depended and, well versed as they were in the language of love, naturally enough they drew upon this aspect of the ballad to explain political relationships. As we will see, ballads certainly explained the relationship of the subject with the King in these terms. The popular image of monarchy that ballads portrayed followed the tradition of mutual love between subject and sovereign, which, during the Interregnum, did not decline but broadened out into a full New Testament exposition of the king as the personification of 'caritas'.¹⁶ In the openly riven society that had emerged from 1640 it was not division, but the absence of 'caritas' and the search for peace and harmony that occupied most minds. Ballad-writers, far from dealing with concepts of arbitration as being outside the King's prerogative and therefore unacceptable, portrayed the King as the only possible arbitrator, or healer, that could bring peace and reconciliation to the land and renewed health to the body politic.¹⁷ The concentration on the social consequences as well as the legal aspects of the political divide tapped into an experience of dealing with conflict and disharmony familiar to a majority of people throughout England and which, perhaps, made the possibility of amnesty much more credible.¹⁸

ii. Heads and Hearts: Restoring the Body Politic

War between King and parliament had brought heartbreak to England. *A Dialogue betwixt London and Eccho* (1644), topped with the royal arms and initials C.R., 'London' asked, 'prethee Eccho tell/ when will a happy peace make England well? That's now sore heart-sicke and like to die,/ If Heaven in Mercie lend not remedie'.¹⁹ In 1647 the *Harmony of Healths*, in

¹⁶ Herrup, 'Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 111: 'the law as enforced followed the gentler mood of the New Testament; it was didactic as well as directive.'

¹⁷ This method of relating was also a phenomenon in Sweden where prince and people expected to negotiate power openly in the Riksdag. See Bjorn Poulsen, 'The Necessity of State in Early Modern Peasant Society', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 22, 1 (1997), p. 17, 'the upholding of law and peace was a closely connected existence of a judging and mediating princely power'.

¹⁸ Sharpe, 'Such disagreement betwix neighbours'; Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000).

¹⁹ T. S., *A Dialogue betwixt London and Eccho* (1644), w/l verse broadside, 669.f.10(8).

hopes of peace, sang of 'sad and heavy cheere since Charles departed' and called Parliament to 'restore us to our joyes againe/ sending our King home'.²⁰ In 1649, on the death of the King, a balladeer wrote:

Faire England's Joy is Fled ...

Our Noble King is Dead

Sweet Prince of Love

This Heavy News so bad,

Hath made three Kingdoms sad

No comfort to be had

But from above.²¹

For balladeers the removal of the King in 1649 was not a decapitation but the removal of the heart from the body politic. This was not an unaccustomed concept. The manorial court had been likened to 'a little commonwealth, whereof the tenants are the members, the Lord the body and the Law the head'.²² As is apparent in ballads after 1640, the 'big commonwealth' was conceived of in a similar way. The King was the heart, law or reason was at the head (and parliament was the seat of law), the military were the arms and the people the feet of the body politic.²³ In popular song, it was the King's peace, not the King's law that was removed in 1649. The law was not the King's, though he was ultimately responsible for its protection and for the Justice and Mercy of its operation.

²⁰ *A Harmany of Healths* (1647), b/l, MB.II(38).

²¹ *King Charles His Speech and last Farewell to the World* {1649}, b/l, MB.II(54a).

²² Quoted in Steve Hindle, 'The Political Culture of the Middling Sort, c.1550-1700', in Tim Harris (ed.), *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001), p. 126.

²³ Alan Cromartie, 'The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture in Early Stuart England', *Past and Present*, 163 (1999), pp. 76-120, has argued that 'the rightful powers of Stuart Kings came to be seen in their entirety, as an expression of the common law' by the mid seventeenth century. This 'revolution' in constitutional thought had enhanced the standing of Parliament as the sole repository of 'reason' (common law), which alone protected the common good. This meant it was possible to conceive of the representative assembly as a focus for loyalty - however, by 1660 it was manifestly demonstrated that just as the King was not enough, reason alone could not rule. Ballads reflect such a 'revolution', if it was one, but parliament was always seen as incomplete without the King.

The image of the King and Queen as lovers and parents had been encouraged at court.²⁴ By 1648 this image began to appear in popular song. In *The Pensive Prisoners Lamentation* (1648) the King pointed out that his accusers had raised deadly strife and had even tried to 'separate and breed debate/ between me and my wife' with their 'new made lawes', effectively destroying the structure of patriarchy.²⁵ Again *The True Manner of the Kings Trial* told how in 1649 Charles was separated from his children, 'Father from children 'twas a grief full sore'. At his death songs were sung that mourned Charles I as a lost love.²⁶ In *The Mournfull Shepherdess of Arcadia* Henrietta Maria - styled in two royalist ballads the 'Queen of Hearts' and in another as *The Weeping Widdow* - sang in pastoral despair to England's dead lover.²⁷ She called on the muse Melpomene 'to direct my warbling quill' and to 'sing in quires a heavenly harmony'. For all of nature mourned:

The whistling blackbird and the nightingale
 Whose silver tones were stil'd heroical
 The Queristers both of the woods and fields
 Where harmonious melodious musick yeelds
 They'r metamorphorized into sighs and cries.

The Queen told how 'I in pleasant story too have read,/ that when the Turtle Dove is gone and dead/ The Mate lives single in a mournfull state/ So wil I doe til death strikes out my date'.²⁸

²⁴ See Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: the Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge 1987); R. Malcolm Smuts, *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987); *idem*, *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (Basingstoke 1999); Thomas N. Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999) esp. *idem*, 'Duke Prince and King', pp. 1-25 and Ann Baynes Coiro, '“A ball of strife”: Caroline Poetry and Royal Marriage', pp. 26-46.

²⁵ *The Pensive Prisoners Lamentation being a breefe relation taken out of the cranacle of Edward the second, shewing what misery he endured* (1648), b/l, MB.II(5).

²⁶ *The True Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminster-Hall, by the High Court of Justice* (RI2727 12 March 1656), b/l, Euing 357, Wood 401(145).

²⁷ A. S., *The Mournfull Shepherdess of Arcadia or the solitary solitudes of the matchlesse shepherdess* [between 1623 and 1661{1649}], b/l, MB.I(21), to the tune of 'Tell me wandring Sprits'. Another ballad depicting the mourning Queen, set to the same tune, was published after the death of Henry, Duke of Gloucester in September 1660 - *The Queen's Lamentation* (1660), b/l, Euing 290. The image of 'Queen of Hearts' appeared in *The Royall Health to the Rising Sun* (1649), b/l, MB.I(44) and *The Twelve Brave Bells of Bow* (1649), b/l, MB.II(14). *The Weeping Widdow, or the Sorrowful Lady's Letter to her Beloved Children* {1649}, b/l, MB.II(20).

²⁸ A. S., [Starkey?], *The Mournfull Shepherdess of Arcadia* {1649}.

From 1649 royalist ballads personified the absent King Charles II as 'Love', the greatest of virtues.²⁹ Royalist balladeers wrote laments for absent lovers or beloved masters in ballads such as *The Ladies Lamentation*, *The Matchlesse Shepheard* and *Jack the Ploughlad's Lamentation*.³⁰ As Love, the King became the repository of all virtue, all healing and all hope for peace to come again. He was, in effect, the great Protestant deliverer the country was waiting for. It was this image that had culminated in *Love Lies a Bleeding*.

Lucy Hutchinson, recounting years later the collapse of republican government, blamed Lambert and the army, whose actions, she wrote, 'so turned the hearts of all men, that the whole nation began to set their eyes upon the King beyond the sea, and think a bad settlement under him better than none at all but to be still under the arbitrary power of such proud rebels as Lambert'.³¹ But balladeers felt that even the restoration of the King could not be enough, in itself, to restore the body politic to full health. The question of Love returning to the land had to remain unresolved until parliament was restored to its full reason. The purging and emptying of parliament had affected the mental health of the body politic.³² Rebel, 'rumpers', officers and presbyters were full of 'blind zeal', had 'disturb'd brains', or were fools and clowns.³³ As *Englands Heroick Champion* pointed out in 1660: 'The house being empty/ caused confusion'. At the same time as Monck brought in the expelled members

²⁹ I Corinthians 13, esp. verse 13: 'And now there remain faith, hope, and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity', Latin: 'nunc autem manet fides spes caritas tria haec maior autem his est caritas'. See Ole Peter Grell, 'Christian Care and neighbourly love', in Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds), *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500 - 1700* (1997), p. 47: 'Faith and Love, as Christ says in Matthew 22, are the two pillars of Christian existence'. See also *Tvstins Observations* (1646), 669.f.6(80) on love and love's laws, with biblical quotations including: 'and because iniquitie doth abound, the love of many shall wax cold. Mat. 24. v.12'.

³⁰ All these ballads discussed are above, ch. 4.

³¹ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (edited by N. Keeble, 1995), pp.272-273.

³² C[harles] H[amond], *A Merry New Song Wherein You May View The Drinking Healths of a Joviall Crew, to Thappie Return of The Figure of Two* (1660), b/l, Rox.II.344: 'this unhappy confusion'; *The Noble Prodigal The Noble Prodigal; or the young heir newly come to his estate. A new medley of six ayres* (1660), b/l, Rox.II.372: 'the greatest of Kingdoms in confusion lie.'

³³ See *A Loyal Subjects Admonition, or, A true song of Brittain's civil wars* (1660), b/l, Euing 160: 'Some with blind zeal Religion did profess'; *The Case is Altered, or, Sir Reverence the Rumps last farewell* (1660), b/l, C.120.h.4(3): officers and Rumpers are 'fools', Desborough a 'clown', 'loggerheads', 'blind hewson', *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660), b/l, Euing 96, 'tub men ... so long disturb'd their brain ... hair-brain'd zeal ... whimzies that disturbs his brain'; *A Country Song Intituled the Restoration* (1660), b/l, 669.f.25(20): 'fanaticks ... cure your crazy brain'; *Hells Master Piece Discovered* (1660), b/l, Euing 138: 'greedy worm still in your brains'.

of the Long Parliament, the ballad promised, on behalf of the people: 'we will strive to give content/ For a full free Parliament'. In case it was not clear exactly what 'full and free' meant, the ballad spelt it out: 'Gather thou together Rights ... Of ninety Burgesses and Knights ... let there be none absent in a full free parliament/ May five hundred and eight/ onely now sit.' This, claimed the ballad, was a matter for everyone, even 'the poor ... now lament/ desiring a free parliament'.³⁴

Thomas Rugge observed in January 1660: 'att this day the nation was much in perplexity for want of a government that would doe just and good things... for the Parliament did not please the people in regard they ware so few in number.'³⁵ The 'Reprobate Rump' was derided because incomplete and motivated by self-interest not the common good.³⁶ Ralph Josselin called them 'this selfe seeking, deceitfull crew.'³⁷ The derogatory term 'Rump' enabled people to distinguish between the remnants of a corrupted parliament and a 'true' or 'free' parliament. Once its seats had been refilled, Rugge wrote, 'the Parliment [was] generally beloved of all sorts of people, and they are noe more called the Rump, in regard the secluded members sitts.'³⁸ *Englands Rejoicing* told how, 'in heart the house decree'd/ in granting a free parliament/ To give the subject now content', and *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoicing* explained: 'now a free parliament doth sit/ with honour great, all men compleat/ to settle peace now in the land ... and to maintain the Good old Cause/ as heretofore time hath been/ in Elizabeth's days our Maiden Queen/ for we no good laws have had/ this twenty years to make us glad.' Parliament embodied the reason of the nation, because it was in parliament that law was made.³⁹

³⁴ J[ohn] W[ade], *Englands Heroick Champion; or, the ever renowned general George Monck, through whose valor and prudence Englands antient liberties are restored* (1660), b/1, an acrostic, Rox.III.246.

³⁵ Rugge, *Diurnall*, p. 27. See also pp. 10, 37.

³⁶ *The Case is Altered* (1660).

³⁷ Josselin, *Diary*, 30 April 1659, p. 444.

³⁸ Rugge, *Diurnall*, March 1660, p. 49, and p. 53: 'Now the Parliament is extreamely well-beloved by all sorts of people'.

³⁹ See Glenn Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (Basingstoke, 1992), *passim*, but esp. part one, on law and reason and the King's role as fount of justice, and chapter 6. Burgess's analysis highlights the 'dialogical paradox' of the constitution, which spoke of the King's 'absolute' power but without any intention of embodying it in law or seeing it dispensed in practice.

A 'true' parliament was always beloved of balladeers. In ballad parlance, parliament brought comfort and joy to the people of England, and was partner to the King. The monstrosity that it had become during the Interregnum lived on in political scare-mongering for another century, though in black-letter ballads parliaments were restored to their former virtue as soon as the 'secluded' members were returned in February 1660. The consistently supportive attitude towards parliament is one of the most distinguishing features between black-letter and white-letter ballads throughout the period.⁴⁰ In balladeer analysis it was the division between King and parliament that had caused all the 'broken times'. For balladeers, the break-up of the patriarchal state was caused by the breakdown of the state family. Mother-church had been rejected by her children and prostituted by rebels, while the lustful and envious presbyters and papists had come between the loving partnership of King and people, embodied in parliament. As balladeers had sung *ad nauseam* since 1642, it was only a restoration of the relationship between King and parliament that could bring love, peace and plenty to the State.

While body-politic imagery was fairly common in black-letter ballads in 1660, with Cromwell depicted as 'the nose' and the purged parliament as the Rump, only rarely was the King, even at the Restoration, referred to as the head of the body politic.⁴¹ Of more than fifty black-letter ballads published between 1660 and 1661, just four used this image. In 1660, *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* celebrated parliament and the army choosing to call for the King, 'whereby we may have a head/ that may stand us in some stead'.⁴² *The Case is Altered* declared, 'Let England now ring to cry up a King/ as our Parliaments principal head/

⁴⁰ For example, during the Exclusion crisis while Tory white-letter ballads attacked 'Whig' parliaments as a republican senate and occasionally as a new Rump, black-letter ballads continued to revere parliament as representative of the people and protector against popery.

⁴¹ Political 'body language' was much more prevalent and sophisticated in white-letter broadsides than in black-letter. The difference in analysis between the two formats reflects the changing understanding of the medical body. I have not had time to analyse this here but plan to do so in the near future. See the following for a more nuanced history of the body politic: Michael Shoefeldt, 'Reading Bodies', and Joad Raymond, 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-century Britain', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 215-43 and pp. 185-214.

⁴² *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day that Peace and Truth may bear sway, being th' election of that thing, in chusing us a royal king* (1660), b/1, Euing 95.

till then you nor we can be full or free/ but are carcasses gasping for dead.’⁴³ *A Worthy King*, insisted that ‘he the head must be/ of the publick body.’⁴⁴ Finally, in 1661, *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* sang:

England was but a senseless trunk
Until she was restored by Monck,
in despite of Rump and Souldiers
He hath set her head upon her shoulders.⁴⁵

Far more often, however, as we will see, balladeers preferred the imagery of head and heart.⁴⁶

The health and happiness of the body politic depended on the union of all its members. *A Merry New Song* early in 1660 declared, ‘If ever our troubles should cease/ two needful things in the land/ Is a King and a Justice of Peace’; only they could re-establish lawful love in the country. The two main ‘organs’ of the body politic were the King as the heart and parliament as the head, or at least the reason, of state.⁴⁷ All that was left of the state since the King had gone was the deluded reason of a half-empty tyrannical house of parliament bereft of virtue, justice or mercy.⁴⁸ It was an incomplete pack of cards, as *The New Game* had said. However, as *Win at First* triumphantly observed in 1660, now the body

⁴³ *The Case is Altered* (1660).

⁴⁴ *A Worthy King's Description. Both country and city give ear to this ditty ... Desiring that he may enjoy his own again* (1660), b/l, Euing 404.

⁴⁵ *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* (1661), b/l, Euing 158

⁴⁶ This has been noted by Peter Lake, ‘Periodisation, Politics and “The Social”’, *Journal of British Studies* 37 (1998), p. 286.

⁴⁷ See J. R., *The Valiant Hearted Sea-man* (1665), b/l, Euing 366, which had a woodcut showing Charles II (or perhaps I) with a sacred heart.

⁴⁸ As pointed out above, the health of the body politic - and in particular its mental health - was continually at risk of delusion by outside forces. During the Interregnum those forces were without question demonic. ‘Rebellion was witchcraft’ and it was clear that the reason of state had been bewitched. The idea that it was parliament who could combat this danger had a tradition in law; see Norman Jones, ‘Defining Superstitions: Treasonous Catholics and the Act against Witchcraft of 1563’, in Charles Carlton with Robert L. Woods, Mary L. Robertson and Joseph S. Block (eds), *State Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England* (Stroud, 1998), esp. p. 193, on the legislation of 1563 passed because ‘Father Coxe had admitted to saying mass in order to conjure’, linking conjuring the death of the queen with Catholic practices. See also Stuart Clark, *Thinking With Demons* (Oxford, 1997), esp. part V.

politic had its full complement of cards once more, and thanks to Monck, the King of Hearts became trump.⁴⁹

iii. **The King of Hearts: 1660-1678**

And now in love and not in fear

Now let his presence be your joy.

*The Royall Oak (1660)*⁵⁰

Ballads represented the King heralding the return of joy - the natural outcome of virtuous government. Without the King, sang one ballad, 'us sorrow did invade', another sang, 'From Sorrow we/ hope to be free/ From Tyranny and slavish pain', and many more sang of the misery England had suffered under tyrannical rule.⁵¹ The return of the King meant the nation could now be ruled by love instead of fear and law instead of whim, and they would soon feel the *affect* of good government - 'unspeakable joy', happiness and content. *Gallant News of Late I bring* promised that 'As King and Ruler meet ... Love will nourish us so/ we shall know no wo'.⁵² It is no surprise that ballads should have depicted the state in this way. The concepts of absolute government that were discussed, for example, by Filmer in *Patriarchia*, were almost as alien to the classical culture of the broadside ballad as they were to Algernon Sydney. As well as apportioning praise and blame, the ballad's function was sometimes to persuade its readers to fight, to pay and to participate in or co-operate with government. They

⁴⁹ *Win at First, Lose at Last* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(149). Card imagery was common in political pamphlets and broadsides and in speech. See, for example, S. Kelsey, 'The Ordinance for the Trial of Charles I', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003), pp. 312-13: 'Royalists seized on revelations that Lieutenant-General Oliver Cromwell himself had urged his brother officers in early January "that there was no policy in taking away his life ... that if they should at any time loose the day, they could produce the King, their stake; and by his means work their peace"': quotation from *Mercurius Melancholicus*, 25 December 1648 - 1 January 1649, p. 7.

⁵⁰ J[ohn] W[ade], *The Royall Oak: or, The Wonderfull Travels, Miraculous Escapes, Strange Accidents Of His Sacred Majesty King Charles The Second. How From Worcester Fight By A Good Hap, Our Royall King Made An Escape* (1660), b/l, Euing 308.

⁵¹ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660); J. W., *Englands Heroick Champion* (1660): 'us sorrow did invade'; *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660) belied its title and concentrated on the woes of the past.

⁵² *Gallant News Of Late I Bring, Tidings Of Chusing Now A King, Whereby True Subjects May Rejoice In Chusing Them So Sweet A Choyce That Love And Peace May So Agree, To End The Days Of Misery* (1660), b/l, Euing 130.

did this through promoting an affective relationship between King and people. For example, in *The Royall Entertainment* (1660), affect was a major part of what the King brought with him: 'our sorrow and grief is turn'd to relief/ and comfort is now our Commander in Chief', while *Englands Honour* told how 'The King and Parliament now are agreed/ to ease our sadnesse/ free us from all annoy ... for they will suffer none us to destroy/ the which doth both our joy and comfort breed.'⁵³

Ballads as a vehicle for affects as well as argument were ideal at a time when the feelings evoked in the people could be as important as reasoned argument. Not for nothing were oppositionists referred to as 'disaffected'.⁵⁴ Subjects made choices that monarchs could not control, though they certainly tried. Subjects elected their parliaments, they chose to join up in time of war, and increasingly, they worked out their own salvation. During the Exclusion crisis, for example, despite the best efforts of the country gentry, elections in Yorkshire and Worcestershire were carried against them.⁵⁵ Subjects expected happiness, comfort and security in return for their loyalty and affection. It was up to the state to persuade them that it did provide these things. Like parliament itself, broadside ballads conducted a

⁵³ Thomas Jordan, attrib., *The Royall Entertainment Presented By The Loyalty Of The City, To The Royalty Of Their Sovereign, On Thursday The Fourth Of July 1660* (1660), b/1, MB.I (7). *Englands Honour, And Londons Glory. With The Manner Of Proclaiming Charles The Second King Of England, This Eight Of May 1660. By The Honourable The Two Houses Of Parliament, Lord Generall Monck, The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, And Common Councill Of The City* (1660), b/1, Euing 97.

⁵⁴ Right affection and right reason went together. Affection as much as reason was an act of the will. And the true subject willed himself to feel the higher affections of love and joy when confronted with his monarch - the nearest thing to God on earth - and this is what ballads sought to elicit. See William Reddy, 'Sentimentalism and its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *The Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000), pp. 109-52, pp. 111-19, on acquired cultural emotions or 'emotives', and J. L. Austin's 'speech act' theory [see *idem*, *How To Do Things With Words: the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (edited by J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa, Oxford, 1976)]. This useful literary theory, though intended by Austin to be applied to spoken words, is the framework for study used by Würzbach, *Rise of the English Street Ballad*. Ballads certainly operate 'speech acts' in this way - they seek to connect emotion with high politics - to connect heart and head of the individual to the state. See also Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996), p. 13: 'Authority was besieged with obligations of love and care. Obedience and deference lived in juxtaposition with expectation of protection and support'.

⁵⁵ Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994), p. 234. See also the detailed examination of Exclusion elections in Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, ch. 12.

constant conversation about what loyalty was, how it should feel, and, by implication whether the King, or his heir, deserved it.⁵⁶

The political ballad figured the state as a family in which Providence was father and the Church was mother.⁵⁷ The divinely appointed King, son of the Church, took as his bride the people of 'fair England' - embodied in parliament.⁵⁸ This union created the body politic. Ballads conceived of government in terms of a marital relationship along with separate and shared spheres of activity, an expectation of emotional and economic benefit, an appeal to heart and head, and a basic understanding that there would be a mutual loyalty. As *Love Lies a-bleeding* had said, Love 'governs all good families, and best can guide a nation,/ Father and Mother,/ Sister and Brother/ if love be lacking, quickly mischief one another'.⁵⁹ The King's return meant *Rebellion had given over housekeeping* and a restoration of the proper household could commence. As *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* explained, 'The Bride and the Bridegroom did never so greet/ As the King and his people together will meet', while in *Englands Honour* the Lords give the bride away, offering England to the King as 'a present'.⁶⁰ A broadside poem *Upon the Declaration of His Majesty King Charles* welcomed Charles 'from sad exile, sent him home to heale/ the Bloody wounds of Englands Commonweale:/ Like man and wife, where both in love agree/ Kings live in Peace, [with] prudent Parliaments free.'⁶¹

⁵⁶ Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution*, ch. 8, has shown that by the Restoration there was an uncertainty about what the position of common law, or 'reason', in relation to the monarchy was. What was the power and right of the monarch? Ballads persisted in arguing for a reasoned state, but, like the politicians, they contested questions of the extent to which loyalty and allegiance overrode liberty.

⁵⁷ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 90, quotes Scudamore that the Church was 'the spouse of our Saviour'.

⁵⁸ London poets and publishers sometimes depicted the City in this position especially during feasts. See, for example, Jordan, *The Royall Entertainment* (1660): 'May plenty and peace and union increase/ May amity live and may enmity cease/ May God in his mercy love favour and pity/ and never divide the Good King and the city.'

⁵⁹ *Love Lies a-Bleeding* {1659}.

⁶⁰ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph. Bold Phanaticks now make room Charles the Second's coming home. As it was voted in the House on May-day last 1660* (1660), b/l, Euing 98; *Englands Honour, and Londons Glory* (1660).

⁶¹ Nathaniel Richards, *Upon the Declaration of His Majesty King Charles* (1660), 669.f.25(28).

The return of the King meant the restoration of the national household and all households within the nation. During the Interregnum 'sad excises [had] been so rife/ it hath beggar'd man and wife', but now *Englands Great Prognosticator* predicted a general domestic recovery, for 'honest men their lost estates/ maydens shall have their mates, wives their husbands.'⁶² *The Glory of these Nations* celebrated that 'Now all unto their trades may fall/ their famylies for to maintain'.⁶³ Those who threatened the monarchy were depicted as destroyers of familial, mutual and marital love.⁶⁴ Branded as 'Jews' or 'Turks', Jesuits, 'Jack Presbyter', and sectaries were all depicted in ballads as 'foreign' and unchristian agents coming from outside the English household.⁶⁵ These strangers were frequently depicted as predators on the sexual virtue of the state. They were 'seducers,' who brought jealousy, fear and care instead of comfort, and they impeded the martial bliss and sense of joy that should have come about through the return of the King.

One ballad, brimming with Old Testament references, referred to the patriarchal King as a 'nursing father'.⁶⁶ Ralph Josselin also used terms such as these as he expressed his hopes for a moral restoration. On 6 May 1660 he wrote, 'the nacion runneth unto the King as Israel to bring backe David', and on 9 June he wrote, 'a great calme in the contry, the Kings

⁶² *Englands Rejoicing in that Happy Day* (1660); *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660).

⁶³ *The Glory of These Nations, or, King and peoples happinesse, being a brief relation of King Charles's royall progresse from Dover to London, how the Lord Generall and the Lord Mayor with all the nobility and gentrey of the land, brought him thorow the famous city of London to his pallace at Westminster the 29. of May last, being his Majesties birth-day, to the great comfort of his loyall subjects* (1660), b/l, C.120.h.4(5).

⁶⁴ See T[homas] R[obins?], *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to all Traytors* (1660), b/l, Euing 310: which admonished the Rump declaring 'the commenty (*sic*) you have undone', and complaining that the Rump had murdered the King, banished his wife, threatened his offspring' and had 'Fought for wedding rings'. See also *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping or A General Sale of Household Stuff* {1660?}, earliest extant editions [between 1681 and 1684], b/l, Wood E25(21); Pepys II.209: in which the army had been paid for by 'old wives who on good troth/ lent thimbles to ruine the nation'. This imagery was far more developed in white-letter ballads.

⁶⁵ See *A Turn-Coat of the Times, Who doth by experience profess and protest, That of all professions, a Turn-Coat's the best* {1663}, b/l, Rox.II.478, in which the turncoat 'Triumphed like the Turk' over his victory at Worcester; *Holland turn'd to Tinder, Or Englands Third Great Victory* [1666], b/l, Euing 134: 'news from the navie/ enough to rejoyce/ every English mans heart/ that's honest and true/ (and is not a Jew).'

⁶⁶ J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660), b/l, C.120.h.4(1): 'The King, our nursing father,/ he will us cherish.' See John Morrill, 'Cromwell and His Contemporaries', in *idem* (ed.), *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1990) on the use of Old Testament imagery in Cromwellian panegyric.

proclamation against debauched courses a cutt to the gentry of England, oh lord make him a Nursing Father to thy people.’⁶⁷ But, far more often, ballads depicted the King as a lover, who ruled by the consent and love of his subjects. The ideal king was lovely, loving and loved by his people, but if he ceased to be admirable, failed to provide, or failed to protect, there was a constant danger of estrangement. As John Miller points out, when King and people did ‘vary’, who was to judge the matter? This, he argues, was a flaw in the ‘fundamental law’ of England.⁶⁸ In the ballad world there was an answer to this question: Providence would protect the nation by sending a Protestant deliverer. In the 1640s parliament itself, in 1653 Cromwell, in 1660 Monck, and in the 1680s first Monmouth and finally William were all to fulfil this function.

If a King mistreated his people badly they would no longer love him - or want him. As Aristotle had argued, at that point he ceases to be a true King and becomes a despised tyrant.⁶⁹ Charles I was reported to have said on the scaffold that ‘a subject and a sovereign are clean different things.’⁷⁰ This comment, though set amongst a discourse of being ‘in charity’ with parliament and people, showed how far he was out of sympathy with the participatory ‘culture of reconciliation’ that permeated the legal and political structures of the country.⁷¹ It was Charles’s failure to compromise which, ultimately, had led to his demise. As Aristotle had argued, Kings needed to ‘become less like masters, and more like their subjects in character’ if they were to retain power.⁷² It was not enough to rely on the King’s divine authority as sufficient reason for obedience from his subjects. Charles I had once claimed to

⁶⁷ Josselin, *Diary*, p. 464.

⁶⁸ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 253.

⁶⁹ *Politics*, p. 342.

⁷⁰ *King Charles His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold at Whitehall Gate* (1649), printed in William Lamont and Sybil Oldfield (eds), *Politics Religion and Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (1975), p. 132.

⁷¹ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 3 and see his discussion pp. 7-16.

⁷² *Politics*, p. 344. See Kevin Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992), pp.193-96, who argues that Charles was a neo-platonist - a ‘modern’ rather than an ‘ancient’ as most balladeers were.

be a prince who loved parliaments, but his love was unrequited.⁷³ Parliaments and people had fallen out of love with Charles I; would they stay in love with his sons?

The Freedom of Subjection

Wars shall end
then I and my friend
a subjects freedome shall obtain

Englands Great Prognosticator (1660)⁷⁴

Though the King returned in 1660 without formal conditions, in ballads his acceptance was by no means unconditional. With the language of 'tyranny' and 'slavery' that emerged in ballads during the Interregnum, inevitably came the contrarities, 'liberty', and 'freedom'. When the Long Parliament was recalled, *Englands Heroick Champion* celebrated the fact that England's 'ancient liberties are restored' and urged General Monck, 'Govern thou us by rightful laws/ exclude us not from/ Our just rights in any cause'.⁷⁵ *The Covenant* defended the actions of the army, declaring that the army had fought 'for the subjects liberty' and praying, 'Great Jove unite our hearts together/ our privileges to maintain.'⁷⁶ *The Royall Subjects Joy* called 'for peace and liberty/ let all true subjects stand/ for the good of fair England/ under Charles and George command'.⁷⁷ *A Worthy King*, a ballad seeking to explain the powers and rights of the King, promised that 'When in fair England he doth reign/ all men shall be free/ and set at liberty', and that the King would not 'delay Gods laws to obey/ and all mens rights for to maintain.'⁷⁸

⁷³ Quoted in Sharpe, *The Personal Rule*, p. 57.

⁷⁴ *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660).

⁷⁵ J. W., *Englands Heroick Champion* (1660).

⁷⁶ *The Covenant or No King but the old Kings Son of a brief rehearsal of what heretofore was done* (1660), b/l, Euing 43.

⁷⁷ *The Royall Subjects Joy, or, Joyfull news to all that faithfull be And doth desire a happy year to see* (1660), b/l, Euing 309.

⁷⁸ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660). See also Jordan, *The Royall Entertainment* (1660), carried out in 'order, gallantry, freedom'; John Wade, *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph. Or, The kings most excellent majesties royal and triumphant coming to London, accompanied by the ever renowned, his excellence the Lord General Monck* (1660), b/l, Euing 146: God 'Usurpers down did fling/ Freedom unto us to bring' the King would 'Set us free from all vexations/ and great taxations/ woe and

Quentin Skinner has pointed out that if people conceived of themselves in these terms then certain corollaries must follow: 'if everyone in civil association is either bond or free, then a *civis* or free subject must be someone who is not under the dominion of anyone else, but is *sui iuris*, capable of acting in their own right.'⁷⁹ What was slavery? Ballads variously explained it as subjection to the burden of care and fear, being forced to act or to pay against your own will. But ballads also described men as slaves to their passions, and delusions, so that misers were slaves, subject to their passion and care for money and sectaries and papists were also slaves, subject to their own unreason. *The Royall Wanderer*, describing Charles's humiliations whilst escaping from England, explained, 'Princes to slaves sometimes must yield.'⁸⁰ Every man had been enslaved by tyranny, and now every man was free to be a subject of the King.

Balladeers addressed their audience as individual citizens who had to make their own commitment to and decision about co-operation with government. The language of the 'true freeborn subject of England' was the language of consent and love.⁸¹ This was a concept of loyalty and obedience far more nuanced than that purveyed in homilies and sermons. Decisions had to be made about 'joining'. It was only reasonable that this should depend on what was on offer, and so the promises for the future were crucial. Thus *Englands Joy* not only expected an end to Rump tyranny, 'no vote by rote/ no bills extempore/ coblers in tubs', and a return of liberties such as the 'freedom granted by our charter/ and scape from plunder, pay and quarter', but also referred to the earlier tyranny of ministers. It anticipated:

miserly'; *The Royal wanderer: or, Gods providence manifested, in the most mysterious deliverance of the divine majesty of Charls the Second, king of Great Britain* (1660), b/1, Euing 312; Wade, *The Royal Oak* (1660) was sung to the tune 'in my freedom is all my joy'.

⁷⁹ Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics* (Cambridge, 2002), Vol. II, chs 11, 12, esp. pp. 286-87, 289, argues that the classical concept of slavery (he assigns a republican Roman influence to writers such as Henry Parker and John Milton) has been insufficiently discussed by historians of this period, which has effectively meant ignoring an important weapon used in the rhetorical armoury against the King. This aspect has influenced the approach of writers such as Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles* (Cambridge, 2000). However, slavery was not just a republican concept - at no time did ballad broadsides attack the King himself as tyrant, though some m/s libels did. They were influenced by Cicero and Aristotle, and the concept of the 'middle constitution', rather than Justinian and Sallust.

⁸⁰ *The Royall Wanderer* (1660).

⁸¹ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660): 'Charles made glad the hearts of all true and freeborn subjects of England'.

No more patentees (that feed upon poor peoples trade)

Star chamber shan't vex guileless men for fees

Nor law to vice for bribes be baud

Bishops will learn to preach .

rich clergy will not silent be

Judges impartiall

when Laws alike to all degrees

No sleeping judges gape for fees.⁸²

Marriage was a contract. Like a bride, the people promised to 'Love, honour and obey' but the King also promised to provide succour, support and protection of his spouse's rights, religion and property. The mutuality of this relationship was explained in ballad after ballad. The royalist patriarchal ideal had been set out in love ballad such as *Fame Wit and Glory of the West* (1649), which depicted a royalist couple who 'live in peace and never vary'.⁸³ Other ballads such as *The Faithful Lovers Farewell* (1664/5) described a couple parted by the coming of war, who were 'combined in mutual bonds of love'.⁸⁴ The King had come into his property only by union with the state. His rights were restored by parliament; as *Englands Honour* told the King, he was to be 'crowned by this parliament/ thy rights they'l restore.'⁸⁵ Mutuality extended to mutual protection. *The Valiant Hearted Seaman* was prepared at the same time to 'stand against all people which oppose our King' and for 'Englands Liberty'.⁸⁶ Another ballad claimed that the King 'from all harmes will us defend/ gainst all that with us do contend', and *Englands Great Prognosticator* urged that 'Parliament

⁸² *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660).

⁸³ *Fame Wit and Glory of the West* {1649}, b/1, MB.I(53).

⁸⁴ *The Faithful Lovers Last Farvvell: or, Private newes from Chatham, described in a passionate discourse betwixt a young gentleman whose name was John, and his fair lady Betty, who having been newly contracted, were suddenly seperated before marriage, in regard that he was instantly commanded to take shipping in an expedition against the Dutch* (1664), b/1, Euing 118 and Rox.III.144.

⁸⁵ *Englands Honour and Londons Glory* (1660). *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660): 'we will him crown.'

⁸⁶ J. R., *The Valiant Hearted Sea-man* (1665).

must willing be / to labour still for peace, / spend their lives to defend the King/ in all his rights to reign.’⁸⁷

The union with ‘fair England’ brought other ‘goods’ to the King. Ballads told how his people would bring him joy, glory and fame. *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation* claimed that sailors were ‘freemen’, who freely offered ‘fidelity, loyalty and obedience’. It described how they would suffer untold hardships to bring the King both glory and goods.⁸⁸ King and people brought each other mutual ‘hearts ease’. The *Praise of the Merry Month of May* sang that ‘Love makes with thee a solemn holiday/ All hearts rejoyce for Charles’ sake/ Hearts ease wil grow’, while *The Glory of these Nations* explained that ‘He was received with joy, his sorrow to destroy.’⁸⁹

Yet even the most laudatory ballad, which set out the full extent of the King’s power, openly stated conditions. *A Worthy King* explained, ‘His command if right is without dispute/ then will his power be absolute’; it described the King as ‘Gods vice-regent’, and declared ‘his wants must be supplied/ no place unregarded/ but royally rewarded/ richly his state [to] maintain.’ However, the same ballad announced, ‘all men shall be free/ and set at liberty’, and it stipulated obedience to his commands only ‘if right’ adding, ‘what rightful thing by him is said/ ought not for to be disobeyed.’⁹⁰ Both King’s and people’s rights were to be respected, as was set out in *Englands Joy*: ‘The King shall his prerogatives enjoy/ The state their privilege shall have/ He shall not theirs nor will they his annoy/ But both each others strive to save’. This mutual respect would ensure that ‘Parliament no more in arms against a lawful king’ would occur.⁹¹

⁸⁷ [Untitled] (1660), b/1, CB.990/6; *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660).

⁸⁸ *The Valiant Seamans Congratulation to his Sacred Majesty King Charls the Second* (1660), b/1, Euing 368.

⁸⁹ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660); *The Glory of These Nations* (1660). See also J[ohn W]ade], [Untitled] (1661), b/1, C.120.h.4(4), part of this badly damaged ballad is Wade, *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* (1660): ‘we’l make his glory spread’; *The Loyal Subjects Resolution* (1665), b/1, Euing 161: to fight ‘in defence of his King’; J. R., *The Valiant Hearted Seaman* (1665) will ‘stand against all people which oppose our King’ and for ‘Englands Liberty’, their victory will bring ‘peace and unity to ‘Little England’. *The English Seamans Resolution* (1665/6), b/1, Euing 106: ‘for King Charles, I will fight’.

⁹⁰ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660).

⁹¹ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660).

emphasised that this had been brought about, as with any marriage, by free choice and mutual contract.⁹⁶ Especially in the lead-up to the Restoration, black-letter ballads frequently reiterated that the King was subject to the ‘choice’ and ‘consent’ of all key parties. *The Royall Subject’s Joy* hoped for union, ‘If Charles and George [Monck] agree’, and *Englands Rejoicing in that Happy Day* explained that the Army ‘doth take a part’.⁹⁷ *Englands Honour* constantly reiterated how all parts of the State agreed at the proclaiming of the King. It told how ‘The King and Parliament now are agreed/ to ease our sadnesse/ free us from all annoy.’ It said that ‘Lords and Commons both together agreed/ with their free consent.’ Charles had then been ‘with full consent proclaimed’ and citizens ‘all without command/ cry’d God save the King.’ The ‘Lord Mayor and Aldermen rejoyced’ and ‘the greatest number were all of one mind/ Lords and Commons likewise were glad/ to see the people so soon to comply.’⁹⁸ *Gallant News* brought ‘Tidings of chusing now a King/ whereby true subjects may rejoyce/ In chusing them so sweet a choyce/ That love and peace may so agree/ to end the days of misery.’⁹⁹ *A Worthy King* claimed it spoke for the King’s subjects, who ‘here their desires explain/ Desiring that he may enjoy his own again.’¹⁰⁰ *Englands Rejoicing in that Happy Day* ... *we chused a King*, rejoiced ‘that peace and truth it may bear sway/ Being the election of that thing/ In chusing us a Royal King ... wherein they will so well agree/ that we shall live in unity.’¹⁰¹ The interestingly titled *Englands Captivity Returned* proclaimed England’s ‘ready

⁹⁶ A. Starkey, *Good News for England: or, The Peoples Triumph. Then let's be joyful, and in heart content, to see our King united with the Parliament. Long live Charles the Second* (1660), b/l, Euing 131; *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660): ‘Parliament must willing be / to labour still for peace,/ to spend their lives to defend the King/ in all his rights to reign’. See *The Noble Progresse Or, A True Relation Of The Lord Generall Moncks Politicall Proceedings With The Rump, The Calling In The Secluded Members, Their Transcendent Vote For His Sacred Majesty, With His Reception At Dover, And Royall Conduct Through The City Of London, To His Famous Palace At Whitehall* (1660), b/l, C.120.h.4(2), which offered a history of ‘voting King Charles home’, the ‘worthy Parliament, with good intent they boldly went/ to vote home the King’; *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660): ‘we will him crown’; *The Glory of These Nations* (1660): ‘England Mourned their King/ God hath brought him home again.’

⁹⁷ *The Royall Subject’s Joy* (1660); *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660).

⁹⁸ *Englands Honour and Londons glory* (1660).

⁹⁹ *Gallant News of Late I Bring* (1660): ‘If they can agree in love and unity’, ‘the Army does consent/ with a free parliament/ all dangers to prevent’, ‘they have made a choice with heart and eke with voice ... which will us comfort bring in chusing of a King’.

¹⁰⁰ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660).

¹⁰¹ *Englands Rejoicing in that Happy Day* (1660).

obedience', arguing that 'to bring home the King/ was the only thing/ could make all things well for the people.'¹⁰² As Ralph Josselin observed on 25 December 1659, 'the nacion looking more to Charles Stuart, out of love to themselves not him.'¹⁰³

If the question being asked was, Do you take this man to be your lawful wedded patriarch? then *The Covenant*, representing the voice of the army, declared, 'If a single person we must honour/ These lands in Union for to bring/And must fight under his bonner [sic]/Let us have our Lawful King.'¹⁰⁴ Ballads emphasised that Charles Stuart was England's lawful partner and as such he could claim both land and hearts. Ballads pointed out that he had legal title through inheritance; the *Praise of the Merry Month of May* argued his 'title is clear' and agreed with *The Royall Oak* that Charles was 'your lawful Prince'.¹⁰⁵ *A Worthy King* declared, 'he hath most right to reign', *Englands Honour* emphasised the City's desire that 'Charles his birth right should have', while *Englands Great Prognosticator* stated, 'Full forty years the royal crown/ hath been his fathers and his own', and asked, 'is there any more than he, / Hath right unto that sovereignty?'¹⁰⁶

Ballads argued that Charles had been unjustly deprived of his rights. *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* stated that 'Proud Rebels did live upon his land' without 'just cause,' because there was 'no law (scripture nor chronicle)/ that allowed subjects to judge their King.'¹⁰⁷ *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* declared that 'Foxes his father did destroy' and argued that Charles should 'have his right', pointing out 'it would have angered anyone/ For to have been kept from their own.'¹⁰⁸ *Englands Rejoicing in that happy day* exulted that the

¹⁰² *Englands Captivity Returned with a Farwel to Common-wealths* (1660), b/1, Firth b.20(24a)[first part] and [Untitled] (1660), b/1, CB.213/2 [second part]; Jordan, *The Royall Entertainment* (1660), ended in the style of a bridal blessing - 'may plenty and peace and union increase/ May amity live and may enmity cease/ May God in his mercy love favour and pity/ and never divide the Good King and the city.'

¹⁰³ Josselin, *Diary*, pp. 457-58.

¹⁰⁴ *The Covenant, or No King but the old Kings Son* (1660).

¹⁰⁵ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660): he was 'our lawful King'; Wade, *The Royall Oak* (1660).

¹⁰⁶ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660); *Englands Honour, and Londons glory* (1660); *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660).

¹⁰⁷ *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* (1660).

¹⁰⁸ *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing, or, Long lookt for is come at last, or, The True manner of proclaiming Charls the Second King of England, &c. this eighth day of this present May, to the ever*

'Proclamation it will down/ that took away Charles Stuarts crown/ And Charles the second
once again/ do hope the same for to obtain.'¹⁰⁹

Like any subject-citizen, Charles's claim rested on his inheritance and the mistreatment of his family by illegitimate powers acting outside the established laws. As *A Merry New Song* put it, 'he hath suffered some wrong/ and bears up the name of his father.' *The Traytors Downfal* pointed out that Charles I had left 'noble stock' behind him. The ambiguity of his legacy was referred to in *The Covenant*. This made the point that his son did not carry responsibility for his father's faults: 'If any man claim Charles's right/ For what e're his Father hath done/ Death on him has wrought his spite.' Therefore, the army was 'For no King but the Old Kings son'. *A Worthy King* addressed any fears that Charles was not English: 'He is no foreign conqueror/ But our supream Governour' while other ballads emphasised Charles's English heritage, connecting him to previous Kings such Alfred and William the Conqueror.¹¹⁰ The republican idea of the 'Norman Yoke' was alien to ballad discourse. Some ballads argued that under the Rump's rule the people of England had suffered an Egyptian Yoke, or simply a yoke of slavery.¹¹¹

The ease with which the change had finally come, as ballads were keen to point out, demonstrated that the King had been chosen by Providence. *Englands Pleasant Mayflower* declared, "'Twas God that sent [him] here/ surely he is determined.' To this extent, therefore,

honored praise of General Monck, being for the good of his country and the Parliament (1660), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

¹⁰⁹ *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660). See also *The High Court of Justice at Westminster Arraigned at the Bar* (1660), b/l, Euing 139.

¹¹⁰ Henry Jones, *The Royal Patient Traveller, Or, The Wonderful Escapes Of His Sacred Majesty King Charles The Second From Worcester-Fight And His Making A Hollow Oke His Royall Pallace* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(171). Charles was 'in disguise like King Alfred ... that was a Prince most wise'. Cf. Jordan, *The Royall Entertainment* (1660): 'such glory and gladnesse ... ne'er known before/ From William quite thorow the reign of the Kings.' Parker's *The Wandering Jews Chronicle* was reprinted in 1660 and (newly adapted to include Charles II and his bride) in 1661. In 1663, a version of *The King and the Tanner* story, *The Shepheard and the King* was published; it related the story of Alfred and a shepheard. William the Conqueror makes few ballad appearances (and never in relation to a 'Norman Yoke'). *The Valient Hearted Seaman* (1660) recounted that William was impressed by, and had offered special rights to, the men of Kent who had 'held out most gallantly'.

¹¹¹ See J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660); *Merry Boys of Christmas* (1660): 'In doleful dump men bore the yoke/ waiting that happy year'. Cf. Morrill, 'Cromwell and His Contemporaries' on appropriations of the yoke by Protectorate propagandists.

England had no choice since, as one ballad pointed out proverbially, 'marriage and hanging goes by destiny', and Christian people could not deny 'sacred majesty' or 'Gods anointed'.¹¹² Ballads urged their audience to 'consider and think upon what Monck has done/ without destroying honest men ... God was on his side/ you may very well know/ that helpt him to beat down the Protestants foes.'¹¹³ Ballads argued that Providence had protected Charles in his miraculous escapes after 1651, and his return had been equally miraculous.¹¹⁴ To emphasise the *Wonderful and Miraculous Escape* of the King was also, of course, to deny the part played by unacceptable groups such as the Presbyterians.

Ballads also emphasised Charles's Protestant credentials. There was considerable concern that the royal family had been subjected to papist influences abroad. On Hyde's advice the exiled court moved to the Hague in order to appear more acceptable.¹¹⁵ In September 1660, at least one ballad mourning the death of the Duke of Gloucester accused the Queen of attempting to 'turn' her children.¹¹⁶ Before the King arrived in 1660 *The*

¹¹² Jones, *The Royal Patient Traveller* (1660): 'sacred majesty'; *The Noble Progresse* (1660): 'owned his sacred sovereignty'; J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660): 'Gods anointed'.

¹¹³ *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* (1660).

¹¹⁴ *London and England Triumphant: At the proclaiming of King Charls the Second, by both the Houses of Parliament, the Judges of the Land: with the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Council of the City, as it was performed with great solemnity, and loud acclamations of joy by the people in general. May the 8th. 1660* (1660), b/l, Euing 167: 'as miraculous a day/ as ere was brought to pass ... a great deliverance/ Just at the latter day ... circled about with Providence/ sent from the Lord of Host/ Witness the scape at Worcester/ so worthy to be named.' *The Wandering Jews Chronicle* (1661): explained the King's return, 'by miracle and means unknown'; Jones, *The Royal Patient Traveller* (1660): 'God hath preserved our Royal King'; *Englands Pleasant May-flovver or, Charles the second, as we say, came home the twenty-ninth of May. Let loyal hearts rejoyce and sing for joy they have got a gracious king* (1660), b/l, Euing 100: 'Much blood and treasure hath been spent but neer obtained peace/ Until He had withheld his hand', "'Twas God that sent [him] here/ surely he is determined/ God has so remembered and kept him from his birth'; Jordan, *The Royall Entertainment* (1660): 'the triumphs that Providence brings'; *The Royal Wanderer* (1660): 'Gods Providence evidently manifested in the most mysterious deliverance of the Divine majesty of Charles the Second'; Wade, *The Royall Oak* (1660): 'Fortune seem'd on him to frown/ he thought the fates would him annoy/ but Providence did him safely convey'; J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660): 'God we see is still above the devil ... defends him from living serpents'; Peter Fancy, *Joyfull News to the Nation: or, The crowning of King Charls [sic] the II on the 23. of April being on St. Georges day* (1661), b/l, Euing 147: 'see how God has preserved our King'; O. G., *Englands Joyfull Holiday, or, St. Georges-day, holy honoured being the joyfull solemnity so long lookt for, of the coronation of King Charls the Second ... on St. Georges Day, being 23 of April* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(28v, 27r): 'Year of God, proves our great deliverance/ From Cruel Government of sword.'

¹¹⁵ N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration* (Oxford, 2002), p. 28.

¹¹⁶ *Dying Tears* (1660), b/l, Euing 65.

Covenant had declared, 'If he was of the Roman faction/ No favour here he should have won.'¹¹⁷ *A Worthy King* attempted to allay fears, promising that 'England will be well content/ with the chief men in government/ when the Churches champion smiles upon her.'¹¹⁸ *Englands Rejoicing in that happy day* was just one of many that promised 'no more strife', and that the Gospel and Protestants would flourish because 'God such a comforter did raise.'¹¹⁹ Meanwhile, *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* wished 'Dun take them'[Dun was the hangman] to those 'who can't be content with a Protestant King.'¹²⁰

Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have pointed out that a gentleman in his microcosmic commonwealth was expected to possess the virtues of 'justice, temperance, mercy and zeal', and regarded it as his duty to create 'faith, domestic affection and good household care'.¹²¹ As head of the national household, the King was expected to ensure healing, provisioning, moral and religious education and justice. Ballads expressed the King's love and care for the country and claimed that his only desire was to make them love him. *Englands Honour*, referring to the Declaration of Breda, claimed, 'For his subjects welfare is all his joy/ by his declaration at large you see.'¹²² *A Worthy King* agreed: 'He will tender of us be', and 'his subjects his charge will be/ and his care for their safety ... which will prove/ his joy to be our love.'¹²³ *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* also expected, 'he may rule and reign/ our hearts to cherish.'¹²⁴ Every opportunity was taken to demonstrate the King's loving nature; for example, in the *Glory of these Nations* the King 'lovingly did embrace' Monck and returned London's sword 'unto the Mayor again with love'.¹²⁵

¹¹⁷ *The Covenant or No King but the old Kings Son* (1660).

¹¹⁸ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660).

¹¹⁹ *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660).

¹²⁰ *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* (1660). See also *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660), which promised religion would be re-established: 'Gods service', 'Communion table', 'Law and Gospel shall freely be taught', 'good learning', 'Two universities cherished', and [*Untitled*] (1660),b/1, CB.990/6: 'let us submit our case to God's judgement'.

¹²¹ Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700*, p. 1.

¹²² *Englands Honour, and Londons Glory* (1660).

¹²³ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660).

¹²⁴ J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660).

¹²⁵ *The Glory of These Nations* (1660). Ballads written during the Interregnum and the 'exile' ballads published after his return also emphasised the King's tender heart and his sorrow at the sufferings of his people; Jordan, *The Royal Entertainment* (1660): 'to see his good people his heart was well eas'd

Ballads argued that, as *The Ladies Lamentation* had commented in the 1650s, 'duty and cupid's charmes' played equal parts in her loyalties to her 'blackbird most royall'.¹²⁶ *A Worthy King* promised that Charles, 'amends will us make ... and will please us all as then/ for he that we did lack/ is now returning back.'¹²⁷ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* promised that Charles was an ideal lover. He was lovely: 'like to a 'tractive sympathy', a 'nymph' and a 'flower/ to perfection brought'. He was loving: 'By Love hee'l rul more than by Law'. And, he would make himself loved: 'all our rights he will so wel maintain/ whereby our hearts to him he'l draw.'¹²⁸ Would this King be lovely and loving enough to please the hearts of his people?

The Lover King

Alongside the rise in the 1980s of 'Saatchi and Saatchi' as publicly acknowledged political style gurus, there has been a growing scholarly awareness of the monarchy's public 'image' and its political significance.¹²⁹ As ever, there has been a tendency to concentrate on a relatively elite image as it emerged in portraiture and in monumental, architectural, processional and literary media. However, most people of the seventeenth-century obtained their knowledge of royal features from coins, prints and woodcuts.¹³⁰ Once the Rump had fallen Ruge wrote that 'The picture of Kinge Charles the Second was often printed and set up in houses, without the least molestation, for whereas [before] it was almost a hanging

... he holdeth the city most dear' ; J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660) described the King as 'loving'.

¹²⁶ *The Ladies Lamentation for the Losse of her Land-Lord* (1651), b/1, BL.C.20.f.14(32).

¹²⁷ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660).

¹²⁸ *The Praise of the Merry Month of May* (1660).

¹²⁹ See discussion of image study as 'a child of its time', in Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, (1992) p. 4; cf. Thomas Corns, 'Preface', in *idem* (ed.), *The Royal Image. Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999), p. xv: 'crises have developed in the United Kingdom and the United States in the representation of the Royal family and the presidency ... [which] originate in part in profound uncertainties about the exposure of what is private and intimate to the searching view of the public domain.' Underlying these crises, I would argue, have been the intellectual motivations of a post-modern 'deconstructionism', which, by encouraging the uncovering of the hidden working of power relationships and language, led to the open employment of advertising.

¹³⁰ All of these aspects, including more popular images, are discussed in the essays in Corns (ed.), *The Royal Image. Representations of Charles I*.

matter so to doe.’¹³¹ Restoration ballads in the Manchester collection were mutilated by having the large woodcut picture cut off, perhaps to be stuck up somewhere. Un-mutilated Restoration ballads offered some of the most appalling woodcuts of Charles and his family, a tribute to the continuing artistic failures of the English artisan.¹³² Some of these pictures were drawn from stock but most were newly fashioned, sometimes in imitation of more expensive prints. They became universal in their application on black-letter ballads. Royal figures gazed out at buyers from advice ballads, warning ballads and love ballads, happy and sad. Royal pictures became interchangeable. Sometimes political ballads sported a whole collage of royal images. This apparent instability of image in fact highlighted the continuity of monarchy, and the ubiquity of the images enhanced the patriarchal and affective relationship ballads sought to promote.

Ballads literally described the King as lovely to behold and possessed of attractive virtues. *Englands Joy*, sporting a large woodcut, said the King was a ‘Joyful sight to see’, and *Joyful Newes to the Nation* said he was ‘worth more than thousands of pearls’.¹³³ Another ballad sang, ‘Charles show to us your Rosie face/ gentle offers of your grace ... we will crown your lovely brow.’¹³⁴ *The Case is Altered* used this image of Charles to suggest, ‘red coats called from Cromwells nose/ now they can be from Charles his rose.’¹³⁵ *Good News for England* declared that ‘hearts did leap to see his sacred face’.¹³⁶ *Joyful Newes to the Nation* explained that the King’s nobles attended him, ‘all to beautifie Noble King Charles’.¹³⁷ Noble retinues were an important aspect of aristocratic honour. Not only the number but the quality of the retinue mattered. Balladeers often used the description of retinues as a means of enhancing or diminishing reputations. *The Noble Progress*, acknowledging the reduced state

¹³¹ Rugge, *Diurnal*, 11 April 1660, p. 73.

¹³² See, for example, Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford, 1973), and Andrew Pettigree, ‘Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception’, in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie (eds), *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.157-79.

¹³³ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660); Fancy, *Joyfull News to the Nation* (1661).

¹³⁴ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB.990/6.

¹³⁵ *The Case is Altered* (1660).

¹³⁶ Starkey, *Good News for England* (1660).

¹³⁷ Fancy, *Joyfull News to the Nation* (1661).

of the gentry, nevertheless reported that they found 'velvet coats' wherever they could to wear as they attended the King's arrival.¹³⁸ Improvements had come by the time of the coronation. The *King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* reported that the 'chiefest in the nation/ noblemen', possessed of a whole raft of virtues, brave, gallant, valiant, wise, graceful, attended the King 'richly attired'.¹³⁹

Balladeers showed that the King was attractive to youth and brought a new lease of life to the old. Young women and men flocked to see him. *The Glory of these Nations* described how 'Deptford Maidens all in white' and a 'gallant band of prentices/ youthful gallant men' came to attend him.¹⁴⁰ *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* told how the old lady London 'appears/ though stricken in years/ just like a virgin fresh and gay/ such comfort a King/ to his subjects doth bring.'¹⁴¹

Charles was only once described in a ballad in terms of a warrior. After his father's death, even as he and the Scots prepared for war in 1650, he was consistently depicted as unwilling to make war, and after the Restoration woodcuts of him were never military in style.¹⁴² *The Wonderful and Miraculous Escape* alone described Charles as a champion: 'He great and Kingly acts did doe ... Ventred Crown and Kingdoms too/ in one day for our redemption.' However, the balladeer went on, 'In this I'le not insist'. He moved swiftly from seeking admiration to sympathy - a much stronger card. He told the story of the King's escape: 't'would have grieved your heart for to have seen them all depart', and described how

¹³⁸ *The Noble Progresse* (1660). See also O. G., *Englands Joyfull Holiday* (1660), for a long description of the glories of the nobility that attended the King.

¹³⁹ Wade, *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* (1660).

¹⁴⁰ *The Glory of These Nations* (1660); Wade, *The King and Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph* (1660): 'bonny lads'; *Englands Captivity Returned* (1660): 'young men and boyes'. See also [Untitled] (1660), b/1, CB.213/2.

¹⁴¹ *The Loyal Subjects Exultation* (1661).

¹⁴² *Gallant Newes from the Seas* (1649), b/1, MB.I (45), a ballad based on the 1648-49 naval mutiny, (see Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy* (1989), chs 2-3), called for a 'Health to all by sea and land that doth the Royal cause defend; nevertheless, it told how Prince Charles 'did send them word' not to use the sword so that his people would 'yield to me'. *The Articles of Agreement betwixt Prince Charles and the Parliament of Scotland* (1650), b/1, MB.II(18) celebrated Charles's 'deal' enabling him to become King in Scotland. It was laid out as a dialogue in which the Scots announce their desire to restore the King's rights to three kingdoms. However, the Prince also exclaims 'I am unwilling for to fight', hoping England would realise her mistake and 'yield her right'. In white-letter ballads calls for resistance to parliamentary government were made in 1648 and in 1659-60, but not otherwise.

the humble King's sorrow was lifted by offers of bread and cheese from his ordinary subjects.¹⁴³ When during the coronation celebrations, as one ballad described it, a 'Champion came to the Hal-dore' to challenge the King he 'call'd him to him and drank in a cup.' Charles was to bring 'truth and peace ...love and unity', not more war.¹⁴⁴

At least from the time of Elizabeth, monarchs had used their patient sufferings to evince a sympathetic response from their subjects.¹⁴⁵ Charles regaled his visitors on board the ship that brought him home with a harrowing tale of his escape.¹⁴⁶ Ballads swiftly appeared, emphasising the sorrows of the King from the defeat at Worcester to his 'wonderful' escape from England.¹⁴⁷ His time in exile was largely a blank, though one ballad expressed thanks to those who had harboured him. The good-humoured patience of the King's suffering while his followers wept was a way of demonstrating his noble virtues. For example, a favourite story was the disguised King being called in to the kitchen of a tavern to mend the 'jack' [spit]. At a loss, faced with such a menial task, he tries to do something but succeeds only in breaking it and receives a torrent of abuse, including 'boobie,' from the cook-maid. This often repeated story gave the opportunity to relate the humiliations and humility of the King, his good humour and self control (he laughs at the abuse rather than growing angry) and it demonstrated that this was no 'mechanic'. He was truly noble - one whose quality raised him above the practical - a crucial feature in the virtuous ruler.

¹⁴³ *The Wonderfull And Miraculous Escape Of Our Gracious King, From That Dismal, Black And Gloomie Defeat At Worster* (m/s 1660), b/l, Wood 401(173).

¹⁴⁴ Fancy, *Joyfull News to the Nation* (1661)

¹⁴⁵ It was only after he became a sympathetic figure that Charles I seemed to grow in popularity. Ballad descriptions of his plight are truly pathetic. *The Pensive Prisoners Lamentation* (1648), b/l, (an allegory), called him 'a hopelesse/ helplesse, harmlesse man'.

¹⁴⁶ Pepys, *Diary*, I, pp. 155-56: 23 May 1660: The King 'fell in discourse of his escape from Worcester. Where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through. As his travelling four days and three nights on foot and every step up to the knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on and a pair of country shoes, that made him so sore all over his feet that he could scarce stir.' In one place, Pepys relates: 'he was by some servants ... made to drink, that they might know him not to be a Roundhead, which they swore he was'.

¹⁴⁷ For the ballad stories of Charles's escape, see *Wonderful and Miraculous Escape* (1660); *The Royall Patient Traveller* (1660); *Last Newes from France* [earliest edition is reprint in the late 1660s]; Wade, *The Royall Oak* (1660); Jones, *The Royall Wanderer* (1660). Other ballads which draw on the sympathy card of Charles suffering are J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660); [Untitled] (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(25); *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* (1660); *London and England Triumphant* (1660).

Ruled by Love

A ballad in 1660 explained that 'The throne [is] upheld with pillars four/ Justice, Truth, Mercy and Power.'¹⁴⁸ That the King, as chief magistrate, would bring 'Justice', legal, economic and social, and 'Truth', with the restoration of 'right religion', were key expectations of balladeers. As *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* (1660) put it, 'we no good laws have had/ this twenty years to make us glad.'¹⁴⁹ For the balladeers of England, the social and judicial systems were protectors rather than oppressors of the people. In this they were reflecting the views of the 'stakeholders' in England.¹⁵⁰ John Miller, following Cynthia Herrup and others, has recently pointed out that the law did operate fairly justly in the seventeenth century, with, at the least, an expectation that it provided a means for redress and liberty rather than a tool of oppression.¹⁵¹ Undoubtedly, as James Sharpe, Keith Wrightson, A.L. Beier and Andy Wood demonstrate, there were many in England, notably the rural poor and the landless, who suffered the brutalities of some rough and ready justice and injustice, and this too was a concern in printed ballads.¹⁵² But on the whole, historians of the seventeenth century have become more positive about systems of justice than their eighteenth-century counterparts, such as Hay and Thompson.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB.990/6.

¹⁴⁹ *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* (1660).

¹⁵⁰ See Hindle, *State and Social Change in England*, esp. pp. 10-13, 15-34.

¹⁵¹ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 2-3, 9-16.

¹⁵² See, for example, James Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (2nd edn, 1999); Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000); A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (1985); Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002).

¹⁵³ Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, John G. Rule, E.P. Thompson & Cal Winslow, *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1975). Balladeer interest in the relationship between rulers and the ideals of justice can be seen in a ballad such as Thomas Jordan, attrib., *Londons Praise, or, the Glory of the City* [between 1666 and 1685], b/l, Pepys IV.339, which explained the workings of the city governors and their responsibility as magistrates for the 'peace and comfort' of citizens. It claimed the 'Rich with bribes cannot command' and that 'equity takes place'. The magistrates were 'their neighbours to defend', to 'punish malefactors' and 'defend the poor'. They were 'good substantial men' whose responsibilities were to 'regulate mens ways' so that 'weights are true/ and measures ben't too small', that ale wives 'though they nick and froth/ their pots must hold a quart', and the 'poor should have no wrong'. It also explained how the aldermen 'every year ... change Lord mayor/ to show their mutual love and that in power they equall are'. The fact that most balladeers must have been Londoners (this one was almost certainly by the city poet, Thomas Jordan), may well have influenced their understanding about rights and liberties.

Ballads were fulsome in their assurance that Charles had both the capacity and intention to promote justice in England, at least in the early 1660s. A recent assessment of Charles argues that he did indeed work within the law.¹⁵⁴ One ballad claimed ‘he’s vertuous so we shall/ have justice when to him we call ... you need not fear to doubt him.’¹⁵⁵ In 1660 *A Worthy King* said Charles was the ‘glass of grace’ and ‘the life of lyalty (*sic*)’. It went on to explain the King’s judicial function as ‘director of the Law’. The King was ‘to obey’ God’s Laws, and was to maintain the ‘Nations rights’, and ‘the poor mans cause’ rather than his own. The King would wield a ‘sceptre of mercy’ but he would also be ‘the terrour of Treason/which is but reason.’¹⁵⁶ The tension between ‘terroure’ and mercy was to prove a major factor in creating ‘disaffection’ amongst cavaliers in the ensuing years. Whilst some ballads sought a traditional balance between justice and mercy, others reflected the hard line of cavaliers who sought retribution and revenge for their past sufferings, and complained that Charles had been too merciful. This violent bitterness rankled and reappeared in ballads over the years. In 1661/2 *Qui Chetat* claimed of the still living rebels, ‘Till we are dead thy father bleeds’, while *The Cavaliers Comfort* (1662) was only willing ‘To forgive and forget all that is past’ as long as cavaliers had their rights and ‘Traytors too have their desert.’¹⁵⁷ In 1665 the *Royal Victory*, referring to the ‘surly fanaticke’, asked, ‘why should my nature or conscience repine/ At taking his life, that fain would have mine.’¹⁵⁸

That the law would proceed against traitors was a major concern for cavalier balladeers. *The Royall Subjects Warning Piece* was glad that ‘The Law will now proceed’

¹⁵⁴ See Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 161-87, on ‘The Frustrations of the Cavaliers’.

¹⁵⁵ [Untitled] (1661), b/l, C.120.h.4(4).

¹⁵⁶ *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660). As Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution*, has explained, ‘reason’ in this legal context usually meant ‘common law’. Although the crime of treason was based on statute law, cavaliers in the period believed that treason needed to be judged on a wider basis of ‘disloyalty’ and ‘disaffection’.

¹⁵⁷ William Monson, Viscount Castlemain, attrib., *Qui Chetat Chetabitur: or Tyburne Cheated; being a poeme upon the three regicides Munson, Mildmay and Wallopp* (1661/2) w/l+w/c, BB.C.40.m11(24) (m/s 23 March 1662) and BL.C.20.f.2(45). This ballad, in the voice of the traitors, showed that love and peace could come too soon: ‘We are content all strife should cease/ And have, what once we hated Peace... What though we never lov’d your King/ thou lov’st us for that very thing.’ *The Cavaliers Comfort, or, Long Lookt for will come at last* {1662}, b/l, Euing 26. See also *Hell’s Master Piece* (1660).

¹⁵⁸ *The Royal Victory* (1665), b/l, Wood 402(96).

against 'You that did once bare sway/ and kept us all at under', whilst all ballads anticipated that a renewal of economic and social justice was in view.¹⁵⁹ Balladeers complained of tyrannical taxation such as the 'sess' [assessment] and sequestration that had been levied excessively, forcibly exacted and unjustly applied against supporters of the King. As the King arrived, and before any financial decisions had been taken, *The Noble Progress* defiantly declared that 'Sequestrations null and void/ the people said none should be paid', while *Gallant News* told how the Gentry 'were glad' that there would now be 'neither sess nor lay/ for them at all to pay/ at home they may stay/ they need not fear no fray.'¹⁶⁰ The nature of this 'fear of fray' emerged in *Englands Joy*. It celebrated freedom from both 'Garrisons of lubbers - fanatick troopers', and cavaliers 'that sleep all night and drink all day.' It described vividly the experience of being 'assessed': though they swear

we will not care
nor to such skoundrels servile be
we will not stand
with cap in hand
beseeching them to let alone
the goods which justly are our own.¹⁶¹

Malefactors who had seized cavalier property were also to be pursued. *Englands Great Prognosticator* promised that 'theeves shall tremble at the law/ and Justice keep them all in awe.'¹⁶² Ballad after ballad expressed hopes of a return to an older order. As *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* promised:

Our taxes will grow less and less I suppose
For we have been very much troubled by those

¹⁵⁹ T. R., *The Royall Subjects Warning Piece* (1660).

¹⁶⁰ *The Noble Progresse* (1660); *Gallant News of Late I Bring* (1660). See also, *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoycing* (1660): 'And now you countrymen all ... Hoping your taxes will be freed/ which you have much need/ and indeed have paid so long ... Poor Protestants had been quite undone'.

¹⁶¹ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660).

¹⁶² *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660).

Excise men (I hope too) in time will go down

'Tis they are the lament of Country and town

The magistrates then

shall be honest men

the parson shall challenge his tythe pig again.¹⁶³

Several ballads claimed nostalgically that everything had been better 'formerly' and hoped those times would return. *Englands Rejoicing in that happy day* claimed that in the past, 'we were at rest/ Land was not so seast/ But lived in Love and unity.'¹⁶⁴ *Gallant News* described an idyllic existence in which trading would be 'rife', and men could lead a 'quiet life ... not so seast/ not be so opprest/ and live at rest'. The 'plow-man' could 'sow,/ pay where he doth owe/ fear no danger / love his dear/ [and] drink ale and beer.'¹⁶⁵ The naïve optimism of *The Royall Subjects Joy* shows that these nostalgic writers had not yet come to terms with the financial realities of the new regime. It urged both the eradication of any means to pay the army and the urgent need to pay it, at the same time; 'Pull all taxes down' it urged, while also claiming that 'souldiers shall not daunt/ though they money want/ Their arrears are all at hand.'¹⁶⁶ This ballad, like another that prayed, 'True peace and prosperity raise his revenues', assumed sufficient money would come through an increase in customs dues, the traditional income of the crown, since 'trade will mend cruel wars will end'.¹⁶⁷ Other unrealistic but understandable hopes were expressed that were also soon to be dashed with damaging consequences for political and social cohesion. There was a strong expectation that

¹⁶³ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660).

¹⁶⁴ *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660).

¹⁶⁵ *Gallant News of Late I Bring* (1660).

¹⁶⁶ *The Royall Subjects Joy, or, Joyfull news to all that faithfull be And doth desire a happy year to see* (1660), b/l, Euing 309.

¹⁶⁷ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(25). Some ballads saw the answer to increased trade as peace with France and/or Spain. For example, *The Noble Prodigal* (1660): 'Spain and England then / like men/ shall love and make a league again'; *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660): "'Tis better to deal in good traffick than war/ with all neighbour nations we's shake hand s in peace'/ with France and with Spain wee'l make leagues again'. Others called for war with France; see *The Traytors Downfall* (1660), b/l, Euing 350; w/l Lutt.II.36, and *The King Enjoys His own Again* (1661), b/l no w/c, Rox.III.256 and 1876.f.1(3): 'Frenchies shall flee with their treacherie'. No ballad called for action against the Dutch before the actual outbreak of hostilities.

lands would be restored to owners who had suffered in the King's cause. Sir John Bramston would have approved Kent's description in one ballad as 'a loyall just county and sufferers sore.'¹⁶⁸ Another ballad claimed that 'none but poor cavaliers suffer'd wrong' and fully expected that they would be made amends, while *Good News for England* (1660) sang, 'The royalists have sequestered been / their lands they shall again with speed enjoy/ which makes them cry aloud, Vive le Roy.'¹⁶⁹ A rude awakening was soon to come, that would bring with it a lasting sense of betrayal.

A return to social justice, which encompassed the social order, was also expected. *Englands Joy* hoped that all those who had overreached their places and meddled with affairs of state would now 'keep within their shops/ and Cry what lack you as before/ leave their titles of degree/ nor will they prate/ 'Gainst church and state.' It anticipated that the 'Banished Nobility then shall return / [who] long time in disconsolation did mourn' and that, 'like right noblemen/ Good housekeeping will be in fashion again.' With 'good housekeeping' would come an increase in charity, the ballad promised, 'the poor ... shall have their benevolence at a good rate.'¹⁷⁰ *Gallant News* believed that 'The Poor - will know no scant/ England such good will plant/ charity will prove so great/ To feed the needy with meat.'¹⁷¹ No monarch could have fulfilled all these dreams.

The King was to re-establish 'Truth' as well as 'Justice'. Detailed politics rarely appear in the black-letter market but ballads in the 1660s certainly reflected the tensions between the King, who had wanted 'a liberty to tender consciences', and the 'Churchman' who consistently refused either Church comprehension, or legal toleration.¹⁷² This group

¹⁶⁸ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(25).

¹⁶⁹ *A Loyal Subjects Admonition* (1660); Starkey, *Good News for England* (1660). *London And England Triumphant* (1660) told how 'malignants ... they use our lands, as if wee had/ no title to our own/ rebellion was a babe of grace/ and loyalty was blamed.'

¹⁷⁰ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660).

¹⁷¹ *Gallant News of Late I Bring* (1660).

¹⁷² Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 174-82, 200-2. Miller uses the phrase 'Churchman'. He sees three groups emerging from the end of the 1660s, whose voices can be identified in black-letter. One was the 'Church and Cavalier' party. As the old cavalier 'Church of England' group become more antagonistic towards the popish court, they came to represent 'the Country' interest or country party. This view was to become the voice of 'old England' in ballads. The second was the 'court party'. Partly represented in ballads by the drunkenly loyal 'Jovial Crew', these later become Tories. Ruvigny, the French

believed they were the King's 'own party', his natural and only trustworthy partners in power, either centrally or locally; as Miller puts it, they 'regarded him as *their* King'.¹⁷³ In ballads this group identified their interest as 'Protestant' as well as 'Cavalier'. A number of ballads in the 1660s anticipated that the 'Protestant' and the 'Gospel' would now flourish and that the laws of state and Church would inseparably fix conformity and loyalty, creating, as it were, a distinct boundary around the King.¹⁷⁴ The consistently loyal and dependable would be in, 'others', whoever they were, would be out.¹⁷⁵ As *The Scotch Riddle* (1666) asked, 'was ever any non-conformist loyal/ Loves he the King that disobeys his laws?'¹⁷⁶ Those religious groups who threatened the state were de-christianised as 'Turk' or 'Jew', or were wished away to more suitable climes such as Geneva, Rome or Amsterdam. In this view, ballads were not being altogether fanciful; Walter Slingsby, on the Isle of Wight, actually sent copies of the *Quoran* to Quakers in hopes they would convert. Sir Henry Herbert, rejecting the King's call for toleration, had argued: 'The best foundation of the state is Religion, it makes

ambassador, also identified 'Presbyterians' as a group. In ballads this third group supported 'Protestant Unity' and became 'Whigs' in the 1680s. The voices of old England and the Whigs finally united to sing in William of Orange in 1688 - and may have been equally enamoured of Monmouth in the 1680s.

¹⁷³ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 181.

¹⁷⁴ Pre-Restoration: *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660): 'the Law and the Gospel shall freely be taught/ brought to barebone lately/ Our Doctrine and Worship shall flourish again ... Good Learning ... Two Universities cherished ... the surplice so torn/ shall newly be worn/ all the fair Rites that the Church do adorn.' *Gallant News of Late I Bring* (1660): 'for the good of England/ the Gospel to defend.' *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660): 'Then will the Gospel flourish.' *Englands Day of Joy and Rejoicing* (1660): sectaries 'must return to church', 'Protestants they would have fool'd', Moncks beats down 'Protestants foes', 'Poor Protestant have quite been undone'. *Englands Great Prognosticator* (1660): 'Oxford and Cambridge still agree ... learned men shall now take place ... Church government shall settled be.' Post-Restoration: *London and England Triumphant* (1660): 'Royal Clergy starv'd, beheaded undone ... Law and sacred gospel ... Church of England was abus'ed'. J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660), written by a cavalier who had fought at Worcester: 'his true cavaliers/ are well contented/ for now the Protestant/ again shall flourish/ The King our nursing father/ he will us cherish ... Scripture true and shall for ever be taught ... the church some hated.' *The Royall Subjects Joy* (1660): 'Pull all taxes down/ The Quaker looks about/ the Gospel flourish shall.' 1661: T. I., [Thomas Jordan?], *Here is Some Comfort for Poor Cavaleers* (1661), b/l, Euing 141: 'in spite of Spain/ they will maintain/ True Protestant religion.' *The King Enjoys his Own Again* (1661): 'Oxford and Cambridge, shall agree, Church Government shall settled be.'

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, the following expressing doubts over the loyalty of dissenters etc.: *The Fox too Cunning for the Lyon* (1660): 'Of Foxes we no number know/ Because that they are lambs in show.' *Hells Master Piece Discovered* (1660): 'what side thy'r for ther's none do know/ for every side they did beguile'. *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660): 'Though some are against it, 'tis very well known/ that those that bee for it are twenty to one.' There follows a list of those against the King - Jesuits, Jews, Anabaptists, Quakers, Fifth Monarchy men, Independents, Brownists, Ranters, and vile sectaries.

¹⁷⁶ *The Scotch Riddle Unfolded; or, reflections upon R. W. his most lamentable ballad called The Loyal Non-conformist* (1666) w/l, BB.C.40.m.11(31) and Lutt.II.199.

men more peaceable and better subjects.’¹⁷⁷ For the ‘Church of England man’, to make the people conformable to the ‘true religion’, rather than religion being perverted to match the whims of the people, was the only way to overcome doubts about dissemblers and turncoats. This was reflected officially in the use of the term ‘Unfeigned’ in the Oath of Conformity imposed on ministers, and was increasingly the concern of cavalier balladeers.¹⁷⁸

Some songs hoped for reconciliation rather than judgement, however, and as *Love Lies a Bleeding* had promised, pursued the humanist line arguing that the King as Love brings healing and arbitration.¹⁷⁹ *Englands Joy* hoped ‘mutual love’ would increase and that ‘when we can finde both sides encline’ d/ to change their war for unity ... The Roundheads shall shake hands with the Cavaliers.’ Whilst the King gave the Convention ‘the epithete of ... the Healinge Parliament’, ballads depicted the King both as healer and medicine.¹⁸⁰ While one ballad sang that ‘He’s Our physician, he can ease our mindes and cure our disease/ and heal our drooping hearts/ and also our outward smarts’, another called him the ‘healing balsome’ which could suppress ‘evils’ by ‘virtue of a King’.¹⁸¹ *The Loyal Subjects Heart Wishes*, written ‘by a cavalier who fought at Worcester’ and ‘for his loyalty was put to flight’, described the King’s touching. ‘His liberal hand is not concealed’, it claimed, ‘the poorest wretch that hath/ this evil sore/ May have ease from the King/ and perfect cure’, and the King had even ‘healed some of his foes’. However, this ceremony had obviously attracted some sceptics. The ballad set out to persuade ‘Simple people’, who say ‘Doctors do as much’, that

¹⁷⁷ Slingsby’s action and Hebert’s words quoted in Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 232.

¹⁷⁸ The term ‘Unfeigned’ becomes part of ballad discourse from 1680 onwards. See *Unfeigned Friendship* {1681?}, b/l, Pepys IV, 348. Good examples are the cavalier ballad J. P., *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes* (1660); *Englands Captivity Returned* (1660); *The Royall Subjects Joy* (1660); *The Royal Patient Traveller* (1661); *A Noble Dewel, or, An unmatchable combate betwixt Sir William and the Earl of Southast* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(99); J. R., *The Valiant Hearted Seaman* (1665).

¹⁷⁹ *Love Lies a Bleeding* {1659}.

¹⁸⁰ Bramston, *Autobiography*, p. 116.

¹⁸¹ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB.990/6. *Englands Pleasant May-flower* (1660) also pointed out, ‘He haald (sic) the sick when he came in.’ ‘Virtue’ in this sense refers to medical virtue. See also John Wenlock, *Upon Our Royall Queens Majesties Most Happy Arrivall* (1661), w/l, BL.C.20.f.3(18).

'None but our lawful King/ can 'cure with a touch/ as plainly hath been seen ... many have cured been.'¹⁸²

Love breeds love and unity, argued ballads, making the King loved and subjects love each other. As one ballad sang, the King 'will us so with love inure/ and cause us to be more secure ... Each others love then we shall gain' while *A Worthy King* expected that 'His foes unto him he will draw'.¹⁸³ Love and unity brought protection; as *The Royall Subjects Joy* pointed out, 'we should see such love in England/ No foreign nation durst against us stand.'¹⁸⁴ People were also promised that peace and unity would bring joy, as *Gallant News* sang 'Love will nourish us so/ we shall know no wo/ Between friend and foe' and *Englands Honour* reported, 'such great acclamations of exceeding joy/ by fame performed and the God of Love.'¹⁸⁵

In 1659, *Love Lies a Bleeding* had promised that 'Love can present ye with Peace and Plenty', and this aspect of government was a key criterion in ballad judgements of the state. In 1661, *Joyful News to the Nation* approvingly described the 'pageans [pageants] like castles and towers' of the coronation procession, which included 'pleasure and peace and a vine, showing plenty', along with the themes of 'rebellion' and 'concord'.¹⁸⁶ In 1667, *The Triumphs of Four Nations* maintained that 'By Truth, Love and Friendship, Delights do increase/ The Joys of a nation is plenty and peace.'¹⁸⁷ Quentin Skinner points out that Cicero argued it was a ruler's prime duty to ensure 'an abundance of good' in the State.¹⁸⁸ Aristotle argued, however, that abundance, or plenty, and the joy it brought, came only as an outcome (not a cause) of virtue and, moreover, that the wider distribution of wealth and independence

¹⁸² *The Loyal Subjects Heart Wishes* (1660).

¹⁸³ [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB.990/6; *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660): 'If we by this can have the bliss to re-injoy a unity/ will in mutual love increase/ if we can once again have peace'. *Englands Rejoicing at that Happy Day* (1660): 'wherein they will so well agree/ that we shall live in unity'; *A Worthy Kings Description* (1660): 'heretofore were sad/ their hearts full merry are and glad'.

¹⁸⁴ *The Royall Subjects Joy* (1660).

¹⁸⁵ *Gallant News of Late I Bring* (1660); *Englands Honour and Londons Glory* (1660).

¹⁸⁶ *Fancy, Joyfull News to the Nation* (1661): The vine later became a popular ballad trope, a vision of plenty and peace.

¹⁸⁷ *The Triumph of Four Nations* (1667), b/l, Euing 351.

¹⁸⁸ Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, Vol. II, p. 227.

that plenty created was a protection against tyranny.¹⁸⁹ In Christian terms also, plenty came as a blessing from Providence, which would reward the virtuous and loving state, a state that loved itself and God, with plenty; a view expressed in *Love Lies a bleeding* as 'Love is the only cause of plenty, peace and trading.' This concept of reward for virtue extended into the political sphere where loyal followers expected to enjoy the fruits of their loyalty through the patronage of the King. However, it became increasingly clear to cavaliers and to balladeers, that the plenty of patronage came to turncoats and those they regarded as enemies of the state, who were not true subjects, who did not deserve it and who did not use it to virtuous ends.

Mumped Lovers

Love and wine are the bonds that fasten us all

The world but for this to confusion would fall ...

No Kings rule the world but for Love and good drinking

T. Shadwell, *Delights of the Bottle*¹⁹⁰

Though ballads had idealised the King as lover, lovely, loving and loved by his people, the honeymoon was over almost as soon as it had begun. The King 'mumped' his loving followers. John Miller has analysed the frustrations of the cavaliers in parliament, while Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have described the sinking of the gentry into bitterness between the Restoration and the Revolution, despite the 'image of union and agreement emphasised in the April 1661 elections'.¹⁹¹ They cite the verse carved on the tombstone of Sir Edmund Wyndham, who died in 1660:

Here lyes beneath this ragged stone

One more his Princes than his own,

¹⁸⁹ The man who could not live independently was not only a threat to pockets, he was a sign of national vice and potentially a threat to liberty. See Aristotle on the importance of a good spread of wealth among a middle sort: *Politics*, pp. 264-67.

¹⁹⁰ T. Shadwell, *The Delights of the Bottle: or, the Town-gallants declaration for women and wine* [m/s on Wood 1670s edition: 'made about 1650'], b/1, Wood E25(58) and Rox.II.106. Frequently reproduced and the tune often used. See discussion below.

¹⁹¹ Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, pp. 228-29.

And in his martyr'd father's wars
Lost fortune, blood – gained naught but scars:
And for his suffering as reward
Had neither countenance nor regard.¹⁹²

Naturally, the frustration and bitterness of cavaliers, and the divisions this created, were reflected in ballads.

The anguish of unrequited love was described in a ballad called *The Mournful Shepherd*, to the tune of 'Could Man his wish obtain':

No torment can be found, no greater pain
Than truly loving and not lov'd again
For that's a strange disease which Ranks the mind,
Still routs the judgment, and does Reason blind,
Raises a civil war, distrasts (*sic*) the soul.¹⁹³

In a culture of clientage and patronage, the material expression of political love between lord and ruler was essential. Cavaliers had ruined themselves, by fighting for the King and suffering the consequent sequestration, and by compounding for their estates. Those involved in the Booth disaster had been badly hit, and the memory of Worcester still rankled. Even at the Restoration, fears of the disaffected led Royalist gentry to maintain security and militias at their own expense.¹⁹⁴ Cavalier balladeers had promoted the idea of the King as healer and lover, but he betrayed their trust, and appeared to have given up 'his party' for their deadly and undeserving rivals.

¹⁹² Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 229.

¹⁹³ *The Mournful Shepherd* [between 1672 and 1696], b/l, Euing 234. The lover dies for his love at the end of this ballad. Other interesting lines are 'Alas that Gold should prove/ the Orb that still does move/ the happy sphere of sacred love' and 'Though hopes successful prove/ my heart shall ne'r remove/ from wishing of her love', 'Much like a Tyrant sits/ Th'insulting Prince of Love', (i.e. Cupid).

¹⁹⁴ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 170.

As one would expect, the most severe cavalier complaint against misplaced patronage was printed in white-letter.¹⁹⁵ For example, in 1661 *The Cavaliers Letany* declared that cavaliers who ‘for want of coyne, and cuffs’ had not been able to present themselves at court were at the mercy of ‘midnight birds, who lye at catch/ some plume from Monarchy to snatch/ men by heinous crimes made nice.’¹⁹⁶ *The Cavaliers Complaint*, also in 1661, apparently exonerated the King from blame, explaining that ‘The King indeed doth still professe/ To give his party soone redresse/ and cherish honesty/ but his good wishes prove in vaine/ whose service with his servants gane / Not always doth agree’. Though it tried to make the best of it, reminding readers, ‘let us but reflect/ on our condition ‘t other day’, the ballad ominously warned, ‘When none but tyrants bore the sway/ what then did we expect ... But discontent if not supprest/ will breed disloyalty’.¹⁹⁷

But black-letter ballads also complained. In late 1660 or 1661 the first *Jovial Crew or The Beggars Bush* ballad was published. A ‘jovial beggar,’ whose ancestry includes a craver, a mander, a filcher, a canter and a lifter, sings the song. He describes the riotous life of the carefree beggar. Though he opens with a barb, ‘few men grow wealthy but courtiers and players’, the beggar declares his profession’s undying loyalty to the crown: ‘we have so much reason,/we raise no rebellion, nor never talk treason’, and he denies any truck with, ‘scripture unfolds and Treason upholders ... for fear of Hugh Peters his fate’. The ballad acknowledges the severity of the poor laws, commenting that, ‘the whip doth make us skip/ from tything to tything’ and adds a sting in the tail:

To sum all in brief

We live by relief

And pray for King Charles, our commander in chief,

God bless all the Peers

¹⁹⁵ Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 230, point out there was a good deal of gentry hostility towards the towns, whereas ballads were as likely to sing in favour of citizen as they were gentry interests.

¹⁹⁶ *The Cavaleers Letany* (1661), w/l, 669.f.27(1) and Lutt.II.34.

¹⁹⁷ *The Cavaliers Complaint* (1661), w/l, 669.f.26(69) and BB.C.40.m11(23).

The wise overseers

That they may consider the poor cavaliers

For if they do but let them but lower to fall

They'll take our profession and beggar us all.¹⁹⁸

Nevertheless, by the end of 1661 it appeared there was hope. *Here's Comfort for Poor Cavaliers* announced that 'Old Cavvies ... now shall be requited', because the King's forthcoming marriage would bring a dowry of 'indian treasure', providing loyal cavaliers with a pension. This was one of the few occasions when the Duke of York, 'that valiant spark', found ballad fame. He was reported in the ballad to have asked parliament, 'why should not they/ receive some pay/ that ever lov'd my father/ as well as those/ that were his foes?' Charles too appeared, once more a hero, who 'sits in the chair/ of judgement Right and Reason/ His fathers friends/ heel make amends/ and punish knaves for treason'. Though there was some fear of the new Queen's Catholicism, the ballad expressed confidence in the clergy who, 'with tongue and pen/ confute will every widgeon/in spite of Spain/ they will maintain/ True Protestant religion'. At last, sang the ballad, 'true Loyall hearts ... for joy will then be singing'.¹⁹⁹ After the Queen's arrival in 1662, the *Cavaliers Comfort* sang encouragingly, 'cheer up your hearts, and be not afraid ... you that faithfully served the King [and] long have bin dismay'd.' Less encouragingly, it hoped that the news of money 'will not make you mad' and openly castigated the ingratitude of government. The ballad declared: 'Your sufferings long hath been tis known/ ashamed I am for to expresse/ Some parts already hath bin shown / and yet no comfort, no redresse ... Such want and poverty/ For your faith and Loyalty.' The 'turn coat' and 'dissembling cavalier' were warned off from seeking pensions, 'For if they be

¹⁹⁸ *The Jovial Crew or The Beggars Bush* [between 1660 and 1663], b/1, Euing 150. There is a reference to Hugh Peter's execution (14 October 1660) and a Fletcher and Beaumont play entitled *The Beggars Bush* was published in 1661. This song does not come from the play, but the idea and the reference in the ballad to 'bousing in a ken' is reminiscent of Ben Jonson, *A Description of Loue With certaine epigrams. Elegies. and sonnets ... With the crie of Ludgate, and the song of the begger* (1629), pp. 60-62. This suggests an old cavalier poet as author of *The Joviall Crew*. Another edition, with a new woodcut, appeared sometime between 1666 and 1679.

¹⁹⁹ T. I., *Here is Some Comfort for Poor Cavaleers* (1661). Of course, the Queen was from Portugal, which had seceded from Spanish rule in 1640, but it was a harder word to rhyme than Spain.

found/ they once turned round/ all their time they's spend in waste', and the author was determined that only a true cavalier, 'he that stood for the King to the last', would benefit.²⁰⁰ The hope proved short-lived, and complaints continued, finding fault in every area of promise that had been set out in 1660.

Ballads complained that there was no restoration of social or political justice. Instead, true subjects were witnessing misplaced patronage and the apparently unstoppable rise of low-born 'turn-coats' and 'dissemblers'. In 1661, *Few Words are Best* promised 'sowre sawce for the pallet' and uttered a stream of complaints about 'great climbers/ compos'd of ambition/ to whom better borne men/ doe bend with submission', and the fact that 'Upstarts that sprung from the cart/ what gotten to court/ play the gentlemans part.' It complained of 'men of great place/ to whom if one sue/ for their favour or grace/ He must bribe their servants/ while they make as though/ they know no such thing'. It also warned of 'Foxes that goe on two legs', who were dressed 'in sheeps clothing', who 'steale greater matters/ than cocks, hens and eggs'.²⁰¹ Meanwhile in *Qui Chetat or Tyburn Cheated* (1662) fanatics, who through the King's misapplied mercy had escaped execution, exulted that:

Such cavaliers we daily see
Are constant to their poverty
Theirs was the danger, theirs the pane
But we can tell who reaps the gane
Now they may beg through iron gates
That lost (by which we got) estates ...
And if they chance to make their brags
Wee'l bid them looke upon their rags.²⁰²

²⁰⁰ *The Cavaliers Comfort* (1662).

²⁰¹ *Few Words are Best* (1661), b/1, Euing 123.

²⁰² *Qui Chetat or Tyburn Cheated* (1662).

In *A Turn-Coat of the Times*, published in about 1663 to the tune 'True Love is a gift for a Queen', 'a powdered thing', playing on cavalier sensibilities, explains how he has managed to maintain himself in power throughout the civil wars and Interregnum. 'I got booty at Worcester, at that most fatal fall ... the weakest went to the wall.' Like the cavaliers, he had expected ruin in 1660: 'When Monck was upon that score/ I thought I would play no more/ I ne'er was so mumpt before'. However, the turncoat was 'now at court with the better sort/ to purchase a good report/ I have the eyes and ears of many noble peers/ and fright the cavaliers'. He was pretty certain about the key to his success and cavalier failure: 'poor knaves they know not how/ to flatter cringe and bow'.²⁰³ A similar message, but with the addition of sexual politics, was to be found in *Your Humble Servant Madam* (1662), in which an old rebel soldier claimed, 'wars are done/ and I must run/ a course that may preserve me'. He had 'given away my buff/ for a perriwig and muff', and now 'I have got a place at court/ never paid a penny for't'. He was blessed with 'a flattering disease,' which served to persuade ladies at court to beg him positions. He mocked, 'whilst a cavalier/ both lean and deer/ and almost like to starve is/ a ladies letter/ shall do better/ than all his iron service'.²⁰⁴ In 1666, reissues of complaints appeared, such as *The Joviall Crew or Beggars Bush* and *Last News from France*. *Last News*, which appears to have been written by one of his faithful helpers on the point of the King's flight in 1651, recalled the King's escape from Worcester, and records, 'To him I was true/ and that well he knew/ tis God that must his comfort due,/ else all our policy had been but foolery.'²⁰⁵

²⁰³ *A Turn-Coat of the Times* {1663}. Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 173, points out that in 1663 a further corporation bill failed to pass all its stages in the commons. He quotes a paper, possibly this bill, in which 'it was noted that many ill-affected persons had taken the oaths and declarations or had refused them and later crept back into office' and radical demands for a purging of the corporations were made.

²⁰⁴ *Your Humble Servant Madam; being the flattering Courtier or the cheating Lover* (m/s 1662), b/l, Rox.III.248. This ballad was followed by an answer, *The Ladyes Vindication: being the womens answer to Your humble Servant Madame* (m/s 1662), b/l, Rox.III.250, and a further response, *The Counterfeit Court Lady: or, an Answer to, Your humble servant madam* {1662/3?}, b/l, Rox.II.71.

²⁰⁵ *The Joviall Crew* [between 1666 and 1679]; *The Last News from France, being a true Relation of the escape of the King of Scots from Worcester to London, and from London to France, who was conveyed away by a young gentleman in womans apparel: the King of Scots attending on this supposed gentlewoman in manner of a serving-man* [between 1666 and 1679], b/l, Rox.III.54; Euing 18; Pepys II.206.

Nor had the King upheld true religion. Quakers, Presbyterians and Jesuits continued to plague the nation, threatening to disease the body politic. *Few words are best* attacked fanatics and dissemblers, those 'that devotion pretend ... three times in one day/ to church they will go/ to couzen the world', 'dissembling men seem to hate drinking/ and whoring yet when they meet with a wench / to the Tavern they'll go.' Then it turned its attention to papists who, 'to save their fine ... come to church once a month to hear service divine.'²⁰⁶ In 1663, the civil war ballad *The Matchless Shepherd Overmacht by his mistress* was reissued, intended to be read, perhaps, either as a betrayal or a warning.²⁰⁷

Whilst there was no defence of Quaker or papist, white-letter ballads thrashed out the issue of Presbyterian loyalty, and Protestant unity in view of the binding nature of the covenant oath for Presbyterians, and the 'providential' disasters of plague and fire.²⁰⁸ In 1665 *A Pulpit to Let* attacked the clergy who had fled the city leaving the poor and diseased without spiritual comfort.²⁰⁹ In 1666, Robert Wilde, Presbyterian royalist and poet, argued in *The Loyal Non-Conformist*:

I am no Quaker, not at all to swear
 Nor Papist, to swear East, and mean the West;
 But am a Protestant, and shall declare
 What I cannot, and what I can protest
 I never will endeavour Alteration
 Of Monarchy nor of that Royal name

²⁰⁶ *Few Words are Best* (1661).

²⁰⁷ *The Matchless Shepherd, Overmatcht by his Mistress, Or, The solid shepherds satirical song against his schismatical mistress* [between 1663 and 1674]. See Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 180-81, on 'commons ill temper' in the 1663 session. The Commons were resentful of the King's attempts at moderation, and brought forward a Conventicles bill against all forms of non-conformity - to protect both the church and the rights of parliament over religion in defiance of 'a backsliding King'. The bill was passed, temporarily, in 1664.

²⁰⁸ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 186, suggests that 'while Cavaliers were jealous of the King's favour to Presbyterians, they saw the radical sects as the major threat to the regime', but, p. 195, from 1664, 'Old Cavaliers attacked those who could be bound by neither favours nor oaths.' Arlington used labels such as 'the discontented party' and 'the suspected party'. Cavaliers called themselves 'the loyal party' or 'the moderate party'.

²⁰⁹ *A Pulpit to Let* (1665), w/l, Firth c.23(8).

Which God hath chosen to command this Nation

But will maintain his Person Crown and Fame.

However, Wilde pointed out, 'Conscience is a greater King than he.' He promised, 'The Royal Oak I swear I will defend/ But for the Ivy which doth hug it so/ I swear that is a thief and not a friend/ and about steeples fitter far to grow.' Using a recognisable royalist ballad trope he added, 'I will endeavour that his majesty/ may not be King of Clubs but King of Hearts.'²¹⁰ This plea was answered in kind by *The Scotch Riddle Unfolded*, which rejected Wilde's view of loyalty with conscience: 'If Truth hath any virtue to convince/ If pulpits can speak better things than tubs/ This conscience owes allegiance to her Prince/ The King of Hearts commands the Queen of Clubs'.²¹¹

The great hopes in 1660 of economic justice had also been dashed. *Few Words are Best* complained that 'Yeomen and gentry' were also guilty of 'dissembling, who, 'for their own private gain/ hurt a whole country/ by clothing free common/ yet they'l make as though t'were for commons good.'²¹² In 1667, the *Honest Mans Delight* was also certain that 'Good Housekeeping' had not returned, complaining of 'covetous cormorants' who 'devours/ widdows houses and all', and 'made tenants poor/ by raising the rents/ for to maintain a whore.'²¹³

Worst of all, despite the hopes of 1660, people clearly still lived by law not love, using the law to create division and unhappiness. In 1661, *Few Words are Best* was shocked that 'People/[are] so given to strife/ that they'd goe to Law/ for a two penny knife' pointing out that only the 'Lawyer gets by their hate'.²¹⁴ The *Honest Mans Delight* {1667} wished, 'a good conscience might rule/ as well as the law/ for strife and contention I cannot abide'.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Robert Wild, *The Loyal Non-Conformist* (1666), a white-letter verse pamphlet.

²¹¹ *The Scotch Riddle Unfolded* (1666).

²¹² *Few Words are Best* (1661).

²¹³ *An Honest mans Delight, or Knavery made known* [between 1658 and 1674 {1667}], b/l, Wood E25(50).

²¹⁴ *Few Words are Best* (1661).

²¹⁵ *An Honest Mans Delight* {1667}- in the interests of balance it added 'don't misunderstand me/ I am no contender/ against the Law for 'tis good to punish th'offender.'

However, more than a few legal wrangles were at stake. In 1666, *The Londoners Lamentation* for the Fire of London explained that blame had been put on papists and foreigners, but concluded, 'I fear / our sinful hearts more guilty are ... If we still hate each other thus/ God never will be friends with us'.²¹⁶ At the peace with the Dutch in 1667, a call for repentance and reconciliation re-emerged. *The Triumph of Four Nations* prayed, 'God bless King and Kingdoms and send that our hate/ Unto one another in Church and in State/ May be nullified/ God keep us from Pride/Ambition, Wrath, Malice, and Discord beside.'²¹⁷

In 1670, after the fall of Clarendon, there was a brief thaw in King and cavalier relations. The King accepted a new Conventicles bill and asked for money for an army against the French. The belief by the delighted Commons that the King had finally come around to 'his party' led the whole house to adjourn to the parliamentary cellars for a riotous bout of health drinking, an event known as 'the going to the cellar'.²¹⁸ However, the outcome, rather than promoting friendship through conviviality, was to increase division. Miller argues that 'By the end of 1672, their [cavaliers'] recently revived faith in the King's kindness had been damaged beyond repair.'²¹⁹ A number of previously anti-court parliamentarians, such as Sir Richard Temple, were 'persuaded' to come over to the court party, while old cavaliers remained un-rewarded.²²⁰ Other disappointments crowded in. The King's secret dealings with France were revealed, leading to fears about his real intentions for the new armed forces, the stop of the exchequer caused concern, and finally, the King betrayed all 'Churchmen' and the very foundations of the established church, by issuing his Declaration of Indulgence. Of these, it was only the third that openly appeared in ballads. Divisions worsened, and Miller

²¹⁶ *The Londoners Lamentation* (1666), b/l, Euing 170, also urged people to help their neighbours and not to use the situation to make money out of the tragedy.

²¹⁷ *The Triumph of Four Nations* (1667).

²¹⁸ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 218. See also pp. 200-4, 208, on contemporary discussions over the King's motivation – e.g. Baxter and Marvell who believed the King had a hidden agenda in acceding to this bill. Baxter believed the King had a religious agenda - hoping to use the bill to make dissenters dependent on the King and force their acceptance of toleration of Catholics. Marvell believed it was 'the price of money', the King had obtained a waiving of the scrutiny of the accounts in return.

²¹⁹ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 201-2.

²²⁰ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 199-202. Temple was one of those mentioned in the 1680 election ballad, Blount, *The Sale of Esau's Birthright*.

points out that 'disgust at the court's moral depravity and incompetence cut across divisions between cavalier and parliamentarian, leading to a revival of the terms 'court' and 'country' ... widely from 1673', while from 1674 reference was increasingly being made to 'sides' in parliament.²²¹

The political divisions of 'court and country', in centre and localities, were reflected in the political song market. Indeed, as divisions deepened, ballad writers complained that they were forced to keep up with the 'viciousness of the times,' though this also gave them the opportunity, of course, to offer their skills for sale. As one ballad pointed out:

Wit ne'er till now, was cry'd about the street
At the low rate of a poor peny sheet
Sharp times will make sharp wits nor fear of sharp tongues
'Tis we who money want which suffer wrongs
You can't command a Poet with a frown
To write new songs, b[u]y yours
For a Crown.²²²

However, as *The New and True Ballad of the Poets Complaint* declaimed:

'Faith I'm a dog if I can guess
What strain will most oblige the press
'Mongst several twenty things its well
If one in all the score will sell
One thing alas is thought too stale
Another is not fit for sale
Because the Poets modest rhimes
Are not as vicious as the times.²²³

²²¹ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 226,

²²² *The Prodigal Son Converted; or the young man return'd from his rambles* [between 1663 and 1674], b/l, Rox.III.188, and Douce Ballads 2(179b). Set to the 1650s tune 'Delights of the Bottle'.

²²³ *A New and True Ballad of the Poets Complaint* [between 1674 and 1679], b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(10) and Douce Ballads 2(179a).

Business for balladeers really picked up with the great explosion of print in 1679, when, as in the 1640s, and in 1659-1660, reams of white-letter once again appeared alongside the new notation ballads.²²⁴

Love under Stress - The Discontented Cavalier and the Jovial Crew

The 'going to the cellar' in 1670 seems to have marked a turning-point in loyal singing and drinking, since from that time a kind of violent and divisive drunkenness appeared in song, in many ways similar to that which had appeared during the civil war.²²⁵ Old cavaliers had kept despair at bay and loyalty to the king alive, in the face of puritan persecution, by 'civil' drinking and singing during the Interregnum years. But some of this loyal drinking had been far from 'civil'.²²⁶ With the imminent return of the King in early 1660, counties had petitioned against the 'unwarranted liberties of a heady and intemperate sort of People, which falsely term themselves Royallists - to the great dissettlement of sober and well minded persons', creating 'unchristian animosities' at a time when forgiveness was needed.²²⁷ In May 1660, Charles, attempting to curb the worst excesses of violent health-drinking, issued a *Proclamation against Vicious, Debauch'd and Prophane Persons*, attacking those who 'under pretence of affection to us and our service, assume to themselves the liberty of Reviling, Threatening and Reproaching others'. It called upon such men to 'cordially renounce all that licentiousness, prophaneness and impiety' and to become 'hereafter examples of Sobriety and Virtue, and make it appear that what is past, was rather the vice of the Time than of the persons.'²²⁸

²²⁴ See discussions of these above, chs 1 and 3.

²²⁵ Phrase quoted in Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 218; see above.

²²⁶ *Englands Joy in a Lawful Triumph* (1660). I am beginning detailed work on this aspect of 'loyal' behaviour, using court records, pamphlets and the material culture of drinking vessels.

²²⁷ *A Declaration of the Knights and Gentry of the County of Dorset* (1660), 669.f.24(66). See also Petitions from Kent, 669.f.24(67), London, 669.f.24(69), Hertford, 669.f.24(72) and Salop 669.f.24(74): a delighted Ralph Josselin saw this as a 'cutt to the gentry', Josselin, *Diary*, p. 464.

²²⁸ By the King, *A Proclamation against Vicious, Debauch'd and Prophane Persons. 13th May 1660* (1660), 669.f.25(36).

Once the King really did 'enjoy his own again' cavaliers soon found that they had little cause to sing merrily, and many turned once more to drink, to drown their sorrows.²²⁹ In 1660 *A Jolly Company of Loyal Blades*, sung to the bitter tune of 'General Monck hath advanced himself since he came from the Tower', declared, 'Hang sorrow/ away with this sadness/ 'tis folly and madness/ to think what is past'. As during the war, some of these ballads argued that they drank to be neighbourly and loving and not to excess. Mindful of reputation, the *Jolly Company* emphasised that, 'with my honest Besse/ I practise good husbandry well and maintain my calling/ as all my neighbours can tell', and declared, 'We no drunkards can be/ as long as we are not unruly/ then drink and be civil/ intending no evil.'²³⁰ All cavaliers drank to demonstrate their loyalty and to distinguish themselves from 'sober sots', the Presbyterian and sectarian killjoys.²³¹ For the *Merry Boys of Christmas* (1660), drinking also helped them to keep their minds from disaffection: 'we'll never mind the female toys/ but loyal be to the crown/ never break our hearts with care/ to be cast down with fear ... all mirth we will devise/ No treason we will speak or think'.²³² Drinking and being merry, even when miserable, was a badge of loyalty, and loving the King was the best love of all.

After 1670, a new *Jovial Crew* emerged, beginning a trend that replicated and augmented old cavalier drinking. Though this song may have been intended as a 'cutt' to such behaviour, cavaliers tended to embrace and revel in the insults thrown at them.²³³ For example, they adopted the insulting civil-war name 'cavvies' as a self-descriptor, and later accepted the label Tory. Drinking, and to some extent drunkenness, had always been accepted as part of cavalier culture, and riotous behaviour had increasingly become part of aristocratic court culture.²³⁴ *The Jovial Crew* appealed especially to the 'young blades', who had no

²²⁹ Alleviating melancholy was thought to be a medical benefit of alcohol drinking.

²³⁰ *A Jolly Company of Loyal Blades* {1660}, b/l, Euing 152.

²³¹ T. I., *Here is Some Comfort for Poor Cavaleers* (1661), expected the long awaited pensions to make cavaliers 'blithe and jolly'; 'Every one that loves him/ will firmly stand' and 'laugh and merrily quaff/ to drink away melancholy.' Cavaliers would 'dance and play/ in spite of Quakers yauling'.

²³² *The Merry Boys of Christmas: or, the Milk-Maids New-Years-Gift* {1660}, b/l, Rox.IV.24. BL speculates 1680 as date.

²³³ Josselin, *Diary*, p. 464.

²³⁴ John Spurr, *England in the 1670s* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 69-72, 110-16.

memory of the war, and money to spend, and who were much less concerned with reputation or occupation. The song declared, 'we fear not the watch ... we care not for Venus or Mars, nor for Jove/ we delight not in thundering war nor in Love'. Since excise was paid into the hands of the monarchy, drinking was loyal because it filled the King's coffers without recourse to parliament: 'no subjects like us for we hoard up no coyn/ we sent it our King whil'st we are drinking of wine'. Danger came from the sober, not the drunk: 'We'l neither abuse the Church nor the State/ 'tis soberness that do's such factions create/ So we our full cups in peace can enjoy/ We'l throw off our caps and cry Vive le Roy.'²³⁵ Parallel to this development, by 1670 a new army had been created, bringing with it a culture of unquestioning loyalty. Soldiers needed to profess undaunted loyalty to face death, and to develop a culture of comradeship and bravado. Drinking healths had become, once more, a distinctive badge of loyalty.

By 1674 the immensely popular *Delights of the Bottle* could assert that 'No Kings rule the world but by love and good drinking'.²³⁶ Loyal songs suggested that by loosening the bonds of reason, heavy drinking would eradicate the possibility of plotting and allow the heart to express its natural affection, thus both dispelling melancholy and preventing any possibility of being deceived by Presbyterian or papist. The content of these songs seemed to offer the King unreasoning loyalty and absolute power.²³⁷ For example, *Englands Triumph or the Subjects Joy* declared, 'The Kings most faithful subjects are we/ indeed we are not dull/ We drink to show our loyalty/ and to fill his coffers full/ If all his subjects drank like us/ he would

²³⁵ *The Joviall Crew* [between 1666 and 1679 {1670s}].

²³⁶ T. Shadwell, *The Delights of the Bottle* {1674/5}. Wood wrote on his late 1670s copy that it had been written 'about 1650'. However, the first two stanzas were used, if not written, by Thomas Shadwell for his opera *Psyche* (Act V) in 1675, and the adaptation is admitted in the preamble to the ballad: 'I did but make a ballad of a song.' A number of editions appeared from about 1674-75, based on publishers' dates. The tune, written by Matthew Locke, was extremely popular in the period from 1674 to the 1680s, and it was used on a large number of drinking ballads and political ballads. Two editions appeared, one by Brooksby and Burton (1672-96) which would suggest a collaboration on an earlier ballad, and one by Brooksby alone. See Simpson, pp. 170-72. Simpson believes Wood's intervention is 'in error'.

²³⁷ Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 200, points out that in the late 1660s, 'old Cavaliers seemed more concerned about the King's prerogative and interest than those who claimed to enjoy his favour - and indeed the King himself'. This was a 'court' concern by 1673.

be richer far/ More powerful and more prosperous/ than Eastern Emperors are.'²³⁸ Ballads such as *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason), Drinks good sack and is free from treason* made their argument pretty clear from the outset:

Sack's the Princes safest guard
if he would but try it
no rebellion e'r was heard
where the subjects roundly ply it
and three constables at most
are enough to quell an host
that thus disturb our quiet.

It warned against the detrimental effects of other beverages - 'water we disdain,/ mankinds adversary/ once it caused the worlds whole frame/ in a deluge to miscarry' - and against the effects of sobriety abroad on teetotal Turks and nearer to home where 'the enemies of joy/ seek with envy to destroy/ and murder good canary'. It was 'dry brained traitors' who plotted, while 'we that drink have no such thought blind and void of reason'.²³⁹

Love under Stress - The Voice of the 'Old England'

Like the *Mournful Shepherd*, who, 'Though hopes successless prove/ my heart shall ne'r remove', a cavalier's whole identity was bound up with his love for the King, whether he had been mumped or not.²⁴⁰ A cavalier might hate the court, but not the King.²⁴¹ The old cavalier's philosophy was epitomised by Sir Ralph Stalwell of Low Ham, Somerset, who had

²³⁸ *Englands Triumph or the Subjects Joy* [between 1666 and 1675], b/l, Euing 102.

²³⁹ *The Loyal Subject (as it is reason) drinks good sack and is free from treason* [between 1663 and 1674], b/l, 4o Rawl 566(84); [between 1681 and 1684], b/l, Pepys IV, 243, Douce Ballads 2(143b).

²⁴⁰ *The Mournful Shepherd* [between 1672 and 96].

²⁴¹ See Heal and Holmes *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 203, on gentry antagonism towards the Court. Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p.200, explains that by 1668 Ruvigny had detected a Royalist party who opposed the court because un-rewarded for their loyalty; p. 226, 'disgust at the courts moral depravity and incompetence cut across divisions between Cavalier and Parliamentarian, leading to a revival of the terms 'court' and 'country ... widely from 1673'. Temple called them 'country gentlemen', they were also known as the 'honest party', and called themselves 'the moderate party'.

the following verse carved above the altar of the local church: 'My sonne serve God and the Kinge and meddle not with them that are given to change'. Heal and Holmes have summarised the political culture of the gentry after the Civil War as 'Kingship and episcopacy, hierarchy and deference, emphasised as interdependent principles.' However, as they point out, the aim of these principles was to protect gentry hegemony in the counties.²⁴² The voice of 'old England' in ballads stood for the old values of charity at home, social order, and an ardent desire to keep religion and the laws intact, which alone could protect the virtue of the state, and the bonds of love that held it together.

In the 1660s and 1670s antagonism towards the court and its vices continued to appear in 'old England' ballads which described fawning flatterers and turncoats, who had wheedled, 'cogged and collogued' their way into the court, 'made nice' with French fashions they could not pay for.²⁴³ A series of black-letter ballads, issued between the late 1660s and 1680s, compared the virtues, charity, and even the decor of 'old England's' gentry life with the luxurious vices of the 'new' courtier.²⁴⁴ These vices had led to the decline of love and the growth of envy: 'Most rich men were charitable formerly/ and shew'd pittie to the poor in misery/ but their hearts are now hardened with cruelty/ envy and malice now raigneth much/ in hearts of some persons both poor and rich / to see one anothers lives many do grutch.'²⁴⁵ These ballads emphasised the abandonment of good housekeeping, especially 'old'

²⁴² Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, p. 231.

²⁴³ See, for example, *Much Ado About Nothing* (1660): 'Your Gallant that lives by fine meat and clothing/ who was, th'other day, a pittiful low thing/ pays bills with nothing'; *The Country Mans Delight* (-1680s): 'Courtier like we cannot fawn/ yet are as loyal to our King/ Flatterers we ever hate/ those caterpillars of the state/ who strange discords daily breed/ raising fools hopes above the sky.' *The Careless Gallant* (1674) attacked lawyers who, 'in spinning a sute to the length of three lives/ a sute which the Clyent doth wear out in slavery/ whilst pleader makes conscience a cloak for his knavery', and butterfly courtiers, 'pageant[s] of state/ mousetrap[s] of honour.'

²⁴⁴ *The New Courtier* (1670), b/l, Pepys II.222, described the discredit and sexual incontinence of the courtier: 'A souldier I directly hate/ A cavalier once broke my pate' who 'was all in rags/ but now all to ribbons turn'd/ I cogg or Dye, swagger and lye'; 'someone duns me for my diet/ I had of him in fifty three/ which I forgot, so did not he', 'I draw my sword to run him through' or 'I show him a protection for it', 'Golden Girls ... Game royal for Dukes Lords and Earls ... My fancy drives at maids and wives', [a] 'friend who saved my life/ [I] made him a cuckold and a knight', 'citts are subtle slaves/ most of them witts, and knowing knaves/ we get their children, and they do/ from us get lands and lordships too.'

²⁴⁵ *A Description of Old England* [between 1674 and 1679{1675}], b/l, Wood E25(72) and 4o Rawl 566(103).

Christmas, which left the poor in want. They attacked luxuries like new halls and pictures, 'that does the poor but little good' and 'new' Christmas in London, which left 'only a porter at home/ to relieve poor people/ with a thump on the back with a cold stone'.²⁴⁶ This was no mere rhetoric; the years 1674 to 1675 appear to have been a particularly bad time.²⁴⁷ *A Description of Old England*, 'once a stately brave place', complained that trading was dead, 'Mony scarce/ [the] land is now overrun with poverty'.²⁴⁸ There was a dip in real wages in that year.²⁴⁹ The midland counties were particularly badly hit; a ballad entitled *All Things Be Dear but Poor Mans Labour* claimed it was a 'song ... begun at Worcester/ the midle at Shrewsbury/ the end at Coventry'. It complained of the 'uncharitableness of Rich men to the poor' declaring that 'some rich men will keep their wages from them/ and make them run to and agen/ which makes the poor cry fye upon them', while 'whole ricks of corn stand in their yards'.²⁵⁰ Riots took place in Stratford, and a complaint was made to the Privy Council in 1674 that 'the poorer sort of people had stopp'd up the locks and sluices, broken into the mills and seized the corn'.²⁵¹ The publication of *Old Christmas Relieved or Hospitality Revived*, perhaps in 1675, seems to have been a response to these troubles. It told how 'the times they are mended/ though they have been bad' and it sought to admonish 'rich misers/wherein they may see (if they be not blind)/ how much they are to blame for their

²⁴⁶ T. Howard, *An Old Song of the Old Courtier of the King/ with a new song on a new courtier of the King* (1668), b/1, Pepys II.211, also attacked the 'new Chimney ...no coal or wood/ shuffle board table where meat never stood', 'new buttry hatch opens once in four or five days'. It compares the 'old' Lady, 'whose anger one word assuages', and pays her men their wages every quarter, and the 'old' hall, where decorations are weapons, 'Old study, old learned books', 'Old Christmas' with 'neighbours and tenants bagpipe and drum' and 'old charity', with the 'new study full of pamphlets and plays', and a 'new' wife who 'doesn't know housekeeping or care'.

²⁴⁷ Complaints about charity are discussed as tropical rhetoric in Heal, *Hospitality*, but these complaints were chronologically quite specific. From 1680 there were further adaptations of this line of discourse, for example, *Englands Present State*, (1680), and *The Old Man's Sayings Concerning the Alteration of the Times* (1682).

²⁴⁸ *A Description of Old England* {1675}, also attacks the 'Jovial Crew': 'Where [are the] old soldiers with slashes and scars/ never fear'd drinking in old time of wars/ nor shedding of blood in mad drunken jars?', and new fashions, 'set up coaches'; 'men have new heads, women new faces'. Ballads made a number of incursions into the 'luxury debates', for example there were a series of ballads debating the virtues and vices of the 'Top Knot' in the 1690s.

²⁴⁹ Geoffrey Holmes, *The Making of a Great Power* (Harlow, 1993), p. 451.

²⁵⁰ L. W., *All Things be Dear but Poor Mens Labour* (RI66 1 March 1675), b/1, Wood E 25(119).

²⁵¹ Quoted in Nicholas Fogg, *Stratford Upon Avon, Portrait of a Town* (Chichester, 1986). My thanks to local historian and ex-student, Nicholas Billingham, for drawing my attention to this event.

penurious housekeeping'. It contrasted them with 'Noble minded gentry [who] lay out a great part of their estates in hospitality/ relieving such persons as have need thereof', reminding them that 'who feed the poor true reward shall find/ or helps the old, the feeble, lame and blind'. The tune, ironic in its choice, was 'Delights of the Bottle'. The ballad declaimed that 'Old Christmas/ a long time together he hath been forgot/ such miserly sneaking in England hath been', but now it hoped 'Mock Beggar Hall it no more shall stand empty/ all furnisht with freedome and plenty,' which would make 'Court, City and country glad'.²⁵²

Old England ballads complained that whereas 'In former days men loved one another/ they always were faithful and true to each other/ But now a man scarcely can trust his own brother' and were appalled at the 'new drunken chaplain/ [who] swears faster than he prays.'²⁵³ Their fears were that if envy, rather than love, ruled the land, there was a danger of the social order breaking down, and perhaps the restoration of tyranny. In 1678, their fears and complaints seemed to be vindicated. As a great political storm began to arise, one ballad prayed for King and commonalty: 'Lord convert poor Englands foes from Envy' and 'Defend us from Bloody Tyranny'.²⁵⁴

iv. Love under Threat: The Politics of Plot and Party 1678-1682

The Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis raised important questions about the patriarchal relationship between King and people. Charles II's rights were never questioned in any broadside ballad, while the intricacies of plot, counter plot and exclusion barely emerged in black-letter ballads: Titus Oates's name does not appear in any surviving black-letter ballad between 1678 and 1680. Nevertheless, black-letter balladeers pursued a number of political agendas, their main concern being the significance and implications of competing threats to the body politic, and a changing relationship between ruler and ruled.

²⁵² *Old Christmas Relieved or Hospitality Revived* [between 1674 and 1679 {1675}], b/1, Pepys I.474.

²⁵³ *A Description of Old England* {1675}; Howard, *An Old Song of the Old Courtier* (1668).

²⁵⁴ T[homas] R[obins], *Englands Gentle Admonition* [between 1674 and 1679 {1678/9}], b/1 + special woodcut, Rox.IV.13.

The crises of plots and exclusion saw the emergence of new songs that urged parliamentary protection against the threat of papist tyranny, a discourse not heard since the early 1640s.²⁵⁵ The lukewarmly loyal *A Looking Glass for all true Protestants* prayed, 'God defend our Protestant Nation still/ And bless our Gracious King, if it be thy will' and also, 'God bless our King and Parliament I pray/ To guide them in a true and Godly way/ To set forth good laws amongst us in our land/ that all the Protestants may for ever stand'.²⁵⁶ Prophecy, not seen on ballad sheets since the 1650s, also saw a revival.²⁵⁷ These ballads usually emphasised the need to depend on and placate Providence through Protestant unity, mutual love and a reformation of manners, and blamed papists for all the troubles in the nation.²⁵⁸ They argued that the papist passions of fury and envy had attacked love and charity. Papist vices, often in the guise of French fashion, had encouraged Pride and Ambition. Papists had infected and diseased the body politic, so that it was now suffering 'distempers', decayed trade and no provision for the poor.²⁵⁹ No black-letter ballad spelt out support for exclusion,

²⁵⁵ See, for example, *Long Lookt for Come at Last* {1679/80}, b/l, Rox.III.78: 'People were filled with discontent/ Wanting their wished for Parliament ... Now the Parliament sits,/ Traytors look to your hits', 'Since the Parliament then, is made up of brave men/ and none sits but are bravely esteemed/ Let us laugh and rejoyce at this noble brave choice/ And thank God we from foes are redeemed ... Live long then great Charles, with your Lords and your Earls/ who our religion do strive to defend', 'the Parliament now doth befriend us/ and does separate those whom we lookt on as foes/ what misery then can attend us?' See also C. Blount attrib., *The Sale of Esau's Birthright* (1679), b/l, BL.C.20.f.6(22).

²⁵⁶ *A Looking Glass for all True Protestants* (1679), b/l, Pepys II.68: 'God ... guide our parliament in a right way/ that our enemies of us do never make a prey/ and make our Kingdom, void and free from strife/ and every man and woman, serve God and mend their life.' See also *A Looking Glass for Traytors*, (1678), b/l, Wood E 25(33): 'Loyal subjects, have a care/ Be not drawn into the popish snare/ And so God bless our King and Parliament/And grant that of our sins we may repent', and *Here is Incouragement to Loyalty* (1679), b/l, Pepys II.216: 'If in his Dominion, we'd but one opinion/ Oh happy far England 'twould be/ But so much division, doth cause a derision/ and the Papists rejoyce for to see', 'That our Monarch he might, in his subjects delight/ not fearing their assassination/ But when 'twill be so, I do not know.' Ballads such as *Gallantry All a mode* [between 1674 and 1679], b/l, Rox.III.92, also attacked the vices of the Jovial Crew, who 'lavish and wallow in pleasure.' See also *Englands Present State* (1680), b/l, Pepys II.10.

²⁵⁷ See *Poor Robins Wonderful Vision* (1680), b/l, CB.1291/8.

²⁵⁸ See *The Old Mans Sayings concerning the Alteration of the Times* (1682), b/l, Douce Ballads 2(172a); *A Pill against Popery* (1680), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(167); 'showing the wicked practices of plotters and contrivers against Religion and the Laws, the deadness of Trade and the debauchery of the times', called for 'Love, Peace and True Religion'.

²⁵⁹ See *Englands Present State* {1681?}(Publishers Wright, Clarke, Thackeray and Passenger published a ballad together in 1683): 'Poor England now is sore opprest ... once we were happy ... now bloody villains infest'; 'we instead of Estates are now filled with fear'; 'Now where's the brave fellows that frighted the French/And made him appear like a pittiful Prince/ Now he's a brave fellow that's best at a wench'; 'honesty now I find is more scant/ he's a fool counted that can't damn him and rant'; 'now all civil dresses are quite laid aside ... Now every Jack wears a sword by his side'; 'nothing gentle in fashion/ except it be used first in the French Nation/ We must be sure of Monsieurs approbriation'; 'He

but *Here is Incouragement to Loyalty* was particularly blunt about the dangers England faced:

'If the Government turn, some surely will burn/ then pray for the life of the King.'²⁶⁰

The lovers of Kings, the Jovial Crew and Old England came together to defend the King.²⁶¹ Both saw exclusion as an attack on monarchy, in effect, a return to forty-one. There were many ballad reprints or reminders of the civil war.²⁶² Anti-exclusionist ballads, often sporting splendid woodcuts of the King, used both religious and alcoholic discourse to promote Protestant unity through rigid obedience to the law and respect for the divine right of the monarch. Using a trope more familiar in the white-letter market, they described the King as the head and people as the feet of the body politic.²⁶³ From this period, in loyalist or Tory

that loves the King well doth his subjects love too ... But beware of the blades that bid conscience adieu'; 'The Whigs and the Tories each other asperse ... the like was ne'r yet in the whole Universe.' Thanks to Dr Mark Knights for help in amending the possible dating of this ballad. See also *The English Man's Advice*, (1680), b/l, Pepys II.14: 'Through mercy we escaped them/ though the land is still diseas'd', 'But hope that now our Parliament/ Will strive to ease our pain/ and banish all our discontent/ wherein we do remain/ O let the heavens protect and Keep/ his majesty from harm/ who now is with his Parliament/ the Papist to alarm/ And since with them he does agree/ as we desire he may.'

²⁶⁰ *Here is Incouragement to Loyalty* (1679): 'That our Monarch he might, in his subjects delight/ not fearing their assassination/ But when 'twill be so, I do not know', God 'loves the King dear/ [and] would not have his subjects opprest', 'Give Princes their due/ all you that are Protestants loyal and true/ he's deceived in his hope/ who expected a pope.' The ballad called for loyalty as under Elizabeth against the Armada and declared there was 'nothing too much for you to do/ to serve your King and protect your country', 'be loyal and just/ defend our King with our blood.'

²⁶¹ 'The Jovial Crew' continued to argue for unthinking loyalty through drinking: Reprint of *The Delights of the Bottle* (1678); *The Loyal Protestant or a Defiance of Traytors* (1679), b/l, Pepys II.215: 'Ambition like wine does the senses confound/ let him that thinks well see his brimmer go round/ and pray for the safety and life of the King'; *The Oxford Health, or The Joviall Loyalist* (1680), b/l, Wood E 25(27): 'We will be loyal and drink off our wine/ though Pope or Presbyters should both repine/ No state affairs shall e're turmoil our brain/ Let those take care to whom they appertain'; *The Claret Drinkers Song, or the Good-Fellow's Design* (1680), b/l, Rox.III.82: 'grave asses, who idly debate/ About Rights and Succession, the trifles of State/ We've a good King already, and he deserves laughter/ that will trouble his head with 'who shall come after', 'All thing in nature live by good drinking'; *Contents a Treasure or, the Jovial Loyalist* (1681), b/l, Rox.IV.8: 'we are jovial toppers ... no plots we e're invented, against the church and state/ but still we keep our loyalty, and shun all rash debate/ In scarcity and Plenty, we always are content/ We ne'r repine at Providence, but take what it has sent', 'he that will not pledge it a Whig is or a Trimmer'; *The Courtiers Health, or The Merry Boys of the Times* (1682), b/l, Firth b.19(4): 'we'l make the nation roare/ She's grown sick of a Rumper that sticks on the old score/ A Pox on Phanatics, rout 'um they thirst for our blood/ We'l taxes raise without 'um, and drink for the Nations good', 'We'l drink to the next in succession, and keep it in the right line', 'we that sack are wooing for ever will adore him'.

²⁶² See *The Cuckoo of the Times* (1679), b/l, Firth b.19(5); *Loyalty Unfeigned, or The True Protestant Admonition* (1680), b/l, Rox.II.322, and *The Oxford Health, or The Joviall Loyalist* (1680): 'Health to all honest men that ne'er loved a Rumper', 'thirtieth of January let us remember/ And let it be joyn'd to the fifth of November'; reprint, *Jockies Lamentation* (1680); *Religion made a Cloak for Villainy* (1681); reprint *Rebellion Given over Housekeeping* (1681); reprint *Win at first lose at last* (1683).

²⁶³ See *Protestant Unity the best Policy to defeat Popery* (1679), b/l + large royal woodcut, Rox.II.249: 'Let Presbyters yield unto just monarchy/ beneath whose protection they happy may live/ and stiff necked Baptists their errors retrieve/ when a King that's so gracious does over us reign/ what good man

ballads, the 1660s language of mutual love began to be replaced by that of obedience, and the benefits of the relationship leaned increasingly towards the King and away from the people, whose duty was simply to serve.²⁶⁴ For these balladeers, the role of parliament seemed almost irrelevant to the ills of the nation, and it was not to stand in the way of the King's prerogative. From 1680 Tory ballads increasingly attacked 'Whiggs', who, they claimed, promoted division and disloyalty through their support of Protestant comprehension and 'novel' solutions to the problem of the succession.²⁶⁵

At first sight Tory ballads, which disapproved of active involvement in politics, and often promoted drunken obedience to the monarchy, appear as powerful propaganda for absolutist Stuarts. However, though unquestioningly loyal to the crown, they agreed with their Whig counterparts on one important matter: they defied any potentially tyrannical power.

has reason or cause to complain?', 'that the feet they may join with the head/ and cordially let each his loyalty prove/ by striving to conquer each other in love', 'we open the way to the Pope/ when our King and his laws we dare disobey'. *Loyalty Unfeigned* (1680) showed woodcuts of Charles and classical heroes.

²⁶⁴ See *Protestant Unity the Best Policy to Defeat Popery* (1679): 'Old England', 'divisions grow rife and crowding come in/ schismatics clamour and rail at the sin/ which themselves have contriv'd/ they were wheeling the Kingdom to forty again', 'England United no one can quell'. Cf. *The Loyal Protestant or a Defiance of Traytors* (1679), b/l, Pepys II.215: 'We live secure beneath the Monarchs wings', 'best of Kings', 'we whose hearts are at rest in our loyalty blest ... 'he that dares hope to change King for a pope/ let him dye', 'happy we - when all our thoughts are free/ and blest in our foresaid obedience/ politick fool ... ambitious to rule/ still bawks at the Oath of allegiance', 'we that hate all that would monarchs depose/ may the joys of our hearts like the glasses go round', 'our noble souls are drench'd in full bowls', 'In spight o'th' meal tub or the white horse club/ Old England aboundeth in pleasure.' *Loyalty Unfeigned* (1680): 'the murmers that do dayly rise/smell rank of forty-one ... when subjects give their Kings advice what their expence should be', 'Princes are noble and what they impose we can disgest (sic) / In their commands we God obey, for they dispence (sic) Heaven's trust', 'Remember Kings are Gods on earth, for Heaven tis they bear sway/ and are most sacred from their birth,/ which binds us to obey/ then let such perish who deny obedience to the laws/ that do repine at majesty.' *Unfeigned Friendship, or the Loyalists Cordial advice* {1681}, see below. *The Oxford Health, or The Joviall Loyalist* (1681): 'We'll love our King and wish him happy days'; *The Plotter Executed* (1678), b/l, Rox.III.32: 'Princes his vice regents are/ Inroaled in Heaven, the chief of his care'.

²⁶⁵ See *Unfeigned Friendship, or the Loyalists Cordial advice* {1681}: 'England be wise and let unity flourish/ Let none be precise, their fond fancies to cherish/ Thereby in their passion to trouble the Nation ... If none would stickle at the Oath of allegiance/ Nor conventicles to baulk their Obedience ... then Pope would despair and Jesuits repine ... Then at last be you wise you Whiggs and come over ... envy and malice does plot for your harm/ obedience and Unity is the best charm.' *The Oxford Health, or The Joviall Loyalist* {1681}: 'Here's a health to the King, and his lawful successors/ To Tantivy Tories and Loyal Addressors/ No matter for those that promoted petitions,/ To poyson the nation and stir up seditions', 'Health to our Church and all that are for it/ a shame take all Papists and Whiggs that abhor it ... safe from new ways of refiners', 'Health to all Burghers, who still in their choices/ For eminent loyalists do give their voices/ and will not be byas'd whatever betide them/ Who fear no Whig-land lords, who for it shall chide them.'

Traitors, said *Treason Justly Punished*, 'strive others to inslave.'²⁶⁶ Anti-exclusionist black-letter ballads were rabidly anti-papist as well as anti-presbyter. As *Loyalty Unfeigned* (1680) explained, loyalists were not blind to the risks that faced the Church:

Two dangerous rocks on ether hand appear,
We now 'twixt Scilla and Caribdas (*sic*) steer,
Our Pilots care (you'l say) had need be great;
It had so, for on each hand stands a Fate
On either hand to saile we suffer wrack ...
Therefore in wisdom, [the King] has thought it best
To saile farre right, for there the dangers least.

Moreover, despite their love of claret, all balladeers regardless of party were strongly anti-French, and openly dismayed at the King besmirching himself with the tyrant 'Monsieur's' machinations. Once the plots and plotting were over, *Loyalty Unfeigned* hoped that 'Great Charles Monarchy/ Will then its former lustre gain,/ France then will stand in awe,/ Who now does triumph oe'r the slain,/ and gives the Nations Law.'²⁶⁷

While Whigs increasingly looked for some means of providing a new Protestant heir, by 1681 Tory ballads saw Presbyters and Whigs as a far greater threat than papists. Both sides sought to destroy each other's reputations and arguments by keeping up sustained campaigns in white-letter ballads from 1679 onwards. Despite all their experience of being let down by the Stuart monarchy over religion, Tory balladeers, spurred on by the prolific publishing activities of Thompson and Dean, clung to their faith in the virtues of the King's blood. They

²⁶⁶ *Treason Justly Punished* (1678), b/l, EEBO/Harvard. See, also, the reprint of Pope, *The Catholic Ballad* (1678); *Treason Rewarded at Tyburn* (1679), b/l, Wood E 25(99): 'Romes agents despair for to see/ Our Nation submit to their Tyranny'; Robins, *Englands Gentle Admonition* {1678/9}: fear of 'Bloody tyranny' from papists 'wicked crew', and sects' 'rebellious crew', who seek 'Church government to overthrow'; *Loyalty Unfeigned, or The True Protestant Admonition* (1680): 'Papists wills, willing to act anew from forty one to eight/ Plotted our late troubles, though others pushed them on/ fanatics they were in the reer, but Papists in the van.' See also *The Ballad of the Cloak* (1679), discussed above, ch. 3.

²⁶⁷ *Loyalty Unfeigned, or The True Protestant Admonition* (1680). For other anti-French sentiment see *The Disloyal Favourite* (1679), b/l, Rox.II.109, on the fall of Danby; *The Claret Drinkers Song, or the Good-Fellow's Design* (1680): 'That Bully of France that aspires to renown/ By dul cutting of throats, and venting his own.'

were determined to preserve the King's prerogative and the legitimate bloodline at almost any cost to parliamentary liberty and with what Whigs saw as a blind faith that the Church would be safe. Tory ballads abandoned the balanced 'mutual love' of the 1660s, making extravagant declarations of adoration and willingness to die for the King. The Whig view was that the succession should be subject to reason. Was it reasonable to swear allegiance to an unreasonable (by definition if a papist) King? If he were virtuous, perhaps, yes - but virtue required the exercise of reason. This triggered a contestation over the virtue and reason to be found in the rival heirs - James and Monmouth.

Only a few of these 'party' ballads were printed in the traditional style. In 1681 *The Wine Coopers Delight*, in fine black-letter and sporting a specially commissioned illustration, linked Shaftesbury as 'the plaguy wine cooper' to 'Old Noll' the Brewer. It suggested his 'brews' offered 'a strange freedom' to his followers' souls: 'Of Secrets in nature that never were known/ It gave inspiration from Beggar to Throne.' Further editions were printed, without illustration, in white-letter only.²⁶⁸ After the collapse of the Oxford parliament, *The Whig Rampant* of 1682 did appear in traditional style, though it was very much changed from its white-letter version, as was a response, *The Popish Tory's Confession*.²⁶⁹ Each side accused the other of seeking to set up or make way for tyranny.

Rival Lovers: 'Young Jemmy' and 'Awd Jemmy'

The black-letter market had its own views on the subject of exclusion, as became clear in their ballading of the rival heirs, or 'lovers', of England, the Dukes of Monmouth and York, from 1681 through to 1689. If, as all black-letter ballads had consistently argued, the papist was deluded, cruel and motivated by envy, how could it be possible for a popish king to rule with reason, mercy, truth and justice? If popery's sole end was to establish tyranny, how could a

²⁶⁸ James Dean, *The Wine Coopers Delight* (1681), b/l + special woodcut Rox.III.244; w/l, BL.C.20.F6(7); Wood 276a(553). See also *The New Presbyterian Ballad* (m/s 'ag' ye Presbyterians' 31 May 1681), b/l+no w/c, quarto size, Rox.II.571; w/l, Ashm.G.16(98).

²⁶⁹ See discussion of these ballads above, ch. 1.

papist monarch be trusted with power? Love was a Christian, and therefore a Protestant, virtue. Only a Protestant monarch was likely to prove truly lovely, loving and loved.²⁷⁰

By 1680 political songs, especially in white-letter, had become an established vehicle for debate and they increased enormously in number, far beyond the level seen in the 1640s. There were occasional prosecutions. The *London News Letter* reported on 1 June 1682, 'I am told that some persons of quality will be tried upon several informations at the King's Bench bar the next in term for countenancing and abetting a treasonable ballad which will be sung at the King's Bench bar to such a tune as was never set to it yet.'²⁷¹ However, it was impossible to keep them off the streets. Songs originally intended for a more restricted audience leapt from the stage or out of the tavern and were adapted and extended to ballads by hacks at a moment's notice, bringing state affairs and, increasingly, the heroism or villainy of politicians to the attention of all. This process of appropriation became itself a matter for ballad comment. In 1676 *Love and Honesty* began, 'What's here to do? A pretty modish song/ Turn'd to a ballad in truth I think e'r long/ A fourth part of the town will poets be... Yet if I judge right, the vulgar sort/ Are mightily beholding to them for't'.²⁷²

One effect of this increased publicity was that a popular image had become an ever more essential part of politics.²⁷³ In 1682 Narcissus Luttrell commented, 'About this time the Presse abounds with all manner of libels ... It has been the endeavour of late of some persons

²⁷⁰ White-letter Tory ballads occasionally sought to promote the Protestantism of the Stuarts. *The Contented Subjects, or the Citizens Joy*, (1682), w/l, Rox.III.905, celebrated the monarch, 'whose Protestant principles now are so clear', while *Old Jemmy* (m/s 15 September 1681), w/l, Wood 417(57), Lutt II.154, alleged that rumours James was a papist were a plot by the 'Holy Crew', 'The schismatick and Saint / The Quaker and the Athiest (*sic*), / Swear by the Covenant / Old Jemmy is a Papist ... Great Albany shall reign/ amongst the Faith's defenders.'

²⁷¹ Library of Congress, *London News Letters Collections*, reel 4, vol. 8 (1682 Jan-1683 Dec.), fol. 192) 1 June 1682. My thanks to Professor Newton Key, Univ. of Illinois, for this reference. The ballad concerned may perhaps be *The Down-fall of the Whigs* (1682), w/l, Vet A3 c.29(14), which, despite its title, was an aggressive attack on York the 'popish Duke'.

²⁷² *Love and Honesty, or, The Modish Courtiers* (1676), b/l, 4o Rawl 566(71).

²⁷³ Pepys suspected Albermarle of deliberately encouraging ballads in his praise. Pepys, *Diary*, VIII, p. 99, 6 March 1667: 'by water home, reading a ridiculous ballad made in praise of the Duke of Albermarle to the tune of St George, the tune being printed too. And I observe that people have some great encouragement to make ballads of him of this kind; there are so many, that hereafter will sound like Guy of Warwicke.' The ballad, or one like it, was printed for John Playford in white-letter with music, a very early example of a notation ballad, see Lutt. I.101.

to run things up to a strange height creating fewds and differences ... so that all things are come to that passe, that they judge by the men, and not by the meritt of the cause.²⁷⁴ The cavalier poets of the 1660s had produced ballads, which, though sometimes full of complaints, were universally loyal to the King and his family. However, a new crop of balladeers had honed their skills and sharpened their wits in the 1670s, and the early 1680s saw a good deal of discordant singing as the virtues and vices of 'A Monmouth' or 'A York' were balladed on the streets in London and in the provinces by opposing and sometimes violent crowds. In 1682 rioting by pro-Monmouth supporters in Wallasey sang a ballad (not known to me), including the line, 'Long live the Duke of Monmouth' at a prominent Yorkist's door, marking time at the end of every verse by throwing stones and shooting guns at his windows.²⁷⁵ Meanwhile, ballads in favour of the Duke of York were sung by gangs of health-drinking Tory apprentices in attacks on equally drunken Whig groups in the streets of London.²⁷⁶ York was said to have taken ballad-writers with him when he was exiled to Scotland.²⁷⁷

This battle of ballads was a white-letter phenomenon, however.²⁷⁸ As we have seen, the black-letter market was much harder to manipulate. Its self-censorship was more strict, and its audience, well known to publishers, had determined tastes. Typical of the black-letter ballad buyer would have been the group of fifteen-year-old drinkers in Chichester who, despite the Rye House Plot, toasted confusion to the 'Popish Duke' in 1683.²⁷⁹ Though

²⁷⁴ Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September, 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols, Oxford, 1857), Vol. I, p.199.

²⁷⁵ *CSPD, 1683*, pp. 393, 406, 439. I am grateful to Dr Kate Loveman, Univ. of Oxford, for this reference. Miller also recounts the incident in *After the Civil Wars*, p. 275.

²⁷⁶ Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 177-80. Harris also discusses the broader context of the propaganda war surrounding York and Monmouth.

²⁷⁷ H.E. Rollins, 'The Black Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA*, 34, no. 2 (1919), p. 280. Rollins suggests that James took a ballad-writer with him when he went into exile in Scotland but cites only Bishop Percy's 'Reliquaries'. See Theophilus Miller (ed.), *English Ballads and Songs chiefly taken from Dr Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (Halle, 1794). A number of pro-York, white-letter 'Scottish' ballad broadsides were published in England. See, for example, *The Loyal Scot* (1682), n/b, Ashm.G.16(156).

²⁷⁸ See, for example, *The Rose of Delight* (1680), n/b, EEBO/Huntington; *A New Ballad from Whigg-Land* (1682), w/l, Ashm. G.16(159); *Monmouth and Bucleugh's Welcom from the North* (1682), w/l, Ashm.G.5 (92); *The Down-Fall of the Whiggs or the Duke of Monmouths Journey into the North* (1682), w/l, Vet.A3.c.29(14); *Jemmy Return 'd or the Nations Joy* (1682), w/l, Firth c.15(18).

²⁷⁹ *CSPD, 1683*, p. 181.

publishers such as Thompson, Dean and Banks and writers such as Matthew Taubman ensured that York had a good showing and Monmouth a good pasting in white-letter ballads, for the black-letter market Monmouth was unquestionably the more popular figure. Indeed, in ballads, as in the popular mind, his popularity and influence lasted long after his death.

Monmouth was a balladeer's dream. He had been at court, amassing positions, commissions and reputation since 1662. Handsome, romantic, fashionable and a courtly lover of the ladies, he was brave, valiant and victorious as a soldier, the pride of the court. He had fought with acknowledged success against the French, the Dutch and the Scots. Louis XIV had commended Monmouth as soldier to his father. Charles II was so proud of him he had the siege of Maastricht re-enacted outside Windsor in 1674. Monmouth was also a highly effective organiser within the army, firm and fair, gaining the respect of the ordinary soldier, a trait guaranteed to bring some ballad fame. Unimpeachably Protestant, Monmouth was Captain of the Guard that had sought out evidence of the Popish Plot in London and had found Edward Coleman's papers. Unquestionably a royal scion and English, and with an affable and accessible manner, he was wildly popular, drawing adoring crowds wherever he went, particularly during his unofficial 'tours' in the West Country and Cheshire in 1680 and 1682 respectively.²⁸⁰

Monmouth's image in the black-letter market was never 'owned' by Whig propagandists. Certainly his image was politically manipulated in the press, but Monmouth really did win the hearts of people. He appealed to the young and romantic, the major ballad buyers of England. The most influential black-letter song about him was *Young Jemmy, or The Princely Shepherd* (1681), the first verses were written by the court playwright Aphra Behn.²⁸¹ Monmouth's Englishness and Protestantism appealed to the 'country interest',

²⁸⁰ For details of Monmouth's career, see Robin Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion* (1984), esp. chs 3 and 4.

²⁸¹ Aphra Behn and anon., *Young Jemmy or The Princely Shepherd*, (1681), b/l, Douce Ballads 2(259b) and Firth b.20 (84). Originating as a theatre song by Aphra Behn with three verses, it was lengthened to ten verses by a professional hack and printed in a number of black-letter editions by the ballad publisher, Philip Brooksby. The tune source for all the successive 'Young Jemmy' songs, the opening lines of this courtly pastoral, 'Young Jemmy was a lad / Of Royal birth and Breeding', were frequently

especially in the West and, importantly for balladry, he was popular with the army - though it did not come to his aid in 1685 as he had hoped. His 'legend' was created by Western men, who had suffered at the hands of tyrannical justice, and who, on the strength of Monmouth's reputation, joined up to fight for his 'worthy friend', the Prince of Orange.

It was not until 1678 that Monmouth's ballad persona emerged, at a time when Shaftesbury, later to be castigated as his corrupter, described him as 'vile'.²⁸² In 1677 Monmouth had fought for Louis, about which no ballad exists, but in 1678 he appeared fighting against the French and for the Prince of Orange in *News from the Netherlands* (1678), described as 'great Monmouth's Duke, that royal heart' who, 'did second [the Prince] most valiantly'.²⁸³ In 1679, after the murder of Archbishop Sharp of St Andrews, Monmouth was sent north to bring order to Scotland and to recruit forces.²⁸⁴ *The Scotch Rebellion*, a call-up ballad, calling on Monmouth's reputation as soldier and captain, declared: 'The Brave Duke of Monmouth's come to our aid/ His name will make the rebels afraid/ Besides we are sure to be well paid'.²⁸⁵ The loyal Scot in the ballad also followed the Duke in fashion. He trots off to war 'in trousers new/ [and] Up he did cock his bonnet blew'.²⁸⁶ The 'Monmouth Cock' was a style of hat wearing, popularised by the young Duke.²⁸⁷

Balladeers were not the only ones promoting Monmouth's image. In 1677 Anne Wentworth, whose predictions were popular amongst dissenters in the West, dreamed that 'the best (or greatest) person of the Kingdom should ... be poisoned and that there should be

used and adapted to political ballads. The original ballad laments Monmouth's departure from court, the loss of 'his face and shape so wondrous fine' and tells of the sighing nymphs and swains who miss him and hope for his return. However, it also suggests that Monmouth was led astray to be proud and ambitious - a victim of wicked politicians: 'But oh unlucky fate,/ a curse upon ambition/The busie fops of state,/ have ruin'd his condition ... by flattering fools and knaves betray'd,/ poor Jemmy is undone.'

²⁸² Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, p. 107.

²⁸³ *CSPD, 1677-8*, p. 278. In July Monmouth had 'volunteered' to fight for the French, while Lord Plymouth 'volunteered' for the Dutch side. Lord Ranleigh's comment to Viscount Conway was: 'Charleroy is certainly besieged.' See Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, pp. 99-100. *News from the Netherlands; being a full and true relation of a sharp and bloody battel fought betwixt the prince of Orange, and the French army* (1678), b/l, Wood E25(106).

²⁸⁴ Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, pp. 112-13.

²⁸⁵ Perhaps partly also a jibe at Scottish avarice.

²⁸⁶ *The Scotch Rebellion* {1679}, b/l, Douce Ballads 2(192a).

²⁸⁷ Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, p. 89.

an alteration of religion now by law established', but that 'the Protestants should be delivered by the Duke of Bucks, the Earl of Sarum and the Duke of Monmouth.'²⁸⁸ At least three hundred copies of Wentworth's predictions were printed and distributed.²⁸⁹ Later the same year, Wentworth described a vision of fire and Jesuit tumults, in which 'she heard the D of M called on very earnestly, as if some help were expected from him against these ruffians'.²⁹⁰ In 1678 another admirer, Sieur. des Chants, sent Monmouth 'a vision he had seen of an adorable mortal the exact image of the Duke'.²⁹¹

If a King had to be lovely then Monmouth clearly had a head start. After 1678, Monmouth did not appear on the traditional ballad scene again until Charles had felt obliged to exile both Dukes from the Court in 1681. This sparked two black-letter ballads, *England's Darling*, and *Young Jemmy or the Princely Shepherd*, which mourned his absence, praised him as a hero who had been led astray, and begged for a rapprochement with the King.²⁹² Between 1681 and 1683 six separate black-letter ballads were made about him, more than any other single figure, including the King, and he was mentioned in three others.²⁹³

Monmouth's adventures, such as chasing Thomas Thynne's murderers, his youth and beauty were crucial elements of his appeal. Though undoubtedly flawed, and led astray, ballads suggested one could forgive such a beautiful, Protestant youth almost anything. Even

²⁸⁸ CSPD, 1677 - 8, p. 174.

²⁸⁹ CSPD, 1677- 8, p. 529.

²⁹⁰ CSPD, 1677- 8, pp. 412-13.

²⁹¹ CSPD, 1677 - 8, p. 590. The 'vision' was published by Thomas Newcomb for Andrew Forrester, a man who had been taken up by the authorities for seditious libels. CSPD, 1677 - 78, p. 163.

²⁹² *England's Darling* {1681}, b/l, Pepys II.219 and Rox.II.140. This ballad is incorrectly dated 1685 in the Pepys Catalogue. A white-letter edition of *England's Darling*, entitled *Young Jemmy An Excellent New Ballad* (m/s 3 October 1681), w/l, BL.82.1.8(62) was published by Alexander Banks. Behn, *Young Jemmy or The Princely Shepherd* (1681). The BL suggests 1683 as a date for the two black-letter ballads but they clearly came out at around the same time as Banks's *Young Jemmy* and before the Rye House Plot.

²⁹³ *The Matchless Murder* (1681), b/l, Rox.IV.60 and Wood E 25(98); *Mirth and Gladness after Sorrow and Sadness* (1683), b/l, Pepys II.220; *The Merciful Father, or, the Penitent Son; A Congratulatory song on the Happy and most wish'd for Return of James D. of Monmouth* (1683), b/l, Pepys II.221; *Good News in Bad Times; or Absalom's Return to David's Bosome* (1683), w/l, Rox.III.916; *The Dutchess of Monmouth's Lamentation for the Loss of Her Duke* (RI646 27 Sept 1683), w/l, 1876.f.1(22); *The Duke of Munmuth's Constancie to his loving Dutchess* (RI648 1 December 1683); *The Duke of Monmouth's Kind Answer to his Dutchesse Complaint in his Absence* (RI649 1 December 1683). Monmouth was also mentioned in *Aeuropes Pride; or Englands Glory* (1683), b/l, Pepys II.224; *Collonel Sidney's Overthrow* (1683), b/l+special w/c, Rox.IV.12, and *Content and Rich, or The Glass of Vain Glory* [between 1684 and 1686], b/l, Pepys II.26.

on his return from hiding after the Rye House Plot, one ballad, though acknowledging some fault in the prodigal, sang 'methinks the whole nation did want him'.²⁹⁴ Ballads implied that only with Monmouth in the bosom of the court could England once more have peace, not just because it would silence Whig crowds, but because he would bring the Protestant virtues of love and harmony to the court, something James was unable to provide.²⁹⁵ Without a clear Protestant heir, the country desired a Protestant deliverer, a champion who could maintain the loving relationship between King and people, and protect the body politic from the evil influence, lusts and jealousies of papists and presbyters.

Monmouth, at first sight, seems to be portrayed in black-letter as providing an alternative in the problem of succession. But did black-letter balladeers really see him as future or rightful King? The natural imagery used in the ballads was reminiscent of his father, and he was balladed to his father's tune 'Troy town', as well as his own.²⁹⁶ Though he was constantly in trouble, the sense that this was not of his own making, and indeed part of a papist plot, served to evoke sympathy rather than disapproval. He was portrayed in ballads as lovely, as the ideal lover, and ironically enough, as a loving and adored husband. He was undoubtedly loved. One ballad claimed that 'he with glances could enslave the heart'. He was 'Royally decended', and possessed of the virtues of nobility.²⁹⁷ However, he was mainly adored for his military and Protestant attributes. He had been praised by 'Monsieur' and had beaten him. He had beaten the presbyter Scot and then peaceably settled affairs.²⁹⁸ Balladeers

²⁹⁴ *The Merciful Father, or, the Penitent Son* (1683), said Monmouth had been led astray, and had favoured 'the rabble'. It also gave York the credit for mediating his return. Nevertheless, in a strain that would have been less pleasing to his Uncle, the ballad praised Monmouth as 'Brave', 'gallant' and 'shining'.

²⁹⁵ See *The Good Subjects Delight, Or, True Love in its Proper Colours* (RI 1025a 27 June 1683), b/1, Pepys II.213.

²⁹⁶ For discussion of tunes see above, ch. 3.

²⁹⁷ Behn, *Young Jemmy or The Princely Shepherd* (1681).

²⁹⁸ See *Englands Darling* (1681). Monmouth was a Military Hero: 'Of Jemmy the victorious name/ Did through all Europe flie, ... In Maastricht and in France,/ In Germany and Flanders,/ Young Jemmy did advance / amongst the Chief commanders'; Monmouth was a Protestant champion: 'Young Jemmy is a youth/ who thinks it no transgression/ to stand up for the truth,/ and Protestant Profession', and he was the helpless victim of jealous enemies, 'Tory and Papists all agree to blast his spotless fame/ but spight of all their policy/ young Jemmy's still the same.' But he was a deliverer not a king, the most loyal of subjects, willing 'to spend his life and fortune / to support the Church and State'. The ballad calls upon Monmouth to 'restore / the ruins of our nation'.

saw Monmouth as Champion of the Church, and a major bulwark against threats to the nation, but they did not present him as ruler. Clifton cites a group of drinkers in Wiltshire who 'while toasting Monmouth [predicted] the other "Duke would make a very good King"'.²⁹⁹ Until the execution ballads there was no explicit suggestion in traditional ballads of any claim being made to the crown, and in the later ballads promising his return, he was still depicted seeking only to rescue England not to rule her.

v. James, duke of York and Lover King

The height of James's black-letter ballad career had been between 1661 and 1666.³⁰⁰ By 1680, even in white-letter ballads, he was a distant 'Mighty Duke', whose high-handed manner smacked of tyranny as opposed to the 'Noble hero' and 'lovely Monmouth', who chased murderers round the streets of London.³⁰¹ Unlovely, unloved and unloving, without youth, beauty or, by 1680, Protestantism to fall back on, York's last hope was a glorious military career. This, however, was long behind him and had ended in the ignominy of defeat at the hands of the Dutch, and his enforced withdrawal from the Admiralty on religious grounds. In

²⁹⁹ Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, p. 72.

³⁰⁰ See T. I., *Here Is Some Comfort for Poor Cavaleers* (1661); *The Royal Victory* (1665): 'good Duke of York/ whose courage was such/ against the Low-Dutch'. Opdam was slain 'by the great Duke of York/ by the Duke's valour he was overcome ... who sink under Princes are buried in State'; *The Loyal Subjects Resolution* (1665); 'The Duke of York rides admiral/ His highnesse weel attend/ this noble hearted General/ will prove our countries friend'; *Englands Valour and Hollands Terrour* (1665), b/l, Euing 103; 'The Duke of York high Admiral/ will daunt the Dutchman sore/ with his name and his fame'; J. R., *The Valiant Hearted Seaman* (1665); 'The Duke of York himself is pleas'd/ Chief Admiral upon the seas/ to venture life and limb for Englands right', 'top sail fal/ before our noble general'; *The Faithful Lovers Farewell* (1665); 'The Duke of York ventures his life too/ with all his Royalty/ He's a Prince that does love his wife too/ I warrant as well as I/ Good Princes are great examples/ For Loyal hearts to follow/ He that on Authority tramples/ I wish the sea may swallow'; *Londoners Lamentation* (1660); 'with an account of the King and the Duke of Yorks endeavours with several peers of the land for quenching of the same', 'Our gracious King, the Duke of York/ the Life guards and the noble lords/ both day and night did watch and work'. White-letter eulogies: R. Wilde, *An Essay upon the Late Victory obtained by his Highness the Duke of York* (1665). In 1666 ballads praised the Duke of Albermarle, not York.

³⁰¹ See, for example, *Great York and Albany* (1682), w/l, Ashm.G.15(64). Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 199, points out that James's connection to Clarendon, who fell in 1668, meant he had to keep a low profile, but he believes York was severe, humourless and unforgiving. He was never again a popular ballad hero, and even as King 'Old Jemmy' ballads sang of the duty of obedience and loyalty rather than mutual love between King and people. Cf the warmth with which Monmouth's adventures were related in *The Matchless Murder* (1681). A white-letter version of this event, *Murther Unparalel'd* (1681), w/l, Wood 276a(543), referred to Monmouth only as 'his Grace' and 'this Person'.

1666, while James was still Admiral, a white-letter ballad criticised officers for taking the credit of victory while ordinary sailors, who had fought and bled, awaited their money and starved.³⁰² In any case, by then it was other officers such as Prince Rupert and the publicity-seeking George Monck, now Duke of Albermarle, who were enjoying ballad eulogies.³⁰³ James was no match for the attractions of 'Young Jemmy', or any other valiant and Protestant figure that might replace him. From the time of the Rye House Plot, and with Monmouth seemingly gone, balladeers were spurred on to rehabilitate the flagging image of the monarchy. York was sometimes mentioned as 'great' or 'sweet' but he was always second to the King.³⁰⁴ Even when apparently loyal ballads called for a 'Royal Alamanzo' to succeed the King, this could be read as more of a threat than a promise. Alamanzo was a Turkish Prince.³⁰⁵

When the King died on 6 February 1685 (one balladeer was a little ahead of time, registering his elegy on 15 January 1685) balladeers remembered all his good points.³⁰⁶ In their judgement, 'No Prince more dearly was belov'd.'³⁰⁷ He had been a 'Prince of Clemency/ whose love and mercy did abound'. In addition, another ballad recalled: 'We had our Liberty/ He never sought for to devour/ By a usurping Tyranny/ To Rule by Arbitrary Power.'³⁰⁸ Was the balladeer thinking back or ahead? Despite initial acclamation for James, almost on the

³⁰² *The Second Part of the New Ballad on the Late Terrible Fight on St James' Day* (1666), w/l, Wood 416(113), objected to Sir John Birkenhead's *A New Ballad of a Famous German Prince and a renowned English Duke* (1666), w/l, BB.C.40. m9(77) declaring, 'seamen too deserve some bayes ... officers bear the bell/ the private sea-men rung the Dutch knell.' It concluded that 'ballads made in the old fashion/ should still conclude with supplication/ For King and Queen and the whole nation / send King and Queen a prince of Wales.' Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, p. 196, explains how cavaliers 'attacked profiteers while sailors and seamen starved'.

³⁰³ See *The English Seamans Resolution* (1666), b/l, Euing 106: 'in the Duke's sight I'm resolved to fight ... the Duke and his fleet you once more will meet ... Brave General Monck will defeat you'. In *The Dutch Dammified* (1666), b/l, Euing 60, Holmes, Howard and Jennings are praised.

³⁰⁴ See *Englands Mercies in the Midst of Miseries* [between 1684 and 1685], b/l, Pepys II.226; *Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy* (1684), b/l, Pepys II.225; *A Health to the Royal Family* (1683), b/l, Pepys II.217.

³⁰⁵ *A True Loyalist or The Obedient Subject* (1683) n/b, Wood 417(115); (1685), b/l, Pepys II.223. See John Dryden, *The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards in Two Parts: acted at the Theatre Royall*, (1672), Act III. Also Aphra Behn, *To Poet Bavius* (1688), p. 8: 'Almanzor when Inrag'd he grows, / Promiscuously he falls on Friends and Foes.'

³⁰⁶ *An Elegie on the Death of King Charles the Second of Blessed Memory* (RI673 15 January 1685).

³⁰⁷ *Sorrowful Subject or Great Brittain's Calamity* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.227.

³⁰⁸ *The Mournful Subjects of the whole nations lamentation, from the highest to the lowest* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.228, w/l+w/c Rox.I.282.

instant that Charles's death was known there were popular rumours that the new King would be challenged.³⁰⁹ On 24 February the Mayor of Bridgwater received a letter from one 'R.L.' who expected that the 'Jovial Crew' would now emerge from their drunken stupor to some action. The letter claimed that 'the high flown Tories, whose only religion and loyalty seems to consist in carousing his Royal Highness' health, now acknowledge the g^t cheat put upon them and seem to abominate it from their souls, and therefore we may hereafter not only call but believe them Protestants'.³¹⁰ It was not only men of the West who hoped for a Protestant deliverer. In the Midlands too, and in London, where John Jones chanted 'the Duke of Monmouth's right Prince of Wales and shall sway, and shall sway', the Duke found popular support.³¹¹ In York, it was said, the 'fanatic party' was predicting 'two Dukes shall fight for the crown of England ... in the year 1685'. They were almost right, except it was not on a 'great moor' near York, and neither was the 'Duke of York ... slain, and the crown party routed'.³¹²

Work by Clifton and Earle has shown the Earl of Sunderland was largely correct in his judgement that 'the greatest part of the rebels [were] a rude, unarmed multitude and all the counties unanimous in expressing their loyalty, and zeal to serve his majesty'.³¹³ 'R.L.' was wrong in believing the 'high flown tories' had given up their hopes that the law was safe in James's hands, and would protect the interests of the Church and the 'country interest'. However, despite his defeat, it proved impossible to eradicate Monmouth from popular minds and hopes, or from ballads.

³⁰⁹ Wood, *Life*, III, p. 130: 12 Feb. 1685: 'So that after the duke of York had been excluded by the House of Commons ... forced to go beyond sea and to Scotland to avoid their fury ... he was writ against by every scribler; vilified and abused and scandalized; talked against by most wise men who seemed before to be very loyall ... a scandal also to drink his health - now proclaimed generally throughout with great applause and settled in his throne without a bloody nose. Such is the world's careere!'

³¹⁰ *CSPD*, 1685, p. 4. Wood, *Life*, III, p. 134: 'the whiggs, who live and get their ends by lying, sent letters to most corporations (without name) to possess them that the King died a papist and that a papist succeeds him and bid them look to themselves and stand to their guard.'

³¹¹ *CSPD*, 1685, pp. 33, 171.

³¹² *CSPD*, 1685, p. 30.

³¹³ *CSPD*, 1685, p. 228. Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*; Peter Earle, *Monmouth's Rebels: The road to Sedgemoor, 1685* (1977).

Monmouth's defeat in 1685 meant that traditional ballads were finally forced to attack Monmouth at his execution, as the genre required. One ballad celebrating the King's victory and three execution ballads were printed in July 1685.³¹⁴ The execution ballads, though they had their job to do in finding fault, could not help but acknowledge Monmouth's popularity and the reasons for it. For the first time they accused Monmouth of seeking a crown, but at the same time advertised his popularity in the West; one sang 'there is no real King of Lyme,/ but him that wears the crown' and another that 'The King of the West in those parts they me call', though, it conceded, 'true churchmen deny'd me/ the gentry defy'd me/ with none but the factious I favour did win.'³¹⁵

Monmouth was depicted as falling victim to pride and ambition, the traitor's disease. *The Late Duke of Monmouth's Lamentation* recounted how 'all did me admire/ naught I could require/ But the Royal bounty did freely allow', and blamed 'The popular Bable/ and noise of the Rabble' for nourishing the vice of pride.³¹⁶ *Rebellion Rewarded with Justice* accused Monmouth of being ungrateful to his uncle, now James II, who, it claimed, had helped him to regain favour at court after the Rye House Plot: 'Ah! How could I be so unkind/ to such a Gracious King: /Which once did intercede for me, /as I in conscience know'. It accused him too of being 'most like an infidel'.³¹⁷ However, all three of the black-letter execution ballads published agreed in mitigation that the youthful Monmouth had been led astray and was the victim of enemies: 'those Men of Sedition/ that nurst my ambition/ and sooth'd up my fancy with hopes of a Crown ... 'Tis they ruin'd me and my former renown/ Seducers of Reason/ Made me commit Treason'.³¹⁸ *King Jameses Royal Victory* shows Monmouth lamenting, 'O

³¹⁴ *Rebellion Rewarded with Justice* (Licence: 15 July 1685), b/l, Pepys II.243; *The Late Duke of Monmouth's Lamentation* (Licence: 18 July 1685), b/l, Pepys II.244, BL.C.22. F6(139); *King Jameses Royal Victory* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.237; *The Rebels Totally Routed* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.238; *The Triumphant English Commanders* (1685), b/l/p+special w/c, EEBO/Huntington. There were three other black-letter ballads, two (titles only) on Argyle's defeat and one on the publisher Disney's execution.

³¹⁵ *King Jameses Royal Victory* (1685); *The Late Duke of Monmouth's Lamentation* (1685).

³¹⁶ *The Late Duke of Monmouth's Lamentation* (1685): 'each Village and City/ was spoil'd without pitty/ the Kings better subjects I brought into thrall.'

³¹⁷ *Rebellion Rewarded with Justice* (1685). This Tory fiction appeared in a number of white-letter ballads in 1683.

³¹⁸ *The Late Duke of Monmouth's Lamentation* (1685).

that I had been so wise to know / My friends from secret enemies/ who sought my overthrow'. For reasons that will become apparent, this ballad was determined to convince readers that Monmouth was really dead: 'On Tower Hill for Treachery,/ [He] did certain loose his head:/ In the sight of many men,/ His life he did lay down/ and now he'l ne'r rebel again/ against the King or Crown'.³¹⁹

On 15 July 1685, John Evelyn described the career of Monmouth thus: 'a quondam Duke, darling of his father, and the ladys, being extraordi[na]rily handsome and adroit; an excellent soldier and dancer, a favourite of the people, of an easy nature, debauch'd by lust, seduced by crafty knaves who would have set him up only to make a property, and took the opportunity of the king being of another religion to gather a party of discontented men. He failed and perished.'³²⁰ However, the traditional ballad history of Monmouth disagreed with Evelyn in one key respect. Monmouth did not fail, because he never perished. James could kill a man but could not kill a legend, and Monmouth, 'King of Lyme', lived on as a Protestant hero.³²¹ For the first time since the death of Charles I alternative execution ballads were printed. Five ballads, sung to the tune of 'The Soldiers Departure', were published between 1685 and 1689.³²² Two ended with a description of his death, but all promised he would return, in another guise, to deliver England from popish tyranny - a hope and promise into which William of Orange, though not half so lovely or well known, later successfully tapped.³²³

³¹⁹ *King Jameses Royal Victory* (1685).

³²⁰ E. S. de Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (6 vols, Oxford, 1955), iv, p. 456.

³²¹ John Dryden, *Absolom and Achitophel* (pt I 1681, pt II 1682), p. 623: 'Youth, beauty, graceful action, seldom fail,/ but common interest always wil prevail;/ and pity never ceases to be shown/ to him who makes the People's wrongs his own.'

³²² See below.

³²³ Monmouth's tours and rebellion in the West, and the brutal treatment of his followers sparked off a fashion for sympathetic West Country ballads of all kinds, quite different from the 'country bumpkin' treatment they had received before. Loyalist ballad writers in 1685 had sought to depict Monmouth as coward, rake and rebel. However, they did so in white-letter or in one case a commissioned black-letter ballad. White-letter ballads accused Monmouth of deserting his army and of being found quaking in a haystack or picking peas in a field in disguise. These stories were not repeated in the black-letter execution ballads though they were specifically refuted in the posthumous ballads.

How did James come out of all this? The expectations of a King were the same as in 1660. Did the King match up? Did he unite with his people and bring them justice, truth and love? Did his reign bring the outcomes of virtuous government - peace and plenty? He certainly brought them less cause to sing. Under James ballads appear to have reduced in number and they were comparatively rigorously regulated. More than ever before, though not all, were licensed and unusually the licence was often dated, though fewer than ever ballads were registered. In 1685, just five ballads celebrated the coronation, while seven official ballads dealt with the retribution after Monmouth's rebellion. Obviously, we can only compare numbers of coronation ballads with the special cases of Charles II at the Restoration and William and Mary at the Revolution. But surely it did not bode well that ballads about Monmouth's rebellion outnumbered ballads about the new King, so that in the year of James's coronation, his rival's name was possibly sung on streets more than the King's.

Was the King lovely?³²⁴ James's main virtues were that he was 'gracious,' and 'great' and for one balladeer, perhaps a little lost for words after the many he had lavished on James's Stuart ancestors, he was 'garnisht with faculties'.³²⁵ *Englands Joys Increased* sang that the sight of the coronation was 'great and glorious' and a 'delight to us', and that 'hearts [were] ... filled with comforts'.³²⁶ Ballads sang that the King had been lavishly attended and there was an accent on 'Sacred ceremony', 'Sacred majesty', 'Pomp and Royalty'. One recounted his military past.³²⁷ Though one ballad about the rebellion was called *King Jameses Victory*, it had a somewhat hollow ring since James had not gone out with his armies and so the balladeer could do nothing to promote the military virtue of the King.³²⁸ However, the main concern of the few balladeers who wrote about the coronation was that the right and lawful succession had taken place. *Englands Royal Renown*, which called James 'the fountain of our joys', encouraged all to 'incline to the Race and Royal Line/ Since the Heavens so

³²⁴ No new woodcuts were prepared for James's ballads.

³²⁵ *An Excellent New Song* (1685), b/l, Euing 82.

³²⁶ *Englands Joys Increased* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.229.

³²⁷ *Londons Loyalty* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.231.

³²⁸ *King Jameses Victory* (1685).

Divine/ And Reason us engages.³²⁹ Other ballads declared James to be of 'first rate sovereign blood', or 'one of the line', and the *Sorrowful Widdows of the West* acknowledged, as did Monmouth's execution ballads, that this King was 'the lawful heir.'³³⁰ None of these ballads gave any clue as to James's future relationship with the people in parliament, though one sang:

When the Head and the Body Unites it is brave
I hope that great mercy amongst us wee'l have
I hope that brave England will flourish again
For the King has granted Liberty our peace to maintain.³³¹

Ballads celebrating the parliamentary elections of the spring and the re-call of parliament in November were full of hopes for a partnership, but these were to be short-lived.³³²

Did the King rule more with love than law? It is impossible not to notice that ballads in James's short reign seem to reek of revenge. Of about forty ballads in total during his reign, a quarter sang of executions or perjury. Much of this revenge seemed to be directed at women and the weak. This was not necessarily unpopular: some women were considered pernicious. Immediately on James's accession the Duchess of Portsmouth fled to the French Ambassador's house, but, as Wood reported, she was 'commanded by King James not to depart England till shee had paid her debts'.³³³ Two dialogue ballads, supposedly between Portsmouth and Nell Gwynne, gloated over this.³³⁴

³²⁹ *Englands Royal Renown* (RI715 25 April 1685), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(169) and n/b, Wood 417(143).

³³⁰ *Londons Loyalty* (1685); *An Excellent New Song* (1685); *The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Widdows of the West for the Death of their Deceased Husbands* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.245 and n/b, CB.19/1.

³³¹ *An Excellent New Song* (1685).

³³² See *Englands Happy State, or The Subjects Joy for the election of a New Parliament* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.249 and *The Happy Return or the Parliaments Wellcome to London* ([Nov]1685), b/l, Pepys II.234. Wood, *Life*, III, p. 130-31: 'Rebellion broke out July: the militia pretended to be false to [the King] and thereupon [he] raises a standing army of 20 thousand, puts Popish officers over them': after disagreeing with parliament over the removal of popish officers the King 'prorogues the Parliament to the great discontent of the nation'.

³³³ Wood, *Life*, III, p. 126.

³³⁴ *A Pleasant Dialogue betwixt Two Wanton Ladies of Pleasure, or, The Dutches of Portsmouth's Woful Farwel to her Former Felicity* (1685), b/l, BB.C.40. m10(170), and *Portsmouth's Lamentation, or a Diallogue between Two Amorous Ladies* (1685), b/l, BB.C.40. M10(171). In this ballad Nell Gwynne speaks for 'this English Nation' and 'this little British Isle'. Like Monmouth, Nell Gwynne

Justice and mercy were impaired during James's reign by the actions of Judge Jeffreys, whose reputation made him a major ballad villain from 1689 onwards. *The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Widdows of the West* (1685) described the evil plight of the poor women left behind now their equally poor and ignorant husbands' carcasses had been draped and burned across the West Country. Though its ostensible message was one of obedience, and loyalty, it was hardly geared towards inspiring confidence in the King's mercy. It was apparent to anyone it was intended to inspire fear rather than love.³³⁵

Another shocking incident, however, was entirely down to James, showing him as both brutal and avaricious. It involved 'The Maids of Taunton', a group of young women who had rushed to meet the celebrity Monmouth as he entered Taunton in 1685 and presented him with colours for his army. They had been mocked and slandered at the time in a white-letter ballad.³³⁶ These girls were ignored by Jeffreys at the Assizes, and it was not until 11 March 1686 that the King issued a declaration to 'those deluded young women commonly called the Maids of Taunton ... who presented the late Duke of Monmouth with certain colours and ensigns which he made use of in the late rebellion in the West.'³³⁷ He effectively sold the girls' freedom for an incredible £7000 to the Queen's Maids of Honour, and they were to be imprisoned until the sum was paid. One girl died in jail.³³⁸ The old cavalier lawyer, Sir John Bramston, was troubled about the justice of this and tried to find a way to excuse it:

but yet the young Mayds of Taunton, some of which were girles, the rest very yong, being about sixtie, if their crimes were no more then is generally said - of their scarfes and whoods (*sic*) and petticoats making colours for M. might have case ... for the

served as a popular Protestant English Heroine. Rochester compared the popularity of Monmouth and Nell Gwynne in his *Panegyric on Nelly* 'True to th' Protestant interest and cause,/ Tru to th'established Government and laws/The choice delight of the whole mobile/ scarce Monmouth's self is more belov'd than she.'

³³⁵ *The Sorrowful Lamentation of the Widdows of the West for the Death of their Deceased Husbands* (1685).

³³⁶ *The Glory of the West, or, The Virgins of Taunton-Dean who ript open their silk-petticoats, to make colours foe the late Duke of M's Army* (Licence: 31 July 1685), w/l, Wood 417(144).

³³⁷ CSPD, 1686- 87, p. 63.

³³⁸ Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, p. 241

Kings grace, but I suspect their crimes were more than these, tho' treason is never to be imagined can be a sin of ignorance.³³⁹

Despite this, one ballad suggested the King could be susceptible to pleas from young maids for mercy. A ballad sang that he had granted mercy to a young man, who had been an accomplice to the murder of Henry Howard, at the request of eighteen young maids all dressed in white.³⁴⁰

Naturally, at his accession, ballads had used the 'old England' formula of 'Love the King and Fear the Lord',³⁴¹ but there had been little idea of mutual love in the coronation ballads, and ballads under James were far more concerned to encourage 'obedience' and 'duty' than 'love'.³⁴² This formulation was a Tory discourse, which had been on the increase ever since the Rye House Plot. It implied, however, a major change in the power relationship between King and people, and left open questions about the freedom of their subjection. A relationship between people and King based on love would be voluntary, but the new call was for a relationship based on obedience. Was this obedience to be voluntary or induced by fear? Balladeers had been willing to accept this King as long as religion and liberty were safe. There was much drinking in celebration when he came in and at first ballads had promoted the old Tory idea of loyal drinking and obedience.³⁴³ But soon carefully constructed, 'protestant-less' ballad complaints about the decay in trade and the 'Pride, Envy and Malice [which] amongst us do reign/ of which the whole Kingdom has cause to complain', were tell-tale signs of popish disease in the body politic.³⁴⁴ A white-letter ballad, entitled *Vox-Clero Lili Burlero*, subsequently complained that Tory 'protectors' of the Church had complied with and

³³⁹ Bramston, *Autobiography*, pp. 222-23.

³⁴⁰ *The Mirror of Mercy in Our Gracious Kings Pardoning of Edward Skelton ... by the intercession of Eighteen young maidens* (1686), b/l, Pepys II.174.

³⁴¹ See *The Mournful Subjects of the whole Nations Lamentation, from the highest to the lowest* (1685).

³⁴² See *Londons Loyalty* (1685): 'Honest fellow live content/ Kindly take what God has sent/ Think what way to pay the rent/ and strive to fly no higher ... Fear the Lord Honour the King/ Submit to Fate in every thing.'

³⁴³ See Wood, *Life*, III, pp. 128-30, for an extensive description of the celebrations in Oxford.

³⁴⁴ *The Naked Truth* [between 1683 and 1696{1688}], b/l, Pepys IV.314.

promoted the growth of unnatural power, 'Till with passive obedience the nation [was] enslav'd'.³⁴⁵

As it became ever more apparent to observers that the King ruled neither by love nor law, an unnatural silence reigned. Numerous white-letter ballads sang military tunes or of further retributions against the old popish plotters, but both Whig and 'old England' voices were stifled by the excision of the word 'Protestant' from black-letter ballads.³⁴⁶ In 1687 just two political ballads appeared. The implication of both was that James's aim was not to win but to enforce the love of his people through the dispensation of unmediated power. *The Western Triumph*, recounting the King's progress to the pacified West Country, described the slavish adoration of towns and cities; it called James 'our good King' and told how 'He toucht for the evil, so tender was he/ Of his loving subjects of e'ry degree'.³⁴⁷ Then came the one (and only) ballad that recommended James's Declaration of Indulgence to its audience. Its message was that the King would, 'in mildness and mercy his power ... dispence ... to end our debates and unite us in love'.³⁴⁸ James's declaration, followed as it was by the imprisonment of Bishops who would not read it, meant rising fears that not just the word 'Protestant' but Protestantism itself was under threat. With the birth of the new prince the silence of Protestant balladeers was broken.³⁴⁹ Though there had never been an acceptable argument for resistance in popular balladry, there was an acceptable discourse of providential deliverance from popery and this was now brought into play.

³⁴⁵ *Vox Clero, Lil-Ly Bur-Le-Ro, Or, The Second Part Of A Merry New Ballad To Be Sung In The Jerusalem-Chamber, The 24th Of This Instant January* (1689/90), w/l, CB.203/2. Crawford dated this ballad 1686, however, the reference to the Jerusalem chamber and 24th January suggests 1690 is a more likely date.

³⁴⁶ Six white-letter ballads crowed over Oates and Dangerfield. For military tunes see above, ch. 3. In 1686 a white-letter ballad printed on two sides was 'humbly offered to the packers of the next Parliament'.

³⁴⁷ *The Western-Triumph, or, The Royal Progress of Our Gracious King James the II into the West of England* (1687), b/l, Pepys II.246.

³⁴⁸ *The Manifestation of Joy, or, The Loyal Subjects Grateful Acknowledgement* (1687), b/l, Pepys II.247.

³⁴⁹ *The Princely Triumph: Or, Englands Joy in the Birth if the Young Prince of Wales* (1688), b/l, Pepys II.251.

'Valiant Monmouth Revived'³⁵⁰: The Protestant Deliverer

By 1688 James's old rival had reappeared, his loveliness undiminished. In fact, he had never really gone. Rumours that the Duke was still alive had been circulating from October 1685 in Nottinghamshire, and in January 1686 Humfrey Dolphin had been taken for saying that 'next the King ... he would drink the Duke of Monmouth's health for he honoured and respected him'. By 1687 more men began to drink healths and to sing songs about the Protestant hero who would return to rescue them from Popish tyranny. At Easter Charles Bakeman of Birtsmorton was committed to Worcester Jail for drinking the Duke of Monmouth's health and there were more health drinkers in Wigan, Preston and Ormskirk, Lancashire.³⁵¹ Robin Clifton describes a bloody riot that took place in Somerset in 1687, when over 100 men joined in pitched battle 'singing "songs concerning the Duke of Monmouth", an episode which closed with the leader crying aloud, "now Holland ... had conquered France"'.³⁵²

In Spring 1688, Elias Bragge (alias Clarke) was examined at the quarter sessions in Somerset because he had

told Wharton of a design of an intended invasion from Holland and other foreign parts upon the account of the late Duke of Monmouth ... though it be a strange sort of account that Bragge gives and very incoherent and improbable in itself, yet the country being filled with a general discourse of it I have sent you the copy.³⁵³

Bragge's 'incoherent' account tallies with at least five traditional broadside ballads, first published or reprinted in 1688 and 1689 that sang of Monmouth's escape to Holland in 1685

³⁵⁰ *Valiant Monmouth Reviv'd. Or, an account of young Jemmy's great victory in his last engagement with the French* (1684), w/1, BL.1876.f.1(23).

³⁵¹ Nottingham CRO, Savile of Rufford: Deeds and Estate papers, 10th Oct. 1685, DD/SR/221/95/13. Worcester CRO, QSR, Easter, 1687, 1/1/153/3-6; Lancashire CRO, QSR, Easter, 1686, QSP/614/2; Midsummer, 1687, QSP/637/38-39; Michaelmas, 1687, QSP/641/6; Nottingham CRO, Savile of Rufford: Deeds and Estate papers, 10th Oct. 1685, DD/SR/221/95/13.

³⁵² Clifton, *The Last Popular Rebellion*, p. 276. Clifton also gives some other examples of Monmouth's posthumous legend and rumours that an impersonator had been executed, in Dorset, in Lyme Regis and in Bolton, while two men were whipped for pretending to be Monmouth in 1686, one in New Sarum and another in London, pp. 228-29.

³⁵³ *CSPD, 1687 - 89*, p. 191.

and his promise to return in glory with a large army.³⁵⁴ *Monmouth Worsted in the West* (1688) proclaimed: 'Ile come again in glory/Protestants with me will joyn / With fresh forces I will rally ... at the head of each battalion/ Noble great Commanders bold,' while *Monmouths sayings in the West of England* (1688) promised:

Foreign Princes will assist me

With such force I'll come again ...

In a blest and happy station

Then I'll place my worthy friend.³⁵⁵

The 'worthy friend' that he would place in a 'blest and happy station' was, of course, the Prince of Orange. In these and later ballads, the Protestant hero Monmouth passed his popular mantle on to his 'protégé' William of Orange. In 1689 songs such as *A New Song Made in the Praise of the West of England*, 'to the tune of the Protestant Prince', addressed 'ye Monmouth brave boys' who had fought and suffered for 'young Jemmy's cause, / and the rights of good laws'. It promised:

Altho' Monmouth was gone,

and had left you alone,

Now an Orange did bravely advance

who will stick close to you

to confound the old crew

and learn them a new jig to dance.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ *The Soldiers Return* [between 1685 and 1689], b/l, BB.C.40.m10(97); *Monmouth Routed. Together with his Promise and Resolution to Return* [between 1685 and 1689], b/l, Pepys II.239; *Monmouth's Saying in the West of England* (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.241; *Monmouth Worsted in the West* [between 1685 and 1688], b/l, Wood E 25(116), and a variation reissued with the 'Protestant' line replaced by 'If I live till Eighty Nine', *Monmouth worsted in the West* (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.240.

³⁵⁵ *Monmouth Worsted in the West* (1685-88). The ballad made Monmouth's intentions very clear: 'Dear Countrymen you know I love ye / For your liberties I stand ... / Those that have me much Degraded/ In a little time shall see / Though by Rome I'm upbraided, / I'll live to pluck down popery.' *Monmouths sayings in the West of England* (1688).

³⁵⁶ *A New Song Made in the Praise of the West of England* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.291.

Not all were satisfied with the substitution, and in 1689 two ballads claimed that men had come to London to 'look for his [Monmouth's] head'.³⁵⁷ Presumably they were ascertaining whether Monmouth had truly been executed, and perhaps whether he was himself able to take the throne of England (though this possibility was not mentioned). But most balladeers suggested that Monmouth had endorsed the Prince of Orange as England's Protestant deliverer.³⁵⁸

vi. The Pattern of Patriarchy, 1689-1694

At last Providence had sent a deliverer from tyranny, and a restorer of English liberties. To welcome him, a flood of black- and white-letter ballads was unleashed, in greater numbers than at any time that century - over a hundred and sixty political ballad sheets appeared from late 1688 (Orange landed in November but had been expected since July) to 1689, eighty-eight were in black-letter.³⁵⁹ In direct contrast to James's ballads, the word 'Protestant' appeared in almost every stanza, certainly in every ballad. Amongst the flood, nineteen black-letter ballads welcomed the Prince of Orange, seven welcomed the proclaiming of the new monarchs and the arrival of Mary, and thirteen celebrated the coronation. Four ballads attacked Judge Jeffreys, before and after his death, while eight attacked Father Petre. Every conceivable assurance of providential mercy, noble acceptance and respect for subjects' liberty and property was brought to bear in welcoming what was - after all - a foreign invasion.³⁶⁰ That the English nobility endorsed William was highlighted in *The Glory of the Northern Parts of England. Shewing the Readiness of the Gentry and Commonalty of the*

³⁵⁷ *A New Touch of The Times or the Nations Content for a New Parliament* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.106, and two adapted black-letter versions Pepys IV.316 and Wood E 25(111).

³⁵⁸ It was not just the traditional market that welcomed Monmouth's 'worthy friend'. *The Protestants Wish* (1690), w/l, Pepys V.43 was sung to Monmouth's tune 'Young Jemmy' and began, 'Brave William is a Lad/ Of warlike Loyns descended'. It praised William for bringing 'order [to] our confusion', and for his military prowess in Ireland where he combated the forces of Popery. However, the white-letter market saw printed ballad criticisms of all the royal protagonists; this had not happened before.

³⁵⁹ 1688: 18 b/l, 19 w/l and n/b. 1689: 70 b/l, 61 w/l and n/b.

³⁶⁰ See, for example, *Englands Deliverance* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.65. Deliverance came because (for once) England had repented of her evil ways, she had been sent a reprieve 'seeing how faithful our Church did believe'.

Counties of Chester and Lancaster, in Joyning with the Prince of Orange, at his Highnesses First Landing. It sang, 'Our worthy Lords did all agree / To set this land at liberty', and the ballad praised Lord Delamere, the son of the old cavalier hero George Booth, who had been imprisoned by James. However, the actual deliverance had been effected by God through William:

Till by Divine appointment, came

That Royal Prince, William by name

And with him joyn'd the brave lord Delamere.³⁶¹

It was crucial for the success of the Orange usurpation that English right, rights and right religion were seen to be on the side of William and Mary whilst James II personified the threat of foreign arbitrary, absolute and Catholic rule. James II, neither Protestant nor motivated by reason, had lost his throne through the delusions of Rome not through Dutch usurpation. Ballads were slow to criticise James himself at first, preferring to blame his advisors, Petre and Jeffreys, as agents of tyranny, just as they had done with Strafford and Laud, though naturally such dangerous comparisons were never made. However, James's disastrous choice of Catholic Ireland as the forum to fight for his crown, and a despised French ally to supply troops, led balladeers to attack James as 'Romes Prince and Darling Dear' who 'By their misguidance, lost his realms of late/ This shows, whom they'll not kill, they'll ruinate'.³⁶² Balladeers survived this *lese-majesty*, indeed, since they could thus promote the raising of troops without constructing the conflict as a civil war, they may have been encouraged in it. This precedent was not forgotten.

³⁶¹ *The Glory of the Northern Parts of England. Shewing the Readiness of the Gentry and Commonalty of the Counties of Chester and Lancaster, in Joyning with the Prince of Orange, at his Highnesses First Landing* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.262. Other regional heroes were alluded to in this ballad, 'Great B---d', 'Great M---x', the Earls of Derby and Devonshire, 'Maxfield' (Macclesfield), Wharton and Lovelace. Delamere is mentioned in every verse. Some ballads reassured people that the Dutch soldiers were to be trusted and would pay their way. See, for example, *A Full Description of these Times, Or, The Prince of Oranges March* (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.257. Unlike many of the English soldiers in James's regiments: see John Childs, *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980), pp. 84 -91.

³⁶² [Untitled] {1689/90}, w/l, Pepys V.ii.43.

William is known to have propagandised extensively in order to popularise his reign. Matthew Prior, who later became official eulogist to the regime, wrote ballads. Prior was responsible for *The Orange*, which appeared in black- and white-letter.³⁶³ But there is no hard evidence that the black-letter ballad market was directly affected by official manipulation.³⁶⁴ If William were to succeed as traditional ballad hero he, like Monmouth, would have to represent the political ideals of the market. William did possess some of the attributes required: he was a Protestant and a military hero; though he was not young, beautiful or English. By wearing Monmouth's mantle, William, as Prince of Orange, benefited from an established ballad-heroism that may have increased his acceptability to the population at large in the crucial early stages of the revolution. Richard Rigby and other Protestant balladeers hailed him as Protestant hero and deliverer in just the words that had been used to describe Monmouth from 1680 onwards.³⁶⁵ The euphoria did not last, but it lasted long enough. Almost immediately 'welcome-ballads' were joined with call-up ballads summoning recruits to fight in Ireland and France.³⁶⁶

Not since Cromwell (who was not depicted on ballads) had an active military hero ruled England. She had been nervous of armies in the hands of monarchs, especially Stuart ones. Now, William was depicted in woodcuts on ballad after ballad as a mounted captain, trampling the Pope.³⁶⁷ However inspiring, this image was neither lovely nor loving. William

³⁶³ Matthew Prior, *A New Song of an Orange* (1688/9), w/l, Pepys V.109; Matthew Prior, *The Famous Orange* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.260. See C.C. Barfoot, 'Hey for Prose and Panegyric, William III and the Political Poetry of Matthew Prior', in Paul Hoftijzer and C. C. Barfoot (eds), *The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 135-89, esp. p. 138: 'in William, Prior found his Guy of Warwick, his personal England, and his imaged father ... a saviour who would depress factions.'

³⁶⁴ Lois Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the revolution of 1688-89', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 82, 4 (October 1977), pp. 843-74, and Tony Claydon, 'William III's Declaration of Reasons and the Glorious Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 39, 1 (March 1996), pp. 87-108. Neither makes any suggestion that popular print was involved, and indeed there are no direct links between the language of the *Declaration* and the ballads of the period. The only 'Declarations' mentioned were James's or Monmouth's.

³⁶⁵ For Rigby and his ballads, see above, ch. 1.

³⁶⁶ See *The Courageous Soldiers of the West* (1689/90), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(100); *The Protestant Seaman's Resolution to Fight for King William* (1689/90), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(168); *A New Song made on the Praise of the West of England* (1689).

³⁶⁷ See, for example, Richard Rigby, *A New Song* (1689), w/l/l, Pepys II.293 (publisher John Wallis); *Englands Happiness Reviv'd* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.279; *The Protestant's Jubilee* (1689), w/l/l, Pepys II.285 (publisher H. Wallis). The Wallis publishers invariably used this image.

as champion had 'ventured his all' and had come to rescue England, but the relationship described in ballads was of gratitude, not love. Ballads answered this at first by depicting William as the champion of the Protestant Queen. *Englands Deliverance* explained that the Protestant cause had been saved by 'God's arm of Love' and through the offices of the English heroine Mary and her 'General'. 'We were to be sacrificed to Rome', sang the ballad but:

This grieved the Princes[s] in another land
When as our ruin she did understand
This Hester from Holland sent her General
Who thorough God's mercies redeem'd us from Thrall.
True Love then did flow like a fountain or flood
And conquer'd without the effusion of blood;
The strong arm of heaven this battle did fight
And put our most absolute foes to the flight.³⁶⁸

Though at first ballads expressly stated that the Prince had not come to rule, it soon became apparent that accepting William as King was unavoidable. In several cases, ballads that had been explicit in claiming the Prince did not want to rule were reissued with that verse altered welcoming him as King.³⁶⁹ In addition *An Excellent New Song*, a ballad based on Parker's old *Wandering Jews Chronicle*, and reissued in 1685 to celebrate the Stuart Dynasty and to welcome James to the throne, was now reissued with the final verse about James gone and a new one inserted welcoming William.³⁷⁰ Efforts were made to present William as more accessible and loveable. A series of ballads sought to capitalise on the old tradition of *The King and the Tanner*, hinting that William had an English sense of humour. *The Royal Frolick*

³⁶⁸ *Englands Deliverance* (1688/9).

³⁶⁹ See discussion of Rigby's ballads above, ch. 1.

³⁷⁰ *An Excellent New Song* (1689), b/1, BL.C.22.f.6(33). James was not written out of traditional ballad history permanently. In eighteenth-century versions of *The Wandering Jews Chronicle* {c.1727}, w/11, Douce Ballads 3(107a), he was described as being 'led on/ to such extreams/ as made the Nation weep', while Jeffreys 'did Rule and Tyrannize/with arbitrary power'.

told the tale of how the King, returning from the wars, 'quitted the road for merriment sake', and called at a farmer's house to drink beer. The ballad got straight down to the moral and opened with:

Old stories inform us of Jocular things,
The which has been acted by Sovereign Kings,
To make their hearts merry, and Nobles also,
As they on their progress, a hunting would go:
These were happy days, when Great Caesars would be
Familiar with Subjects of ev'ry degree.
Yet those that have govern'd these Kingdoms of late,
Have not been so pleasant, till William the Great.

The ballad concluded that 'Great William', who had 'venter'd his life to pull popery down', was 'beloved by the best of the town'.³⁷¹

Before long, balladeers realised that Mary could make up for William's flaws.

Depicted from the outset as a 'vertuous wife in all her ways', young, beautiful, Protestant and of 'the right line', she became the lovely and loving face of the monarchy.³⁷² Balladeers took every opportunity to praise her kindness and beauty, and her adroit managing of government

³⁷¹ *The Royal Frolick: or King William and his Nobles Entertainment at the Farmers House, in his return from the Irish Wars* {1689/90}, b/l, Pepys II.313. A number of ballads following this story were printed.

³⁷² In *Great Britain's Earnest Desire for the Princess Mary's Happy arrival* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.265, she is to 'nourish Religion and Laws'. In *The Princess Welcome to England* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.256, Mary is a 'Vertuous Wife in all her ways', and is compared with Mary of Modena: 'we have had a Papist Queen/But another may be seen/In Attire far more mean/ Yet none can discommend her/ For we find humility/In a Royal Dignity/ Speaks her evermore to be / The Church and faith's defender ... true subjects did commend her\ Tho' she was modest, mild and mean, / Behold her in her Glorious Scene/ She's now Great Britain's Royal Queen.' In *The Kingdom's Joy for the Proclaiming King William and his Royal Consort Queen Mary in the Throne of England* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.272, Mary is called upon to 'For ever be fruitful, and ever be young'. In *The Subjects Satisfaction* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.270, Mary is 'The bright star of the court', and it is hoped, 'a mother e'er long she may prove'. *England's Triumph* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.273, prays: 'God preserve the royal pair/may heavens bless them with an heir, /for 'twould end brave England's care ... When Royal sons they have good store, /so many that they'd ask no more, /may heaven's kindness ne're give o're, / but bless them with a Daughter.' *England's Extasie* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.254, described her as 'Queen Mary, the Nation's Delight, / the flower of our English faith, / her looks are divinely bright, / each grace of a Queen she hath:/ so nobly and nimbly she moves/ beneath the blest weight of her crown ... God bless Royal Mary our Qucen, / may she ever fruitful prove.'

while William was away increasingly impressed them.³⁷³ At first, in typical Venus/Mars style, ballad dialogues of the King's departure depicted a loving but helpless Mary who tried to prevent him from going. In *The Royal farewell* Mary begs the King not to go, but he has higher duties than to stay at home, and tells her, 'the power of the government is in your hand.' Mary responds with her fear of what may happen:

Distractions, in city and country may rise,
with uproars and rumours, false stories and lies;
a woman's soon daunted, and when you are gone,
your wit will be wanted and I be undone
My sex it is fearful and quickly cast down;
and many sad troubles lye under a crown;
distractions and contests at home and abroad,
which are for a woman too heavy a load
then of your departing I cannot allow,
Nor can I endure you to speak of adieu.

William replies, 'Tho' you be one of the female kind;/ there's nothing hard to a courageous mind/ ... then sighing the Queen in his arms he did take,/ whose heart was with sorrow then ready to break;/ he kiss'd her while she, that was modest and meek/ dropt pearls, that clouded the skyes of her cheek / then both, at their parting, their passions renew/ and with a sad sigh, bad each other adieu.'³⁷⁴

³⁷³ The 1690 Regency Act gave Mary authority but William had overruling power. However she did rule for 32 months. Dates of regencies: 11 June - 10 September 1690, 6 January - 10 April, 1 May - 19 October 1691, 5 March - 18 October 1692, 24 March - 29 October 1693, 6 May - 9 November 1694. Her virtues were also praised, and to some extent the effect of her childlessness relieved in ballads such as *The Bedfordshire Widow* [between 1690 and 1694], b/l, Pepys II.75, which compared Mary to 'Dorcas the Good' as she saves the life of a widow and her three orphans, and *The Distressed Mother* [between 1690 and 1694], b/l, Pepys II.319, in which a little girl is left at the Court for Mary to bring up.

³⁷⁴ *The Royal Farewell or a Conference between their Present Majesties King William and Queen Mary on their Parting* (1690), b/l, Pepys II.327.

Mary's depiction here fits directly into the Mars/Venus ballad genre and the real experiences of thousands of women all across England during the war years. While expressing the real fears of many women in England, it also produced the same assurances that any 'adieu ballad' gave, that the woman will cope and can be left behind, though preserving the niceties of her doubting her abilities and acknowledging her inferiority and ineptitude. Other ballads described the King's victorious returns and how, as a good wife, Mary listens to and admires the recounting of his adventures.³⁷⁵ These songs created a tremendously sympathetic, accessible and loving image for the royal couple.

Soon these domestic dialogues became political discussions between a still loving but capable regent and the warring King.³⁷⁶ In *The Royal Dialogue* Mary's response is not to fear but to know and express an opinion on the dangers facing the country. She declares:

The Kingdom is poisoned by Treacherous Rome
and too many there are who daily presume
now to lay their black treasons against Church and state,
quite forgetting how they were delivered of late,
the nation is pestered with villains I know

³⁷⁵ See *The Protestant's Joy* (1690), b/1, Pepys II.328. William returns 'To the royal court, and his consort the queen/ she did with unspeakable joy then receive/ the monarch, for whom she did oftentimes grieve.' In *The Courtly Salutation* (1690), b/1, Pepys II.334, Mary's role is not discussed. She only refers to the adventures William has been having.

³⁷⁶ Lois Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, 4 (1989), pp. 717-48, sees the Regency Act as the key moment in this change. Although Schwoerer looks only at expensive items, such as medals, her conclusions are similar to those suggested by balladry. She points out, p. 719, that 'Images of Mary reflected the ambiguity in her post-constitutional position, the divisiveness of post-revolutionary society and the propaganda needs of the establishment', and, p. 720: 'the prevailing presumption was that a woman was weak and unsuited to public life and might jeopardise the safety of the nation.' She states, p. 733, that 'For the first year of the dual monarchy Mary was portrayed as a lively beautiful and politically naïve women with essentially feminine characteristics appropriate to a consort Queen ... men who knew she had renounced the opportunity to be queen alone disparaged her as either very good or very weak. Upon her arrival her over exuberant behaviour led to accusations... Her beauty [and youth] inspired much comment ... An attractive appearance is a strong asset in a monarch'. But, p. 736: 'the regency act inspired writers to develop a different view of Mary ... by 1691 she was praised for her ability and selflessness, by 1692 compared with Queen Elizabeth. Mary championed moral social and religious reforms.' Further, p. 747: 'the problem of reconciling the political leadership of a woman with patriarchal ideas as under Elizabeth I was complicated by the fact that she was not a virgin - the solution was not to masculinise Mary but rather to portray her in strong feminine and masculine images as both an exemplary wife and a competent queen.'

yet my royal great sovereign king thou must go.

William replies:

Alas I acknowledge such villains there be

that endeavour to plot against true dignity

yet on Gods Providence cast all thy care ...

He with a rich jewel presented the queen...

then presented a kiss with a most royal smile.³⁷⁷

Between them, Mary and William were balladed as the model of patriarchy, sharing between them the defence and care of the country. Mary's popularity was immense. At her much lamented death on 28 December 1694, aged only 32, Lois Schwoerer points out that '300 poor women in mourning gowns accompanied the carriage bearing Mary's coffin and many women were involved in commemorating her death'. She inspired more eulogies, sermons and medals than any other monarch.³⁷⁸ Partly this was because she was so young and so popular, and partly 'because of despair at being left with a foreign king'.³⁷⁹ After Mary's death, and for the very first time, a ruling King was attacked in a black-letter ballad (though in a white-letter format) entitled *The Belgic Boar* (1695) to the clichéd popular tune of Chevy Chase, as a 'stubborn Tarquin, void of grace'.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ *The Royal Dialogue* (1690), b/l, Pepys II.330. See also *King William's Courage* (1690), b/l, Pepys II.335. William leaves his 'sweet lady ... seated on the Royal throne' where both Lords and commons thy power will own'. 'And now my sweet Queen, with a Royal Embrace, / I leave thee to govern and rule in my place/ A blessing go with thee the Queen then reply'd/ may angels still Guard thee on every side; / Defending the life of my sovereign Lord, / And victory give to thy conquering sword/ to free those poor souls that in prison remain, / and then the three kingdoms will flourish again.'

³⁷⁸ See *Britains Sorrowful Lamentation, for the Loss of their Gracious Queen Mary* (1694), w/l, Rox.III.713, and *The Court and Kingdoms in Tears Or The Sorrowful Subjects Lamentation for the Death of her Majesty Queen Mary* (1694), b/l, Pepys II.373.

³⁷⁹ Schwoerer, 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95', pp. 742-43.

³⁸⁰ *The Belgic Boar* (1695), b/l/p, no w/c, printed both sides, Firth b.21(143); EEBO/Harvard; Rox.II.26-7. Printed copies of this ballad are dated 1695, however, Dr Adam Fox points out that John Bear of Buckland-Tout-Saints, Devon was arrested for singing ballads against the king including 'The Belgic Boar, to the tune of Chivy Chase' in October 1694: *The English Reports* (176 vols, Edinburgh, 1900-30), xc, pp. 1132-3. It may be significant that a west-country ballad was printed in 'rustic' black-letter.

Conclusion: The Platonic Relationship

Ballads describing the role of parliament in 1689 showed there was no intention to leave the laws of the nation any longer to the whim of good feeling between King and people. Though the monarch was still said to be chosen by his or her people, to bring harmony to the state and to some extent to be restored to the heart of the nation, religion, law and the rights of people and King were now to be firmly entrusted to parliamentary reason. In *The Loyal Subjects Happy Choice* (1689) the facts were set out quite starkly:

Let true-hearted English-men freely Rejoyce,
To think they have made such a fortunate choice
Of Parliament men who assemble this day,
The Rights of the church and the crown to display:
To rescue our Laws and our Liberties too,
From such as the nation do seek to undo:
Let all Loyal Subjects with this be content,
A Protestant King and a Free Parliament.

The ballad promised that peace and plenty would follow the defeat of the Catholic Irish and French, and would be brought about 'by th' mutual consent / Of such a good King and a Free Parliament'.³⁸¹ This contrasted strongly with ballad expectations at the Restoration when the King alone was to be responsible for peace and plenty and the joy of the nation. The intervening period had seen the unreasoned bonds of love untied, to produce a more reasoned balance between allegiance and loyalty, obedience and authority, law and love. Despite the brief respite in Mary's reign, the language of love had declined in political ballads from the honeymoon of 1660 and by 1689 a language of obedience, service, and allegiance had largely

³⁸¹ *The Loyal Subjects Happy Choice* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.263. See also on choice, rights and the role of Parliament, *The Kingdoms Joy for the Proclaiming King William* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.272; *Englands Extasie* (1689); *An Excellent New Song fitted for the Times* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.283; *The Loyal Subjects Free Choice Or Their General Satisfaction In The Calling Of A New Parliament* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.266; *Great Britains Glory or The Protestants Confidence in a Free Parliament* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.258; *Good News for the Nation* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.235; *A Full Description Of These Times* (1689).

replaced it. The law rather than love increasingly determined the relationship between King and people. Unthinking declarations of adoration, and drinking to induce rather than to display loyalty, were shown to have been dangerous.³⁸² Aristotelian ideas of virtue in the blood were clearly fatally flawed. Ballads increasingly counselled a need for subjects to be more reasoned in their political 'investment of emotion'. In many ways the political aims of balladry remained the same - the promotion of peace and plenty within a united Protestant state. The means by which they thought it obtainable changed. Protestant unity would now never come. The war with the Presbyter had been lost. The King - foreign, a warrior, and to all intents and purposes a conqueror of English purses if not hearts - needed to be kept in check. Though for a time traditional ballads depicted a state of affairs where a loving English Queen oversaw their welfare while her champion King defended the Church against popery, at her death it was clear the people could only really depend on 'fair England' as represented in parliament (however socially unrepresentative it actually was) to achieve a state of political virtue. No longer was a King sacrosanct and above reproach in balladry. Paul Monod has discerned the use of the 'lost lover' trope in Jacobite verse descriptions of the exiled Stuarts.³⁸³ However, in the eighteenth century this would no longer have achieved the political impact it once had on the cavaliers. The gentry had made that mistake for the last time. The Stuarts were not good lovers. The Glorious Revolution meant that ballads sang of a new,

³⁸² Though drinking remained a key political issue. See, for example, Charles C. Ludington, "'Be Sometimes to your Country True": The Politics of Wine in England, 1660-1714', in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 89-108.

³⁸³ Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 62-69. Monod appears unaware that many of the tropes and images he deals with had a long history.

platonian relationship between ruler and ruled, based more on reason than love.³⁸⁴ The moderns had overcome the ancients in the political world of the ballad.³⁸⁵

³⁸⁴ Plato, *The Republic* (Trans. Benjamin Jowett), <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.4.iii.html>, Book III: 'musical training is a more potent instrument than any other, because rhythm and harmony find their way into the inward places of the soul, on which they mightily fasten ... he who has received this true education of the inner being will most shrewdly perceive omissions or faults in art and nature, and with a true taste, while he praises and rejoices over and receives into his soul the good, and becomes noble and good, he will justly blame and hate the bad, now in the days of his youth, even before he is able to know the reason why; and when reason comes he will recognise and salute the friend with whom his education has made him long familiar.'

³⁸⁵ Cf. Hindle, *State and Social Change*, pp. 25-28, who argues for a decline in political classicism and the 'peculiar conjunction of citizenship and subjection' at a much earlier date.

CONCLUSION

The *New Satyricall Ballad* (1679) claimed that 'rimes cannot change times'. The Tory publisher, Nathaniel Thompson, by contrast, argued that they did make a difference: 'Among the several means there have been of late years to reduce the deluded multitude to their just allegiance, this of ballads and Loyal songs has not been of the least influence ... these flying choristers were asserting the Rights of Monarchy and proclaiming Loyalty in every street. The mis-informed rabble began ... to hear to truth in a song. ... it cannot be imagined how many scatter'd flocks this melodious Tingling hath reduced ... [to the] discipline of obedience.'¹ Collectors of black-letter ballads also laid claim to their political importance. John Selden, who, Anthony Wood alleged, was 'the son of a common fidler ... [and] had a brother that was a fiddler at Chichester', claimed that ballads were an important sign of the times, though reflecting rather than changing opinion. Samuel Pepys appropriated this opinion, along with Selden's ballads, inscribing it on the first page of his collection.² Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, Monmouth supporter and political radical, noted the view that laws had far less influence than ballads in changing manners and opinion.³ Moreover, the deliberate choice of the form by propagandists suggests that politicians also believed them effective as political vehicles. Were they right? Sometimes ballads, such *The Parliament Routed* (1653), *Win at First Lose at Last* (1660) or *The Ballad of the Cloak* (1679), did seem to have hit their target and were seen by contemporaries to have done damage to the reputation and standing of political figures or institutions, and so did some tunes, such as 'Young Jemmy', 'The

¹ *A New Satyricall Ballad of the Licentiousness of the Times* (1679), w/l, BB C40 m11(52). Nathaniel Thompson, *Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* (1684), 'To The Reader', sig. A2.

² Wood, *Life*, I, pp. 424 – 425. Pepys inscribed, 'Seldeniana, Libells, Though some make light of libells; yet you may see by them, how the wind sits. As take a straw and throw it up into the air; you shall see by that which was the wind is; - which you shall not do by casting up a stone. More solid things doe not shew the complexion of the times so well as Ballads and Libells' on the verso of the frontispiece to volume one.

³ Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, *An Account of a Conversation concerning the Right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind. In a Letter to the Marquiss of Montrose, the Earls of Rothes, Roxburg and Haddington, from London the first of December, 1703*. Printed in *Political Works*, pt. 7 (1732).

Soldier's Departure' or 'Lilli Burlero', which, between them, were said to have sung James II out of three Kingdoms. But did most 'rimes' matter? Were they efficacious? Are they worthy of the historian's consideration and the lavish attention they have received in this thesis?

Historically, at least since the work of C. H. Firth, the circulation of political ballad broadsides, probably in their millions, has been treated with disdain, while a single pamphlet by Milton, Dryden or Marvell is considered to have had enormous significance. No doubt, since influential people read such authors, they did – though the connection between influence and action is notoriously difficult to trace.⁴ As social historians have shown, rebellions, as an expression of political negotiation, died out during the seventeenth century, 'popular legalism' prevailed, and by the middle of the century there was an increased willingness to accept the impositions of the state.⁵ It seems plausible, indeed likely, that ballads singing incessantly about stability, responsibility, justice and the relationships between state and subject, did have some influence. Social historians are constantly extending their understanding of the participative nature of the early modern state, but they have tended to overlook the direct relationship of the ordinary subject to the embodiments of the central state - the King and Parliament. They have preferred to analyse the local manifestations of government, such as 'the provision of prerogative justice, the keeping of the public peace, the execution of criminal justice, the enforcement of social policy, the governance of manners and the governance of the parish', as a more immediate and representative experience for the majority of people in England.⁶ But, like the body politic, each political body in the Kingdom had a soul, a heart and a head to be won. Ordinary people, rural and urban, had to be convinced to unite in religion, to love the King and to fight for him when necessary and to accept the reason in government action, even when it seemed hard to bear. Though ballads

⁴ See, J.C. Alexander and S. Seidman (eds), *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁵ See Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (5th edn, London, 2004). Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), Steve Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (2000).

⁶ Hindle, *The State and Social Change*, p. 2.

sang about the monarch and his government, they were written by and sung to his loyal subjects, the individual political bodies that made up the state community. The willingness of English subjects to comply, their loyalty and their support of the state were all crucial and, as was clear from myriads of ballads throughout the period, often in debate.

In chapter two I argued that the political ballad functioned not as a news medium but as a vocal and unofficial participant in important government roles - in winning hearts and minds to support the state, in military call-up and in perpetuating the shame of those who had threatened the state. Crucially, I argue, the political ballad must be understood in its proper generic form as poetry and classical song. As epideictic poetry, the ballad was a rhetorical construct, which deliberately sought to engage the affections, the passions and the will of the hearer, 'heart, hand and voice'. The purpose of all poetry, as Sir Philip Sidney had explained, was to teach:

The Poet ... his effects be so good as to teach goodness, and delight the learners of it; since therein - namely in moral doctrine, the chief of all knowledges - he doth not only far pass the Historian, but for instructing is well nigh comparable to the philosopher, and for moving leaveth him behind him; since the Holy Scripture, wherein there is no uncleanness, hath whole parts of it poetical ... I think (and think I think rightly), the laurel crown appointed for triumphant captains doth worthily of all other learnings, honor the poets triumph.⁷

Traditional ballad discourses were constructed within a classical model of reason, virtue and didacticism, as were most other print genres. However, while the primary function of the pamphlet was to relay news and events, the political ballad put virtue and affect before factual accuracy or detail.⁸ To give priority to facts would have reduced poetry merely to history,

⁷ Sir Philip Sidney, *The Defense of Poesy* (1595), Sig. F3.

⁸ See, for example, Christopher Chapman, 'The Representation of Murder c.1590-1695', Unpublished DPhil thesis (University of Oxford, 2001), pp. 5, 42: ballads concentrated on the 'emotional impact' of particular murders and packaged their narratives in a 'rigid inflexible framework', and Lynn Robson, 'No nine days wonder': Embedded Protestant Narratives in Early Modern Prose Murder Pamphlets 1573-1700', Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Warwick, 2003), pp. 5-7, 33-35.

with the concomitant problems that the depiction of vice, however castigated, might prove an example to follow rather than a warning. The intention of ballad campaigns, therefore, was not to inform, but to persuade, to teach and to point the way towards godly and political harmony. All songs came with a moral at the end, as in John Lookes' ballad *The Rag Man* (1652), a fidler 'pul'd out 's fiddle/ and a lesson plaid.'⁹

Why choose the ballad as a political vehicle? In chapters three, four and five we have moved away from simplistic explanations based on mnemonics and memory. We have seen that ballads explained the workings of the state by using three key languages. First, by taking the form of song, they could use the language of music to debate the spiritual and temporal harmony of the realm. Second, by taking the form of epideictic poetry they used Aristotelian or 'ancient' classical concepts of virtue and vice in order to distinguish good governance from tyranny, and obedience from rightful resistance, and also to check the health of the body politic. Third, ballads were the ideal mode for affectionate discourse, evoking longing, lament, outrage, horror and joy. Balladeers used the language of love, the greatest of all Christian virtues, the essence of the Gospel and the strongest bond on which the state could rely, to explain and judge the workings of the patriarchal state. Just as people used love ballads to help them articulate feelings in words that they could not find for themselves, this combination of languages meant the political broadside ballad functioned as a 'street grammar school' of political understanding, purveying the essential concepts of a classical education and providing buyers with the necessary intellectual framework for the effective articulation of, and reasoned participation in, national politics, in the most accessible of genres.

⁹ Brian Vickers, 'Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance', *New Literary History*, 14, 3 (1983), pp. 497-537, esp. pp. 509-510, 512, points out that in the Platonic tradition poetry should be factual, but in the Aristotelian it needed only to be morally moving, History was about the world as it was but poetry about the world as it should be. John Lookes, *The Rag-man* (1652), b/1, MB I(46). See also, *Fame wit and Glory of the West* {1649}, b/1, MB I (53), which announced itself as 'a lesson to discern good from bad'.

Ballad texts and images suggest that the state played an ever-present part in people's emotional and conceptual lives, as much if not more than the local magistrate did.¹⁰ Images of monarchy were ubiquitous - on coins, on tavern and alehouse signs, in Church - and recognisably royal figures frequently appeared even on love and advice ballads, as if watching over the protagonists like caring parents.¹¹ This remained true even during the Interregnum as, for example, it was impossible to call all the coins in, just as after the Restoration the unfortunately-named commonwealth 'breeches' coins continued to circulate.¹² The weekly prayers in church for the royal family, and for parliament when sitting, further accentuated this presence, as well as the frequent reiteration of homilies, which explained the orderly working of the body politic.

However, ballads went further than merely giving thanks for and support to the social order. Though, in a Christian commonwealth, each man worked for the good of the whole, the individual's free will played a crucial role within the state. The Gospel exhorted each man and woman to work out their own salvation, within the bounds of established doctrines.¹³ In the same way, as ballads expounded the language and principles of state, they attempted to evoke and explain the reasoned affection of the individual subject towards the monarchy, and King towards people. They taught the subject to distinguish between virtuous and vicious

¹⁰ See Kevin Sharpe, "An image dotting rabble": the failure of republican culture in seventeenth-century England', reprinted in *idem, Remapping Early Modern England. The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 223-265, esp. pp. 233-249, for the ubiquity of the monarchical image in cultural politics. However, the printed products Sharpe uses were all fairly expensive; the prints may have cost about 1s. each. Also see B. Capp, 'Popular Literature' in Barry Reay (ed.), *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (1985), pp. 209-210. In cheap print the use of monarchical images, though loyal, was by no means stable, see discussion of royal ballad woodcut images in McShane Jones, 'Revealing Mary', *History Today* (2004).

¹¹ Few ballads before the civil war remain, but see examples Pepys II, 7, 11, 49, 76, Pepys III, 33, 66, 88, 97, 123, 127, 151, 159, 165, 180, 201, 210, 378. All the woodcuts show images of royals as they appeared on political ballads - the last few show the iconography of Charles I and Henrietta Maria.

¹² See the following complaint regarding the scarcity of money during the second Dutch war: 'for all the Parlement money called Breches, (a fitt stamp for the coyne of rump) is wholly vanished, the King's procalmacion and the Dutch have swept it all away and of his Majesties money their appears but very little': Cumbria Records Office, Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale Papers, D Lons/L13/1/14.

¹³ Philippians, 2. 12, 'Wherefore, my dearly beloved, (as you have always obeyed, not as in my presence only but much more now in my absence) with fear and trembling work out your salvation.'

rule, and to reflect upon the basis of their loyalty, though, when things went wrong, ministers rather than monarchs took the blame.

In early modern England ballads were a forum for the rhetoric of both rulers and ruled. This was a genre that 'belonged' to no one class or community. Pieter Spierenburg has defined an elite as 'a small group, which has more of something than the rest: more power, more prestige, more schooling, more money, or a combination of these'.¹⁴ But it is clear that outside the elite in early modern England, many, perhaps the majority of people, had *some* schooling, *some* money and *some* power. Written by clerics, lawyers, courtiers, poets, playwrights, vintners, shoemakers, and hacks, singing to the tunes of Roundhead and Cavalier, 'Old England' and 'Jovial Crew', Whig and Tory, Anglican Protestant and Presbyterian, political ballads, especially black-letter ones, affordable to most, accessible to all, reflected the aspirations, expectations and negotiations of that majority.

Political ballads always spoke to the citizen within the subject. They consistently sought to position the subject within a national body politic, and within a distinctly legal framework of rights and liberties. These were protected by all elements of the mixed constitution, which was only fully represented by King in Parliament. The King cared for and oversaw the welfare of his people, which was effected by his nobility and the gentry, but Parliament protected the kingdom from popery. The subjects they addressed were tradesmen, yeomen and 'plowmen', in effect, 'the fourth sort of men which do not rule', of whom Sir Thomas Smith had written, 'no account is to be made of them but only to be ruled'.¹⁵ Only the destitute poor stood outside this frame of reference, entirely dependent for their welfare on

¹⁴ Pieter Spierenburg, *The Broken Spell: A Cultural and Anthropological History of Pre-industrial Europe* (Basingstoke, 1991), p. 50

¹⁵ Sir Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), p. 33, 'The fourth sort or classe amongst vs, is of those which the olde Romans called *capite censij proletarij* or *operae*, day labourers, poore husbandmen, yea marcantes or retailers which haue no free lande, copiholders, and all artificers, as Taylers, Shoomakers, Carpenters, Brickemakers, Bricklayers, Masons, &c. These haue no voice nor authoritie in our commonwealth, and no account is made of them but onelie to be ruled'. Although, even Smith acknowledged they had acquired a role, 'yet they be not altogether neglected. For in cities and corporate townes for default of yeomen, enquests and Iuries are impaneled of such manner of people. And in villages they be commonly made Churchwardens, alecunners, and manie times Constables, which office toucheth more the common wealth, and at the first was not employed vpon such lowe and base persons.'

'the rich', good government, good trade and good harvests. In ballads the poor were without political rights or interests, 'Jolly Beggars' did not 'addle their pate with matters of state', yet even their welfare or otherwise was a barometer with which balladeers tested the virtue of the government.

Steve Hindle has argued that 'the nature and genesis of the authority structures - both the rhetorics and the repertoire of rule - which co-ordinate our own social experience, are by definition vital aspects of what we ought to know about 'modern' political culture, especially since so many of those structures are invested with (often 'invented') traditional meanings.'¹⁶ The study of politics, as product and leisure pursuit, which this thesis represents, serves to emphasise the varied nature and mutuality of the rhetorics and repertoire of authority structures. Like poor law records, ballads represent another site for the expression and negotiation of power: 'To neglect them [would be] not only to demean those who made their own history in their own terms, to forget that in their daily lives English men and women themselves had to manage inequalities of power, it is also deeply damaging to the historical project of "understanding ourselves in time."¹⁷ The power of popular song is still with us, economically, socially and politically, and to understand that power in an earlier time may well aid in such an understanding of ourselves. Governments and religions have long been aware of the uniting power of song. For centuries, and to the present day, music, high and low-brow, has been used as a way of bolstering troops, impressing subjects and stirring the spirit. While in the nineteenth century Mexican lyric bands were officially promoted to develop a sense of nation amongst the many different peoples of Mexico; in early modern times music was appropriated to military and religious use for similar purposes.¹⁸ But to give

¹⁶ Hindle, 'Power Poor Relief, and Social Relations in Holland Fen, c. 1600 - 1800', *The Historical Journal* Vol. 41, No. 1 (Mar., 1998), pp. 67 - 96, p. 96.

¹⁷ Hindle, 'Power, Poor Relief, and Social Relations', p. 96.

¹⁸ Marco Velázquez and Mary Kay Vaughan, 'Mestizaje and Musical Nationalism in Mexico', currently unpublished paper. Thanks to Dr Guy Thompson, U. of Warwick, for allowing me access to this typescript. In our modern context D:Ream's *Things Can Only Get Better* was used to considerable emotive effect in the 1997 Labour election campaign. Interestingly, without hit songs, iconic rock-singer Bruce Springsteen and a number of other stars were unable to achieve a similar effect in the 2004 Kerry Presidential election campaign.

people music is to arm them with a weapon that can be adapted to subversive or autonomous use, like language, or art, it resists control.

Ballads were part of the fun of early modern England and it was in this context that they offered a secular, popular, marketable comprehension of the state, church and society. Just as daily negotiation with magistrate or vestry required a knowledge and understanding of the rhetorics of power, the ballad depended on its consumer having a firm grasp of the facts and an understanding of their potential significance. Ballads give us a view of the early modern subject with a finger on the national pulse and much less in need of rescue than social historians such as R.H. Tawney or even E. P. Thompson ever acknowledged. As with all entertainment – especially comedy and satire - they tested the boundaries of power. As marketable products, broadside ballads, and especially black-letter ballads, were open political transcripts, bounded by considerations of decency and decorum, and yet they still offered ‘social sites of resistance’.¹⁹ While white-letter ballads were openly partisan, battling over legitimate power and attacking the powerful (though, until after 1689, not the King), black-letter ballads generally sought an ‘agent of unity’ rather than one of division and rarely called for open resistance to the current regime. Even during the Interregnum, though there was royalist complaint in black-letter ballads, balladeers, kept faith with their King without calling for open resistance.²⁰ To some extent, in the traditional ballad world, Hobbes was almost right: the possession of power created legitimacy. However, under some circumstances, resistance was justifiable. *Englands Monthly Observations* (1653) warned

¹⁹ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990), p. xii.

²⁰ Note the letter from a royalist supporter in which he counselled royalists to ‘continue passively though not actively loyall, consideringe that as fathers they owe a duty to their naturall children (in provident care of posterity) as well as obedience to their Civill parent and cannot sacrifice one to redeeme the other,’ Lincolnshire Archives: Monson Papers [Monson, Newton Archer and Thistlewood families], Mon 19/7/2/4 undated letter, {c. 1646-1649}. Two royalist ballads called for support for Prince Charles, *Gallant Newes from the Seas* (1649), b/1, MB I (45) and *The Articles of Agreement betwixt Prince Charles and the Parliament of Scotland* (1650), b/1, MB II (18). In white-letter ballads calls for resistance to parliamentary government were made in 1648 and in 1659-60, but not otherwise.

that although 'good moderate people shall labour each day/ To persuade good people to love and obey', the burden of tithes was:

Enough for to make people all the people to rise

Against those that over them thus Tyrannize

Who cannot be quiet until they be eased

And til that time come they will not be pleased.²¹

As champions of classical virtues and Protestant principles, traditional ballads held power to account, explaining the rise and fall of tyranny in terms of providential justice and humanist political virtue. They exposed virtuous or vicious government in terms of economic and emotional outcomes: in the case of virtuous government, peace, plenty, good trading and joy; in the case of vicious government, decay in trade, an increase in poverty, fear, care and misery. Though times changed, the ballad form never really swerved from its support for a Protestant, mixed monarchy or from its ideals of virtuous government. Since these ideals increasingly came into conflict with the more modern and radical aims of Stuart monarchy, the ballad moved from panegyric to a more oppositional role. It promoted social and political ideals contrary to those of the monarchy. If a king was un-loving he was also unloved. When an unloved King needed the help of his people in 1639/1640 and again in 1688 they stood back to let Providence decide. By the end of the century, balladeers had fallen out of love with monarchy. The increasing importance of Parliament to the political world of the ballad was reflected in the fact that, from the 1660s, ballads acquired a new function. They became an integral part of the election process, an early expression of 'loyal opposition' not formally expressed in parliament until the nineteenth century.

Hindle has pointed out that 'the medium of transmission between the formal tradition of humanist political thought and the social ethic of popular participation remains conjectural'.²² I would suggest that political ballads played an important part in that

²¹ *Englands Monthly Observations* (1653), b/1, Rox. III ii (237).

²² Hindle, *The State and Social Change*, p. 28.

transmission, maintaining the dual message of citizen and subject and the balance between affect and reason, up to the end of the seventeenth century. Indeed, the concepts of harmony, affect, reason and virtue that ballads consistently expounded offer a key to understanding how contemporaries sustained the apparent dichotomy between the Christian and classical ideal. The experience of Stuart rule saw a change in balladeer perceptions by the end of the century, which was to advise an increase in the reasoned loyalty of citizens, at the expense of the heartfelt loyalty of the subject. Sentiment became an object more suitable for fiction than politics.

Lastly, this thesis has addressed a methodological question about the use of cheap print as a historical source. I argue for the importance of understanding the interconnection between market and medium, the need to be far more rigorous in our understanding of genre, and to engage seriously with the content of cheap print. Despite the absence of evidence about consumers, the differences in the marketing and production of ballads in terms of their content enable us to learn something about what successful, contemporary publishers understood about the *mentalités* of the times. A detailed analysis and comparison of the content of different ballad products has revealed the extent of classical influence in the most accessible political writing, bringing an enhanced understanding of popular politics, the geographical spread and social depth of an 'imagined community' of England. It also suggests that if the 'open transcript' could be so critical, the significance and nature of seditious words must be reassessed. This thesis only scrapes the surface of what could be said about the sub-genre of political ballads, while cheap and accessible pamphlet literature also needs further elaboration. Only after a full investigation of each individual genre, unhampered by aesthetics concerned with canon or quality, could definitive comparisons and conclusions be made across the range of cheap print.

We set out to examine a literature that the ballad scholar Francis Childs dubbed 'veritable dung-hills'. Though traditional political balladry was rarely a place where the

lyrical or the romantic could be found, the classical conjunction of the poetic, the harmonic and the politic provided a means by which discord could be brought into harmony and vice could be rendered comprehensible, curable and controllable. This was the legacy of the classical renaissance, from which even the lowest of literature benefited. While reflecting how people of seventeenth-century England wished their world might be, the ballad world also expressed real human experience, hopes and fears. Balladry offers a window into popular political mentalities which, far from being murky, sentimental or ill-informed, are revealed as conceptually sophisticated and coherent. Any window on the past can give only a partial view. This one helps to explain the transmission and nature of shared concepts of polity and politics by rulers and ruled in seventeenth-century England and offers access to a cultural landscape as enriching, but far more appealing than, a dung-hill.

APPENDIX

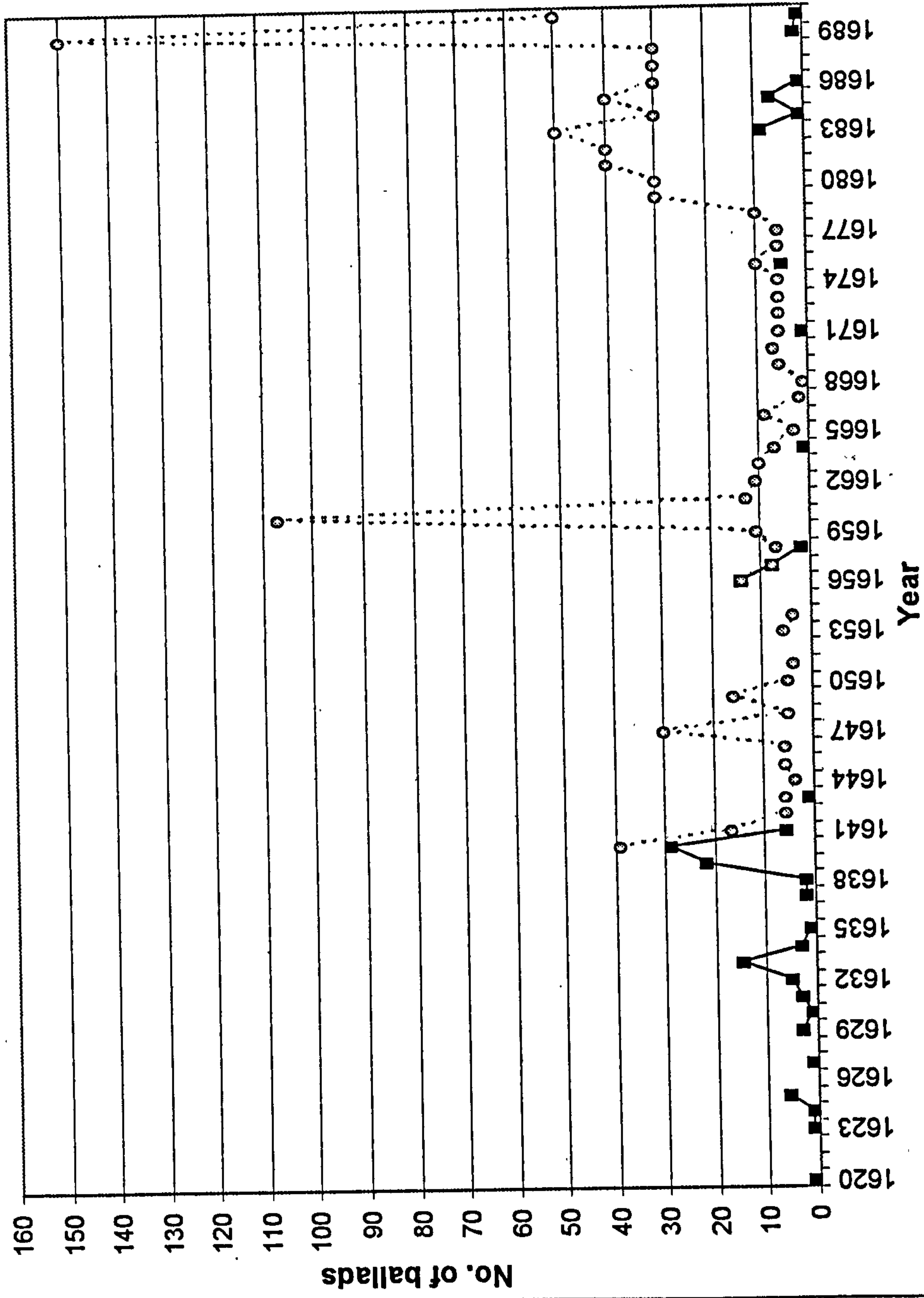
I

Majority Type face	Decoration/illustration	History
Black letter	printers decorative devices or other decoration such as illuminated first letter	From the outset of printing – type came from Germany. But even black letter ballads use roman or italic type to indicate names and places. This was the most frequent format from 1560's to early 1600s.
Black letter	no woodcut, no decoration	In the 16 th century the most common, by the 17 th century a much less common format. In the Roxburghe collection there are 7 ballads, mixed in subject, all of which are black letter with no woodcuts and no printers details (because cut off). They were collected together as a group. In the civil war and in 1660s some long, highly political ballads printed in this format.
Black letter	Woodcut (can be one to as many as five), four columns.	From end of 16 th century and by 17 th century most common format of the most popular ballads. This layout continued but with white letter in 18 th century.
Black letter	White letter titles, woodcuts etc	As reading practices changed from the 1660s black letter was less important for readability and began to be part of traditional product 'branding'.
Black letter	Woodcut and lines of music	Few of these - mainly in 1680s - they would have been expensive to produce.
White letter	no decoration, cuts or music	In mid 17 th century ballads like these were printed on thick white paper and/or oversized sheets i.e. rump ballads – but by 1670s cheap paper was used and this became a very common format for political ballads and satires. Often the 'song' aspect merely a rhetorical device.
White letter	Printers decorative devices or Woodcuts (Anything from one to four)	During the civil war this format was adopted on elite broadsides, specially commissioned woodcuts, sometimes engravings were used and language was complicated. Often 'song' was only a rhetorical device. By 18 th century white letter type and woodcuts were commonly used as black letter had disappeared.
White letter	music notation, some have 'nonsense' music and some real music	'Notation ballads'. The music operates as an illustration rather than as a singing guide. This format began to be common from the late 1670s.
White letter	black letter titles	The use of black letter on white letter ballads was either to heighten mockery on elite political songs or to emphasise the tradition of balladry on more popular or non-political songs.
White letter	part black letter text for effect	The use of black letter throughout the century in ballad and pamphlet texts emphasised the simplicity, rusticity or the stupidity of the speaker or subject.

White letter ballads usually have two columns, black letter ballads usually have four, but these general rules were often varied. The above table is not exhaustive of formats but it deals with all the most common ones.

APPENDIX
II

Political ballad production, 1620-1690.



—■— Stationers
 Registers
○..... All Extant
 Titles

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

i. Manuscript Sources

Records accessed through the National Archives online provision at <http://www.a2a.org.uk/> are marked 'a2a'.

Bodleian Library ms.Eng.hist.c.474/fols,152 and 159: a2a.

Bodleian Library ms.Eng.hist.c.474/fols,74-5: a2a.

Cumbria County Record Office: Family of Lowther, Earls of Lonsdale Papers, D.Lons/L13/1/14: a2a.

Derbyshire County Record Office: Derbyshire Quarter Sessions, Q/SB/2/629: a2a.

Guildhall Library, London, Bridewell Court Books: 33011/6; 33011/7; 33011/8; 33011/9.

Kent County Record Office: Kent Quarter Sessions Q/SRp/m.4v [n.d.{1630-31}]: a2a.

Lancashire County Records Office: QSR, Easter, 1686, QSP/614/2; Midsummer, 1687, QSP/637/38-39; Michaelmas, 1687, QSP/641/6: a2a.

Leicester County Record Office: Hall Papers, BR11/18/26B, f.530; BR11/18/27, f.566.

Lincolnshire Archives: Monson Papers [Monson, Newton Archer and Thistlewood families], Mon 19/7/2/4 undated letter, {c. 1646 – 1649}: a2a.

London Metropolitan Archive: MJ/SR/1062/126; MJ/SR/1108 (263);

Norfolk County Record Office: Hamond of Westacre estate papers, Norfolk RO HMN 3/23/ 1 – 5); HMN 7/274/1, 2: a2a.

Nottingham County Records Office: Savile of Rufford: Deeds and Estate papers, DD/SR/221/95/13: a2a.

Ruge T, *Mercurius Politicus Redivivus* (1659-1665), BL. Add. MS 10116; BL. Add. MS. 100117.

Surrey County Record Office: Surrey Quarter Sessions, QS2/6/1723/Mid/1723: a2a.

Worcester County Records Office: QSR, Easter, 1687, 1/1/153/3-6: a2a.

ii. Ballad Sources

This list refers only to ballads cited in the thesis.

Manuscript Ballads

[*The Hungry Bloodhounds*](1653), 669.f.17(4).

[*O Brave Oliver*](1648), E.548(28).

[*A Satire On James I And Charles I*](1645), E.267(2).

Ballad Broad sides and Registered Titles

[...] *or a brief Relation of an Atheistical creature* (1649), b/l, MB.I(35).

[...] *, or The Parson of The Parish* {1642 –5}, b/l, MB.II(53a).

[...] *nd With The Manner of Their Taking Ship Dover, And Their Departure, Set Forth In Dialogue Verse* {1645}, b/l, MB.II(27).

[*Untitled Scrap*]{1642 – 1647}, b/l, MB.II(30b).

[*Untitled*] (1649), b/l, MB.II(13).

[*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, CB.213/2.

[*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, CB.990/6.

[*Untitled*] (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(25).

[*Untitled*] (1661), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(4).

[*Untitled*] {1643}, b/l, MB.II(47).

[*Untitled*] {1689/90}, w/l, Pepys V.ii.43.

[*Untitled*] {1649?}, b/l, MB.I(50).

A Mode: The Cities Profound Policy, In Delivering Themselves, Their City, Their Workes And Ammunition Into The Protection of The Armie (1647), w/l, BL.C.20.f.4(4).

Aeuropes Pride; or Englands Glory (1683), b/l, Pepys II.224.

Alas Poore Trades-man What Shall We Do? (1646), b/l, MB.I(38).

Alas Said The Papist, Now Wee Must Depart (1640), b/l, MB.II(49b).

Anabaptists' Faith And Belief, Open'd, The (1659), w/l, 669.f.21(72).

Answer To The Geneva Ballad, An (1674), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(34).

Arsy Versy or, The Second Martyrdom of The Rump (1660), w/l, 669.f.24(31).

Articles of Agreement Betwixt Prince Charles And The Parliament of Scotland, Brought Over By Their Commissioners From Holland (1650), b/l, MB.II(18).

Ballad A {1673-4}, w/l, CB.610/4.

Ballad of The Cloak, or, The Cloak's Knavery The (1679), b/l, Rox.IV.32; Pepys II.218; (1681), n/b, Rox.III.394; n/b, Wood 417(4); Ashm.G.16(129b); Firth b.20(50), 'Father Powers', attrib.; BB.C.40.m11(8); w/l, Bod.27980C.1; {1682/3}, BL.1876.f.1(8); Bod.G.Pamph.2204(82*); BB.C.40.m9(70).

Bedfordshire Widow, The [between 1690 and 1694], b/l, Pepys II.75.

Behn, A and Anon, *Young Jemmy or The Princely Shepherd*, (1681), b/l, Douce Ballads 2(259b); Firth b.20(84).

Belgic Boar, The (1695), b/l/p, no w/c, Firth b.21(143).

Belona's Encouragement (RI184 7 May 1640).

Berachach or Englands Memento To Thankfulness Being An Hymne or A Spiritual Song (1646), 669.f.10(77).

Birkenhead, Sir J. *A New Ballad of a Famous German Prince and a Renowned English Duke* (1666), w/l, BB.C.40.m9(77).

Birkenhead, Sir J., attrib. *The Four-Legg'd Elder, or, A True Relation of A Dog And An Elder's Maid To The Tune of The Lady's Fall, or, Gather Your Rosebuds, And Fourty Other Tunes* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(70).

Birkenhead, Sir J., attrib. *The Four-Legg'd Quaker To The Tune of The Dog And Elder's Maid, or, The Lady's Fall* {1662 -1668}, w/l+w/c, Wood 416(70).

Bishops Last Goodnight, The (1642), w/l+w/c, 669.f.4(61).

Blood Cries For Revenge, Or, A True Relation of The Bloody And Barbarous Massacres In The Late Flourishing City of Lesna in The Kingdome of Poland (RI215 14 November 1657).

Bloody News From Chelmsford: or, A Proper New Ballad, Containing A True And Perfect Relation of A Most Barbarous Murder Committed Upon The Body of A Country Parson Who Died of A Great Wound Given Him In The Bottom of His Belly, By A Most Cruel Country-Butcher For Being Too Familiar With His Wife: For Which Fact He Is To Be Tried For His Life At This Next Assizes (Oxford, 1663), w/l, CB.425/3.

Blount, Charles, *Sale of Esau's Birthright* (1679), b/l, BL.C.20.f.6.22; w/l, Wood, 417(5); Bod.MS.Willis 22(F. 46); Firth b.20 (69); Vet.A3.C.29(2); Ashm.G.16(40); CB.1365/8.

Bonny Scot: or, The Yielding Lass To An Excellent New Tune, The (1700), b/l, BB.C.40.m9(60).

Bo-Peep And The Jerking Parson, (1662), w/l+w/c, 669.f.26 (72); BB.C.40.m9(85).

Braggadocia Souldier, And The Civill Citizen, The (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(81).

Brave Bristowes Renowne An Incouragement To All English Soldiers (RI229 3 Sept 1640)

Britains Sorrowful Lamentation, for the Loss of their Gracious Queen Mary (1694), w/l, Rox.III.713.

Brittains Triumph in the Coronation of Their Most Sacred Majesties..., The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.230.

Butler, Samuel, attrib., *Fanaticks Barber or, A New Cut For Non-Conformists Being A True Relation of The Parson That Was Lately Gelt At Chelmsford In Essex, Being Taken In Bed With Another Mans Wife. Very Proper To Be Sung In All Corporations of This Nation. All The Town Shan't Save Thee, The* (1662), w/l+w/c, Wood 416(94).

C., R. *Elegie On The Death Of The Right Honourable And Most Noble Heroe, Robert Blake, Late Generall Of The English Fleet At Sea Together With A Commemoration Of The Most*

Victories By Him Heretofore Ob[T]AINED Against The Hollanders : And His Remarkable Successes, To The Glory Of The English Nation, Afterwards Against The Spaniard And Turkish Pirats, In Cleering The Seas And Taking And Drowning Their Ships, And Burning Of Many Of The Best Of Them In Their Strongest And Most Fenced Havens : Who Departed This Life On Friday, August The 7, 1657, An (1657), w/l, EEBO/Harvard.

Cabal, or, A Voice of The Politicks, The (1679), w/l, BL.C.39.K.6(68).

Cabal, The (1680), b/l No w/c, BL.C.20.f.4(23).

Canterburies Conscience Convicted (1641), b/l, Ashm.H23(42); BL.1475.c8.

Careless Curate And The Bloody Butcher, The (1662), b/l, Wood 401(187)

Careless Gallant, The [between 1674 and 1679], b/l, BB.C.40.m11(53).

Case is Altered; or, Sir Reverence the Rumps Last Farewel, The (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(3).

Cavaleers Letany, The (1661), w/l, 669.f.27(1); Lutt.II.34.

Cavaliers Comfort, or, Long Lookt for Will Come at Last, The {1662}, b/l, Euing 26.

Cavaliers Complaint, The (1661), w/l, 669.f.26(69); BB.C.40.m11(23).

Cavaliers Litany, The (1682), w/l, CB.409/3.

Chancellors Resolution, or His Last Sayings A Little Before His Death, The(1689), b/l, Pepys II.278.

Claret Drinkers Song, or the Good-Fellow's Design, The (1680), b/l, Rox.III.82.

Cock-Crowing At The Approach of A Free-Parliament, or, Good Newes In A Ballat More Sweet To Your Palat, Then Figge, Raison or Stewed Prune Is A Countrey Wit Made It Who Ne'r Got By Th' Trade Yet, The (1660), w/l, Wood 416(49).

Coffin For King Charles: A Crowne For Cromwell: A Pit For The People, A (1649), w/l, 669.f.14(22).

Collonel Sidney's Overthrow; or, And Account of His Execution Upon Tower Hill On Friday The 7th of December, 1683, Who Was Condemned For High Treason (1683), b/l, Rox.IV.12.

Colonel John Okies Lamentation, or A Rumper Cashiered (1660), w/l, Wood 416(63); 669.f.24(43).

Colonell Rainsborowes Ghost, Or, A True Relation Of The Manner Of His Death, Who Was Murthered In His Bed-Chamber At Doncaster, By Three Of Pontefract Souldiers Who Pretended That They Had Letters From Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, To Deliver Unto Him (1648), b/l, 669.f.13(46).

Comfort of the Commons of England (RI332, 11 January 1641).

Comfortable And Friendly Advice For All The True Hearted Subjects of England, A (1688), b/l, Pepys II.248.

Committee Mans Last Will and Testament, The (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(73).

- Common Observation Upon These Times, A* (1645), w/l, 669.f.10(31).
- Congratulation On The Happy Discovery of The Hellish Fantastic Plot, A* (1682,) w/l, Wood 417(91).
- Content and Rich, or The Glass of Vain Glory* [between 1684 and 1686], b/l, Pepys II.26.
- Contented Subjects, or the Citizens Joy, The* (1682), w/l; Rox.III.905.
- Contents a Treasure or, the Jovial Loyalist* (1681), b/l, Rox.IV.8.
- Cooper of Norfolk, The* [between 1660 -70], b/l, Euing 44.
- Counterfeit Court Lady: or, an Answer to, Your humble servant madam, The* {1662/3}, b/l, Rox.II.71.
- Countrey-Mans Vive Le Roy. or His Joyfull Exaltation For King Charles His Restoration, In A Dialogue Between Dick A Ploughman, And Jack A Shepherd. With Jacks Epigram Upon Englands Grand Traytor, The* (1660), w/l, BL.C.20.f.2(41).
- Country Mans Delight, The* (1680), b/l, Pepys IV 349.
- Country Song Intituled the Restoration, A* (1660), b/l, 669.f.25(20).
- Courageous Seamans Loyal Health, The* (1685), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(103); Don.b.13(16).
- Courageous Soldiers of the West, The* (1689/90), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(100).
- Courageous Victory obtained ag^t ye Spanyard, A* (RI417 30 May 1657)
- Court And Kingdom In Tears: or, The Sorrowful Subjects Lamentation For The Death of Her Royal Majesty Queen Mary Who Departed This Life The 28th. of This Instant December, 1694; To The Unspeakable Grief of His Majesty, And All His Loyal And Loving Subjects, The* (1694), b/l, Pepys II.373.
- Court of England, or, The Preparation For The Happy Coronation of King William And Queen Mary, The* (1689), w/l, large w/c and broadside, BL.C.20.f.2(180).
- Courtiers Health, or The Merry Boys of the Times, The* (1682), b/l, Firth b.19(4).
- Courtiers Health, The* [between 1685 – 88], w/l, RB V, p.90.
- Courtly Salutation, The* (1690), b/l, Pepys II.334.
- Courtly Triumph, The* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.268.
- Covenant Or No King But The Old Kings Son Or A Brief Rehearsal of What Heretofore Was Done, The* (1660), b/l, Euing 43.
- C[rouch], H. *Downfall of Pride. Riband-Cod-Pieces, Black Patches, And Whatsoever Is Antick, Apish, Fantastick, And Dishonourable To A Civil Government, The* (RI635 26 July 1656}}, b/l, Don.b.24(13).
- C[Rouch], H. *Lady Pecunia's Journey Unto Hell, With Her Speech To Pluto, Maintaining That She Sends More Soules To Hell Then All His Fiends: With Pluto's Answer And Applause, The* (m/s 30 January 1654/5), w/l+w/c, 669.f.17(75).

C[rouch], H. *My Bird Is A Roundhead* (1642), b/l, Ashm.H23(24).

C[rouch], H. *The Counsel of a Father to his Son Newly Married, The* [between 1624 and 1680], w/l+w/c, large broadside, Johnson Ballads 1252.

C[rouch], H. *The Greeks and Trojans Wars* (RI1047 1 March 1675), b/l, 4oRawl.566(184).

Crouch, H. attrib., *Kings Last Speech At His Time Of Execution As He Made Upon The Scaffold, The* {1649}, b/l; [between 1649 and 1671], b/l, Pepys II.203.

Crouch, H. *Godly Exhortation, A* (1642), w/l, 669.f.6(87).

Crouch, H. *Pleasant New Song That Plainely Doth Show, That All Are Beggars, A* (1640), b/l, MB.II(34).

Cryes of Westminster. or The Parliament Pedlar, With His Whole Pack of Knavery Opened, And Set To Sale, The (1648), w/l, 669.f.11(128); BL.C.175.e.2(8).

Cuckoo of the Times, The (1678/9), b/l, Firth b.19(5).

D., T. *New Litany, Design'd For This Lent, A* (1684), n/b, Ashm.G16(189); BL.1872.a.1(69).

Darby-Shires Glory [between 1670 – 1677], b/l, CB.965/6.

Dean, J. attrib. *The Lord Russels Last Farewell To The World* (1683), n/b, Wood 417(123).

Dean, J. *The Wine Coopers Delight* (1681), b/l, Rox.III.244; w/l, BL.C.20.f.6(7); Wood 276a(553).

Description of Old England, A [between 1674 and 1679{1675}], b/l, Wood E25(72); 4oRawl.566(103).

Deserued Downfall of a Corrupted Conscience Degraded from all Authority and Titles of Knighthood, The (1621), b/l, Pepys I.142.

Dialogue betwixt an Excise Man and Death; A (1659), w/l, 669.f.21(58); BB.C.40.m11(13).

Dialogue or A Dispute Between The Late Hangman And Death, A (1649), w/l+w/c, 669.f.14(51).

Disconted (sic) Lover, The (1650), b/l, MB.I.(11); *Discontented Lover, The* [between 1650 and 1680], Douce 1(57a); 4oRawl.566(62).

Disloyal Favourite, The (1679), b/l, Rox.II.109.

Distracted Englands Lamentation (Registered July 1646).

Distressed Mother, The [between 1690 and 1694], b/l, Pepys II.319.

Divine Oade, A (1641), w/l, 669.f.4(62).

Divine Paternoster, A (1641), w/l, 669.f.4(68).

Down-Fall of the Whiggs or the Duke of Monmouths Journey into the North, The (1682), w/l, Vet.A3.c.29(14).

Downfall of Women Preachers, or, Mrs Abbigale Upon Her Last Text, The {1650-53}, b/l, MB.II(25).

Dreadful Relation of the Cruel Bloody and Most Inhumane Massacre and Butchery, Committed On The Poor Protestants, In The Dominions of The Duke of Savoy, A (1655), b/l, BL.C.20.f.14(20).

Duke of Monmouth's Kind Answer to His Dutchesse Complaint in his Absence, The (RI649 1 December 1683).

Duke of Munmuth's Constancie to His Loving Dutchess, The (RI648 1 December 1683).

Dutch Dammified, The (1666), b/l, Euing 60.

Dutchess of Monmouth's Lamentation for the Loss of Her Duke, The (RI646 27 Sept 1683), w/l, BL.1876.f.1(22).

Dying Tears (1660), b/l, Euing 65.

Elegie on the Death of King Charles the Second of Blessed Memory, An (RI673 15 January 1685).

Elegy, On The Timely Death of John Warner Late Lord Maior of The Citie of London, An (1648), w/l, 669.f.13(45)

England Upon the Mending hand (RI687, 25 November 1640).

England's Darling {1681}, b/l, Pepys II.219; Rox.II.140.

England's Extasie (1689), b/l, Pepys II.254.

England's Monthly Predictions (1649), b/l, MB.II(44).

England's Triumph (1689), b/l, Pepys II.273.

Englands Captivity Returned with a Farwel to Common-wealths (1660), b/l, Firth b.20(24a)[first part] and [Untitled] (1660), b/l, CB.213/2[second part].

Englands Comfort or the Subjects Prayer (RI689 23 March 1640).

Englands Comfort Revived (RI690 4 November 1640).

Englands Comfort Revived (RI691 11 January 1641).

Englands Cure after a Lingering Sicknes (RI692 11 January 1641).

Englands Day Of Joy And Rejoycing, Or, Long Lookt For Is Come At Last, Or, The True Manner Of Proclaiming Charls The Second King Of England, &C. This Eighth Day Of This Present May, To The Ever Honored Praise Of General Monck, Being For The Good Of His Country And The Parliament (1660), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

Englands Deliverance (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.65.

Englands Great Prognosticator (1660), b/l, Euing 96.

- Englands Happiness or A Health To The Young Prince of Wales* (1688), w/l, Johnson A.58(16b).
- Englands Happiness Reviv'd* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.279.
- Englands Happy State, or The Subjects Joy for the Election of a New Parliament* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.249.
- Englands Holiday or The Nations Joy* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.35.
- Englands Honour, And Londons Glory. With The Manner Of Proclaiming Charles The Second King Of England, This Eight Of May 1660. By The Honourable The Two Houses Of Parliament, Lord Generall Monk, The Lord Mayor, Alderman, And Common Councill Of The City* (1660), b/l, Euing 97.
- Englands Joy for The Coming In of Our Gracious Sovereign King Charles the II* (1660), w/l, 669.f.25(28), b/l, Euing 99.
- Englands Joy In A Lawful Triumph. Bold Phanaticks Now Make Room Charles The Second's Coming Home. As It Was Voted In The House On May-Day Last 1660* (1660), b/l, Euing 98.
- Englands Joyful Welcome To The King Upon His Return To Whitehall After Withdrawing Himself* (1688), b/l, Pepys II.253.
- Englands Joys Increased By The Happy Coronation* (1685), b/l, Pepys II.229.
- Englands Lamentacon in Great Distresse* (RI704 4 July 1643).
- Englands Mercies in the Midst of Miseries* [between 1684 and 1685], b/l, Pepys II.226.
- Englands Miseries Crown'd with Mercy* (1684), b/l, Pepys II.225.
- Englands Monethly Observations and Predictions for the year of our blessed saviour, 1653, foretold by those two famous Astrologers of our Age, Mr William Lilly and Mr Culpepper* (1652/3), b/l, Rox.III.237.
- Englands Monthly Predictions for This Present Yeare 1649* (1649), b/l, MB.II(44).
- Englands Navie* (RI708 15 March 1656).
- Englands New Bell-Man, Ringing Into All People's Ears Gods Dreadful Judgment To This Land And Kingdom, Prognosticated By The Great Eclipse Of The Sun, March 29, 1652, The Strange Effects To Continue 1654, 1655, 1656, To The Amazement Of The Whole World* (1652), b/l, Rox.II.141; w/l Firth b.19(31).
- Englands Object* (M/S 'September 1660', 1660), b/l, Wood 401 (175).
- Englands Pleasant May-Flower Or, Charles The Second, As We Say, Came Home The Twenty-Ninth Of May. Let Loyal Hearts Rejoyce And Sing For Joy They Have Got A Gracious King* (1660), b/l, Euing 100.
- Englands Present State* {1681?}, b/l, Pepys II.10.
- Englands Rejoicing* (RI7113, April 1640).

Englands Rejoicing At That Happy Day That Peace And Truth May Bear Sway, Being Th' Election Of That Thing, In Chusing Us A Royal King (1660), b/l, Euing 95.

Englands Royal Ren[own] in the Coronation of our Gracious King James the Second and and His Royal Consort ... , The (RI715 25 April 1685), b/l, BB.C.40.m.10(169); n/b Wood 417(143).

Englands Triumph or the Subjects Joy [between 1666 and 1675], b/l, Euing 102.

Englands Tryumph, And Hollands Downfall; or, The Second Royal Victory, Obtained Upon The Hollanders Fleet, In A Sea-Fight, By The King of Great Brittain[sic] Royal Navy, Under The Conduct of His Highness Prince Rupert, And His Grace, George Duke of Albemarle; As It Was Heroically Fought, And Undoubtfully Disputed On The 1, 2d, 3d, & 4th of June, 1666 (1666), b/l, Euing 93.

Englands Valour And Hollands Terrour: Being An Encouragement For Seamen And Souldiers To Serve His Majesty In His Wars Against The Dutch [1665], b/l, Euing 103.

Englands Worthies, Worthy to be Remembered (RI722 27 August 1657).

English Man's Advice, The (1680), b/l, Pepys II.14.

English Seamans Resolution, The (1666), b/l, Euing 106.

Excellent New Ballad of a Dialogue between Tom the Tory and Toney the Wigg, An {1681 [Imprint Date 1678]}, w/l, Wood 417(1).

Excellent New Song fitted for the Times, An (1689), b/l, Pepys II.283.

Excellent New Song, or A True Touch of the Times, An (1685), b/l, Euing 82.

Excellent New Song, or, A True Touch of the Times, An (1689), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(33).

Exit To The Exit Tyrannus: or, Upon Erasing That Ignominious And Scandalous Motto, Which Was Set Over The Place Where King Charles The First Statue Stood, In The Royall Exchange, An (M/S March 1660), w/l, 669.f.24(18); Lutt.II.249; BB.C.40.m9(68).

Faithful Lovers Last Farvvell: Or, Private Newes From Chatham, Described In A Passionate Discourse Betwixt A Young Gentleman Whose Name Was Iohn, And His Fair Lady Betty, Who Having Been Newly Contracted, Were Suddenly Seperated Before Marriage, In Regard That He Was Instantly Commanded To Take Shipping In An Expedition Against The Dutch, The (1664/5), b/l, Euing 118; Rox.III.144.

Fame, Wit and Glory of the West, Here in This Song Shall Fully be Exprest, The {1649}, b/l, MB.I(53).

Fancy, P. Joyfull News to the Nation: or, The Crowning of King Charls [sic] The II. on The 23. of April Being on St. Georges Day (1661), b/l, Euing 147.

Fatall Fall of Five Gentlemen, And The Death of Three of Them. Shewing The Manner of Their Falling Into Relapse, And The Sentence Pronounced Against Them In Westminster Hall, On Tuesday March 6. 1648, The (1649), b/l, MB.II.(43).

Few Words are Best (1661), b/l, Euing 123.

Fortunate Rising or The Rump Upward, The (1660), w/l, Wood 416(35); 669.f.23(7).

Fox Too Cunning for the Lyon, The {1659/60}, b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(119); CB.314/2.

Free-Parliament-Letany, A (1660), w/l, Wood 416(60); 669.f.24 (19).

Full Description of these Times, or, The Prince of Oranges March, A (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.257.

G., O. Englands Joyfull Holiday, Or, St. Georges-Day, Holy Honoured Being The Joyfull Solemnity So Long Lookt For, Of The Coronation Of King Charls The Second ... On St. Georges Day, Being 23 Of April (1661), b/l, Wood 401(28v, 27r).

Gadbury, J., attrib. *True Narrative of The Horrid Hellish Popish Plot, A* (1679), CB.450/3.

Gallant Newes From Ireland (1649), b/l, MB.II(19a).

Gallant News Of Late I Bring, Tidings Of Chusing Now A King, Whereby True Subjects May Rejoice In Chusing Them So Sweet A Choyce That Love And Peace May So Agree, To End The Days Of Misery (1660), b/l, Euing 130.

Gallant Seamans Resolution, The (RI940 12 March 1656), b/l, Pepys IV.92; (RI939 1 March 1675), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(136).

Gallantry all a Mode [between 1674 and 1679], b/l, Rox.III.92.

Gang or The Nine Worthies And Champions, The (1660), w/l, 669.f.22(71).

Gayton, Edmund, attrib., *Upon Mr Bobards Yew-Men of The Guards To The Physick Garden* (Oxford, 1662), w/l, Wood 416(93)

Gayton, Edmund. *To The Most Illustrious Prince His Highnesse James Duke of York ... A Votive Song For Her Sacred Majesties Happy Arrivall* (1662), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(30).

Gazet In Metre; or The Rhiming Newsmonger, The (1689), w/l, Pepys V.124.

General Sale of Rebellious Houshold-Stuff, A (1682), w/l, Ashm.G.16(195); (1685), w/l, Wood 417(154).

Geneva Ballad To The Tune of 48, The (1674), w/l, BL.1876.f.1(10); BB.C.40.m11(33); (1678), w/l, Wood 416(125); Firth b.20(51); Wood 276b(105); (1705), w/l, BB.C.40.m9(78); Harding B 4(55).

Glory of the Northern Parts of England. Shewing the Readiness of the Gentry and Commonalty of the Counties of Chester and Lancaster, in Joyning with the Prince of orange, at his Highnesses First Landing, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.262.

Glory Of The West, Or, The Virgins Of Taunton-Dean Who Ript Open Their Silk-Petticoats, To Make Colours Foe The Late Duke Of M's Army, The (1685), w/l, Wood 417(144).

Glory Of These Nations, Or, King And Peoples Happinesse, Being A Brief Relation Of King Charles's Royall Progresse From Dover To London, How The Lord Generall And The Lord Mayor With All The Nobility And Gentrey Of The Land, Brought Him Thorow The Famous City Of London To His Pallace At Westminster The 29. Of May Last, Being His Majesties Birth-Day, To The Great Comfort Of His Loyall Subjects, The (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(5).

Good Fellows Complaint: Who Being Much Grieved Strong Licquor Should Rise In Putting A Farthing A Pot For Excise, The {1647}, b/l, MB.II(23).

Good News For England: or, The Peoples Triumph. Then Let's Be Joyful, And In Heart Content, To See Our King United With The Parliament. Long Live Charles The Second (1660), b/l, Euing 131.

Good News for the Nation (1689), b/l, Pepys II.235.

Good News in Bad Times; or Absalom's Return to David's Bosome (1683), w/l, Rox.III.916.

Good Sport For Protestants [between 1689 and 1691], b/l, Pepys III.46.

Good Subjects Delight, or, True Love in its Proper Colours, The (RI1025a 27 June 1683), b/l, Pepys II.213.

Good Wish For England, A (1641), w/l, 669.f.4(40).

Great Britain's Earnest Desire for the Princess Mary's Happy Arrival (1689), b/l, Pepys II.265.

Great Britains Glory or The Protestants Confidence in a Free Parliament (1689), b/l, Pepys II.258.

Great Britains Joys Completed (1689), b/l, Pepys II.338.

Great Britains Joy And Good News For The Netherlands (1667), b/l, Wood E25(101).

Great Britains Renown (1689), b/l, Pepys II.269.

Great York and Albany (1682), w/l, Ashm.G.15(64).

Greece and Troy (RI1046 26 July 1658).

Green Sickness Cured or How De'e Now, The (1688), w/l, Wood 417(177).

Groatsworth of Mirth For A Penny, A [between 1683 and 1706], b/l, Pepys V.ii.53.

H, T. *Iter Boreale. The Second Part, Relating The Progress of The Lord General Monk, Calling In The Secluded Members, Their Voting King Charls The Second Home* (1660), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(16).

H[amond], C. *A Merry New Song Wherein You May View The Drinking Healths of a Joviall Crew, to 'T'happie Return of The Figure of Two* (1660), b/l, Rox.II.344.

Hamond, C. *The Credit of Yorkshire, or, The Glory of the North* (1649), b/l, MB.I(6).

Happy Husbandman, or Country Innocence, The [between 1685 and 88], b/l, Euing 137.

Happy Man; or Content Os A Continual Feast, The [between 1685 and 1688], b/l, Douce 1(93a).

Happy Return or the Parliaments Wellcome to London, The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.234.

Harmony of Healths, To the Kings Happy Union, With the Parliaments Communion, A (1647), b/l, MB.II(38).

Harrison, G. *An Elegie on the Death of the Right Honourable Robert Blake* (1657), w/l, 669.f.20(61).

- Have Among You My Masters* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(25).
- Health to the Royal Family, A* (1683), b/l, Pepys II.217.
- Hells Master Piece Discovered* (1660), b/l, Euing 138.
- Herbert, Elizabeth, Countess of Powis with John Gadbury, attrib. *Ballad Upon The Popish Plot. Written By A Lady of Quality, A* (1679), w/l, CB455/3; Lutt.III.143; BB.C.40.m11(44).
- Herbert, Elizabeth, Lady Powys, attrib., *Ballad, The Fourth Part, A* (1679), CB.453/3.
- Herbert, Elizabeth, Lady Powys, attrib., *Ballad. The Third Part, To The Same Tune. Written By A Lady of Quality, A* 1679), w/l quarto size, CB.452/3; BL.1872.a.1(22); Lutt.III.102.
- Herbert, T., attrib. *Prognostication Upon W. Laud, A* (1645), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(18).
- Here is Incouragement to Loyalty* (1679), b/l, Pepys II.216.
- Here Is Some Comfort For Poor Cavaleeres: or, The Duke of Yorks Speech To The Parliament of England, Concerning His Fathers Old Souldiers* (1661), b/l, Euing 141.
- High Court of Justice at Westminster arraigned at the Bar, The* (1660), b/l, Euing 139.
- Highway Hector, The* {1642}, b/l, CB.538/4.
- Holland Turn'd To Tinder or Englands Third Great Royal Victory* (1666), b/l, Euing 134.
- Honest mans Delight, or Knavery Made Known, An* {1667}, b/l, Wood E25(50).
- Honest Mans Immaginary Dreames: And His Good Wishes For The Prosperity Of The King, And His Posterity, The* (1648), b/l, MB.II(42a).
- Honour of Bristol, The* (1665), b/l, Euing 142.
- Howard, T. *An Old Song Of The Old Courtier Of The King/ With A New Song On A New Courtier Of The King* (1668), b/l, Pepys II.211.
- Hugh Peters Last Will And Testament or, The Haltering of The Divell*(1660), w/l, 669.f.26(32).
- Hunting of the Hare, The* (1660), b/l, Rox.III.202; Wood 402(79).
- Hymn To The Gentle Craft; or, Hewson's Lamentation, A* (1660), w/l, 669.f.22(64).
- Ignoramus, An Excellent New Song, To the Tune of Lay By Your Pleading, Law Lies A-Bleeding* (1681), w/l, BL.1872.a.1.14[99*]; Wood 417(80); Lutt.II.162.
- I Thanke You Twice, or, The City Courting Their Owne Ruine, Thank The Parliament Twice, For Their Treble Undoing* (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(65); 669.f.11 (72).
- Invective Against The Pride of Women* (1655), w/l, 669.f.20(56).
- James Naylor's Tryall, or, the Reward of Wickednesse* (RI1271 23 December 1656).
- Jemmy Return'd or the Nations Joy* (1682), w/l, Firth c.15(18).

Jesuits Lamentation, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.286.

Jockies Lamentation, Whose Seditious Work Was The Loss Of His Countrey And His Kirk (RI1293 16 July 1657); {1680}, b/l, Wood 401(151); Pepys IV.345.

Jocky And Jenney: or The Scotch Courtship [between 1662 and 1691], n/b, Pepys V.ii.56.

Jolly Company of Jovial Blades, Who Laugh And Sing, And Are As Merry As The Maids, A (1660), b/l, Euing 153.

Jolly Company of Loyal Blades, A {1660}, b/l, Euing 152.

Jones Ale is New (RI1289 25 March 1656).

Jones, H. *Royal Patient Traveller, or, The Wonderful Escapes of His Sacred Majesty King Charles The Second From Worcester-Fight And His Making A Hollow Oke His Royall Pallace, The* (1660), b/l, Wood 401(171).

I., T. [Jordan, T.?), *Here is Some Comfort for Poor Cavaleers* (1661), b/l, Euing 141.

Jordan, T. attrib. *A Letany For The New-Year; With A Description of The New State* (1660), w/l, 669.f.22(68).

Jordan, T. attrib. *Bacchus Festival; or, A New Medley, Being A Musical Representation At The Entertainment of His Excellency The Lord General Monck, At Vintners Hall, April 12, 1660* (1660), w/l, 669.f.24(63.)

Jordan, T., attrib. *A New Ballad called a Review of the Rebellion* (1647), b/l, no w/c, 669.f.11(21).

Jordan, T., attrib. *Londons Praise, or, the Glory of the City* [between 1666 and 1685], b/l, Pepys IV.339.

Jordan, T., attrib. *The Anarchie, or The Blessed Reformation Since 1640. Being A New Caroll* (1648), b/l, no w/c, 669.f.11(114); 669.f.13(60).

Jordan, T., attrib. *The Royall Entertainment Presented By The Loyalty Of The City, To The Royalty Of Their Sovereign, On Thursday The Fourth Of July 1660* (1660), b/l, MB.I(7).

Jovial Crew or The Beggars Bush, The [between 1660 and 1663], b/l, Euing 150; [between 1666 and 1679 {1670s}], b/l, 40Rawl.566(141),

Joyfull News For England, And All Other Parts Of Christendome That Bears Good Will To The Happy Agreement Of Peace, Which Past Betweene England And Holland, And Denmarke (1654), b/l, BL.C.20.f.14(23).

Judge Berkeley His Penitentiall Complaint (1641), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(4).

Justification of Our Brethren of Scotland, A (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(77).

Justification of The Synod of Sion Colledge, Against Those, Who Say They Have Sate Long, And Done Nothing, A (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(76).

King And Kingdoms Joyful Day of Triumph, The (1660), b/l, Euing 146.

King Charles his Glory and the Rebels Shame (1660), w/l+w/c, BL.C.20.f.4(36).

King Charles His Speech and Last Farewell to the World {1649}, b/l, MB.II(54a).

King Enjoys His own Again, The (1661), b/l no w/c, Rox.III.256; BL.1876.f.1(3).

King Jameses Royal Victory (1685), b/l, Pepys II.237.

King William's Courage (1690), b/l, Pepys II.335.

Kingdom's Cares Endu'd With Comfort, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.271.

Kingdom's Joy for the Proclaiming King William and his Royal Consort Queen Mary in the Throne of England, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.272.

Kings Last Speech At His Time of Execution As He Made Upon The Scaffold, The {?1649 – 1660s}, b/l, Pepys II.203.

Ladies Lamentation for the Losse of her Land-Lord, The (1651), b/l, BL.C.20.f.14(32).

Ladies Vindication: Being the Womens Answer to Your Humble Servant Madame, The (1662), b/l, Rox.III.250.

Lamentable Ditty, Composed Upon The Death of Robert Lord Devereux, Late Earle of Essex, A [between 1640 and 1665], b/l, Wood 401(75).

Lamentation of A Bad Market: or, The Disbanded Souldier, The (1660), w/l, 669.f.25(58).

Lancashire's Glory. or, High For Lancashire Lads And Lasses [between 1662 and 1672], b/l, 4oRawl.566(34).

Last News From France, Being A True Relation Of The Escape Of The King Of Scots From Worcester To London, And From London To France, Who Was Conveyed Away By A Young Gentleman In Womans Apparel: The King Of Scots Attending On This Supposed Gentlewoman In Manner Of A Serving-Man, The [between 1666 and 1679], b/l, Rox.III.54; Euing 181; Pepys II.206.

Late Duke of Monmouth's Lamentation, The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.244; BL.C.22.f.6(139).

Law Lies a-bleeding (1659), b/l, Wood 401(167).

Leacherous Anabaptist or, The Dipper Dipt. A New Protestant Ballad, The (1681), w/l, BL.1872.a.1(91).

Letany For St Omers, A (1682), w/l, BL.C.20.f.6(15).

Libertatis Amator: A Litany (1681), w/l, C.121.G.9(157).

Lillies Banquet (1653), w/l+w/c, 669.f.17(71).

Litany From Geneva, A (1682), w/l, Wood 417(89).

Lockier, L. *The Character of a Time Serving Saint* (1652), w/l, 669.f.16(53).

Lofty Bishop, the Lazy Brownist and the Loyal Author, The (1640), w/l, Rox.III.712.

London And England Triumphant: At The Proclaiming Of King Charls The Second, By Both The Houses Of Parliament, The Judges Of The Land: With The Lord Mayor, The Court Of

Aldermen, And Council Of The City, As It Was Performed With Great Solemnity, And Loud Acclamations Of Joy By The People In General. May The 8th. 1660 (1660), b/l, Euing 167.

London Drollery; Or, The Love And Kindness Between The Pope And The Devil, Manifested By Some True Protestants, Who Utterly Defie The Pope And His Romish Faction, As It Was To Be Seen In London, November The 17th 1680. With Nine Pageants Delightful To Behold (1680), b/l, Rox.II.292.

London's Loyalty: or A New Song On The Coronation (1685), b/l, Pepys II.231.

Londoners Lamentation. Wherein Is Contained A Sorrowfull Description of The Dreadful Fire Which Happened In Pudding-Lane ... On The Second of Septemb. 1666 ... With An Account of The King And The Duke of York's Indeavors ... For The Quenching of The Same, The (1666), b/l, Euing 170.

Long Lookt for is Come at Last {1679/80}, b/l, Rox.III.78.

Look To The Man That Hath Never A Nose, Or, Let Them Tell Noses That Have Them [RI1529 24 July 1656].

Lookes, J. [Untitled]{1641}, b/l, MB.II.(52a).

Lookes, J. Good Admonition, Or, Keep Thy Head On Thy Shoulders, And I Will Keepe Mine. (1641), b/l, MB.II(48); Ashm. H 23(8).

Lookes, J. Rag-Man, The (1652), b/l, MB.I(46).

Looking Glass for all True Protestants, A (1679), b/l, Pepys II.68.

Looking Glass for Traytors, or High Treason Rewarded, A (1678), b/l, Wood E25(33).

Lord Chancellor's Villanies Discovered or His Rise And Fall In The Last Four Years, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.288.

Lord Russell's Farewell Who Was Beheaded For High=Treason, In Lincolns=Inn=Fields July 21st 1683, The (1683), b/l, w/c and music, Pepys II.165.

Love and Honesty, or, The Modish Courtiers (1676), b/l, 4oRawl.566(71).

Love Lies a-Bleeding {1659}, b/l, Euing 174; MB.I(22).

Lovely London Lasse Long Lamenting for a Husband, The (RI1578 2 December 1647).

Loves Mistery: or, A Parcel of Clouded Wagery (1663), b/l, Rox.III.254.

Loyal Health, The (1682), w/l, Wood 276a(559).

Loyal Litany, The (1681), w/l, RB IV, p.652.

Loyal Man's Litany (1685), w/l, CB.403/3.

Loyal Protestant or a Defiance of Traytors, The (1679), b/l, Pepys II.215.

Loyal Protestants New Litany, The (1680), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(41).

Loyal Scot, The (1682), n/b, Ashm.G.16(156).

Loyal Song, On King James His Royal Birthday, A (1685), b/l, Pepys II.233.

Loyal Subject (As It Is Reason) Drinks Good Sack And Is Free From Treason, The [between 1663 and 1674] b/l, Pepys IV.243; 4oRawl.566(84); [between 1681 and 1684], b/l, Douce Ballads 2(143b).

Loyal Subjects Admonition, Or, A True Song Of Brittain's Civil Wars, A (1660), b/l, Euing 160.

Loyal Subjects Exultation, The (1661), b/l, Euing 158.

Loyal Subjects Free Choice or Their General Satisfaction In The Calling of A New Parliament, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.266.

Loyal Subjects Happy Choice, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.263.

Loyal Subjects Litany, The (1680), w/l, BL.1876.f.1(7).

Loyal Subjects Resolution, The (1665), b/l, Euing 161.

Loyal Wish, The (1690), n/b, Pepys V.66.

Loyalty Unfeigned, or The True Protestant Admonition (1680), b/l, Rox.II.322.

Maidens Merry Meeting, or, The Maidens Healths Who Being Together Did Civilly Sing, Drink Healths To The Prince, Queen And King, The {1647 – 1648}, b/l, MB.II(55a).

Maidens Reply To The Young Mans Resolution, Wherein She Fits Him In His Kind, And Lets Him Know Her Settled Mind, The {1660}, b/l, CB275/2; Rox.II.330.

Manifestation of Joy, or, The Loyal Subjects Grateful Acknowledgement, The (1687), b/l, Pepys II.247.

Mardyke or The Soldiers Sonnet of His Sword (1660), w/l, BB.C.40.m9(69).

Masse Priests Lamentation For The Strange Alteration, Begun In This Nation, Wherefore He Makes Great Mone, And Sings O Hone, O Hone, The (1641), b/l, EEBO/ Harvard.

Matchless Murder, The (1681), b/l, Rox.IV.60; Wood E25(98).

Matchless Shepheard, Overmatcht by his Mistress. or, The Solid Shepheards Satyrical Song against his Schismatical Mistress, The (RI1690 30 May 1656); [between 1663 – 1674 {1674}], b/l, 4oRawl.566(36).

Matchlesse Treason Plot discovered, A (RI1691 24 January 1657).

Mercenary Soldier, The (1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(49).

Merciful Father, or, the Penitent Son; A Congratulatory Song on the Happy and Most Wish'd for Return of James D. of Monmouth, The (1683), b/l, Pepys II.221.

Merry Boys of Christmas: or, the Milk-Maids New-Years-Gift, The {1660}, b/l, Rox.IV.24.

Merry Maid of Middlesex, The (RI1728 1 March 1656), b/l, 4oRawl.566(51).

Miles, A. *The Last Farewel of Three Bould Traytors* (1661), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

Mirror Of Mercy In Our Gracious Kings Pardoning Of Edward Skelton ... By The Intercession Of Eighteen Young Maidens, The (1686), b/l, Pepys II.174.

Mirth and Gladness after Sorrow and Sadness (1683), b/l, Pepys II.220.

Monmouth and Bucleugh's Welcom from the North (1682), w/l, Ashm.G.5(92).

Monmouth Routed, And Taken Prisoner, With His Pimp The Lord Gray (1685), w/l, Firth c.15(35).

Monmouth Routed. Together with his Promise and Resolution to Return [between 1685 and 1689], b/l, Pepys II.239.

Monmouth Worsted in the West (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.240.

Monmouth Worsted in the West (between 1685 and 1688), b/l, Wood E25(116).

Monmouth's Saying in the West of England (1688/9), b/l, Pepys II.241.

Monson, W., Viscount Castlemaine, attrib. *Qui Chetat Chetabitur: Or Tyburne Cheated; Being A Poeme Upon The Three Regicides Munson, Mildmay And Wallopp* (1662) w/l+w/c, BB.C.40.m11(24); BL.C.20.f.2(45).

More News From The Fleet (1665), b/l, 4oRawl.566(118b).

Most Excellent Godly New Ballad [Shew]Ing The Manifold Abuses of This Wicked World, The Intolerable Pride of People, The Wantonnesse [of] Women, The Dissimulation of Flatterers, The Subtilty of Deceiuers, The Beastlines of Drunkards, The Filthinesse of Whoredome, The Vnchristines of Gamesters, The Cruelty of Landlords, With A Number of Other Inconveniencies, A [between 1641 – 1674], b/l, no w/c, MB.I(4).

Mournful Shepherd, The [between 1672 and 1696], b/l, Euing 234.

Mournful Subjects of the Whole Nations Lamentation, from the highest to the lowest, with Brinish Tears, (The True Signs of Sorrow) Bewail The Death of Their Most Gracious Sovereign King, Charles The Second; Who Departed This Life Feb. 6th. 1684, The The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.228; w/l+w/c Rox.I.282.

Mourning Court; or, A Tribute of Tears For The Death of... Prince George, The (1708) w/l, BL.1876.f.1(44).

Mourning Court; or, A Tribute of Tears, For The Much Lamented Death of Our Pious Queen Anne, The (1714) w/l, BL.1876.f.1(66).

Mr Hampdens Speech (1643), w/l, 669.f.6(122).

Much A-Do About Nothing A Song Made of Nothing, The Newest In Print, He That Seriously Minds It, Shall Find All Things In't (1660), b/l, Wood 401(169).

Murther Unparalel'd (1681), w/l, Wood 276a(543).

Mussell, F. *Good Newes for All True Hearted Subjects* (1641), w/l+w/c, BL.C.20.f.2(10).

Mussell, Francis. *The Prisoners Observation* (1645) w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(17).

Naked Truth, The [between 1683 and 1696{1688}], b/l, Pepys IV.314.

- New and True Ballad of the Poets Complaint, A* [between 1674 and 1679], b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(10); Douce Ballads 2(179a).
- New Ballad Called The Protestants Prophecie, A* (1688), b/l, Wood E25(117).
- New Ballad from Whigg-Land, A* (1682), w/l, Ashm.G.16(159).
- New Ballad With The Definition of The Word Tory, A* (1682), w/l+w/c, Lutt.III.104.
- New Carroll Compyled By A Burgess of Perth, A* (1641/2), w/l, BL.C.20.f.4(31).
- New Courtier, The* (1670), b/l, Pepys II.222; Rox.II.378.
- New Game At Cards, Or The Three Nimble Shuffling Cheaters, A* (RI1873 13 March 1656), b/l, Wood 401(147).
- New Ignoramus: Being The Second New Song To The Same Old Tune, Law Lyes A Bleeding, A* (1681), w/l, BL.C.20.f.6(14); BL.1875.d.6(130).
- New Letanie, The* (1647), w/l, 669.f.10(120).
- New Letany, A* (1659), w/l, 669.f.21(75); Lutt.II.114.
- New Presbyterian Ballad, The* (1681), b/l, no w/c, Rox.II.571; w/l, Ashm.G.16(98).
- New Prophecie: Or Some Strange Speeches ... By An Old Woman ... In Cheshire ... Margaret Hough, She Is Seven-Score And Fifteen Yeares Of Age, A* {1657}, b/l, BL.C.20.f.14(27).
- New Protestant Ballad, Called, Englands Congratulation, A* {1690}, w/l, CB.755/5.
- New Satyricall Ballad of The Licentiousness of The Times, A* (1679), w/l, BL.C.20.f.2(119); Lutt.II.116; BB.C.40.m11(52).
- New Song ... On King James' Election To Be Pope of Rome, A* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.70.
- New Song Made in the Praise of the West of England, A* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.291.
- New Song of Father Petres And The Devil, A* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.290.
- New Song of The Taylor And His Maiden, A* [between 1670 and 1697], b/l, Pepys III.40.
- New Touch of The Times or the Nations Content for a New Parliament, A* (1689), w/l, Pepys V.106.
- New Touch of The Times or the Nations Content for a New Parliament, A* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.316; Wood E25(111).
- New Touch of The Times, A* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.316.
- New Years Gift For The Rump, A* (Oxford, 1660), w/l, 669.f.22(55).
- News From The Netherlands; Being A Full And True Relation Of A Sharp And Bloody Battel Fought Betwixt The Prince Of Orange, And The French Army* (1678), b/l, Wood E25(106).
- News From The West* (1685), n/b, EEBO/Bodleian.

No Ring, No Wedding (RI1950 1 March 1656), b/l, MB.II(4a).

Noble Dewel, Or, An Unmatchable Combate Betwixt Sir William And The Earl Of Southast, A (1660), b/l, Wood 401(99).

Noble English Worthies, The (1659), w/l, 669.f.22(36); Lutt.II.75.

Noble Prodigal; Or The Young Heir Newly Come To His Estate. A New Medley Of Six Ayres, The {1660}, b/l, Rox.II.372; Don.b13(69).

Noble Progresse or, A True Relation of The Lord Generall Monks Politicall Proceedings With The Rump, The Calling In The Secluded Members, Their Transcendent Vote For His Sacred Majesty, With His Reception At Dover, And Royall Conduct Through The City of London, To His Famous Palace At Whitehall, The (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(2).

Norwich Loyal Litany, The (1682), w/l, EEBO/Harvard.

O Yes O Yes I Do Cry (Pomadie, 1639), w/l, BL.1870.d.1(8*).

Old Christmas Relieved or Hospitality Revived [between 1674 and 1679 {1675}], b/l, Pepys I.474.

Old Jemmy (1681), w/l, Wood 417(57), Lutt.II.154.

Old Mans Sayings Concerning The Alteration Of The Times, The (1682), b/l, Douce Ballads 2(172a).

On Bugbear Black-Monday, March 29. 1652 Or, The London-Fright At The Eclipse Proceeding From A Natural Cause (1652), w/l, 669.f.16(46).

Organs Eccho, The (1641), w/l+w/c, 669.f.4(32); BL.C.20.f.4(11).

Oxford Health, or The Joviall Loyalist, The {1681}, b/l, Wood E25(27).

P., J. *The Loyal Subjects Hearty Wishes to King Charles the Second* (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(1).

Panegyrick Faithfully Representing The Proceedings Of The Parliament At Westminster Since Their First Sessions To The Present, A (1646), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(3).

Papists Prayers For Father Peters, The (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.346.

Parker, M. *A True Subjects Wish* (RI2741 24 April 1640), b/l, Wood 401(141).

Parker, M. *An Exact Description Of The Manner How His Majesty And His Nobles Went To Parliament* (RI776 9 April 1640), b/l, Wood 410(139).

Parker, M. *Britaines Honour In The Two Valiant Welchmen, Who Fought Against Fifteene Thousand Scots, At Their Now Comming To England* (1640), b/l, Wood 401(131).

Parker, M. *Good Newes From The North* (RI1024 29 September 1640), b/l, Wood 401(133).

Parker, M. *Newes From Newcastle* (1640), b/l, MB.I(1).

Parker, M. *The Wandering Jews Chronicle or The Old Historian His Brief Declaration Made In A Mad Fashion of Each Coronation That Past In This Nation Since William's Invasion For*

No Great Occasion But Meer Recreation To Put off Vexation (RI2836 11 August 1634); (RI2837 3 July 1656), b/l, Pepys I.482-83. [For later editions see under title below]

Parliament's Knell, The (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(64); CB.389/3.

Pembrokes Enaration, A Little Before His Death (1650), w/l, 669.f.15(14).

Penitant Traytor, Or The Humble Confession Of A Devonshire Gentleman, Who Was Condemned For High Treason, And Executed At Tyborne For The Same In The Raigne Of King Henry The Third, The Nineteenth Of July, 1267. You May Sing This If You Please, The (1647), b/l, no w/c, 669.f.11(35).

Pensive Prisoners Lamentation, Being A Breefe Relation Taken Out Of The Cronacle Of Edward The Second, Shewing What Misery He Endured, The (1648), b/l, MB.II(5).

Perjury Punish'd With Equal Justice; or, Miles Prance His Sorrowful Lamentation For His Foul offences (1686), b/l, Pepys II.236.

Pill Against Popery, A (1680), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(167).

Pleasant Dialogue Betwixt Two Wanton Ladies Of Pleasure, Or, The Dutches Of Portsmouth's Woful Farwel To Her Former Felicity, A (1685), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(170).

Plotter Executed, The (1678), b/l, Rox.III.32.

Plotters Ballad: Being Jack Ketch's Incomparable Receipt For The Cure of Trayterous Recusants: or Wholesome Physick For A Popish Contagion, The (1678), w/l+w/c, BB.C.40.m11(50).

Poor Mans Prayer or Peace In These Sorrowful Times of Trouble, The (1685)/ b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(166).

Poor Robin Turn'd Seeker, or, The Seekers Ballad (1674), b/l, no w/c, music, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Poor Robins Wonderful Vision (1679/80), b/l, CB.1291/8.

Pope, W. attrib. *Room For A Ballad, or, A Ballad For Rome* {1674}, b/l, Wood 416(127).

Pope, W. attrib. *The Catholic Ballad, or, An Invitation To Popery* (1674), b/l, Wood 416(126).

Pope, W., attrib. *Old Man's Wish, The* (1684), n/b, EEBO/Harvard; {1685}, b/l, Rox.II.386.

Popes Great Year of Jubilee, The (1678), b/l, large broadside, Wood 416(128); 40Rawl.566(218).

Popish Tories Confession: or, An Answer To The Whiggs Exaltation, The (1682), b/l, Douce Ballads 2(182a).

Portsmouth's Lamentation, or a Dialogue between Two Amorous Ladies (1685), b/l, BB.C.40.m10(171).

Praise of Brewers, The {1667}, b/l, Wood E25(63); 4oRawl.566(187).

Praise Of The Merry Month Of May In Which Our Royall Prince Charles Was Born, Which Grac't That Month, And Made Glad The Hearts Of All True And Free Born Subjects Of England, The (1660), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

P[rice], L. *A Wonderful Prophecy Declared by Christian James, a maid of twenty years of age, Late Daughter to Daniel James, Who Was Born and Bred Near Padstow in The County of Cornwel, Who Departed This Life Upon the 8th of March* (RI3025 26th March 1656), b/l, BL.C.22.e(2); Euing 400; (1690), b/l, Pepys II.55; (1720), w/l, Rox.III.664.

P[rice], L. *The Quakers Feare* (RI2226 25 April 1656), b/l, Wood 401(165).

P[rice], L. *The True Manner of the Life and Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth* (1641), b/l, BL.C.20.f.2(8).

Price, Lawrence. *The Merry Mans Resolution: or, his Last Farewel to his former acquaintance declaring how hee Rambled up and down Through all the Suburbs of Fair London Town where Pretty Wenches he did Plenty find but Some of Them Agreed not with his Mind, Till at the Last by Chance he Found Out One, which Pleas's him Best, So Left The Rest Alone to her he then Clinged Close as I heard tell, made Her His Mate And Bid The Rest Farewell* (1650), b/l, BL.C.20.f.14(9); Rox.II.342.

Princely Triumph: or, Englands Joy in the Birth if the Young Prince of Wales, The (1688), b/l, Pepys II.251.

Princess Welcome to England, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.256.

Prior, M. *A New Song of An Orange* (1688/9), w/l, Pepys V.109.

Prior, M. *The Famous orange* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.260.

Private Occurrences, or the Transactions of the Four Last Years (1688); b/l, Pepys V.ii.52; w/l, Pepys V.101; Wood 417(167).

Prodigal Son Converted; Or The Young Man Return'd From His Rambles, The [between 1663-1674], b/l, Rox.III.188; Douce Ballads 2(179b).

Proper New Ballad of Bold Robin Hood, A [between 1670 and 1697], b/l, Pepys II.116-17.

Proper New Ballad of The Divels Arse A Peake, or Satans Beastly Place, or, In Plain Terms of The Posteriors And Fag- End of A Long Parliament, A (1660), w/l, Wood 416(38).

Proper New Ballad On The Old Parliament. or, The Second Part of Knave Out of Doores, A (1659), w/l, 669.f.22(7).

Protestant Court of England, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.275.

Protestant Cuckold A New Ballad Being A Full And Perfect Relation How B. H. The Protestant News Forger Caught His Beloved Wife Ruth In Ill Circumstances, The (1681), w/l, BL.806.k.16(113).

Protestant Dissenters Letany, The (1681), w/l, BL.1872.a.1(148).

Protestant Fathers Advice To His Ambitious Son, The [between 1685 – 1688], w/l, CB.1088/7.

Protestant Seaman's Resolution to Fight for King William, The (1689/90), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6(168).

Protestant Unity the Best Policy to Defeat Popery (1679), b/l, Rox.II.249.

Protestant's Joy, The (1690), b/l, Pepys II.328.

Protestant's Jubilee or A Farewell To Popery, The (1689), w/l/l, Pepys II.285.

Protestants Petition Against Popery, The (1681), w/l, Harding B45(5).

Protestants Wish, The (1690), w/l, Pepys V.43.

Psalm Sung By The People, Before The Bone-Fires, Made In And About The City of London, On The 11th. of February, A (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(43).

Pulpit to Let, A (1665), w/l, Firth c.23(8).

Quakers Ballad: or, An Hymn of Triumph And Exultation For Their Victories At The Two Late Great Disputes By Them Held With The Baptists; The First In Barbicon, On The 9th. The Second In Vvheeler-Street, On The 16th. of The Eight Month, 1674, The (1674), b/l, CB.1378/9.

Quakers Downfall, By The Example Of One James Naylor, Accounted To Be The Grand Quaker Of England, The (RI2225 17 November 1656).

Quarles, F. And D'Urfey, T. attrib. *The Whig's Exaltation A Pleasant New Song of 82* (1682), n/b, Ashm.G.16(56).

Quarles, F., D'Urfey, T., and Anon., attrib. *The Whig Rampant: or, Exaltation* (1682), b/l, Don.b.13(104).

Queen's Lamentation, The (1660), b/l, Euing 290.

R., J. *The Valiant Hearted Sea-Man; Declaring A Late Skirmish Fought Between Our English Fleet And The Dutch. Wherein The Dutch Was Worsted, Two Of The Dutch Ships Sunk, And Two Taken As Lawful Prize, With A Very Small Loss On The English Side* (1665), b/l, Euing 366.

Rebellion Given Over Housekeeping {1660?}; (1678), b/l, Wood E25(21); [between 1681 and 1684], b/l, Pepys II.209.

Rebellion Rewarded With Justice (1685), b/l, Pepys II.243.

Rebels Totally Routed, The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.238.

Reflections Upon The Catholic Ballad (1675), b/l, CB.1062/7; Lutt.III.107.

Relation of A Quaker, A (1659), w/l, 669.f.21(35).

Relation Of The Ten Grand Infamous Traytors Harrison, Carew, Peters, Cooke, G. Clement, Jones, Scot, Scroope, Hacker, Axtel; Who, For Their Horrid Murder And Detestable Villany Against ... King Charles The First, Were Executed October 1660, A (1660), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(6).

Religion Made A Cloak For Villainy (1681), b/l, Rox.II.398.

- Repulsive Maid, The* (RI2278 17 July 1640); [between 1680 and 1685], b/l, Pepys III.115.
- Rigby, R. *A New Song* (1689), w/l, Pepys II.293.
- Rigby, R. *A New Song In Praise of The Gentle Craft* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.233.
- Rigby, R. *Cobblers Corrant, The* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.231.
- Rigby, R. *Coblers New Prophesie, The* (1689), b/l, Pepys IV.230.
- Rigby, R. *Great Britains Delight* (1688), b/l, Pepys II.242.
- Rigby, R. *The Shoemaker's Triumph* (1695), w/l+w/c, Pepys V.427.
- Rigby, R. *The Shoe-Makers Delight* {1690}, w/l, Pepys V.392.
- R[obins?], T. *Englands Gentle Admonition* [between 1674 and 1679{1678/9}], b/l, Rox.IV.13.
- R[obins?], T. *The Royall Subjects Warning-piece to All Traytors, The* (1660), b/l, Euing 310.
- R[obins], T. attrib., *Jack the Plough-lads Lamentation* (1654), b/l, BL.C.20.f.14(26).
- Rome In An Uproar; or, The Pope's Bulls Brought To The Baiting-Stake By Old Father Petres* (1689), b/l, Rox.II.393.
- Romes Cruelty or, The Earl of Essex Barbarously Murthered In The Tower* {1688-1689}, b/l, Pepys II.177.
- Roome for a Gamester, or, a Knot of Good Fellowes* (RI23221 August 1657), m/s, RB VIII, cii.
- Roome For A Justice* (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(20).
- Rose of Delight, The* (1680), n/b, EEBO/Huntington.
- Royal Dialogue, The* (1690), b/l, Pepys II.330.
- Royal Dignity, The* (1689), b/l, Pepys II.274.
- Royal Farewell Or A Conference Between Their Present Majesties King William And Queen Mary On Their Parting, The* (1690), b/l, Pepys II.327.
- Royal Frolick: Or King William And His Nobles Entertainment At The Farmers House, In His Return From The Irish Wars, The* {1689/90}, b/l, Pepys II.313.
- Royal Salutation, The* (1690s), b/l, Pepys II.325.
- Royal Victory Obtained (With The Providence of Almighty God) Against The Dutch-Fleet, June The 2d And 3d, 1665, The* (1665), b/l, Rox.III.240.
- Royal Victory, The* (1665), b/l, Euing 311; Wood 402(96).
- Royal Wanderer: Or, Gods Providence Manifested, In The Most Mysterious Deliverance Of The Divine Majesty Of Charls The Second, King Of Great Britain, The* (1660), b/l, Euing 312.

Royall Health to The Rising Sun, The (1649), b/l, MB.I(44) .

Royall Subjects Joy, Or, Joyfull News To All That Faithfull Be And Doth Desire A Happy Year To See, The (1660), b/l, Euing 309.

Rump Dock't, The (1660), w/l, Firth b.20(13).

Rump Servd In With A Grand Sallet. or, A New Ballad, The (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(70).

Rump Ululant; or, Penitence Per Force, The (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(57).

S., E. *The Lamenting Ladies Last Farewell to the World* (RI1409 25 March 1656); (1660), b/l, Wood 402(75, 76); [between 1650 and 1680], b/l, Euing 183; Douce I(112v); Rox.III.42; [between 1680 and 1685], b/l, Pepys II.38; [between 1711 and 1732], w/l, large broadside, Rox.III.568; w/l, small broadside, BL.1876.f.1(2).

S., J. *Christians New Victory Over The Turks, The* (1686), b/l, Pepys II.138; Douce 1(49bv).

S., S. *A Famous Battle Between Robin Hood, And Maid Marian; Declaring Their Love, Life, And Liberty* {1650s?}, b/l, Wood 401(21).

S[mithson], S., attrib. *The Parliament Routed or Heres A House To Be Let* (1653), b/l, 669.f.17(12).

Sack For My Money [between 1640 – 1665], b/l, Rox.II.408.

Sad Newes From Sea Being A Relacon (Sic) Of The Death Of Generall Blake And Vice Admirall Badiley (RI2351 18 August 1657).

Saint George And The Dragon, Anglice, Mercurius Poeticus (1660), w/l, 669.f.23(66).

Scolding Wives Vindication, The [between 1683 and 1696], b/l, Pepys V.ii.30.

Scotch Lasses Constancy, The (1682), n/b, Rox.III.913; b/l, Don.b.13(79).

Scotch Rebellion, The {1677}, b/l, Douce Ballads 2(192a).

Scotch Riddle Unfolded; Or, Reflections Upon R. W. His Most Lamentable Ballad Called The Loyal Non-Conformist, The (1666) w/l, BB.C.40.m11(31); Lutt.II.199.

Second Part of The Loyal Subjects Litany, The (1680), w/l, EEBO/Harvard.

Second Part of the New Ballad on the Late Terrible Fight on St James' Day, The (1666), w/l, Wood 416(113).

Second Part To The Same Tune And Answer To The Lady of Qualities Popish Ballad, The (1679) CB.451/3.

Second Part To The Same Tune or The Letany Continued, The (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(87).

Sedgemoor Bill, or The Tricks And Fate of Halter And Gibbet, The (1669), Somerset CRO, DD\SAS\S/416/5: a2a.

Sence of the House, The (1643), w/l, 669.f.6(117).

Sence of the Oxford-Iunto, The (1645), w/l, 669.f.10(120).

Shadwell, T. attrib , *The Delights Of The Bottle: Or, The Town-Gallants Declaration For Women And Wine, The* {1650}; [between 1672 and 1674], b/l, Wood E25(58); [between 1672 and 1696], b/l, Douce 1(55a); 4oRawl.566(34); (1680), b/l, Rox.II.106.

Short Litany, A (1688), w/l, RB IV, p.297.

Shrowsbury For Me [between 1641 and 1674], b/l, Wood E25(44).

Sibley, T. *The Royal Health* (1689), w/l/l, Pepys II.343.

Sinners Redemption, Wherein Is Described The Blessed Nativity Of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Together With His Life On Earth, And His Precious Death On The Crosse For Mankind, The (1634), EEBO/Harvard.

Sir Thomas Armstrong's Farewell (1684), b/l, RB V, p. 483.

Smith, T. *Gallant Newes From The Seas Being A Relation of Certaine Speeches* (1649), b/l, MB.I(45).

Soldier His Salutation, The {1650s}, b/l, RB VII, p. 653.

Soldiers Fortune or The Taking of Mardyke, The [between 1672 and 1696 {1670s}], b/l, Euing 338.

Soldiers Return, The [between 1685 and 1689], b/l, BB.C.40.m10(97).

Sorrowful Lamentation of the Widdows of the West for the Death of Their Deceased Husbands, The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.245; n/b, CB.19/1.

Sorrowful Subject or Great Brittain's Calamity, The (1685), b/l, Pepys II.227.

Souldiers Sad Complaint, The (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(48); CB.703/4.

Spaniards Great Overthrow, The (RI2507 4 October 1656).

St George for England (RI2365 15 June 1656).

Starbuck, W. *A Spiritual Cordial* (1645), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(15).

Starbuck, W. *A Spirituall Song of Comfort or Incouragement To The Souldiers That Now Are Gone Forth In The Cause of Christ. Admonish Your Selves In Psalmes And Hymnes And Spirituall Songs* (1644), w/l, 669.f.8(47).

S[tarkey], A. *The Mournfull Shepherdesse Of Arcadiah Or The Solitary Solitudes Of The Matchlesse Shepherdesse* [between 1623 and 1661 {1649}], b/l, MB.I(21).

Starkey, A. *Good News For England: Or, The Peoples Triumph. Then Let's Be Joyful, And In Heart Content, To See Our King United With The Parliament. Long Live Charles The Second* (1660), b/l, Euing 131.

States-Man's Last Will And Testament, The (1689), b/l, CB.18/1.

Strange And Marvelous Newes ... Treason Plot Ag^t England (RI2532 21 April 1657).

Strange And True Newes From The Famous City Of Worcester Being A Brief Relation Of Ye Life And Death Of A Quaker Whose Name Was Will^m Poole (RI2534 5 March 1657).

Strange And True Newes of An Ocean of Flies (1647), b/l, no w/c, BL.C.20.f.2(17).

Strange and Wonderful Prodictions (sic) (1647), b/l, MB.II(40).

Strange Newes From Brotherton in Yorke-shire {1646/7}, b/l, MB.II(39).

Strange Predictions (1652), w/l+w/c, 669.f.16(73).

Subiects Glory or the Kings Going to Parliament, The (RI2548 20 March 1640).

Subject's Hope, or, The Loyal Peers Friend, The (1681), b/l, Houghton Library, Harvard.

Subjects Satisfaction, The (1689), b/l, Pepys II.270.

Subjects Thankfulnesse: or, God-A-Mercie Good Scot, The (1640), b/l, BL.Huth 50(67).

Taubman, M., attrib. *The Courtiers Health: or, The Merry Boyes of The Times* [between 1672 And 1696], b/l, Firth b.19(4); (1682), w/l, Rox.II.89.

Thankes to the Parliament (1642), w/l, 669.f.6(30).

The Picture of an English Antick (1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(99).

There I Mumpt you now, or Mumping Meg's Resolution {1649?}, b/l, MB.II(41).

Third Touch of The Times, A (1688), b/l, Pepys IV.311.

Three Horrible Murders {1650s}, b/l, MB.II(21).

Tompson Tell-Lyes (1682, w/l, BL.C.20.f.6(13).

Toms-Son His Repetition To His Vvife: Bewailing His Present State {1681}, n/b, CB.1355/8.

Tories Confession, or, A Merry Song In Answer To The Whigs Exaltation, The (1682), w/l, EEBO/Huntington.

Total Rout, A (1653), w/l, 669.f.17(56).

Tradesmans Lamentation, The (1688), b/l, Pepys IV.315.

Traytors Downfall, or, A Brief Relation of The Downfall of That Phanatick Crew Who Traiterously Murdered The Late Kings Majesty of Blessed Memory, The (1660), b/l, Euing 350; w/l, Lutt.II.36.

Traytors Downfall, The (1660), b/l, Euing 350; w/l, Lutt.II.36.

Traytors Last Farewell: or, Treason Miraculously Discover'd, The (1684), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

Treason Justly Punished: or, A Full Relation of The Condemnation And Execution of Mr. William Staley Who Was Found Guilty of High Treason, At The Kings-Bench-Barr At Westminster, On Thursday The 21st. of Nov. 1678. For Speaking Dangerous, And Treasonable Words Against His Most Sacred Majesty The King (1678), b/l, EEBO/Harvard.

Treason Rewarded at Tyburn (1679), b/l, Wood E25(99).

Trick For Tyburn: or a Prison Rant being a Song of the Prisoners of Newgate, at the Goal Delivery, A (1685), w/l, Ashm.G.16(170).

Triumphing English Commanders, or, The Rebels Overthrow And Utter Desolation, The (1685), b/l/p, EEBO/Huntington.

Triumphs of Four Nations; or, A Happy Conclusion of Peace, Betwixt England, France, Denmark, And Holland, The (1667), b/l, Euing 351.

True Character of Sundry Trades And Callings: or, A New Ditty of Innocent Mirth This Song Is New, Perfect And True, There's None Can This Deny; For I Am Known, Friend, To Be One That Scorn To Tell A Lie, A (1670), b/l, BL.C.22.f.6.(166); Rox.III.592; BB.C.40.m9(54); BL.11621.k.4.(84).

True Loyalist or The Obedient Subject, A (1683), n/b, Wood 417(115); (1685), b/l, Pepys II.223; Wood 417(115).

True Manner of the Kings Tryal at Westminster-Hall, by the High Court of Justice, The (RI2727 1March 1656), b/l, Euing 357; Wood 401(145).

True Manner of The Life And Death of Sir Thomas Wentworth, The (1641), b/l, BL.C.20.f.2(8).

True Portraiture of a Prodigious Monster, The (1655), b/l, 669.f.19(51).

True Protestant Lettany, The (1681), w/l, Rox.III.821.

True Protestant Litany, The (1680), n/b, BL.1876.f.1(16).

True Protestants Humble Desires To The Kings Most Excellent Majesty. or, Protestant-Like Propositions For His Majesties Perusall, Tending To A Safe And Well-Grounded Peace. With A Commination or Chorus of The People Against Those That Desire It Not, The (1647), w/l, 669.f.11(79).

True Relation of A Notorious Cheater One Robert Bullock, A (1663), b/l, Wood, 401(197); Wood 402(91, 92).

Turn-Coat Of The Times, Who Doth By Experience Profess And Protest, That Of All Professions, A Turn-Coat's The Best, The {1662/3}, engraved, b/l format, Douce Ballads 2(229b); {1662}, w/l, BL.1876.f.1(18); {1663}, b/l, Rox.II.478.

Turne of Time, or, The Period of Rebellion Dedicated, To The Infamous Members Late Sitting At Westminster, The (1648), w/l, BL.C.121.G.9(2)

Turner, W. *The Common Cries of London Town ... With Turners Dish of Stuff* (1662) b/l, CB.841/5.

Twelve Brave Bells of Bow, The (1649), b/l, MB.II(14).

Unfeigned Friendship, or The Loyalists Cordial Advice {1681}, b/l, Pepys IV.348.

Ungrateful Rebel: or, Gracious Clemency Rewarded With Villany, The {1688?}, b/l, Pepys II.367.

Ungrateful Son; or, An Example of God's Justice Upon The Abusefull Disobedience of A False-Hearted And Cruel Son, The {1683}, b/l, C.40.m10(134.).

Upon The Execution of The Late Viscount Stafford (1680), w/l, Lutt.III.136.

Valiant Commander With His Resolute Lady, The {1645}; [between 1678 and 1680], b/l, Euing 367; Rox.III.220; Pepys II.208; Huth II.131.

Valiant Hearted Seaman, The (1665), b/l, Euing 366.

Valiant Monmouth Reviv'd, Or, An Account Of Young Jemmy's Great Victory In His Last Engagement With The French (1684), w/l, BL.1876.f.1(23).

Valiant Seamans Congratulation to His Sacred Majesty King Charls the Second, The (1660), b/l, Euing 368.

Valiant Sea-Mans Happy Return To His Love, After A Long Seven Years Absence, The [between 1672 and 1696], b/l, Wood E25(153); [1700], w/l/l, Douce Ballads 2(237b).

Valiant Souldiers Gallantry or The Glory of The Camp Royal, The (1686), w/l, Firth b.20(143).

View of The Popish Plot, A (1689), b/l, Pepys II.281.

Vindication of The Rump, A (1660), w/l, Vet.A3a.3(2).

Vive Le Roy, or, London's Joy A New Song On The Instalment of The Present Lord Mayor of London, To The Tune of St. George For England. (1681), w/l, BL.1872.a.1(40).

Vox Clero, Lil-Ly Bur-Le-Ro, or, The Second Part of A Merry New Ballad To Be Sung In The Jerusalem-Chamber, The 24th of This Instant January {1690}, w/l, EEBO/Huntington; CB.203/2.

Vox Populi (1642), w/l+w/c, BL.C.20.f.2(15)

W., L. *All Things be Dear but Poor Mens Labour* (RI66 1 March 1675), b/l, Wood E25(119).

W., T. *Strange and True Newes of an Ocean of Flies* (1647), b/l, no w/c, 669.f.11(52).

W[ade], J. [Untitled] (1661), b/l, BL.C.120.h.4(4).

W[ade], J. *Englands Heroick Champion; Or, The Ever Renowned General George Monck, Through Whose Valor And Prudence Englands Antient Liberties Are Restored* (1660), b/l, Rox.III.246.

W[ade], J. *The Royall Oak: or, The Wonderfull Travels, Miraculous Escapes, Strange Accidents of His Sacred Majesty King Charles The Second. How From Worcester Fight By A Good Hap, Our Royall King Made An Escape* (1660), b/l, Euing 308.

Wade, J. *The King And Kingdoms Joyful Day Of Triumph. Or, The Kings Most Excellent Majesties Royal And Triumphant Coming To London, Accompanied By The Ever Renowned, His Excellence The Lord General Monck* (1660), b/l, Euing 146.

Walcot, T. *Terror For Traitors or Treason Justly Punished, A* (1683), w/l+w/c, Rox.III.796.

Walker, H. attrib., *A Word in the Kings Eare* (1647), w/l+w/c, 669.f.11(78).

Walker, H., attrib. *The Kings Last Farewell To The World or The Dead Kings Living Meditations, At The Approach of Death Denounced Against Him* (1649), w/l+w/c, large broadside, BL.C.20.f.2(18); CB.1180/7.

Wandering Jews Chronicle, The (RI2838 1 March 1675), b/l, Rox.III.47; {c.1727}, w/l, Douce Ballads 3(107a).

Warning For All Quakers ... Ungodly Life And Miserable Death Of James Parnell, A (RI2857 5 May 1656).

Warning to all Priests and Jesuites, A (1643), b/l, Ashm.H23(47).

Weeping Widow, or the Sorrowful Lady's Letter to Her Beloved Children, The {1649}, b/l, MB.II(20).

Welsh Fortune-Teller; or, Sheffery Morgan's Observation of The Stars, As He Sat Upon A Mountain In Wales, The (1689), b/l, C.40.m10(132); Pepys IV.320; Rox.II.511.

Wenlock, J. *Upon Our Royall Queens Majesties Most Happy Arrivall* (1661), w/l, BL.C.20.f.3(18).

West Country Tom Tormented or Uxed To The Heart By The News=Mongers of The Town {1688/9}, b/l, Pepys IV.322.

Western Husbandmans Lamentation, The (1645), w/l, 669.f.10(19).

Western-Triumph, or, The Royal Progress of Our Gracious King James the II into the West of England, The (1687), b/l, Pepys II.246.

Wheel of Time Turning Round To The Good Old Way ... Written By A Lover of The Good Old Cause, The (1661), w/l, BL.C.20.f.2(47).

White Chappel Maids Lamentation, The (RI2945 24 June 1685), b/l, Pepys III.338.

White, R. *The Prentices Resolution* {1643}, b/l, Ashm.H23(54).

White, Robert. *Englands Doubtfull Hopes, or, Long Lookt For May Come At Last* {1643}, b/l, Ashm.H23(65).

Wilde, R., attrib. [Ebsworth], or Herbert, T., attrib. [Rollins], *Alas Poore Scholler, Whither Wilt Thou Goe: or Strange Altrations Which At This Time Be There's Many Did Thinke They Never Should See* (1641), b/l, Rox.III.633.

Wiltshire Ballad, The (1680), w/l, BB.C.40.m11(63).

Win at First, Lose at Last, or A New Game of Cards (1660/1), b/l, Wood 401(149); Wood 402(71, 72); [between 1674 and 79], b/l, Pepys IV.344;(1680), b/l, Rox.II.522; (1683), b/l, Pepys II.207; [between 1689 and 1709], w/l, Bod.Mus.1c.118(6n); [between 1695 – 1707], w/l/l, MS. Rawl.D.383.f.113; as *Knave at the Bottom*, [1700s], n/b, Firth b.20(23).

Wonderfull And Miraculous Escape of Our Gracious King, From That Dismal, Black And Gloomie Defeat At Worster, The (1660), b/l, Wood 401(173).

Wooers Newe Curraunto, The (RI3029 4 March 1606).

World is Turned Upside Down, The (1646), w/l, 669.f.10(47).

Worthy King's Description. Both Country And City Give Ear To This Ditty ... Desiring That He May Enjoy His Own Again, A (1660), b/l, Euing 404.

Wortley, Sir F. *Mad Tom A Bedlams Desires of Peace or His Benedicities For Distracted Englands Restauration To Her Wits Again* (1648), w/l, 669.f.12(59)

Young Jemmy An Excellent New Ballad (1681), w/l, BL.82.1.8(62).

Young Lover, or, A New Way of Wooing, The [between 1673 and 1686], b/l, Douce Ballads 2 (260a).

Your Humble Servant Madam; Being The Flattering Courtier Or The Cheating Lover (1662), b/l, Rox.III.248.

Zealous Soldier, The (1646), w/l+w/c, 669.f.10(50).

iii. Primary Printed Sources (pre 1800)

Place of publication is London unless cited otherwise.

Andrewes, L. *A Sermon Preached before His Maiestie, at VWhitehall the fift of Nouember last, 1617. By the Bishop of Elie* (1618).

Anon. *Academy of Pleasure, The* (1656).

Anon. *Actors Remonstrance, The* (1643).

Anon. *Antidote Against Melancholy: Made Up In Pills. Compounded Of Witty Ballads, Jovial Songs, And Merry Catches, A* (1661).

Anon. *Best And Plainest English Spelling-Book, Containing All The Different Words, Syllables, & Letters In The Old English Character, The* (1700).

Anon. *Bibliotheca Parliamenti: libri theologici, politici, historici, qui prostant venales in vico vulgo vocato Little-Britain. Classis secunda. Done into English for the Assembly of Divines* (1653).

Anon. *Choyce Drolleries* (1656).

Anon. *Cloak For Knavery, Or, The Scottish Religion Worn Out, A* (1642).

Anon. *Copy Of A Letter Written From Northampton: Containing A True Relation Of The Souldier's Preaching, And Murdering A Woman, The* (1647).

Anon. *Court & Kitchin Of Elizabeth, Commonly Called Joan Cromwel The Wife Of The Late Usurper, Truly Described And Represented, And Now Made Publick For General Satisfaction, The* (1664).

Anon. *Cup Of Coffee, Or, Coffee In Its Colours, A* (1663).

Anon. *Curse Against Parliament-Ale, With A Blessing To The Juncto; A Thanksgiving To The Councel Of State; And A Psalm To Oliver, A* (1649).

Anon. *Dammee Cavalleers Warning Piece, The* (1643).

Anon. *Deaths Master-Peece* (1649).

Anon. *Declaration From The Children Of Light (Who Are By The World Scornfully Called Quakers) Against Several False Reports, Scandals And Lyes, In Several News Books And Pamphlets, Put Forth By Hen. Walker, R. Wood, And George Horton ... Also A Warning From The Lord To All Ballad-Makers, And Image-Makers, With Them That Print And Sell Them, Who Are Found Without The Fear Of God, Contrary To The Command Of God, Who Saith, You Shall Not Make An Image Of Male Nor Female, A* (1655).

Anon. *Description Of The Late Rebellion In The West; A Heroick Poem, A* (1685).

Anon. *Englands Wolfe With Eagles Clawes* (1646).

Anon. *Famous Tragedie Of King Charles I, The* (1649).

Anon. *Gossips Feast, Or, Morrall Tales Taking A View Of Things Past, Discoursing Of Things Present, And Conjecturing Of Things To Come. By A Well Known Moderne Author, The* (1647).

Anon. *Groanes And Pangues Of Tibvrne, The* (1648).

Anon. *Grounds Of Military Discipline, The* (1642).

Anon. *Health To All Vintners, A* (1641).

Anon. *High And Mighty Prince Charles, Prince Of Wales, &C. The Manner Of His Arrivall At The Spanish Court, The* (1623).

Anon. *Impartial Account Of All The Material Circumstances Relating To Sir Thomas Armestrong K^t Who Was Executed At Tyburn For High-Treason On Friday The 20th Of June 1684, An* (1684).

Anon. *Knaves Are No Honest Men* {C. 1648}.

Anon. *Mistris Turners Farewell To All Women* (1615).

Anon. *Monument Of Charles The First King Of England, The* (1649).

Anon. *Newes From Pauls* (1642).

Anon. *On The Answer To Dr Wilds Poem* (1663).

Anon. *Presbytery Truly Display'd, Or, An Impartial Character Of The Presbyterian Being A Vindication Of That Sanctified Party From The Virulent Calumnies Of Some Foul-Mouth'd Detractors In This Modern Age : To Which Is Annexed The Ballad Of The Cloak* (1681).

Anon. *Quarterne Full of Quearies, A* (1647).

Anon. *Reformation a Satyr, The* (1684).

Anon. *Rump: or, An Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems and Songs Relating to the Late Times* (1662).

Anon. *Satirical Letter out of Scotland from Mr. R. L. S.* (1681).

Anon. *Strange's Case, Strang[e]ly Altered* (1680).

Anon. *Sucklington Faction or Sucklings Roaring Boyes, The* (1641).

Anon. *Thirty And Two Extremes Of These Times Discovered And Reduced To Sixteene Golden Meanes* (1647).

Anon. *Time-Servers, Or, A Touch Of The Times Being A Dialogue Between Tory, Towzer, And Tantivee, At The News Of The Dissolution Of The Late Worthy Parliament At Oxford, The* (1681).

Anon. *Treason Made Manifest, Or, A Discourse By Way Of Dialogue Between Richard And William* (1681).

Anon. *Word In Season To The Ranting Royalists And The Rigid Presbiterians, A* (1660).

Arber, E. (ed.). *A Transcript Of The Registers Of The Company Of Stationers Of London ... 1554-1640* (5 vols, 1875-94)

Aristotle, *The Politics* (trans. T.A. Sinclair revised by T.J. Saunders, London, 1992)

Bagley, B. J. (ed.). *The Great Diurnall of Nicholas Blundell* (2 vols, 1972).

Baxter, R. *Reliquiae Baxterianae, Or, Mr. Richard Baxters Narrative Of The Most Memorable Passages Of His Life And Times* (1696).

Bayly, T. *Witty Apophthegms, Delivered At Several Times, And Upon Several Occasions By King James, King Charls, The Marquess Of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, And Sir Thomas Moor ; Collected And Revised* (1669).

Blount, T. *A Law Dictionary* (1670).

Brome, A., *Attrib. Ratts Rhimed To Death, Or, The Rump-Parliament Hang'd Up In The Shambles* (1660).

Brookbank, J. *The Organs Funerall, Or, The Quiristers Lamentation For The Abolishment Of Superstition And Superstitious Ceremonies* (1642).

Brouncker, W. (Ed.). *Renatus Des-Cartes Excellent Compendium Of Musick: With Necessary And Judicious Animadversions Thereupon* (1653).

Browne, Sir R. *The Lord Digbies Designe To Betray Abingdon, Carried On For Divers Vveeks By An Intercourse Of Letters* (1645).

Buckinghamshire. *A Mild But Searching Expostulatory Letter From The Poor And Plain Dealing Farmers Of The Neighbouring Villages To The Men Of Buckinghamshire* (1679).

By The King. *A Proclamation against Vicious Debauch'd and Prophane Persons* (13 May 1660).

Calendar Of State Papers, Domestic Series, Of The Reigns Of Charles I, Charles II James II, William III And Mary II Preserved In The State Paper Department Of Her Majesty's Public Record Office.

Cavendish, M., Dutchess of Newcastle. *Playes: Written By The Thrice Noble, Illustrious And Excellent Princess, The Lady Marchioness Of Newcastle* (1662).

Clark, A. (ed.). *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary of Oxford, 1632 – 1695, Described by Himself* (5 vols. Oxford, 1891 - 1900)

- Codrington, R. *The Second Part of Youths Behavior, or, Decency In Conversation Amongst Women Containing Excellent Directions for the Education of Young Ladies, Gentlewomen and Other Persons, and Rules of Advice How at the First to Deport Themselves and Afterwards Govern the Affairs of a Family* (1664).
- Collup, J. *Itur Satyricum in Loyall Stanzas* (1660)
- Cornwall, *Petition of Gentlemen of County of Cornwall* (1642).
- Cunnington, B. H. (ed.). *Records of the County of Wiltshire* (Devizes, 1932).
- D'Urfey, T. *A Fond Husband or The Plotting Sisters* (1677; 1678; 1685).
- D'Urfey, T. *Sir Hercules Buffoon or the Poetical Squire* (1684).
- D'Urfey, T. *The Fool Turn'd Critick* (1678).
- Defoe, D. 'The Ballad Masters Plea', *Applebee's Journal* (13 October 1722).
- Eyre, G. E. B. (ed.). *Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers; from 1640-1708* (3 vols, 1913)
- Firth, C. H. (ed.). *The Clarke Papers* (4 vols, Camden Society, New Series, 49, 54, 61, 62, 1891-1901).
- Fletcher of Saltoun, A. 'An Account of a Conversation concerning the Right Regulation of Governments for the Common Good of Mankind. In a Letter to the Marquiss of Montrose, the Earls of Rothes, Roxburg and Haddington, from London the first of December, 1703' in *idem, Political Works*, pt. 7 (1732).
- Gough R. *The History of Myddle* (David Hey (ed.), Harmondsworth, 1981)
- Green, M. (ed.) *The Diary of John Rous* (Camden Old Series, 66, 1856).
- Griffin, R., Baron Braybrooke (ed.) *Autobiography of Sir John Bramston of Kress* (Camden Society, Old Series, 32, 1845).
- Hawkins, G. *A General History of the Science and Practices of Music* (1776).
- Hilder, T. *Conjugall Counsell, Or, Seasonable Advice, Both To Unmarried, And Married Persons* (1653)
- Hockham, W. *Prince Charles His Welcome To The Court, Or, A True Subjects Love For His Happy Returne From Spaine* (1623).
- Hoole, C. *The Petty-Schoole* (1659).
- Hornbye, W. *Hornbyes Hornbook. Iudge Not Too Rashly, Till Through All You Looke; If Nothing Then Doth Please You, Burne The Booke* (1622).
- Hutchinson, L. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (J. Sutherland (ed.), Oxford, 1973).
- Hutchinson, L. *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (N. Keeble (ed.), 1995).
- Jackson, W. A. *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company 1602 – 1640* (1957).

- Jeaffreson, J. C. (ed.), *Middlesex County Records* (4 vols, Middlesex County Records Society, 1886 – 92).
- Jordan, T. *London Triumphant, Or, The City In Jollity And Splendour Expressed In Various Pageants, Shapes, Scenes, Speeches And Songs* (1672).
- Keeble, N. H. (ed.). *The Autobiography of Richard Baxter* (1974).
- L'Estrange, R. *Truth and Loyalty Vindicated* (1662).
- Latham, R., and Matthews, W. (eds). *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (10 vols, 1970 – 83).
- Lawson Dick, O. (ed.). *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (Harmondsworth, 1972).
- Lookes, J. *Hey Hoe For A Husband, or, The Parliament of Maidens* (1647).
- Luttrell, N. *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs from September, 1678 to April 1714* (6 vols, Oxford, 1857).
- Magrath, J. R. (ed.). *The Flemings in Oxford being Documents Selected from the Rydall Papers* (2 vols, Oxford, 1904).
- May, T. *The History Of The Parliament Of England, Which Began November The Third, MDCXL With A Short And Necessary View Of Some Precedent Yeares* (1647).
- McClure, N. M. (ed.). *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (2 vols, Philadelphia, 1939).
- Mercurius Aulicus* (20 July 1643).
- Neville, H. *Remarks Upon the Most Eminent of our Antimonarchical Authors and Their Writings* (1699).
- Nicholas, Sir E., and Wheatley, H.B. (eds). *The Diary Of John Evelyn ... A New Edition ... With A Life Of The Author* (1879).
- Overbury, Sir T. *Sir Thomas Ouerburie His Life, With New Elegies Vpon His (Now Knowne) Vntimely Death: Whereunto Are Annexed, New Newes And Characters* (1611).
- Overcome, S. [Vincent, S. attrib.], *The Young Gallants Academy* (1674).
- Parker, M. *The Poet's Blind Man's Bough* (1641).
- Peacham, H. *The Worth of a Peny (sic)* (1641; 1664; 1667; 1677; 1690).
- Perfect Passages*, 30 (31 January-7 Feb 1651).
- Playford, J. *A Brief Introduction To The Skill of Musick* (1658).
- Playford, J. *The English Dancing Master: Or, Plaine And Easie Rules For The Dancing Of Country Dances, With The Tune To Each Dance* (1651).
- Playford, J. *The Dancing Master, Or, Plain And Easie Rules For The Dancing Of Country Dances With The Tune To Each Dance To Be Playd On The Treble Violin* (1653; 1665; 1670; 1675; 1679; 1686; 1690; 1698).
- Playford, J. *The Musical Companion* (1673).

Pleydon, Sir T. *The Case is Altered* (1656).

Price, L. *Fortvnes Lottery* (1657).

Raine, J. (ed.). *Depositions from the Castle of York*, (Surtees Society Series, 40, 1861).

Rowley, S. attrib., *The Noble Souldier, Or, A Contract Broken, Justly Reveng'd A Tragedy* (1634).

S[heppard], S. *The Joviall Crevv, or, The Devill turn'd Ranter: being a character of the roaring Ranters of these times* (1651).

Sachse, W. (ed.). *Diurnall of Thomas Rugg, 1659 - 1661* (Camden Third Series, 91, 1961).

Sanderson, Sir W. *A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles from His Cradle To His Grave* (1658).

Severall Proceedings in Parliament, 85 (8-15 May 1661).

Sidney, Sir P. *The Defense of Poesy* (1595).

Smith, Sir T. *De Republica Anglorum* (1583).

The Moderate Messenger, 14 (23-30 July 1649).

Thompson, N. (ed.). *Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs* (1684).

W. N., *The Second Part Of Merry Drollery, Or, A Collection Of Jovial Poems, Merry Songs, Witty Drolleries, Intermix'd With Pleasant Catches* (1661).

Webbe, W. *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586)

Wilde, R. *Iter Boreale* (1660).

Wilde, R. *Dr. Wild's Humble Thanks for His Majesties Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, March 15, 1672* (1672).

Wilson, J. *Cheerful Ayres Or Ballads, First Composed For One Single Voice* (1660).

Winter, S. *A Pretious Treasury: Or A New Dispensatory. Contayning 70 Approved Physicall Rare Receipts* (1649).

iv. Primary Web Resources:

The Internet Classics Archive:

Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics* (trans. W. D. Ross):
<http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/nicomachaen.html>

Plato. *Laws* (trans. B. Jowett): <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.4.iii.html>.

Plato. *The Republic* (trans. B. Jowett): <http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.4.iii.html>.

Bodleian Library, *allegro* Catalogue of Ballads:
<http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/ballads/ballads.htm>

Proceedings of The Old Bailey Online: <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>.

Aurelius Prudentius Clemens. *Psychomachia* (The Battle for the Soul of Man): <http://www.richmond.edu/~wstevens/grvaltexts/psychomachia.html> accessed 2. 21 pm, 13 December 2001.

vi. Printed Ballad Collections, Catalogues and Reference Works

Chappell, W. (ed.). *The Roxburghe Ballads*, (Ballad Society, 3 vols, Hertford, 1880 – 1881, reprinted, New York, 1966).

Child, F. J. (ed.). *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 vols, 1882-98, reprinted New York, 1965).

Crawford, Earl of, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana Catalogue Of A Collection Of English Ballads Of The Xviith And Xviiiith Centuries Printed For The Most Part In Black-Letter* (Aberdeen, 1890).

Ebsworth, J.W. (ed.). *The Roxburghe Ballads*, (Ballad Society, 5 vols, Hertford, 1881 – 1901, reprinted, New York, 1966).

The Euing Collection of English Broadside Ballads in the Library of the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1971):

Livingstone, C. R. *British Broadside Ballads Of The Sixteenth Century. A Catalogue Of The Extant Sheets And An Essay* (New York, 1991).

Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. The Pepys Ballads (R. Latham and Helen Weinstein (eds)., 7 Vols, Cambridge, 1987):

Rollins, H. E. (ed.). *A Pepysian Garland Black-Letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595 - 1639* (Cambridge, 1922, reprinted Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

Rollins, H. E. (ed.). *Cavalier and Puritan Ballads and Broad sides Illustrating the Period of the Great Rebellion 1640 - 1660* (New York, 1923).

Simpson, C. *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick, 1966).

Wright, T. (ed.). *Political Ballads published in England during the Commonwealth* (London, 1841).

vii. Sound Recordings

Chumbawamaba. *English Rebel Songs 1381 – 1914* (Woodlands Studio, 1988).

Marsh, C. and Students. *Songs of the Seventeenth Century* (Queen's University Belfast, 1994).

National Portrait Gallery. *Music at the Court of Charles II* (2001).

Strawhead. *Farewell Musket Pike and Drum* (Traditional Sound Recordings, 1978).

Selected Secondary Sources

Alexander, J.C., and Seidman, S., (eds). *Culture and Society: Contemporary Debates* (Cambridge, 1990).

- Alexander, M. van Cleave. *The Growth of English Education, 1348-1648: A Cultural and Social History* (University Park, Penn., 1990).
- Amussen, S. *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1988).
- Amussen, S., and Kishlansky, M. (eds). *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995).
- Anderson, B. *Imagined Communities* (New York, 1983).
- Anderson, J. and Sauer, E. (eds). *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2002).
- Archer, I. 'Popular Politics in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in Griffiths, P. and Jenner, M. (eds) *Londonopolis* (Manchester, 2000).
- Ashton, R. 'From Cavalier to Roundhead Tyranny' in John Morrill (ed.). *Reactions to the English Civil War* (London, 1982).
- Aston, M. 'Bibles to Ballads: Some Pictorial Migrations in the Reformation' in Ditchfield, S. (ed.). *Christianity and Community on the West. Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001).
- Aston, M. *Englands Iconoclasts* (Oxford, 1988).
- Atherton, I. "'The Itch Grown a Disease": Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century', in Raymond, J. (ed.). *News Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999).
- Austin, J.L. *How To Do Things With Words: the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Urmson, J.O., and Sbisà, M. (eds), Oxford, 1976).
- Baker, J. *Thomas D'Urfey: the Life and Work of a Restoration Playwright* (Birmingham, 1985).
- Barfoot, C.C. 'Hey for Prose and Panegyric, William III and the Political Poetry of Matthew Prior' in Hoftijzer, P., and Barfoot, C.C. (eds). *The Myth and Making of William and Mary* (Amsterdam, 1990).
- Barker, H., and Vincent, D. *Language. Print and Electoral Politics, 1790 - 1832. Newcastle-under-Lyme Broadsides* (Woodbridge, 2002).
- Barry, J. 'Literacy and Literature in Popular Culture: Reading and Writing in Historical Perspective' in Harris, T. (ed.). *Popular Culture in England, c.1500 - 1850* (Basingstoke, 1995).
- Barry, J. and Brooks, C. (eds). *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550 - 1800* (1994).
- Beier, A. L. *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (1985).
- Bell, M. 'Sturdy Rogues and Vagabonds: Restoration Control of Pedlars and Hawkers' in Isaac, P. and McKay, B. (eds). *The Mighty Engine The Printing Press and its Impact* (Winchester, 2000).

- Bellany, A. 'Rayling Rymes and Vaunting Verse': Libellous Politics in Early Stuart England, 1603 – 1628' in Sharpe, K. and Lake, P. (eds). *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994).
- Bellany, A. 'The Information: Script Print and political communication in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 37, 3 (July 1998).
- Bennett, H. *English Books and Their Readers 1603 – 1640* (Cambridge, 1970).
- Black, J. *The English Press 1621 – 1861* (Sutton, Gloucs., 2001).
- Blagden, C. 'Notes on the Ballad Market in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography*, VI (1954).
- Bold, A. *The Ballad*, (London, 1979).
- Borsay, P. *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford, 1989).
- Bossy, J. 'Postscript' in *idem* (ed.). *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Bossy, J. *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985).
- Bossy, J. *Peace in the Post Reformation* (1998).
- Braddick, M. and Walter J. (eds). *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Brake, W. Te. *Shaping History: Ordinary People in European History 1500 – 1700* (London, 1998).
- Brown, P. A. *Better a Shrew than a Sheep* (Ithaca, 2003).
- Burgess, G. *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (Basingstoke, 1992).
- Burke, P. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978).
- Burke, P. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, (1992).
- Burnet, G. *History of His Own Time* (Stackhouse, T. (ed.), 1979).
- Capp, B. 'Popular Culture and the Civil War', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989).
- Capp, B. 'Popular Literature', in Reay, B. (ed.). *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (1985).
- Capp, B. 'Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England', in Griffiths, P., Fox, A, and Hindle, S., (eds). *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996).
- Capp, B. 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 162 (1999).
- Capp, B. *Astrology and the Popular Press, English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London, 1979)
- Capp, B. *Cromwell's Navy* (Oxford, 1989).

- Capp, B. *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (1972).
- Capp, B. *The World of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (Oxford, 1994).
- Capp, B. *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003).
- Childs, J. *The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution* (Manchester, 1980).
- Clanchy, M. 'Documenting the Self: Abelard and the Individual in History', *Historical Research*, 76, (August 2003).
- Clanchy, M. 'Law and Love in the Middle Ages', in Bossy, J., (ed.). *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Clark, P. *British Clubs and Societies 1580 – 1800* (Oxford, 2000).
- Clark, S. *Thinking With Demons* (Oxford, 1997).
- Claydon, T. 'William III's Declaration of Reasons and the Glorious Revolution', *The Historical Journal*, 39, 1 (March 1996).
- Clifton, R. *The Last Popular Rebellion* (1984).
- Cogswell, T. 'Underground Verse and the Transformation of Early Stuart Political Culture', in Amussen, S. and Kishlansky, M. (eds). *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995).
- Coiro, A. B. '“A ball of strife”: Caroline Poetry and Royal Marriage', in Corns, T.N. (ed.). *The Royal Image. Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Collinson, P. *The Religion of Protestants* (Oxford, 1982).
- Cook, H.J. 'Boerhaave and the Flight from Reason in Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 74, 2 (2000).
- Corns, T. 'Duke, Prince and King', in Corns, T.N. (ed.). *The Royal Image. Representations of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Cressy, D. 'Describing the Social Order of Elizabethan and Stuart England', *Literature & History*, 3 (1976).
- Cressy, D. *Bonfires and bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (1989).
- Cressy, D. *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1980).
- Cressy, D. 'Literacy in Seventeenth-Century England: More Evidence', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 8 (1977).
- Crick, J. and Walsham, A. (eds). *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Cromartie, A. 'The Constitutionalist Revolution: The Transformation of Political Culture in Early Stuart England', *Past and Present*, 163 (1999).

- Cust, R. 'News and Politics in Early Seventeenth-Century England', *Past & Present*, 112, (1986).
- Cust, R., and Hughes, A. (eds). *The English Civil War* (1997).
- De Krey, G. *A Fractured Society. The Politics of London in the First Age of Party 1688 – 1715* (Oxford, 1985).
- Denzer, P. *Ideologie und literarische Strategie: die politische flugblattlyrik der englischen Bürgerkriegszeit, 1639-1661* (Tübingen, 1991).
- Dillon, H. A. (ed.). *A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1885).
- Dixon, T. *From Passions to Emotions* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Dugdaw, D. 'The Popular Marketing of "Old Ballads": The Ballad Revival and Eighteenth-Century Antiquarianism Reconsidered', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 21, I (Autumn 1987).
- Dunthorne, H. 'Singing the News: The Dutch Revolt and English Street Ballads, c.1560 - 1660', *Dutch Crossing*, 21, 2 (1997).
- Durston, C. *The Family in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1989)
- Earle, P. *Monmouth's Rebels: The Road to Sedgemoor, 1685* (1977).
- Eisenstein, E. *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge, 1979).
- Elton, G. *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government, Volume III: Papers and Reviews* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Enkemann, J. *Journalismus und Literatur* (Tübingen, 1983).
- Ezell, M. *The Patriarch's Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (Chapel Hill, 1987).
- Feather, J. *A History of British Publishing* (1988).
- Finney, G. L. "'Organical Musick' and Ecstasy", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 (June 1947).
- Firth, C. H. 'The Royalists Under the Protectorate', *English Historical Review*, 52 (1937).
- Firth, C. H. *Naval Songs and Ballads* (Navy Records Society, 1908).
- Firth, C. H. *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (Oxford, 1900).
- Firth, C. H., 'The Reign of Charles I', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Third Series, 6, (1912).
- Fletcher, A. *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (New Haven, 1995).
- Fletcher, A., and MacCulloch, D. *Tudor Rebellions* (5th edn, 2004).
- Fogg, N. *Stratford Upon Avon, Portrait of a Town* (Chichester, 1986).
- Fowler, D. C. *A Literary History of the Popular Ballad* (Durham, N.C., 1968).

- Fox, A. 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past and Present*, 145 (1994).
- Fox, A. and Woolf, D. (eds). *The Spoken Word*, (Manchester, 2002).
- Fox, A. *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500 – 1700* (Oxford, 2000).
- Frank, J. *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper 1620 – 1660* (Camb., Mass., 1961).
- Fraser, A. *Cromwell Our Chief of Men* (London, 1973)
- Frearson, M. 'The Distribution and Readership of London Corantos in the 1620s' in Myers, R. and Harris, M. (eds). *Serials and their Readers, 1620 – 1914* (Winchester, 1993).
- Freist, D. *Governed by Opinion: Politics, Religion and the Dynamics of Communication in Stuart London 1637 – 1645* (London, 1997).
- Friedman, J. *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution* (1993).
- Fumerton, P. 'Not Home: Alehouses, Ballads and the Vagrant Husband in Early Modern England' *The Journal of Mediaeval and Early Modern Studies*, 32, 3 (Autumn 2002).
- Goldie, M. 'The Unacknowledged Republic: Office Holding in Early Modern England', in Harris T. (ed.). *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).
- Grand-Mesnil, M. *Mazarin, La Fronde et la presse 1647 – 1649* (Paris, 1967).
- Greaves, R. L. *Deliver us from Evil, The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660 – 1663* (Oxford, 1986).
- Greaves, R. L. *Enemies under his feet. Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain 1664 – 1677* (California, 1990).
- Gregg, P. *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1988).
- Gregg, W.W. *Some Aspects of London Publishing Between 1550 and 1650* (Oxford, 1956).
- Grell, O.P. 'Christian Care and Neighbourly Love', in Grell, O.P., and Cunningham, A. (eds). *Health Care and Poor Relief in Protestant Europe 1500 - 1700* (1997).
- Griffin, D. 'Venting Spleen', *Essays in Criticism*, 40 (1990).
- Griffiths, P. *Youth and Authority. Formative Experiences in England 1560 – 1640* (Oxford, 1996).
- Habermas, J. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (trans. Thomas Burger, Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
- Haley, K. D. *The First Earl of Shaftesbury* (1968).
- Hall, D. J. 'The fiery Tryal of their Infallible Examination', in Myers, R. and Harris, M. (eds). *Censorship and the Control of Print* (Winchester, 1992).
- Harris, T. (ed.). *Popular Culture in England c. 1500 – 1850* (Basingstoke, 1995).
- Harris, T. (ed.). *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).

- Harris, T. 'Introduction' in *idem* (ed.). *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).
- Harris, T. 'The Legacy of the English Civil War: Rethinking the Revolution', *The European Legacy*, 5, 4 (August 2000).
- Harris, T. 'The Problem of "Popular Political Culture" in Seventeenth-Century London', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989).
- Harris, T. "Venerating the honesty of a tinker": The Kings Friends and the Battle for the Allegiance of the Common People in Restoration England' in Harris, T. (ed.). *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500 – 1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).
- Harris, T. *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987).
- Harris, T. *Politics under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (1993).
- Hay, D., Linebaugh, P., Rule, J. G., Thompson E. P., & Winslow, C. *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (1975).
- Heal, F. *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990).
- Heal, F., and Holmes, C. *The Gentry in England and Wales 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994).
- Herrup, C. 'Law and Morality in Seventeenth-Century England' *Past and Present*, 106 (1985).
- Hill, C. *God's Englishman* (1970).
- Hindle, S. 'Keeping the Public Peace' in Griffiths, P., Fox, A., and Hindle, S. (eds). *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996).
- Hindle, S. 'Power Poor Relief, and Social Relations in Holland Fen, c. 1600 – 1800', *The Historical Journal*, 41, 1 (March 1998).
- Hindle, S. 'The Political Culture of the Middling Sort, c.1550-1700', in Harris, T. (ed.). *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500-1850* (Basingstoke, 2001).
- Hindle, S. 'The Shaming of Margaret Knowsley: Gossip, Gender and the Experience of Authority in Early Modern England', *Continuity and Change*, 9, 3 (December 1994).
- Hindle, S. *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c.1550-1640* (Basingstoke, 2000)
- Hirst, D. 'The Lord Protector, 1653-1658' in Morrill, J. (ed.). *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1990).
- Hirst, D. *England in Conflict 1603-1660* (1999).
- Hodnett, E. *English Woodcuts 1480-1535* (Oxford, 1973).
- Holman, P. *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540 – 1690* (Oxford, 1993).

- Holmes, G. *The Making of a Great Power: Late Stuart and early Georgian Britain, 1660-1722* (Harlow, 1993).
- Holstun, J.(ed.). *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (1992).
- Houston, R. 'The Literacy Myth? Illiteracy in Scotland 1630 –1760', *Past and Present*, 92 (August 1992).
- Houston, R. 'Literacy and Society in the West, 1500 – 1850', *Social History*, 8, 3 (October, 1983).
- Hughes, A. *The Causes of the English Civil War* (Basingstoke, 1998).
- Hutton, R. *The Restoration: A Political and Religious History of England and Wales 1658 – 1667* (Oxford, 1986).
- Jenkins, P. 'From Gallows to Prison? The Execution Rate in Early Modern England', *Criminal Justice History*, 7 (1986).
- Jenner, M. S. R. 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past and Present*, 177 (November 2002).
- Jones, N. 'Defining Superstitions: Treasonous Catholics and the Act against Witchcraft of 1563', in Carlton, C., Woods, R., Robertson, M., and Block, J.S. (eds). *State Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England* (Sutton, 1998).
- Jones, T. *Street Literature in Birmingham* (Birmingham, 1970).
- Kastan, D.K. 'Performances and Playbooks: the Closing of the Theatres and the Politics of Drama' in Sharpe, K. and Zwicker, S.N. (eds). *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Kearney, H. *Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain, 1500-1700* (1970).
- Keeble, N. H. *The Restoration* (Oxford, 2002).
- Kelsey, S. 'The Ordinance for the Trial of Charles I', *Historical Research*, 76 (2003).
- Kenyon, J. P. *The Popish Plot* (1972).
- Kishlansky, M. 'Ideology and Politics in the Parliamentary Armies 1645-9', in Morrill, J. (ed.). *Reactions to the English Civil War* (1982).
- Kishlansky, M. *Parliamentary Selection, Social and Political Choice in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Kitchin, G. *Sir Roger L'Estrange. A Contribution to the History of the Press in the Seventeenth Century* (1913, reprinted New York, 1971).
- Knachel, P.A. *England and the Fronde* (New York, 1967).
- Knights, M. *Politics and Opinion in Crisis 1678 – 1681* (Cambridge, 1994).

- Kümin, B. 'Sacred church and worldly tavern: reassessing an early modern divide' in Coster, W., and Spicer, A. (eds). *Sacred Space: The Redefinition of Sanctity in Post-Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Kümin, B. and Tlustý A. (eds). *The World of the Tavern: Public Houses in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot, 2002).
- Lake, P. 'Periodisation, 'Politics and "The Social"', *Journal of British Studies*, 37 (1998).
- Lake, P. and Questier, M. 'Protestants, Puritans and Papists: Agency and Appropriation at the Foot of the Gallows' reprinted in Lake, P with Questier, M. *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven, 2002).
- Lambert, S. 'State Control of the Press in Theory and Practice: the Role of the Stationers' Company before 1640', in Myers, R., and Harris, M. (eds). *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France 1600 – 1910* (Winchester, 1992).
- Lamont W., and Oldfield, S. (eds). *Politics Religion and Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (1975).
- Lindley, K. 'London and Popular Freedom in the 1640s', in Richardson, R.C. and Ridden, G.E. (eds). *Freedom and the English Revolution* (Manchester, 1986).
- Love, H. *Scribal publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993).
- Luckett, R. 'Music', in Latham, R. and Matthews, W. (eds). *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (10 vols, 1970 – 83), vol X.
- Luckett, R. 'The Collection: Origins and History', in *Catalogue of the Pepys Library, Vol. II, Ballads, Part ii: Indexes* (Cambridge, 1994).
- Ludington, C.C. "'Be Sometimes to your Country True": The Politics of Wine in England, 1660-1714' in Smyth, A. (ed.). *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004).
- MacRae, A. *Literature, Satire and the Early Stuart State* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Manning, B. *1649: The Crisis of the English Revolution* (1992).
- Marsh, C. 'Melody and Meaning in Early Modern England: the Broadside Ballad as Song' in Crick, J. and Walsham, A. (eds). *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Marsh, C. *Songs of the Seventeenth Century* (Queen's University Belfast, 1994).
- Maxted, I. 'Single Sheets from a Country Town: the Example of Exeter' in Myers, R. and Harris, M. (eds). *Spreading the Word, the Distribution Networks of Print 1530 – 1850* (Winchester, 1990).
- McDowell, P. *The Women of Grub Street. Press, Politics, and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678 - 1730* (Oxford, 1998).
- McShane-Jones, A. 'Revealing Mary', *History Today*, (March 2004).
- McShane-Jones, A. 'Roaring Royalists and Ranting Brewers: the Politicisation of Drink and Drunkenness in Political Broadside Ballads 1640 – 1689' in Smyth, A. (ed.). *A Pleasing Sinne - Drink and Conviviality in 17th Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004).

- McShane-Jones, A., "England's Darling' or 'Senseless Loon': Hero and Villain, the Ballading Battle for the Image of Monmouth', in George, C. and Sutherland, J. (eds). *Heroes and Villains: The Creation and Propagation of an Image* (Durham, 2004).
- McShane-Jones, A., "The Gazet in Metre; or The Rhiming Newsmonger': The Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer. A New Narrative', in Koopmans, J. (ed.). *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe, 1500 – 1800* (Leuven, 2005).
- McShane-Jones, A., 'Ballading the Rump: A Comment on Mark S. R. Jenner "The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England"', *Past and Present* (forthcoming).
- Miller, J. *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, 2000).
- Milton, A. 'Licensing, Censorship and Religious Orthodoxy in Early Stuart England', *Historical Journal*, 41 (September 1998).
- Monod, P. *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Moore, A.K. 'The Literary Status of the English Popular Ballad', *Comparative Literature*, 10, 1 (Winter 1958).
- Morrill, J. 'Cromwell and His Contemporaries', in *idem* (ed.). *Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (Harlow, 1990).
- Morrill, J. *Revolt of the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War 1634-1648* (2nd Edn, 1999).
- Munck, T. *Seventeenth-Century Europe: State, Conflict, and the Social Order in Europe 1598-1700* (Basingstoke, 1990).
- Nenner, H. *The Right to be King: The Succession to the Crown of England, 1603 – 1714* (Basingstoke, 1995).
- O'Callaghan, M. 'Tavern Societies the Inns of Court, and the Culture of Conviviality in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in Smyth A. (ed.) *A Pleasing Sinne- Drink and Conviviality in 17th Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004).
- O'Connell, S. *The Popular Print in England* (1999).
- O'Day, R. *Education and Society, 1500-1800: The Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (1982).
- Ong, W. *Orality and Literacy: The Technologising of the Word* (1982).
- Outhwaite, R.B. (ed.) *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage* (1981).
- Palmer, R. *The Sound of History: Songs and Social Comment* (1988).
- Parks, S. *The Lutterell File* (New Haven, Conn., 1999).
- Pennington, D. 'The War and the People', in Morrill, J. (ed.). *Reactions to the English Civil War* (1982).

- Pettigree, A. 'Printing and the Reformation: The English Exception', in Marshall, P. and Ryrie, A. *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Pincus, S. "'Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffee-houses and Restoration Political Culture', *Journal of Modern History*, 67 (1995).
- Porter, R. *Bodies Politic* (2001).
- Poulsen, B. 'The Necessity of State in Early Modern Peasant Society', *Scandinavian Journal of History*, 22, 1 (1997).
- Raven, J. 'New Reading Histories, Print Culture and the Identification of Change: the Case of Eighteenth-Century England', *Social History*, 23, 3 (October 1998).
- Raymond, J. *The Invention of the Newspaper* (Oxford, 1996).
- Raymond, J. (ed.). *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999).
- Raymond, J. 'Irrational, Impractical and Unprofitable: Reading the News in Seventeenth-Century Britain' in Sharpe, K. and Zwicker, S.N. (eds). *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Raymond, J. 'The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century', in *idem. News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (1999).
- Raymond, J. *Making the News; An Anthology of the Newsbooks of Revolutionary England 1641 - 1660* (Gloucs, 1993).
- Raymond, J. *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Reay, B. *Popular Cultures in England 1550 - 1750* (New York, 1998).
- Reay, B. *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (1985).
- Reddy, W. 'Sentimentalism and its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution', *The Journal of Modern History*, 72 (2000).
- Rex, R. *The Lollards* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- Richardson, R. C. and Ridden, G.E. (eds). *Freedom and the English Revolution* (Manchester, 1986).
- Rieuwerts, S. "'The Genuine Ballads of the People'. F.J. Child and the Ballad Cause', *Journal of Folklore Research* 31 (1994).
- Roberts, J., *The King's Head* (1999).
- Roberts, S. 'The Study of Dispute: Anthropological Perspectives', in Bossy, J., (ed.). *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Rollins, H.E. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries (1557 - 1709).in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, (Hatboro, Penn., 1967).
- Rollins, H.E. 'Martin Parker, Ballad-Monger', *Modern Philology*, XIV, 9 (1919).
- Rollins, H.E. 'The Black Letter Broadside Ballad', *PMLA*, 34, 2 (1919).

- Roots, I. *The Great Rebellion 1642-1660* (1966).
- Scholes, P. *The Puritan and Music* (1934).
- Schwoerer, L. 'Images of Queen Mary II, 1689-95', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, 4, (1989).
- Schwoerer, L. 'Propaganda in the Revolution of 1688-89', *The American Historical Review*, 82, 4 (October 1977).
- Scodel, J. *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton, 2002).
- Scott, J. C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990).
- Scott, J. *England's Troubles* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Scribner, B. 'Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989).
- Shaaber, M. A. *Some Forerunners of the Newspaper in England 1476 – 1622* (Philadelphia, 1929, reprint, 1966).
- Sharp, B. 'Popular Political Opinion in England, 1660 – 1685', *History of European Ideas*, X (1989).
- Sharpe, J. "'Last Dying Speeches": Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Past and Present*, 107 (1985).
- Sharpe, J. "'Such disagreement betwix neighbours". Litigation and Human Relations in Early Modern England', in Bossy, J., (ed.). *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Sharpe, J. *Crime in Early Modern England, 1550-1750* (2nd edn, 1999).
- Sharpe, J. 'Plebeian Marriage in Stuart England: Some Evidence From Popular Literature', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 36 (1986).
- Sharpe, K. and Lake, P. (eds) *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (1994).
- Sharpe, K. *Criticism and Compliment: the Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge 1987).
- Sharpe, K. *Remapping Early Modern England: The Culture of Seventeenth-Century Politics* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Sharpe, K. *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (New Haven, 1992).
- Sharpe, K., and Zwicker, S.N., 'Introduction', in *idem* (eds). *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Shephard, L. *The Broadside Ballad* (1962).
- Shesgreen, S. (ed.) *The Criers and Hawkers of London* (Aldershot, 1990).
- Shoenfeldt, M. 'Reading Bodies', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds). *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Siebert, F. *Freedom of the Press in England 1476 – 1776* (Urbana, 1952).

- Skinner, Q. *Machiavelli* (Oxford, 1981).
- Skinner, Q. *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 Vols, Cambridge, 1978).
- Skinner, Q. *Visions of Politics* (3 Vols, Cambridge, 2002).
- Slack, P. and Clark, P. *Crisis and Order in English Towns* (1972).
- Slack, P. *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1998).
- Smith, B. R. *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago, 1999).
- Smith, N. *Literature and Revolution in England 1640 - 1660* (New Haven, 1994).
- Smuts, R. M. *Court Culture and the Origins of a Royalist Tradition in Early Stuart England* (Philadelphia, 1987).
- Smuts, R. M. *Culture and Power in England 1585-1685* (Basingstoke, 1999).
- Smyth, A. (ed.) *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004).
- Sommerville, C. J., *The News Revolution in England* (New York and Oxford, 1996).
- Speck, W. *Reluctant Revolutionaries. Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688* (Oxford, 1988).
- Spierenburg, P. *The Broken Spell: A Cultural and Anthropological History of Pre-industrial Europe* (Basingstoke, 1991).
- Spink, I. *Music in Britain: The Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1992).
- Spufford, M. *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Cambridge, 1985).
- Spufford, M. *The Great Re-clothing of Rural England* (1984).
- Spurr, J. *England in the 1670s* (Oxford, 2000).
- Spurr, J. *English Puritanism, 1603-1689* (Basingstoke, 1998).
- Stankiewicz, W.J. *Politics and Religion in Seventeenth-Century France* (California, 1960).
- Stewart, S. 'Scandals of the Ballad', *Representations*, 0, 32 (Autumn 1990).
- Stone, L. 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640', *Past & Present*, 28 (1964).
- Styles, J. 'Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth Century England' in Berg, M. and Eger, E. (eds). *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century; Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003).
- The Cambridge History of English and American Literature* (1907-21).
- Thomas, K. 'The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England', in Baumann, G. (ed.). *The Written Word: Literacy in Transition* (Oxford, 1986).
- Thomas, K. 'From Edification to Entertainment', *T.L.S.* 23 August 1991.

- Thomas, P. *Sir John Birkenhead 1617 - 1679; a Royalist Career in Politics and Polemics* (Oxford, 1969).
- Thompson, E.P. *Customs in Common* (1991).
- Tully, J. (ed.). *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Underdown, D. *A Freeborn People Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996).
- Underdown, D. *Somerset in the Civil War and Interregnum* (Newton Abbot, 1973).
- Vickers, B. 'Epideictic and Epic in the Renaissance', *New Literary History*, 14, 3 (1983).
- Walsham, A. *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).
- Walter J., and Wrightson, K. 'Dearth and the Social Order in Early Modern England', *Past and Present*, 71 (1976).
- Watt, T. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550 - 1640* (Cambridge, 1991).
- Weatherill, L. *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain 1660 - 1760* (1988).
- Wendorf, R. 'Abandoning the Capital in Eighteenth-Century London', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds). *Reading Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Westermann, M. *The Art of the Dutch Republic 1585 - 1715* (London, 1996).
- Williamson, K. 'From Heavenly Harmony to Eloquent Silence: Representations of World Order from Dryden to Shelley', *The Review of English Studies*, 55, 221 (September 2004).
- Wiltenburg, J. *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville, 1992).
- Withington, P. 'Two Renaissances: Urban Political Culture in Post-Reformation England Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 44, 1 (2001).
- Withington, P. *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizens and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Wood, A. *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002).
- Woodhouse, A.S.P. (ed.). *Puritanism and Liberty Being the Army Debates (1647-49). From the Clarke Manuscripts* (1974).
- Wooldridge, H. (ed.). *William Chappell, Old English Popular Music* (New York, 1961).
- Worden, B. 'The Commonwealth Kidney of Algernon Sydney', *The Journal of British Studies*, 24, 1 (January 1985).
- Worden, B. 'Wit in a Roundhead. The Dilemma of Marchamont Nedham', in Amussen, S., and Kishlansky, M. *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995).

Worden, B. *Roundhead Reputations* (2002).

Wright, L. B. *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (2nd edn. New York, 1958).

Wrightson, K. "Sorts of People" in Tudor and Stuart England', in Barry, J. and Brooks, C. (eds). *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1994).

Wrightson, K. 'The Politics of the Parish', in Griffiths, P., Fox, A, and Hindle, S., (eds). *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (1996).

Wrightson, K. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, 2000).

Würzbach, N. *The Rise of the English Street Ballad, 1550-1650* (trans. Gayna Walls, Cambridge, 1990).

Zaret, D. *Origins of Democratic Culture* (Princeton, 2000).

iv. **Unpublished Theses and Papers:**

Peerboons, G. M. 'Nathaniel Thompson Tory Printer, Ballad Monger and Propagandist' Unpublished Dissertation (Enschede, 1983).

Robson, Lynn. "No nine days wonder": Embedded Protestant Narratives in Early Modern Prose Murder Pamphlets 1573 – 1700' Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Warwick, 2003).

Stein, Claudia. 'The Medical Gaze and the 'French-diseased'-Body in Early Modern Augsburg', *Bulletin of History of Medicine*, forthcoming, paper given at Welcome Conference, University of Warwick (July, 2003).

Velázquez, M. and Vaughan, M.K. 'Mestizaje and Musical Nationalism in Mexico', unpublished paper, courtesy of Dr Guy Thompson, University of Warwick (2003).

v. **Secondary Web Resources**

Darnton, R. *An Early Information Society: A Cabaret-Concert by Hélène Delavault*: <http://www.indiana.edu/~ahr/darnton/songs/>

The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004): <http://www.oxforddnb.com>.

Tinkler, J.F. (ed.). *Cicero On The Genres Of Rhetoric* (1995): <http://www.towson.edu/~tinkler/reader/cicero.html#introd>,

Zweig, D., *Early Childs Ballads*: http://www.pbm.com/~lindahl/ballads/early_child/#what