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**Cuckoldry and Cornution in Seventeenth Century English Political Discourse**

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by

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## Introduction

In early modern plays, bawdy ballads and broadsides, the cuckold was a familiar figure who epitomised emasculation. In literature, he was most often portrayed as a feeble figure whose emasculation sometimes slipped into effeminacy through characteristics which reflected his lack of manly authority such as docility, physical weakness and soft speech, all of which were signifiers of feminine traits. When a man was cuckolded by his wife's adultery, her infidelity indicated both her own dangerously insatiable sexuality and her inept husband's failure to control her chastity, behaviour and speech. Satisfying his wife sexually was perceived as a crucial means by which a husband could ensure her chastity and assert authority over her conduct. However, the cuckolded man was perceived as unable to perform this most vital means of asserting his manhood, and his wife's adultery was therefore inevitable. The cuckold featured in popular print genres such as ballads and broadsides which contained songs and humorous woodcut images of the cuckold with horns protruding from his head (most often understood as symbols of both his emasculation and animalistic acquiescence to his fate). However, whilst these texts performed an important social function (the horn humour provoked by laughing at cuckolds released deeper societal tensions), literary cuckoldry was no laughing matter.

This dissertation demonstrates how the complex strands of religion, politics and gender converged within the cuckold's horns in literary portrayals of cuckoldry which were used as a royalist/loyalist Anglican form of rhetoric in popular political discourse during the Civil War and Restoration periods (1642-1685). Within these depictions, cuckoldry was used to attack the supposedly corrupt nature of sectarians and non-conformists, whose factious and rebellious conduct was perceived as fracturing the protestant Church of England and destabilising the Stuart crown. It will be shown that cuckoldry which performed this specific function was part of a deep current of royalist/loyalist Anglican moralising critique flowing beneath the turbulent political, social and economic waters of Civil War and Restoration England.

By examining the use of cuckoldry as a politicised, literary form of attack, this study moves away from previous examinations of cuckoldry by historians and literary scholars, which have primarily focused on what the cuckolded man and his lusty wife reveal about early modern gender dynamics. Instead, it explores the ways in which these relationships were adopted for political purpose and what that purpose was. It will be shown that in addition to inversion, some form of rebellion was an important aspect of cuckoldry. Most often, this was an adulterous wife's usurpation of her husband's authority by cuckolding him. However, in cuckoldry which formed part of a royalist/loyalist line of rhetoric there was an equally troublesome transgression on the part of the husband which either alluded to, or directly indicated, his rebellion against the state and Church. The key questions addressed by this study's exploration of cuckoldry which featured in ballads and broadsides during the Civil War and Restoration periods are: what forms of misconduct were commonly associated with cuckolds and their disordered households? Did the errant characteristics of husbands and wives typically portrayed as part of cuckoldry align with politico-religious concerns? If so, how? Why did these men need to be literarily unmanned as cuckolds? What threat did they pose to the stability of the state?

Cuckoldry was always disruptive. The gendered inversion consequent on a man losing control of his wife was literarily portrayed as bringing dishonour and disorder to a household. Most significantly, this disruption threatened to destabilise the state itself: households, in which men held overall authority, were understood to be mini commonwealths. Their importance was reflected in political ideologies, which often compared the authority of a monarch ruling their subjects to that of a husband/father governing a household. Structured and orderly households were therefore vital for maintaining the political and economic stability of the early-modern state.<sup>1</sup> Because domestic roles and relationships were a fundamental means of articulating political concepts, depictions of cuckoldry which appeared in popular

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<sup>1</sup> See S. D., Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).

print genres throughout the early modern period were, therefore, inherently political, whether obliquely or directly.

Just as early modern English politics was inextricably linked to religion, there were also links between cuckoldry and Christianity. These predated the Civil War and Restoration periods (1642-1685), which are the chronological focus of this study. Ballads and broadsides from the late sixteenth century featuring cuckolds have been used to explore an enduring connection between cuckoldry and corrupt Christianity, which feasibly formed part of 'the long reformation' of English Protestantism. The starting point of this study, and the central contention which is explored throughout the research chapters, is that during the Civil War and Restoration, cuckoldry was used to condemn non-conformity through an interpretation of the cuckold's horns as signifying biblical horns of rebellion. It will be shown that during these periods of religious contention, cuckoldry was used as a literary weapon against dissenters, whose cornution dually symbolised the scriptural horns of rebellion which they had raised against God, and the emasculation of opponents of the Stuart crown and Anglican Church.

The spiritual treachery of nonconformists was believed to have led to their rebellion against the Anglican Church and divinely appointed Stuart monarch. The cuckold's horns were used to symbolise the horned, many-headed monster which features in the apocalyptic vision of the Book of Revelation. Astride the beast is the Whore of Babylon who, in English Protestant society, was most often interpreted as representing the papacy and Catholic Church.<sup>2</sup> Just as cuckoldry represented a powerful and dangerous gendered inversion – the woman on top – so too does the Whore of Babylon atop the beast. Both the Book of Revelation and the Book of Daniel (which also features a horned, rebellious beast) were commonly used by radical sectarian religious groups to inform and justify their millenarian beliefs. Indeed, the emergence of numerous sectarian and dissenting groups during the Civil War was believed to have been a Catholic conspiracy to fracture, and even destroy, the foundations of the Anglican establishment. Therefore, the many headed monster upon which the Whore is straddled feasibly symbolised protestant sectarian groups.

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<sup>2</sup> F. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 52.

The Civil War was a watershed moment in which cuckoldry became overtly political and aligned primarily with Stuart royalism/loyalism. Ann Hughes discovered that royalist propaganda often derided parliamentarians as cuckolds as a means of unmanning them.<sup>3</sup> However, it is suggested that whilst the emasculation associated with cuckoldry made it a useful political weapon, the most powerful literary component of cuckoldry was inversion. The inversion intrinsic to cuckoldry was particularly powerful and, when combined with emasculation, the cuckold's horns provided a politicised two-pronged attack on those whose subversive conduct either threatened or ruptured hierarchical order through religious nonconformity. According to Martin Ingram 'notions of hierarchy, inversion, reversal, rule and misrule, order and disorder'<sup>4</sup> were central to the charivari ceremony used to publicly shame those believed to be cuckolds in early modern English society. These were also crucial components of literary cuckoldry explored in this study. Most significantly, David Underdown asserts that during periods of gender crisis in early-modern England, inversion was a means of turning the world upside-down not to subvert, but to reinforce the traditional order.<sup>5</sup> It will be shown, therefore, that Civil War parliamentarians were depicted as cuckolds not only as a means of attacking their manhood, but also because royalists (who sought to re-assert hierarchical order) deemed them responsible for turning the world upside down.

Studies of politicised cuckoldry do not currently extend beyond the conflicts of Civil War, and the primary focus of this study is looking at the figure of the cuckolded man during the Restoration. The research chapters which follow extend the chronological boundaries both forwards and backwards from the Restoration era in order to ascertain the features of literary cuckoldry which remained constant, and those which changed. They use the cuckold as a lens to provide new historical insight into the ways in which gender, religion and politics interacted in early-modern England, and the transformative effect of the Civil War on cuckoldry as a

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<sup>3</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* (London: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>4</sup> M. Ingram, Ridings, *Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England, Past & Present*, 105 (1984), 79-113: 96.

<sup>5</sup> D. Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England', in A. Fletcher, and J. Stevenson, *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) (quoting I. Donaldson, *The World Turn'd Upside Down: Comedy from Jonson to Fielding* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 12-20 and J. Dusinberre, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 5-8), 117.

literary trope which was used for more than commentary on the dangers of an adulterous wife.

An examination of the ways in which cuckoldry was used to emasculate parliamentarians during the Civil War reveals that this was a pivotal period for establishing a link between cuckoldry and nonconformity. It will be shown that part of the cuckold's literary legacy from this period was his use to castigate rebellion against the Anglican Church and Stuart monarchy. This was a role which the cuckold continued to play throughout the Restoration, when he was used for the same politicised purpose, particularly during times of heightened politico-religious angst. This study shows how cuckoldry was used when Charles II was initially restored to the throne in 1660 to castigate those who had been instrumental in his father's demise. It also demonstrates how depictions of cuckolded Quakers were used at times of heightened persecution against dissenters, and explores how cuckoldry and cornution were used in the political factionalism and partisanship of the Exclusion Crisis (1678-1682).

The complexity and duality of cuckoldry and cornution within popular political discourse becomes especially notable from the assessment of its use against the Whig party which emerged out of the Exclusion Crisis. The Whigs took a tolerant stance towards nonconformity and were frequently figuratively cornuted by the opposing loyalist Tory faction. However, rather than simply being ridiculed as cuckolds, the Whigs were also described as wearing horns, or being 'forked'. It is suggested that this was a deliberate means of criticising their links to nonconformity whilst emasculating them, in the same way Civil War royalists had unmanned their parliamentarian opponents. Indeed, the Whigs were considered to be the republican successors of parliamentarians.

The use of cuckoldry and cornution against the Whigs also reveals a subtle, but significant, difference in the politicised adaptation of literary tropes in popular printed texts. Unlike ballads which contained humorous odes to cuckolds and their adulterous wives alongside woodcut imagery which conveyed the moral of the song, the one-page broadsides which were used as literary weapons against the Whigs seldom mentioned a wife's adultery or misconduct. Nor did these texts feature woodcut imagery which depicted the trials and tribulations of a bad marriage, where hapless husbands were cuckolded by their wayward wives. The use of



cuckoldry and cornution in this way shifted the focus away from inter-gender relationships and marriage and onto the intra-gender dynamics and hierarchies between men whose politicised manhood must be shown to be dishonourable as a means of diminishing it.

This demonstrates and reinforces the importance of the Civil War for creating complex literary legacies in which familiar figurative tropes were assigned with multifarious roles and meanings. Reprising his role from the Civil War, the cuckold was used at angst-ridden times throughout Charles II's Restoration (1660-1685) either to remind the populace of the dangerous nature of those whose misconduct had prompted the Civil War (1642-1649), or to caution that a further civil war was an imminent threat. Protestant pluralism was perceived as being a primary feature of rebellion against the Church and state, and the research set out in this study regards the political use of cuckolds and cuckoldry as a form of rhetoric within popular political discourse which was used primarily to criticise nonconformists.

The ballads and broadsides which provide the basis for this research are located within political pornography of a unique type that emerged in the seventeenth century. Sarah Toulalan notes that political pornography during this period contained graphic or scurrilous details of sexual behaviour which had a purpose beyond that of simply depicting sexualised bodies and sexual acts for the titillation of its audience.<sup>6</sup> Rather, it was a source of entertainment and education which was intertextual and interconnected with socio-political events, which it commented on (and sought to make sense of) through depictions of perverse sexual behaviour. Political pornography was also designed to be understood on a number of different levels and the use of allegory, symbolism and double meaning meant that texts could be interpreted in a number of ways, dependent upon the political awareness and intellect of the reader.<sup>7</sup> Toulalan also remarks that it is 'surely going too far to read pornographic religious satire in England as a concerted undermining of religious and political dissidence by an orthodox Protestant establishment'.<sup>8</sup> However, this study will show that some (though by no means all) depictions of

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<sup>6</sup> S. Toulalan, *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 22.

<sup>7</sup> S. Toulalan, *Imagining Sex*, 12.

<sup>8</sup> S. Toulalan, *Imagining Sex*, 101.

cuckoldry formed part of an Anglican royalist/loyalist rhetoric which appeared in times of crisis for the purpose of commenting on, and condemning, dissent.

Deciphering depictions of cuckoldry in ballads and broadsides which were appropriated for political use, and what they were intended to convey, is the focus of this study. However, many texts conformed to stereotypical tropes which humorously described the sexual ineptitude of cuckolds and the sexual adventures of their adulterous wives. How then can those which had a serious political purpose be identified? Commonalities which featured in politic-religious fictional cuckoldry aligned with the Anglican interests of Stuart loyalism. This made them distinct, and therefore discernible, from standard tropes (such as those used to comment on the dangers of choosing an unruly young wife). The spiritual corruption of cuckolds was either directly referenced or implied through their immoral conduct, and the publication of many of the texts coincided with politico-religious flashpoints, particularly those where dissent and rebellion were at issue.

It is important to note that the momentous political, social and religious changes which took place during these years also had a significant impact upon language and symbolism. David Turner notes that in the late seventeenth century there was a 'language of adultery which expressed sexual transgression principally in terms of its violation of codes of civilised social interaction rather than its offence to God or religion'.<sup>9</sup> According to Turner, this was because the importance of religion and the Anglican Church in defining and governing morality was challenged in the later seventeenth century. However, as this study demonstrates, during the mid-seventeenth century and Restoration, the horns of cuckoldry had a religious symbolism which was used to figuratively emasculate sectarians and dissenters who were perceived as offending God by fragmenting English Protestantism.

Understanding and exploring the changeability and complexity of early modern language is also vital when examining cuckoldry. Throughout this period, 'cuckold' was a sexual slander which prompted actions for defamation in the law courts, whilst the cuckolded man was a familiar trope who appeared within the literary and dramatic spaces of early modern England. However, the permeability and power of cuckoldry between these cultural spaces varied. From an analysis of

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<sup>9</sup> D. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 49.

the use of dramatic defamation during the sixteenth century epoch of Shakespeare, Jonson and Spenser, Lindsay M. Kaplan concludes 'drama that criticized the state or challenged the status quo was labelled slander and condemned, [whilst] dramatic slander (in the form of theatre, court case or punishment) that supported the ends of the state was condoned.'<sup>10</sup> Defamatory discourse and speech were therefore inextricably linked to the stability of the state and could be used to both condemn and defend it. However, little is known about the use of cuckoldry as a political slander because gender dynamics and ideals have been the main focus of its historiographical analysis.

Because the cuckolded man was so ubiquitous in literature, our understanding of the term 'cuckold' as an insult which could damage a man's reputation in reality may have been distorted. Therefore, in order to ascertain how cuckoldry operated as a slander which appeared in both the literature and lived experiences of early modern people, this study examines cuckoldry in two strands, which are dealt with separately rather than amalgamated. Firstly, the use of 'cuckold' as a slander defended in actions for defamation brought to the law courts by early modern men and women has been examined. Secondly, the appropriation of cuckoldry as a slander used within literature to portray a manhood which was specifically religiously, politically and socially non-conformist has been explored. By looking at concepts of cuckoldry as distinct legal and literary strands, a crucial disparity in the cultural power and purchase of cuckoldry between these two spaces has been revealed.

In contrast to the pervasiveness of literary cuckoldry, the number of legal actions consequent of 'cuckold' being used as a sexual slander, and the impact of the insult upon the reputations of men appears to have been relatively limited. The initial purpose of this research was to use court records for defamation to ascertain the damage which could be wrought on men's reputations when they had been defamed as a cuckold, and the extent to which the insult appeared within intra-gender dynamics between men. Exploring the ways in which 'cuckold' insults were used in disputes between men which had resulted in a legal action for defamation would provide fresh insight into the significance of men's conduct as a spouse on

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<sup>10</sup> M. L. Kaplan, *The Culture of Slander in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 93.

shaping interactions between men, and upon constructs of manhood. Yet from the earliest research stages, it became apparent that there was insufficient evidence available in the law courts upon which to base such an examination because of the lack of defamation cases involving 'cuckold' as a slander. Indeed, there appears to be a disconnection between the prevalence of cuckoldry in early modern popular print genres and the damage inflicted by 'cuckold' as an insult.

The significant divergence between the abundance of literary material featuring cuckolded men, and its comparative absence as a defamatory insult in the law courts, even in the Court of Chivalry, raises a further crucial question about cuckoldry: has the prevalence of literary cuckoldry in early modern England skewed modern day perceptions of the damage being slighted as a cuckold had on male reputation and honour? Given the overlapping complexities between literature and the early modern lived experience, and particularly the abundance of sexual slander in political pornography and popular discourse, how can the paucity of legal actions for defamation featuring 'cuckold' be explained? As Anna Bryson asserts, 'although scurrility had...been the subject of moralistic concern in the sixteenth century, the Restoration saw a newly conspicuous defiance of standards of sexual decorum in speech'.<sup>11</sup> If, as Bryson suggests, Restoration language was generally more scandalous than in previous generations, it is plausible that 'cuckold' as a term of verbal abuse lost some of its impact, whilst conversely retaining its cultural purchase as a literary trope. However, the lack of defamation cases also suggests that cuckoldry's capacity to wound male honour differed significantly according to the cultural space in which it appeared, whether legal, literary or among neighbours. Re-examining the varying degrees of power and purchase cuckoldry held across these various early modern spaces is a central aim of this study.

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<sup>11</sup> A. Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 251.

## **Methodology and Chapter Outlines**

The starting point of this study was to examine the sexual slander of ‘cuckold’ in the early-modern courts to gain insight into how it was used as an insult between men, and the impact it could have on intra-gender constructs of manhood and male honour. Cuckoldry, whether actual or alleged, involved or implied the adultery of a man’s wife with another man, but although this gives an inter-male dynamic to cuckoldry which could impact on peer relationships, its bearing on spousal relationships tends to remain the primary focus of much historiographical analysis. However, despite the initial intention of illuminating the role which ‘cuckold’ insults played in interactions between men, it became evident from the earliest stages of archival research that it did not feature frequently at all as a defamation defended in the ecclesiastical courts by men.

Depositions for defamation causes involving only male plaintiffs and defendants where ‘cuckold’ was the slander at issue appear in both the Court of Arches in London, and the ecclesiastical courts at York but in only half a dozen, and 3 cases brought before each of these respective jurisdictions. This scant number of cases raised the critical question of whether ‘cuckold’ was a slander which was only defended in the church courts (which heard defamation causes for slanders that implied a moral wrong, or sin on the part of the person who had been defamed). Or, did ‘cuckold’ appear as a slander within the common law courts? To address this line of enquiry, research moved away from the church courts and into the common law jurisdiction of Kings Bench (plea side), to see whether ‘cuckold’ insults were at issue in the actions for defamation brought there. Actual archival records for defamation, which fell within the remit of plea side litigation at the common law court of Kings Bench, are equally scant and also largely inaccessible. However, law reports for the court of Kings Bench are available from Thomson Reuters Westlaw, an online archive which contains law reports and precedents for the English legal system from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (common law matters) to the present day.

A search of the Thomson Reuters Westlaw online archive for ‘cuckold’ as a slander defended in the common law court of Kings Bench for the period 1600 to 1700 revealed two significant findings. Firstly, that so far as the law was concerned, ‘cuckold’ was a slander actionable by the wife who was implicated as being sexually

incontinent when her husband was labelled a cuckold. In essence, any action to defend the slur of 'cuckold' centred on a wife's implied sexual incontinence, and consequently she (either alone or jointly with her slandered spouse) could defend her reputation in a defamation cause brought before the church courts. Secondly, the crucial centrality of a wife's sexual incontinence to the insult of 'cuckold' against her husband appears to be the reason it features as an insult at issue in the law reports at all. Only 14 reports are available where men were attempting to seek recourse at the common law court of Kings Bench between 1600 and 1700 after being slandered as a cuckold. All 14 were turned away on the basis that the insult fell under an ecclesiastical jurisdiction because it implied their wife's sexual incontinence. This was the moral offence which meant that it had to be dealt with by the church courts, and also the main point of contention when 'cuckold' was directed at a man. However, of the 14 cases reported, only one (*Knight v Jacob*) can be traced as having later appeared in an ecclesiastical court (the Court of Arches).

This significant finding has added a valuable new insight to studies which explore early-modern defamation and the importance of sexual conduct in defining (and potentially destroying) male and female honour. Most importantly, it also highlights a crucial disparity between the view of 'cuckold' as a defamation scarcely worth defending in early-modern legal systems, and the omnipresence of the cuckolded man as a figure of ridicule in popular literature. This glaring incongruity led the way for a new research direction – if those defamed as cuckolds can tell us relatively little about the impact of cuckold insults on men's reputations (because cuckoldry was more concerned with a wife's adultery than her husband's apparent shortcomings) and hardly featured in the courts, what did the cuckolded men in popular literature have to say about their lost manhood, and the men who had taken it from them?

Early-modern ballads, broadsides and pamphlets in particular were linked to slander and scurrility<sup>1</sup>, and these texts were therefore an obvious and essential foundation upon which to base the re-examination of cuckoldry set out in this dissertation. Men were labelled 'cuckold' as a form of sexual slander, and cuckolded men appeared in literature too, albeit as comedic cultural tropes of inept manhood.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 8.

Not only do ballads, broadsides and pamphlets provide valuable insight into the intra-gender dynamics between men involved in cuckoldry, but they also reflect how constructs of manhood and male honour shifted and were shaped over time. These changes can be seen within cuckoldry, by assessing whether any differences appeared in the characteristics commonly attributed to cuckolds and cuckold makers, what these were, and what could have prompted them.

On the whole, recurrent stereotypes of the cuckolded man remained largely unchanged over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, throughout which the concerns expressed by cuckoldry usually followed the same patterns, and provided the same satirical observations: old, impotent men cuckolded by young lusty gallants who satisfied the desires of the old men's sexually frustrated wives; the unfortunate fates of men who married unruly scolds, and the dangers of materialistic wives who cuckolded their financially ruined husbands by touting their sexual wares to any man willing to buy what was on offer. Although some sympathy began to emerge for the cuckolded man towards the end of the seventeenth century, nonetheless these traditional cautionary tales still featured prevalently and continuously in many literary portrayals of cuckoldry. However, a detailed analysis of early-modern ballads, broadsides and pamphlets also revealed that from the outbreak of Civil War in 1642, alongside these traditional tropes, politically repurposed portrayals of cuckolds appeared, who differed from their fellow forked brethren.

As this study shows, during the Civil War and continuing throughout the Restoration, depictions of cuckoldry and references to the horns of cuckoldom, appeared as line of a politico-religious rhetoric in popular political discourse. Within this rhetoric, portrayals of cuckoldry performed the function of figuratively emasculating and undermining those who were perceived as being associated with protestant pluralism, commercial/financial corruption and sedition against the Stuart monarchy and Church of England. Civil War parliamentarians, London's Citizen's (who supported the parliamentary cause during the Civil War), Quakers and tradesmen were among the most frequent targets of literary cuckoldom in ballads and pamphlets which described how their horns of cuckoldom were also signifiers of their rebellion against Church and crown.

This new use of cuckoldry as a politico-religious weapon during the Civil War meant that depictions of the cuckolded man, and the horns symbolic of cuckoldry were also deployed differently both during the conflicts and throughout the Restoration, when echoes of the Civil War continued to reverberate. A good example of how the use of cuckoldry as a political attack differed from other stereotypical tropes of cuckoldom is identified in the one-page newsletters and announcements used during the Exclusion Crisis (1678-82). Although these texts contained references to the cuckoldom and horns of Whigs (who were considered to be the successors of Civil War parliamentarians), they did not feature any humorous woodcut imagery. Nor did they always refer to the adultery of a Whig cuckold's wife, because this was something of a secondary, or even non-issue.

Instead, the main focus of politicised cuckoldry was the misconduct of men who were seen as opposing the interests of the crown and Church of England. Most significantly, the cuckoldom of the Whigs and their associates was inferred by remarks that they were 'horned' or 'fork'd' rather than simply deriding them as cuckolds. This suggests that there were multifarious meanings and emphases given to cuckoldry and the horns of cuckoldom, dependent upon the context in which they were used and their politico-religious purpose.

The Civil War was especially instrumental in defining relationships between dissenters and the Church of England, but like Anglicanism, these were also complex and not merely defined in terms of persecutor and persecuted.<sup>2</sup> Nor was there any sort of homogeneity amongst those considered to be 'dissenters', a term which was equally difficult to define. Shifting perceptions of what dissent was, and the tendency of some protestant nonconformists to consider themselves part of the Church of England made defining dissent difficult. For example, Presbyterians did not consider themselves to be dissenters, because they believed the foundations of their heritage and place in society was based within the Church of England. Hostile to religious radicals, especially Quakers, Presbyterians were not considered to be dissenters until after 1662, although enemies of religious nonconformists tended to lump them all together, rather than distinguishing between the groups.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> G. Southcombe, 'Dissent and the Restoration Church of England', in G. Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 211

<sup>3</sup> G. Southcombe, 'Dissent and the Restoration Church of England', 197



Although the findings of this study indicate that there was a Stuart loyalist, Anglican bent to the politicised portrayals of cuckoldry it evaluates, it should be noted that the term 'Anglican' is treated with caution. This is because there is considerable difficulty in defining what an 'Anglican' was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, according to John Spurr, in seventeenth century England, Anglicanism was underpinned by a profound belief in patriarchalism, the divine and absolute sovereignty of monarchy, and a duty of non-resistance on the part of a monarch's subjects.<sup>4</sup>

It is not suggested, therefore, that there was a straightforward Anglican angle to politico-religious portrayals of cuckoldry, but rather that cuckoldry was used as a slanderous trope in discourse which attacked sedition against the state and Stuart monarchy, both of which were linked to protestant dissent. When cuckoldry was utilised in this way, it often aligned with the interests of the church of England, especially during times of heightened religious upheaval.

The conclusions drawn in this study have resulted from the analysis of cuckoldry in ballads, broadsides and pamphlets published in England from the outbreak of Civil War through to the end of Charles II's Restoration (1642-1685). Two thirds of the primary source material analysed comprised approximately 200 one-page ballads and broadsides. A crucial function of ballads and broadsides was to communicate politico-religious ideas within popular political discourse which could be widely read and understood.<sup>5</sup> Compared to other, longer documents such as tracts, treatises and sermons, the one-page ballads which feature in this dissertation were cheap and easy to publish. Because of this, they were especially useful for spreading the news about fast paced politico-religious events, and they were therefore printed and circulated with an immediacy which distinguishes them from other types of written sources.

However, whilst the characters who featured in broadsides, ballads and pamphlets were ventriloquized to give messages of morality, and to engage in

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<sup>4</sup> J. Spurr, 'The Lay Church of England' in G. Tapsell (ed.), *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 111

<sup>5</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 56.

popular political and religious debates, many early modern authors chose to remain silent as to their own identities. Only 4 of the ballads and broadsides used in this study have identifiable authors, and 3 of these were fictional pen names. This is not especially remarkable in and of itself, however, because 17<sup>th</sup> century ballads were most often anonymously authored by those who wanted to contribute to collective discussions without being individually identified.

The ballads used were accessed through Early English Books Online (EEBO) and the English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA). Although 'cuckold' was the primary and most explicit search term, ballads and broadsides were also searched for references to 'horns' and 'forked', because for an early-modern audience these words were also used to describe cuckoldry. Of the 200 texts examined, 64 (32%) specifically reference the spiritual, moral and financial corruption of the cuckolds they portray. These characteristics distinguished them from other, more typical tropes of cuckoldry. As such, they provided the basis for a closer re-examination of cuckoldry, which evaluates it as a form of politico-religious rhetoric rather than simply gendered socio-political commentary.

Angela McShane remarks on the historical value of ballads and broadsides as a primary source, but notes the significant difficulties of establishing specific publication information for them. Many ballads survive because they were kept by individuals who included them as part of a private collection or library. It was common for these collectors to annotate the ballads, and also to write publication dates on them. However, this is by no means a consistent recording system. Added to this, ballad authors were usually deliberately anonymous, whilst the titles and dates of publication can also be problematic because many ballads were changed, reprinted and then circulated in various versions over a number of years.<sup>6</sup> This explains the long circulation dates of 18 of the ballads used, which indicate these extended periods of republication. 20 of the 64 ballads are included in McShane's bibliography, and the information given corresponds with that from the digital archives that the ballads were sourced from. All ballad titles and dates of publication have been taken from the digital archive (either EEBO or EBBA).

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<sup>6</sup> A. McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), xix

Most importantly, McShane identifies that there were two distinct types of ballads in early modern England, each of which had a different format and purpose. The distinction between black and white letter ballads is important. Black letter ballads remained largely unchanged in format and tended to be republished over longer periods. They featured woodcut imagery and dealt with a broad range of subjects which an early modern reader/listener would find entertaining and/or educational. Conversely, white letter ballads had no imagery, tended to have only two columns of text. Most significantly, they were specifically political and appeared only at moments of heightened political tension.<sup>7</sup> 49 of the ballads utilised in this study are black letter and 15 are white letter. This means that 23 percent of the ballads used in this study were overtly political and featured references to cuckoldry, thus reinforcing the assertion that cornution and cuckoldry was used for political purpose.

In addition to ballads, around 100 pamphlets in multiple genres of newsletter, sectarian religious works, political pornography and civil war propaganda have been also been analysed. Pamphlets are longer, more detailed and descriptive texts than ballads and vary in length from 8 to 96 pages (printed in quarto, that is a sheet of paper folded four times to produce a small publication, or book).<sup>8</sup> Of the 100 assessed, 64 have been used directly in this thesis and were accessed via Early English Books Online. The same search terms used for the ballads and broadsides, were used for the pamphlets, namely the keywords of 'cuckold', 'horns' and 'forked'. Of the 64 pamphlets used, 77% were prose and 23% were in the form of dialogues. The dialogue was a commonly-used rhetorical device to communicate the key points of complex ideologies and political and religious events in the simplified form of a conversation, or dialogue, between two characters who each spoke for either side of an argument. Those pamphlets which contained any of the keywords searched for have been read in completeness to ascertain how cuckoldry or allusions to horns were used within them, for what purpose, and in what context. They have also been valuable to this study for providing a wider

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<sup>7</sup> A. McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of Seventeenth-Century England: A Critical Bibliography*, (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2011), xxiii

<sup>8</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 5

context and further information about religious, political and social issues and events during the Civil War and Restoration periods.

Recent analyses of early modern broadsides and balladry have revealed the intertextual nature of early modern texts. The boundaries between stage and page were particularly fluid and, as Sarah F. Williams remarks, the early modern theatre was 'in constant conversation with the broadside trade, [and] functioned as a powerful mnemonic scheme'.<sup>9</sup> Williams also notes the importance of the 'playhouse, as a public performance space and the street or home as "stageless" theater, [which] reinforced and subverted the music and images present in the broadside trade'<sup>10</sup> primarily through the aural traditions of balladry which crossed these spatial boundaries.

Because of this intertextuality, there were performative elements which cuckolds had in common in both plays and broadsides. For example, a recurring theme was the danger of male jealousy, which distracted men to the point of losing their ability to reason, and often resulted in their bringing the feared fate of being cuckolded upon themselves. So too was the depiction of competitive, unscrupulous men who cuckolded others in their pursuit of wealth or sexual conquests, or the old man who was inevitably cuckolded because of his sexual impotence. The cuckold's adulterous wife was also most often typecast as a materialistic, rebellious scold who had asserted dangerous female agency through her loose tongue and illicit sexual conduct. Given these common characteristics in portrayals of cuckoldry, it can be difficult to ascertain whether the portrayal of a cuckolded man had a purpose beyond providing humorous social commentary on the hazards of marriage and wayward women.

However, as Gary de Krey states, the 'public language and gestures of Charles [II] and his courtiers have a distinctly theatrical flavour...no English court has ever been so intimately associated with the theatre as that of the Restoration'.<sup>11</sup> The cuckold operated within both theatrical and literary spaces, but the influential role

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<sup>9</sup> S. F. Williams, "Lasting-Pasted Monuments": *Memory, Music, Theater, and the Seventeenth-Century English Broadside Ballad* (in L.P. Austern, C. Bailey, A., Eubanks Winkler, (Eds) *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017), 102.

<sup>10</sup> S. F. Williams, "Lasting-Pasted Monuments", 102.

<sup>11</sup> G. S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain: A Political History of the Era of Charles II and the Glorious Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 61.

of theatre to the Restoration royal court is important because it arguably aligns cuckoldry with Stuart loyalism. Additionally, as Susan J Owens notes, cuckolds in Restoration plays often had an obvious political role. Owen comments that the 'theme of cuckolding the Whig is a common one in Tory comedy; indeed by the height of the Tory reaction in 1682, the association of citizen, Whig and cuckold had become so axiomatic that in *The Duke of Guise* the word 'cuckold' is used throughout instead of 'citizen' or rebel'.<sup>12</sup> Yet despite these important observations, and the significant intertextuality between plays and balladry, no exploration of the political use of cuckoldry in Restoration broadsides has been undertaken. This examination of Restoration broadsides, ballads and pamphlets therefore aims to provide a new historiographical insight into the politicisation of cuckoldry in these printed media. Ballads and broadsides form the primary basis for the analysis of figurative cuckoldry because the cuckold commonly appeared in these types of text, and there is an abundance of them available for historical examination.

As primary sources, broadsides and ballads are particularly valuable because they provide insight into life in early modern England, including how people perceived society, events and others around them. These texts were vital for disseminating information and ideas among an early modern populace which was actively engaged with politics. Most often, ballads did this in a succinctly satirical way, and from their analysis it is possible to identify the social, religious and economic concerns of a given period. Unlike other texts printed during this period which were lengthy and contained complex prose (such as sermons and treatises), broadsides and ballads were printed on one page, and had a limited amount of text which frequently appeared alongside a woodcut image. This meant that they were able to communicate a message/moral to a broad spectrum of the populace.

Ballads were cheap to publish and for individuals to buy, but they were also widely circulated in taverns and other public spaces where people congregated and discussed the events of the day. Since ballads are designed to be sung, these texts also had a performative function which made the moral of their jovial ditties engaging for both literate and illiterate audiences. To achieve this, ballad writers borrowed styles, genres and tropes from other literary sources which meant that

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<sup>12</sup> S. J. Owen, *Restoration Theatre and Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 152.

the text, images and ballads of broadsides could be interpreted in a multitude of ways and with varying degrees of comprehension, dependent upon a reader's knowledge, intellect and political awareness. As Christopher Marsh remarks, these prints could be complex and should therefore be 'imagined as part of an enormous interconnected matrix of meanings, incorporating forms of signification that were encoded not only in free-standing verbal texts but in pictures, tunes, performances and the relationships between all of them'.<sup>13</sup>

In terms of the quantity and circulation of this material, the Civil War was a watershed period: censorship broke down and the floodgates opened for an outpouring of printed materials which were, as Jason Peacey remarks 'transformative in terms of changes in political culture that affected the entire nation...print was at the heart of this transformation, even if it could not be said to have caused it'.<sup>14</sup> It is also significant that whilst new literary genres appeared as a consequence of the war, many traditional genres were adapted for political purpose. As Kevin Sharpe contends, the Civil War 'rendered all literary performances, all choices of style, form and genre, not only political but partisan'.<sup>15</sup> However, the role of the cuckold within broadsides and ballads printed and circulated after the Civil War has been somewhat overlooked. Therefore, the starting point for this historical investigation was to look at how the cuckold and wider notions of cuckoldry were used during the Civil War to identify whether there were any themes which recurred in the decades after the physical conflicts had ceased, and what these were. From the analysis of this thesis, it became apparent that the key concern aired through cuckoldry during the war was religious sectarianism which was linked to parliamentarianism and popular rebellion.

Given the importance of approaching these sources from an intertextual perspective, the social, religious and political context for literary portrayals of cuckoldry has been provided by texts which do not feature cuckoldry, but nevertheless indicate perceptions of events and anxieties which shaped society. In addition, because of the copious number of texts featuring cuckoldry both obliquely

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<sup>13</sup> C. Marsh, "'The Blazing Torch': New Light on English Balladry as a Multi-Media Matrix', *The Seventeenth Century*, 30:1 (2015), 95-116: 96.

<sup>14</sup> J. Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14.

<sup>15</sup> K. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy 1660-1714* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), 87.

(for example where the title does not reference cuckoldry but nevertheless cuckoldry is a point of contention within the ballad) and directly (where it is clear from the title that the chief concern is cuckoldry) further crucial issues were raised in their interrogation. The cuckold was a popular and prevalent stereotype, so what distinguishes the cuckold who had a political purpose from his forked brethren who were simply continuing to perform as well-established cultural and literary tropes for lost manhood?

To ascertain what made depictions of Civil War cuckolds unique, they were compared and contrasted with their forbears who appeared in ballads and broadsides produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Dramatic cuckoldry in the sixteenth century 'foregrounded the links between paternalism, faith and the economic'<sup>16</sup> and emerging from these earlier texts were recurring stereotypes of cuckolds who were commercially corrupt. London's Citizens or, more frequently, tradesmen and their materialistic wives were used to portray socio-economic concerns about men's willingness to prioritise finance over religious faith. This was most often through the cuckold accepting financial recompense in exchange for not physically beating his cuckold maker, or as husbands happily cuckolded for profit.

However, the Civil War appears to have transformed perceptions of London's Citizens and tradesmen. Rather than simply being socially and economically troublesome because they deceived others to serve their own interests and make a profit, these men were now a dangerous and destabilising force in society. London's Citizens had financed the parliamentary cause, whilst many tradesmen actively took up arms against the royalist forces of Charles I and were also frequently associated with religious radicalism. When these men rebelled against Charles I (and the Anglican Church), they not only fractured traditional social hierarchies, but their involvement in insurrection also took them away from the marital home and left their wives ungoverned. Portraying those who stood against the crown and Anglican Church as cuckolds was therefore a logical means of unmanning the royalist's opponents. Within the tumults of Civil War, the depiction of cuckolded London Citizens and tradesmen was therefore not merely a straightforward

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<sup>16</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 58.

continuation of socio-economic concerns and class snobbery against new money men of commerce, or those of the lower sorts. Instead, it had a more pernicious political meaning because the misconduct of these men had dangerous implications. Popular rebellion was arguably always a cause for concern, but the Civil War brutally realised those concerns and culminated in Charles I's execution and the dismemberment of the body politic.

Consequently, the very real fear of civil war pervaded in Restoration politics: the dangers of dissent generally and the tendencies of London's Citizens and tradesmen to religious, commercial and physical rebellion was a perception which had not dissipated when Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660. Kevin Sharpe notes that the royalist authors and playwrights who also returned along with Charles II in 1660 were instrumental in the literary reconstruction of monarchical authority. However, it will be shown that these authors also restored cuckoldry within a loyalist discourse which condemned those who were perceived as threatening the stability of the restored Stuart monarchy.<sup>17</sup> When analysing cuckolds in Restoration literature it is apparent that the stereotypical men who appeared as cuckolds within Civil War royalist discourse, and the concerns they were used for commenting on not only continued, but were expanded to include the religious, political and social non-conformity of cuckolded men of the 'Country', seamen and Whigs.

Following the thematic trails in Restoration portrayals of cuckoldry, which were appropriated to address politico-religious problems of the period, also reveals nuances and variations in the terminology of cuckoldry, which ultimately reverts to religious non-conformity. For example, broadsides and ballads during the Restoration did not always refer to cuckoldry outright. Instead, cornution (the wearing of horns) was most often used against Whigs who were, broadly speaking, more in favour of the toleration of dissent than loyalist Anglican Tories. This shows that texts could have multifarious meanings and interpretations: references to Whigs being cornuted or horned can be read either as alluding to their cuckoldry, or as indicative of their enmity towards the Anglican Church, or indeed both. Such an

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<sup>17</sup> K. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule: The Restoration and Revolution Monarchy*, 87.



interpretation arguably reinforces the feasibility that the scriptural horns of rebellion were applied to cuckoldry.

This study also includes a new assessment of the Horn Fair, during the Restoration and beyond, which indicates that non-conformity was a significant element in the festivity itself and in determining who was summoned to attend. Furthermore, the primary participants of Horn Fair were tradesmen, seamen and Citizens, all of whom were frequently literarily cuckolded and had connections to domestic and overseas trade and commerce. It will be shown that the significant links between cuckoldry and trade which were forged during the Civil War and Protectorate became so culturally entrenched during the Restoration that they were geographically embedded in the streets of London.

The re-examination of literary cuckoldry proffered by this study is set out within the following chapters which demonstrate that nonconformity and the disruption of hierarchical order, both within households and beyond them, were commonalities in depictions of cuckoldry within loyalist Anglican rhetoric. These dangerous subversions were manifest in various forms of misconduct, all of which destabilised the state, and disordered the body politic. This thesis is set out with a Literature Review followed by six thematic chapters which explore, first, the legal evidence for cuckoldry in early modern society and, second, the figure of the cuckold in political print literature during the civil war and the immediate decades that followed.

Chapter 1 provides new insight into the way in which the courts viewed and dealt with cuckold as a sexual slander. It examines the law reports for the Court of Kings Bench which reveal that prohibitions were an important aspect of the legal process. Prohibitions impacted on whether a common law or ecclesiastical jurisdiction could hear legal actions for defamation where 'cuckold' was the insult at issue. The law reports reveal that as an insult, 'cuckold' had to be defended by the wives whose whoredom it implied. The scarcity of defamation actions involving cuckold as the insult at issue is also examined, and this chapter suggests that something has been lost in the translation of cuckoldry from a literary trope to its use as a sexual slander. In essence, too much weight has been attributed to 'cuckold' as a term of verbal abuse because of the pervasiveness of figurative cuckoldry.

Chapter 2 analyses various interpretations of scriptural horns, including those associated with rebellion against God in the Book of Revelation and Daniel: Chapter 7. It discusses the importance of scripture as a means of legitimising political discourse and looks at depictions of cuckoldry prior to its overt politicisation during the Civil War. In addition, it establishes that correlations between cuckoldry and commerce were already in place prior to the outbreak of war and provides insight into the men commonly stereotyped as cuckolds, particularly tradesmen.

Chapter 3 examines the role of cuckoldry during the Civil War. It discusses the different ways in which royalists and republicans used domestic/familial roles in their political ideologies and suggests that because cuckoldry was a common trope used by royalist authors at the court of Charles I prior to the war, it readily translated into royalist discourse during the conflict. Furthermore, it shows how the religious separatism/sectarianism of parliamentarians became explicitly referenced rather than obliquely mentioned and reveals how London's Citizens and tradesmen became stereotypical cuckolds who were necessarily unmanned by royalists because of their links to parliamentarianism and popular rebellion.

Chapter 4 assesses the continuation of the Civil War in Restoration politics, with particular emphasis on perceptions of the economic reforms undertaken by parliamentarians, such as private banking. London's Citizens and the City itself, which was the commercial heart of the nation continued to be associated with parliamentarianism, which was believed to have foreshadowed Restoration republicanism. The cornution of the Whig political faction which emerged out of the Succession Crisis is also explored to reveal the subtleties of cuckoldry which, when used as a political weapon, could be implied rather than explicit. Arguably one of the most significant nuances of cuckoldry, which is revealed through cornuted Whigs, is the lack of reference to their wives' adultery, although Benjamin Harris (the prolific Whig publisher) was an exception to this.

Chapter 5 looks primarily at Restoration cuckolds who were associated with religious non-conformity which was perceived as leading to either social or political rebellion. Particular attention is given to Quakers, 'Country' cuckolds and the Monmouth Rebellion, which was supported by dissenting west country weavers. The complexities of distinguishing longstanding stereotypical cuckolds from their

Anglican loyalist counterparts is also explored in more detail here, especially with regard to 'Country' cuckolds. The final chapter analyses Horn Fair and the geographical embedding of cuckoldry which was linked to trade in Restoration London. The corrupt nature of profiteering tradesmen and seamen, who were considered to place their own interests above those of the nation is also explored, and reinforces the alignment of disloyalty to the Stuart monarchy with dissent. Since the misconduct and materialism of these men's wives was also attacked (again, usually as a consequence of their connection to non-conformity), this chapter explores the lived reality of these women.

### Contexts for Early Modern Cuckoldry: Literature Review

The calamitous consequences of cuckoldry between spouses was a frequent feature of popular literature which, though often comic, nonetheless served as a moralizing, reformative cautionary tale which underlined the importance of female chastity and the necessity for a man to assert and maintain control over his wife. Historians and literary scholars have largely concurred with Lawrence Stone's contention that 'the honour of a married man was...severely damaged if he got the reputation of being a cuckold, since this was a slur on both his virility and his capacity to rule his own household'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Anthony Fletcher goes so far as to remark that in early modern society, 'above everything else it was a man's business to avoid being made a cuckold'<sup>2</sup> if he wanted to retain his honour and manhood. Mark Breitenberg suggests that early modern manhood was primarily determined in binary opposition to femininity and women who were, he argues, necessarily considered to be the 'Other' as a means of maintaining hierarchical social order.<sup>3</sup>

From the combined analysis of various court records along with popular literature such as ballads, plays and broadsides produced throughout the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, historians generally concur that women were commonly perceived as naturally deceitful, lustful, vain and proud. These were dangerous tendencies which must be governed at all times to maintain socio-political order. Female chastity, silence and subordination to their male superiors were therefore the ideals to which women ought to aspire.<sup>4</sup> Sexual behaviour played an important part in constructs of male and female honour and reputation, and whilst it is widely acknowledged that sexual honour and chastity remained an important part of female reputation, historians differ in their opinions about the impact sexual honour and maintaining control over wives, impacted upon constructs of manhood and male honour.

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<sup>1</sup> L. Stone, *The Family, Sex & Marriage, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 316-17.

<sup>2</sup> A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 103.

<sup>3</sup> M. Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> A. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex & Subordination*, 12.

Elizabeth Foyster argues that control over female sexuality was the 'pivot on which manhood rested'.<sup>5</sup> Expanding upon Fletcher's arguments she comments that when a man was cuckolded, the perception of his contemporaries (especially by the end of the seventeenth century) was that the fault lay with his own sexual inadequacies rather than his wife's uncontrollable lasciviousness: to be labelled a cuckold was an indictment of a husband's failure to assert his authority in and out of the bedroom. His wife's adultery and his fate as a cuckold were therefore inevitable, and he was most culpable.

However, as Faramerz Dabhoiwala and Alexandra Shepard have shown, although inter-gender relationships and the necessity for men to govern women's sexuality were important for the attainment of early modern manhood, there were also other aspects which shaped notions of male honour. Shepard in particular observes the importance of age, social status and honesty (which was also vital to a man's moral and financial 'credit') in shaping manhood.<sup>6</sup> Shepard and Dabhoiwala take the view that constructs of both manhood and femininity were mutable, complex and competing. Therefore, treating a man's (in)ability to govern his wife and household as the primary marker of manhood is far too simplistic: interpretations and practices of manhood were also crucially shaped by men's interactions with their male peers and subordinates, from whom they sought validation.

Literary portrayals of cuckoldry, and the character of the cuckold in plays, provided criticism and comment on women's adultery but also portrayed cuckoldry as a power play between men. Cuckoldry was therefore significant not only because it disrupted the relationship between a man and his wife, but also because it involved a crucial power play between men for sexual possession of a wife who was essentially considered the property of her husband. The importance of intra-gender dynamics appeared frequently in depictions of stereotypical cuckolds, including impotent old squires or wealthy gentry who were cuckolded by their avariciously ambitious, sometimes younger (but always lustier) social inferiors.

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<sup>5</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999), 55.

<sup>6</sup> See F. Dabhoiwala, The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Social Status in Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century London, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol.6 (1996), 201-213: 202; and A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 158.

The potential for men's bodies to fail was therefore a real cause for concern, particularly as the demography of the seventeenth century was characterised by low rates of reproduction, high child mortality rates and late age at marriage.<sup>7</sup> However, because it was widely held that men's seed contained the essential life force for procreation (while women's seed had a passive function) the onus was on men to perform their reproductive function. Sarah Toulalan comments that this led to a phallogentric emphasis in the seventeenth century since 'without the production of legitimate offspring to inherit either property or nation, the Kingdom [would] fall apart'.<sup>8</sup> Sexually inadequate cuckolds who failed in their efforts either to control their wives or produce future generations to strengthen the state therefore not only disordered their households but, most significantly, threatened the security of the nation.

Although there were changes in medical and scientific understandings of male and female bodies in the latter half of the seventeenth century, Jennifer Jordan remarks that 'knowledge and comprehension of the human body and of sexual difference during the early modern period was both complex and contradictory'<sup>9</sup>, and often framed within a context of science versus religion. In particular, Jordan notes the endurance of the Galenic 'one-sex' model of bodies which 'positioned male and female bodies along a hierarchical axis'<sup>10</sup> and viewed the female sex organs as 'inverted and sub-standard versions of male genitalia: thus women were imperfect versions of men'.<sup>11</sup> It is significant that notions of hierarchy and inversion were manifest physically, not only because they were used to justify women's subordination to men, but also because of the potentially catastrophic implications when men's bodies, and manhood, failed. When inversion and hierarchy are applied to a husband and wife whose union is essential for the stability of the state, the female sex organs become penile (which also implies that she wears the breeches

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<sup>7</sup> K. Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain, 1470-1750* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 303 and T. Hitchcock, *English Sexualities 1700-180* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1997), 25.

<sup>8</sup> S. Toulalan, 'The Act of Copulation being Ordain'd by Nature as the Ground of all Generation: Fertility and the representation of sexual pleasure in seventeenth century pornography in England', *Women's History Review*, 15:4, (2006), 521-532: 528.

<sup>9</sup> J. Jordan, 'That ere with Age, his strength is utterly decay'd': *Understanding the Male Body in Early Modern England* (in K. Fisher, & S. Toulalan, *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)), 29.

<sup>10</sup> J. Jordan, 'That ere with Age, his strength is utterly decay'd', 27.

<sup>11</sup> J. Jordan, 'That ere with Age, his strength is utterly decay'd', 27.

and assumes overall authority) whilst the man is emasculated in every possible sense. This dynamic is intrinsic to all forms of cuckoldry and arguably goes some way to explaining the cuckold's cultural endurance as a socio-political trope.

Cuckoldry was perceived as a danger to all married men regardless of their social status, although literature often depicted men of the lower sort as cuckolds. The reality of cuckoldry, however, was that those with titles, land or money stood to lose more than their reputation if a wife's adultery produced an illegitimate child. Because the English system of primogeniture dictated that inheritance passed to the first-born male heir, illegitimate heirs had the potential to destabilise the system and delegitimise a family's lineage. Illegitimate children also placed an economic burden on either cuckolded husbands who took on the financial responsibility of another man's offspring, or on the parishes who necessarily provided poor relief for wives and children cast out of the economic security of the marital home as a consequence of cuckoldry. The necessity for legitimate heirs therefore impacted on the importance of safeguarding female chastity as a vital socio-economic measure to protect against the problems posed by illegitimate children. As Sarah Toulalan observes, Church teachings and prescriptive literature emphasised that 'successfully procreative marriage bound couples together in mutual support to nurture their offspring, thereby ensuring social, political, economic and religious stability through securing bloodlines and inheritance.'<sup>12</sup>

The ability to father children was therefore, as Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster have shown, an important means of men proving their manhood. Without children, 'a married man's honour, reputation and credit were open to question...Men with bodies that lacked potent heat were thought weak and ineffectual outside the bedroom as well as within it'.<sup>13</sup> This was a concern for men of 'even modest social status [who] could be subject to ridicule from their friends, neighbours and family if they did not father children in marriage'<sup>14</sup>. Those who failed the paternity test of manhood therefore sought other means of asserting their masculinity, and as Berry and Foyster further divulge 'childlessness could open a

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<sup>12</sup> S. Toulalan, 'Elderly Years cause a Total dispaire of Conception': Old Age, Sex and Infertility in Early Modern England, *Social History of Medicine*, 29, 2 (2016), 333-359: 333.

<sup>13</sup> H. Berry & E. Foyster, *The Family in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 178.

<sup>14</sup> H. Berry & E. Foyster, *The Family in Early Modern England*, 167.

man's reputation to question, but he could still assume paternal roles and exercise patriarchal authority'<sup>15</sup> through adopting civic roles such as 'philanthropists, or as godparents, guardians and adopted parents within their family circles'.<sup>16</sup>

The potential for cuckoldry to wreak havoc on family legacies and finances, and the necessity for men to produce legitimate heirs was not, however, confined to early modern England. Whilst English perspectives of cuckoldry have been extensively covered, cuckoldry was also a common trope which appeared in art, literature and social practices across western Europe during this period. There were significant commonalities between English, Italian and French cuckolds, including cuckoldry being perceived as an inescapable fate of married men. The hazards of illegitimate heirs for bloodlines and dynasties were also a congruent concern. As in England, these implications not only weakened a man's authority as the head of a household, but endangered his business and political relationships beyond it.<sup>17</sup> According to Sara Matthews Grieco, in 17<sup>th</sup> century France:

contemporary treatises on civil and criminal law invariably reiterated the early modern *topos* according to which the *pater familias* was invested with the authority of Church and State, which meant that his role fulfilled both a religious and a civic function. Female adultery was therefore not just a private matter, but a crime capable of undermining social, political and religious order<sup>18</sup>

Most significantly, Matthews-Grieco also notes that perceptions of cuckoldry and the ways it was dealt with by the French legal system differed greatly. She remarks that 'while comic theatre and humorous prints acted as light-hearted vehicles for more sober moral agendas, 17<sup>th</sup> century legislation provided an institutional counterpoint to the representation of cuckoldry in entertainment media'.<sup>19</sup> The same

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<sup>15</sup> H. Berry & E. Foyster, *The Family in Early Modern England*, 183.

<sup>16</sup> H. Berry & E. Foyster, *The Family in Early Modern England*, 183.

<sup>17</sup> J. M. Musacchio, 'Adultery, Cuckoldry and House-Scorning in Florence: The Case of Bianca Cappello' in S. Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe, (15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2016), 11-34: 12.

<sup>18</sup> S. F. Matthews-Grieco, 'Picart's Browbeaten Husbands in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century France: Cuckoldry in Context', in S. Matthews-Grieco, (ed.), *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2016), 249-290: 276.

<sup>19</sup> S. F. Matthews-Grieco, 'Picart's Browbeaten Husbands in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century France', 276.



disconnection between literary tropes and legal reality can be found in England, and arguably situates this study within new historiographical explorations of European cuckoldry.

In addition to socio-political anxieties about cuckoldry being shared across England and Europe, the public shaming rituals associated with it were also alike. For example, the affixing of animal horns to the door of a cuckold's household was a public display of familial shame in early modern England, and also commonly practiced in Italy. The tradition of fixing horns to the doors of cuckolds as markers of public humiliation in Italy dates back as far as the mid-fourteenth century. Furthermore, the targeting of doors and windows in most forms of Italian public shaming (including hanging horns, throwing rocks or excrement and daubing defamatory writing on houses) was not simply a practicality. Rather, these were understood to be significant as the 'liminal zones between private and public'.<sup>20</sup> In early modern England, those believed to be cuckolds, and indeed their allegedly (or actually) adulterous wives, could also be subjected to other rituals as a means of castigating their corrupted household, such as the skimmington.

The skimmington ceremony involved an errant couple being paraded through the streets to a cacophony of rough music produced by neighbours and other residents banging on domestic implements such as pots and pans, or whatever was to hand to add noise, and further contempt, to the procession. As David Underdown comments, unruly women and gender inversion were central to this ceremony which sought to 'restore the subverted moral order by inverting it yet again'.<sup>21</sup> This inversion was physically, and very obviously, displayed by sitting the couple back to back or mounting the cuckolded husband backwards on a horse and re-enacting their 'transgressions with a satirical use of transvestite clothing and gendered household items'.<sup>22</sup> Underdown also contends that these ceremonies were part of a distinct 'popular' culture in which the lower sorts rather than the elite were the most active

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<sup>20</sup> J. M. Musacchio, *Adultery, Cuckoldry and House-Scorning in Florence*, 19.

<sup>21</sup> D. Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England 1603-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 111.

<sup>22</sup> M. A. Katritzky, 'Historical and Literary Contexts for the Skimmington: Impotence and Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*' in S. Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2016), 59-82: 70.

participants. However, as Martin Ingram has countered, whilst these rituals were indeed a feature of popular culture, nevertheless this was not to the exclusion of the elites. Rather, Ingram remarks that those who participated in the ceremony were from a broad social spectrum.<sup>23</sup>

Most significantly, Ingram remarks that 'elite patronage of the charivari tradition for political purposes was translated from the literary sphere into the world of action from the 1670s to the early eighteenth century'.<sup>24</sup> He further suggests that the politicisation of the skimmington was a means of the Whig and Tory parties seeking to garner popular support for their respective parties during the Exclusion Crisis.<sup>25</sup> The political use of the skimmington ceremony has also been noted in M.A. Katritzky's study of royalist writer Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* which reveals a political angle to the skimmington. The poem was initially published in 1663 (the first of a series of three poems which were updated and republished numerous times over the course of the later seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century) and described the main protagonist (Sir Hudibras) being subjected to a skimmington as a result of being cuckolded. However, the ceremony had a greater significance than acting as a display of gendered household disorder, and Katritzky comments that Butler's 'primary motivation was political rather than domestic; he targeted the private battle between the sexes, but even more the political humiliations of Commonwealth and post-Commonwealth England'.<sup>26</sup> This is a vital point to note, not only because it reinforces the inextricability of gender and early modern politics, but also because it correlates with the politicisation of literary tropes of cuckoldry discussed in this study.

The politico-religious connection between cuckoldry and nonconformity put forward by this study is further supported by Ashley Marshall's analysis of *Hudibras*. The poem is an account of the travels of a Presbyterian knight (Sir Hudibras) and the Independent squire Ralpho and, as Marshall asserts, *Hudibras* is 'not simply a belated besmirching of the ousted dissenters but a seriously polemical contribution to a contemporary debate about how dissenters of all stripes should be handled in

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<sup>23</sup> M. Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture" in Early Modern England', *Past & Present*, 105, 1, (1984), 79-113: 108.

<sup>24</sup> M. Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture"', 108.

<sup>25</sup> M. Ingram, 'Ridings, Rough Music and the "Reform of Popular Culture"', 108.

<sup>26</sup> M. A. Katritzky, 'Historical and Literary Contexts for the Skimmington', 74.

the Restoration period.<sup>27</sup> Marshall also observes that the poem 'appears to support the move made by Anglican royalists to redefine Presbyterianism as non-conformist' in the early years of Charles II's rule.<sup>28</sup> It is also perhaps noteworthy that the skimmington to which Presbyterian Sir Hudibras was subjected, described him as facing the 'rump' of the horse he sat astride. This may, of course, merely refer to the common practice of sitting a cuckold backwards in the ritual, or it may be that it is an oblique reference to the link between cuckoldry, parliamentarianism (the Rump Parliament) and radical religious pluralism stemming from the Civil War.

The fear of religious dissent, and its capacity to destabilise the Stuart crown and state, was grounded in the Civil War and continued to reverberate throughout Charles II's Restoration rule, although historians have differing opinions about the significance of sectarianism. For example, David Underdown comments that the religious fractures which appeared during the civil war, when political and ecclesiastical authority were diminished, had a limited appeal. He contends that 'most people continued to accept the still reiterated messages of hierarchical order, and to hanker not for total religious liberty, but for the comfortable certainty of the old religion'<sup>29</sup>, namely that of the Anglican Church. Christopher Hill focuses on the intellectual, political and social revolutions of the Civil War which were made possible (and to some extent easier) by Protestant non-conformity. Overall, he concludes that the war was ultimately caused by economic changes and class antagonism rather than religious divisions.<sup>30</sup> Hill's opinion is echoed by Alan Smith who views the Civil War as a primarily social and political revolution in which religion served merely as a backdrop rather than a driving force.<sup>31</sup>

However, John Morrill argues that religion was central to the conflicts, and was a primary ground for action. He notes that there was a very real and passionate

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<sup>27</sup> A. Marshall, 'The Aims of Butler's Satire in Hudibras', *Modern Philology*, 105, 4 (2008), 637-665: 641.

<sup>28</sup> A. Marshall, 'The Aims of Butler's Satire in Hudibras', 646.

<sup>29</sup> D. Underdown, 'Revel, Riot and Rebellion', 255.

<sup>30</sup> C. Hill, *Change and Continuity in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 281.

<sup>31</sup> A. G. R. Smith, *The Emergence of a Nation State: The Commonwealth of England*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1997), 296.

belief that 'England was in the process of being subjected to the forces of Antichrist, that the prospects were of anarchy, chaos, the dissolution of government and liberties; and the equally passionate belief that disobedience to the king, carried to the point of violent resistance, could only lead to chaos and anarchy'.<sup>32</sup> Glenn Burgess takes this argument a step further, noting that these beliefs were particularly a concern for civil war royalists whose 'justifications of kingly power were so often inspired by fear of anarchy and disorder, [and] religious pluralism was widely taken to be a major cause of anarchy'.<sup>33</sup>

Concerns about nonconformity and its capacity to undermine the authority of the Anglican Church were not confined to the Civil War, but continued into the Restoration. Paul Seaward explains that the religious disputes of the Restoration were a continuation of those in the Civil War and involved many of the same issues and anxieties, including the 'political effects of a diversity of religious belief; the security of the law; partisan animosity; social antagonism and national identity'.<sup>34</sup> Although the Anglican Church had endured throughout the tumult of the Civil War, its power had been diminished and fractured by Protestant nonconformity. Therefore, when Charles II was restored as monarch and supreme head of the Anglican Church in 1660, the Anglican establishment sought to reassert its authority alongside the king and heal its battle wounds from the Civil War. The considerable impact of the Civil War on the identity of Restoration Anglicanism has been commented upon by Gary S. De Krey. He observes that a 'distinctive Anglican identity emerged during the Restoration as a response of the Church's clerical and social leaders' [suppression and persecution by puritans and republicans in the 1640s and 1650s]...and to the fear that it might be repeated'.<sup>35</sup> The significance of the Civil War in producing ripples of religious tensions which reverberated throughout the Restoration is vital. It gives further credibility to the suggestion that the politico-religious use of cuckoldry against rebellious religious radicals had a distinctly Anglican bent which appeared in royalist rhetoric during the Civil War and continued in loyalist Restoration literature.

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<sup>32</sup> J. B. Morrill, *The Nature of The English Revolution* (Essex: Longman Group Limited, 1993), 63-64

<sup>33</sup> G. Burgess, 'Royalism and Liberty of Conscience in the English Revolution', in J. Morrow & J. Scott (eds), *Liberty, Authority, Formality: Political ideas and Culture, 1600-1900, Essays in Honour of Colin Davis* (Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2008), 9-28: 17.

<sup>34</sup> P. Seaward, *The Restoration* (Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1991), 40.

<sup>35</sup> G. S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, 117.

Recent directions of research have revealed how the language and imagery within all forms of literature were adopted and adapted for political purpose literature during the Civil War. This involved recycling and repurposing traditional tropes, which were adapted by both parliamentarians and royalists. As Helen Pierce notes, during with the 'twin threats of royalism and Catholicism inextricably fused in the pages of parliamentary pamphlet polemic, old fears and anxieties were reworked into new, yet derivative, texts and images'.<sup>36</sup> From the assessment of royalist newsbooks published during the conflicts of Civil War, Jason McElligott similarly discovered that they 'commonly deployed a host of images, quotations and metaphors from a broad swathe of human experience and knowledge, including the Bible, popular culture, politics, the natural world and classical, medieval and recent history'.<sup>37</sup> Literary and linguistic re-appropriation and re-purposing also continued beyond the civil war and throughout the Restoration.

As Mark Knight notes, words, texts and phrases were deliberately given multiple meanings by the Whig and Tory factions which emerged out of the partisan politics in the Exclusion Crisis of the later Restoration period. He makes the significant argument that 'anxiety about the effect of publicly competitive partisanship on language, truth and the capacity for judgement was profound, not just an abstract concern but deeply embedded in political culture'.<sup>38</sup> It is therefore feasible that tropes of cuckoldry and cornution used to caution against the dangers of religious pluralism were grounded in the conflicts of Civil War, and became embroiled in the partisan wars of words which defined Restoration politics.

Differing attitudes towards the toleration of dissent were problematic for Charles II and his parliament from the start of his reign. The Cavalier Parliament, which sat between 1661 and 1679 was, as its name suggests, predominantly comprised of former Cavaliers who had fought for Charles II's father, Charles I, and those who were 'overwhelmingly of Episcopalian and royalist temper'.<sup>39</sup> Paul Seaward asserts that the parliament was cautiously conservative, and as 'Cavalier

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<sup>36</sup> H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures: Graphic Satire and Politics in Early Modern England* (Newhaven: Yale University Press, 2008), 153.

<sup>37</sup> J. McElligott, *Royalism, Print and Censorship in Revolutionary England* (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2007), 51.

<sup>38</sup> M. Knight, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 215.

<sup>39</sup> N. H. Keeble, *The Restoration: England in the 1660s* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 85.

and Anglican the parliament of 1661 may have seemed, its instincts were not'.<sup>40</sup> However, differing attitudes towards the toleration of dissent remained a point of contention between the monarch and his parliament and, as Ronald Hutton declares, the parliament 'set out from the beginning to wreck Charles's programme for a toleration of nonconformity regulated by the monarch.'<sup>41</sup>

Charles II and the Cavalier Parliament therefore enacted a raft of legislation aimed at simultaneously promoting loyalty to his restored rule, whilst preventing and penalising nonconformity. These included The Corporation Act (1661), which obligated office holders in corporations to take the Anglican sacrament and swear non-resistance to the king, the Act of Uniformity (1662), The Quaker Act (1662) and the Conventicle Act (1664) which fined those who attended conventicles. The king's final attempt to extend toleration to dissenters (and to allow Catholics to worship in their own homes) was the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672. However, this was extremely unpopular with his Cavalier Parliament and was ultimately revoked in 1673 when the parliament (particularly the 'Country' element) used it as a negotiating tool - they withheld funding for the nation's involvement in the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-74) until the Declaration was quashed.<sup>42</sup> In addition to legislation and penalties being enforced (with varying degrees of success) on dissenters to prevent chaos reigning through religious radicalism, non-conformists were also frequently subjected to physical and literary persecutory attacks.

Alexandra Walsham explains how stereotyping non-conformists was central to their oppression within cyclical persecutions of religious dissidence. She argues that 'persecution was a circular and incremental process fuelled by the existence of stereotypes of deviance and by wars of words between the adherents of competing faiths and creeds'.<sup>43</sup> Although Walsham does not refer to the cuckold specifically, she nonetheless provides valuable insight into the prolific use of monstrosity, sexual promiscuity and an affiliation with the Devil which featured in ballads, broadsides

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<sup>40</sup> P. Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661-1667* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 70.

<sup>41</sup> R. Hutton, *Charles The Second, King of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 180.

<sup>42</sup> G. S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, 104.

<sup>43</sup> A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 129.

and pamphlets used to condemn nonconformity.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Sarah Toulalan has also shown that the various groups of religious dissidents which appeared during the Civil War were frequently the butt of jokes in sexual satire which associated their religious perversion with sexual promiscuity.<sup>45</sup> Chronologically progressing from the Civil War into the Restoration, Toulalan observes that during the reign of Charles II, Quakers in particular were associated with sexual licentiousness. This was explained by their being erroneously associated with the doctrine of antinomianism (the belief that mankind was released from all moral, legal and social obligations because Christ atoned for the sins of man when he was crucified). Toulalan comments that antinomianism 'lends itself to religious sexual satire as a justification for adultery and fornication that mocks dissenting sects while also providing sexually explicit and entertaining narrative' in political pornography.<sup>46</sup>

Whilst Toulalan observes the importance of religion in shaping sexualised satire and stereotypes, Melissa Mowry provides a distinctly secular account of Restoration political pornography. Mowry contends that pornography functioned as a 'finely honed complaint against corporate identity and democratic politics'<sup>47</sup> and notes that loyalist publications in particular often featured those whose conduct placed them outside the remits of social and political order. The figure who provides the focus of Mowry's analysis of Restoration bawdy politics is the whore, and she argues that the prostitute was the 'loyalists' single most useful antirepublican trope'<sup>48</sup> because she symbolised the dangerous consequences of republican individualism.

This study demonstrates that for loyalists, the cuckolded man was a fitting literary counterpart to the prostitute. The disordered bodies and sexual aberrance of both the whore and the cuckold were literarily exhibited as extreme to such an extent that they disrupted the order of households and state. Mowry also makes the point that there was a 'multiheaded, multivoiced monster of commonwealth supporters that became the subject of Restoration pornography'<sup>49</sup>, although she

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<sup>44</sup> A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 120-124.

<sup>45</sup> S. Toulalan, *Imagining Sex*, 210.

<sup>46</sup> S. Toulalan, *Imagining Sex*, 210.

<sup>47</sup> M. Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England, 1660-1714* (Ashgate Publishing Limited: Aldershot, 2004), 28.

<sup>48</sup> M. Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England*, 60.

<sup>49</sup> M. Mowry, *The Bawdy Politic in Stuart England*, 28.

does not refer to the scriptural basis of this nor remark upon its religious significance. However, the complexities of Restoration politics which contextualised depictions of both cuckolds and whores cannot be fully understood without also examining the role of religion, because the two were often inextricably linked. As Tim Harris states, during Charles II's rule political factions 'developed along two major axes: the constitutional...and the religious'<sup>50</sup> and further asserts that 'of the two, however, primacy of place belonged to religious factors in the determination of party identity'.<sup>51</sup> As this study demonstrates, when the cuckold appeared in texts which can be identified as loyalist, he had a specifically religious significance and was not simply a secular trope.

The cuckold appeared within popular political discourse which used sexualised language, and specific forms of sexual misconduct, to discredit opponents. All forms of sexually transgressive behaviour, by both men and women, were considered to disrupt gendered and social hierarchies, and consequently destabilised the state. As John Walter notes 'hierarchy was a central organizing principle in early modern England. As in other societies, the body both as social fact and discursive construction played a central role in representing and articulating this hierarchy'.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, as Peter Lake remarks, given the centrality of gendered hierarchies to households and the state, 'it would be surprising if the retelling of...bitter little tales of domestic dysfunction should not have expressed and addressed the political realm as well.'<sup>53</sup>

Historians have reached different conclusions about the extent to which gendered and domestic hierarchies influenced political ideologies in early modern England. According to Susan Dwyer Amussen 'gender became less tied to other aspects of the social system; the family became less central to political and social order' after 1660.<sup>54</sup> However, more recent extensive analyses of early modern

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<sup>50</sup> T. Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts: Party Conflict in a Divided Society* (Harlow: Longman Group UK Limited, 1993), 8.

<sup>51</sup> T. Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts*, 8.

<sup>52</sup> J. Walter, 'Body Politics in the English Revolution' in S. Taylor, & G. Tapsell (eds), *The Nature of the English Revolution Revisited, Essays in Honour of John Morrill* (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 2013) 81-102: 83.

<sup>53</sup> P. Lake, with M Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 78.

<sup>54</sup> S. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 133.



politics and society have revealed that concepts of gender and the household continued to play a vital role in shaping and communicating political principles and ideas. Family and gendered domestic roles were especially important for framing political ideologies by providing relatable paradigms which helped to explain political events. Ann Hughes has provided insight into the ways in which disordered and disruptive gender was used to express anxieties during the Civil War, whilst Rachel Weil has demonstrated how gendered domestic roles such as fathers, husbands and wives informed, and were pointedly used, in both whig and tory political ideologies during the Glorious Revolution and later Stuart period.<sup>55</sup>

Yet the importance of hierarchical order, and particularly how instrumental the family and household were for securing it, differed according to political viewpoints. As Ann Hughes explains, civil war 'parliamentarians, and republicans in particular, tended to deny that political authority as such was ultimately legitimised through a comparison with the authority of a father or husband'.<sup>56</sup> This contrasted with a 'royalist preoccupation with marriage and 'private' intimacies'.<sup>57</sup> The significance of the family to political ideologies was also a complex point of contestation throughout the Restoration. Rachel Weil notes that although familial relationships and their political import were a prominent feature of discourse during the Succession Crisis, the debates prompted by this politico-religious crisis 'did not produce consensus about the nature of the family, nor about the nature of political authority'.<sup>58</sup> The role of the family was therefore used to varying degrees and with different emphases by the Tory and Whig political parties which emerged as a consequence of the Succession Crisis.

Furthermore, the continued alignment of cuckoldry with political developments after the Restoration has been commented upon by David Turner. From a detailed assessment of adultery and cuckoldry Turner discovered an abundance of more sensitive and complex depictions of cuckoldry after 1688. Most significantly, these were 'congruent with new political arguments regarding the

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<sup>55</sup> See A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution* and R. Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

<sup>56</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 140.

<sup>57</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 141.

<sup>58</sup> R. Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 2.

family as a 'private' institution emerging at this time'.<sup>59</sup> Although the political importance of families and households was emphasised in a number of ways and subject to change, nonetheless, domestic roles continued to inform political ideologies.

As well as failing to adhere to ideals of sexual conduct, cuckolds and their unruly wives often exhibited some form of morally corrupt behaviour, which could be construed as the physical manifestation of a spiritual corruption caused by dissent. As Mark Knights' recent study of corruption and its links to anti-popery reveals, early modern language was complex and could be infused with religious and political significance. Knights notes that 'in early modernity corruption was a religious term, related to sin'<sup>60</sup> and that 'anti-popery brought together the word's wider political, legal, fiscal and moral meanings, making it a powerful, and adaptable, weapon to use against enemies.'<sup>61</sup> Most significantly, Knights notes that notions of corruption were used in attacks on Protestant dissenters as well as against Catholics. It is plausible, therefore, that the cuckold's immoral conduct was an implicit means of portraying spiritual corruption. Protestant nonconformity, with which politico-religious cuckoldry and corruption were associated, was believed by some to be part of a popish conspiracy to fracture the Anglican Church, and render England vulnerable to the double jeopardy of Catholicism and absolute monarchy.

The scriptural significance of cuckoldry outlined in this study is located within a new historiographical direction which explores the complexity of early-modern language and its multifarious meanings, particularly when words and symbolism were appropriated for partisan politico-religious purpose. Figurative cuckoldry remains open to new historiographical interpretations and it is intended that this study will contribute an original analysis of cuckoldry by showing its religious import within popular political discourse. As Kellye Corcoran remarks 'familiarity has bred an uncritical view of the attitudes towards cuckoldry – it is all

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<sup>59</sup> D. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 115.

<sup>60</sup> M. Knights, 'Religion, anti-popery and corruption' in M.J. Braddick & P. Withington (eds), *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of John Walter* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017), 181-202: 185.

<sup>61</sup> M. Knights, 'Religion, anti-popery and corruption', 185.

too easy to dismiss the concept as a homogenous cultural concept'.<sup>62</sup> New directions of historiographical analysis have provided more nuanced interpretations and understandings of cuckoldry. They reveal that cuckoldry was by no means a fixed concept used primarily as a safety valve to air anxieties about adultery, marriage and the loss of manhood. These new understandings are vital for providing more detailed and informed insight into the complexities and contradictions of early-modern attitudes and lived experiences.

Portrayals of, and reactions to, cuckoldry were shaped by changes in society and, as both Corcoran and David Turner have remarked, in the final years of the seventeenth century, there was a significant shift in attitudes towards cuckoldry. Corcoran notes that 'sympathy towards cuckolds, often orchestrated by the cuckolds themselves, began to infiltrate realms of culture where previously only derisive laughter existed'<sup>63</sup>, whilst Turner observes that 'by the eighteenth century, certainly among the formers of polite opinion, it was considered distasteful and socially unacceptable to laugh at deceived husbands'.<sup>64</sup> Turner also notes that these significant changes in perceptions of cuckolds have been largely overlooked by historians and comments that, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in particular, cuckolds were viewed more sympathetically rather than simply being ridiculed. Corcoran and Turner concur that increasing sympathy towards cuckolds was a feature of literature and life at the very end of the seventeenth century. However, it will be shown that from the mid seventeenth century and throughout the Restoration, politicised depictions of cuckoldry were published not with the intent of promoting compassion, but rather to provoke contempt.

The political dimension of cuckoldry has started to be revealed in recent examinations of European cuckoldry. Sara Matthews-Grieco suggests that domestic disorder and cuckoldry were a fitting political analogy for the Fronde, a series of civil wars in France (1648-53) in which the nobility and Parlements (which represented the bulk of the French populace) sought to limit the power of Louis XIV's royal government. She notes:

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<sup>62</sup> K. Corcoran, 'Cuckoldry as Performance, 1675-1715', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 52, 3, (2012), 543-59: 543.

<sup>63</sup> K. Corcoran, 'Cuckoldry as Performance', 543.

<sup>64</sup> D. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 113.

it does not seem entirely serendipitous that the multiplication of Parisian engravings on domestic disorder so closely parallels the basic premise of the Fronde: just as the Fronde challenged the abuse of royal power without contesting the political institution of kingship, so, too, were prints denouncing conjugal abuse without contesting the institution of marriage itself<sup>65</sup>

In England, the political use of cuckoldry and domestic disorder also had a much deeper significance which had emerged as a consequence of conflict. The use of figurative cuckoldry by civil war royalists against their parliamentary opponents foreshadowed its employment by Restoration loyalists who also adopted cuckoldry as a means of representing and attacking those whose nonconformist misconduct, disloyalty and rebellion inverted hierarchical order and fractured the body politic.

The cuckold's ability to signify more than cautionary tales about bad marriages and adulterous wives meant that he could be adapted for different purposes, interpreted in a variety of ways and used to provoke different responses. This mutability aided his performance as a political commentator. Commenting on the complexity of cornution, Pamela Allen Brown notes that 'one of the seductions of horn logic was its power to make short work of complex and contested narratives'.<sup>66</sup> From an examination of the issues which lay beneath the cuckold's horns during the Reformation, Claire McEachern similarly contends that cuckoldry was a humorous means of expressing deeper anxieties than simply those about the dangers of unruly wives and marital indiscretions. McEachern argues that 'in its extrusion from the body the [cuckold's] horn releases or deflects some social tension'.<sup>67</sup> Yet although one of the longstanding purposes of literary cuckoldry, whether politicised or not, was to prompt horn humour, there was also a more serious, complex side to this function.

The laughter prompted by horn humour sometimes held more meaning than an expression of light-hearted relief and joviality. As Adam Morton notes, 'laughter damned its object by suggesting that it was worthy of derision and thus rendered it

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<sup>65</sup> S. F. Matthews-Grieco, 'Picart's Browbeaten Husbands in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century France', 276.

<sup>66</sup> P. A. Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Cornell University Press: New York, 2003), 86.

<sup>67</sup> K. Corcoran, 'Cuckoldry as Performance', 609-10.

ridiculous.<sup>68</sup> Whilst the cuckold was often portrayed as impotent, ironically the laughter he provoked was, Morton remarks, 'potent, possessing the capacity to withdraw respect from its object, to alter its social status.'<sup>69</sup> Fiona McCall also remarks on the power and potency laughter could have as a political weapon and notes that 'following the events of the 1640s and 1650s it was no longer possible to conceive of radical Protestants as harmless eccentrics: nonconformists remained powerful and, in the loyalists' view, in need of neutralisation'.<sup>70</sup> One of the ways loyalists sought to neutralise the threat of nonconformity was through the 'use of humour [which] made it hard for dissenters to respond effectively, and closed down the possibility of the sectarian debate they so much enjoyed'.<sup>71</sup>

McCall's argument that Restoration loyalists deliberately used humour as a means of diminishing dissenters is particularly pertinent because it goes some way towards explaining why cuckoldry and horn humour continued to be used as a predominantly loyalist trope throughout Charles II's reign. Furthermore, it is feasible that cuckoldry was a dialogic, sexualised form of rebuttal against criticisms of Charles II's government which rebuked the monarch and his courtiers for their notorious venery which was linked to political corruption: libertinism and religious scepticism were associated with absolutism and political tyranny.<sup>72</sup> Just as cuckold making by the king and his courtiers was ultimately no laughing matter, the cuckold continued to be a figure of ridicule, but he came to represent deeper concerns about the instability of the Stuart monarchy and Anglican Church.

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<sup>68</sup> A. Morton, 'Popery, Politics and Play: visual culture in succession crisis England', *The Seventeenth Century*, 31, 4, (2016), 411-449: 431.

<sup>69</sup> A. Morton, 'Popery, Politics and Play', 431.

<sup>70</sup> F. McCall, 'Continuing Civil War by Other Means: Loyalist Mockery of the Interregnum Church' in M. Knight & A. Morton (eds) *The Power of Laughter and Satire in Early Modern Britain: Political and Religious Culture 1500-1820* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 84-106: 97.

<sup>71</sup> F. McCall, 'Continuing Civil War by Other Means', 105.

<sup>72</sup> R. Weil, 'Sometimes a Scepter is only a Scepter' in L. Hunt (ed.), *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800* (New York: Zone Books, 1993) 125-153: 132.

## **Chapter 1**

## Cuckolds in the Law Courts

In 1662, Sir Thomas Ridley, a doctor of civil law, outlined the jurisdictional boundaries for defamation litigation in his publication *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law*. These fell broadly under two lines: slanders within the remit of the common law were those which implicated a man with a crime which 'it is expedient for the Commonwealth to know, as Treason, Felonie, Murther, Incest, Adulterie and such like'.<sup>1</sup> Other insults, which implied defect 'as where a man objecteth against another any imperfection of his minde, or deformitie of his body...or reproceeth him with any thing in his state or condition, wherewith his is not justly to be charged'<sup>2</sup> were actionable under ecclesiastical law. Ridley also defined defamation as 'to utter reproachful speeches of another, with an intent to raise up an ill fame of him'<sup>3</sup> by implying 'either matters of crime or matters of defect'.<sup>4</sup> The notion of defect indicated by Ridley is particularly important because studies of early modern sexual slander have led to differing conclusions about whose behaviour was considered most defective in terms of cuckoldry, and who bore the culpability and consequences for it.

Although 'cuckold' was a gender-specific insult directed against men, Laura Gowing argues that women's unchastity was at the heart of cuckold accusations. She contends that whilst cuckoldry represented a husband's failure to control his wife, the insult implied that their wives were whores, which was the real point of contention. In essence, 'cuckold' was more concerned with female unchastity than with a husband's misconduct and sexual behaviour. Instead, men were more often insulted with non-sexual words like knave and rogue.<sup>5</sup> From his study of the London consistory court records for defamation litigation (1700-1745), Tim Meldrum also asserts that 'cuckold' was an insult which 'had far more potency when it was taken

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<sup>1</sup> T. Ridley, *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law: And wherein the Practice of them is streitned and may be relieved within this Land, written by Sr Thomas Ridley, Knight and Doctor of the Civile Law, The Third Edition, by J.G, Mr of Arts, (1662), 341.*

<sup>2</sup> T. Ridley, *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law*, 345.

<sup>3</sup> T. Ridley, *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law*, 339.

<sup>4</sup> T. Ridley, *A View of the Civile and Ecclesiastical Law*, 341.

<sup>5</sup> L. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 62-3.

to mean sexual infidelity by wives, instead of their husband's failure to maintain patriarchal control over them'.<sup>6</sup> However, the of early modern marital disputes and the role they played in the formation, loss and restoration of manhood, led Elizabeth to conclude that because men were responsible for their wives' conduct, the blame for cuckoldry ultimately lay with husbands themselves. Foyster notes that 'in the popular mind there was a clear link between a husband's actions and sexual ability, and his wife's behaviour'.<sup>7</sup> These differences of opinion between historians about whether sexual transgressions by wives, or the sexual incompetence of husbands was the main cause for concern in cuckoldry, are significant and provoke important questions about the power of the slur. They are contextualised by representations of the cuckolded man who was a common character in early modern plays and literature but there was a difference between the crushing weight of literary and political representations and how being labelled a cuckold in society was actually experienced by men, and how much it actually mattered. This is shown by the disparity between the frequency with which cuckolded men appeared both on the stage and on the page in bawdy ballads, broadsides and pamphlets which ridiculed the weaknesses and ineptitude of men who had been usurped by unruly wives, and the number of defamation cases in defence of men who had been verbally abused as a 'cuckold'.

Studies of defamation litigation have a significant similarity in that they reveal a scarcity of cases where the insult of 'cuckold' was used directly and provoked a legal action in its own right. Even during periods when litigation increased significantly, (including the decades leading up to Civil War and the initial period of Charles II's Restoration) cuckolds appeared in a comparatively small number of defamation actions. This suggests that 'cuckold' was a defamatory word that did not exist with any power which necessitated legal redress. Although marital disputes, adultery and property cases involving children sometimes involved a

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<sup>6</sup> T. Meldrum, 'A Women's Court in London: Defamation at the Bishop of London's Consistory Court, 1700-1745', *The London Journal*, 19, 1, (1994), 1-20: 10.

<sup>7</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999), 67 (quoting L. Gowing, 'Language, power and the law: women's slander litigation in early modern London', in J. Kermode and G.S Walker (eds), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), 29-30, see also L. Gowing, 'Gender and the language of insult in early modern London' *HWJ*35 (1993), 4; T. Meldrum, 'A women's court in London: defamation at the Bishop of London's consistory court, 1700-1745', *London Journal* 19, 1 (1994), 10).



cuckolded husband, 'cuckold' was not an insult worthy of defamation litigation. Words such as 'cuckoldly' appeared within the context of other disputes to add insult to injury, although it was rarely the injury itself. Therefore, whilst being made a cuckold could damage a man's reputation as patriarchal head within his marriage, the consequence of being slandered as a cuckold appears to have varied from social embarrassment to hardly any impact at all.

From an examination of sexual slander in the Church courts at Wiltshire, Ely and York over the period 1570-1640, Martin Ingram discovered that while 'considerable numbers of men were evidently sensitive to sexual slanders, few...were accusations of cuckoldry'.<sup>8</sup> Although Ingram does not suggest or seek to uncover reasons for the scarcity of cuckolds in defamation cases, the notable lack of actions brought before the Church courts was not an anomaly, but something of a commonality in other studies of defamation litigation brought before ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical court records which collectively cover a chronology exceeding 100 years of the early modern period.

For example, 'cuckold' was also conspicuously absent as a provocation for litigation by the gentlemen and nobility who defended their honour against defamation in the civil Court of Chivalry. In the court records from 1634-1640 which form the basis of Richard Cust and Andrew Hopper's assessment of the Court of Chivalry, the direct insult of 'cuckold' does not appear. However, in a dispute between the gentleman Thomas Milles and merchant Thomas Buckle, Milles accused Buckle of calling him a 'cuckoldly knave, and a cuckoldly rogue'<sup>9</sup> although Buckle contended that he was speaking of all men who defamed Elizabeth Bancroft (against whom Milles was testifying in a separate defamation action) rather than Milles specifically. In the numerous actions for libel brought before the Court of Star Chamber which have been examined by Adam Fox, references to men accused of being cuckolds are also few. The Court of Star Chamber (1485-1641) presided over mostly criminal cases, although it also heard some civil matters including the libels detailed by Fox, who describes how in 1610 Robert Reede of Tiverton became a laughing stock amongst his neighbours after a ballad was circulated deriding him as

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<sup>8</sup> M. Ingram, *The Church Courts, Sex & Marriage in England 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 303.

<sup>9</sup> R. Cust & A. Hopper (eds), *The Court of Chivalry, 1634-40*. Available online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/court-of-chivalry/427-milles-buckle>.

a cuckold and cuckold's horns were pinned to his front door.<sup>10</sup> A further case involving cuckoldry was brought to Star Chamber in September 1621, when two Devonshire men circulated a ballad to ruin the reputation of Roger Neck, a yeoman from Kings Nympton, by alleging that he was a cuckold.<sup>11</sup>

The paucity of cases featuring 'cuckold' as a slander is also noteworthy in Laura Gowing's extensive analysis of defamation in London's ecclesiastical consistory courts (1560-1640), whilst Elizabeth Foyster's assessment of sexual slander during the Restoration in the Durham consistory court and the appeal Court of Arches in London (a court of appeal and the highest ecclesiastical court) revealed that actions instigated by 'cuckold' insults were few.<sup>12</sup> How can this be explained? Foyster suggests that the social shame which resulted as from being slandered as a cuckold may have been a contributing factor to the small number of cases in Church court defamation litigation. She notes that it is 'possible that some men who were called cuckold would not have dared to have gone to the courts for fear that the insult would have reached an even wider audience'.<sup>13</sup>

A further significant finding from various court records has been the defence of allegations of cuckoldry by wives. This was also observed by Foyster who noted the preponderance of female plaintiffs bringing actions for 'cuckold' slanders in both the Durham consistory court and the Court of Arches.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, Alexandra Shepard's study of Cambridge University court records (1560-1640), revealed that there were only a few cases which contested cuckold insults, and that 'wives (rather than their husbands)...responded to accusations of cuckoldry'.<sup>15</sup> Tim Meldrum similarly comments that 'in all of the cases where it appeared, it was the wives of those abused as cuckolds who stood as producents' in actions brought before the London Consistory courts in the early eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> Women's defence of cuckoldry at different courts, across various regions, and over a long chronology raises a crucial question about the extent to which being slandered as a cuckold

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<sup>10</sup> A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 328.

<sup>11</sup> A. Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, 138.

<sup>12</sup> L. Gowing, *Domestic Dangers*, 63-4 and E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 86

<sup>13</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 86.

<sup>14</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 86.

<sup>15</sup> A. Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, 168.

<sup>16</sup> T. Meldrum, 'A Women's Court in London: Defamation at the Bishop of London's Consistory Court, 1700-1745', *The London Journal*, 19, 1, (1994), 1-20:10.

could damage a man's reputation – if cuckold insults were so damaging to manhood, why did women appear as the plaintiffs in cases where their husband's honour was at stake? Since wives accused of adultery could be cast out of the marital home or cut off from the financial security provided by a husband, the necessity of protecting their position must have prompted many women to defend both their own reputation and that of their husbands at court. Yet despite the potentially disastrous economic implications for wives accused of adultery, these only go so far in explaining why they, not the husbands who had been verbally abused as cuckolds, instigated actions at court.

Although cuckoldry implied a husband's failure to control his wife, and involved the intra-gender dynamic of a man taking sexual possession of another man's wife, the crux of 'cuckold' as a sexual slander and the main point of contention (in the Church courts at least) was the wife's implied sexual incontinence, which was a sin. This raises a further question about the nature of seventeenth century legal systems: were there specific jurisdictional guidelines or other legal complexities which determined that wives had to defend their allegedly cuckolded husbands? It does seem that there were significant differences within ecclesiastical jurisdictions which impacted upon who was able to instigate litigation in the Church courts following a cuckold accusation. These jurisdictional variations may also be indicative of regional differences of opinion as to how harmful 'cuckold' was as a term of abuse, and variations in the degree of damage it could do to men's reputations, dependent upon whereabouts in England they lived. A comparison of the actions for defamation involving 'cuckold' as a slander in the ecclesiastical courts at York, and those brought before the Church courts at Durham analysed by Elizabeth Foyster, reveals some of these regional and jurisdictional differences.

The Church courts had been abolished in the first years of the Civil War, but when Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660 they were re-established with their 'jurisdictions and functions virtually unchanged from pre-Civil War days'.<sup>17</sup> At the reinstatement of the Church courts in 1660, Robert Gibson of Rothwell, West Yorkshire, brought an action in against Richard Wormall in the consistory court at York. Wormall had allegedly declared that 'Gibson was a Cuckold and he would

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<sup>17</sup> R. B. Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts, 1500-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 79.

prove him one..., [and] that Ann Gibson wife of the said Robb Gibson was and is a whore and had had the carnall knowledge of some other man besides her husband and thereby made him a Cuckold'.<sup>18</sup> The wording of the legal pleading suggests that whilst her husband being labelled a cuckold by his neighbour was an issue, it is his wife Ann's supposed sexual incontinence which is the main problem.

Similarly, when Gilbert Kirke of Adel, West Yorkshire, initiated proceedings in 1663 against Christopher Dade, the alleged adultery by Kirke's wife was the central point of contention, whilst Kirke's cuckoldom was merely implied. Gilbert Kirke alleged that Dade had boasted 'divers and sundries tymes'<sup>19</sup> that 'the wife of the said Gilbert Kirke was and is a lewd and dishonest woman of her body, and that he the said Christopher Dade had committed the sin of adulterie with her and also intimating that he the said Gilbert Kirke was and is a cuckold'.<sup>20</sup> Dade may have added the intimated insult of cuckold to the injury of his supposed sexual encounter with Kirke's wife, though it is unclear whether there had actually had been a sexual liaison between Dade and Kirke's wife, or if Dade had weaponised the words in the heat of the moment to wound Kirke. Dade denied Kirke's allegations and told him 'your wife is an honest woman...I occupied her during my wife's labour as I occupied the other of the women'.<sup>21</sup> The ambiguity of this statement is evident and perhaps implies that Dade was unashamedly promiscuous – to 'occupy' was another way of describing sexual intercourse. Kirke's response to Dade that 'if you had carnall copulation with my wife I will never lye with her againe'<sup>22</sup> was equally revealing about who would bear the culpability and consequences for his cuckoldom, namely his wife.

The final case at York was brought in 1669 by Thomas Goodrich of the York parish of St Michel le Belfry. Goodrich's neighbour Giles Mountague had asserted that Goodrich's wife 'was and is a whore and...committed the sinne of adultery with someone or other man...and thereby made [Goodrich] a cuckold'.<sup>23</sup> Although the supposed sexual misconduct of the adulterous wives could have serious implications for them and was a key point of contention in each of the three cases

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<sup>18</sup> York Ecclesiastical Courts, cause CP.H.5471, 1660.

<sup>19</sup> York Ecclesiastical Courts, cause CP.H.5502, 1663.

<sup>20</sup> York Ecclesiastical Courts, cause CP.H.5502, 1663.

<sup>21</sup> York Ecclesiastical Courts, cause CP.H.4841, 1663.

<sup>22</sup> York Ecclesiastical Courts, cause CP.H.4841, 1663.

<sup>23</sup> York Ecclesiastical Courts, cause DC.CP.1669/3.

heard at York, it does not appear that separate actions were instigated by these women to defend their reputations (and that of their cuckolded husbands by implication) against the adultery/whoredom of which they had been accused.

The three cases outlined above are the only instances where 'cuckold' was the slander which had prompted legal action, and for which records survive in the York consistory court, although it is possible that there were other cases where the insult was uttered among other invectives which did warrant defamation. For example, the slander of 'whore' was primarily used against women and defended by them in the ecclesiastical courts, but it could also be directed against wives whose husbands' cuckoldry was the main point of contention.<sup>24</sup> The sparsity of these cases aligns with the lack of cuckold cases found by historians in other jurisdictions. However, it is significant that during the post-Restoration period in which these cases were instigated, the number of actions for defamation in the York diocese was rapidly increasing. As James Sharpe discovered, 'between 1665 and 1705 causes for defamation doubled in number, and by 1720 had nearly trebled'.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, the three cases for which records survive at York diverge significantly from those involving 'cuckold' as a slander in other courts because they all involved individual male plaintiffs and defendants. None were brought either by women alone or as joint actions between a husband and wife (as Foyster noted of all the cases brought before the Court of Arches during the Restoration period).

Most studies of early modern slander are based on the analysis of ecclesiastical court records which show that moral and spiritual transgressions were punished by measures such as public penance or excommunication. The plaintiffs involved in defamation litigation at Church courts were mostly women, and the language of insult they exchanged (primarily with other women) tended to be sexualised and based around female unchastity. Terms of abuse such as 'whore' and 'harlot' were frequently defended not only because chastity was an important facet of female reputation and honour, but also because a woman could be severely punished for what was perceived as sexual immorality (for example, in London 'whores' were placed into carts, stripped and whipped in a public procession).

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<sup>24</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 152.

<sup>25</sup> J. A. Sharpe, *Defamation and Sexual Slander in Early Modern England: The Church Courts at York* (York, Borthwick Institute for Archives, Paper No.58, 1980), 9.

However, actions for defamation could also be brought before the temporal, common law courts where the plaintiffs 'who were overwhelmingly male, complained that their honesty – their business probity – was undermined by accusations that they were thieves, fraudsters or rogues'.<sup>26</sup> Those who instigated litigation at common law had to prove they had suffered a special or financial loss as a direct consequence of defamatory words and could be awarded monetary damages by the court (or their opponent) as compensation for their losses. Therefore, at common law the financial rather than moral aspects of cases were emphasised to satisfy the court's requirements. According to Charles M. Gray, whether an insult/slander fell within either a common law or ecclesiastical jurisdiction was determined as follows:

Utterances accusing a person of a temporal offense or (though not necessarily imputations of a legal offense) bring specifiable and provable temporal loss on someone were actionable a common law by Trespass on the Case. Utterances accusing someone of an ecclesiastical offense were indisputably the subject of ecclesiastical suits and not actionable *per se* at common law – only in some instances when consequential pecuniary loss could be made out.<sup>27</sup>

At the common law court of Kings Bench, actions for defamation fell under plea side litigation, but depositions for these cases are incredibly limited: many cases were abandoned early in the litigation process so no records exist, and for those which did make it to court, very few depositions survive. However, the Kings Bench law reports offer an alternative inroad into defamation actions at common law and, most significantly, provide new insight into how the sexual slander of 'cuckold' was viewed and dealt with by the courts. Law reports were brief summaries of cases recorded specifically because they contained points of law which formed binding precedents (case law). Although produced sporadically rather than systematically in the seventeenth century, law reports documented why certain slanders were

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<sup>26</sup> R. B. Outhwaite, *The Rise and Fall of the English Ecclesiastical Courts*, 42.

<sup>27</sup> C. M. Gray, 'The Writ of Prohibition: Jurisdiction in Early-Modern English Law, Vol. 1: General Introduction to the Study and Procedure', *D'Angelo Law Library Publications*, 9 (2004), xlii. Available Online. [http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/lib\\_pubs/9](http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/lib_pubs/9).

actionable and whether they fell under a spiritual or temporal jurisdiction. These reports contain a point of law or legal procedure which provided a precedent at common law, but no reports appear to have been recorded between 1650 and 1660 where 'cuckold' was the insult at issue. This is most likely because these cases were reported because they involved a legal procedure known as a prohibition.

A prohibition, if granted, prevented a case being heard by the spiritual courts and transferred it to the common law jurisdiction where, in defamation cases, damages were not awarded for an insult, but for the monetary loss caused or supposed to be caused by publishing an untruth. The publishing of an untruth could be done verbally, by using physical signs and gestures or in writing (libel) and, to be considered actionable, words 'must have in them some matter of weight and substance'.<sup>28</sup> Because the Church courts did not exist between 1642 and 1660, it follows that no prohibitions were applied for which would have prevented the ecclesiastical courts hearing defamation suits. Since 'cuckold' defamation cases were reported because they involved applications for prohibitions, the lack of reports between 1650 and 1660 can be explained by the closure of the Church courts in the mid seventeenth century. This does not necessarily mean that there were no cases where cuckold invectives were redressed through legal channels, only that they were not necessarily reported by the court of Kings Bench.

Though mostly brief and formulaic, the reports provide useful insight into the complexities and contradictions of the 17<sup>th</sup> century legal system. Within these texts, the reasons why a particular slander justified litigation provides some insight into early modern perceptions of insult. The law reports sometimes contained incidental comments from the judiciary which indicated differences of opinion as to how damaging defamatory words were. John Baker cautions that unlike the publication of modern law reports which summarise pleadings, evidence and judges' opinions on the law, the 'reports of the period 1650-1750 were mostly of an inferior nature, consisting of short notes and scattered arguments intended for

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<sup>28</sup> W. Sheppard, *Actions Upon the Case for Slander or, a methodical collection under heads, of Thousands of Cases, dispersed in the many great volumes of the Law, of what words are Actionable and what not. And of a Conspiracy and a Libel. Being a Treatise of very great use and consequence to all men, especially in these times, wherein Actions for Slander are more common then in times past* (1674), 22.

private use rather than publication'.<sup>29</sup> Viewed from a historical rather than strictly legal perspective, however, it is these personal notes which provide valuable insight into varying attitudes towards defamatory words. In addition, whatever their personal thoughts, judges were ultimately bound by legal precedents and their comments were therefore unlikely to have had a direct impact on the outcome of cases. The law reports of the common law court of Kings Bench have not been utilised in examinations of early modern defamation to date and are examined here because they provide a crucial new insight into the scarcity of 'cuckold' insults being defended by men in the Church courts.

There are two significant points arising out of the Kings Bench law reports in terms of 'cuckold' as a sexual slander. Firstly, 'cuckold' was not a term of abuse for which men could bring a legal action, because there was no misconduct on the part of a cuckolded husband for which he could be punished. Instead, the crucial aspect of cuckoldry in the courts was the implication of a wife's sexual incontinence, for which she could be penalised under ecclesiastical law. Therefore, if a man was accused of being a cuckold it was his wife who had to plead the case at a Church court to defend her own reputation, and that of her husband. Secondly, it has been suggested that 'cuckold' was the 'worst sexual insult which could be directed against men'<sup>30</sup> because men's reputations and economic stability (which were intrinsically linked) were seriously damaged by the intimation that he had lost control of his wife. However, the law reports show that 'cuckold' was not recognised as a defamation actionable in its own right at common law, because it was not a particularly injurious insult to men's reputations. One of the cases reported for establishing this legal precedent was *Edwards's Case* (1608).

The case against Thomas Edwards was brought before the Court of Kings Bench following Edwards's writing a 'lewd and ungodly, and uncharitable letter'<sup>31</sup> to John Walton, a Doctor of Physic at Oxford University. Dr Walton was also a High Commissioner in the ecclesiastical courts in the diocese of Exeter and, as such, the ecclesiastical courts could not hear the case. The matter was therefore brought before the Court of Kings Bench and was part of a wider retaliatory dispute between

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<sup>29</sup> J. Baker, *An Introduction to English Legal History*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Butterworths Tolley, 2002), 183.

<sup>30</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 86.

<sup>31</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.



Edwards and Walton. The two men had previously been involved in a legal skirmish in Star Chamber and the law report notes that Edwards:

having obtained a sentence against him [Walton] in the Star Chamber, for contriving and publishing of a libel, you [Edwards] did triumphingly say that you had gotten on the hip a Commissioner for causes ecclesiastical in the diocese of Exeter, which you did to vilify and disgrace him.<sup>32</sup>

Edwards' libellous letter about John Walton, which formed the basis of the case brought before Kings Bench, was published not only to Walton, but also to Walton's academic peers and 'taxed him of want of civility and honesty'<sup>33</sup>, stating 'in plain terms, "he may be crowned for an ass," as if he had no manner of skill in his profession'.<sup>34</sup> Adding the insult of cuckold to the injuries intended to be inflicted upon Walton's professional status, Edwards sent a further, separate letter to Doctor Maders, Doctor of Physic, in which he 'named Mr. Doctor Walton, and made a horn in [the] letter'.<sup>35</sup> When dealing with the case, the High Commissioners took issue with this point specifically and asked Walton to 'set down whether you meant not that they were both cuckolds, and what other meaning you had'.<sup>36</sup> Although the law report makes no mention of Edwards's response, the judges elucidated that calling a man a cuckold was a 'temporal offence'<sup>37</sup>. Most significantly, the court determined that Edwards's libel of Walton was 'not such an enormous offence...and for the same reason suit doth not lie before them, for calling the doctor cuckold'.<sup>38</sup>

The report for *Eaton v Ayloff and his Wife*<sup>39</sup> (1628) further revealed that 'cuckold' was not considered a damaging insult. Eaton had instigated an action for defamation in the ecclesiastical courts against Ayloff and his wife for saying that he was 'a cuckold, and a wittal, which is worse than a cuckold and that Aylesworth had lain with Ayloff's wife'.<sup>40</sup> However, Eaton also applied for a prohibition to have the

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<sup>32</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>33</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>34</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>35</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>36</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>37</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>38</sup> *Edwards's Case* (1608) 13 Co. Rep. 9, 77 E.R 1421.

<sup>39</sup> *Eaton v Ayloff and His Wife* (1628) Croke, Car. 111, 79 E.R 697.

<sup>40</sup> *Eaton v Ayloff and His Wife* (1628) Croke, Car. 111, 79 E.R 697.

case heard by the court of Kings Bench, which then had to consider whether the defamatory words were sufficiently damaging to be actionable at common law. The view taken by the common law was that 'cuckold' and 'wittall' were not actionable words because they were not words of substance 'but words of spleen...they being too general'<sup>41</sup>, and Eaton's application for a prohibition was denied. The report did make clear, however, that whilst the slander aimed at Eaton was too general to cause any damage to his reputation, the allegation that his wife had engaged in sexual relations with a specific man was viewed more seriously, and could be taken to the Church courts:

But now upon advisement all the Court agreed, that no prohibition should be granted, but that the Spiritual Court should have jurisdiction thereof: for although they held, that there ought not to have been any suit for the first words, they being too general, yet being coupled with a particular, shewing that the wife committed such an offence with such a particular person, they are not now general words of spleen in common and usual discourse and parlance; but they held it was such a defamation as one is suable for in the Spiritual Court: whereupon the prohibition was denied.<sup>42</sup>

Conversely, the judge of *Gobbett's Case* (1633) refused to grant a prohibition because being insulted with the invective 'he is a cuckoldly knave'<sup>43</sup> warranted the matter 'properly to be examined and punished'<sup>44</sup> in the spiritual court 'for it is a disgrace to the husband as well as to the wife, because he suffers and connives at it'.<sup>45</sup>

Whilst the courts which heard *Eaton v Ayloff* and *Gobbett's Case* had differing opinions about the damage slanders involving cuckoldry could cause, both cases were unsuccessful in their applications for prohibitions to keep matters out of the Church courts. It may be that men considered money a more fitting recompense for being verbally abused than the punishment of their alleged offenders, but this

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<sup>41</sup> *Eaton v Ayloff and His Wife* (1628) Croke, Car.111, 79 E.R 697.

<sup>42</sup> *Eaton v Ayloff and His Wife* (1628) Croke, Car.111, 79 E.R 697.

<sup>43</sup> *Gobbett's Case* (1633) Croke, Car. 339, 79 E.R 897.

<sup>44</sup> *Gobbett's Case* (1633) Croke, Car. 339, 79 E.R 897.

<sup>45</sup> *Gobbett's Case* (1633) Croke, Car. 339, 79 E.R 897.

cannot be ascertained from the law reports. Courtney Thomas notes that sexual insults were ‘often expressed as a set of standardized slurs hurled in the course of larger hostilities that were not specifically rooted in sexual transgression – they were a way to heighten a conflict and strike a blow’.<sup>46</sup> Disputes and defamations which impacted on a man’s financial status could be dealt with by the court of Kings Bench, and the law reports sometimes described an argument about money which had prompted the use of insults which implied cuckoldry.

In 1649, the mercer Viccarye brought an action at Kings Bench against Barns who was alleged to have said to him ‘thou art a cuckold, and a cuckoldly rascall, and dost owe more than thou art worth, and are not able to pay thy debts’.<sup>47</sup> Despite being directly insulted as a cuckold as well as cuckoldly, however, at no point does the report mention the implied incontinence of Viccaryes’ wife. It may be that Viccarye was not married, in which case these insults would have had even less impact than the court perceived. The view of the court was that ‘for the first part of the words they are clearly not actionable, and for the latter words they do not imply any shifting fraud or falsehood...for though he doe owe more than he is worth, and is not able to pay his debts, yet he may be an honest man, and he may have credit and friends to support him in his trade’.<sup>48</sup> However, the words were ‘worthy consideration’<sup>49</sup> and the matter was stayed.

When the case continued in 1650, it prompted a law report which also appeared in *Narrationes modernae* (1658) and described how the Plaintiff ‘had not laid any special damage...but only allegeth a general damage, namely, that he by speaking of the words lost his credit and could not buy wares upon trust as he used to do before, but only for ready money’.<sup>50</sup> Judgement was given in favour of Viccarye, although it is arguably the words which implied that he was unable to pay his debts

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<sup>46</sup> C.E. Thomas, *If I lose Mine Honour, I lose Myself: Honour among the Early Modern English Elite* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 79-80.

<sup>47</sup> *Viccarye v Barns*, (1649) Style 213, 82 E.R 655.

<sup>48</sup> *Viccarye v Barns*, (1649) Style 213, 82 E.R 655.

<sup>49</sup> *Viccarye v Barns*, (1649) Style 213, 82 E.R 655.

<sup>50</sup> England and Wales. Court of King's Bench., *Narrationes modernae, or, Modern reports begun in the now upper bench court at Westminster in the beginning of Hillary term 21 Caroli, and continued to the end of Michaelmas term 1655 as well on the criminall, as on the pleas side : most of which time the late Lord Chief Justice Roll gave the rule there: with necessary tables for the ready finding out and making use of the matters contained in the whole book: and an addition of the number rolls to most of the remarkable cases /by William Style ...* (1658), 217.

that caused him financial difficulties since the court made clear being called a 'cuckold' and 'cuckoldly rascall' were not actionable.

That being called a cuckold was no disgrace was further elucidated in the law report of *Knight v Jacob* (1664). Knight had instigated proceedings against Jacob for calling him a 'cuckold' but the court stated that this was 'no scandal' and cited the case of *Eaton v Ayloff* in support of this contention. Knight had applied for a prohibition to prevent the case being heard under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but was unsuccessful and the case appeared a year later in the Court of Arches where the witness James Fenwick testified that he had heard Jacob say to Knight 'thou art a cuckold and thy wife is a whore, goe home you pittiful rogue thy wife will best thee'.<sup>51</sup> A further witness, Thomas Potter, also gave evidence which made clear that whilst Valentine Knight had been insulted as a cuckold, it was his wife Frances's alleged sexual incontinence which was primarily at issue. Potter stated that he heard Jacob say to Valentine 'thou art a cuckold...and thy wife is a whore'<sup>52</sup> who would 'break the pate'<sup>53</sup> upon her husband. That Knight's initial recourse was to the court of Kings Bench where he could receive damages for being insulted intimates that his intention was to make his offender pay more than simply penance. However, the difference between temporal and spiritual jurisdictions is demonstrated by the testimony of the witnesses Fenwick and Potter in the Court of Arches who directly referenced not only that Knight's wife was a whore but also that she had usurped her husband's authority. Furthermore, when the case appeared in the Court of Arches, Knight and his wife sued Jacob jointly and, as a further law report reveals, this was a matter of legal process.

In 1671 Toser and his wife had issued a defamation suit against Davis in the court of Kings Bench for Davis allegedly calling Toser 'cuckold and cuckoldly knave'<sup>54</sup> and asked for a prohibition, which was denied. However, the case report states that this was because 'these words charge the feme with incontinence, for which it is reasonable she should be allowed this suit in the Spiritual Court to punish a defamation, which subjects her to penance there'<sup>55</sup> whilst her husband 'does not

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<sup>51</sup> Court of Arches Case 5417, f. Eee 2 ff.30 (1665).

<sup>52</sup> Court of Arches Case 5417, f. Eee 2 ff.28 (1665).

<sup>53</sup> Court of Arches Case 5417, f. Eee 2 ff.28 (1665).

<sup>54</sup> *Toser and his Wife v Davis* (1671) 2 Levinz 66, 83.E.R. 452.

<sup>55</sup> *Toser and his Wife v Davis* (1671) 2 Levinz 66, 83.E.R. 452.

incur any danger of that nature by the speaking of these words'.<sup>56</sup> A further report generated for what appears to be the same case also stated that it was the wife who would bear the potential punishment because to call her husband cuckold implied her incontinence and further remarked that 'cuckold' and 'cuckoldly knave' were 'not suable in the Spiritual Court by the husband alone...but by the wife they are'.<sup>57</sup> What these reports tell us is not only that the culpability for cuckoldry in the courts was considered to lie with an allegedly promiscuous wife, but also that as a sexual slander 'cuckold' and its associated derivatives were not actionable by men in their own right and were not considered damaging to his financial standing. Although the consequences for cuckoldry outside of the courts, among neighbours and family, may have been more serious and had a greater impact on a man's reputation, it is suggested that the slander 'cuckold' was more descriptive as an insult than damaging, and what it represented was a man's loss of control of his wife. Essentially therefore, whilst it could be used to add insult to a real injury, it was not an injurious insult in its own right.

Linda Pollock's study of the use of anger among the early modern elite reveals how anger and words of heat had different functions within various contexts. These included acting as a moral, behavioural corrective, or as a defensive response to a reputation sullied by the words/actions of others.<sup>58</sup> However, although there were changes to the ways in which people understood anger and used words of heat or passion across the seventeenth century, the (lack of) impact of 'cuckold' as an insult appears to have remained unchanged. That the injury caused by insulting a man as a 'cuckold' was limited is further indicated by its absence as a slander in legal texts which utilised law reports from the court of Kings Bench. Legal texts and treatises provided practitioners with guidelines about whether a slander was of enough substance to be considered actionable at law, or not, and the jurisdictional remits of defamatory words. Legal guidance for defamation actions was featured in publications such as those by John March and William Sheppard and the texts set out which words were actionable under both spiritual and secular jurisdictions. They reveal that the specificity of actionable words was significant and

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<sup>56</sup> *Toser and his Wife v Davis* (1671) 2 Levinz 66, 83.E.R. 452.

<sup>57</sup> *Davies v Thosier* (1671) 3 Keble 64, 84 E.R 596.

<sup>58</sup> L. Pollock, 'Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 47, 3, 2004, 567-590: 582-3.

based primarily on an assessment of how harmful they were to the credit (both financial and moral) of men and women. However, whilst these texts were updated and republished several times over the mid to late seventeenth century, 'cuckold' does not feature in any edition.

William Sheppard's *Upon the Case for Slander* (1674) provided a comprehensive account of defamatory words which were held to be damaging enough to be actionable at law and whether they fell, under within the remits of the ecclesiastical or common law courts. Sheppard set out the criteria which slanders had to meet to warrant legal action, including the provisions that they 'must be malicious and purposely and intentionally to defame'<sup>59</sup> and that 'there must be some such weight and substantial matter in the words that, if true, might be perilous, and prejudicial to the party of whom they are spoken'.<sup>60</sup> Whether or not a word was considered substantially defamatory and damaging to justify legal redress was also subject to wider social changes, and there was a significant shift in perceptions of slander which began during the Restoration. Remarking upon the decline of defamation actions in the London Consistory Courts and Middlesex quarter sessions across the period 1660-1800, Robert Shoemaker asserts that by the beginning of the eighteenth century, spoken accusations were considered unreliable because they were often borne out of irrational, passing passion.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, because new standards of civilised conversation were so important at the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century, it was no longer socially acceptable to ridicule or joke about the shortcomings or misconduct of others.<sup>62</sup>

The insult of 'cuckold' was therefore subject to a legal and social double jeopardy – not only was the term used to ridicule and shame husbands who had apparently lost control over their wives, but it was also considered a word of heat prior to the Restoration. The law report for *Eaton v Ayloff* (1628) indicated that 'cuckold' was not actionable because it was considered a word of spleen, whilst Sheppard noted that 'words that are said to be only passionate, vain, empty words'<sup>63</sup> were not sufficient to necessitate action under either common law or spiritual law.

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<sup>59</sup> W. Sheppard, *Actions upon the Case for Slander*, 15.

<sup>60</sup> W. Sheppard, *Actions upon the Case for Slander*, 22.

<sup>61</sup> R. Shoemaker, 'The Decline of Public Insult in London', 1660-1800, *Past & Present*, 169, 1, (2000), 97-131: 125.

<sup>62</sup> R. Shoemaker, 'The Decline of Public Insult in London', 125.

<sup>63</sup> W. Sheppard, *Actions upon the Case for Slander*, 180.

Whilst 'Villain, Rogue, Knave, Bastard, Varlet, Cheater, Cozener, Railer, Liar, Miscreant, Vermine, Hypocrite and the like'<sup>64</sup> were noted examples of non-actionable words of heat used against men, 'cuckold' was notably absent. Nor did it appear as a slander among those that implied some sort of sexual misconduct by a man which necessitated further examination by the Church courts such as 'whoremaster', 'fornicator' or being accused of having children by another man's wife.<sup>65</sup> Instead, as the law reports reveal, the central issue of cuckoldry as far as the courts were concerned was a wife's incontinence, which was punishable by the Church courts.

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<sup>64</sup> W. Sheppard, *Actions upon the Case for Slander*, 181-2.

<sup>65</sup> W. Sheppard, *Actions upon the Case for Slander*, 180-1.

## **Chapter 2**



### **The Horns of Rebellion: Non-Conformist Cuckolds**

Throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, literary cuckoldry usually involved an element of financial misconduct. Commonplace tropes included the adulterous wife who commodified herself by trading sex for money, and the cuckold who contentedly accepted money in recompense for another man's sexual trespass onto his wife's ungovernable body. On the surface, such portrayals can be read simply as sardonic social commentary on the dangerously lustful nature of women, and the immorality of men who were content to condone their wives' adultery, provided that they made material gains from it. However, the corrupt financial transactions depicted in literary cuckoldry, and the notion of sex as a commodity which could be traded (and financially contribute to households and the overall economy of the state) were linked to more troublesome transgressions than adultery and immorality. Early modern commercial and monetary practices were based on Christian principles. The corrupt financial dealings of the cuckold and his unruly wife were therefore not only socially and economically detrimental, but tantamount to irreligion.

The connections between cuckoldry, commerce and Christianity remained constant throughout the early modern period, but the figure of the cuckolded man was as mutable as the inept manhood he portrayed, and his role was adapted according to the particular concerns his cuckoldom was being used to express. For example, deceit, immorality and monetary misdemeanours, particularly among the lower sorts such as tradesmen and labourers, were established as part of stereotypical depictions of cuckoldry before the advent of Civil War in 1642. However, these took on a dangerous new significance during the conflicts when royalists connected ungodly conduct and avarice to the parliamentary cause and armed rebellion against Charles I. In addition, perceptions of the lower sorts forming a rebellious, many-headed monster, which had arisen during the Reformation, also took on a new significance during the physical and ideological conflicts of the Civil War. As Christopher Hill notes, popular rebellion among the lower sorts led to them being described by their contemporaries as 'fickle, unstable, incapable of rational thought: the headless multitude, the many-headed monster'.<sup>1</sup> Hill further remarks

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<sup>1</sup> C. Hill, *Change and Continuity in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England*, 181.

that prior to the Civil War, the many-headed monster which comprised those who were 'politically outside the pale, could affect politics only by revolt or through religious organisation'.<sup>2</sup> However, as John Walter notes, during the Civil War 'conflicting views of the people as a 'many-headed monster' or as providentialist agents of a divine purpose featured heavily in the explosion of print and polemic'<sup>3</sup>. During the war, radicalism and rebellion were perceived as converging on an unprecedented scale and this chapter demonstrates how notions of the many-headed monster that emerged from the conflicts had a new, specifically political import which was underpinned by religious dissidence, namely an association with anti-monarchical insurrection.

When the antichristian hydra rose up against Charles I, its rebellion against God's divinely appointed monarch was linked directly to both religious sectarianism and the parliamentary cause. Throughout the Civil War, religious and political dissidents were frequently stereotyped in popular printed texts as cuckolds and, although monetary misconduct and immorality remained intrinsic to literary cuckoldry throughout this period, the conflict had a transformative effect on the cornuted man: he embodied an amalgamation of religious radicalism, profiteering self-interest and rebellion against the Stuart crown and Anglican Church. Underpinning these new overtly politicised portrayals of cuckoldry was a scriptural interpretation of the cuckold's horns: the horns of cuckoldry were akin to the horns which symbolised enmity to God in the Bible.

This chapter explores the biblical symbolism of horns and demonstrates that cornution, and adorning cuckolds with horns which were weaponised against God, was an important politico-religious change to depictions of cuckoldry. This shift occurred specifically as a consequence of the Civil War. The scriptural symbolism of the horns of cuckoldry was a direct and deliberate means of condemning and emasculating those who were associated with either religious radicalism or parliamentarianism/republicanism, or (as was often the case) both. In addition, the cuckold's horns of rebellion against the Anglican Church and Stuart monarchy had a significant link to sectarianism – horned, many headed monsters were enemies of

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<sup>2</sup> C. Hill, *Change and Continuity in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England*, 201.

<sup>3</sup> J. Walter, 'The English People and the English Revolution Revisited', *History Workshop Journal*, 61, 1, (2006), 171-182: 171.

God in the books of Revelation and Daniel chapter 7 which sectarians frequently used to contextualise and justify their apocalyptic, millenarian beliefs.

The enduring links between cuckoldry and commerce which continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were established during the Reformation. As Claire McEachern notes, monetary matters were among the concerns inherent to depictions of the cuckolded man during this period. She comments that 'the mysteries of nascent credit and capital formations [and] the wayward semantics of performance'<sup>4</sup> were anxieties aired through depictions of cuckoldry throughout the Reformation. Furthermore, Douglas Bruster comments that Jacobean dramatic cuckoldry was an economic metaphor which reconciled 'evolving tensions between country and city, production and reproduction, female and male'.<sup>5</sup> He further contends that literary cuckoldry, particularly that produced in London, foregrounded the links between paternalism, faith and the economic.<sup>6</sup> The faith to which Bruster refers is a distinctly Protestant mercantile covenant which emerged during the Renaissance, and he notes that merchants frequently appeared as cuckolds in Jacobean plays because they were accustomed to commodities and wealth passing from their hands into the hands of another.<sup>7</sup> Since a man's wife was considered his property, theatrical tropes of cuckolded merchants were characterised as willing, or even content, to trade their spouse's chastity as another ware from which they could profit.

However, whilst McEachern and Bruster focus primarily on the economic, transactional elements of cuckoldry, which were used to express concerns about the emergence of capitalism, religion underpinned both the early modern economy and portrayals of cuckoldry. Economics reinforced religion in early modern society, and demonstrating faith through financial probity was particularly important.<sup>8</sup> Following the Reformation, humanist notions of conscience and honesty meant that the role of faith in economic relations was both socially and commercially important.

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<sup>4</sup> C. McEachern, 'Why Do Cuckolds Have Horns?', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71, 4, (2008), 607-631: 609-10.

<sup>5</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*, 61.

<sup>6</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*, 57-8.

<sup>7</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*, 55-56.

<sup>8</sup> C. Hill, *Change and Continuity in 17<sup>th</sup> Century England*, 202.

The inextricable links between men's social and financial credit formed the crux of complex credit systems in which trustworthiness and contributing to the greater good (literally the common wealth) were deemed essential.<sup>9</sup> However, as Norman Jones notes, English Protestantism also 'created a rationale that sanctioned economic self-aggrandizement...[and] economic behaviour was relegated to the realm of private conscience'<sup>10</sup>. According to Jones, the secularisation of the economy meant that for many 'sin ceased to be a public concern, being replaced with questions of public order and economic efficiency'.<sup>11</sup> Yet for the Anglican establishment (for whom sin did remain a concern) the secularisation of the economy diminished the Church's importance and authority in regulating Christian morality and socio-economic behaviour. The greed and ambition often exhibited by those who were portrayed as profiting from cuckoldry was essentially the sin of covetousness. Therefore, the figurative cuckolding of men whose aspirations to improve their social and financial status left their wives free to trade their chastity, cautioned of the consequences of leaving people to govern their own consciences and conduct without the guidance of the established Church.

The combination of religious nonconformity, covetousness and economic self-interest which merged within literary cuckoldry was used to express anxieties about the secularisation of the economy, but the main cause for concern was arguably that financial gains provided the means and motivation for men's ungodliness. Immorality was often perceived as stemming from some form of fraudulent faith, and it was this which led to men resorting to illicit means of making money, as elucidated in writer and playwright Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courier* (1591). Greene intimated the importance of honesty in matters involving money by castigating the unchristian conduct of tradesmen, who played a vital role in the everyday economy but were perceived as notoriously deceitful. He commented 'but you Weaver, the Proverbe puts you downe for a craftie knave, you canne stitche and steale almost as ill as the Taylor ... the Husbandman, Dier, and

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<sup>9</sup> C. Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: MacMillan Press Ltd., 1998) 124-5 & 134.

<sup>10</sup> N. Jones, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and the Law in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989), 203.

<sup>11</sup> N. Jones, *God and the Moneylenders*, 203.

Sailor, sith your trades have but petty sleights, stand by you with Mai...'.<sup>12</sup> Greene even goes so far as to scorn 'but for the Pedler and Tinker, they are two notable knaves, both of a haire, and both cozen Germanes to the Devill'.<sup>13</sup> Prioritising piety over profit was also the moral of *The Praise of Nothing*, a ballad circulated in the early seventeenth century which remarked 'though but little thou art worth, yet nothing dost desire, nor covetest thy neighbours goods, nor bove thy selfe aspire'.<sup>14</sup> Instead, men were advised to 'retest honestly content, with that poore little God hath sent, thou mayst disperse in merriment, and say thou wants for nothing'.<sup>15</sup> In addition to emphasising that men ought to be content with their lot and avoid materialistic trappings, the ballad also made clear that whilst gold and possessions were merely temporary, a man's choice of wife was an important long-term investment.

Prudence in choosing a spouse was vital because a wife was a husband's property whose value lay in her chastity, and the ballad warned against the danger of being cuckolded, advising 'ere too soone you chuse a wife, with honest patience prove her: For nothing can againe unwed, Nor cure a Cuckolds aking head, Besides once lost a Maiden-head, can be recald by nothing'.<sup>16</sup> Because a wife's chastity ought to be prized over and above profit, cuckoldry was not a legitimate means of making money. Men ought to govern themselves, their wives and their households, and those who were distracted from these responsibilities by the possibility of making money found that it came at a price of lost manhood.

The incompetence of cuckolds who failed to assert moral and physical authority over their wives and the men who cuckolded them was often used to signify the immorality of those sought no retribution for their fate, but were content to accept material gains as recompense. For example, *A Merry New Song* (1590) recounted the humorous tale of a brewer who intended to cuckold a cooper. Returning home earlier than expected, the cooper discovered the brewer (who had

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<sup>12</sup> R. Greene, *A Quip for an Upstart Courier: or, a quaint dispute between velvet breeches and clothbreeches wherein is plainely set down the disorders in all estates and trades* (1592), 3.

<sup>13</sup> Greene, R., *A Quip for an Upstart Courier* (1592), 3.

<sup>14</sup> Anon., *The praise of Nothing: Though some doe wonder why I write in praise Of Nothing, in these lamentable daies, When they have read, and will my counsell take, I hope of Nothing something they may make. To the tune of, Though I have but a marke a yeare, etc.* (1601-1640) (1 page).

<sup>15</sup> Anon., *The praise of Nothing*, (1601-1640).

<sup>16</sup> Anon., *The praise of Nothing*, (1601-1640).

hidden inside a pig carcass) and the brewer was made to pay a steep price for his immorality. Upon being physically accosted by the cooper, the brewer pleads 'hold thy hand Cooper and let me goe...and I will give thee both Ale and Beere'.<sup>17</sup> Offering the cooper further financial recompense in exchange for avoiding a beating, the brewer declares 'hold here the keyes of my best chest. And there is gold and silver store, will serve thee so long and somewhat more'.<sup>18</sup> Apparently content with this suggestion, the greedy cooper replies 'If there be store...I say, I will not come emptie handed away...the Bruer shall pay for using my Fat: The hooping of twentie tubs every day, and not gaine me so much as I doe this way.'<sup>19</sup>

Similar unscrupulous conduct featured in *The Merry Cuckold* (1619-29), although unlike the cooper who turned a singular occurrence of being cuckolded to his monetary advantage, the gloating merry cuckold did not happen upon his wife's adultery by chance, but actively condoned it as a recurrent source of material enrichment. He boasted 'I have a Wife so wanton and so free, that she as her life loves one beside me, what if she doe, I care not a pin, abroad I will go when my rivall comes in.'<sup>20</sup> The cuckold's morality was portrayed as perverted to the point of inversion, and instead of expressing shame for his situation, he asserted that sex was a commodity like any other and proudly boasted 'my Wife has a Trade that will maintain me, what though it be said, that a Cuckold I be...of all that she gets, I share a good share, she payes all my debts, then for what should I care.'<sup>21</sup> Mocking the honesty of his neighbours, the cuckold was apparently untroubled by the inverted order wrought upon his household by his wife's infidelity and her providing the primary source of income through trading her body (over which she, rather than her husband, had the monopoly).

Instead, he cheerfully bragged about being a kept man and declared 'while for small gaines my neighbours worke hard, I live (by her means) and never regard, the troubles and cares, that belong to this life, I spend what few dares: gramercy

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<sup>17</sup> Anon., *A merry new song how a bruer meant to make a cooper cuckold and how deere the bruer paid for the bargaine. To the tune of, In somertyme.* (1590) (1 page).

<sup>18</sup> Anon., *A merry new song*, (1590).

<sup>19</sup> Anon., *A merry new song*, (1590).

<sup>20</sup> Anon., *The Merry Cuckold who Frolickly taking chance doth befall, is very well pleased with Wife, Hornes and all*, (1619-29) (1 page).

<sup>21</sup> Anon., *The Merry Cuckold*, (1619-29).

good Wife'.<sup>22</sup> Given that the cuckold was not only aware of his wife's adultery, but actively encouraged it as a means of gaining an income, it is somewhat odd that he was not referred to as a 'wittall'. This was the common name given to men who knowingly sanctioned their wives' adultery for social advancement and economic benefits during this period.<sup>23</sup> This arguably implies that financial matters were not the main point of contention dealt with by the ballad, but the immorality of the cuckolded husband was the central issue.

The Civil War brought about a significant change to depictions of cuckoldry. Ballads produced in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century England implied the protestant nonconformity of those involved in cuckoldry through their immoral, unchristian conduct. However, texts published in the mid and later seventeenth century often explicitly referred to the religious dissidence of cuckolds and their wives, and indicated that it was the root cause of their immoral, materialistic nature. Avarice and materialistic pride were synonymous with dissent and problematic not only because faith and finance were inextricably linked, but also because an individualistic desire for profit made people ungovernable. From the Reformation up until the mid-seventeenth century, reformed theology had been instrumental in shaping economic reforms, particularly those developed by Puritans. However, there was a perception that dissent from the established Anglican Church, and economic reforms which emphasised the role of individual consciences, led to a more dangerous form of treachery: disobedience to the authority of the state.<sup>24</sup> According to Mark Knights it was believed that 'unless the conscience was properly guided by the established Church...it would lead to irreligion, blasphemy, and atheism.'<sup>25</sup> Knights' additional contention that it had been the pursuit of individual freedom of conscience which had led to civil war in the first place is echoed in the

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<sup>22</sup> Anon, *The Merry Cuckold*, (1619-29).

<sup>23</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the Age of Shakespeare*, 58-9.

<sup>24</sup> N. Jones, *God and the Moneylenders*, 203.

<sup>25</sup> Knights, M., *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011) p.56-7.

anonymously authored *A Briefe Description or character of the religion and manners of the phanatiques in general* published in 1660.<sup>26</sup>

*A Briefe Description* condemned the superficial, self-serving behaviour of dissenters, and directly associated their factious political affiliations with the practice of a perverse Protestantism. The text also expounded that such corrupt conduct was particularly problematic because it made for ungovernable citizens whose 'Religion consists much in externe modes and fashions, in adhering to some party or Faction, in popular and specious insinuations and pretensions, in admiration of some mens persons, gifts, piety and supposed Zeale'.<sup>27</sup> The preoccupation of religious radicals with 'prevalencies of power, in Worldly successes, in verball assurances, in loose confidencies of being elected and predestinated to happinesse, of being called Saints, Prophets, preachers in a new extraordinary way'<sup>28</sup> meant that they had rebelled against monarchical authority and that of the Anglican Church. This was done 'in great Zealotries for some new forme or way of constituting discipline, in boldness to affirme or deny or doe any thing, presuming themselves able to do whatsoever they fancy'.<sup>29</sup> As *A Briefe Description* indicated, anxieties about the misguided consciences and miscreant behaviour of religious radicals (which were founded in the religious fragmentations of the Civil War) continued into the Restoration. Furthermore, the connection between nonconformity (in every sense) and materialism was reinforced in the Civil War and Restoration and reflected by fictional cuckolds who intentionally prioritised profit over piety because they cared more for earthly gains than their spiritual wellbeing.

As the title suggests, in the ballad *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied*, the cuckold happily reaped the rewards of his wife's sanctioned adultery. He boasted 'those Gallants to please me will often provide, Rich dinners for me and the Harlot my Bride; when my belly is full, and with Sack I am drunk, then away I do

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<sup>26</sup> M. Knights, *The Devil in Disguise: Deception, Delusion and Fanaticism in the Early English Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 56-7.

<sup>27</sup> Anon., *A Briefe Description or character of the religion and manners of the phanatiques in general. Scil. Anabaptists, Independents, Brownists, Enthusiasts, Levellers, Quakers, Seekers, Fift-Monarchy-Men, & Dippers. Shewing and refuting their absurdities by due application, reflecting much also on Sir John Praecisian and other novelists. Non seria semper.*, (1660), 1-2.

<sup>28</sup> Anon., *A Briefe Description or character of the religion and manners of the phanatiques*, (1660), 1-2.

<sup>29</sup> Anon., *A Briefe Description or character of the religion and manners of the phanatiques*, (1660), 1-2.



march while they play with my punk. The contented cuckold also declared 'I am a rich Cuckold and 'tis known all about, my Horns are so full that the Gold doth run out; Block pieces and Guinneys come tumbling in, And to give them a welcome I count it no sin; But a churlish young Cuckold shall ever be poor, Whilst we that are willing shall tumble in store.'<sup>30</sup> Not only did the cuckold have a devil may care attitude about the long term, spiritual implications of his immorality, but his erroneous faith was revealed in his encouragement of others to his wayward lifestyle. He announced 'then let me advise all those that are wed, with patience to bear it if their wives horn their head, a jealous young Coxcomb shall scarce be forgiven, but a cuckold contented goes sure to Heaven...A Heaven on earth we do daily enjoy, and another when death shall our bodies destroy'.<sup>31</sup> The rich cuckold's attempt to debase other men by advising them that being cuckolded posed no threat to the welfare of their immortal souls, and could provide earthly riches to enjoy, was as corrupt (and arguably more pernicious) than that of his adulterous wife. However, whilst it was important for husbands to govern themselves effectively if they were going to achieve control over their wife's behaviour, the transgressions of an unruly wife posed more troubling problems beyond the household: a man who could not govern his household or wife was considered ungovernable himself.

The correlation between intractable wives and the king's ungovernable subjects featured in Henry Janson's *Philanax Anglicus* (1663). Janson was doctor of law to Charles II, and he posed several pertinent questions relating to a monarch's ability to govern effectively over subjects who were prone to insurgence. Janson queried 'For how can the supream Prince either of Church or State, be capable to govern well, unless their Subjects be taught how to obey?'.<sup>32</sup> He made clear that women, as descendants of Eve (who was responsible for the fall of man), were tempted to perverse religious practices which they then lured, or even dragged their husbands into. Janson remarked 'who was it preached and practised Disobedience

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<sup>30</sup> Anon, *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied*, (1674-9) (1 page).

<sup>31</sup> Anon, *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied*, (1674-9).

<sup>32</sup> H. Janson, *Philanax Anglicus, or, A Christian caveat for all kings, princes & prelates how they entrust a sort of pretended Protestants of integrity, or suffer them to commix with their respective governments : shewing plainly from the principles of all their predecessours, that it is impossible to be at the same time Presbyterians, and not rebels : with a compendious draught of their portraictures and petigree done to the life, by their own doctors dead hands, perfectly delineating their birth, breeding, bloody practices, and prodigious theorems against monarchy / faithfully published by T.B.* (1663), 114-115.

in Paradise, was it not the Serpent? and to whom was this Doctrine of Rebellion first preached? to a woman'.<sup>33</sup> Linking this religious rebellion to physical insurrection, Janson commented 'as one said, that the best way to raise an Army was to press the women, for that men would follow: so they as the old Cockatrice did with Eve, first ensnare the simple women, and make them to drag their Husbands by the horns after them.'<sup>34</sup> The reference to horn wearing husbands being dragged along by their dominant wives implied both their being led into anti-monarchical rebellion through disobedience towards the Anglican Church, and their cuckoldom. Janson's text reinforced the association between religious nonconformity, which relied on individual consciences rather than Anglican authority, and anti-monarchical insurrection. This is significant because these were fundamental elements of politicised depictions of cuckoldry in which the cornuted man's horns signified his rebellion against God.

### **The Symbolism and Scriptural Significance of the Cuckold's Horns**

The symbolism of the cuckold's horns is of the utmost significance. They are usually interpreted as an ironically inverted phallic display of a man's ignorance to his wife's adultery (tantamount to bovine dumbness) and, most pointedly, his consequent emasculation. As David Turner argues, the 'depiction of cuckolded husbands wearing horns was central to the image of cuckoldry as a dehumanising condition...since cuckoldry was frequently linked to a husband's poor sexual performance, it makes sense to explain cuckold's horns as 'phallic symbols which made a man a fool because of their lack of potency'.<sup>35</sup> Sarah Toulalan further suggests that in seventeenth century political pornography, the symbol of the cuckold's horns 'becomes shorthand for illicit sex as much as it stands for the humiliation of a cheated husband'.<sup>36</sup> From a study of cuckoldry in European folklore, Vaz Da Silva proffers an additional function of the cuckold's horns, namely the transference of dominance between two men through a woman: the horns are a symbol of dominance and the giving of horns by one man to another implies that

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<sup>33</sup> H. Janson, *Philanax Anglicus*, (1663), 114-115.

<sup>34</sup> H. Janson, *Philanax Anglicus*, (1663), 114-115.

<sup>35</sup> D. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 87 (quoting E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England*, 108).

<sup>36</sup> S. Toulalan, *Imagining Sex*, 213.

'these wane on the head of the man who spills his seed into the shared woman and correlatively wax on the head of the husband, who (by sharing this woman) absorbs his rival's substance'.<sup>37</sup>

In the European Renaissance of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the horns of a cuckold were most often those of a ram or goat, and in art and bestiaries (books which detailed the symbolic significance of animals) produced in this period, the horns of these animals 'were synonymous with luxury and lasciviousness'.<sup>38</sup> This symbolism goes some way to explaining the links between cuckoldry and materialism which appeared in English culture in the mid to late sixteenth century. Most significantly, however, the cuckolded man had a biblical significance which, unlike later depictions, was not derogatory. In the fusion of classic mythology and Christian which typified the Renaissance tradition, Joseph, the husband of Mary and Jesus's earthly father was portrayed as God's cuckold, but this was done deliberately by artists who sought to emphasise his willing acceptance of his role in the history of Salvation.<sup>39</sup>

In an analysis of English literary cuckolds, Clement Hawes also contends that the cuckold's horns had a biblical import, as horns of plenty. He notes that the 'entire trope of cuckold's horns is intrinsically ironic, figuring a conspicuous sexual lack as a mocking and displaced presence, there is a double layer of irony in the equation of cuckold's horns with Biblical horns of plenty and salvation.'<sup>40</sup> The connection between biblical horns and cuckoldry is particularly insightful, given that there were other meanings assigned to horns within biblical texts which, when associated with cuckoldry, represented a deliberately two pronged attack: akin to the horns worn and weaponised by enemies of God or even indicative of an affiliation with the Devil, the horns which adorned the fictitious heads of cuckolded non-conformists served as distinct external markers of internal spiritual (and moral) rebellion and corruption.

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<sup>37</sup>V. Da Silva, 'Sexual Horns: The Anatomy and Metaphysics of Cuckoldry in European Folklore', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48, 2 (2006), 404.

<sup>38</sup>J. M. Musacchio, 'Adultery, Cuckoldry and House-Scorning in Florence', 12.

<sup>39</sup>F. Alberti, "'Divine Cuckolds": Joseph and Vulcan in Renaissance Art and Literature' in S. Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2016), 150-182: 157.

<sup>40</sup>C. Hawes, *Mania and literary style: the rhetoric of enthusiasm: from the Ranters to Christopher Smart.*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 186 (see also D. Bruster, *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*, 61).

The horns of the ungodly feature in numerous biblical sources including the Book of Psalms, the Book of Revelation (sometimes referred to as the Apocalypse of John) and the Book of Daniel. The horns signifying enmity towards God which feature in the Book of Revelation and Book of Daniel are particularly significant, since these texts were crucial to providentialism. Providentialism was the belief that God was not an inactive spectator upon the world which he had created, but an active deity who constantly intervened in human affairs.<sup>41</sup> As Alexandra Walsham notes, in the Civil War and Interregnum, providentialism was associated with religious sectarianism, which eventually undermined its credibility and led to its intellectual marginalisation.<sup>42</sup> The association of providentialism with religious radicalism during the Civil War is particularly pertinent to politicised portrayals of cuckoldry and cornution used to deride nonconformity in this period. The horned antichrist beast of Revelation, and the seven headed beast in the Book of Daniel were frequently referred to in sectarian literature to justify their beliefs, whilst the radicals themselves were derided in Anglican texts which depicted them as wearing the biblical horns of rebellion akin to the beasts of Revelation and Daniel.

Whether providential or not, the various uses and interpretations of scripture as a means of legitimating a political ideology or religious practice during the early modern period are significant because they were also used to legitimate the use of cuckoldry as a politicised stereotype against nonconformity to the Anglican Church. The Civil War fragmented the Anglican establishment and was a pivotal period during which both sectarians and conforming Anglicans looked to scripture to justify their conduct and explain unfathomable events. As Christopher Hill comments, when 'ordinary people formed their own congregations in the sixteen-forties, free from traditional clerical control, they discussed all aspects of theology and politics in the light of the Bible'.<sup>43</sup> Similarly, Joad Raymond's extensive analysis of early modern pamphleteering reveals not only that pamphlets were appropriated by radicals for the dissemination of their ideas to a broad audience to gain popular support but, most importantly, their texts drew upon biblical references to legitimate their position. Raymond notes how 'Levellers and other

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<sup>41</sup> A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2.

<sup>42</sup> A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England*, 333.

<sup>43</sup> C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975), 162.

radicals, who were engaged in practical didactic activity as well as a publicity exercise, turned their prose to a broad audience. Their writings combined plainness and simplicity with rich scriptural allusion'.<sup>44</sup>

However, just as sectarians validated their nonconformity using scripture, biblical stories and references, this was also a tactic appropriated by their opponents, who sought to silence radical voices and warn others of the spiritual hazards of sectarianism. Sharon Achinstein notes the prevalence of biblical stories and imagery in Civil War propaganda, and describes how between 1640 and 1670, the story of Babel was used frequently and 'strategically by a specifically Royalist and conservative group as part of an effort to master, and then to silence, the oppositional and radical voices'<sup>45</sup>, especially those of the lower sort. More recently, Mark Knights has demonstrated the importance of religion in early modern legitimation and delegitimation strategies by demonstrating a strong connection between the language of corruption and anti-popery. Catholicism was believed to be the most dangerous, corrupt (and corrupting) faith, and its pernicious influence, which was believed to be the root cause of Protestant dissent, was condemned using the linguistic weaponry of corruption. Knights details not only the specificity of early modern political words and symbols, but also their religious significance. He asserts:

corruption was a term that had a strongly religious meaning, and anti-popery brought together political, fiscal, cultural, legal, economic and literary ways of thinking about corruption. Popery was not just a religious corruption, or a political one; it was also inherently bound up with venality, greed and self-enrichment at the expense of the public good.<sup>46</sup>

The amalgamation of political, cultural and economic factors, together with avarice and ambition, which were bound together under the catch-all notion of corruption, is invaluable to the exploration of cuckoldry which had a political purpose - just as these elements can be identified within anti-popery discourse, they also appear

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<sup>44</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 229.

<sup>45</sup> S. Achinstein, 'The Politics of Babel in the English Revolution', in J. Holstun, (ed.), *Pamphlet Wars: Prose in the English Revolution* (Frank Cass & Co. Ltd: London, 1992) 14-44: 18.

<sup>46</sup> M. Knights, 'Religion, Anti-Popery and Corruption' in M.J. Braddick & P. Withington (eds) *Popular Culture and Political Agency in Early Modern England and Ireland: Essays in Honour of John Walter* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017), 200.

within cuckoldry used in popular discourse to condemn non-conformists and delegitimise their participation in politics. Catholicism was frequently analogised as the Whore of Babylon from the Book of Revelation<sup>47</sup>, and it is suggested that the horned many-headed Beast she sat astride represented dissenters, as these were the two main opponents of the true Anglican Church.

Just as the horns of the Beast of Revelation indicated its enmity towards God, the horns of the cuckold also signified religious rebellion and served to figuratively emasculate those who wore them. Revelation 13 describes the Apostle John's vision in which he saw two beasts, both of which wore horns which signified hostility to God. The first appeared from the sea: 'And I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, and upon his horns ten crowns, and upon his heads the name of blasphemy'.<sup>48</sup> Speaking directly against God, the beast 'opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven'<sup>49</sup>, whilst the second beast 'coming up out of the earth...had two hornes like a lambe, and hee spake as a dragon'.<sup>50</sup> John was then visited by an angel who explained that the ten horns of the first, more powerful beast (the antichrist) were 'ten kings, which have received no kingdom as yet: but receive power as kings one houre with the beast. These have one minde, and shall give their power and strength unto the beast. These shal make warre with the Lambe, and the Lambe shal overcome them: For he is Lord of Lords, and King of kings, and they that are with him, are called, & chosen, and faithfull'.<sup>51</sup>

This end of days prophecy, which culminates in the Beast's destruction by Christ in the battle of Armageddon was subject to various theological interpretations with different suggestions as to what the antichrist beast and its horned heads symbolised. For example, David Jeffrey reveals that during the Reformation, the Beast was largely understood by Protestants as the Papacy, whilst

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<sup>47</sup> P. Hinds, *The Horrid Popish Plot: Roger L'Estrange and the Circulation of Political Discourse in Late Seventeenth Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 169.

<sup>48</sup> Revelation 13:1. Available online. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611-Revelation-Chapter-13> (last accessed 20/02/2016).

<sup>49</sup> Revelation 13:6. Available online. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611-Revelation-Chapter-13> (last accessed 20/02/2016).

<sup>50</sup> Revelation 13:11. Available online. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611-Revelation-Chapter-13> (last accessed 20/02/2016).

<sup>51</sup> Revelation 13:12-14. Available online. <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/1611-Revelation-Chapter-13> (last accessed 20/02/2016).

each of its seven heads represented an additional enemy of the Protestant Church. Jeffrey notes that the seven heads had also been interpreted 'as persecutors of the true Church: (1) Jews; (2) Idolators; (3) heretics; (4) hypocritical Churchmen and Mohamet; (5) false sects; (6) the abomination in the Papacy and the Mohammedan menace again; and (7) the Antichrist'.<sup>52</sup>

Reformation interpretations of the antichrist Beast of Revelation representing the Papacy continued well into the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and notions of the Beast of Babylon as representing a papist anti-Christ endured following the Civil War. Baptist writer William Hicks's 1659 publication *The Revelation Revealed* stated 'interpreters of the Reformation do harmoniously accord that by the Beast of seven heads and ten horns, Rev. 13 1. must be meant the Romish Empire divided into ten Kingdoms. And the Beast with two horns like a Lamb, Rev. 13.11. yet speaking like a Dragon, to be the Popish Antichristian Hierarchy.'<sup>53</sup>

However, this was not the only way in which Revelation was used and understood, and the interchangeability of scriptural interpretations meant that multifarious meanings could be applied to the same text. For example, in 1667, *The Saints Freedom from Tyranny Vindicated* suggested that rather than signifying the papacy, the Beast represented a more general anti-Christian state. Commenting on the connection between the Beast of Revelation and the beast with four heads and ten horns in chapter 7 of the Book of Daniel, the author remarked 'It is not clear, that the Beast arising out of the Sea, Rev. 13. 1, &c. and Daniels fourth Beast, are one Beast, and both representing the Roman Empire: I humbly judge, That upon the fall of Daniels fourth Beast, the Beast with ten Horns Crowned then arose, over whom the Woman reigns; and so is the Kingdom of the Beast Antichrist, as they are professed Christian States, and yet oppose and deny the Fathers, and the Sons Sovereignty. Johns Vision of the Beast with ten horns crowned, upon whom the Woman sits, I take to be a more ample and full discription of the Antichristian State

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<sup>52</sup> D. L. Jeffrey (ed.), *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1992), 212.

<sup>53</sup> W. Hicks, *Apokalypsis apokalypseos, or, The revelation revealed being a practical exposition on the revelation of St. John : whereunto is annexed a small essay, entituled Quinto-Monarchiae, cum Quarto Omologia, or, A friendly compliance between Christ's monarchy, and the magistrates / by William Hicks ...* (1659) The Preface, sig. c2.

in general'.<sup>54</sup> The shift in perception to the Beast representing an anti-Christian state rather than Catholicism is important, and arguably goes some way to explaining why the errant religious conduct of Christian dissenters made them the direct target of literary cuckold invectives: depictions of horns could be read as either physical manifestations of religious rebellion, or emasculation by cuckoldom, or indeed both.

The horned beasts which featured in the prophecies of Revelation and Daniel are especially important. They were religious symbols associated with apocalypticism which were appropriated for political purpose by both parliamentarians and royalists during the Civil War. Helen Pierce's study of early modern graphic satires demonstrates that parliamentarians viewed the Beast of Babylon from Revelation as a Catholic monster connected to royalism. According to Pierce, in parliamentary propaganda:

The connection between royalism and the popish hydra was one expressed in a number of forms. A many headed Beast of Babylon, variously attacked by armed men, and the Lamb of God graced several emblematic banners carried into battles on the parliamentary side.<sup>55</sup>

However, the Beast of Babylon was also harnessed by royalists in retaliation against parliamentarians. During the Protectorate in particular, royalists derided the Rump parliament by depicting it as either the tail of the beast in the Book of Daniel or Revelation 12, or as the Whore of Babylon's posterior.<sup>56</sup> There was also a deeper, and deliberate religious meaning to the partisan political use of anti-Christian beasts and the Whore of Babylon in Daniel and Revelation: these biblical texts were central to the radical apocalyptic and millenarian beliefs circulating in 17<sup>th</sup> century England.

As Amanda Capern notes, in the 1640s Eleanor Davies used biblical references and prophecies in literary attacks on Charles I which directly politicised his marriage and emasculation through the pernicious influence of his wife,

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<sup>54</sup> A. B., *The Saints freedom from tyranny vindicated, or, The power of pagan caesars and antichristian kings examined and they condemned by the prophets and apostles, as no magistrates of God to be obeyed by saints for the Lords sake : being the copy of an answer to a private letter, wherein the civil power of Satan and antichristian states is soberly debated ... / by a lover of truth.* (1667), 26.

<sup>55</sup> H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, 153.

<sup>56</sup> M. Jenner, 'The Roasting of the Rump: Scatology and the Body Politic in Restoration England', *Past & Present*, 177, 1, (2002), 84-120: 103 & 102.



Henrietta Maria.<sup>57</sup> Davies used old prophecies and added to them in numerous anti-monarchist texts which used biblical references, including Daniel: 7, to predict the downfall of the monarchy. The belief that Christ would defeat the Antichrist beast (whether papist or otherwise) and reign on earth, providing salvation to the Godly engaged directly with the political and religious upheavals of the Civil War, and a preoccupation with the apocalypse continued well into the Restoration, albeit in a different way. As Warren Johnston contends, there was some continuity between the apocalypticism of the Civil War and Interregnum and that of the Restoration had, but prophetic meanings were adapted to the circumstances of the restored Stuart monarchy.<sup>58</sup>

Apocalyptic references used during the Civil War and Interregnum for political purpose were emphasised and interpreted in different ways, even among those who apparently shared the same radical inclinations, as the works of millenarian Fifth Monarchists Mary Cary and Anna Trapnel reveal. Cary's *Little Horn's doom and downfall* (written in 1644 but not published until 1651) defended and justified the execution of Charles I, declaring that he was the little horn referred to in the Book of Daniel chapter 7 which had overcome three little horns (England, Scotland and Ireland). She makes clear that the parliamentarians who fought against Charles I's corruption and his royalist supporters were Saints, stating 'every individuall person, that hath been, or is in Parliament, is a Saint, because I say..., that by the judgement sitting, here spoken of, is meant a company of Saints, that by the wisdom and goodnesse of the most high were convened together, and have a spirit of judgement given to them: and that the Parliament are this company of Saints, who have had this spirit of Judgement, and have acted faithfully.'<sup>59</sup> Cary further contends not only that God was on the side of the roundheads, but that their deposing and execution of the king was a God-given assignment. Portraying Charles I as the Little

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<sup>57</sup> A. Capern, 'Eleanor Davies and the New Jerusalem', in J. Chappell & K. Kramer (eds), *Women during the English Reformations: Renegotiating Gender and Religious Identity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014), 109.

<sup>58</sup> W. Johnston, *Revelation Restored: The Apocalypse in Later Seventeenth Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 2.

<sup>59</sup> M. Cary, *The little horns doom & downfall or A scripture-prophesie of King James, and King Charles, and of this present Parliament, unfolded. Wherein it appears, that the late tragedies that have bin acted upon the scene of these three nations: and particularly, the late Kings doom and death, was so long ago, as by Daniel pred-eclared [sic]. And what the issue of all will be, is also discovered; which followes in the second part. By M. Cary, a servant of Jesus Christ.* (1651), 36-37.

Horn, she remarked that the work of parliamentarians was to ‘take away the Dominion of that little Horne that spake great words against the most high, and made war against the Saints. Charles’s abuse of monarchical power had led to his fate because ‘whereas he had had Dominion, and great power, and authority, whereby he persecuted, and grieved, and afflicted the Saints, and endeavoured to weare them out.’<sup>60</sup> Cary also condemned the king’s absolutist rule and defended Parliament’s actions to ‘take away his Dominion, even his authority, and power of ruling, and governing according to his own will: yea all his strength of Armes, and Ammunition: of Forts, and Castles, and places of strength, his Crown, Throne, and seat of Honour; all and whatsoever appertaines to his Dominion: Thats the worke they were to do.’<sup>61</sup>

Cary’s contemporary and fellow Fifth Monarchist Anna Trapnel also used the little horn in Daniel 7 to comment on corrupt earthly power. Ann Hughes notes how Trapnel ‘drew on the central texts of Daniel that underlay the Fifth Monarchist narrative of the fall of earthly powers, succeeded by the rule of the Saints and the second coming of Christ’.<sup>62</sup> However, unlike Cary, who viewed parliamentarians as Saints, Trapnel’s work proffered an alternative interpretation of the Book of Daniel, aptly demonstrating her scriptural knowledge and drastically changed opinion of parliamentarian leader Oliver Cromwell from hero to villain. Hughes reveals that ‘In the 1640s, in Trapnel’s account, Cromwell was a second Gideon, a military leader who had delivered the Israelites and then refused supreme political power, but by 1654 he was the little horn on the terrible beast in Daniel chapter 7 who made war with the Saints.’<sup>63</sup>

References drawn from the Book of Revelation and Daniel chapter 7 could be used to justify rebellion against the corruption of the earthly powers of Church and monarchy in pursuit of religious reform, but there were other instances where biblical horns were viewed more favourably: analogising monarchs as horns of salvation from the House of David was a means of promoting the legitimacy of monarchy through divine appointment and its power to save nations from religious and political disorder. The Davidic lineage of Charles I was emphasised in a sermon

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<sup>60</sup> M. Cary, *The little horns doom & downfall*, 39.

<sup>61</sup> M. Cary, *The little horns doom & downfall*, 39.

<sup>62</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and The English Revolution*, 78.

<sup>63</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and The English Revolution*, 79.

by royalist theologian Mark Frank in 1641, the same year in which Charles's relationship with parliament irrevocably crumbled and he was presented with the Grand Remonstrance, a substantive list of grievances drawn up by parliamentarians which attacked the papist inclinations of the king's evil counsellors (particularly Archbishop Laud) and called for Protestant conformity of worship for the stability and safety of the nation. Whilst parliament's Remonstrance attempted to hold Charles and his counsellors accountable for the nation's state of turmoil, Frank described the king as a mighty horn from the house of David who would defeat the horned enemies of the Church:

In a word, God has signally and strangely visited us of late years with his salvation, redeemed us from our enemies, and all that hate us; those Horns, that like those in Daniel pusht down and scattered all before them, that threw down our Temples, took away our daily service, set up the abomination of desolation in these holy places, Horse, and Foot, and Arms, and all the instruments of desolation, and stamp't upon all holy things and persons: he has rais'd us up a mightier horn to make those horns draw in theirs; a horn in the house of his servant David<sup>64</sup>

This sermon was recirculated in 1672, occasioned by another political and religious flashpoint, namely Charles II's issue of the Declaration of Indulgence, which was an attempt to extend toleration towards Protestant dissenters and, most controversially, permit Roman Catholics to worship in their own homes. The republication of Frank's royalist Anglican sermon was a likely a timely attempt to reiterate the restored monarch's authority as head of the Church, whilst serving as a reminder of the dangers of religious sectarianism: the corrupt faith of fanatics had led to the execution of Charles's father, Charles I and the desolation of the state and Church. Frank indicates the sectarian nature of those who had wrought destruction upon the nation by describing them using their horns like the beast in the book of Daniel to demolish the Anglican establishment, its churches and practices.

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<sup>64</sup> M. Frank, *LI sermons preached by the Reverend Dr. Mark Frank ... being a course of sermons, beginning at Advent, and so continued through the festivals: to which is added a sermon preached at St. Pauls Cross, in the year forty-one, and then commanded to be printed by King Charles the First.* (1672), 107.

The contemporaneous perception that horns were worn by enemies of the Church was also evident in literature such as the pamphlet *A well-resolved man; or, good resolutions and good endeavour* (1600-1699) in which the anonymous author used biblical references to denounce those who spoke or acted against the Church. Encouraging loyal Christians to use good endeavours to stand against these wicked men, the text expounded:

we should do very well to side under our Captain-General Jesus Christ, as some of his Angel-men, against Satan and his, (Rev.12.) also under such good Magistrates, and with such good Ministers and People who (David-like) do most love God's goodness and praises, and most check or Horncut (much obstinate Antichristian and vitious) wicked men; who Comb-fully fling Horns or Harms against the same and them.<sup>65</sup>

Continuing in the same vein and noting that horns could impede a man's ability to see God's will, the author also remarked 'in these and times to come, will many such well-resolved men be cheerfully willing to do any good (when conveniently they may) and to let their light shine to their Heavenly Father's glory, though Owle-sighted, hate-light men, or evil-ey'd hinder men, or such whose hornes or Combs hang in their light, would therefore much envy maligne, gainsay or ill oppose them, Math. 5.15,16. and 25.17, 18.22,23, Mark. 4.21. Psal. 75.1,4,5,9,10.'<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps most enlightening of all, however, is the 1660 dialogue between a loyalist and a fanatic (dissenter) in which the loyalist charged the fanatic with causing the upheaval of Civil War, since his religious nonconformity led him into the hands of the devil. Verbally attacking the fanatic, the loyalist scorned 'the Divel did move you, that evill spirit, on purpose to raise up the throne of Antichrist, and so crown yourselves with the horns of Rebellion'<sup>67</sup>, to which the fanatic unrepentantly replied:

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<sup>65</sup> Anon., *A well-resolved man; or, Good resolutions, & good endeavour* (1600-1699), 2.

<sup>66</sup> Anon., *A well-resolved man; or, Good resolutions, & good endeavour* (1600-1699), 5.

<sup>67</sup> Anon., *A full relation or dialogue between a loyallist and a converted phanattick since the time of the late rebellion, relating their wicked conspiracy, and barbarous intentions, whereby their divellish plots is more fully discovered then ever it was before: gently disputed between them both. Together with the phanaticks lamentation and farewell to that crew. Published as a warning-piece to all the rebellious sectaries.* (1660), 6.

Nay but O man our meaning was not so, nor our intentions, no more but to abolish all Laws, and subdue all Statutes, O what an ease would it have brought to the Lawyers. Secondly, to have cast off both King and Government, then what a liberty had we given to the Nation. Thirdly, to have puld down all Churches, and Chappels, O then what a trouble had we quitted the Clergy of. Fourthly, to have brought all things under our power, O then what a government had the people then lived under?<sup>68</sup>

This brazen defence of the dissenters' design to overthrow crown and Church in the pursuit of liberty is perhaps to be expected, particularly given wider perceptions of the nature of nonconformists, which were elucidated in *The Character of a Phanatique*. Describing dissenters as wearing the horns of the beast of Revelation, which served as markers of their insurrection, the author contended they were 'fit for neither Heaven, Earth, nor yet Hell, because he is against all order and government, which is not only exercised in Heaven and Earth, but practised by the Devils themselves.'<sup>69</sup> Most troublingly, however, the inconstancy of these men made them untrustworthy and their motives questionable. Depicting them almost as the devil in disguise, the author asserted:

he pretends much to a good conscience, yet thinks it lawful to murder all that dissent from him in opinion, although he changes from himself more often than the Moon. If you talk with him to day you are never the nearer to know him to morrow, for you shall finde him perfectly metamorphosed. He rayls much against the Pope of Rome, and the Whore of Babylon, when none so much resemble the beast as himself, whose mark he bears in his fore-head, but wants the Looking-glass of reason to descern it.<sup>70</sup>

Although fears of popular rebellion were widespread, they appear to have been more of a preoccupation for Restoration loyalists who favoured, and feared for, the

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<sup>68</sup> Anon., *A full relation or dialogue between a loyallist and a converted phanattick*, 6.

<sup>69</sup> Anon. *The character of a phanatique* (1660) (1 page).

<sup>70</sup> Anon. *The character of a phanatique* (1660) (1 page).

stability of the Stuart monarchy and Anglican Church. The staunch royalist Anglican biographer John Barnard scathingly described the degenerate behaviour of dissenting clergymen and commoners as ‘dribling away in cups to the destruction of their families and dishonour of their persons, they christen in their drink, with the excellent name of Society, good fellowship, and liberall fruition of each other.’<sup>71</sup> Their conversations were, Barnard contended, equally unpalatable, being ‘either obscene, idle, and misbecoming both, or else Atheisticall, profane, Celsian and Julian like, scoffing at the austerity and rigid behaviour of Christians.’<sup>72</sup> Barnard scorned that fanatics considered true faith ‘but a State trick of wise invention, the device of Kings and Governours, a Political Engine to draw people into blind obedience and subjection to their powers’.<sup>73</sup> Most significantly, however, religious radicals perceived the Anglican Church’s stance against them a means of keeping ‘this wilde beast of many heads, the common people, awed with a perswasion of conscience, [so] they must not thrust forth the horns of rebellion against any civil power’.<sup>74</sup>

The extent of anti-sectarian feeling in the early Restoration was such that even the commonwealth itself was deemed anti-Christian as a consequence of having been governed during the Civil War and Interregnum by those who had weaponised their horns against Christ. Emphasising the common element of the commonwealth, most likely as a means of laying blame for the disruption of the state firmly at the doors of the insurgent common people, the loyalist pamphlet *Monarchia Triumphans* (1666) scathed ‘Our Common-wealth it was a Common Pander, to Sects and Factions, which about did wander. A Common-wealth’s a common Pestilence, where Passions vote ‘gainst Reasons Common sence. That ours was Ante-Christ who can deny, whose Horns gor’d Christ, whose Heads did him defie’.<sup>75</sup> However, the political use of cuckoldry was not confined to allusions to horns or explicit references to cuckoldry, as there were other means of describing

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<sup>71</sup> J. Barnard, *Censura cleri, or A plea against scandalous ministers, not fit to be restored to the churches livings in point of prudence, piety, and fame. By a true lover of the Church of England in doctrine, ceremony and discipline.* (1660), p.7-8.

<sup>72</sup> J. Barnard, *Censura cleri*, (1660), 7-8.

<sup>73</sup> J. Barnard, *Censura cleri*, (1660), 7-8.

<sup>74</sup> J. Barnard, *Censura cleri*, (1660), 7-8.

<sup>75</sup> P. Dormer, *Monarchia triumphans, or, The super-eminency of monarchy over poliarchy or Of the government of one above any free-state or other kinde of sovereignty in many.* (1666), 5.

cuckolds which also made the association between cuckoldry, covetousness and nonconformity clear.

### **The legend of Acteon & Diana**

References to Acteon, the hunter of Roman mythology who was transformed into a stag by the hunting goddess Diana for gazing upon her while she was bathing, were another means of describing cuckoldry. As David Turner notes, 'descriptions of cuckolds as 'Acteons' implied that cuckoldry was a natural punishment for men's lusts'<sup>76</sup>, while Claire McEachern notes that Renaissance cuckolds were often called Acteons, whose horns were 'clearly an emblem not of phallic power but of female domination'.<sup>77</sup> Associations between Acteon and cuckoldry continued throughout the seventeenth century, as is evident in the *Dictionary of the Canting Crew* which provided the definition 'Acteon'd, Cuckolded, or made a Cuckold of'.<sup>78</sup> It is most significant, however, that whatever meaning was ascribed to Acteon and his horns, there was a biblical dimension to these portrayals which was linked to avarice and popular rebellion.

The goddess Diana's Ephesian worshippers who turned Acteon into a stag, are the subject of a biblical story in which the tradesmen and silversmiths (who worshipped not only Diana, but the profits they made from their various trades), revolted against the teachings of the Apostle Paul. Acts of the Apostles describes how:

a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, which made silver shrines for Diana, brought no small gain unto the craftsmen; whom he called together with the workmen of like occupation, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our wealth. Moreover ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but

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<sup>76</sup> D. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 87-88.

<sup>77</sup> C. McEachern, 'Why Do Cuckolds Have Horns?', 616.

<sup>78</sup> B. E., *A new dictionary of the canting crew in its several tribes of gypsies, beggars [sic], thieves, cheats &c., with an addition of some proverbs, phrases, figurative speeches &c. : useful for all sorts of people (especially foreigners) to secure their money and preserve their lives ; besides very diverting and entertaining being wholly new / by B.E. (1699), folio. B.*

almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods, which are made with hands.<sup>79</sup>

Demetrius's determination to protect the shrines of Diana, which he and his fellow craftsmen had built and profited from, perhaps went some way to reinforcing stereotypes of materialistic tradesmen who gave precedence to profit above piety.

The worship of Diana by tradesmen and merchants in the City of London was similarly remarked upon in the 1660 publication *Against Babylon and her Merchants in England*, which vilified money-grubbing men who sought financial rewards from false worship. The Babylon referred to in the text's title was Restoration London, which was compared to the city of Babylon, which was analogous in the Bible with moral and religious corruption so extreme that the city was necessarily destroyed as a precursor to the second coming of Christ. The text described how 'Merchants and Tradesmen of all sorts, ranks and orders, cry aloud, Great is Diana of the Ephesians, because of their crafts which brings them their Gain from their Quarters.'<sup>80</sup> However, the author's virulent criticisms of Diana's followers could just as easily be among those directed against dissenters, as the author contended that Diana's Prophets:

prophesie falsly, her Priests bear rule by their means, and the people love to have it so; who say unto them that despise the Lord, ye shall have peace; and to them that walk after the imagination of their own hearts, none evil shall come upon them; so that they are Prophets of lyes, deceit and falshood, that say, the wicked shall prosper.<sup>81</sup>

Most significantly, as a consequence of this materialism and false faith, the body of the commonwealth was injured as a 'horrible thing is committed in the Land, the whole head is sick, the whole heart is faint, that from the sole of the foot to the crown

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<sup>79</sup> Acts: 19:24-26. Available online. <https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Acts-Chapter-19> (last accessed January 2018).

<sup>80</sup> J. Anderson, *Against Babylon and her merchants in England ... written by one that travels in spirit for Sions deliverance*, John Anderson. (1660), 4.

<sup>81</sup> Anderson, J., *Against Babylon and her merchants in England*, 4.



of the head there is no soundness...but full of wounds and putrifying sores, full of corruption, which stink in the nostrils of our God'.<sup>82</sup>

The corrupt faith of tradesmen who worshipped Diana was also referred to in author and bookseller John Dunton's 1685 publication *Heavenly Pastime*. Dunton, whose family heritage was distinctly Anglican, would eventually become editor of the popular periodical *Athenian Mercury* (first published in 1691), and play an instrumental role in the Societies for Reformation of Manners in the mid-1690s. However, his reformist tendencies and social observations are clear in the fictitious dialogue between Demetrius and his fellow labourer set out in *Heavenly Pastime* which satirically envisioned what would happen if the rebellious rabble adhered to one faith. Seeking to address his concerns about a new doctrine which had turned people away from worshipping Diana, Demetrius asked the labourer 'See you not Fellow Labourer, how great Diana's Name is almost sunk, since this new Doctrine has or'espread our Coast, none now regard her Shrines as heretofore'<sup>83</sup>, to which the labourer replied "'Tis true, we see it but too plain, how her neglected Altar stands, no crowds of Grecians now rest her Faun, but listening to new Doctrine, are become regardless'.<sup>84</sup>

Demetrius then points out that 'our trade you see is lost thereby, and we reduced to poverty, therefore give counsel what course we must take to uneclipse the Goddess fame, and settle the giddy Multitude to their old devotion.'<sup>85</sup> The solution suggested by the labourer of 'insinuating the dangerous consequence of this new doctrine, to set the rout a madding, raise a tumult, and whilst each gabbles out he knows not what, put all into confusion'<sup>86</sup> intimated that craftsmen and tradesmen saw no harm in creating religious chaos because they were able to reap the pecuniary perks which resulted from disorder.

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<sup>82</sup> J. Anderson, *Against Babylon and her merchants in England ... written by one that travels in spirit for Sions deliverance*, John Anderson. (1660),4.

<sup>83</sup> J. Dunton, *Heavenly pastime, or, Pleasant observations on all the most remarkable passages throughout the Holy Bible of the Old and New Testament newly allegoriz'd in several delightful dialogues, poems, similitudes, and divine fancies / by John Dunton, author of The sickmans passing-bell*. (1685), 130-1.

<sup>84</sup> J. Dunton, *Heavenly pastime*, 130-1.

<sup>85</sup> J. Dunton, *Heavenly pastime*, 130-1.

<sup>86</sup> J. Dunton, *Heavenly pastime*, 130-1.

To conclude, longstanding themes of literary cuckoldry, such as avarice and immorality which ultimately stemmed from a lack of Christianity, took on a heightened politico-religious significance as a direct consequence of the Civil War. Although these traits commonly featured in depictions of cuckolded men, cuckold makers and adulterous wives from the late sixteenth century, they became linked with something far more sinister than socio-economic upheaval. As this chapter has demonstrated, during the Civil War, cuckoldry and the horns symbolic of cuckoldom became linked to anti-monarchical insurrection caused by Protestant nonconformity. This was done by using scriptural references to the anti-Christian beasts and Whore of Babylon which featured in Revelation 13 and Daniel Chapter 7. These texts were frequently used by radical religious separatists to defend and justify their dissenting practices and beliefs, but they were also utilised by opponents of protestant pluralism to deride what they perceived as dangerous tendencies which destroyed the unity of Church and state.

A new scriptural interpretation of the horns of cuckoldry has been set out in this chapter which reveals an affiliation between cuckoldry, rebellion against God, his divinely appointed monarchy and the teachings and practices of the Anglican Church. This politico-religious repurposing of cuckoldry came about as a direct consequence of the Civil War. Throughout the Civil War and Restoration, protestant dissenters were subjected to literary ridicule as cuckolds whilst Catholics (or papists) do not appear to have been attacked in this way during these periods. How can this be explained, particularly given the significance of scriptural references to the Whore of Babylon and the many-headed beasts of rebellion in Revelation and Daniel 7?

Although there was a perception that protestant pluralism was a catholic conspiracy to destroy the Anglican Church, the doctrinal divisions caused by radical religious sects were dangerous in their own right, whether caused by Catholicism or not. The Anglican establishment believed that these divisions would bring about the downfall of the Church. Therefore, as this chapter argues, in Anglican royalist literature, the hydra (upon which the papist Whore of Babylon sat astride) symbolised protestant pluralism. The horns which it raised in rebellion against God also adorned the heads of religious radicals who were cornuted using depictions of cuckoldry.

There are many complexities concerning the cuckold's figurative function, but it is evident that he played a vital role throughout the Civil War and Restoration as a means of undermining those whose perceived insubordination and immorality fuelled the flames of faction and discord. By tracing the literary evolution of cuckoldry in popular political discourse, it is apparent that the cuckold could be understood as more than simply a stereotype for failed manhood and the dangers of marriage. To fully appreciate the complex issues beneath the cuckold's horns, it is necessary to begin with his role as an overtly political protagonist during the Civil War, when sectarianism, sedition and commercial corruption became inextricably linked to rebellion against the crown and Anglican Church. Men's bankrupt moral economy was an especially dangerous cause and consequence of their fraudulent faith, which also contributed to an alignment with the parliamentary cause against Charles I, confirming their enmity towards God, and the state itself. The next chapter discusses how the explicit connection between nonconformity and anti-monarchical rebellion symbolically converged in the horns of cuckoldry, which became a particularly powerful political weapon in the literary conflicts of the Civil War.

## **Chapter 3**

## Civil War Cuckoldry

The Civil War was a period in which religion, politics, the nature of the state and social hierarchy were all subject to immense disruption and renegotiation. Despite the turmoil, however, gendered domestic roles and marriage remained central to both royalist and parliamentarian political ideologies, and the stability of the state. As the diplomat Sir Francis Nethersole commented in 1642, 'I know no comparison doth run better, or more fit then that of a man and his wife with the King and his Parliament, so I would our present distempers were not too like the condition of a Woman and her Husband first parted upon Jealousy, and other discontents betweene them, and then not knowing how with credit to come together againe, when the great encrease of both their discomforts, occasioned by their separation, hath sufficiently disposed them unto it.'<sup>1</sup> Discourse concerned with social order (or the lack of) and state formation drew upon gender and gendered roles, albeit in different ways, and these became a source of real contention both during and after the Civil War.

Most significantly, the literary tropes which were embroiled in the ideological conflicts of war were politically refashioned and became allied with politico-religious allegiances. Domestic roles were used analogously in political ideologies, albeit in different ways, and within popular political discourse the cuckold's disordered household signified more than the dangers of marriage and emasculation: during the Civil War, cornution and cuckoldry were utilised by Stuart loyalists as literary devices to symbolise the disarray caused by sectarians and parliamentarians and emasculate these factious men. Although the cuckold continued to be connected to commerce, immorality and avarice, he took on a new role given to him by royalists who connected these sinful traits to parliamentarianism and dissent from the Anglican Church.

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<sup>1</sup> Sir F. Nethersole, *Considerations upon the present state of the affairs of this kingdome: In relation to the three severall petitions which have lately been in agitation in the Honourable City of London. And a project for a fourth petition, tending to a speedy accommodation of the present unhappy differences between His Maiesty and the Parliament. Written upon the perusing of the speciall passages of the two weeks, from the 29 of November, to the 13 of December, 1642. And dedicated to the Lord Maior and aldermen of the said City. By a country-man, a well-willer of the City, and a lover of truth and peace.* (1642), 9.

This chapter explores the ways in which Civil War cuckoldry reflected principally royalist concerns in popular political discourse and its use to unman those who opposed the Stuart monarchy and Anglican Church. The key anxieties aligned with cuckoldry were the links between sectarianism and parliamentarianism/republicanism, the tendency of the 'rabble' (including tradesmen) to nonconformity and parliamentarianism, and the role of money as a motivating force for corruption and conflict. Furthermore, although London's Citizens were figuratively affiliated with cuckoldry prior to the Civil War, the City of London's position as the commercial and trading heart of the nation, and as a stronghold for parliamentarian forces during the war meant that depictions of cuckolded Citizens took on a new, dangerous association with anti-monarchical rebellion which was considered to be both the cause and consequence of their commercial corruption.

To understand the impact of the Civil War on politicising literary portrayals of cuckoldry which appeared in popular discourse, the transformative effect of the Civil War upon literary genres and tropes must first be considered. Perhaps the most significant literary changes arising as a direct consequence of the Civil War were the politicisation and mutability of literature. Just as the boundaries of social hierarchies and order were fractured by the conflicts, the breaking of literary boundaries during this period led to the development of new literary genres and the political repurposing of those which were already well established. As revealed by Joad Raymond's study of early modern pamphleteering, the tumult of Civil War was a period when 'major literary forms, such as drama, tragedy, epic and lyric were re-formed, as were political writing and journalism, by cross fertilisation. Generic instability facilitated the creation of generic hybrids, but also an increased sensitivity to genre as a political register.<sup>2</sup> The political repurposing of literature most often involved the adaptation of traditional tropes and devices, and Raymond notes that 'old iconography could be recycled to report on unprecedented events'.<sup>3</sup> From an evaluation of graphic satire produced during the Civil War Helen Pierce

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<sup>2</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 214.

<sup>3</sup> J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering*, 253.

also surmises that the 'iconography of conflict that developed during the 1640s made use of ideas and imagery that drew on a number of crucial sources from earlier decades'.<sup>4</sup> Within these significant changes to literary genres and popular printed materials, the cuckold was a well-established literary and cultural trope of emasculated manhood prior to the Civil War, but the upheavals of this period meant that he was given a new, politicised purpose.

The cuckold was a man whose domestic authority had been usurped to the point of inversion by his wife's assertion of independence through sexual promiscuity. This is significant because the roles and conduct of men and women within households had an import which extended beyond domestic boundaries: the socio-economic and moral integrity of households (reinforced by the teachings and practices of the Church of England) was essential for ensuring the security of the nation. Familial analogies were therefore crucial for shaping and expressing political ideologies within popular discourse, and although they were used and emphasised in different ways by parliamentarians and royalists during the Civil War, nonetheless they remained vital for communicating ideas about the balance of power between government and the governed. The importance of family values, and their political significance, was called into question as a consequence of the civil war, and there was a significant reassessment of familial metaphors in political discourse, particularly once Charles I had been defeated, tried and executed.<sup>5</sup> When the body politic lost its head both literally and allegorically, the family remained a key political issue, in spite of, and indeed perhaps because of the dismembered state. The disorder of the cuckold's household was therefore a political issue which was contextualised by debates about the nature of patriarchal power, and symbolised the potentially disastrous consequences of its failure.

The domestic roles of both Charles I and Oliver Cromwell were put to political use during the Civil War, but used in different ways to articulate and differentiate royalist and republican ideas of authority. Ann Hughes notes that queen Henrietta Maria (Charles I's wife) was lauded in royalist literature which praised female initiative and deliberately contrasted her heroism with the uncouth behaviour of

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<sup>4</sup> H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, 137.

<sup>5</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 126.

low-born parliamentarian women.<sup>6</sup> In rhetorical response to this, parliamentarians criticised Henrietta Maria's unchecked dominance over Charles I which not only unmanned, but most dangerously, unkinged her husband.<sup>7</sup> Hughes further comments that for parliamentarians the king 'demonstrated in the starkest possible fashion the political calamities that arose when a man was in thrall to his wife'.<sup>8</sup> Parliamentarians also advanced the argument that through her intimacy with the king, Henrietta Maria had 'used her sexual power to gain political and religious power'<sup>9</sup> and Michelle White notes that she was literarily depicted as a 'foreign, bossy, politically influential Catholic who dominated her husband and interfered in public affairs with the ultimate intent to incline the king to popery'.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, to highlight the pernicious influence of the queen over her naïve husband, intimate correspondence between Charles I and Henrietta Maria was seized by parliamentarians during their military victory at the battle of Naseby in 1645, and circulated (*The Kings Cabinet Opened*), making the private affections of the king and queen part of a very public smear campaign.

In response, royalist texts used the marital roles of the Cromwells as literary weapons, and frequently depicted Oliver Cromwell as both cuckold and cuckold maker. However, whilst this implied that his wife Elizabeth was adulterous, she does not appear to have been a consistent subject of Civil War political discourse, and her lowly status appeared to be more of a point of contention than her figurative adultery. Nicknamed 'Joan' as a signifier of her low birth, Elizabeth Cromwell was only occasionally literarily lampooned from the late 1640s until the Restoration and beyond.<sup>11</sup> Remarking on the relative absence of Elizabeth Cromwell in parliamentarian propaganda, Katherine Gillespie notes the contrast between the use of familial roles by parliamentarians and the Stuart monarchy. She contends that the Charles I used 'iconographics of his personal life, including...carefully crafted representations of his wife and family, as a visual form of public political power over

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<sup>6</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 61.

<sup>7</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 119.

<sup>8</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 118.

<sup>9</sup> M. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2006), 177.

<sup>10</sup> M. White, *Henrietta Maria and the English Civil Wars*, 103.

<sup>11</sup> P. Gaunt, 'Cromwell [Bourchier], Elizabeth (1598–1665)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/65778> [accessed 17/11/2017].



the lives of his subjects'.<sup>12</sup> However, parliamentarians deliberately ended this practice as a means of distinguishing themselves rhetorically and ideologically from monarchy.

Gillespie asserts that this was a sign that 'English republicans had limited a ruler's power over practices that they deemed private; hence the absence of representations of Elizabeth and her family from the discourses that emerged from the earlier, more radical and moderate phases of Commonwealth republicanism'.<sup>13</sup> Although the unmaning of both Charles I and Oliver Cromwell was effected by different types of misconduct by their unruly wives in political discourse, the domestic contextualisation of their emasculation shows how important the roles of husband and father were for establishing masculine authority within households and the socio-political structures beyond them. Most crucially, it also reveals that emasculation was a powerful means of undermining, if not destroying, political masculinities.

The importance of family values to parliamentarians has been interpreted and emphasised differently among historians. Diane Purkiss contends that parliamentarians constructed a 'new image of a masculine commonwealth, one grounded in the masculinity of the head of the household, the property-owning paterfamilias'.<sup>14</sup> However, Ann Hughes asserts that parliamentarians (and republicans) 'tended to deny that political authority as such was ultimately legitimised through a comparison with the authority of a father or husband'.<sup>15</sup> Whilst the extent to which men sought to legitimate their political status through their positions as husbands or fathers clearly remains open to question, nonetheless, the political importance of households governed by men who were able to moderate both their own conduct and that of those over whom they held authority, retained considerable significance. Any suggestion that the nation was insufficiently masculine meant that any penetration by women into the *res publica*, had

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<sup>12</sup> K. Gillespie, 'Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen Court: Republicanism and the Consort', *Genders* 1998-2013, 33, (2001). Available online. <https://www.colorado.edu/gendersarchive1998-2013/2001/01/10/elizabeth-cromwells-kitchen-court-republicanism-and-consort>, 2.

<sup>13</sup> K. Gillespie, 'Elizabeth Cromwell's Kitchen Court: Republicanism and the Consort', *Genders* 1998-2013, 33, (2001). Available online. [<https://www.colorado.edu/gendersarchive1998-2013/2001/01/10/elizabeth-cromwells-kitchen-court-republicanism-and-consort>], 2.

<sup>14</sup> D. Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 53.

<sup>15</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 140.

delegitimising connotations<sup>16</sup>, so the literary cuckolding of parliamentarians by ungovernable wives was arguably ironically potent. Most significantly, it suggests that cuckoldry was used to politically delegitimise the insurgent ideals and actions of parliamentarians.

Sexual slanders, including 'cuckold' were also employed within bawdy Civil War political literature in which parliamentarians levelled literary accusations of whoredom and debauchery against royalists, who responded by emasculating parliamentarians through cuckoldry.<sup>17</sup> Both of these slanders centred on male sexual dysfunction and involved a man's loss of control over his body. This is significant because ineffective male bodies had potentially ruinous implications for household and family structures in real life, and also those used as political paradigms for the state. Sexualised political insults against men, including 'cuckold' therefore formed part of a re-evaluation of the importance and nature of households within popular political discourse which debated the hazards of ineffectual manhood on the stability of the state. Within these debates, disloyal and dissenting men were often portrayed as inept and/or immoral cuckolds. This undermined their position within fictional domiciles, whilst simultaneously diminishing the threat they posed to the stability of the state by literarily emasculating them.

Men who were considered disloyal to the interests of the crown were recurrently portrayed as having the same negative characteristics: treachery, dishonesty, rebellion and cowardice were commonplace. These were traits also attributed to the cuckold or those described as cuckoldly (having the weak, ineffective manhood of a cuckold). The language used to attack parliamentarians which derides their baseness, dishonesty and their willingness to prioritise money over morality, aligns with that used against turncoats, or side-changers. From his study of Civil War printed propaganda, Andrew Hopper details how:

To ruin a defector's name, propagandists drew upon images of treachery from the Bible, literature, or the stage to generate enduringly derisive nicknames for side-changers. Behind this abuse lay the carefully crafted insult typical of seventeenth-century litigation over defamation. Terms such

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<sup>16</sup> D. Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War*, 54.

<sup>17</sup> A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*, 95.

as base, rogue, and knave were used to deny gentility, while fictitious material was propagated in vilifying side-changers in order to turn particular individuals into hate-figures for popular consumption. Baseness, lying, irreligion and cowardice were the most frequent themes, while occasionally sexual incontinence was implied.<sup>18</sup>

While Hopper suggests that the language of political insult against side changers seldom involved sexuality, Susan Wiseman's analysis of porno-political rhetoric during the Civil War, reveals a highly sexualised language of political insult, particularly within royalist propaganda directed against republican parliamentarians. She notes how the satires directed against notorious cuckold-maker and republican Henry Marten often drew upon his sexual incontinency as a means of attacking his politics:

the unrepentant irreligion...[attributed] to Marten is elided with his sexual looseness, which in turn runs into republicanism, and the three terms of attack – atheism (or at least lack of religious feeling), sexual misbehaviour and republicanism – are fused to undermine Marten. Thus his political position is discredited with sexual licence, and his political programme is translated into sexual scheming.<sup>19</sup>

The disparity between Hopper and Wiseman's conclusions raises a crucial question about the specificity of sexualised political insult, particularly that concerned with male sexuality: why and when does men's sexual (mis)conduct come into play? Although there is no clear-cut answer, a man's sexual dysfunction could be seen as the physical, outward performance of a deeper, inner corruption.

Just as inversion was central to the disordered households which resulted from cuckoldry, the depiction of parliamentarians as cuckold by royalists was also a form

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<sup>18</sup> A. Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegades: Changing Sides during the English Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 142-3.

<sup>19</sup> S. Wiseman, "Adam, the father of all flesh", porno-political rhetoric and political theory in and after the English Civil War', *Prose Studies*, 14, 3, (1991), 134-157: 140.

of inversion, albeit a rhetorical one. Put simply, Stuart loyalists took what they perceived as core aspects of parliamentarianism and republicanism, weaponised them against their opponents and re-deployed them within literary attacks. For example, keeping domestic roles private and behind closed doors was a fundamental parliamentarian/republican principle, and a means through which they deliberately sought to diverge from royalism. Therefore, literarily associating them with cuckoldry, which occurred within a domestic setting, but appeared in political discourse out-of-doors was an obvious and useful way of undermining and criticising this value. The gendered inversion of the cuckold's marriage and domicile was particularly powerful and meant that he was a useful, ready-made cultural trope for portraying those who had turned the world upside down by taking up arms against Charles I.

In the textual conflicts of Civil War, cuckoldry was used predominantly by royalists grappling in a literary tug of war with parliamentarian forces whom they associated with sectarianism, treasonous insurrection and the consequent destruction of social, religious and political order. Although royalists did not have a monopoly on the use of literary cuckoldry, it appears to have been a cultural trope primarily associated with the royal court. As Jerome De Groot notes, for royalists during the Civil War, 'language created an identity which was fundamentally and implicitly monarchical and Royalist'<sup>20</sup>, and which was mediated through the authority of the king. This is significant because along with language, cultural tropes were also appropriated for social and hierarchical distinction. Most importantly, during the Civil War, these became affiliated with a political position.

Cuckoldry and the figure of the cuckolded man featured primarily as part of the royal court's vernacular prior to the Civil War, and its use in literature by Stuart loyalists against those who challenged and opposed the authority of the crown was feasibly a reflection and natural progression of this. Furthermore, the use of cuckoldry as a royalist trope also arguably impacted on who was most often associated with cornution, even before the Civil War. For example, London's citizens were affiliated with cuckoldry prior to the Civil War as a consequence of their greed, and a lack of Christian morality (suggested by covetousness) was sometimes

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<sup>20</sup> J. De Groot, *Royalist Identities* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 65.

intimated as a contributing factor. Cuckolded London Citizens, were often a feature of plays, such William Fennor's *Cornucopiae, Pasquils night-cap; or Antidot for the head-ache* (1612). Fennor moved in royal courtly circles, and in a dispute with fellow royalist playwright John Taylor (also known as 'the Water Poet'), Taylor contended Fennor 'arrogantly and falsely entitles himselfe the Kings Majesties *Riming Poet*'.<sup>21</sup> In Fennor's *Cornucopiae* he commented how the 'Cittizen for love of gold an others child was willing for to father...some of them are so in love with monie, or else so covetous to have Hornes budding...they will not sticke to make their wives a stale to drawe on Customers for better sale'.<sup>22</sup> Fennor also criticised those who traded their wives for profit, observing:

a Cittizen that sets his wife a publique lodestone to attract mens eies, doth unto danger leave her honest life, amongst both Syrens, stormes and Pyracies and therefore if that some be Cuckolds named, onely themselves I thinke are to be blamed: for notwithstanding all their shops pretence, they are the Bawdes unto their wives offence<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, Richard Brome, a playwright connected to Charles I's court through royal patronage, produced a number of plays for the Kings Revel's Men and Queen Henrietta's men which featured cuckolded Citizens of the City of London.<sup>24</sup> Brome's *The Northern Lasse* (1632), was set in the City, and also remarked on the tendency of citizens and tradesmen to be cuckolded, as the character Justice Sir Paul Squelch declares 'in a Cittizens or Tradesmans Wife, a man must suffer the rivallship of a slovenly husband, the stinke of his hornes ever under ones nose'.<sup>25</sup> Given the synthesis between performance and print as a means of establishing and maintaining cultural traditions, it is plausible that the cultural trope of cuckoldry

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<sup>21</sup> J. Taylor, *Taylor's revenge, or, The rymer William Fennor firkt, feritted, and finely fetcht ower the coales wherein his riming raggamuffin rascallity, without partiallity, or feare of principallity, is anagramatized, anotomized, & stigmatized: the occasion of which invective, is breifly set downe in the preface to the reader.* (1615) (unpaginated).

<sup>22</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornucopiae, Pasquils night-cap; or Antidot for the head-ache* (1612), 79.

<sup>23</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornucopiae*, (1612), 80.

<sup>24</sup> M. Butler, 'Brome, Richard (c.1590–1652)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3503>.

<sup>25</sup> R. Brome, *The Northern Lasse a Comedie, as it hath often been acted with good applause, at the Globe, and Black-Fryers. By His Majesties Servants* (1632) (unpaginated).

was affiliated with a royalist socio-political allegiance. The use of cuckoldry as a predominantly royalist literary device is also reinforced by its use to air concerns with aligned with a royalist/Stuart loyalist position, such as the destruction of hierarchies and ambitions of men among the lower orders to better their status, which became particularly problematic during the Civil War.

Allusions to cuckoldry, whether explicit, or implied (by adorning political opponents with horns to symbolise their emasculation and enmity to God) were often used in response to the danger of popular insurrection, by unmanning self-seeking men of the lower sorts. These unruly men challenged and threatened social hierarchies which were vital for reinforcing social order, and although fears of popular insurrection were widespread, nonetheless they appear to have been largely a royalist concern. Within royalist political discourse in particular, the importance of hierarchy was expressed using the family paradigm and, as Jerome De Groot notes, 'the use of a traditional familial model predicated upon patriarchal infallibility is a common trope for royalist theories of society and...particularly important in royalist constructions of gender roles.'<sup>26</sup> The cuckold was located within the family paradigm as a cautionary tale for lost manhood, and he was frequently depicted as a man of the lower sort, such as a tradesman. In addition, popular insurrection was also a crucial royalist concern which heightened during the Civil War, and 'the image of social inversion, of rule by 'Mechanicks' loomed large in printed discourse.'<sup>27</sup> That this was a largely royalist anxiety is noted by Laura Knoppers, who explains that newsbooks and other popular printed texts produced by royalists, not only 'disseminated accounts of disorder, but actively produced images of social inversion, reducing ideological opposition to mere class aspiration.'<sup>28</sup> The cuckold therefore provided a useful trope for expressing fears of the rebellious multitude overthrowing hierarchical and monarchical authority, and figuratively emasculated them for their insubordination.

The willingness and ability of the lower ranks of society to access, and actively engage in political debate and events during the fast paced events of Civil War was a further significant point of contention. As Jason Peacey contends, the

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<sup>26</sup> J. De Groot, *Royalist Identities*, 9.

<sup>27</sup> L. Knoppers, "Sing Old Noll the Brewer": Royalist Satire and Social Inversion, 1648-1664', *The Seventeenth Century*, 15, 1, (2000), 32-52: 2-3.

<sup>28</sup> L. Knoppers, "Sing Old Noll the Brewer", 32-3.

middling sort and lower orders in England 'including yeoman, husbandmen, and servants, and tradesmen from cutlers to worsted combers – were thought to have become 'bold talkers'.<sup>29</sup> Not only were these outspoken men keen to engage with political and religious developments and ideas, but they also formed opinions which they then aired in an argumentative fashion.<sup>30</sup> Most troublingly, however, these men who were engaging in the revolution in popular political discourse were also active participants in the physical conflicts of war, most likely as part of forces which opposed the king. For example, the New Model Army, which fought for religious liberty, provided ample opportunities for social mobility and comprised numerous religious radical groups and mechanic preachers within its ranks.<sup>31</sup> The social and/or financial advancement of those who ought to accept their place within society's hierarchy, rather than seek to better it, was also a common feature of condemnation by cuckoldry.

Prior to the outbreak of Civil War in 1642, depictions of cuckolds in broadsides and ballads provided humorous cautionary tales about the hazards of marriage, male jealousy and, above all, the need to control the licentious conduct of unruly wives. For example, in the 1638 pamphlet *Cuckold's Haven*, a husband lamented 'O what a case is this, O what a grieffe it is, my wife hath learn'd to kisse, and thinkes 'tis not amisse: shee oftentimes doth me deride, and tels me I am hornify'd'.<sup>32</sup> He goes on to warn unmarried men 'all you that single be, avoid this slavery, much danger is you see in womens company: for he who to a Wife is ty'd, may looke still to be hornify'd'.<sup>33</sup> Similar sentiments about the pitfalls of marriage were expressed in *The Merry Old Woman* which cautioned 'he that would be no Cuckold, then let him never marry, it were a horne-plague unto him, a jealous minde to carry'<sup>34</sup> and also *Half a*

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<sup>29</sup> J. Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution*, 2.

<sup>30</sup> J. Peacey, *Print and Public Politics in the English Revolution*, 2.

<sup>31</sup> C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*, 85.

<sup>32</sup> Anon., *Cuckolds haven: or, The marry'd mans miserie who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd: hee unto his neighbours doth make his case knowne, and tels them all plainly, the case is their owne. To the tune of, the Spanish gipsie*. (1638) (1 page).

<sup>33</sup> Anon., *Cuckold's haven: or, The marry'd man's miserie...* (1638) (1 page).

<sup>34</sup> R. Guy, *The Merry Old Woman; or this is a good old woman, this is a merry old woman, her counsell is good ile warrant, for shee doth wish ill to no man, to the tune this is my Grannams deedle* (1640) (1 page).

*Dozen of Good Wives* in which the unfortunate cuckold bemoaned his lack of peace since marriage, having married a wife who ‘if unto a Taverne without her I had gone, she would be there as soon as I, oh t’was a loving one...she’d keep a pittitious coyle and call me Rogue and Cuckold too, but what was she the while’.<sup>35</sup>

The dangers posed to men by shrewish or materialistic wives were already well-established themes of cuckoldry prior to the outbreak of Civil War, as was the corruption of marriage by money. Whether within the household economy (where wives were depicted as mispending all their cuckolded husband’s earnings) or, most troublingly, money as a tradeable commodity pursued by men at the expense of their wives’ chastity, the desire for profit often cost men their manhood. *The Praise of Nothing* cautioned men to take care in their choice of wife and condemned materialism. The ballad contended that the desire for worldly possessions and wealth threatened the welfare of the eternal soul, noting that ‘nothing regarded more than gold, but vertues quite decay’d, for gold the usurer sells his soule, which must at last be paid, when nothing from the grave can call such mizers who their soules inthrall, to gripe and hoard the Devill and all, but better they had nothing’.<sup>36</sup> The intimation that men who selfishly hoarded their money effectively sold their souls to the devil also reveals the problematic dynamics between early modern faith and finance. Concerns about social mobility among the lower sorts, and the links between money and Christian morality contextualised notions of cuckoldry and contributed to the explicit politicisation of the cuckold during the Civil War to attack dissenters who were perceived as both avaricious and also able to improve their financial and social position from their stance against crown and Church.

The cuckolded parliamentarian’s household was hierarchically, religiously and politically nonconformist, and the correlations between cuckoldry and parliamentarianism were entrenched to the extent that they were a feature of royalist military banners, as revealed by John Vicars. Vicars was a devout Calvinist and Presbyterian chronicler and poet who threw himself wholeheartedly into the

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<sup>35</sup> Anon, *Halfe a dozen of good Wives. All for a penny. Kind Cozens or Countrey-men what ere you be, if you want a god penny worth, come buy it of me; Six Wives for a penny, a young one or old, a cleanly good huswife, a Slut or a Scold, to the tune of the cleane contrary way* (1640) (1 page).

<sup>36</sup> Anon., *The Praise of Nothing: Though some doe wonder why I write in praise Of Nothing, in these lamentable daies, when they have read, and will my counsel take, I hope of Nothing something they may make. To the tune of Though I have but a marke a yeare etc.* (1601-1640) (1 page).



parliamentarian cause during the Civil War.<sup>37</sup> Boasting of the Roundheads' decisive victory at the Battle of Naseby on 14 June 1645, Vicars detailed a 'most exact list of the slain, prisoners and prizes taken in this most famous and glorious Victory'<sup>38</sup>, which included 'The Kings own Coach, and therein that Cabinet of Secret Letters, of the Kings and Queenes, since this fight printed and published to the amazement of the world'.<sup>39</sup> Most significantly, however, Vicars also describes the parliamentarians' taking of '6 Colours of Horse; and 40 Colours of Foot; one whereof represented a pair of hornes, with this Motto; *Come Cuckold*. Which being one of the first Colours that were taken, the word was, on the pursuite, returned to the Enemy with much mirth and scorn, among Souldiers'.<sup>40</sup> The notion that sexual misconduct could be linked to more dangerous political or religious perversions explains how and why the cuckold was politicised. Although his sexual misconduct was based on incompetence rather than incontinence, he was ultimately a sexually dysfunctional man, and an easily recognisable cultural trope for communicating political events and issues to as wide a section of the populace as possible.

From the outset of war in 1642, aversion to the Anglican Church was intrinsic to Roundhead stereotypes, as indicated in *Heads of All Fashions*, which describes them as men 'whose braines compact, whose Verities and Trulies are an Act Infallible, beyond the vain compare of ordinary men, what ere they are. This head, though sometimes owned by a widgeon, can make new moulds to shape a strange Religion'.<sup>41</sup> John Taylor, the author of *Heads of All Fashions*, (a London waterman also known as the Water Poet), was a deeply conservative polemicist, who had

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<sup>37</sup> J. Gasper, 'Vicars, John (1580–1652)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28264> [accessed 21/06/2017].

<sup>38</sup> J. Vicars, *Magnalia Dei Anglicana. Or, Englands Parliamentary chronicle. Containing a full and exact narration of all the most memorable Parliamentary mercies, and mighty (if not miraculous) deliverances, great and glorious victories, and admirable successes, ... from the yeer, 1640. to this present year, 1646. Compiled in four parts; the two first, intituled, God in the mount. The third, Gods ark overtopping the worlds waves; the fourth, The burning-bush not consumed: this last part, comming up to these present times, and to our most renowned generall, Sir Thomas Fairfaxes late famous actions, in the west, and the happy (because unbloody) rendition of Oxford, in this present yeer, 1646. Collected cheifly for the high honour of our wonder working God; and for the unexpressible comfort of all cordiall English Parliamentarians. / By the most unworthy admirer of them, John Vicars.* (1646), 164.

<sup>39</sup> J. Vicars, *Magnalia Dei Anglicana*. 165.

<sup>40</sup> J. Vicars, *Magnalia Dei Anglicana*. 165.

<sup>41</sup> Anon., *Heads of all Fashions, being a Plaine Detection or Definition of Diverse and sundry sorts of heads, Butting, Jetting or pointing at vulgar opinion. Allegorically shewing the Diversities of Religion in these distempered times. Not very lately written since Calves Heads came in Season.* (1642), 4.

'always strongly disliked religious radicals, and he was deeply alarmed by their new prominence and confidence'<sup>42</sup> when the Civil War broke out. His unfaltering loyalty to the crown and established Church influenced his works and he draws upon biblical references to criticise Roundheads, stating:

why then should any at Roundheads admire? Since all from Adam come our great grand-sire? To answer this: these times are full of Gall, and there's no head, no man that can please all. But as this head is understood of late, some hold it scarce a friend to th' King and State. And some suppose it, whereso'er'e it lurch, to be a great disturber of the Church.'<sup>43</sup>

Taylor's *A Description of the Round-head and rattle-Head* also took a sardonic swing at the religious radicalism and financial corruption of the roundheads, stating 'let sons of harlots still grave Round-heads scorne, and such whose wives have furnisht with a horne. Such daring language makes not Round-heads worse, His credits safe, the danger is his purse. Where's Law, Jestice, Mercy to be sound? Not in the Rattle, but in the head that's round; He reades Luther, Calvin, Beza, Marter, He preacheth duly, Rattle once a quarter. He brings plate, coyne, horse, and will stand his tackle, Though Hare-braines bustle, all will prove a Rattle. Courage brave Round-head, and doe thou not feare the swearing, roaring, whoring Cavalier.'<sup>44</sup>

Taylor's fidelity to Charles I was such that when the king was forced to flee London in 1642, Taylor came under fire from parliamentarians who saw him as an enemy and he was subsequently 'arrested and interrogated by the radical MP Miles Corbet and the lord mayor [of London] over seditious remarks he was alleged to have made'.<sup>45</sup> Although it could not be known when Taylor also fled London for his safety in 1643 (having been attacked by a mob while drinking at a tavern near Guildhall), Corbet would be one of the men who signed Charles I's death warrant. However, Corbet's Roundhead reputation was also condemned in *The Sence of the*

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<sup>42</sup> B. Capp, 'Taylor, John (1578-1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27044>.

<sup>43</sup> Anon., *Heads of all Fashions being a Plaine Detection or Definition of Diverse and sundry sorts of heads*, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Taylor, J., *A Description of the Round-head and rattle-head*. (1642), 1-2.

<sup>45</sup> B. Capp, 'Taylor, John (1578-1653)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27044>.

*House* which was published on 10 March 1643. At first glance (and given the title's implication), the pamphlet appears to be a response to the Londoner's Petition for Peace to Parliament and the House of Commons on 23 December 1642 which had urged Parliament:

to reflect with serious thoughts upon our present distempers, violating Religion by Papists and Sectaries, engaging our Nation into a civill, bloody and destructive war...we beseech you likewise to consider the effects of a continued war, as the destruction of Christians, the unnaturall effusion of blood...famine and sickness, the followers of a civill war, making way for a general confusion, and invasion by a forraigne Nation, while our Treasure is exhausted, our Trade lost, and the Kingdome dispeopled.<sup>46</sup>

However, it is most likely that the *The Sence of the House* was a royalist reaction to parliament presenting Charles I with 'the Vote and Letter of Both Houses of Parliament'<sup>47</sup> on 9 March 1643 which affirmed their stance of upholding the laws of government and refusal to bow to arbitrary monarchical will, as they declared:

we think our selves bound to let your Majesty know; That since the continuance of this Parliament is settled by a Law, (which as all other laws of your Kingdome, your Majesty is sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to our Allegiance to your Majesty; those Obligations being recipocall) we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our Lives and Fortunes, to Defend and preserve the just Rights and full Power of this Parliament.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Anon., *The Londoners Petition to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons now assembled in the High Court of Parliament* (1642) (1 page), Thomason ref: 669.f.6[95], Annotation: "frivolous Petition [illegible] ye 14<sup>th</sup>" "December 23".

<sup>47</sup> W. Prynne, *The first and second part of A seasonable, legal, and historicall vindication and chronological collection of the good old fundamentall liberties, franchises, rights, laws of all English freemen ... wherein is irrefragably evinced by Parliamentary records, proofs, presidents, that we have such fundamentall liberties, franchises, rights, laws ... : collected, recommended to the whole English nation, as the best legacy he can leave them / by William Prynne of Swainswick, Esquire.* (1655), 22

<sup>48</sup> W. Prynne, *The first and second part of A seasonable, legal, and historicall vindication and chronological collection of the good old fundamentall liberties, franchises, rights, laws of all English freemen*, 23.

This declaration formed part of attempted negotiations for peace between the king and parliament, and just as parliament had apparently thwarted any hopes of achieving a resolution, the strikingly royalist text of *The Sence of the House* contained several verses in which various prominent parliamentarians declare there will be no peace because this would scupper their personal ambitions and end the financial benefits they reap from a state of conflict and chaos. Miles Corbet contends ‘Damm it...or wee are all confounded, and Cavaliers will Cuckold mee, as well as did the Round-Heads’<sup>49</sup>, and similarly announcing that peace would be too high a price to pay, one by one, other parliamentarians place their selfish aims above the collective good of the people, a position which sees them aligned with cuckoldry. The overall commander of the parliamentary army, Robert Devereux, Third Earl of Essex, who ‘craved absolute power as general over all other commanders and over the peace process’<sup>50</sup> was the ‘child of an adulterer (though also of a cuckold)...[and] twice became an infamous cuckold himself’<sup>51</sup>, which made him an obvious target for literary cornution. Acknowledging his cuckoldom and the illegitimate child his wife bore as a consequence, he states ‘First Ile noe Peace...for my Chaplin says tis sinn, to Loose 100.l a day, just when my wife lies in: they cry God Blesse your Excellence, but if I loose my place, thele call me Rebell Popular Asse and Cuckold to my face’.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to prominent parliamentarians such as Corbet and Essex being literarily (and in the case of Essex, literally) cuckolded, the Roundhead status of lower ranking men such as tradesmen was also associated with cuckoldry. This was elucidated in the satirical royalist pamphlet *The Resolution of the Roundheads*, which stated ‘a great part of us have shut up our Shops, because we could no longer keep them open’.<sup>53</sup> The Roundheads, who ‘through...great Ignorance and Obstinacy [are] grown to a most seditious and malignant head, and the hornes of that head (though

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<sup>49</sup> Anon., *The Sence of the House, or the Opinion of Some Lords and Commons, concerning the Londoner's Petition for Peace*, (1643), Thomason ref: 245.669.f.6[117], Annotation “March 10”.

<sup>50</sup> J. Morrill, ‘Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566>.

<sup>51</sup> J. Morrill, ‘Devereux, Robert, third earl of Essex (1591–1646)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Available online. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7566>.

<sup>52</sup> Anon., *The Sence of the House, or the Opinion of Some Lords and Commons*, (1643) (1 page).

<sup>53</sup> Anon., *The Sence of the House, or the Opinion of Some Lords and Commons*, (1643).

<sup>53</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Roundheads: Being a zealous Declaration of the Grievances wherewith their little wits are consumed to Destruction and what things they (in their Wisdome yet left them) conceive fit to be reformed*, (1642), A2.

of a maine length) not able to support our arrogant faction'<sup>54</sup>, set out a number of 'Resolutions' which affirmed their enmity to the interdependency of the Church and social hierarchy. Demanding 'that our Religion, Tenants and Mannors...be established and maintained against all Reason, Learning, Divinity, Order, Discipline, Morality, Piety, or Humanity whatsoever'<sup>55</sup>, the sectarianism of tradesmen was also remarked on. Inferring the Roundhead's intentions to appoint religious rebels as Archbishops of Canterbury and York, a further resolution asked 'that the Feltmaker and the Cobler, two innocent Cuckolds, be instituted Primats and Metropolitans of the two Arch Provinces, and the rest of the Sect preserved, according to their imbicilities of Spirit, to such Bishopricks and other livings, as will competently serve to procure fat poultry for the filling of their insatiate Stomacks'.<sup>56</sup>

It is likely that the feltmaker and cobbler were deliberately chosen to represent trades associated with Haberdashers Hall, located in the heart of the City on the corner of Staining Lane and Maiden Lane (now Gresham Street), which was home to the Committee for the Advance of Money 'created in November 1642 to collect money for the parliamentary cause'.<sup>57</sup> Finally, responding to the use of cuckoldry as a slur against roundheads, the penultimate resolution asserted 'that no men whatsoever, who beares the name of a Caviler, may be capable of making any of the Brethren a Cuckold, unlesse he cut his haire and altar his profession; but be excluded from the Conventicles as the Kings friend and a Reprobate'.<sup>58</sup> The sardonic reinforcement of parliamentary affiliations with nonconformity was echoed by a cuckolded tradesman in another of John Taylor's pamphlets, *Cornucopia, or Roome for a Ram-head*, (1642) which featured a dialogue between a former Roundhead who had attempted to re-fashion himself as a ram-head, and his wife who asks 'are you grown horne mad? What do you meane to assume such a head to make yourselfe ridiculous, and a laughing stock to all the world?'.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Roundheads*, (1642), A2.

<sup>55</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Roundheads*, (1642), A4.

<sup>56</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Roundheads*, (1642), A4.

<sup>57</sup> M. Bennett, *Historical Dictionary of the British and Irish Civil Wars, 1637-1660*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 71.

<sup>58</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Roundheads*, (1642), A4.

<sup>59</sup> J. Taylor, *Cornucopia, or, Roome for a Ram-head, Wherein is described the dignity of the Ram-head above the Round-head or Rattle-head*. (1642), A2.

The usurpation of male authority by women was a feature of Taylor's earlier works<sup>60</sup> (such as *The Juniper Lecture. With the Description of All sort of Women Good and Bad* (1639)), and although the subject of *Cornucopia* had horns symbolising his cuckoldom, his wife cleverly turned this around on him: being cuckolded supposedly damaged a man's reputation, yet she inverted this by declaring that his horns 'bring shame and disgrace unto me, as if I were an dishonest woman, who have been loyall to you all my life, I vow I will have them off.'<sup>61</sup> Defending his re-purposed horns, and alluding to his former parliamentary allegiances, he told his wife 'when my head was round, I could neither passe along the street nor sit in my shop without receiving a jeer from one knave or another, some calling me a troublesome fellow, some saying I was a despiser of government, others telling me I was an enemy to Bishops and the discipline of our Church'.<sup>62</sup> He continued trying to validate his horns and their place in the commonwealth, asserting that they were a 'great commodity both here and beyond the seas, many living comfortably thereupon...Horns are of such necessary use, that the Commonwealth cannot want them'.<sup>63</sup> Seeing the financial and sexual advantages of living with a cuckolded husband, his wife eventually conceded 'I give my free consent unto you, to wear hornes unto your dying day'.<sup>64</sup>

From the initial onset of war, gender and marriage were fundamental to the formation of political identities because the physical absence of husbands provided opportunities for women to benefit materially and sexually from the spoils of war. On 26 August 1642, only one day after Charles had raised the royal standard at Nottingham to mark the official start of his war with parliamentary forces, *The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament*, was published. The pamphlet depicts Roundhead's wives joyfully discussing their intentions to drive their husbands to military service, announcing that through 'our continuall scolding [we] shall make them goe to the warres, and then will we in our husbands absence, live as merrily as may be, drinke, feast and walk abroad; and if we have a minde to it,

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<sup>60</sup> B. Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water Poet 1578-1653* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 118.

<sup>61</sup> J. Taylor, *Cornucopia, or, Roome for a Ram-head*, (1642), A2.

<sup>62</sup> J. Taylor, *Cornucopia, or, Roome for a Ram-head, Wherein is described the dignity of the Ram-head above the Round-head or Rattle-head*. (1642), A3.

<sup>63</sup> J. Taylor, *Cornucopia, or, Roome for a Ram-head*, (1642), A3.

<sup>64</sup> J. Taylor, *Cornucopia, or, Roome for a Ram-head*, (1642), A4.

keep and maintaine a friend, that upon occasion may doe us a pleasure'.<sup>65</sup> The women of London also acknowledge the significance of the capital's trade, and its corruption by the onset of war, observing 'some maids are fully resolved to expose themselves and their commodities to trading, not doubting but to have three for one for every adventure'.<sup>66</sup> However, the crisis of civil war was transformative to perceptions of tradesmen and London's Citizens, not only because their immorality was believed to stem from their dissent from the Anglican Church, but because this was now also closely associated with rebellion in support of the parliamentary cause.

The City of London and the trade of the capital more broadly were crucial to the ideological and physical conflicts of Civil War. Blair Worden contends 'nowhere were the nation's disputes contested more fiercely than in London's streets and churches, or among its trading companies, its rulers of wards and parishes, its gatherings and gangs of apprentices'.<sup>67</sup> Political allegiances also became geographically defined, as parliamentary forces took over the City of London, whilst the royalist centre was established in Oxford by Charles I and his military forces, when he was left with no choice other than to flee the capital in 1642. The City of London's significance as a parliamentary military and financial stronghold from the onset of war should not be understated. As Jonathan Scott asserts, 'if it is not the case that London 'caused' the troubles, it would be difficult to overstate the extent to which it made them possible, and influenced their course...the civil war, made possible by the king's flight from London, was itself a failed military attempt to recover control of the capital.'<sup>68</sup> Not only was the ejection of the king from Westminster an abomination of his divine right and a perversion of the social and religious order of the kingdom, but the parliament which remained in his absence was also monstrous. According to the royalist broadside *A Strange Sight to be seen at Westminster* (1643), 'within this House is to be seen such a Monster as hath not

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<sup>65</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament, wherein they declare their hot zeal in sending their husbands to the warres, in defence of King and Parliament, as also the proceedings of the King at York, with their full determination in maintaining this their Resolution to the admiration of the Reader*. (1642), (Thomason ref: 247:E.114[4], Annotation: "Aug 26"), A2.

<sup>66</sup> Anon., *The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament*, (1642) (no pagination).

<sup>67</sup> B. Worden, *The English Civil Wars 1640-1660* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2009), 38.

<sup>68</sup> J. Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth Century Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 87.

been at any time in England'.<sup>69</sup> Describing the 'monster' as 'having horns good store...tis full of jealousies and fears; thas many mouthes, and many hands, tis full of questions and commands; tis armd with muskets, pikes it fears nought in the world but Cavaliers'<sup>70</sup>, it is likely that the broadside was produced in response to the English parliament's entering into the Solemn League and Covenant with Scotland, an alliance for Scottish military reinforcement of the parliamentary army.

However, since one of the terms of the Covenant was a 'parliamentarian commitment to introduce compulsory Presbyterianism in England and Ireland'<sup>71</sup>, it is likely that the monster's horns had a dual purpose, serving to both emasculate parliamentarians, and symbolise their animosity towards God. This was also a cause for comment in *A Strange Sight* which asserted that the monster was 'born in England, but begot betwixt the English and the Scot, though some are of opinion rather that the Devill was its father, and the City (which is worse) was its mother, and its nurse...of what religion none can tell, it much resembles that in hell'.<sup>72</sup> The inference that the City was responsible for nursing this anti-Christian monster and the cuckold status of Londoners, who were perceived as equally ungodly, is also alluded to in *A Strange Banquet* which featured a 'London Cuckold come hot from the spit and when the Carver had broken him open, the Divel chopt his head off at a bit but the horns had almost like to choak him'.<sup>73</sup>

The avarice of London citizens was considered problematic before the advent of Civil War, and became even more so during the war, when financial hardship and economic reforms prompted by the conflict were decisive and divisive elements which defined socio-political dynamics throughout the war. Most significantly, whereas depictions of cuckoldry prior to the Civil War tended to focus on the social and marital implications of men emasculated as a consequence of their immorality, literature produced during the Civil War explicitly aligned the cuckoldom of greedy of Londoners with their religious separatism, rather than obliquely referencing it. In such portrayals, the cuckold is unmanned by fanaticism which is the root cause of the social upheavals wrought upon the state, and his

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<sup>69</sup> W. Webster, *A Strange Sight to be seen at Westminster*, (1643) (1 page).

<sup>70</sup> W. Webster, *A Strange Sight to be seen at Westminster*, (1643).

<sup>71</sup> B. Worden, *The English Civil Wars*, 57.

<sup>72</sup> W. Webster, *A Strange Sight to be seen at Westminster*, (1643).

<sup>73</sup> B. Jonson, *A Strange Banquet, or, The Divels Entertainment by Cook Laurell at the Peak in Devonshire, with a True Relation of the several dishes*. (1647-65) (1 page).



dysfunctional marriage symptomatic of this deeper spiritual corruption. As *The City* (1643) indicated, London's citizens were known to have funded the parliamentary army, and whilst the text condemns their treacherous stance against the king, it also points to fanatical religion as factor which contributed to their rebellion:

draw neere you factious Citizens, prepare to heare from me, what hideous fooles you are, what lumps of sordid earth; in which we finde not any least resemblance of a minde unless to baseness and Rebellion bent, against the King to ayd Parliament. That Parliament whose insolence will undoe your Cities wealth, your lives and safeties too...how you do daily contribute and pay Money, your truths and honours to betray, Bigge with fanaticke thoughts, and wild desire, 'I is you that blew up the increasing fire of foule Rebellion, you that only bring Armies into the field against your King.<sup>74</sup>

That these Citizens were cuckolds was also alluded to in the author's assertion that their performing military service is just that, a performance. The anonymous author scathed:

nor neede you about your City with your gilded Musket goe, trayning not for good service, but for show, that the whole towne may see your fethers spred over your Hatts, as the Hornes do o're your Head...unless your heads be all Hornes and no flesh, you needs must see the fall: that threatens you, like Lightening to Eschue, which Ruine 'twould be wisdome to renue...be assured who to the King's untrue, must in their nature needs be false to you<sup>75</sup>

Whilst the disloyalty of London's commercial citizens was the main point of contention in *The City*, Ben Coates' examination of the economy of London during the Civil War demonstrates that the duty of London's inhabitants and tradesmen to fund parliament was borne out of necessity as much as choice. Detailing the combination of new measures to raise capital to fund war efforts, including direct taxation, excise (indirect taxation levied on wholesale commodities such as cloth,

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<sup>74</sup> Anon., *The City*, (1643) (1 page).

<sup>75</sup> Anon., *The City*, (1643).

gold, silver and grain) and sequestration, Coates asserts that although both Crown and Parliament raised taxes to fund militia, 'Parliament imposed a bewildering variety of taxes on London's inhabitants during the Civil War'<sup>76</sup>. Coates further notes that 'in London, indirect taxes, the customs and excise, accounted for the majority of Parliament's revenue'<sup>77</sup>, but whilst the excise was unpopular, it does not appear to have been particularly burdensome and it would be 'unwise to interpret the opposition to the excise as a sign of the economic impact of the tax. In practice, most London tradesmen were able to pass on the costs of the excise to their customers'.<sup>78</sup> However, not only did tradesmen pass on their increasing costs to their customers, but some charged them well in excess of what they had paid in excise duty, and the tendency of tradesmen and other men of commerce who resided in the City to either selfishly profit from the war, or misspend their money was a further cause for concern.

Royalist writer and poet Richard Braithwaite captured the tumult caused by the war in matters of faith and finance, rebuking those who used money to gain social mobility by bribing officials. Braithwaite lamented:

'O this money makes the Common-wealth a common whore, that lies down and lets fooles ride her, and deride her, while Knaves thriv'd and honest men went to wrack and every Jack might be made a Sir John, for an hundred pounds, and to conclude, malignant hundred pounds have sent hundred thousands to the Devill'.<sup>79</sup>

A similar sentiment was expressed by the author of *Wits Progresse*, who also analogised the commonwealth with a ruined, abused woman, asserting 'having glanc't superficially upon the body of the Common-wealth, and the dangerous estate she now continues in, let me reflect upon the religious part (the soule which is

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<sup>76</sup> B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2004), 22.

<sup>77</sup> B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London*, 22.

<sup>78</sup> B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London*, 36.

<sup>79</sup> R. Braithwaite, *The Devills White Boyes, or a mixture of malicious Malignants, with their much evill and manifold practices against the Kingdome and Parliament. With a bottomlesse Sack-full of Knavery, Popery, Prelacy, Policy, Trechery, Malignant Trumpery, Conspiracies and Cruelties filled to the top by the Malignants, laid on the shoulders of Time and now by Time emptied forth, and powred out to shew the Truth and Shame the Devill*, (1644), 6.

religion) this hath been purged off her leggs too; this, this glorious worke, the structure of many ages, falling into the hand of doating ignorance, is utterly throwne to the ground, and there lyes panting for breath'.<sup>80</sup>

As well describing England as an exploited, fallen woman, *Wits Progress* also made clear that the sectarians who had caused her downfall were sexual miscreants and cuckolds. Commenting on the religious conventicles held in private houses as an alternative to attendance at Anglican services, the text remarked 'there is such a rutting at these private meetings and conventicles that (I am confident) he that is not a Cuckold or a bastard among them is a strangely happy man.'<sup>81</sup> The zealous nature of the meetings, and the link between dissent and sedition were also referred to by the author who contemptuously declared that 'their pulpit thumping Ministers can out of their sweating zeale, wast 2 houres sand in rayling against royall Government, in a tone would deafe Marriners in a storm'.<sup>82</sup> The pamphlet also made clear that religious separatists were responsible for the dire state of affairs in which the nation found itself. He scorned 'I steere to the City (the grand magazine of all folly) there is not such a fayre in Europe for all pedlers of Religion to sell off their fanastick toyes'.<sup>83</sup>

*Wit's Progress* was published on 22 September 1647, when Parliament discussed the terms of a new peace treaty with Charles I in the House of Commons, one day after Charles I's outright rejection of the Heads of Proposals (which had been presented to the king by the New Model Army on 21 September 1647).<sup>84</sup> As the sardonic title intimates, *Wit's Progress* elucidated that sectarians, large numbers of whom served in the New Model Army, were responsible for deepening the rift between king and parliament and generally causing chaos. The New Model Army had drafted the Heads of Proposals which set out their ideas about government and proposed reforms which 'shifted attention away from the conflict of crown and parliament to wider concerns for the amelioration of society, for the communal

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<sup>80</sup> Democritus Jr, *Wit's Progresse: wherein are launc't the various crimes, are incident to these sad times. Chapmen quickly come and buy me, if y're are wise, youle not deny me. Wit is cheapned, wit is sought, but wits neare good till it be bought* (1647), Thomason ref: 64:E.407[44], Annotation: "September 22", 2.

<sup>81</sup> Democritus Jr, *Wit's Progresse*, (1647), 5.

<sup>82</sup> Democritus Jr, *Wit's Progresse*, (1647), 5.

<sup>83</sup> Democritus Jr, *Wit's Progresse*, (1647), 3.

<sup>84</sup> R. Ashton, *Counter-Revolution: The Second Civil War and its Origins, 1646-48* (Avon: The Bath Press, 1994), 27.

responsibilities of its members, and for a revised relationship between government and subject'.<sup>85</sup> It was also suggested that liberty of conscience be tolerated, enforced attendance at Anglican services be stopped and that the suppression of non-conformist meetings cease.

The failure to reach a constitutional settlement agreed by both the king and parliament, and Charles's rejection of the Heads of the Proposals led to the Putney Debates. These were a series of intense discussions which took place in October and November 1647 between the elitist parliamentarian 'Grandeess' of the New Model Army and the populist sectarian Levellers, both of whom sought to settle an agreement for a new constitution once Charles I was reinstated following the end of the first Civil War. As Ian Gentles notes, the committee at Putney (which Cromwell himself sat on) put forward recommendations for government which were 'an amalgam of grandee and Leveller ideas...[and] the Levellers had assumed the emasculation, if not outright abolition, of King and House of Lords'.<sup>86</sup> Charles I's rejection of the New Model Army's proposed constitutional settlement from the Putney Debates was a contributing factor (along with decisive parliamentarian military victories over royalists in the north) to the outbreak of the Second Civil War (1648-9). In retaliation, literary attacks on the New Model Army and the City's citizens were published following the army's seizure of London at the outbreak of the second war and featured cuckoldry as a political insult to condemn the disloyalty and dishonour of the men who had retaliated once again against the king.

London's disloyal citizens were the subject of *The Parliament's thanks to the Citie* (1648) which sniped 'you horned Citizens, I call you as you are, what cuckolds could endure Corrivalls [rivals] thus to share? Content I doe confess, it is a Wittalls part, let nothing I have said pray strike you to the heart'.<sup>87</sup> The broadside also made clear the correlation between the citizens' avariciousness and irreligion, denouncing them as:

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<sup>85</sup> B. Worden, *The English Civil Wars*, 91.

<sup>86</sup> I. Gentles, 'The Agreement of the People, 1647-1649', in M. Mendle (ed.), *The Putney Debates of 1647* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 153.

<sup>87</sup> M. Melancholicus, *The Parliament's Thanks to the Citie: For their kinde compliyance with them in all their Treasons from time to time committed against His Majesties Honour, Crowne and Dignitie. Dedicated to the Loyall and treacherous Citizens: the valiant and cowardly Citizens; the wise and foolish Citizens; the wealthy and poor Citizens; the square and Round-headed Citizens, the honoured, and the Horned Citizens* (1648) (1 page).

Tame, cowardly, Kuckoldly Citizens that for your Treachery and Disloyalty are grown shameless before men; perjurd before God, Traytors to your King; robbers and murderers to your Country; a Reproch to your Religion, a dishonour to your Nation, and a hissing to the whole World...Till you with the superfluity of your Money-bagges have waged Traytors in Rebellion against your lawfull King, to the undoing of all the Kingdom; turned your Citie (once the Paragon of Beauty) into the Pattern of Deformity; your Phaenix into an Owle, to be hooted at by all Nations<sup>88</sup>

Just as the crown and Church were inextricably linked, so too were anti-monarchical rebellion and insurrection against the Anglican Church. Monarchs were appointed by divine right, and the Church was therefore essential in the legitimation and enforcement of monarchical power and authority. Furthermore, whilst both parliamentarian and royalist political discourse discussed familial functions, they did so in different ways. Parliamentarians emphasised the contributions and necessity of domestic roles for the common good, whereas for royalists the disrupted, or even inverted, household order inherent to cuckoldry struck right at the heart of this ideology. Cuckoldry and cornution undermined parliamentarian masculinity. The defective households and families of these men were a consequence and reflection of the havoc wrought on the state by their religious separatism and rebellion against Charles I.

The broken-down families of the parliamentarian rabble, and the intrusion of women into a traditionally 'male' space were referenced in Henry Neville's *A Parliament of Ladies*, a fictional account of a meeting of London tradesmen's wives which levelled a scurrilous two-pronged attack on the Roundheads, simultaneously denouncing them as cuckolds and their wives' as verbally and sexually incontinent. As Amanda Capern notes, *A Parliament of Ladies* was the first in a series of five tracts published in 1647 that claimed to be about a ladies' parliament, and the 'reception and popularity of the parliament of ladies pamphlets indicates the enormous propagandist value of sex and gender'.<sup>89</sup> In addition, Capern comments that 'the

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<sup>88</sup> M. Melancholicus, *The Parliament's Thanks to the Citie*, (1648).

<sup>89</sup> A. Capern, *The Historical Study of Women: England 1500-1700* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 237.

model of the dishonest and lascivious woman was used in the late 1640s and early 1650s to attack male enemies by bringing seriously into question crucial components of their masculinity like honesty, sobriety and reputation, and of course, their ability to control and sexually satisfy women'.<sup>90</sup> A husband's lack of sexual prowess was the main point of contention for the tailor's wife, Miss Rachel Rattlebooby, who took great pleasure in telling the other ladies present that upon her sexually inept husband's enquiring of her health she had replied:

Sick, good man, very sick: then the fond Coxcomb bid me speak for anything I had a mind unto; for, saith he, no question but thou dost breed: I, I, said I, I do breed, but you never get me anything: no, saith he, who gets it then? I told him againe, that it was no matter to him who gets it<sup>91</sup>

The pamphlet satirically insinuated that the wives' conduct, though disgraceful, is perhaps all that can be expected considering the lack of manhood of their husbands, which was the real bone of contention – not only were these gossiping wives outside the remit of husbandly control for long periods, but as demonstrated by Miss Rattlebooby in particular, their inept, emasculated husband's presence made no difference to their conduct either way.

This blatant unwillingness to submit to a husband who, in any event, would not be able to control his wife's conduct or tongue, merely added insult to injury: the insult being that Roundhead wives were as corrupt as their husbands; and the injury being the reason for their husbands' physical absence - no real man would see fit to raise arms against Charles I. Anti-monarchical rebellion was the true source of the cuckolded parliamentarians' emasculation. *A Parliament of Ladies* also suggested that religious debasement was the cause of their errant ways, as they referred to church attendance only as an opportunity for them to parade their wares with their lovers. The ladies unanimously consented to the motion that 'women might have...two strings to their bow, that if one slipt the other might hold; one for week

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<sup>90</sup> A. Capern, *The Historical Study of Women*, 238.

<sup>91</sup> Anon., *The Parliament of Ladies With their Lawes Newly enacted*, (1647), Thomason ref: 61: E.384[9], Annotation: "London, April 16', f.B2.

dayes to drudge within doors, another for holy dayes to walk abroad with her, and usher her in his best cloaths; keeping one for delight, the other for her drudgery'.<sup>92</sup>

Given the pamphlet's circulation on 16 April 1647, it is possible that it was prompted by the passing of the Militia Ordinance on 15 August 1647. The Ordinance passed by Parliament granted 'power to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of London, to Select Thirty one Persons of the City, to govern the Militia of the City, and the Liberties thereof, for one Year'.<sup>93</sup> This measure effectively gave control of the City of London's parliamentary military forces to non-conformists. The Ordinance came into effect on 16 April and aligned Presbyterians in Parliament and the City of London leadership based at Guildhall, which was linked to trade. There were also correlations between the terms of the Ordinance and the tradesmen's wives who constituted the Parliament of Ladies. The unruly ladies were depicted as being able to act as they wished without consequence, and the Ordinance granted parliamentary indemnity to those who took up arms against Charles I, stating:

all and every Person or Persons who have heretofore acted or done, or hereafter shall act or do, any Act or Thing whatsoever, by virtue of this or any former Ordinance or Ordinances of Parliament concerning the said Militia, shall be saved harmless and indemnified concerning the same, by authority of Parliament<sup>94</sup>

However, it is equally plausible that the wives of London tradesmen were deliberately chosen as representatives in the *Parliament of Ladies* because of their husbands' affiliations with radical sectarians such as The Levellers. As Blair Worden notes, The Levellers 'spoke particularly to the grievances of craftsmen and traders,

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<sup>92</sup> Anon, *The Parliament of Ladies With their Lawes Newly enacted*, (1647), f.A3.

<sup>93</sup> J. Rushworth, 'Historical Collections: Parliamentary proceedings, April 1647', in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 6, 1645-47* (London, 1722), 444-475. Available online. [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rushworth-papers/vol6/pp.444-47>] [accessed 4 December 2017].

<sup>94</sup> 'April 1647: Ordinance to settle the Militia of London, &c.', in C H Firth & R S Rait (eds) *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London, 1911), 924-925. Available online. [<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/acts-ordinances-interregnum/pp924-925>] [accessed 4 December 2017].

especially in London, where their ideas spread before permeating the army'.<sup>95</sup> The Leveller's suggestions included calls for 'a constitution based upon manhood suffrage ("one man, one vote"), biennial parliaments and a reorganisation of parliamentary constituencies. Authority was to be vested in the House of Commons rather than the King and Lords. Certain "native rights" were declared sacrosanct for all Englishmen: freedom of conscience, freedom from impressment into the armed forces and equality before the law.<sup>96</sup> Most crucially, however, as Tim Harris notes, the Levellers were:

deeply attached to the principle of popular sovereignty...Along with this went various other assumptions: namely that the representative assembly should have supreme authority, and that the powers of government should be limited by powers of natural justice...what concerned contemporaries was the political levelling that this strategy entailed.<sup>97</sup>

Such radical proposals, and particularly the fear of popular sovereignty which threatened to invert hierarchical order on every level, explains why the materialistic tradesmen's wives who constituted the Parliament of Ladies were portrayed as dissolute. Their interpretation of liberty of conscience was expressed through female sexual licence and a determination to subvert male authority. This would overturn the legal entrenchment of patriarchal norms which gave men rights of possession of property including lands, chattels and their wives. But, as Mistress Bridget Bold-Face defiantly declared:

why should we toyle and turmoyle for our horn-headed and hard-headed husbands, and not taste of the sweet as well as of the sowre, of the gaine as the paine, the pleasure as the puzzle. If the husbands be ours, then be their goods ours, their Lands ours, their Cash and Coyne ours, and all their moveables (howsoever seldome in motion ours too) and at our command<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> B. Worden, *The English Civil Wars*, 93.

<sup>96</sup> 'British Civil Wars, Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1638-1660'. Available online. [<http://bcw-project.org/church-and-state/second-civil-war/putney-debates>] [accessed 4 December 2017].

<sup>97</sup> T. Harris, 'The Leveller Legacy' in M. Mendle (ed.), *The Putney Debates of 1647*, 233.

<sup>98</sup> Anon, *The Parliament of Ladies With their Lawes Newly enacted*, (1647), f.B.



Given the specific intentions of the tradesmen's wives who constituted the Parliament of Ladies to seize control of their husbands' lands and possessions, it is plausible that they represented a cautionary tale to warn of the topsy turvy social order which would ensue if the reforms sought by the lower orders were granted and implemented. That women could assume this much control, not only over their husbands, but also over property traditionally held by men, feasibly served to reify the necessity of adherence to Anglican Christian principles.

Amanda Capern notes that the 'political disruption and raised religious stakes of the late 1640s led to a remarkable period of gender reconstruction in which the fake and the real woman jostled together in a new political culture driven as much by print as circumstance and contingency'.<sup>99</sup> It is suggested that the cuckold formed part of a congruent reassessment of manhood in popular political discourse, which emphasised the politico-religious legitimacy of the Stuart monarchy by using cuckoldry to delegitimise and unman those who threatened it. Within royalist literature, men's loyalty to the crown and state were to be performed within the traditional boundaries and restrictions imposed by hierarchical order, and through Anglican religious practices.

To conclude, this chapter has explored how the long-established literary trope of cuckoldry was given a new, specific political and religious purpose as a direct consequence of the Civil War. Politico-religious depictions of cuckoldry circulated during the Civil War were part of the explosion of printed texts which impacted upon popular political discourse by using sexualised rhetoric to frame and explain critical political and religious concerns. The most crucial anxieties aired by cuckoldry during the Civil War those held by royalists. As such, cuckoldry was most often targeted at parliamentarians and used to condemn the immorality of non-conformists, the corruption of commerce by avaricious parliamentarians and religious radicals, the unique role of the City of London in enabling this corruption because it was a hotbed of sedition and sectarianism, and the disloyalty of London's

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<sup>99</sup> A. Capern, *The Historical Study of Women*, 238.

Citizens to the crown and state. As the next chapter shows, these themes, which were intrinsic to the politico-religious adaptation of literary cuckoldry during the Civil War, continued to evolve within loyalist literature produced throughout the reign of Charles I son and restored successor, Charles II.

## **Chapter 4**

## **Cuckoldry and Cornution in Restoration Political Discourse, 1660-1685**

The politicised use of cuckoldry which had emerged in royalist literature during the Civil War was reworked into loyalist texts throughout the Restoration. This chapter explores how the religious, political and social fractures and factions which appeared during the Civil War and government by a Protectorate, continued to cause contention during the Restoration. The examination of cuckoldry as a politicised trope reveals the complexities and differences in figurative cuckoldry which appeared in popular political discourse. Those used for social comment as a cautionary tale on the hazards of marriage and the emasculation of men who fell victim to unruly, materialistic wives tended to follow traditional, humorous literary tropes and often featured woodcut imagery of hapless, cornuted men. However, as a political slander, cuckoldry was used satirically and employed in subtler, more nuanced ways – the men against whom political cuckoldry was directed were not depicted as unwitting or helpless, but conniving and ambitious. Most significantly, the adulterous or wayward conduct of their wives was rarely mentioned, nor were they always directly insulted as cuckolds. Instead, political cuckoldry, particularly that directed against Whigs, (who were seen as the ideological successors of Civil War parliamentarians) tended to refer to its literary targets as cornuted or horned. Referring to cuckoldry in this oblique way meant that the fictional horns which adorned these men could be interpreted in various ways: they could indicate cuckoldom, or indicate that the horned men were rebellious enemies of God and the Anglican Church, or indeed both.

Cuckoldry also formed part of a wider socio-political discourse about men being corrupted by commerce, especially through the accumulation of fluid capital such as coin/money, which was perceived as challenging traditional land-based means of making money. Moreover, there was a strong belief throughout the Restoration that those who made significant monetary gains as the nation's economy became increasingly commercialised, were able to do so because they prioritised profit over religious piety. More specifically, these men were also connected to cuckoldry which often featured some form of corrupt financial transaction. Anxieties about men's fraudulent conduct, (whether financial, religious or political, or indeed an amalgamation of all these factors), were reiterated through

politically repurposed cuckoldry which cautioned that money and tradeable commodities, if not handled with care, could provide the means for morally debased men to destabilise the state. As physician George Rogers' observed in his 1660 publication *The Horn Exalted, or Roome for Cuckolds*:

men love to Monopolize Commodities, and to be Masters of their own...and we may aswel conclude that heaven is not to be sought, because for the compassing of it we are to fight with beasts after the manner of men, and contend (too literally as some have done of late) against principalities and powers...<sup>1</sup>

Rogers clearly contended that men had lost sight of God because they were more concerned with furthering their own ends than acting in the interests of the greater good. Furthermore, this misconduct was connected to rebellion against the crown. Rogers considered his text 'very proper for these Times, when Men are Butting, and Pushing, and Goring, and Horning one another'<sup>2</sup>, and the intimation that conflict between men reduced them to a base, animalistic state suggests that aggression and competition between self-serving men were elements of a Restoration society defined by the discord and dissent of the previous decades.

### **The Civil War Context of Restoration Cuckoldry**

When Charles II returned to claim his kingdoms on 29 May 1660, financial security was essential for establishing and maintaining his restored rule. Paul Seaward notes that without economic stability, the Restoration government was aware that it 'would risk following the example of its early Stuart predecessors, staggering from crisis to crisis at the mercy of Parliament and the City, or else forced into unpopular expedients of dubious legality'.<sup>3</sup> Men involved in trade and commerce, especially tradesmen and London's Citizens, were therefore essential cogs who turned the wheels of economic power to generate income, but their importance in helping to

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<sup>1</sup> G. Rogers, *The Horn Exalted, or Roome for Cuckolds. Being a Treatise concerning the Reason and Original of the word Cuckold and why such are said to wear horns* (1660), 42.

<sup>2</sup> G. Rogers, *The Horn Exalted, or Roome for Cuckolds*, (1660), Frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> P. Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament*, 103.

secure the nations finances created considerable socio-economic tensions. Not only were these men often able to better their financial and social positions even during the most tumultuous of times, but they were also often affiliated with parliamentarianism, religious dissent and, financial corruption which was a consequence of these troublesome transgressions. Portrayals of cornuted City men, tradesmen and commercial citizens therefore appeared throughout the Restoration to castigate and emasculate these men because they were perceived as willing to trade their morality, manhood, and/or their wives' chastity, for financial gain.

In light of the havoc wrought by Civil War, cohesion and charitable conduct were especially valued during the Restoration era, when civic humanist notions of acting for the benefit of the common good were of critical importance in the reconstruction of the state. Those who were perceived as profiting from flouting these ideals presented a threat to the nation's political and economic stability, and debates about the conduct of City men and other commercial citizens, who were members of guilds and corporations, were often contextualised by civic humanist principles of public service, participation and activity. Civic humanist notions were predominantly linked to republicanism and Jonathan Scott has remarked upon the inextricable links between republicanism and religious nonconformity. He states that Restoration 'republicanism drew upon the intellectual resources not only of English humanism but also of civil war radicalism'<sup>4</sup>, and further notes that English republicanism after the Civil War and interregnum, moved 'to a Christian humanist politics of citizenship. This envisioned not freedom from government but through it...[and] it posited self-government as the only means to human moral fulfilment'.<sup>5</sup>

Civic humanism was a distinctly masculine concept and, as Ann Hughes notes 'political theorists explain that a 'construction of masculinity undoubtedly underpinned the ideology of civic humanism'.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore suggested that in loyalist Restoration political discourse, the gendered inversion and disorder inherent to cuckoldry meant that it was used to criticise a specifically corporate manhood which was borne out of parliamentarian/republican moral corruption and

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<sup>4</sup> J. Scott, *England's Troubles*, 294.

<sup>5</sup> J. Scott, *England's Troubles*, 296.

<sup>6</sup> A. Hughes, 'Men, the 'public' and the 'private' in the English Revolution', in P. Lake, & S. Pincus (eds), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 197 (quoting J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, 1989), 57-8).

materialism. In addition, the importance of self-governance in republican values was turned on its head by portraying these men as cuckolds whose avaricious compulsions were a display of their lack of self-control. This undermined their manhood, disordered their households and ultimately called into question the legitimacy of their place in the society and politics of the restored Stuart regime.

The narrative of legitimacy was crucial to Restoration religion, politics and society. Following Charles I's execution in 1649, England was a commonwealth governed by what many, particularly royalists/loyalists, believed to be an illegitimate government. This had consequences for Charles II's Restoration, as he had to reaffirm the legitimacy of monarchical rule in order to strengthen his position as king.<sup>7</sup> The measures taken by Charles II to reinforce, and indeed enforce, his rule included the prolific use of legislation, and the reinstatement of the king's healing touch in order to visibly demonstrate the legitimacy of his rule in the eyes of his subjects.<sup>8</sup> Political legitimacy, that is the upholding of monarchical and governmental authority, was essential for establishing the stability of the state. A crucial component of this was ensuring religious conformity because political legitimacy was linked to the defence of the nation's true Anglican religion, which was the state's definition of the correct form of worship.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, there was pressure to define the liturgical and doctrinal terms of Anglican worship and, most importantly, to enforce conformity to them.<sup>10</sup>

The Civil War had 'made all aesthetic forms part of the contest for authority and allegiance'<sup>11</sup> and popular political discourse therefore played a vital role in representing negotiations for political authority throughout the Restoration. Within literature and plays, cuckoldry which symbolised men wearing the horns of rebellion formed part of these ongoing, shifting negotiations by portraying men whose misconduct was perceived as destabilising the body politic. Differing attitudes and approaches towards the toleration of nonconformity were especially divisive and presented a substantial problem to the stability of Charles II's rule. The

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<sup>7</sup> K. Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*, 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms* (London, Penguin Books Limited, 2005), 69.

<sup>9</sup> M. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 287.

<sup>10</sup> M. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England*, 287.

<sup>11</sup> K. Sharpe, Representations and Negotiations: Texts, Images and Authority in Early Modern England, *The Historical Journal*, 42, 3, (1999), 853-881: 865.

social, religious and political practices of nonconformists were considered illegitimate by those who connected it directly with rebellion against royal authority and the established Church.

As Gary De Krey remarks, in the early years of the Restoration, 'Cavalier anxieties about the Church settlement were not exaggerated, for reformed Protestants and sectarians were determined to replace uniformity and coercion with comprehension and toleration.'<sup>12</sup> Nor did the religious factions which had appeared during the civil war simply disappear during the Restoration. Instead, they retained a visible political presence. For example, Presbyterians were particularly problematic for royalist Anglicans who held positions of power in Charles II's early 'Cavalier' parliament (1661-1667). As Paul Seaward notes, royalists believed that the Presbyterians' 'supple consciences, the wealth they had built up in the Civil War, and the government's anxiety to please them would...soon allow them entirely to capture royal favour.'<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, Tim Harris makes the significant contention that during the Restoration, 'the rhetoric of party strife reflected a preoccupation with Civil War issues, with Whigs being compared with the Parliamentarians, Puritans and republicans of the 1640s and 1650s, and the Tories with the Cavalier supporters of Charles I'.<sup>14</sup> The evidence from broadsides attacking Whigs which alluded to their cuckoldom, forms part of this historiographical re-evaluation and demonstrates not only that the aftershocks of Civil War continued to play a crucial role in determining politics throughout the Restoration, but most significantly, that religion, particularly Anglican fears concerning rebellion stemming from dissent, formed a fundamental part of this. Whilst these fears appear to have been widespread and not the concern of one particular political faction, they aligned predominantly with the Tory principles identified by Mark Knights which emphasised the 'need to marshal evidence of the danger of republicanism, dissent and notions of popular sovereignty or rights of resistance'.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> G.S. De Krey, *London and the Restoration, 1659-1683* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 16.

<sup>13</sup> P. Seaward, *The Restoration, 1660-1688*, 38.

<sup>14</sup> T. Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, 8.

<sup>15</sup> M. Knights, 'The Tory Interpretation of History in the Rage of Parties', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 68, 1-2 (2005), 353-373: 358.



The City of London was geographically and discursively intrinsic to the legacy of Civil War parliamentarianism and its significance cannot be overstated. During the war it had been the hub of parliamentarian power and presence, and its commercial citizens had supported the parliamentarian cause financially through economic reforms such as sequestration. Sequestration involved the confiscation of royalist estates to generate essential money for funding the parliamentarian war effort. London's commercial Citizens were perceived as valuing social and financial advancement more than morality, and remained synonymous with cuckoldry throughout the period when England was governed by a Protectorate. During this time, the ways in which men used land to gain status or money was a crucial concern which was also plausibly linked to the parliamentarian sequestration of royalist lands.

Cuckoldry was used to comment on men's use of land to gain illegitimate benefits, and also revealed concerns about competitive intra-gender dynamics between men. For example, the 1656 publication *The Academy of Pleasure* featured a letter 'from one crafty Citizen to another'<sup>16</sup>, which stated 'to be a Cuckold is but for one life, When Land remains to me, my Heir, or Wife'.<sup>17</sup> The text also described a London tradesman who, taking great pleasure in using his wife's charms to distract a young gentry man, boasted 'this young Novice lately bought some cloath of me, and my Wife being in the shop he tooke an occasion to court her, and finding...that he was not scorned, but rather courted both by her self and me, he every day visits my house...in reward whereof, I am resolved to murther his Estate.'<sup>18</sup> Revealing his connivance to use his wife as a conduit to usurp his social better, the tradesman stated 'there are means and wayes enough to hook in such Gentry: you shall come

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<sup>16</sup> Anon., *The Academy of pleasure furnished with all kinds of complementall letters, discourses and dialogues : with variety of new songs, sonets and witty inventions : teaching all sorts of men, maids, widows, &c. to speak and write wittily and to bear themselves gracefully for the attaining of their desired ends : how to discourse and demean themselves at feasts and marry-meetings at home and abroad in the company of friends or strangers : how to retort, quibble, jest or joke and to return an ingenious answer upon any occision whatsoever : also a dictionary of all the hard English words expounded : with a poeticall dictionary : with other concests very pleasant and delightfull, never before extant.* (1656), 26.

<sup>17</sup> Anon., *The Academy of pleasure*, (1656), 27.

<sup>18</sup> Anon., *The Academy of pleasure*, (1656), 26.

acquainted with him, and while he is busie about my Wife, I will be as busie about his Lands.’<sup>19</sup>

Similarly, the anonymously authored pamphlet *A conference between the ghost of the Rump and Tom Tel-Troth*, published in 1660, also revealed how the lower orders were instrumental in matters of faith and finance, but connected them directly to Civil War parliamentarianism. The text was most likely occasioned by the return of an ex-parliamentarian ‘Junto’ headed by the Presbyterian Earl of Manchester, to their seats in the House of Lords in April 1660. As Andrew Swatland notes, the reestablishment of the House of Lords was ‘an essential component in...securing a conditional restoration’<sup>20</sup> of the monarchy, and he also describes how Manchester approached former parliamentarian peers who ‘had sat in 1648, many of whom were known to favour restricting monarchical power’.<sup>21</sup> As the title suggests, the loyalist pamphlet set out a dialogue between Tom Tel-Troth and the Rump’s ghost, in which Tom castigates the religious fanaticism of the Rump and its supporters, including those of the lower sorts, asserting:

you will make glad the hearts of all men from the Plowman to the Merchant, viz. such as are joynts of the Rump but none else, but will make sorrow prove the sops of both the Church and States man, and give your phanatick puritie such a large liberty of conscience that without dispute then the Churches indeed shall suffer Martyrdom, and the Bells shall serve for Coyn to cheat the people.<sup>22</sup>

As well as alluding to money being used fraudulently, and prioritised over faith, Tom goes on to outline the financial systems used by parliamentarians, such as ‘new found wayes of Sequestration, Taxes, imposition, Excise, unreasonable Customes, Monopolies and other new found fangles of your own braines’.<sup>23</sup> These, he

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<sup>19</sup> Anon., *The Academy of pleasure*, (1656) 26.

<sup>20</sup> A. Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.

<sup>21</sup> A. Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II*, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Anon., *A conference between the ghost of the Rump and Tom Tel-Troth. Together with her sad complaint of that dismall and total eclipse that is like to fall out on the 20th day of April, 1660*. (1660), 3-4.

<sup>23</sup> Anon., *A conference between the ghost of the Rump and Tom Tel-Troth*, (1660), 3-4.

accusingly states to the ghost of the Rump, will be the means by which 'you will establish oppression and covetousness in a far greater light in the Land then ever'.<sup>24</sup>

As Tom Tel-Troth suggested, perceptions of economic procedures and reforms were also shaped by the conflicts of Civil War, because they were connected to parliamentarianism. Although land remained the primary basis of profit and power, the commercialisation of the state in the latter half of the seventeenth century involved a shift away from the traditional focus on land-based wealth and prestige, to viewing fluid commodities, coin and bullion (which resulted from trade) as essential for the state's national and international financial welfare. In addition, economic reforms and developments which facilitated the growth of trade necessary for securing the state, such as the growth of private banking, were viewed with suspicion and continued to be aligned with parliamentarian/republican values.

Although Ben Coates notes that the 'argument that the Civil War led to the emergence of English private banking, first put forward in the 1670s, has now been largely discarded'<sup>25</sup> amongst historians, Restoration contemporaries continued to associate banking with anti-monarchical insurrection, particularly that of the rude multitude. *The Broken Merchant's Complaint* (1683) asserted that banking began in '1640 when all things in [the] Kingdom were brought to that crisis...when Rebellion against our Excellent Prince (of ever blessed memory) was esteemed'.<sup>26</sup> The loyalist text lamented the financial concerns of Civil War royalists, stating that 'poor Cavaliers being delayed at the Exchequer, was fain to have recourse'<sup>27</sup> to banks governed by men who entertained a multitude of non-conformists, including 'Presbyter, Independent, and Papist, Quakers, Fifth Monarchists and Singers of Israel, in order to the drawing their money from them'.<sup>28</sup> The text also bemoaned an inverted socio-economic order in which the nobility and gentry became financially dependent upon the rebellious rabble and private banking during the Civil War, remarking:

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<sup>24</sup> Anon., *A conference between the ghost of the Rump and Tom Tel-Troth*, (1660), 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> B. Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London*, 53.

<sup>26</sup> Anon., *The Broken Merchants Complaint: Represented in a Dialogue between a Scrivener and a Banker on the Royal Exchange of London*, (1683), 3.

<sup>27</sup> Anon., *The Broken Merchants Complaint*, (1683), 5.

<sup>28</sup> Anon., *The Broken Merchants Complaint*, (1683), 9.

then it was the truly Loyal Nobility and Gentry were forced to Haberdashers, and Grocers Hall for composition; then it was the good men were forced to leave their Moneys in conjunction with the Zealots, Thimbles and Bodkins in order to the carrying on the cause. Now, here was the general Bank, which enriched so many of the Rebellious Beggars, the Dray-man, the Cobler, the Butcher and Taylor, the Block-Maker &c. who qualified themselves by their vassalage to an impudent Tyrannical Usurpation, to become Lords, yea, and such Lords too, who made all our Nobility and Gentry tremble before them.<sup>29</sup>

The association between private banking, religious nonconformity and popular rebellion provoked a defensive response which emphasised that banking performed a vital function for the common good in securing the nation's trade and economy.

This was also argued in the dialogue between a country gentleman and a London merchant in *Bank Credit: or, the Usefulness and Security of the Bank of Credit Examined*, in which the merchant contended 'Credit may be raised to answer all men's Occasions that have any thing to Deposit and whereby they may greatly enlarge their Trade, and imploy the Poor: so that to oppose this Bank, is to obstruct a common/ Good, that by it redounds to all men, without Prejudice to any'.<sup>30</sup> The gentleman raised numerous questions about the potential for the impacting negatively on the welfare of the state, including whether the stockpile of commodities given to the bank by tradesmen as leverage for money would reduce their value. The merchant replied 'If the increase of credit will be injurious to Trade, then the increase of Money will have the same effect, since Money and Credit in this case are all one'.<sup>31</sup> The merchant then disregarded the gentleman's concern with the remark 'besides, men's Expences increase with their Estates and Credit; for as Riches increase, so do they that spend them'.<sup>32</sup> The merchant's positive view of more men being able to spend more money, and his reference to credit in a strictly financial sense, arguably indicated the corrupting effects of commerce: a man's financial 'credit' ought to be based on his creditable reputation, and it was not

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<sup>29</sup> Anon., *The Broken Merchants Complaint*, (1683), 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> Anon., *Bank Credit: or, the Usefulness and Security of the Bank of Credit Examined; in a Dialogue between a Country Gentleman and a London Merchant* (1683), 7.

<sup>31</sup> Anon., *Bank Credit: or, the Usefulness and Security of the Bank of Credit Examined* (1683), 9.

<sup>32</sup> Anon., *Bank Credit: or, the Usefulness and Security of the Bank of Credit Examined* (1683), 9.

legitimate for all men to be able to accrue property and spend wealth, since not all men were worthy of this privilege. Legitimacy was a political narrative which had been intensified by the events of Civil War and it continued to shape not only socio-economic dynamics between men, but also ideas about what was considered legitimate political behaviour.

Consequently, there was much scrutiny and suspicion regarding the ways in which men handled money and used their 'credit', which was still very much linked to male honour and reputation. For example, the broadside *Tis Money that makes a Man*, described the immorality and debauchery of a tradesman who, after mortgaging his land, neglected his estate and wife, preferring instead to drink away his profit at the local ale-house. He declares 'I had an estate ile make it appear, besides all my stock was worth fifty a year: but so soon as I to drinking then fell, my Land I then Morgaged, my Cattle did sell; no sooner the money I for them had took, but it went to the Ale-house I'le swear on a book.'<sup>33</sup> Despite further lamenting, 'oh what a madness 'tis to borrow or lend, or for strong Liquor thy money to spend'<sup>34</sup>, the man cannot redeem his reputation, but served as a cautionary tale warning of the pitfalls of men's misspending. The broadside also reveals the importance of money as a determining factor in how men viewed one another, as he further remarks 'if thy pockets can jingle they will take thy word Oh then thou art company for Knight or yet Lord: then make much of a Penny as near as you can, for if that be wanting thou'rt counted no man'.<sup>35</sup>

The literary cuckolding of morally bankrupt men who made essential contributions to the nation's commercial cashflow, and the ways they used, or abused, their position formed part of a wider discussion within a debate about the dependability of money as a fluid form of credit vital to the nation's economic stability, as opposed to the established security of land-based wealth. Indeed, in the latter years of the Restoration, converging attitudes to land based wealth and money formed the basis of tensions between the Tory and Whig political factions which emerged as a result of the Popish Plot and Succession Crisis (1678-83). As Steven

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<sup>33</sup> Anon., *Tis Money that makes a Man: Or, The Good-Fellows Folly*. Here in this Song Good-Fellow thou mayst find, how Money makes a Man, if thou'rt not blind? Therefore return e're that it be too late, and don't on Strumpets spend thy whole estate. For when all is gone no better thou wilt be: but Laught to scorn in all thy poverty. To a pleasant new tune: Bonny black Bess: Or, Digby (1674-9) (1 page).

<sup>34</sup> Anon., *Tis Money that makes a Man: Or, The Good-Fellows Folly*, (1674-9).

<sup>35</sup> Anon., *Tis Money that makes a Man: Or, The Good-Fellows Folly*, (1674-9).

Pincus contends, 'Tories overwhelmingly believed property was finite and tied to the land and its products. Arrayed against them was an equally substantial group of Whig polemicists, traders and politicians who argued that property was potentially infinite and depended on the product of human labour'.<sup>36</sup> For Whigs, the focus was not on the land which produced wealth, but on the wealth produced from land, and most especially from enterprising trade. The links between Whiggism and commerce were reinforced during the latter years of the Restoration when financial, religious and moral nonconformity were seen as converging within a republicanism which remained connected to the civil war parliamentary legacy of financial reforms, cash-based corruption and insurrection against monarchy.

The link between money, materialism and parliamentary treachery, particularly among London's citizens, was elucidated using the language of cuckoldry throughout Charles II's reign. Alexander Brome was a staunch royalist propagandist who had produced a vast amount of literature during the Civil War 'including love poems in the cavalier mode, satires attacking the enemies of the king and, later, the Commonwealth government'<sup>37</sup>. In his 1659 publication, *Ratts Rhim'd to Death*, he had condemned London's 'Coward-hearted Citizens'<sup>38</sup>, and demanded of them 'what is your Damn'd pretence, To keep your selves within your Beds, and not Fight for your Prince? ... through your Rams-head zeal you have your Brother RUMP befriended, To seat them in the Parliament-house, their Wisedomes forth to show; But they (and you) are all a-like, Cuckolds all-a-Row'.<sup>39</sup> Demonstrating that whilst the conflicts of Civil War had ceased, perceptions of allegiances and misconduct remained contentious, Brome subjected the Citizens of London to a further vitriolic attack in his early Restoration publication *Rump* (1662). However, not only was their disloyalty to the restored Stuart regime a point of contention, Brome specifically remarked that the covetousness and financial corruption of London's Citizens had directly contributed to their betrayal of monarchy.

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<sup>36</sup> S. Pincus, 'Rethinking Mercantilism: Political Economy, the British Empire, and the Atlantic World in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 69, 1, (2012), 3-34: 17.

<sup>37</sup> R. Dubinski, 'Alexander Brome (1620-1666)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3501?rskey=Jj8Z3x&result=1>.

<sup>38</sup> A. Brome, *Ratts rhimed to death. Or, The Rump-Parliament hang'd up in the Shambles*. (1659), 58.

<sup>39</sup> A. Brome, *Ratts rhimed to death*, (1659), 58.

Asserting that City men who purported to act in public faith (i.e for the common good), valued money more than loyalty to Charles II's restored rule, Brome stated 'and yet, good men o'th City, you are proud to have this Bankrupt Publique Faith allow'd more credit then your King.'<sup>40</sup> He also condemned those men who purported to act in the interests of public faith, yet neglected their primary responsibilities to their households and families which were essential for the economic and political stability of the state. Brome scorned those men who 'lend more willingly then ever you did spend Money to buy your Wives and Children bread, by such a strange Inchantment being misled to your undoings'.<sup>41</sup> The treachery of these men was vilified and linked to their amassing wealth by trading material possessions for money as Brome scathingly declared 'to Publique Faiths vast Treasury bring in, From the Gilt Goblet, to the Silver Pin, All that was Coinable, and what to do? Even to create you Knaves, and Traytors too.'<sup>42</sup> Most significantly, however, Brome emasculated these men by depicting them as cuckolds whose financial misdemeanours (and status as cuckolds) were connected to Civil War parliamentarianism.

Brome cautioned 'Faith if you chance to come off with your Lives, Your way will be to live upon your Wives, Their Trading will be good, when Fortune wears Your Colours in the Caps of th' Cavaliers, Whose Cuckolds you'll be then, & on your brow, Wear their Horns, as you Publique Faith's do now; Then, then you'll howle, when you shall clearly see that Publique Faith, was Publique Treachery'.<sup>43</sup> Brome's scathing commentary on the supposed cowardice and betrayal of London's Citizens is important not only because it indicated that the perception of these men as Civil War parliamentarians continued into the Restoration, but also because it identified that their financial malpractices were both cause and consequence of disloyalty to the Stuart monarchy. However, there were also other troubling transgressions which threatened the stability of Charles II's rule, and at times of Restoration politico-religious crisis, disloyal and dissenting men were figuratively cuckolded.

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<sup>40</sup> A. Brome, *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs relating to the late times by the most eminent wits from anno 1639 to anno 1661.* (1662), 98.

<sup>41</sup> A. Brome, *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs* (1662), 98.

<sup>42</sup> A. Brome, *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs* (1662), 99.

<sup>43</sup> A. Brome, *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choycest poems and songs* (1662), 99.

## The Exclusion Crisis: Cuckoldry and Cornution

One of the defining political and religious events of the Second Restoration was the Exclusion Crisis (1678-81). This was a controversy about the royal succession of Charles's Roman Catholic brother James, Duke of York (later king James II) which stemmed from Charles II's failure to provide a legitimate heir, despite his fathering numerous illegitimate children with various mistresses. The analysis of figurative cuckoldry during the Exclusion Crisis has revealed how cuckoldry was used to express anxieties about illegitimate heirs and succession. Mary Fissell argues that portrayals of the cuckolded man intensified as a result of the Exclusion Crisis, when he was used to articulate concerns about uncertain paternity and the economic burden of illegitimate children. Fissell also contends that men's domestic roles continued to influence political discourse, and she notes that 'concerns about the transfer of power from one monarch to the next [were] articulated in discussions about the transfer of characteristics from fathers to children'.<sup>44</sup> The importance of legitimate heirs was apparent in the broadside *The New Courtier* which was circulated during the Exclusion Crisis. It featured a Courtier who was revealed to be immoral and debauched by his boasting 'yet once a friend that sav'd my life, who had a witty wanton wife, I did in (courtesie) requite, made him a Cuckold and a Knight'.<sup>45</sup> Seeing no shame in making a cuckold of the man who had saved his life, he also implied that cuckoldry could be a mutually beneficial gentleman's agreement, since 'these Citts are subtile Slaves, most of them Witts, and knowing Knaves; we get their Children, and they, from us get Lands, and Lordships too: and tis most fit in those affairs the Lands should go to the right hairs'.<sup>46</sup>

However, beyond the obvious anxieties about legitimate heirs and inheritances, the ballad also reveals other crucial concerns of the Exclusion Crisis which contextualised depictions of cuckoldry during this period, and reflected the politico-religious divisions of the crisis itself. Most significantly, the courtier of the broadside's title is a former parliamentarian who has somehow managed to ingratiate himself into the royal court. Referencing his experience of the Civil War

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<sup>44</sup> M. Fissell, *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 197.

<sup>45</sup> Anon., *The New Courtier: the Tune is Cloris, since thou art fled away*, (1678-80) (1 page).

<sup>46</sup> Anon., *The New Courtier*, (1678-80).



conflicts, he bemoaned 'a Cavalier once broke my Pate, with cane in hand he overcome me and took away my Mistress from me'.<sup>47</sup> It is also noteworthy that the ballad was purportedly discovered 'upon the Change where Merchants meet twixt Cornhill and Threadneedle-Street'<sup>48</sup> and described ambitious, self-serving Citizens ('Citts') as willing to offer their wives' sexual services in exchange for money and/or climbing the social ladder.

The links between cuckoldry and parliamentarianism suggested in *The New Courtier* came back into play during the Exclusion Crisis because this was a period when fears of another Civil War resurfaced. Jonathan Scott asserts that the loyalism which emerged as a consequence of Civil War in 1642 was again apparent during the Second Restoration of 1679-85. Predominant features of this resurgence of loyalism were 'an emphasis upon the element of repetition, both to connect with public memory and to make the point that experience must serves as a warning [and] that the popish plot had now been joined by another'<sup>49</sup>, namely a plan to set up a Commonwealth by the destruction of Church and State. Most significantly, however, Scott also identifies that during this Second Restoration (1679-85), loyalist anxieties shifted from a 'general preoccupation with the revived menace to Protestantism and parliaments [to] the perception that "41 [was] here again".<sup>50</sup> Political representations of cuckoldry published during the Second Restoration appear to have been provoked by these crises and often contained references to insurrection (including the Civil War) and religious nonconformity, although these have remained largely unexamined.

In addition to anxieties about the remnants of Civil War parliamentarianism and republicanism in Restoration society, there were also other significant causes for concern which contextualised Exclusion Crisis cuckoldry. These appeared in loyalist texts which purposely invoked the threat of the parliamentarian 'good old cause' as a means of trying to re-establish and reassert the old order of hierarchy and monarchical rule. Among the most prevalent concerns expressed was dissent from the Anglican Church, especially religious fanaticism, which ruptured fragile social boundaries and, most troublingly, was connected to popular rebellion. The

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<sup>47</sup> Anon., *The New Courtier*, (1678-80).

<sup>48</sup> Anon., *The New Courtier*, (1678-80).

<sup>49</sup> J. Scott, *England's Troubles*, 437.

<sup>50</sup> J. Scott, *England's Troubles*, 435.

case against religious pluralism had made during the Civil War by a 'learned lawyer' in a speech initially delivered to the House of Commons on 23 June 1647:

Our Adversaries, they say, That we have in our Religion an outward Garment, or Cloak of any colour, which none do wear amongst us but Sectaries, Fools, Knaves, and Rebels; the said Cloak, being with often turning worn as thread-bare as our Publick Faith is, full of wrinckles, spots, and stains...and that our preaching or prating, as they also say, it is kept by Coblers, Tinkers, Weavers, Wyer-Drawers, and Hostlers; so that all order and decent comliness is thrust out of the Church; all laudable Ornaments...are cried down, trod down and banished, under the false and scandalous terms of Popery, and in the place thereof is most nasty, filthy, loathsom and slovenly beastliness or Doctrine, being vented in long and tedious Sermons, to move and stir up the People to Rebellion and Trayterous Contributions; to exhort them to Murther, Rapine, Robbery, Disloyalty, and all manner of mischief that may be, to the confusion of their Souls and Bodies.<sup>51</sup>

The speech was republished in 1680 in a climate of vehement anti-fanaticism and anti-catholicism and was most likely prompted by the Second Exclusion Parliament's quashing of the Exclusion Bill (an attempt to prevent Catholic James II acceding to the throne). The recirculation of this text is significant for two reasons: firstly, it shows that the impact of the Civil War continued to inform Restoration politics, particularly in times of crisis and, secondly, it intimates that the social problems caused by religious nonconformity (predominantly attributed to those of the lower orders) continued to be a cause for concern.

The strength of anti-catholic feeling during this period is significant because it also defined attitudes towards protestant nonconformity - the discord caused by dissent was viewed as a Catholic conspiracy to weaken the nation by fracturing (and ultimately destroying) the unity of the Anglican Church. Furthermore, the inextricable association between Catholicism and dissent from the Church appeared in popular discourse within which political ideologies were contested and words

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<sup>51</sup> Anon., *A Most learned and eloquent speech spoken and delivered in the House of Commons at Westminster by a most learned lawyer, the 23th [sic] June, 1647, (1680), 2.*

appropriated for a specific politico-religious purpose. For example, 'Popery' was a well-established means of describing Catholicism, but during the Exclusion Crisis it was adopted by Tories as a code word for religious and political dissent.<sup>52</sup> Political positions as to whether James Duke of York should succeed or not were contextualised within this climate of complex political allegiances and religious disarray. Attitudes towards protestant nonconformity were especially divisive during the Exclusion Crisis and led to the formation of two prominent political parties – the Whigs and Tories.

The terms 'Whig' and 'Tory' originated from terms of abuse used against sectarians but they were also associated with rebellion. 'Whig' derived from the word 'Whiggamore' which was used to describe the Presbyterian Covenanters who had participated in the Whiggamore Raid of 1648, when 'Covenanters from the West marched on Edinburgh [and] dispersed the Royalist party'<sup>53</sup>, whilst 'Tory' was a derogatory term used against Irish Catholics.<sup>54</sup> The Whig political party which emerged during the Restoration was perceived as having inherited the illegitimate legacy of Civil War parliamentarianism, and was also associated with Presbyterianism. Furthermore, whereas the Tories were primarily considered to be loyal to the crown and Anglican Church, the Whigs were affiliated with religious fanaticism and inciting popular insurrection. These were recurring themes in loyalist Tory literary attacks on the Whigs which used cuckoldry and cornution at key politico-religious flashpoints during the Exclusion Crisis. However, whilst key Whigs and their associates were sometimes referred to as stereotypical cuckolds with adulterous wives, loyalist literary tropes of cuckoldry and emasculation were also employed in more complex ways. In particular, references to Whigs being horned rather than simply as 'cuckolds', with no mention of their spouses, suggests that whilst the horns they wore could be culturally identified as those of cuckoldom, when worn by Whigs, they were primarily indicators of religious insurgency.

One of the key events of the Exclusion Crisis was the Popish Plot fabricated by Titus Oates. In late summer and autumn 1678 Oates alleged that there was a

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<sup>52</sup> C. M. Carlson, "A Child of Heathen Hobbs': Political Prints of the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis – the Revision of a Republican Mode', in J. Clare (ed.), *From Republic to Restoration: Legacies and Departures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 328.

<sup>53</sup> Dictionary of the Scots Language. Available online.

<http://www.dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/whiggamore>.

<sup>54</sup> T. Harris, *Politics under the Later Stuarts*, 8.

catholic conspiracy to kill Charles II and English Protestants, clearing the way for a Catholic monarch on the English throne. *An Excellent New Ballad* was prompted by Oates's revelation of the Popish Plot and featured a dialogue between Tom the Tory and Toney the Whig. The ballad set out the respective (dis)loyalties and characteristics of these men. Toney the Whig accused Tom the Tory not only of failing to take action after being made aware of the Popish Plot, but of using it to his advantage. Toney declared 'Thou wants not Wickedness, but Wit, To turn it to thy Profit: Who but a Sot, would hatch a Plot, and then make nothing of it?'<sup>55</sup> In response, Tom implied that Toney the Whig was a cuckold by analogising him to Acteon, remarking 'thourt hunted in by Whelps of thy own Training thy Wickedness, turnd thee to Beast, And hither thee did hurry: and in this Guise, Acteon-wise, Thy Hell-Hounds thee shall worry'.<sup>56</sup> The description of a cuckolded man as Acteon rather than simply 'cuckold' reveals the complexities and political partisanship of words and tropes during the Restoration. However, although the use of Acteon as a political slander which symbolised cuckoldom was specific to the Restoration period, Tom also alluded to the Civil War precedent for Toney's cornution. Tom retorted 'thou lovst of old, The Name of a Protector: But now with all thy Might and Slight, Thou art a Baffld Hector'.<sup>57</sup> However, as well as inheriting an allegiance with parliamentary disloyalty from their Civil War antecedents, there were other aspects of a Whiggish political stance which led to them being linked to literarily cuckolded and cornuted in a variety of ways.

Civil War sectarianism was also a significant part of the literary legacy of cuckoldry. Most significantly, just as Civil War sectarians had adopted apocalyptic beliefs, the Popish Plot was instrumental in developing apocalypticism during the Exclusion Crisis and final years of the Restoration. Warren Johnston contends that the 'notion of papal intrigue supplied substantial material to reinforce the generally accepted identification of papacy as the principal antagonist in the prophecies of Daniel and Revelation'.<sup>58</sup> As explored in a previous chapter, these were the scriptural texts used by dissenters which featured beasts who weaponised their

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<sup>55</sup> Anon., *An Excellent New Ballad between Tom the Tory, and Toney the Whigg, To the Tune of, Shittle-Come-Shite, etc.* (1678) (1 page).

<sup>56</sup> Anon., *An Excellent New Ballad*, (1678).

<sup>57</sup> Anon., *An Excellent New Ballad*, (1678) (1 page).

<sup>58</sup> W. Johnston, *Revelation Restored*, 152.

horns of rebellion against God. Cuckoldry was therefore used against Whigs during the Exclusion Crisis because of fears of another Civil War and, like their rebellious parliamentary forebears, the Whig position tended to tolerate protestant nonconformity. As such, prominent Whigs and their associates were condemned using allusions to cuckoldry and cornution when significant events of the Exclusion Crisis appeared to be leading the nation ever nearer to disarray and dissension.

The mysterious and brutal murder of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey (the justice to whom Titus Oates had initially revealed the Popish Plot), was a key event in the Popish Plot. George Villiers, the Second Duke of Buckingham, was a Whig leader involved in the events surrounding the death of Godfrey and the Plot and, on 28 October 1678, Buckingham had suggested a special subcommittee to investigate the murder.<sup>59</sup> At the height of his political career as adviser to Charles II, Buckingham had been one of the members of the Cabal ministry, the group of corrupt councillors who served the king from 1668 to 1674 (the term 'Cabal' aptly serving to describe both the small group of men able to influence political events and policies, and as an acronym of the names of those men: Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley-Cooper, and Lauderdale). Although Buckingham had fallen from royal grace following a series of controversies which had revealed the ambiguity of his loyalty to the king, the Popish Plot briefly revived his political career.<sup>60</sup>

The dubious allegiances of Buckingham and his cabal associates featured in the broadside *The Cabal* (1680). The tone of this particular text was strikingly loyalist, and attacked men involved in political factions who destabilised, and even potentially sought to usurp the monarchy. The selfish ambitions of these men made them ungovernable subjects, unreliable counsellors and involved them in seditious plots. The ballad remarked how the king's closest advisors intended to 'supplant the Government and cry Allegiance down, and rail at Monarchy; to make Cabals, and by a bold Petition Imbroil the Nation in a new Sedition'.<sup>61</sup> The Popish Plot was also referred to as a means by which religious pluralism would triumph because the Cabal was able 'to sowse Rebellion, lay up Plots in pickle, And make each Tavern-bar a Conventicle: This would become a Muses excellence, to whip the Club into

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<sup>59</sup> B. Yardley, 'Villiers, George, second duke of Buckingham (1628–1687)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28294>].

<sup>60</sup> B. Yardley, 'Villiers, George', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28294>].

<sup>61</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680) (1 page).

Allegiance.’<sup>62</sup> The self-seeking kings counsellors who threatened to fan the flames of insurrection were further condemned by the anonymous author who noted ‘How Faction, and the quenchless thirst of Rule, Hurries to Ruine the Ambitious Fool; Whose busie Soul, puft up with popular sway, will scarce be ever humbled to obey!’<sup>63</sup>

However, whilst the broadside derided the Cabal collectively as unwitting, unthinking fools who ‘follow the leading Cuckoo, like the Bat, and justly merit, as they are despisd, rather to be rejected than chastisd’<sup>64</sup>, the leading ‘Cuckoo’ (another means of describing a cuckold) at whom the most vitriol was aimed was the Duke of Buckingham. Scorning Buckingham’s lack of loyalty to Charles II, and referring to his unwillingness to adhere to any cause, whether Old or New, the ballad declared ‘so hes in play, (provided theres no blows) it matters not, the New, or the Old Cause...but sooner you may fix the Northern wind, than hope this Weathercock will be confind’.<sup>65</sup> The broadside went on to describe how Buckingham’s cowardice, duplicity and inner corruption had manifested as physical monstrosity and noted that ‘Nature made him a perverse wight, whose Nose extracts the Essence of his Gouty Toes: Double with Head to Tail he crawls apart; His Bodys th Emblem of his double Heart.’<sup>66</sup> Buckingham was also given animalistic traits which symbolised his treachery.

The ballad satirically stated ‘In the Court-Sun he wriggles like a Snail; Touch but his Horns, he shrinks into his Shell, Rould like a Hedg-hog up, he shews his Snout, and at the Council-Table makes a rout, Gainst Charles and his Succession Domineers’.<sup>67</sup> However, the description of Buckingham as snail-like was not simply indicative of his beastly nature, but also signified that he was a cuckold. Because the snail has horn-like tentacles it was often another means of representing a cuckold, and references to cuckolded men as snails often appeared in the works of William Shakespeare.<sup>68</sup> This was also a cultural reference recognised in Europe where cuckolds in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century art were portrayed with snails – their horns

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<sup>62</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680).

<sup>63</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680).

<sup>64</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680).

<sup>65</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680).

<sup>66</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680).

<sup>67</sup> Anon., *The Cabal*, (1680).

<sup>68</sup> G. Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, (London: The Athlone Press, 1994), 670.

belonged to the 'menagerie of cuckolds'<sup>69</sup> in Italy along with those horns of rams, goats and bulls.<sup>70</sup> In addition to Buckingham being symbolically satirised as a cuckold, there were other important Whig leaders who were also chastised using cuckoldry.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, the First Earl of Shaftesbury was a former member of the royalist country gentry who had initially supported the restoration of Charles II because it was a means of ending the 'abuse of power from those below, a real 'mechanic tyranny'.<sup>71</sup> However, Shaftesbury was notorious for his political fluidity, which became outright betrayal to the Stuart monarchy when he switched allegiances to become a founding member of the Whigs. A prominent Whig politician, Shaftesbury strongly favoured the succession of James, Duke of Monmouth, Charles's protestant illegitimate son, and strove to exclude the catholic James, Duke of York.<sup>72</sup> Shaftesbury's political choices were informed by his providentialism and 'guided by God first, the needs of the English nation second, and lastly by Charles II's rights'.<sup>73</sup> In the midst of the Succession Crisis, Shaftesbury was believed to have authored a controversial draft proposal for a Protestant Association in an attempt to protect the English crown and keep James II from the throne. As Newton Key has argued, the 'issue of Exclusion, which redefined English politics between 1678 and 1683, climaxed in debate and activity over the Association'<sup>74</sup> which contained promises to protect the protestant faith, parliamentary power and the liberties of English subjects.<sup>75</sup> Although these measures were deemed reasonable, the draft Association also contained a provision for remaining armed until parliament met. This 'insistence upon forcing Exclusion

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<sup>69</sup> L. Rice, 'The Cuckoldries of Baccio Del Bianco', in Matthews-Grieco (ed.), *Cuckoldry, Impotence and Adultery in Europe (15<sup>th</sup> - 17<sup>th</sup> Century)*, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2016), 215-248: 219.

<sup>70</sup> L. Rice, 'The Cuckoldries of Baccio Del Bianco', 219.

<sup>71</sup> A. Marshall, 'Mechanic Tyrannie': Anthony Ashley Cooper and the English Republic, in J. Spurr (ed.) *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011), 37.

<sup>72</sup> K. I. Parker, *The Biblical Politics of John Locke* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2004), 22.

<sup>73</sup> A. Marshall, 'Mechanic Tyrannie': Anthony Ashley Cooper and the English Republic', 37.

<sup>74</sup> N.E. Key, 'High Feeding and Smart Drinking: Associating Hedge-Lane Lords in Exclusion Crisis London', in J. McElligott (ed.), *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 159.

<sup>75</sup> L. K. J. Glassey, 'Shaftesbury and the Exclusion Crisis', in J. Spurr, (ed.) *Anthony Ashley Cooper, First Earl of Shaftesbury, 1621-1683*, 229.

veered dangerously close to plotting armed resistance against the government'<sup>76</sup> and Shaftesbury was arrested and put on trial for high treason in 1681.

The following year, *A Whigg Ballad, or a Summons to Association* (1682) provided satirical comment on the furore of the Protestant Association and lambasted Shaftesbury's fellow Whigs, who were 'all here cited to Common-Hall Vote. Each one to lift up his True Protestant Throat, and bawl in defiance of men of good note...to roar at Guild-Hall like Homerial Mars, in defiance oth' Head, with regard to the Association (Guild-Hall is your Stage and Sedition your Farce)'.<sup>77</sup> To add insult to injury, the cuckoldry was used together with allusions to the Whig's Presbyterian allegiances and the Old Cause of the Civil War, as the ballad remarked 'the rioting Whiglanders soon will be Routed, as sure as Don Hornish by Bull was Cornuted...like Men-worthy at home you will stay, solacing your Wives the Jack Presbyter way, is so, Good Old Cause must sing Well-a-day'.<sup>78</sup> Shaftesbury was tried for high treason on 24 November 1681 and although the charges against him were ultimately dropped, he was disgraced to such an extent that his political career was finished. At his trial the jury had returned a verdict of 'Ignoramus' (that is, they declared ignorance due to a lack of sufficient evidence to continue proceedings).

On delivery of this verdict 'the court did declaim with open mouth against these juries'<sup>79</sup> and the shock outcome of Shaftesbury's trial prompted several satirical ballads, one of which, named simply *Ignoramus* told not only how the Whigs were deceitful traitors to the crown who had 'taught the multitude rebellion was but Reason, with Breaches, Impeaches and most Loyal speeches'<sup>80</sup>, but used the imagery of weaponised horns, remarking of the Whigs 'they sham us, and slam us, and ram us and damn us'.<sup>81</sup> In addition to Shaftesbury's Whig associates being collectively unmanned through the political language and symbolism of cuckoldry, others were subjected to individual attacks which directly derided them as cuckolds, such as

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<sup>76</sup> N. E. Key, *High Feeding and Smart Drinking*, 160.

<sup>77</sup> Anon., *A Whigg Ballad, or, a Summons to a fresh Association*, (1682), (1 page).

<sup>78</sup> Anon., *A Whigg Ballad, or, a Summons to a fresh Association*, (1682).

<sup>79</sup> T. B. Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanours from the earliest period to the year 1783, with Notes and Other Illustrations* (London: T.C. Hansard, 1816), 759.

<sup>80</sup> Anon., *Ignoramus, An Excellent New Song*, (1681) (1 page).

<sup>81</sup> Anon., *Ignoramus, An Excellent New Song*, (1681).



Benjamin Harris the prolific Whig publisher and Shaftesbury's printer, against whom the government was gathering evidence of sedition.<sup>82</sup>

Harris, a staunch Anabaptist, had established himself as a controversial writer and publisher for the Whig cause during the Succession Crisis and, as James Sutherland notes, following the lapse in 1679 of the Licensing Act (1662), Harris's vehemently anti-Catholic periodical *The Domestick Intelligence* was 'the first paper to appear during the Exclusion Crisis'.<sup>83</sup> However, as Sutherland also remarks, despite airing his highly politicised views in favour of exclusion in *The Domestic Intelligence*, Harris 'managed to steer clear of trouble until he published an anti-Catholic pamphlet *An Appeal from the Country to the City* attacking the Duke of York and advocating the claims of the king's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth'.<sup>84</sup> Harris was brought to trial at King's Bench for his publication of the seditious pamphlet in 1679, sentenced to a year's imprisonment and released in 1680. However, publication of *The Domestick Intelligence* (now called the *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence*) ceased in 1681 when he was re-imprisoned, an event which appears to have prompted his being maligned in the satirical ballad *The Protestant Cuckold*.

The ballad maligned Harris for having 'a Lye once from a Crookhorn did print: Oh ye Tories look big, and Rejoyce at this News, for Benjamin's Wife is made free of the Stews'.<sup>85</sup> The song went on to give a detailed description of illicit liaisons between Harris's wife Ruth and a lowly scrivener, and blamed her infidelity on Harris's impotence, scathingly remarking that 'finding besides you'd no ink in your Pen, with a Scrivener she thought it high time to engage, then tak't not in scorn, though you are well born, that your Spouse has furnish't you with an Ink-horn'.<sup>86</sup> However, religious nonconformity appears to have been the root cause of Harris's

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<sup>82</sup> M. Knights, 'Harris, Benjamin (c. 1647–1720), publisher and bookseller.' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Available online. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/48276> [accessed 07/03/2018].

<sup>83</sup> J. Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13.

<sup>84</sup> J. Sutherland, *The Restoration Newspaper and its Development*, 13.

<sup>85</sup> Anon., *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*. (1681) (1 page).

<sup>86</sup> Anon., *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*. (1681) (1 page).

cuckoldom and disordered household, as the ballad's description of Harris's wife as 'the Zealous Jade, Ben a True Cuckold made'<sup>87</sup> implied that she too was a dissenter.

A further broadside, *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan*, published on 13 April 1681, (two days before Harris ceased publication of his newspaper *Protestant (Domestick) Intelligence* on 15 April 1681), depicted Harris as a 'factious Gaol-bird'<sup>88</sup> and indicated his affiliation with religious rebels whilst the scrivener with whom Harris's wife Ruth commits adultery is also implied to be a dissenter. Upon 'Factious Lubber'<sup>89</sup> Harris's discovery of his wife's tryst he demands an explanation, and his wife's response revealed her own nonconformity as she replied 'Tis nothing my Dear, but the Spirit of Revelation'.<sup>90</sup> Harris's wife's fictional reference to Revelation is particularly significant because it suggested not only that she was a dissenter, but also reveals the endurance of the scriptural basis of political language and its specificity of purpose: the many headed monster featured in the book of Revelation was synonymous with popular fanaticism and signified through the dual purpose of the cuckold's horns which also displayed enmity to God. As the anti-Whig broadside *The Parallel of the Times* suggested, the rebellious rabble were fanatic supporters of the Whigs who 'Rant at their Rulers and would Rule them too. The many-headed Monster they revive...What Loyalist was safe, when they supposd the giddy multitude had with them closd?'.<sup>91</sup>

The correlation between Whigs and religious nonconformity, and specifically their consequent cuckoldom, were further elucidated in the epilogue to dramatist Edward Ravenscroft's 1682 comedy *The London Cuckolds*, performed by the would-be gallant Mr Ramble. Ramble declares 'Rouze up ye drouzie Cuckolds of our Isle, we see your aking hearts through your forc'd smile. Hast hence like Bees unto your City Hive: And drive away the Hornes from your Wives...every Cuckold is a Cit...there's not one Cuckold amonst all the Tory's...No, No the Cloven Foreheads are the Whigs,

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<sup>87</sup> Anon., *The Protestant Cuckold: A New Ballad*. (1681).

<sup>88</sup> Anon., *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan: or, a New Plot discover'd by a precious Zealot, of an Assault and Battery Design'd upon the body of a Sanctify'd Sister who in her Husband's absence with a Brother did often use to comfort one another; Till wide-mouth'd Crop, who is an old Italian, took his Mare napping and surpriz'd her Stallion: who 'Stead of Entertainment from his Mistris, Did meet a Cudgelling not match'd in Histories* (1681) (1 page).

<sup>89</sup> Anon., *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan*, (1681).

<sup>90</sup> Anon., *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan*, (1681).

<sup>91</sup> Anon., *A Parallel of Times, or: A Memento to the Whiggs* (1683) (1 page).

who send their Wives a Bulling to their Morefields friend. The Doctrine put on 'em does so tickle they'r pleas'd with nothing like a Conventicle.'<sup>92</sup>

In addition to Ravenscroft's play, there also appeared in 1682 a broadside titled *The London Cuckolds*, which was most likely prompted by Charles II's ordering the destruction of the Solemn League and Covenant in Scotland, in an Act of Council which condemned the Covenant as 'Treasonable, and the taking and renewing thereof by any of the Subjects, is declared to be High-Treason: Yet in the Year 1666, and since, several desperate and incorrigible Traitors, have taken upon them to Renew and Swear the said Covenant, and to emit and publish several treasonable and scandalous Libels.'<sup>93</sup> The Solemn League and Covenant had been a military and religious alliance between Civil War Parliamentarians and the Scottish Covenantors against the Royalists in 1643. Given the heightened fears of another civil war breaking out during the Succession Crisis, Charles II ordered that 'The Solemn League and Covenant, The Rutherglen and Sanquhair Declarations, The Libel called Cargil's Covenant, and the late treasonable Declaration at Lanerk, be publickly burnt at the Cross of Edinburgh, by the hand of the common Hangman'.<sup>94</sup> Directly referencing the burning of the Covenant, *The London Cuckolds* depicted the honest nature of Tories, stating 'Bonny Lads your Caps Burn, Round, a Round the Fire turn, with an Honest true Tory Coranto'<sup>95</sup>.

Furthermore, just as the parliamentarians who had entered into the Solemn League and Covenant had been attacked using political cuckoldry, the ballad cautioned their Whig successors of the dangers of being cuckolded while they were absent from home. However, rather than simply labelling the Whigs 'cuckolds', politicised cuckoldry was employed in a subtler way, referring to a Tory who 'enters with ease the Fort if he please, mean time you are forct for a Ranto, Gainst King and State too, to get One at most Two, to Subscribe to your New Covenanto'.<sup>96</sup> The Tory's entering the fort with ease was a sexual innuendo which implied that he had sexually occupied the Whig's wife, whilst the 'forking' of the Whig covenantor was another

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<sup>92</sup> E. Ravenscroft, *The London Cuckolds. A Comedy [in five acts and in prose]*, (1682), (unpaginated epilogue).

<sup>93</sup> Charles II., *Act of Council, for burning the Solemn League and Covenant, and several other traitorous libels. At Halyrudhouse, the fourteenth day of January, 1682*, (1682), (1 page).

<sup>94</sup> Charles II., *Act of Council, for burning the Solemn League and Covenant* (1682).

<sup>95</sup> Anon., *The London Cuckolds, An Excellent New Song, to an Old Tune* (1682), (1 page).

<sup>96</sup> Anon., *The London Cuckolds, An Excellent New Song, to an Old Tune* (1682).

means of describing his being made a cuckold. This also aligned with the culturally identifiable physical gesture for indicating a cuckold, which was 'to present the index and eare-finger...with the thumb aplied unto the temples...is used in our nimble fingered times to call one Cuckold, & to present the badge of Cuckoldry, that mentall and imaginary horn'.<sup>97</sup> However, whilst *The London Cuckolds* drew upon the visual imagery of horns, *The Whigg Feast* (1682), also likely occasioned by the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant, made clear that the Whigs had funded Scottish sedition, and overtly condemned them as 'rebellious Beasts, the Cuckolds sent in their Guinneys, to make this Jolly Feast. Never caring, or thinking, what Insolence was done, or that their Plotting and Drinking should ere be opposd so soon'.<sup>98</sup>

The Whigs were also affiliated with cuckoldry through anti-monarchical rebellion and, to a lesser extent, nonconformity, in *Advice to the City* (1682), as a consequence of the City of London Charter Controversy, in which the royal Charter of the City of London was forfeited, and the Corporation of London dissolved. Such a drastic step was provoked by the City's rebellion, as it was 'claimed that the City of London had breached its Charter by allowing the collection of tolls at market and by publishing a seditious petition against the King and Government'.<sup>99</sup> Charles II took the City's sedition so seriously that he took steps to limit future potential for insurrection, and issued a new Charter which gave him 'the right to appoint and remove officers, including the Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, Common Sergeant, Justices of the Peace and Coroner, thus allowing him direct control over the government of the City'.<sup>100</sup> *Advice to the City* named and shamed those who had publicly protested against Charles II's appointing Tories to positions of power within the City of London Corporation.

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<sup>97</sup> J. B. *Chirologia, or, The naturall language of the hand composed of the speaking motions, and discoursing gestures thereof: whereunto is added Chironomia, or, The art of manuall rhetoricke, consisting of the naturall expressions, digested by art in the hand, as the chieftest instrument of eloquence, by historicall manifesto's exemplified out of the authentique registers of common life and civill conversation : with types, or chyrograms, a long-wish'd for illustration of this argument / by J.B.* ... (1644).

<sup>98</sup> Anon., *The Whigg-Feast: A Scotch Ballad made to the Tune of a new and pleasant Scotch Dance* (1682) (1 page).

<sup>99</sup> Charters for the City of London (London Metropolitan Archives). Available online. [http://www.aim25.com/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll\\_id=11708&inst\\_id=118&nv1=search&nv2](http://www.aim25.com/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll_id=11708&inst_id=118&nv1=search&nv2).

<sup>100</sup> Charters for the City of London. [http://www.aim25.com/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll\\_id=11708&inst\\_id=118&nv1=search&nv2](http://www.aim25.com/cgi-bin/vcdf/detail?coll_id=11708&inst_id=118&nv1=search&nv2).

Francis Jenks was a linen draper and Whig activist who was associated with nonconformity and the broadside criticised him as 'Fool Jenks...the Captain of the Cuckoldly Crew'<sup>101</sup> whose 'Rebellion we're wanted a Loyal pretence, these villains swear all's for the good of their Prince; Oppose our Elections to show what they dare, and losing their Charter, arrest the Mayor.'<sup>102</sup> The Civil War was also directly referenced to warn Whigs of the dangers of their rebellion, cautioning 'Remember ye Whiggs what was formerly done, remember your mischiefs in Forty and One; when friend oppos'd friend, and Father the Son, then your Old Cause went rarely on, the Cap sat aloft and low was the Crown, the Rabble got up and the Nobles went down'.<sup>103</sup> The seditious conduct of Whigs and their sympathisers was linked to dissent and Charles's revocation of the City of London's charter was one of a number of measures taken by the monarch between 1682 and 1685 to repress and persecute non-conformists, such as the disenfranchisement of dissenters in London's 1682 mayoral elections.<sup>104</sup>

Associations between Whigs, republicanism and nonconformity, which had heightened during the events of the Exclusion Crisis, retained political relevance in its aftermath because of two further plots to assassinate Charles II and his brother James. Whereas the Popish Plot materialised into nothing more than a dangerous fabrication by Titus Oates, the Rye House Plot of 1683 and the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685 were very real schemes intended to overthrow Charles and his brother and seize the throne to secure a protestant succession. Although neither attempt succeeded, both were Whig conspiracies. The Rye House plot of 1683 involved the Whig Lord Ford Grey, First Earl of Tankerville and James Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son fathered by a young Charles II with Lucy Walters when he was Prince of Wales and in exile following his father's defeat in the Civil War.

An account of the trials of the Duke of Monmouth and his dissenting accomplices detailed the Rye House Plot conspiracy. It asserted that the 'Duke of

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<sup>101</sup> Anon., *Advice to the City, Sung to the King at Windsor, to a Theorbo*, (1682) (1 page).

<sup>102</sup> Anon., *Advice to the City*, (1682).

<sup>103</sup> Anon., *Advice to the City*, (1682).

<sup>104</sup> J. Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 118-119.

Monmouth, the Lord Grey, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Ferguson the Anabaptist Parson and others, had conspired to Levy War, Raise Rebellion, and to compass the Death of His Majesty.’<sup>105</sup> The account also detailed how ‘divers of their faction were interested in the Conspiracy... divers considerations were had how to manage the design, and that the Government should be Subverted.’<sup>106</sup> Following the failure of the Rye House Plot, Monmouth, Grey and Armstrong fled into exile in the Low Countries whilst the remaining accomplices were tried and convicted. As an account of the witness testimony of Robert West (one of the main plotters) revealed, when his fellow plotter Captain Thomas Walcott lacked the stomach to carry out the plan to assassinate the king and made his feelings plain, he too was subjected to a cuckold invective. West recalled that ‘when the Duke of Monmouth sent for him, [Walcott’s] Heart failed him, and he declaring it, my Lord Grey called him Coxcomb’.<sup>107</sup>

Although Lord Grey was apparently quick to deride Walcott’s cowardice, Grey’s own involvement in the Rye House Plot was contextualised and condemned by references to his sexual transgressions which appeared in literature prompted by the conspiracy. Janet Todd notes that Grey was lambasted for his affair and elopement with his sister in law, Henrietta Berkeley. Todd asserts that Grey was ‘said to have resented his wife Mary’s reputed affair with the Duke [of Monmouth], though lampoons portrayed him as pimp more than cuckold’.<sup>108</sup> Whilst Grey was literally cuckolded by Monmouth, who appears to have inherited his father’s potent libertine sexuality, there were also instances of Grey being literarily cornuted as a consequence of his involvement in the Rye House Plot. The broadside *The Lord Russels Last Farewell* was circulated following the trial and execution of Monmouth and Grey’s co-conspirator Lord William Russell’s for his involvement in the Plot (while Monmouth and Grey were tried but avoided execution). Ventriloquised by Lord Russell, a vociferous Whig opponent of James the Duke of York’s succession, Russell declared ‘Farewel to Monmouth, Horned Grey, who are from Justice fled; and

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<sup>105</sup> Anon., *An account of the tryals of William Ld. Russell, William Hone, John Rouse, and William Blake who took their tryals at the Old-Baley, on the 13th of July, 1683, for high-treason, in conspiring the death of the King, and raising rebellion in the land.* (1683) (1 page).

<sup>106</sup> Anon., *An account of the tryals of William Ld. Russell, William Hone, John Rouse, and William Blake* (1683).

<sup>107</sup> F. N. W., *An historical review of the late horrid phanatical plot in the rise, progress, and discovery of the same.* (1684), 16.

<sup>108</sup> J. Todd, *The Secret Life of Aphra Behn*, (André Deutsch Limited: London, 1996), 299.

left me to this fatal Day, to loose my Plotting Head.’<sup>109</sup> Although Grey, Armstrong and Ferguson escaped to the Lowlands, their discovery by Charles II’s officers who had been tasked with finding the fugitives was the subject of *A Letter from Amsterdam*, circulated in 1684.

The song recounted the apprehending of Grey, Ferguson and Armstrong in Leyden, just outside Amsterdam. Whilst Grey and Ferguson avoided capture, Sir *Thomas Armstrong* who resolved ‘to Dye upon the spot before he was taken adventured to stay longer.’<sup>110</sup> Armstrong was accosted by the king’s men and loaded onto a ship to be returned to England, ‘though he several times declar’d he wou’d sonner be kill’d then taken, drew out his Knife to Stab himself, and attempted several times to throw himself over Board’.<sup>111</sup> The treasonous insurrection of those who had conspired to assassinate Charles II and James Duke of York in the Rye House Plot also featured in the 1684 broadside *The Recanting Whigg* which outlined the final farewell of a Whig before his exile to Amsterdam to escape persecution. Although the ballad did not explicitly name and shame the Whig to whom it referred, it was likely Lord Grey.

The recanting Whig (Grey) lamented his ‘crimes of all sorts, against the Church and State, Whose Foes I lov’d, but all their Friends did hate, Which to my grief and shame I own too late’.<sup>112</sup> He also condemned the ‘Whiggish Leaders, then your smooth tong’d Religious Treason pleaders; next ye Cornuted Knights, and silly Cits, Those turn’d out self-conceited plaguey Wits’<sup>113</sup> and warned that ‘from such Horn’d Beasts, all honest men should run’.<sup>114</sup> The references to cornuted men appeared alongside the author’s contention that the Whigs were a ‘Teckelish Brood’.<sup>115</sup> This indicated their anti-christian tendencies by aligning them with the Islamic republicanism of Hungarian Count Teckely, who had attacked catholic Austria in 1683.

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<sup>109</sup> Anon., *The Lord Russels last farewell to the World a song*. (1683) (1 page).

<sup>110</sup> Anon., *A letter from Amsterdam to M.C. in London Discovering the taking of Sr. Thomas Armstrong with the narrow escape of my Lord Gray and Mr. Ferguson at Leyden in Holland*. (1684) (1 page).

<sup>111</sup> Anon., *A letter from Amsterdam to M.C. in London* (1684).

<sup>112</sup> Anon., *The Recanting Whigg, or John Thumb's confession being his sentiments on the present times, in a letter from Amsterdam to the fragments of that hypocritical, diabolical, fanatical association*. (1684) (1 page).

<sup>113</sup> Anon., *The Recanting Whigg*, (1684).

<sup>114</sup> Anon., *The Recanting Whigg*, (1684).

<sup>115</sup> Anon., *The Recanting Whigg*, (1684).

Teckelitim was seen as Whiggish tendency, though one which was primarily connected to more radical Whigs and those who had been prominent in the Popish Plot and Succession Crisis, most notably Titus Oates, the Earl of Shaftesbury and the Duke of Monmouth.<sup>116</sup> The Tories believed that the Whig's defence of Islamic republicanism was part of a wider plot to instigate a second civil war.<sup>117</sup> If this was to occur as a consequence of the machinations of eminent exclusionists, it would ultimately result in the supplanting of the Stuart monarchy with a republic.

Whereas *The Recanting Whig* stated that all Whiggish men and their associates were insurgent horned beasts and depicted their beast-like horns as dualistic symbols of the biblical horns of rebellion and their emasculation as cuckolds, Grey's own status as a cuckold was also the subject of satirical scrutiny following his involvement with Monmouth in another plot to overthrow the monarchy. The Monmouth Rebellion in 1685 was a further attempt by Charles II's illegitimate protestant heir to claim the throne, this time by ousting his uncle James II of England and VII of Scotland. Monmouth had returned to England from exile in Amsterdam, landing on the south west coast of England with the intention of defeating James in battle with the support of Dutch radicals and Englishmen who had pledged him their support.<sup>118</sup> However, the military support anticipated by Monmouth did not materialise, and the rebellion was definitively defeated in battle. Monmouth was executed for his treasonous actions and a number of loyalist ballads were subsequently circulated in condemnation of the Duke of Monmouth and his fellow rebels.

*A New Song* explicitly denounced Lord Ford Grey and criticised the Monmouth Rebellion, in which Grey and other duplicitous fanatics had played a significant part. It asserted 'Come my Lads let's March away let Drums beat and Pipers play...Till the Rebels are Confounded...Bring Rampant Monmouth to his Knee and Cuckold Grey to the Triple tree with a number of Lay Elders We'l dress the whole Phanatick Crew some we'l Roast and some we'l stew but the best will make the Devil

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<sup>116</sup> H. Garcia, *Islam and the English Enlightenment, 1670-1840* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2012), 50.

<sup>117</sup> H. Garcia, H., *Islam and the English Enlightenment*, 49.

<sup>118</sup> R. Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1986), 467.



spew'.<sup>119</sup> Grey's cuckoldom and cowardice was also the subject of mocking derision in *Monmouth Routed* (1685) which described how following the defeat of Monmouth's Rebellion 'Gray turn'd Tails, with his Horns made away: God curse me quoth Gray: if longer I stay, I never before saw so Bloody a Day'.<sup>120</sup> Seeing Grey flee, Monmouth asked him in desperation to disregard his making him a cuckold, and cried 'O'Gray; for my Life, Stand by me this Brunt, and ner're think of thy wife. In a somewhat childlike response, Grey (whose fear had made him soil himself) 'swore Damme, thou'st made me a Beast, my Breeches are foul, I'll Run home to be drest'.<sup>121</sup>

This chapter has examined the ways in which Restoration cuckoldry and cornution were cultural tropes which were shaped by the religious factions and political partisanship of the period, especially during the Exclusion Crisis. Within popular political discourse, more nuanced depictions of cuckoldry and its associated horns meant that could be interpreted in multifarious ways - as symbols of cuckoldry, emasculation or enmity to God exhibited by religious dissent and disloyalty to the divinely appointed Charles II, or indeed a combination of all these elements. This chapter has also demonstrated that the importance of the civil war for defining cuckoldry and cornution as signifiers of dissent and anti-monarchical disorder, which were closely associated with moral and commercial corruption, cannot be overstated. The City of London had a unique role during the turbulent times of Civil War, when it was renowned as a hotbed of parliamentarianism, sedition and religious radicalism. This perception continued well into the Restoration, when those who inhabited the nation's financial capital continued to be literarily cuckolded. Portrayals of cuckolded avaricious London Citizens frequently referred to their fraudulent financial dealings and desire for profit, and these men were also closely associated with civil war parliamentarianism. However, the cornution of Whigs, who raised up their non-conformist horns of rebellion against the crown and Anglican Church in the final years of Charles II's rule is most significant because it suggests that the main point of contention was their religious deviance and defiance

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<sup>119</sup> Anon., *A New Song, to the tune of the granadeers march*, (1685) (1 page).

<sup>120</sup> Anon., *Monmouth Routed and Taken Prisoner with his Pimp The Lord Gray. A Song to the Tune of King Jame's Jigg*, (1685) (1 page).

<sup>121</sup> Anon., *Monmouth Routed and Taken Prisoner with his Pimp The Lord Gray* (1685).

of the Church's authority. This was the cause not only of their rebellion against Charles II, but also their republicanism with which (it was believed) they sought to replace the Stuart monarchy.

## **Chapter 5**

## **Indulgence & Insurrection: Cuckolds and Nonconformity**

Perceptions of Civil war allegiances, whether religious, political, geographical or social (or indeed, a combination of all these factors) were entrenched in cultural memory as a consequence of the irrevocable changes brought about by the years of conflict. The explosion of popular print culture during the Civil War and Restoration, and the politicisation of literary tropes within these periods, were instrumental in ensuring that the theological and ideological battles of Civil War endured long after the physical conflicts had ended. As a form of Restoration politico-religious rhetoric, cuckoldry reinforced the connections between republicanism and Civil War parliamentarianism which were linked to religious fanaticism and anti-monarchical popular rebellion. These were significant threats to the reinstatement of hierarchical social order, the authority of the restored monarchy and the re-establishment of the Anglican Church. In particular, protestant pluralism remained particularly divisive. As such, it continued to be a key feature of political representations of cuckoldry during the Restoration.

William Bartholomew's loyalist sermon, preached in the formerly parliamentarian stronghold of Gloucester on 15 May 1660 (just before Charles II's official restoration to the throne on 29 May 1660), succinctly captured the notion that religious nonconformity was divisive and devastating for the stability of the kingdom. Bartholomew commented that 'from the evill consequent of dissention, Every Kingdome divided against itself is brought to desolation.'<sup>1</sup> Consequently, cuckoldry was used to emasculate those who stood against the interests and stability of the crown and Anglican Church. Religiously radical parliamentarians appeared in bawdy ballads and broadsides when Charles II initially returned to the throne on 29 May 1660, whilst 'Country' men and Quakers were also persecuted in printed texts which associated them with cuckoldry. The dangerous and dishonourable characteristics of these men showed how spiritual corruption

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<sup>1</sup> W. Bartholomew, *The strong man ejected by a stronger then he. In a sermon preached at Gloucester, the 15th of May, 1660. Being the day his Royal Majesty, King Charles the second, was proclaimed. Shewing, how the strong man Satan is cast out of the palace of the heart, and the Lord Christ possessed thereof. With some application to the present ejectment of the late usurper, Satans confederate, out of the royal palace, and the Lords Christ, King Charles the-second possessed thereof. By Wil. Bartholmevv, M.A. and Vicar of Campden in Gloucester-shire.* (1660), 2.

manifested physically in their sexually aberrant conduct as cuckolds and/or cuckold makers.

During the Civil War, fictional cuckoldry had most often been used to attack parliamentarians and sectarians. This was a function it continued to perform in the Interregnum, where it retained its synonymy with religious radicalism. Just as the lines between lived realities and literary depictions were fluid and interwoven, actual sectarians were insulted as cuckolds, as revealed by the 1649 pamphlet, *The Picture of the Council of State*. Written by Leveller leader John Lilburne, the text set out Richard Overton's account of his arrest by parliamentarian Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Axtel. Overton described how a gentleman and his wife (who were one of three families living at the residence from which he was apprehended) were verbally attacked by Axtel. Having accused the gentleman's wife of being a whore, Axtel then 'took the Gentleman by the hand, saying how dost thou, brether Cuckcold?, using other shameful, ignorant and abusive language, not worthy repeating'.<sup>2</sup> In addition to this most egregious affront against Overton's associates, Overton further noted that Axtel effectively accused him of being a cuckold maker, having 'averd, that he took me a bed with an other mans wife; and being asked if he saw us actually in bed together, he answered, we were both in the Chamber together, and the woman had scarce got on her coates, (which was a notorious untruth) and she sate suckling of her child, and from these circumstances he did believe we did lie together'.<sup>3</sup>

The sexual misconduct of spiritually and morally debased radicals, and their affiliation with cuckoldry, also featured in Samuel Tilbury's *Bloudy Newse from the North* (1651) which described the Ranters' intentions to murder all those who would not join them. There has been some historiographical debate as to whether Ranters actually existed as a sectarian movement in the mid seventeenth century, but Ranter beliefs and practices impacted upon religious culture during the Interregnum. Ranter beliefs and practices exemplified the dangers of religious individualism and the label 'Ranter' was used in this period 'indiscriminately to

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<sup>2</sup> J. Lilburne, *The picture of the Council of State, held forth to the free people of England by Lievt. Col. John Lilburn, Mr Thomas Prince, and Mr Richard Overton, now prisoners in the Tower of London. Or, a full narrative of the late extra-judicial and military proceedings against them. Together with the substance of their several examinations, answers and deportments before them at Darby house, upon the 28. of March last* (1649), 27.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lilburne, *The picture of the Council of State*, 18-19.

describe adepts of divine perfection, libertines who thought themselves freed from sin and its consequences, and roisterers who violated all moral norms'.<sup>4</sup> The dangers of Ranterism were used as cautionary tales in disputes between sectarian groups such as Baptists and Quakers, who were often associated with Ranterism to undermine their credibility and criticise their religious and social nonconformity.<sup>5</sup> Most significantly, however, 'Ranter' was a powerful slur used predominantly by royalists to condemn those whose religious corruption manifested in dangerous misconduct and immorality.<sup>6</sup>

The extreme immorality of Ranters was shown through their sexual depravity, which was perceived as being the result of dangerous spiritual transgressions. Cuckoldry was one such form of sexual misconduct associated with Ranterism. As Tilbury's publication detailed, among the Ranters' 'devilish Judicatore, containing the sum of their Diabolical Law, and Strange Indictments'<sup>7</sup>, was the custom that 'if any man have been married the space of two years, and have not gotten his wife with child, you are to present him, for his name is to be turned into Fumblers Hall, there to be entred and recorded. And if any such person have so laid for the space of 7 years, then he is to be branded in the fore-head with the likeness of a Ramshead, and to find sureties that he shall live a contented Cuckold ever afterward'.<sup>8</sup>

It has been suggested that much of the satire produced in 1660 when Charles II returned to the throne tended to focus on individual targets who were made ridiculous and comic, as a means of avoiding threatening republican values and ideals.<sup>9</sup> However, cuckoldry used in loyalist literature to provoke ridicule, whether of individuals or collectives of disloyal and dissenting men, did not seek to swerve the troublesome topic of republicanism, but pointed to its consequences. When the Stuart monarchy was restored, prominent Civil War parliamentarians who had been

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<sup>4</sup> D. Cressy, *Travesties and Transgressions in Tudor and Stuart England: Tales of Discord and Dissension* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1999), 272.

<sup>5</sup> J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History: The Ranters and the Historians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 88.

<sup>6</sup> J. C. Davis, *Fear, Myth and History*, 88.

<sup>7</sup> S. Tilbury, *Bloudy News from the North and The Ranting Adamites Declaration*, (1651), 2.

<sup>8</sup> S. Tilbury, *Bloudy News from the North*, (1651), 3.

<sup>9</sup> L. Knoppers, 'Sing Old Noll the Brewer': Royalist Satire and Social Inversion, 44.

instrumental in the demise of Charles I were often depicted explicitly as cuckolds, or as wearing horns which implied both their cuckoldry and ungodly rebellion.

*Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament* (1660) indicated strong associations between rebellion against the crown, religious radicalism, and cuckoldry. As intimated by the title, this loyalist broadside was primarily targeted at Hugh Peters, a parliamentarian propagandist and active Independent minister. It described how the Devil had resided in various parliamentarians before eventually taking shelter in Peters, when 'not knowing where to be in *Hugh Peters* he took sanctuarie'.<sup>10</sup> Peters, though, proved to be a poor host and there was 'no fence against a flaile *Hugh Peters* could not be his Baile, For all his thefts and Regicide In *Hugh Peters* he must be tride'.<sup>11</sup> The ballad was the self-proclaimed story of the 'haltering of the Divel of hell...who lurkt this many a year in *Calvins Stool* and *Luthers Chair*'<sup>12</sup> and also contained the significant contention that cuckoldry was the Devil's connivance and formed part of the long reformation of Protestantism. Lucifer's plot to overthrow God's divinely appointed monarchy had been brought to fruition by this long reformation when parliamentarianism converged with sectarianism during the Civil War.

Sinful sex was an obvious metaphor for dividing and conquering - one which applied not only to spouses, but the kingdom itself. The anonymous author contended that Belzebug 'could hit it right; the zealous wives he enters then, and fits them for their brethren'.<sup>13</sup> The description of the Devil entering sectarians' wives indicated both his physical domination through sexual intercourse and also his spiritual possession of the women. The danger of sexual misdemeanours leading to the downfall of society and the state was also elucidated by the broadside. It asserted in no uncertain terms that the various protestant dissident groups were the Devil's minions who would bring about the nation's demise, because 'the lesser Divels he bids them go into Millenaries, Anabaptists, Quakers too, divide but the Kingdome, the spoile was his own, for then would he plunder the Church and Throne'.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament, or The haltering of the divell. To the tune of the guelding of the divel* (1660) (1 page).

<sup>11</sup> Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament*, (1660).

<sup>12</sup> Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament*, (1660).

<sup>13</sup> Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament*, (1660).

<sup>14</sup> Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament*, (1660).

The Devil himself, as described in *Hugh Peters' Last Will and Testament*, was comparable to the parliamentary army commander Robert Devereux, the Third Earl of Essex, whom 'nobody living was able to discern...from the Divil, so like was their horn'.<sup>15</sup> The cornution of Essex could be understood as symbolising his alignment with the Devil whom he so closely resembled, and also an implication of his being a cuckold, as was commonly the case of parliamentarians in royalist literature. Essex's being adorned with horns, and his use of military power to take command of the City of London for the parliamentary cause also came under fire in *Dregs of Drollery* (1660). The tract reminded its audience how 'Horn'd Essex then into Regiments divides his City power; for which horn'd beasts all still shall be upon Record i'th Tower'.<sup>16</sup> The same ballad similarly derided John Lambert, a parliamentary soldier who was allegedly Oliver Cromwell's actual cuckold. As such, Lambert was not portrayed as cornuted like his parliamentary peers, but ridiculed outright as a cuckold. The song announced 'let a man for his person be never so bold, thou Lambert canst prove he may be a Cuckold; whilst thou ne'r thought of tasting the waters of Marah, till the Trum now for Tiburn sounds Tarah, rah, rah, rah'.<sup>17</sup> Lambert was also the subject of pro-monarchy broadside *Roome for Cuckolds: or, My Lord Lambert's Entrance into Sodome and Gomorrah* (undated) although this affiliated him with cuckoldry primarily because of his nonconformity. Referencing Lambert's ambiguous religious beliefs, the broadside scathingly remarked 'I doubt, your Lambert is undone, and now he may goe Preach; for'ts the English all-a-mode for every Rogue to Teach; hee'l Nose it bravely in a Tub, and let the City know that they'll be Damn'd unless they Dip cuckolds-all-a-Row'.<sup>18</sup>

Other cuckold invectives re-generated in the early years of Charles II's Restoration were aimed at those individuals who had been directly involved in the execution of Charles I, and the subsequent defeat of the royalists. For example, in 1660, *The Bloody Bed Roll* rejoiced in the return of the monarchy and openly attacked those who had signed the warrant for Charles I's execution, and parliamentary supporter Nathaniel Nye. The broadside demanded 'Where is that

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<sup>15</sup> Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament*, (1660).

<sup>16</sup> Anon., *Dregs of Drollery, or Old poetry in its ragges a full cry of hell-hounds unkennelled to go a king-catching: to the tune of Chevy-chace* (1660), 7.

<sup>17</sup> Anon., *Dregs of Drollery, or Old poetry in its ragges* (1660), 27.

<sup>18</sup> Anon., *Roome for Cuckolds: or, My Lord Lambert's Entrance into Sodome and Gomorrah* (undated) (1 page).



Cursed Crew that sat on the King's Grand Jury, by thy damned soul go fetch them N.I [Nye] quoth Pluto in his fury. Where is old Joan thy wife, her Highness I would see, come let her in she shall be my Queen, for a Cuckold thou shalt be'.<sup>19</sup> *Lucifer's Lifeguard* also provided the reader with a list of the men who had colluded in the King's death, castigating them as 'Antichristian, Anabaptistical, Atheistical, Anarchical and Infernal Imps who have been Actors, Contrivers, Abbettors, Murderers and Destroyers, of the best Religion, the best Government, and the best King that ever Great Britain enjoyed'<sup>20</sup>, among whom 'Acteon [cuckold] Dog Cornelius Holland...[and] Becco Cornutho Cuckold Walton'<sup>21</sup> featured. Whilst individuals who had played a significant part in Charles I's execution were criticized as cuckolds, such depictions were largely confined to 1660.

Jason McElligott has raised an important line of historical enquiry which frames the analysis of cuckoldry as a royalist/loyalist literary trope during the Civil War which continued throughout the Restoration. McElligott asks:

What of propaganda and libel after the 1640s? How much, for example, does the enormous volume of libel and invective produced by the Whigs and Tories in the early 1680s owe to the propagandists of the 1640s, or to the manuscript libels and popular songs of the early seventeenth century? Is it a mere coincidence that the great Tory writer Sir Roger L'Estrange...began his literary career during the turbulent summer of 1648 by writing a number of royalist pamphlets?<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Anon., *The Bloody Bed Roll: or, Treason displayed in Scarlet Colours, being a discovery of notorious plotter and Grand Conspirators of a company of Rebellious Subjects, not to be paralleled in all ages. With a list of the Names of the chief Actors and the sentence of Terrour pronounced against them for their treasonable designs* (1660) (1 page).

<sup>20</sup> Anon., *Lucifers Lifeguard containing a schedule, list, scrowle or catalogue of the first and following names of the Antichristian, Anabaptistical, Atheistical, Anarchical and Infernal Imps who have been Actors, Contrivers, Abbettors, Murderers and Destroyers, of the best Religion, the best Government, and the best King that ever Great Britain enjoyed...* (1660) (1 page).

<sup>21</sup> Anon., *Lucifers Lifeguard*, (1660).

<sup>22</sup> J. McElligott, *The Politics of Sexual Libel: Royalist Propaganda in the 1640s*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 67, 1, (2004), 75-99: 98.

The answer to McElligott's query, so far as cuckoldry and cornution are concerned, is that loyalist Tory texts owed a substantial amount to their Civil War predecessors. Furthermore, the role of Roger L'Estrange was instrumental in the persistence of cuckoldry as a loyalist trope. During the Restoration, cuckoldry was a legitimate literary insult for delegitimising social, religious and political insurrection following Charles II's restoration. Its use was influenced by the return of royalist authors with Charles, and also by the appointment of former cavalier L'Estrange as Licensor of the Press in 1662. L'Estrange's considerable task was to control and limit who could be involved in publishing printed materials, and their content and distribution generally. In his capacities as royalist author and Charles II's Licensor of the Press, L'Estrange had a significant impact on the use of cuckoldry as a politicised sexual slander during the Restoration. According to Beth Lynch, he 'became the most obsessive persecutor of actual or imagined nonconformity'.<sup>23</sup> Lynch goes so far as to suggest that he shaped the way nonconformists were perceived, and effectively became the 'antagonistic architect of non-conformist identity'.<sup>24</sup> L'Estrange's significant role also explains why politicised cuckoldry was still in use even after the press restrictions imposed by the Licensing Act 1662, which reintroduced censorship and attempted to control and restrict seditious publications - it was used against those who were considered seditious/sectarian rather than by them.

The influence of L'Estrange on shaping perceptions of dissenters cannot be overstated. L'Estrange's publications often referenced the Civil War, lambasting those who had revolted against Charles I and, in his capacity as author, L'Estrange himself used cuckoldry to describe the usurpation of governmental authority by non-conformists whose meetings, or conventicles, were hotbeds of plotting and sedition. In his 1663 publication *Toleration Discuss'd by Roger L'Estrange*, he asserted '*under the Names of Conformity, Zeal, and Scruple, are Represented the Three Grand Partyes, Orthodox, Presbyterian, and Independent*'.<sup>25</sup> The text set out a dialogue between these three parties in which Conformity informed Zeal 'those Assemblies which you call Religious Meetings; What are they, but close

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<sup>23</sup> B. Lynch, *Rhetoricating and Identity in L'Estrange's Early Career, 1659-1662* (in Dunan-Page, A., and Lynch, B., (eds.) *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008)), 7.

<sup>24</sup> B. Lynch, *Rhetoricating and Identity in L'Estrange's Early Career*, 7.

<sup>25</sup> R. L'Estrange, *Toleration Discuss'd by Roger L'Estrange*, (1663) (unpaginated frontispiece).

Appointments, where the Men meet to Cuckold Authority: and the Women (if they please) to do as much for their Husbands? Without Fooling, I look upon Conventicling, but as a Graver kind of Catter-wawling; and in fine, 'Tis not good to wont our selves to stoln pleasures.'<sup>26</sup> L'Estrange's intimation that religious nonconformity was a form of double jeopardy which led men to cuckold, or rebel against authority, whilst making them susceptible to being actually cuckolded by their wives, reveals the continuing perception that religious dissent was firmly associated with sexual depravity and disorder.

Furthermore, his contention that dissension amongst dissenters destabilised the unity and authority of the Anglican Church was echoed in the broadside *The Tradesman's Lamentation* (1663). The tradesman narrator complained that disagreements between the various non-conformist groups had impacted negatively on trading, stating 'we are so hateful grown towards one another which caused is by some Phanatick brain, That does both Truth and Justice now disdain; Whether they be *Trapanners, Pimping Sectists, Nippers, Tarpaulins, Currers, Quakers* or *Dippers* No matter what; They so much strife have made, They break the Peace and spoile our daily *Trade*. Well, I do hope ere long, that by degrees, Our Nation may be purg'd of such as these.'<sup>27</sup>

As *The Tradesman's Lamentation* indicated, many Quakers were indeed tradesmen. The Quakers were a dissenting group which had emerged during the Civil War, whose non-conformist religious and social practices remained troublesome during the Restoration. As Barry Reay notes, from the 1650s and throughout the Restoration, the general attitude towards Quakers 'was one of hostility and fear rather than sympathy or mirth — at all levels of society'.<sup>28</sup> This was because their religious radicalism disrupted and challenged social hierarchies and the authority of the Anglican Church. Reay notes that 'their light within was a great leveller, removing and questioning formal traditional guides, the established rules upon which good order was based'.<sup>29</sup> However, Alexandra Walsham provides a more nuanced account of attitudes to early modern recusance and Quakers, noting

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<sup>26</sup> R. L'Estrange, *Toleration Discuss'd by Roger L'Estrange*, (1663), 2.

<sup>27</sup> J. Brokeman, *The tradesmans lamentation: or the Mechanicks complaint*, (1663) (1 page).

<sup>28</sup> B. Reay, 'Popular hostility towards Quakers in mid-seventeenth-century England', *Social History*, 5, 3, (1980), 387-407: 387.

<sup>29</sup> B. Reay, 'Popular hostility towards Quakers in mid-seventeenth-century England', 388.

that it was in the 'gap between people's ideological principles and the practical realities of co-operation that prevailed at the local level that the intertwined roots of both tolerance and intolerance lay'.<sup>30</sup> The use of cuckoldry, however, was a persecutory means of neutralising the threat posed by Quakers. It is also significant that the use of cuckold as a literary invective against Quakers appears to have had its roots in the Civil War. Christopher Hill notes that the hostility Quakers were subjected to in the 1650s was political. They were also called 'Roundheads' – a word 'used especially against the political radicals.'<sup>31</sup> Roundhead was of course another means of describing the parliamentarians against whom cuckoldry was used to symbolise politicised emasculation.

As a sexual slander 'cuckold' was also used in real life attacks on Quakers, as revealed in *Caines Bloudy Race* (1657). Written by Quaker Anthony Hutchins, the pamphlet provided a detailed account of the maltreatment of Edward Morgan, a fellow Quaker. Morgan was 'peaceably at his outward employment, there then came John Fletcher, who was il drunken and a notorious common drunkard known to be all the City over; this Fletcher came and called Edward Morgan Cuckold and his wife a Whore in the presence of many people and railed so on Edward that he could not in quiet follow his employment'.<sup>32</sup> Having informed the Mayor of the incident, Morgan's refusal to swear that Fletcher was drunk led to the Mayor calling him a 'perjur'd fellow for his unreverent coming before him'<sup>33</sup> and Morgan was duly sent to prison while Fletcher, the 'drunkard who had abused him...was not at that time questioned'.<sup>34</sup>

The maltreatment of Quakers such as Morgan did not abate, as the 1661 pamphlet *A Short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God called Quakers* indicated. Addressed to Charles II and parliament, the anonymous publication detailed how 'for these many years some have been put to

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<sup>30</sup> A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 315.

<sup>31</sup> C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down* (quoting Fox, *Journal*, I, p.168 and Winstanley, G., *The Breaking of the Day of God*, sig. A 2v, p.93: *The Saints Paradise*, 22), 233.

<sup>32</sup> A. Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race known by their fruits, or, a true declaration of the innocent sufferings of the servants of the living God, by the magistrates, priests and people in the city of Westchester, who lives in a profession of God, Christ and the Scriptures, as their forefathers did, who slew the prophets, persecuted Christ and Christ and the apostles, as is declared in the scriptures f truth, &c.*, (1657), 23.

<sup>33</sup> A. Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race known by their fruits*, (1657), 24.

<sup>34</sup> A. Hutchins, *Caines Bloudy Race known by their fruits*, (1657), 24.

death, and many have died in prisons, some have been beat with clubs, and shot at with pistols and guns and cut with swords, and knockt down into pools and not long after have dyed.’<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the pamphlet indicated that many Quakers were tradesmen whose livelihoods were suffering as a result of violent attacks and imprisonment, and beseeched the king and parliament to ‘consider the witness of God, Consider these things; and if there be not liberty for Husband-men and Tradesmen, it will be the cause of ruining many Families, and will be not or Gods Honour, nor profit, to hinder people from going about their Lawful occasions, and from meeting together to Worship God’.<sup>36</sup>

It appears, however, that despite their pleas the Quakers remained targets for torment. Since they refused to swear oaths, pay tithes or attend Anglican Church services, Quakers were reviled to such an extent during the Restoration that The Uniformity Act (1662) and The Conventicle Act (1664) were passed to quash the non-conformist conduct of Quakers and other sectarians. The Conventicle Act (1664) was enacted to prevent sectarian meetings (conventicles) and punish those who were known to be Quakers either by fining, imprisonment, or the seizure of their goods. The Act explicitly remarked that by refusing to swear oaths, Quakers placed themselves outside the boundaries of the law and stated ‘a certaine Sect called Quakers and other Sectaryes are found not onely to offend in the matters provided against by this Act but alsoe to obstruct the proceeding of Justice by their obstinate refusall to take Oathes lawfully tendred unto them in the ordinary course of Law’.<sup>37</sup> As a consequence of the Conventicle Act, and by continuing to place themselves outside the boundaries of social, religious and legal norms, many Quakers endured further violence and persecution, although as Tim Harris notes, they considered that ‘this was nothing ‘compared to the Loss of their Trades, many

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<sup>35</sup> Anon., *For the King and both Houses of Parliament, Being a Short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God called Quakers for worshipping God, and Exercising a Good Conscience towards God and Man* (1661), 3.

<sup>36</sup> Anon., *For the King and both Houses of Parliament, Being a Short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God called Quakers for worshipping God, and Exercising a Good Conscience towards God and Man* (1661), 9.

<sup>37</sup> 'Charles II, 1664: An Act to prevent and suppress seditious Conventicles.', in J. Raithby (ed.) *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5, 1628-80*, (s.l, 1819). Available online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp516-520>.

of them being Trades men, and Labouring Poor men, who have had their Looms, Leads, and Tenters taken away, which was the Upholders of their families'.<sup>38</sup>

Just as attacks on Quakers which took place in reality utilised 'cuckold' as a slander, they were also associated with cuckoldry in popular printed texts not only because they were Protestant dissidents, but also because their religious practices inverted gendered hierarchical order. As Alexandra Walsham notes, Quaker women's proselytising threatened established gender hierarchies and 'like scolds, they were sometimes subjected to the shaming punishment of the charivari'.<sup>39</sup> The gendered inversion of Quaker households was mirrored in popular political discourse which portrayed anti-authoritarian Quaker wives as unruly and sexually licentious.

*Whose There Agen* was a broadside published in 1664 and likely prompted by the passing of the Conventicle Act which permitted the persecution of dissenters, particularly Quakers. On the surface, the ballad appeared to be simply another jovial, stereotypical tale about a drunken, London glover who 'lov'd the Pot...[and] did often stay out late Sir, but did not think, while he did drink, his wife would horn his Pate'.<sup>40</sup> The glover's sexual ineptitude was indicated by the description of how he 'fumbling long time lay, but could not find the Key Sir'.<sup>41</sup> However, his neighbour appeared to be rather more well equipped to satisfy his wife's desires, as revealed in the desperate search for his wife's lover when the glover 'Unto the Beds-feet then...goes, nought could his passion smother and felt two legs, two feet and toes, at last he felt another; Two heads, quoth he, and three Legs too, sure thou art grown a Monster'.<sup>42</sup> Because the glover's own performance in the bedroom was somewhat hindered by his inebriation, he was ultimately cuckolded by his neighbour who 'quaking stood I'th cold, but could not be espyed'.<sup>43</sup> Although seemingly innocuous, this reference to the cuckold-maker quaking was likely a deliberate means of

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<sup>38</sup> T. Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his Kingdoms*, 77.

<sup>39</sup> A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 145.

<sup>40</sup> Anon., *Whose There Agen: or, the 6 penny Cuckold of Shoreditch his Policy, policy Still the proverb saith; beyond strength it doth go; and if you mind, you'l surely find that it is even so* (1664-1703) (1 page).

<sup>41</sup> Anon., *Whose There Agen: or, the 6 penny Cuckold of Shoreditch* (1664-1703).

<sup>42</sup> Anon., *Whose There Agen: or, the 6 penny Cuckold of Shoreditch* (1664-1703).

<sup>43</sup> Anon., *Whose There Agen: or, the 6 penny Cuckold of Shoreditch* (1664-1703).

implying that he was indeed a Quaker whose moral and sexual deviance had disordered his neighbour's household.

However, upon being discovered the quaking lover beseeched the glover to spare him a beating and offered to buy a pair of gloves from him to make amends for his misdemeanour. The cuckolded glover's response revealed that his own morality was equally questionable, as having agreed to let the man buy the gloves in recompense, he jumped for joy and gleefully announced to his wife 'your Rogue I have now mumped; because he me a Cuckold made, to cheat him I was willing, and eighteen pence for Gloves he paid that were not worth a shilling'.<sup>44</sup> The intra-gender dynamics revealed in this ballad were as perverse as the glover's wife's sexual misdemeanour - the glover who prioritises profit above governing his wife has inevitably lost his manhood, whilst the cuckold making Quaker's religious fanaticism leads him to disorder another man's household. The long circulation period of *Whose There Agen* between 1664 and 1703 suggests that whilst it may have been prompted by the passing of the Conventicle Act, the role of Quakers in society remained a continuous cause for concern.

A further ballad concerned with the cuckoldom of Quakers was *The Quaker's Wanton Wife*, circulated between 1675 and 1696. Again, the long print period suggests that the cultural references it contained remained relevant and popular, and it also appears that the text may have been a response to a specific event: in 1675 Robert Barclay, the influential Quaker theologian and Apologist published his *Theses Theologicae*<sup>45</sup> which outlined an official Quaker doctrine in 15 scripturally based propositions for the beliefs and practices of the faith. Given that the *Theses Theologicae* was intended to give credence and legitimacy to the Quaker movement, it is possible that *The Quaker's Wanton Wife* was a response to their attempt at gaining acceptance and notions of cuckoldry were used to delegitimise their conduct. Sardonicly describing how the Quaker wife's unruliness and materialistic nature inverted both household and moral order, she unashamedly cuckolded her husband announcing 'My doting Old Man is lately turn'd Quaker, and I Cuckold maker, may he do what he can, my frolicks I'll have, Rich Topins I'll wear, and

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<sup>44</sup> Anon., *Whose There Agen: or, the 6 penny Cuckold of Shoreditch* (1664-1703).

<sup>45</sup> R. Barclay, *Theses Theologicae: of the Theological propositions, which are defended by Robert Barclay, in his apology for the true Christian Divinity as the same is held forth and preached, by the people called Quakers*, (1675).

Powdered hair, like a Lady I'll go, my Husband the Quaker, my Husband the Quaker, he dare not say no...It is not Yea and Nay shall e'er over rule me, or any ways fool me, I will have my way'.<sup>46</sup>

Despite the ballad's implication that Quaker households were anti-authoritarian, Robert Barclay was linked to the Stuart dynasty through his mother's lineage and had a 'friendship with the Duke of York, later James II, of whom he made a friend without the least denying his Quaker principles'.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, he was a 'man of peace, who preached obedience to every established government'.<sup>48</sup> This raises further questions about whether religious practices outweighed loyalist obedience to crown and state, particularly since there was perception that outward appearances and practices could be adopted as a mask to conceal corrupt inner beliefs. Given the complexity of religious and political allegiances during the Restoration period, there are no clear answers, yet there was a tendency to collectively condemn those who were deemed non-conformist, especially if they were among the lower orders.

Dissent among the lower sorts was considered particularly problematic and as Helen Pierce notes, sectarians were constantly criticised for 'setting down the tools of their trade in order to preach the Word of God or continuing to work in tandem with their calling'.<sup>49</sup> This was socially and economically disruptive and perceived as an 'unacceptable encroachment reaching across the levels of society and the given roles of individuals within it'.<sup>50</sup> However, there were significant differences between groups of dissenters which led to conflicts among them. Whilst it has been suggested that there was a tendency, particularly among loyalists and Anglican churchmen to tar them collectively with the label 'fanatic', the use of cuckoldry as a loyalist language of attack against recusants reveals that, just as Quakers were subjected to harsher persecution than any other nonconformists, they

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<sup>46</sup> Anon., *The Quaker's Wanton Wife; or, The Frolicksome Young Beauty of a Sanctified Brother, belonging to the Bull and Mouth, Tune of Let Mary long* (1675-96) (1 page).

<sup>47</sup> G. L. Van Dalfsen, 'The Faith and Theology of Robert Barclay', *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association*, 37, 2, (1948), 51-62: 52.

<sup>48</sup> K. Pearson, *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton, Vol I: Birth 1822 to Marriage 1853* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2011), 52.

<sup>49</sup> H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, 193.

<sup>50</sup> H. Pierce, *Unseemly Pictures*, 193.



were also specifically singled out in literature which castigated them as cuckolds for their social and religious disobedience.<sup>51</sup>

Depictions of 'Country' cuckolds also featured dissent as a politico-religious concern. Perez Zagorin has argued that there was a Court and Country split which predated (and according to Zagorin was a causation of) the Civil War. He contends that this division was a 'sign of the mounting conflict within the upper ranks of society in which the English revolution had its genesis'.<sup>52</sup> Although Zagorin's Court and Country explanation caused controversy, within the argument are valuable things to note about cultural conflicts. Political allegiances leading into the start of the Civil War have been explored by cultural representations rather than social reality, although these held considerable political purchase. For example, representations of an alignment between 'Country' and parliamentary interests was a feature of Restoration politics.

Tim Harris notes that by the end of the 1660s, contemporaries perceived a 'clash between the Court (the supporters of a strong, royal executive) and Country (the champions of Parliament)'.<sup>53</sup> The correlation between the Country and parliament is important because it goes some way to explaining how cuckoldry, which was a royalist line of attack in the Civil War, translated into Restoration discourse which targeted Country allegiances. Andrew Swatland also contends that the Country faction in early Restoration parliaments was a distinct group of noblemen largely made up of former Civil War Parliamentarians and ex-Royalists who took a tolerant stance towards dissent. He further identifies that Country policies in the 1670s included 'securing a Protestant succession to the throne, protecting subjects' rights and liberties, easing restrictions on Protestant dissenters and the adoption of Protestant foreign policy, [which] were designed to reduce the danger from popery and arbitrary government'.<sup>54</sup> It if further feasible, therefore,

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<sup>51</sup> cf. M. Goldie, *Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs: The Entering Book, 1677-1691*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 227. For persecution of Quakers see R. Reay, 'Popular hostility towards Quakers in mid-seventeenth-century England', *Social History*, 5, 3, (1980), 387-407: 388.

<sup>52</sup> P. Zagorin, 'The Court and the Country: A Note on political terminology in the Earlier Seventeenth Century', *The English Historical Review*, 77, 303, (1962), 306-11:306

<sup>53</sup> T. Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts*, 52.

<sup>54</sup> A. Swatland, *The House of Lords in the Reign of Charles II*, 211.

that whilst the Country element cannot be said to have been a cohesive faction, nonetheless its general consensus towards toleration of nonconformity led to the politicised depiction of 'Country' cuckolds.

Restoration literature which promoted the Church of England's stance against dissent often targeted Country toleration towards protestant nonconformity and figuratively cuckolded those in favour of it, particularly when religion became a political flashpoint. For example, in 1672, when Charles II issued the decidedly unpopular Declaration of Indulgence, broadsides were circulated which featured 'Country' cuckolds. This was plausibly a means of emasculating non-conformists and their sympathisers. The Declaration was Charles's attempt at moving towards a religious settlement which was tolerant of Protestant dissent and granted also Catholics the freedom to worship in their own homes. However, this measure was extremely unpopular and the king was forced to withdraw the Bill in 1673. It is significant that at this time of religious angst, the Country element in parliament had ceased their persecution of dissenters, which put them at odds with episcopal clergy and bishops.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, they used the nation's involvement in the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War (1672-74) as a bargaining tool for redressing their grievances about foreign and domestic policy, and their concerns about the impact of the war by withholding funds to the crown until these issues were acknowledged, if not addressed.<sup>56</sup> In doing so, the Country element of parliament had exposed the crown's fiscal weaknesses. Therefore, the Country's toleration of protestant pluralism and their exercising fiscal power over the monarch to achieve their aims feasibly factored in to them being literarily cuckolded because their actions were not in the interests of Charles II and the Anglican Church.

Of course, is possible that some depictions of 'Country' cuckolds were simply indicative of social snobbery and the continuation of a cultural stereotype levelled at bumbling, politically ignorant men whose residence in the country meant they were removed from the fast-paced politics and events in London. For example, the broadside *The Citizens Vindication*, circulated between 1672 and 1680 ridiculed stereotypical country bumpkin men and women. Although the ballad's criticism of the 'Bumkins' pride provided a Christian undertone to the text (pride being one of

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<sup>55</sup> G. S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, 113.

<sup>56</sup> G. S. De Krey, *Restoration and Revolution in Britain*, 116-7.

the seven deadly sins), its primary concern appeared to be the problematic social dynamics between the gentlemanly citizens of London and their bumbling country counterparts. The text remarked 'Besides the bonny City Lads like Gentlemen do go, While Countrey Bumkins ride on Pads say nothing but gee ho...While Citizens in Coaches ride the Bumkin rides in's Cart, And there he sits puffed up with Pride, though he's not worth a f--- And if he to a Pudding gets he Farmer like doth feed, While *London* Lads live by their wits, like Gentlemen indeed.'<sup>57</sup> It is also important to note that jobs which involved agriculture and the physical labour of men had been linked to literary cuckoldry for a long time prior to the Restoration. Not only were the horns of cuckoldry most often those associated with animals connected to agriculture such as the ox or ram, but during the Renaissance, cuckoldry became inextricably linked to the countryside.<sup>58</sup>

However, other ballads featuring cuckoldry circulated in 1672 contained specific references to the religious nonconformity of 'Country' cuckolds. These distinctions between depictions of cuckoldry indicate those which have a politicised purpose beyond that of more simplistic social commentary. For example, *The Country Cuckold* (1672) feasibly formed part of a loyalist Anglican backlash against the Declaration's proposals for religious toleration. The ballad described an arrogant young farmer who, having come into his inheritance sought a bride, but as his choice of wife was based on her outer beauty rather than inner virtue, he was inevitably cuckolded. The farmer revealed his covetous nature by announcing 'Hey boys my Fathers dead, and what need I to fear, with gold and silver I am sped, and have fifty pound a year; then why should I be single, I will not lead the life, my gold and silver doth gingle, a wooing I'll go for a wife.'<sup>59</sup> Revealing his plans for wooing the young woman he has decided will be his bride, he declared 'I'll get her Fathers good will, and Mothers too beside; then next I'll try my skill to win this lovely Bride:

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<sup>57</sup> Anon., *The citizens vindication against the down right countrey-man. (alias Boobee)...* (1672-80) (1 page).

<sup>58</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*, 49 & 52.

<sup>59</sup> A. Miles, *Mirth for Citizens: or, A Comedy for the Country, Shewing a Young Farmer his unfortunate marriage, his wife is so churlish and currish in carriage, he married her for beauty, for's own delight, now he repents it both day and night. By physiognomy adviseth youngmen that at Wenches skip, to be sure to look before that they leap, to leap at a venture, & catch a fall, Raising the forehead breake horns and all. Tune off, Ragged, torn and true*, (1672-96) (1 page).

He hug her and buss her and kiss her, in her lies all my pride: As Conventicle Dick served his sister, and tother thing too beside.’<sup>60</sup>

The farmer’s reference to the stereotype ‘Conventicle Dick’ and his debauched relationship with his sister was especially revealing: the reference to ‘conventicle’ indicated the religious nonconformity which predicated Dick’s sexual depravity. As for the farmer, his own sexual ineptitude proved the cause of his cuckoldom as he was unable to perform his marital obligations. He lamented ‘when I and my Bride was in bed on my wedding-day at night, my Fancies with pleasures she fed, for I had my full delight: She shewed me Venus School and with me she did daddle, But I a young puny fool, did quickly fall out of the saddle...[now] I do get up in a morn, and for her make a fire, I’m a Cuckold and laught to scorn’.<sup>61</sup> Also published in 1672, was royalist author Abraham Miles’ broadside *All is Ours and Our Husbands, or The Country Hostesses Vindication*, which detailed the deviant sexual conduct of ‘Country’ wives (including those of farmers) who were characterised as unruly, babbling whores. The wives declared ‘all we get in the Year is nothing but whats our Due...My husband must not Plow or Cart, Or work like other Men: my Children must not learn the art to either Card or Spin. My Tapster must live fine and brave for he of one make two...Perhaps our Husbands would repine, if they of this should know and think our little Babes divine were got in Cuckolds Row, You know their gains come by the pains of only me and you, they must not scorn to wear the horn, Tis Nothing but whats our Due’.<sup>62</sup>

Just as the connection between agrarianism and nonconformity provided the basis for loyalist Anglican invectives of cuckoldry following the Declaration of Indulgence, dissent may also have contributed to the figurative cornution of west country weavers who were active in anti-monarchical insurrection. Dissenters were widespread both geographically and within the social spectrum but, as Margaret Spufford contends, clothiers who were trading with Protestant Europe featured highly in print literature. There was an especially prevalent perception that those involved in the cloth trade were ‘fanatics’ and Spufford comments that the ‘elusive

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<sup>60</sup> A. Miles, *Mirth for Citizens: or, A Comedy for the Country*, (1672-96).

<sup>61</sup> A. Miles, *Mirth for Citizens: or, A Comedy for the Country*, (1672-96).

<sup>62</sup> Anon., *All is Ours and our Husbands, Or the Country Hostesses Vindication. She Durst not Scold tis counted for an Evil. Sheel cheat and whore, and yet be counted civil; sheel fill her Pockets by poor Drunkards Losses, and send them all to Jayl by weeping Crosses, To the Tune of the Carmans Whistle, or High Boys up we Go*, (1672-96) (1 page).

connection between dissent and cloth becomes more comprehensible set in a general context of trade relationships<sup>63</sup> which involved a large degree of geographical mobility and access to reformist texts. Because of the links between dissent and seditious rebellion, it is feasible that *The West Country Weaver* printed in 1683, was a means of condemning the West Country weavers' support for Charles II's illegitimate son the Duke of Monmouth and his co-conspirators in the infamous Rye-House Plot, a foiled treasonous scheme to assassinate Charles II and his brother James Duke of York at Newgate.

The broadside told of a weaver whose marriage to an intractable wife had curbed his freedoms and made his life unbearable. He remarked 'When I was a Batchelor gallant and gay, then at Stool-ball, or Cricket, I freely might play, Nay, and sometimes with Margery ride to a Fair; But, alas! Now my Head is incumbred with Care.'<sup>64</sup> Despite his wife brazenly taking her gallant upstairs to bed (telling her husband to say downstairs while she has her way) the weaver crept upstairs and spied on them through the keyhole. This cowardly conduct tells us something of the weaver's weak character, and when the gallant confronted him (drawing his rapier and chasing him downstairs), he ran away for fear of being killed. When the gallant had left, the cuckolded weaver attempted to admonish his wife, although his efforts were somewhat pathetic, as he remarked 'I took her to task when the Gallant was gone; and I said, Love consider but what you have done: it was all that I said'.<sup>65</sup> However, his wife's response revealed who really wore the breeches in their household, as the cuckolded weaver lamented 'when she flew with disdain, Ay and calld me poor Wittal, and Cuckold in grain; and a three-legged Stool at my Noddle she sends.'<sup>66</sup>

A further plot by the Duke of Monmouth to seize the throne may also have prompted the publication of *A New Western Ballad* which described the cuckolding of a West Country farmer by a butcher. West Country farmers were among the armed forces who fought for the Duke of Monmouth's ultimately inept cause in the

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<sup>63</sup> M. Spufford (ed.), *The World of Rural Dissenters, 1520-1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 55.

<sup>64</sup> Anon., *The West Country Weaver: containing His Sorrowful Lamentation for the Hardship which he undergoes by a Proud Imperious Wife: Together with his Resolution to reclaim Her by the Well approved Oil of Holly* (1683) (1 page).

<sup>65</sup> Anon., *The West Country Weaver: containing His Sorrowful Lamentation* (1683).

<sup>66</sup> Anon., *The West Country Weaver: containing His Sorrowful Lamentation* (1683).

Monmouth Rebellion of 1685 and the ballad was circulated in the same year. The ballad was therefore plausibly a printed attack on the farmers who had supported Charles II's illegitimate son's attempt to usurp his catholic uncle, James II. Whilst the cuckold-making butcher was depicted as an immoral but forceful man, the cuckolded farmer was described as sexually inadequate and emasculated. The humorous ballad told how 'A Farmer of Tanton-dean Town in the West had a Wife both obliging and witty; acute with her tongue, and when e'er she was drest was thought to be wonderfull pretty. But the good man was so lazy in bed, that he often neglected to touch her; which made the good woman place Horns on his head with the help of a lusty young Butcher.'<sup>67</sup> However, it may also be that as a West Country farmer, the cuckold of *A New Western Ballad* was always more likely to have been figuratively forked because of the agricultural nature of his job and its well established cultural connection to stereotypes of cuckoldry.

The assessment of cuckoldry linked to protestant nonconformity explored in this chapter has traced the use of cuckold invectives against religious radicals during the Interregnum, and depictions of cuckolded Civil War parliamentarians (associated with religious radicalism) who appeared in popular political discourse when Charles II returned to the throne in 1660. From an analysis of overtly politicised cuckoldry which continued to appear throughout the Restoration period, cuckoldry retained an element of religious nonconformity. The Quakers, who had been deliberately discredited by links to their fellow literary cuckolds, the Ranters, during the Interregnum, continued to be singled out in the Restoration, especially when persecution of protestant nonconformity was heightened. The disordered households and deviant religious and sexual practices of these religious radicals were used as literary cautionary tales to warn of the dangers of dissent.

Most significantly, there was a perception that cuckoldry itself aligned directly not only with sectarianism, but with the Devil himself. Cuckoldry was the Devil's own device to destroy the families and households which formed the socio-

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<sup>67</sup> Anon., *A New Western Ballad, Of a Butcher that Cuckolded the Farmer. Good Husbands all be loving to your wives for that's the way to live contented lives; but if you'r negligent, you may be sure they'l n'er want that they can elsewhere procure* (1685-88), (1 page).

economic and religious basis for the stability of the state and Stuart monarchy. The strong correlation between nonconformity and cuckoldry meant that even those who were seen as sympathetic to dissenters could find themselves tarred with the same brush. This was shown by the examination of cuckoldry used against 'Country' men who were tolerant towards dissenters, and who appeared as hapless cuckolds in literature produced at the same time as the much maligned Declaration of Indulgence was enacted in 1672.

However, a closer inspection of Country cuckolds reveals not only that they were connected to religious radicalism, but also some of the significant complexities of analysing early modern cuckoldry. Cuckoldry had well established links to the countryside and manual labouring professions, such as farming, which contributed to the types of men who were stereotypically cuckolded. It has therefore been important to acknowledge and distinguish those cuckolds who were figuratively forked for fun, and those who had a more serious political point to make.

## **Chapter 6**



## Sedition and Spaces: Trade and the Geography of Cuckoldry in London

This chapter explores the common ground shared by London's Citizens, tradesmen and seamen who frequently appeared in early modern ballads and broadsides as stereotypical cuckolds, but who also appear to have been real-life participants in the revelry of the Horn Fair ritual. A day which gave licence to licentiousness, Horn Fair was an annual ceremonial procession which took place on 18<sup>th</sup> October through the streets of London. It is most commonly understood to have commenced at Cuckold's Point near Deptford, continued through Greenwich and culminated in festivities at Charlton House. *A New Summons* however, described Horn Fair as going 'from Gravesend up to Westminster how boats and wherries throng, they call and bawl and hoop at all as they do sail along'<sup>1</sup>. The revellers making their way to Cuckolds Point would 'jeer and fork their fingers so; their gallants hand 'em when they land 'em Cuckolds-all-a-Row'.<sup>2</sup> *A New Summons* also contained *The Cuckold's Song* in which a cuckolded tradesman declared that he would buy his horns for Horn Fair at Petticoat Lane. He stated 'to Petticoat Lane I will repair, to get my horns to go to the fair. My horne I'll wear, my horne I'll take, and up to Charleton House I'll make, and buy a thing you plainly know, we are cuckold boys all-a row'.<sup>3</sup>

Tradesmen featured alongside other stereotypical cuckolds, including London Citizens and seamen, who were summoned to Horn Fair in broadsides which called for them to attend at Cuckold's Point 'well fitted with a Basket, Pit-Axe and Shovel...to march in good Order to the Gravel-Pits, there to Dig Sand and Gravel for Repairing the Foot-Ways, that your Wives...may have pleasure and delight in walking to Horn-Fair'.<sup>4</sup> Summons to Horn Fair were written and circulated by fictitious Beadles – men whose names implied that misconduct or impotence had caused the loss of their manhood, such as 'Thomas Can't be Quiet'<sup>5</sup> and 'John Do-

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<sup>1</sup> Anon., *Summons to Horn Fair* (undated) (1 page).

<sup>2</sup> Anon., *Summons to Horn Fair* (undated).

<sup>3</sup> Anon., *Summons to Horn Fair*, (undated).

<sup>4</sup> Anon. *A General Summons for those belonging to the Hen Peck-d Frigate, to appear at Cuckold's Point, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of this instant October...A New Song on Horn-Fair. Tune is Ladies of London* (1672-1702) (1 page).

<sup>5</sup> Anon. *A General Summons for those belonging to the Hen Peck-d Frigate, to appear at Cuckold's Point, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of this instant October*, (1672-1702) (1 page) and Anon., *Hey for Horn Fair: or, Room for Cuckolds, here comes a Company* (1685) (1 page).

little'.<sup>6</sup> However, 'Timothy Do-little, the Quaker'<sup>7</sup> and 'Timothy No-tool'<sup>8</sup> were also credited with authoring summons to Horn Fair and these names are significant because they indicate that cuckoldry was connected to nonconformity and trade.

As royalist poet William Fennor had noted in 1612 sexually inept cuckolds could benefit from the commodification of sex, albeit that of their wives, since 'such profit and commodities arise, and so great gaine redoundeth from the horne, unto the Cuckold ... that many have a better living made, than by the traffique or their honest Trade'.<sup>9</sup> It is suggested, however, that the association between cuckoldry and trade became even more important in the aftermath of the Civil War because trade became linked to parliamentarianism and sectarianism. Fennor does not refer to the annual pilgrimage to Cuckold's Point as Horn Fair, but he does remark on the preponderance of London's Citizens who made the journey and 'upon whose crown, Fortune her blessings most did tumble downe: and in whose eares (as all the world doth know) the Horne of great Aboundance still doth blow'.<sup>10</sup> The City of London was England's economic centre during Fennor's lifetime and the connection between City commerce and cuckoldry was, as Douglas Bruster notes, well established during the Jacobean period. Bruster remarks that 'cuckoldry acted as a kind of metonymic double for the cash marketplace, a symbol that, like money, worked to eradicate the distance and difference between the sexual and economic terms'.<sup>11</sup>

However, the City of London was transformed during the Civil War into the military and financial centre for the parliamentarian cause, and this led to a continuing perception of corrupt commerce associated with anti-monarchical rebellion and religious pluralism. Fears of popular uprising also impacted upon ceremonies and celebrations, and Jennifer Vaught remarks that 'Charles I and his court appropriated celebratory rituals in an effort to control and contain an

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<sup>6</sup> Anon., *A New Summons to Horn Fair: to appear at Cuckold's Point on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October, and from thence to march to the Gravel-Pits, to dig Gravel, to make a Path for your wives to walk on to the Fair* (1700) (1 page).

<sup>7</sup> Anon., *Summons to Horn Fair* (undated).

<sup>8</sup> Anon., *Cuckolds all-a-row, or, A Summons Issued out from the Master-Cuckolds and Wardens of Fumblers-Hall, directed to all Henpeckt and Hornified Tradesmen in and about the City of London, requiring their appearance at Cuckolds-Point. Concluding with a Pleasant New Song, Humphrey Flounderkin, Master, Francis Fain-would, and William Would-do-more, Wardens* (1685-88) (1 page)

<sup>9</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornu-copiae*, (1612), 109.

<sup>10</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornu-copiae*, (1612), 42.

<sup>11</sup> D. Bruster, *Drama and the Market in the age of Shakespeare*, 59.

increasingly discontented populace verging on or embroiled in the English Civil War'.<sup>12</sup> Although Vaught does not specifically refer to Horn Fair as a ceremony adopted by royalists as a means of regaining control of an unruly populace, nevertheless festivities and carnivals were considered to be 'in keeping with [the] republican spirit of liberty'.<sup>13</sup> However, there may also have been other reasons why royalists deliberately sought to have a hand in festivals. Alexandra Walsham notes the significance of physical, geographical spaces and their religious associations in early modern society, which often stemmed from the Reformation. In particular, Walsham comments that open spaces such as fields and were sites for religious contention/appropriation by Protestant dissenters and in Civil War and Interregnum England, 'the rapid spread of sectarianism saw a new surge of outdoor conventicles'.<sup>14</sup> Although Horn Fair was by no means a form of conventicle, the ceremony involved a sermon and its participants were those most often associated with both republicanism and religious rebellion.

Horn fair was an open-air ceremony on the banks of the river Thames which celebrated inverted hierarchies and incivility and a search of the primary source database (Early English Books Online) reveals that the earliest reference to 'Horn Fair' was in 1655 in Edmund Gayton's *Wit Revived*. Gayton aligned with Fennor's earlier observation that London's Citizens were participants in the ceremony and the text satirically asked 'Of what sort of men doth Horn Faire chiefly consist?'<sup>15</sup>, to which the reply was 'of Citizens'.<sup>16</sup> However, whilst this may have simply been a continuation of a stereotype, perceptions of London's Citizens and commerce had been irrevocably transformed by the Civil War. Corrupt Citizens had funded parliamentarianism and fractured the Anglican Church through sectarianism. It is

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<sup>12</sup> J. Vaught, *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England*, (Ashgate Publishing Limited: Farnham, 2012), 131.

<sup>13</sup> J. Vaught, *Carnival and Literature in Early Modern England*, 131.

<sup>14</sup> A. Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 244.

<sup>15</sup> E. Gayton, *Wit revived: or, a new and excellent way of divertisement, digested into most ingenious questions and answers. / By Asdryasdust Tossoffacan.* (1655), (Thomason Tract: Thomason/[212:E.1703\[1\]](#) Thomason Received his copy in November 1655. Annotation on Thomason copy: "November 27"; also the last number of the imprint date have been marked through and replaced with a "5")., 72.

<sup>16</sup> E. Gayton, *Wit revived* (1655), 72.

therefore suggested that just as cuckoldry, or an association with it, was used to unman parliamentarians during the Civil War, the depiction of cuckolded Citizens attending Horn Fair in *Wit Revived* was part of an Anglican royalist resurgence in 1655.

Circulated on 27 November, *Wit Revived* was feasibly published in response to events on '24 November 1655, [when] in the aftermath of a royalist uprising, Cromwell issued an order against the employment of Anglican ministers and the use of the Prayer Book'.<sup>17</sup> Kellye Corcoran contends that at the end of the seventeenth century and in the early eighteenth century, Horn Fair 'align[ed] Christianity and cuckoldry in a manner that will become important in the everyday lives of cuckolds outside of the fairgrounds'.<sup>18</sup> The connection Corcoran observes between cuckoldry and Christianity concerns men's conduct and she notes that the 'advice the cuckolds received was situated within their Christian duty to suffer their positions with forbearance and grace'.<sup>19</sup>

However, as this chapter demonstrates, there was a convergence between cuckoldry, Christianity (or rather a lack of), Horn Fair and trade which appeared from the mid seventeenth century, most likely as a consequence of the Civil War which had forged correlations between insurrection, sectarianism and corrupt commerce and trade. Trade (both domestic and international) was part of the parliamentary legacy of Civil War and as Jonathan Scott asserts, 'partly because the civil war had been fought in alliance with the City of London, the English republic prioritized 'traffique''<sup>20</sup> (trade). The republican emphasis on trade and the role of the City of London as a trading centre associated with anti-monarchical rebellion are especially significant because the link between cuckoldry and trade became embedded in the culture and geography of Restoration London. These significant connections also contributed to the continuation of tradesmen and seamen as stereotypical cuckolds, depictions of whom differed to those of London Citizens and Whigs against whom the political language of cuckoldry and cornution was directed: the rebellious and avaricious conduct of Whigs and Citizens was the main point of

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<sup>17</sup> J. B. Bell, *A War of Religion: Dissenters, Anglicans and the American Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 51.

<sup>18</sup> K. Corcoran, 'Cuckoldry as Performance', 550.

<sup>19</sup> K. Corcoran, 'Cuckoldry as Performance', 554.

<sup>20</sup> J. Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 75.

contention whilst their wives were frequently literarily marginalised. However, the misconduct of the spouses of stereotypically cuckolded tradesmen and seamen was castigated just as much as that of their husbands.

Cuckold's Point, the meeting point for those wishing to participate in Horn Fair, was a dock on the river Thames at Rotherhithe. It was physically marked by a wooden post which had a pair of horns on top and is believed to have originated from King John's seduction of a Charlton miller's wife in the thirteenth century. In recompense for use of the miller's wife, the king had granted him land as far as the eye could see from Charlton to the bend on the river Thames – the horned post signified both the miller's cuckoldom and the geographical starting point of his newly appointed lands. However, an alternative explanation for the creation of Cuckold's Point was proffered in royalist poet William Fennor's *Cornu-Copiae* (1612) which connected it with the disorderly conduct of a rebellious rabble who offended the pagan Goddess of Fortune. Fennor contended that the formation of Cuckold's Point (also known as Cuckold's Haven) hearkened back to the Peasants Revolt when 'Wat Tyler...with all the rabble of the *Kentish* sort, Havocke and spoile through all the country made'.<sup>21</sup> Tyler and his followers desecrated the temple of the Lady Fortune, 'the Image and the Altar cast quite downe; All things defac't, and topsie-turvy turned, Fortune disgrac't, and all her horns were burned.'<sup>22</sup>

As punishment for this odious transgression, the Goddess Fortune cursed Tyler and the other men who had defaced her temple with physical disfigurement in the form of a tail which 'from their backe-partes neere about their rump did spring a lothsome & deformed lumpe...like the taile of Munckie or Babowne'.<sup>23</sup> However, this curse was not limited to Tyler and his supporters, but was also an affliction borne by their descendants which had reproductive implications. Desperate to rid themselves of this misfortune, these impotent men and their wives made an annual pilgrimage to make offerings to the goddess of Fortune where 'at this Shrine did offer of each sort: All those, which having spent abroad their stocke, at home have

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<sup>21</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornu-copiae*, (1612), 44.

<sup>22</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornu-copiae*, (1612), 44.

<sup>23</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornu-copiae*, (1612), 45.

nothing to renew the sport, but by their wives lie sencelesse, like a blocke'.<sup>24</sup> Fennor's analogising male seed as a stock, or commodity, which was misspent through venery to the extent that they were unable to fulfil their husbandly obligations suggests a convergence of sex and economy.

The 1612 publication of *Cornu-Copiae* suggested that Cuckold's Point and Horn Fair had secular origins, but by the end of the seventeenth century Horn Fair was defined by Christian principles, and religion was a feature of the festivities. *A New Summons* described the religious element which formed part of the celebration, remarking 'then to the church they jog along, with all their horned train; yet when they're in the thoughts of sin, wish they were out again; the parson now he takes his text, who a proof does plainly show, that few escape their horned shape of Cuckolds all-a-row'.<sup>25</sup> The fair was held annually on St Luke's Day (18th October), and the church at Charlton where the procession of Horn Fair ended was also dedicated to St Luke. St Luke was often portrayed in Christian tradition with a horned ox or bull, but the misbehaviour of the revellers at Horn Fair and fanatics generally was contrary to his teachings. As *A Christian Caveat* remarked, 'St. Luke describes the Primitive Christians, that we may not be like Children, tossed to and fro with the wind of every Doctrin, but being grounded in Faith, and rooted in Charity, we may live in Peace and Concord, and bring forth the Fruits of Everlasting Life'.<sup>26</sup> The text also specifically connected nonconformity with treachery against the monarchy and dangerously debased conduct, commenting that 'numerous Broods of Sectarists strive to advance among us, though by never so wicked Means, as horrid Lies, Sham-Plots, Subordinations, Perjuries, Murthers, Seditions, Insurrections, Conspiracies, Rebellions, Massacres, to the utter ruin of King and Kingdom'.<sup>27</sup>

At the turn of the eighteenth century, Edward Ward's satirical eye witness account of the Horn Fair procession revealed another religious element to the festival. Ward, a satirist with a particular proclivity for detailing the seamier side of London life, described the ceremony at Charlton church which began with a sermon. Ward noted 'they say the Parson usually takes his Test upon this Occasion out of

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<sup>24</sup> W. Fennor, *Cornu-copiae*, (1612), 44.

<sup>25</sup> Anon., *Summons to Horn Fair* (undated) (1 page).

<sup>26</sup> A. P., *A Christian caveat to all loyal subjects, or, A looking-glass displaying the foul face of phanaticism ...* (1684) (unpaginated Epistle Dedicatory).

<sup>27</sup> A. P., *A Christian caveat to all loyal subjects, or, A looking-glass displaying the foul face of phanaticism ...* (1684) (unpaginated Epistle Dedicatory).

Solomons Proverbs: and I asking why he did so, was told because Solomon was a great Cuckold-maker, and therefore his Doctrine was the fitter to be preach'd at Horn-Fair'.<sup>28</sup> He also contemptuously observed that 'the Fair seems to stand bounded between God and the Devil; for the Church stands at one end of it and a Musick-house at t'other...it's enough to make a Man out of Love with Humane Shape, to behold the Folly and Rudeness of so many Reprobates, that were at it'.<sup>29</sup> and he also scorned that Horn Fair was a 'Sanctuary for Ill Manners, a Protection of all Rudeness, an Encouragement of Wickedness, a Revelling of young Libertines, a Looking-glass of Confusion, hurtful to good Manners, and hateful to all Good Men.'<sup>30</sup>

Ward found a further point of contention in the abundance of immoral lower-class attendees at the Fair, who not only disrupted, but inverted the hierarchical social order to such an extent that the ungovernable became the governors. He scathingly remarked that 'the whole place, for the time, is a Common-Wealth, where the Rabble make Laws, and all that approach must keep 'em...It is an Annual Rendezvous for the Mob of London, where it is as rare to see Persons of Creditable appearance, as 'tis to see an Honest man in Newgate'.<sup>31</sup> The rabble to which Ward referred comprised a good number of tradesmen whose affiliations with dissent and anti-monarchical disorder had been established during the Civil War and Restoration. A number of Restoration broadsides described tradesmen as attending Horn Fair. For example, *A General Summons* (1672-1702) remarked on the lower sorts of tradesmen who attended Horn Fair including 'Taylors with Turners, and Coblers too, also Barbers, Pipers, and Scrapers; Nay, and besides there's a notable Crew, a thousand or two of Ale-Drapers'.<sup>32</sup>

Similarly, *The Dyer's Destiny* (1685-88) also referred to the cuckolded dyer's attendance at Horn Fair, whilst his wife brazenly indicated a commercial element to his cornution, since she had traded her chastity for money. Her gallant had given her

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<sup>28</sup> E. Ward, *A Frolick to Horn Fair with a Walk from Cuckold's Point thro' Deptford and Greenwich* (1700), 16.

<sup>29</sup> E. Ward, *A Frolick to Horn Fair with a Walk from Cuckold's Point thro' Deptford and Greenwich* (1700), 16.

<sup>30</sup> E. Ward, *A Frolick to Horn Fair with a Walk from Cuckold's Point thro' Deptford and Greenwich* (1700), 16.

<sup>31</sup> E. Ward, *A Frolick to Horn Fair with a Walk from Cuckold's Point thro' Deptford and Greenwich* (1700), 16.

<sup>32</sup> Anon., *A General Summons for those belonging to the Hen-Peck'd Frigate, To appear at Cuckolds-Point, on the 18th. of this Instant October...A New Song on Horn-Fair. Tune is Ladies of London* (1672-1702) (1 page).

a 'Golden Guinea and no less, but yet for what I will leave you to guess'.<sup>33</sup> She went on to unapologetically tell her husband 'But for your comfort take this by the way, you shalt big Gravel the next Horn-Fair day, Basket and Pit-Axe I reckon to buy, for you are a Cuckold, and so you shall dye'.<sup>34</sup> The broadside *Cuckolds all-a-row* (1685-88) was 'directed to all Henpeckt and Hornified Tradesmen in and about the City of London, requiring their appearance at Cuckolds-Point'<sup>35</sup> which cautioned 'have a care you march not too close, for your Horns will so woundily rattle, that the Country Bumkin will fancy, God knows you're a head of some Outlandish Cattel'.<sup>36</sup>

The request for tradesmen to attend Horn Fair set out in *Cuckolds all-a row* was 'issued out from the Master-Cuckolds and Wardens of Fumblers-Hall'<sup>37</sup> a fictional landmark which was also referred to in *A New Summons to Horn Fair* (1700). *A New Summons* announced to stereotypically cuckolded 'Citizens, Bumpkins and Seamen, this Summons doth come for you all, and all that are lately made Free-men of Cuckolds, or Fumblers-Hall'.<sup>38</sup> Fumblers Hall which 'far exceeded all other Halls...being built in *Feeble-Court*, at the sign of the labour-in-vain, near unto the Maiden-head in *Doe-little-Lane*'<sup>39</sup>, was not only associated with cuckoldry, but linked to trade and dissent as *Fumblers-Hall, kept and holden in Feeble-Court* revealed. *Fumblers Hall* provided an account of sexually frustrated wives who

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<sup>33</sup> Anon., *The dyers destiny: or, The loving wife's help in time of need. Two trades is better far than one, sweet husband, then, said she; then if thou wilt let me alone, I'll be a help to thee. To the tune of, Why are my eyes still flowing, &c. This may be printed, R.P.* (1685-1688) (1 page).

<sup>34</sup> Anon., *The dyers destiny: or, The loving wife's help in time of need.* (1685-1688).

<sup>35</sup> Beadle, Timothy No-tool, *Cuckolds all-a-Row. Or, a Summons issued out from the Master-Cuckolds and Wardens of Fumblers-Hall, directed to all Henpeckt and Hornified Tradesmen in and about the City of London, requiring their appearance at Cuckolds-Point. Concluding with a pleasant new son. Humphrey Flounderkin, Master, Francis Fain-would, and William Would-do-more, Wardens* (1685-88) (1 page).

<sup>36</sup> Beadle, Timothy No-tool, *Cuckolds all-a-Row. Or, a Summons issued out from the Master-Cuckolds and Wardens of Fumblers-Hall,* (1685-88).

<sup>37</sup> Anon., *A New Summons to Horn-Fair: to appear at Cuckold's Point on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October and from thence to march to the Gravel-Pit, to dig Gravel, to make a path for your wives to walk on to the Fair* (1700) (1 page).

<sup>38</sup> Anon., *A New Summons to Horn-Fair: to appear at Cuckold's Point on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October and from thence to march to the Gravel-Pit, to dig Gravel, to make a path for your wives to walk on to the Fair* (1700).

<sup>39</sup> Anon., *Fumblers-Hall, kept and holden in Feeble-Court, at the sign of the Labour-in-vain, in Dee-little-Lane, wherein divers complaints & agrievances, out of the feminines in Cornucopia, are presented to the grave wisdoms of the masters of that company: concerning non-performance, want of due benevolence, deficiencie and corporal disabilities in man-kind, whereby poor distressed females languish under a pressing weight of misery, not only to the great decay of their trade and occupations, but to the destruction of generation it self. Whereunto is added the second part, newly discovered and set forth for information of delinquents that are to answer to these interrogations that shall be objected against them.* (1675), 6.



presented their grievances to the Master of the Corporation of Fumblers Hall, including Bess Bear-up-Stiff who was banished for committing adultery with a tinker and weaver. The association of cuckoldry with religious nonconformity and sexually aberrant conduct was also implied in the complaint of Frances Fain-Would against his wife Doll Hold-Up. Frances was unable to satisfy his wife sexually and informed the Master of Fumblers Hall 'please her I cannot, but she calls me dissembling Lyar, Devil, nay: and makes Horns in derision'.<sup>40</sup> However, Doll was revealed to be a Quaker who had committed adultery with a Brother who met her needs and 'not come to it like a Bear ward, or a Fencer, or a rude Cavileer that will swear dam him he will, but like a right spiritual Brother, seasoned for the work'.<sup>41</sup> Upon realising that her licentiousness was connected to her status as a Quaker, the Master of Fumblers Hall ordered her to be imprisoned for a year and a day and declared 'this is a Quaker, away with her, if her Spirit be once rais'd, all the Devils in Hell cannot lay it again'.<sup>42</sup>

The connections between trade, Protestant pluralism and cuckoldry were also elucidated in *The Tradesman's Lamentation* (1663). The ballad told how tradesmen/mechanicks were 'so hateful grown towards one another; Which caused is by some Phanatick brain, That does both Truth and Justice now disdain; Whether they be Trapanners, Pimping Sectists, Nippers, Tarpaulins, Currers, Quakers or Dippers'.<sup>43</sup> The involvement of religious fanatics in trade was seen as an economic danger since 'No matter what; They so much strife have made, They break the Peace and spoile our daily Trade.'<sup>44</sup> Margaret Spufford notes that the tendency of tradesmen to dissent was enabled by the nature of their professions because the 'dissemination of ideas, both religious and political, go along with trade communications and marketing'.<sup>45</sup> Geographical mobility it easier for people to avoid the consequences of deceit and misconduct. Bawdy ballads revealed that the inconstancy of tradesmen's professions and places of work led to the perception that they were untrustworthy and sometimes associated them with cuckoldry. For example, *Merry Tom of All Trades*, portrayed an immoral jack of all trades who 'from

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<sup>40</sup> Anon., *Fumblers-Hall, kept and holden in Feeble-Court...* (1675), 11-12.

<sup>41</sup> Anon., *Fumblers-Hall, kept and holden in Feeble-Court...* (1675), 11.

<sup>42</sup> Anon., *Fumblers-Hall, kept and holden in Feeble-Court...* (1675), 11.

<sup>43</sup> J. Brokeman, *The tradesmans lamentation: or the mechanicks complaint*. (1663) (1 page).

<sup>44</sup> J. Brokeman, *The tradesmans lamentation: or the mechanicks complaint*. (1663).

<sup>45</sup> M. Spufford, (ed.) *The World of Rural Dissenters*, 47.

one place to another...did range, and at his own pleasure his trade could change'.<sup>46</sup> On his travels, Tom adopted a number of trades, working variously as a glover, shoemaker, baker, weaver and tailor and declared 'if my wife doe horn me, thers no man can her blame. For if it be my Fortune a Cuckold for to dye, theres others of my Neighbours may doe so well as I'.<sup>47</sup> Tom's devil may care attitude towards being cuckolded indicated his desire for profit and a self-seeking nature, both of which signified a deeper immorality. At first glance the ballad appears to be primarily concerned with Tom's deceitful nature, yet his working as a shoemaker, weaver and tailor were likely deliberate indicators of his nonconformity.

These trades were, as Tim Harris discovered, among the occupational groups 'most prone to the expression of either anti-Stuart or pro-exclusionist sentiment ... [and] it is perhaps significant that the four occupations that suffered persecution for nonconformity were [also] those of tailor, shoemaker, weaver and carpenter'.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Tom's self-interest and corruption were characteristics most often associated with sedition and, whilst concerns about the impact of men's immoral conduct were widespread, Mark Knights contends that this was primarily a Tory concern. He notes the Anglican tory attitude that 'insurrection was the spawn of the great rebellion of mid-century. They were contemptuous of its plebeian element...a 'rude multitude'. They identified its religious ethos as non-conforming, stemming from the puritan sects...[and] they were in thrall to a perverted conception of conscience and to self-seeking vanity'.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, the depiction of Tom the tradesman as the physical embodiment of these characteristics, along with his nonchalance about being cuckolded, supports the plausibility of cuckoldry to unman and criticise seditious dissenters.

Similarly, *Roome for Cuckolds* indicated that traitorous tradesmen had formed a significant part of the rebellious rabble which had taken up arms against Charles I. Asserting that these men were responsible for bringing the nation into

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<sup>46</sup> Anon., *Merry Tom of all trades. Or, A trick to get mony at every dead lift, made known by Tom of all trades that bravely could shift: From one place to another about he did range, and at his own pleasure his trade he could change: The tune is, Behold the man. &c* (1658-64) (1 page).

<sup>47</sup> Anon., *Merry Tom of all trades...* (1658-64).

<sup>48</sup> T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987), 215.

<sup>49</sup> M. Goldie, 'The Damning of King Monmouth: Pulpit Toryisms in the Reign of James II' in S. Taylor & T. Harris (eds), *The Final Crisis of the Stuart Monarchy: The Revolutions of 1688-91 in their British, Atlantic and European Contexts* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 39.

disarray, the broadside mocks 'and now cow-hearts, look to your shops...your Horns hang in your light; no matter, for you have been the cause of all the Kingdomes wo, and do deserve still to be called Cuckolds all-a-row'.<sup>50</sup> Whilst the tradesmen's figurative horns symbolised both cuckoldry and rebellion against crown and Church, the ballad suggested that demonstrating allegiance to Charles II's restored rule would also restore their manhood, and stated 'but if that you will Honest grow, and doe a glorious thing; which is to rowse and take your arms and fight for Charls your King; which act your Credits will regain, and all the world shall know that you no more shall then be call'd Cuckolds all-a-row'.<sup>51</sup> David Zaret notes that the principle figures in publishing, printing and writing news during the 1640s included a blacksmith, ironmonger and former tailor<sup>52</sup>, whilst the anonymous pamphlet *The True Characters* (1660), revealed that men of these and other trades were also among those who had committed the ultimate act of betrayal by signing Charles I's death warrant.

*The True Characters* contained an extensive list of those who had authorised the king's death including 'Col. John Ovey, first a stoker in a Brew-House at Islington, and afterwards a Chandler in Thames Street...an inveterate enemy to the King and one who appointed the place of the Execution...John Blackistone, a Shopkeeper in New-Castle, and by an accesse of fortune swoln to an excesse of ambition, he was one of the King's Judges...Edmund Harvey, heretofore a poore Silkman...he was a factious Rumper, and one of his Majesties most cruell Judges'.<sup>53</sup> The conduct of traitorous tradesmen, and their influence on Charles I's fate in both print and practice was therefore considered dangerous because it went further than simply disrupting social hierarchies: it had contributed in every sense to the dismemberment of the state.

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<sup>50</sup> Anon., *Roome for Cuckolds: or, My Lord Lambert's Entrance into Sodome and Gomorrah* (undated) (1 page).

<sup>51</sup> Anon., *Roome for Cuckolds: or, My Lord Lambert's Entrance into Sodome and Gomorrah* (undated).

<sup>52</sup> D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and The Public Sphere in Early Modern England*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 190.

<sup>53</sup> Anon., *The true characters of the educations, inclinations and several dispositions of all and every one of those bloody and barbarous persons, who sate as judges upon the life of our late dread sovereign King Charls I of ever blessed memory. Together with a true accompt of the horrid temptations and suggestions, by which the principallest of them did first draw in themselves, and afterwards their associates into the committing of that execrable murder* (1660), 1-3.

Consequently, Charles II sought to control who was able to author and access printed materials, enacting The Licensing Act in 1662 which contained a specific provision forbidding tradesmen and craftsmen (explicitly those who practised the same trades as the men who had been instrumental in his father's death) from having any part in the dissemination of seditious or heretical literature, for which they were notorious. The Act stated that 'no Haberdasher of Small Wares Ironmonger Chandler Shopkeeper or other person or persons whatsoever ... shall within the City or Suburbs of London or any other Market Towne or elsewhere receive take or buy barter sell againe change or doe away any Bibles Testaments Psalm books Common Prayer books Primers Abcees Licensed Almanacks Grammar School books or other Book or Books whatsoever upon pain of forfeiture of the same'.<sup>54</sup> Correlations between tradesmen and immorality continued throughout the Restoration and meant that these men were the subject of broadsides which mocked them as materialistic cuckolds.

Tradesmen's willingness to accept fleeting, material gains was contrary to principles of Christian morality which warned of the spiritual dangers of placing profit above piety. *The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds* told how 'ten honest Tradesmen did happen to meet, in a tavern, it seems, about Leaden-hall Street; one a Brewer, a Baker, a Cook, and a Taylor; with a Turner, a Goldsmith, a Merchant, a Sayler, nay, a Doctor, a Surgeon which opens the vein: these was good honest Tradesmen all Cuckolds in grain'.<sup>55</sup> One by one the cuckolds reveal that they are content to be cuckolded because of the money and materially comfortable lifestyles they have gained from their respective wives' adultery. They conclude their collective joviality at the tavern by declaring 'We will drink each a Bottle before we do go, For to drown Melancholly in liquor of Life; He's a fool that will weep for the Sins of his Wife, Let us tipple Canary, and never complain, there is better than we that are Cuckolds in grain'.<sup>56</sup> However, not all tradesmen were comfortable in their cuckoldom.

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<sup>54</sup> The Licensing Act 1662. Available online. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp428-435#h2-0001>.

<sup>55</sup> Anon., *The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds: Or, a Loving Society of Confessing Brethren of the Forked Order &c. who being met together in a Tavern, declar'd each man his Condition, resolving to be contented and drown'd Melancholly in a Glass of Necktar* (1662-92) (1 page).

<sup>56</sup> Anon., *The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds: Or, a Loving Society of Confessing Brethren of the Forked Order &c.* (1662-92).

The inversion and disorder of a cuckolded tradesman's household was the subject of *The Invincible Pride of Women* (1670) which described his wife as a violent scold. He complained 'when she home returns again, conducted by a Bully Spark, if that I in the least complain, she does my words and actions mark, and does likewise my Gullet tear, then roars like Thunder in the air'.<sup>57</sup> His adulterous wife's pride (a sin which manifested in her materialism) aligned her with the Devil, as the tradesman further asserted 'I never had a Groat with her most solemnly I here declare, yet she's as proud as Lucifer and cannot study what to wear, in sumptuous robes she still appears, while I am forc'd to hide my Ears'.<sup>58</sup>

Although the immorality of the cuckolds in *The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds* arguably indicated anti-Christianity, the anonymous broadside *Have you any Work for A Cooper?* (1681) explicitly condemned the dissent of tradesmen and linked it to anti-monarchism. The ballad featured comparisons between the inclinations of a joiner and a cooper, both of whom were charged with rabble rousing against the king and non-conformist speech. The ballad satirically scathed 'both are True Protestants and of the Newest Stamp...the Cooper he can make a speech to be admird: the Joyner too can prate, as if he were inspired...The King Dissolves, then cryes the Joyner by and by; and the People do Resolve, is the Rabbles Vogue: yet say what you will, the Cooper is the Rogue'.<sup>59</sup>

Charles II had passed the Licensing Act to prevent sedition shortly after his restoration to the throne, and he was prompted to take further official measures to quash men's misconduct at the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War in 1672. The king issued an official proclamation requesting the return of 'Mariners, and other Seafaring men (His Majesties Natural born Subjects) [who] have betaken themselves to the Service of Forreign Princes and States, to the great disservice of

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<sup>57</sup> Anon., *The Invincible Pride of Women, or The London Tradesman's Lamentation, for the Prodigality of his Wife, which doth daily pillage his Purse*, (1670) (1 page).

<sup>58</sup> Anon., *The Invincible Pride of Women*, (1670).

<sup>59</sup> Anon., *Have You any Work for a Cooper? Or, a Comparison Betwixt a Joyners Trade, Wherein rgeir Qualities are both Displayd: but Still the Cooper, as you here may find, the Joyner does Excell in Every Kind. The Tune, the Fryar and the Nun etc.*, (1681) 1 page.

His Majesty'.<sup>60</sup> The proclamation also noted the necessity of mariners for providing military strength noting that because many of these men were absent abroad 'His said Majesty and His Realms, are unfurnished of Men of their Sort and Calling, if there shall be cause to use them'.<sup>61</sup> Despite their seditious conduct, these men were essential to the nation's military and economic prowess and as Steven Pincus remarks, 'Restoration Britons knew that commerce – especially long-distance maritime commerce – and not mere population forged the sinews of power'<sup>62</sup> Restoration contemporary Thomas Turner similarly stated that 'Money is the blood of the Body Politick; and we know, if the circulation thereof be stopt in one Member, that blood can never be transmitted to the neighbouring Veins; and thereupon not only that part, but the whole body in fine becomes Feavourish and languishant. The like may be said, more especially of Merchandise, and the Universal Trade of the Kingdom'.<sup>63</sup>

The state itself was also understood as a 'body politick', and governance of the actual bodies of its inhabitants, both by the authority of the state and of individuals over themselves, was a primary concern. Immoral characteristics in both men and women were understood to manifest physically and as the embodiment of impotent manhood, the cuckold was used for political comment on seafaring men whose frequent absences abroad disrupted the authority of their households and left their wives free to trade sex as a commodity. As Margaret Hunt notes, seamen's wives were, by the necessity of their particular circumstances, independent and 'women in seafaring communities also exercised an unusual degree of legal and moral authority, simply because their freedom of action was greater than that of

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<sup>60</sup> Sovereign, England and Wales (Charles II), *By the King, a proclamation for recalling and prohibiting seamen from the service of forreign princes and states*, (1 page), (1672).

<sup>61</sup> Sovereign, England and Wales (Charles II), *By the King, a proclamation for recalling and prohibiting seamen from the service of forreign princes and states*, (1 page), (1672).

<sup>62</sup> S.A. Pincus, 'Republicanism, absolutism and universal monarchy: English popular sentiment during the third Dutch War', in G. McLean (ed.), *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration, Literature Drama, History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 241.

<sup>63</sup> T. Turner, *The Case of the bankers and their creditors stated and examined. Wherein the property of the subject in this, and the like cases is soberly asserted, by the common and statute laws of England, His Majesties most gracious declarations; by innumerable, great and important records of this kingdom, from the time of the Norman conquest to our own times; by the civil law, history, polity, morality, and common reason: and all objections undeniably refuted. As it was inclosed in a letter to a friend, By a true lover of his King and countrey, and sufferer for loyalty.* (1675), 6.

their male kin'.<sup>64</sup> Hunt further notes that 'in war and peace-time both, sailors' lengthy absences from home, high mortality rate, and erratic loyalties had long provided especially strong incentives for women to develop independent sources of income'.<sup>65</sup> It is therefore suggested that, like the wives of tradesmen, who were often portrayed as proffering themselves for financial incentives, the conduct of mariners wives was also criticized because they were able to operate outside the bounds of male authority.

The conduct of seamen themselves was equally deplorable and the apparent tendency of seamen to trade their loyalty to the crown and state in exchange for material goods and wealth was particularly problematic during the Restoration. A further proclamation issued by Charles in 1672 specifically remarked upon the disloyalty of mariners and seamen and noted that these men and 'others employed in His Majesties service at the Sea, and Listed on Board several Ships under His Majesties Pay, have deserted that Service, and withdrawn themselves into Places obscure, whereof some that were lately apprehended, have suffered Death according to their demerits'.<sup>66</sup> Disloyalty to the crown was a contentious political narrative which had intensified during the Civil War, and the connection between trade and treachery continued during Cromwell's Protectorate and throughout the Restoration. During the First Anglo-Dutch Trade War (1652-54), royalist author Sir John Birkenhead's *Bibliotheca Parliamenti* (1653) sardonically called for an 'Act for the speedy relief of those Seamen's wives, whose husbands shall be slaine or taken by the Dutch in the present service; that so they may not thrash for a living in Rosemary Lane, and Cuckold their husbands to the scandal of the State.'<sup>67</sup> Birkenhead's contention indicated the dangerous double jeopardy posed by seamen's absences abroad. Not only were they likely to be injured or killed at sea (particularly during times of conflict), but the hardships endured by their wives, who were free from their husbands' governance and authority for considerable

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<sup>64</sup> M. Hunt, 'Women and the fiscal-imperial state in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century London', in K. Wilson (Ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31.

<sup>65</sup> M. Hunt, 'Women and the fiscal-imperial state in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century London', 31.

<sup>66</sup> England and Wales. Sovereign (1660-1685: Charles II), *By the King, a proclamation of general pardon to all seamen, mariners and others employd at sea*, (1 page) (1672).

<sup>67</sup> J. Birkenhead, *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), 4.

periods of time, could lead to them commodifying themselves and cuckolding their husbands.

The threat of the French establishing an absolutist, Catholic universal monarchy through trade was also prevalent in Restoration politics and may go some way to explaining why the Catholic French, rather than the Protestant Dutch were castigated as cuckolds. Steven Pincus notes that those 'most committed to the Anglican and Royalist cause...were convinced that the religiously pluralistic and politically republican Dutch polity was the source of England's political and economic woes'<sup>68</sup> during the Second Anglo-Dutch Trade War, but there do not appear to be any instances of the Dutch being castigated as cuckolds. The language of insult used against the Dutch during the Second Anglo-Dutch Trade War was not sexualised and did not involve notions of cuckoldry at all, even as a means of indicating English naval potency (in literary terms at least). Instead, the Dutch were derogated as 'butter boxes' (a derogatory term 'used by British naval seamen during the First (1652-4) and Second (1665-7) Anglo-Dutch Wars to describe Dutch seamen'<sup>69</sup>) or mentioning 'Hogan Mogan' (which would eventually become 'used as a term of abuse for anyone thought to be getting above their station'<sup>70</sup>). *The Dutch Damnified* was circulated during both the second and third Anglo-Dutch trade wars and describes the cowardice of the Dutch and the bravery and willingness of the English to loyally fight for King and country, declaring that the Dutch 'in your Harbours lurk for fear, Not thinking such bad news to hear, We scorn to come and steal your Sheep, And then like Thieves away to creep: Your Towns to Burn, and Ships to fire is work that Englishmen desire'.<sup>71</sup>

However, as Pincus further notes, the 'heart of the public debate about the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War was whether England should identify France or the United Provinces as the real claimant to the throne of the universal monarchy'.<sup>72</sup> The

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<sup>68</sup> S. Pincus, 'Popery, Trade and Universal Monarchy: The Ideological Context of the Outbreak of the Second Anglo-Dutch War', *The English Historical Review*, 17, 442 (1992), 1-29: 2.

<sup>69</sup> Definition of 'Butter-Box'. Oxford Reference Online. Available online. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oj/authority.20110803095538921>.

<sup>70</sup> C. Joby, *The Dutch Language in Britain (1550-1702): A Social History of the use of Dutch in Early Modern Britain* (Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden, 2015), 364.

<sup>71</sup> Anon., *The Dutch damnified: or, The butter-boxes bob'd. Being a brief and true account how Sir Robert Holmes, Sir Phillip Howard, and Sir William Jennings ... burnt and destroy'd near a hundred and sixty saile of Dutch ships ... and all this performed ... with the losse of ten men on our side. The tune is, A fig for France, and Holland too, &c.* (1664-1674) (1 page).

<sup>72</sup> S. Pincus, 'Popery, Trade and Universal Monarchy', 21.



danger of French designs for universal monarchy, and the centrality of trade for establishing it was explicitly expressed in *A Short discourse upon the designs, practices, & counsels of France* (1677) which stated:

the question of Trade has been so beaten already, that there remains Little to be added to it. Nor in truth needs it, since it is agreed at all hands, that the French set up for an Universal Commerce as well as for an Universal Monarchy. And in effect, the one is but a necessary consequent upon the other.<sup>73</sup>

The literary cuckolding of the French (despite the alliance between Charles II and Louis XIV) and the apparent absence of any correlations between the Dutch and cuckoldom was therefore feasibly contextualised by Anglican fears of a French Catholic universal monarchy.

That concerns about the religious pluralism of the Dutch Republic and Catholic absolutist French continued to inform political discourse, even after the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War ended, demonstrates the importance of religion in shaping notions and practices of international trade. Although the religious pluralism of the Protestant Dutch Republic may not have posed as much of a threat to faith and finance on an international scale as the Catholic French, nonetheless, it remained problematic. As Gaby Mahlberg notes, Dutch religious freedom was associated with economic strength and a 'closer English friendship with the republican Dutch would certainly have suited English republicans and dissenters as it might encourage religious toleration in England and an opening up of international trade'.<sup>74</sup> The dissent of Charles II's domestic subjects appears to have been considered a contributing factor to the disloyalty of seaman, and the religious and sexual nonconformity of their wives (and the men who figuratively forked them) was also often alluded to.

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<sup>73</sup> Anon., *A Short discourse upon the designs, practices, & counsels of France in a letter to a friend*. (1677), 8.

<sup>74</sup> G. Mahlberg, 'Republicanism as Anti-patriarchalism in Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines* (1668)', in J. Morrow, and J. Scott, *Liberty, Authority, Formality: Political Ideas and Culture, 1600-1900, Essays in Honour of Colin Davis* (Imprint Academic: Exeter, 2008), 131-152: 150.

Anglican ideals plausibly influenced depictions of seamen as cuckolds and as Brent Sirota asserts, the maritime space in which merchants and seamen operated was subject to moralising reforms during the latter part of the seventeenth century when 'largely Anglican religious and charitable associations [were] engaged in Christianization efforts throughout the maritime empire'.<sup>75</sup> These Anglican networks emphasised moralisation as a means of countering the tendency among mariners for 'economic accumulation to eclipse other more spiritually enriching forms of engagement abroad'.<sup>76</sup> The self-seeking conduct of seamen and their wayward wives was described in the broadside *A Jobb for a Journeyman-Shoomaker* (1671) which told how a seaman's wife took great pleasure in her sexual conquest with a journeyman shoemaker. In her seduction of the shoemaker she declared 'thou know'st I am a Seamans Wife, thou need'st not fear to venter, and we will live a merry life, and thou shalt freely enter: and when my Husband goes to Sea, to raise his own promotion, O thee and I will make it flye, while he sails on the Ocean'.<sup>77</sup>

In exchange for sexual pleasure, she rewarded the shoemaker with new clothes, food and wine bought with her absent husband's hard earned money, stating 'let me enjoy the like of thee, what need my Husband know it? While he is on the Ocean wide, at work for Gold and Treasure, My dear thou shalt lye by my side, and there enjoy the pleasure'.<sup>78</sup> Her lover's morality was equally questionable, since he was content to benefit from cuckolding another man and was 'pleas'd at this he had both Cloaths and Money, the which procured her a kiss, more sweet than drops of Honey'.<sup>79</sup> The ballad concluded with the seaman's wife and her lover drunkenly laughing at her unwitting husband's fate, yet this was not the end of the affair, since upon the seaman's return he discovered his wife's adultery.

The cuckolded seaman's reaction to his fate was set out in *The Seaman's Safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman Shoomaker* (1671), which detailed

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<sup>75</sup> B. Sirota, *The Church, Anglicanism and the Nationalization of Maritime Space*, in P. Stern, & Wennerlind (eds) *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 198.

<sup>76</sup> B. Sirota, *The Church, Anglicanism and the Nationalization of Maritime Space*, 198.

<sup>77</sup> Anon., *A Jobb for a Journeyman-Shoomaker, with a Kind Hearted Seamans Wife, his Landlady: She was his loving Landlady and she could well afford to give him Cloaths and Money too and also Bed and Board, to the Tune of Tom the Taylor*, (1671-1702) (1 page).

<sup>78</sup> Anon., *A Jobb for a Journeyman-Shoomaker, with a Kind Hearted Seamans Wife, his Landlady* (1671-1702).

<sup>79</sup> Anon., *A Jobb for a Journeyman-Shoomaker, with a Kind Hearted Seamans Wife, his Landlady* (1671-1702).

how 'his neighbours told him of their trade, and how she spent his Money, she with the Shooe-maker hath plaid, and call'd him joy and honey'<sup>80</sup>. Upon discovering this egregious affront to his manhood, the seaman's reaction revealed that he was more furious that his money had been spent than with their sexual transgression as he remarked 'you took your time and spent my Coin, I understand it clearly, I'll make you know before you go that shall pay it severely'.<sup>81</sup> The cobbler cuckold maker's reaction was equally insightful, since it indicated that he was a dissenter, specifically a Quaker, who was 'tormented, He trembled and quak't for fear, he could not be contented'.<sup>82</sup> However, apparently unable or unwilling to take affirmative action to redress the situation himself, the seaman brought the matter before a local justice who dismissively told him 'be reconciled to your wife, it seems she has repented, and put an end to all the strife, and strive to be contented'.<sup>83</sup> The ballad concluded with the seaman's rage ultimately proving impotent since having taken the advice of the justice the 'Seamans love did then increase and they went home together: He vows to marry her again; she tells him she'll be loyal.'<sup>84</sup> The immoral conduct of seamen and their wives appears to have been an ongoing concern since both *A Jobb for a Journeyman-Shoomaker* and *The Seaman's Safe Return* continued to be circulated until the early eighteenth century.

As exemplified by the lover of the seaman's wife (though not the seaman himself) in *The Seaman's Safe Return*, to some extent notions of religious nonconformity appear to have informed depictions of cuckolded seamen as a means of explaining aberrant conduct. The lack of conformity to religious practices by English naval forces during the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War (1672-74) was observed as being contrary to the 'first Article of War...That all Commanders, Captains, and Officers at Sea, shall cause the publick Worship of Almighty God, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England...to be solemnly, orderly, and

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<sup>80</sup> Anon., *The Seamans safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman-Shoomaker: When he came here, it did appear she had the Wanton play'd, a broad she roul'd, and spent his Gold, and drove a Subtile Trade* (1671-1702) (1 page).

<sup>81</sup> Anon., *The Seamans safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman-Shoomaker*, (1671-1702).

<sup>82</sup> Anon., *The Seamans safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman-Shoomaker*, (1671-1702).

<sup>83</sup> Anon., *The Seamans safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman-Shoomaker*, (1671-1702).

<sup>84</sup> Anon., *The Seamans safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman-Shoomaker*, (1671-1702).

reverently performed in the respective Ships'.<sup>85</sup> However, the primary cause for concern was seamen discrediting king and country, either in the pursuit of their own interests, or most troublingly by acting in the interests of foreign powers.

The perception that seafaring men were weak and disloyal prompted broadsides in their defence such as *Love and Gallantry* (1672) ventriloquised by a seaman's ghost. Having lost his life fighting for the king's cause in the Anglo-Dutch trade war, the spectre declared his loyalty to Charles II, asserting 'For the best of all Princes I fought in whose cause even Coward would dye for to merit applause: May good success equal the right of his Arms, and providence ever protect him from harms'.<sup>86</sup> However, despite such protestations of allegiance to Charles II, seamen continued to be literarily cornuted, although the disloyalty of their equally wayward wives was the main point of contention. Directly referencing both the Anglo-Dutch trade war and the infidelity of a mariner's wife who committed the ultimate act of betrayal by engaging the enemy in a sexual encounter, *The Seaman's Complaint* told how the seaman 'was Trading Seven Years from Port to Port at Sea, and brought home great Wealth, his Wife in the mean time by Trading in the Low Countries, got a mischance'.<sup>87</sup> The 'mischance' was an illegitimate child consequent of his wife's adultery, for which her cuckolded husband must bear the economic burden and social ridicule.

However, the cuckold's description of the derision he endured from neighbours implied a political angle to the broadside. He remarked 'they do laugh me to scorn, and point their fingers at me and my Joan, Saying, that I must drink out of a Horn, and Father a Child that is none of my own'.<sup>88</sup> The reference to the seaman's wife as 'Joan' can be understood in two ways: either as a comment on her low birth and menial employment, or as an allusion to Elizabeth 'Joan' Cromwell to indicate a

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<sup>85</sup> Anon., *Observations on the last Dutch wars, in the years 1672 and 1673. with some reflections upon the city and country*, (1679), 3.

<sup>86</sup> Anon., *Love and Gallantry: or, a Noble Seaman's last adieu to his Mistris, at the time of his being unfortunately drowned in the last engagement*, (1672-96) (1 page).

<sup>87</sup> Anon., *I Father a Child that's none of my own, Being the Seaman's Complaint, Who took a Whore instead of a Saint, Shewing that whilst he was Trading Seven Years from Port to Port at Sea, and brought home great Wealth; his Wife in the mean time by Trading in the Low Countries, got a Mischance, fell down and broke her ----Elbow; above all praising the Innocence of a Country Life. To the Tune of, Cook Laurel: Or, Give me the Lass, etc.* (1672-96) (1 page).

<sup>88</sup> Anon., *I Father a Child that's none of my own, Being the Seaman's Complaint, Who took a Whore instead of a Saint*, (1672-96).

continuing correlation between Cromwell's protectorate and the trade which financed it.

The unsound judgment of seafaring men, implied by a bad choice of wife and the cuckoldom which inevitably followed also formed the basis for *The Seaman's Folly* (1672). Just as *The Seaman's Complaint* was instigated by the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War but had a long circulation period which indicated, and arguably reinforced, its cultural purchase, *The Seaman's Folly* was prompted by war and continued to be published over a considerable period. The ballad detailed how a seaman, having met his bride to be in a tavern was 'straightaway was married the truth for to say, but she made him a Cuckold the very next day.'<sup>89</sup> Having discovered his wife's adultery, the seaman sought a deceitful means of entrapment and 'was resolved a trick for to try and strait did disguise himself as some people say he picked her up walking in Ratcliff highway'.<sup>90</sup> Having no idea that the stranger with whom she intended to become more intimately acquainted was her husband in disguise, his lascivious wife told him 'come lets drink a health without any delay, my Cuckold at home all the reckoning shall pay'.<sup>91</sup> However, her cuckold did not pay the price of his wife's adultery – after having beat her with a stick 'taking his leave he bid England adieu since one has proovd false he did think had been true'.<sup>92</sup>

In contrast to the cuckolded seamen who appeared in broadsides at the advent of war in 1672, *The Seaman's Compass* published at its conclusion in 1674 attested to the loyalty and bravery of the mariners who had fought for the king's cause. Although not a decisive victory (the financial strain of the Third Anglo-Dutch Trade War forced Charles II to withdraw his forces), *The Seaman's Compass* described the typical attributes of seamen who had engaged in conflict. They were 'in promise faithful and just, honest in carriage and true to his trust: kinde in behaviour and constant in love, is firm in affection as the Turtle Dove, valiant in

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<sup>89</sup> Anon., *The Seamans Folly In Marrying One so quickly; and for which he has Cause to Repent at Leisure* (1672-96) (1 page).

<sup>90</sup> Anon., *The Seamans Folly In Marrying One so quickly; and for which he has Cause to Repent at Leisure*, (1672-96).

<sup>91</sup> Anon., *The Seamans Folly In Marrying One so quickly; and for which he has Cause to Repent at Leisure*, (1672-96).

<sup>92</sup> Anon., *The Seamans Folly In Marrying One so quickly; and for which he has Cause to Repent at Leisure*, (1672-96).

action to every degree'.<sup>93</sup> Emphasising the crucial role these men played in securing the nation's economic and military position, the ballad also remarked that 'Seamen brings treasure and profit to Land...for wealth they have fought and when they have found it to England 'tis brought'<sup>94</sup> and 'if they were not a guard and a defence for our land our enemies soon will get the upper hand'.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, alongside these assertions of English principles and prowess, cuckoldry also came into play at the end of the trade war to indicate the potency of the English over the French, most likely to strengthen perceptions of a victory.

For the most part literary cuckoldry was dominated by a domestic element, both in terms of the households and marriages it disordered and the English subjects it was directed against. Cuckoldry was therefore principally used as a critique and comment on domestic (English) gendered social-economic dynamics, religion and politics rather than as a political insult to attack foreign foes. However, a jocular anecdote in *The Complaisant Companion* (1674) recounted the tale of a foolish French cuckold who had been usurped by a potent, albeit immoral, Englishman. Having taken lodgings with a Frenchman and his family, the Englishman and his pregnant wife woke in the night because of the cold. The Englishman therefore woke his French hosts and 'shivering in his shirt, for it was in a cold Winter night, his Landlady pitying him...said to her Husband, Prythee my Dear, let the English-man come into bed to us and lye till day-light'.<sup>96</sup> The Frenchwoman assured her husband 'you need not fear any thing since you are in bed with me; her request was granted, and he lay down on the other side of the woman'.<sup>97</sup> Despite her reassurances however, when her husband was asleep 'the Englishman's Snake presently grew warm and crawled up the Woman's belly; the motion of the Bed awaked her Husband, he called out Wife, what are you doing?'.<sup>98</sup> In an attempt at defending her conduct, his wife replies 'Why what would you have me do...if I should speak to him

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<sup>93</sup> L. Price, *The Seaman's Compass: / OR / A dainty new Ditty composed and pend, / The deeds of brave Seamen to praise and commend / Twas made by a Maid that to Gravesend did pass, / Now mark and you quickly shall hear how it was* (1674-79) (1 page).

<sup>94</sup> L. Price, *The Seaman's Compass: / OR / A dainty new Ditty composed and pend*, (1674-79).

<sup>95</sup> L. Price, *The Seaman's Compass: / OR / A dainty new Ditty composed and pend*, (1674-79).

<sup>96</sup> Anon., *The Complaisant companion, or, New jests, witty reparties, bulls, rhodomontado's, and pleasant novels*, (1674), 34-5.

<sup>97</sup> Anon., *The Complaisant companion, or, New jests, witty reparties, bulls, rhodomontado's, and pleasant novels*, (1674), 34-5.

<sup>98</sup> Anon., *The Complaisant companion, or, New jests, witty reparties, bulls, rhodomontado's, and pleasant novels*, (1674), 34-5.

it would be to little purpose, for you know he understands not a word of your Language.’<sup>99</sup>

Whilst the Frenchwoman’s response intimates her defencelessness against the Englishman’s sexual prowess, the wives of English seamen were often vulnerable to hardships as a result of their husbands’ absences, which could sometimes be permanent. As *An Humble Address* revealed, seamen who were ‘incapable of paying their impatient creditors, from whom they constantly fear the severity of a prison’<sup>100</sup> were known to leave their wives and ‘betake themselves to some foreign Nation, as France, Holland &c. who are always ready to entertain such useful persons’.<sup>101</sup> The pamphlet also indicated that many men were not unwilling, but unable to pay their debts and that ‘poverty (to which it may be they are reduced by Divine providence) not dishonesty is the cause of not paying’.<sup>102</sup> Other requests for economic reforms to help those in hardship also acknowledged that seamen’s wives were vulnerable to destitution, particularly given the precarity of their husbands’ trade.

*Proposals for the better management of the affairs of the poor* (1681) noted that money raised for poor relief was being mismanaged by unscrupulous men, which was the ‘Principal Cause of all the Miseries these Poor Wretches sustain’.<sup>103</sup> It was therefore suggested that poor relief ought to be more effectively and honestly managed to ease the burden of ‘that great Number of Seamens Wives, Children, and Relations, whose Necessities for want of their timely pay...forces them to apply themselves for Relief, and necessitates the Parishes to contribute to their wants to prevent their perishing’.<sup>104</sup> Despite the helplessness of many seamen’s wives and families, however, the reality of their hardships (financial and otherwise) conflicted with how they were portrayed in literature.

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<sup>99</sup> Anon., *The Complaisant companion, or, New jests, witty reparties, bulls, rhodomontado's, and pleasant novels*, (1674), 34-5.

<sup>100</sup> Anon., *An Humble Address with some Proposals for the Future Preventing of the Decrease of the Inhabitants of this Realm*. (1677), 4.

<sup>101</sup> Anon., *An Humble Address with some Proposals for the Future Preventing of the Decrease of the Inhabitants of this Realm*. (1677), 4.

<sup>102</sup> Anon., *An Humble Address with some Proposals for the Future Preventing of the Decrease of the Inhabitants of this Realm*. (1677), 3.

<sup>103</sup> Anon., *Proposals for the better management of the affairs of the poor*, (1681), 1.

<sup>104</sup> Anon., *Proposals for the better management of the affairs of the poor*, (1681), 1.

In broadsides and bawdy ballads produced during the latter years of the Restoration, seamen's wives were central characters whose loose morals and adulterous sexual transactions resulted in either financial gains or an illegitimate child (or both). Indeed, the immoral conduct of seaman's wives was a more prominent concern than the cuckold status of their husbands. Ideals of Anglican morality often underpinned representations of cuckoldry and were arguably suggested in the association of seamen's wives with dissent, which presented physically in their disorderly conduct. *The Seamans Wives ranting Resolution* featured a sailor's wife who shamelessly announced her selfish intentions to prostitute herself and cuckold her useless husband for money. She declared 'My good-man is gone to Sea on the long Voyage O...He hath left me no money, I'll get some with my Coney...Let him have good Wind and Tide and I do presage O...For my self I will provide, And Cornute his head beside'.<sup>105</sup>

Ranting was a lack of reason and controlled speech and was a term which could be applied to both men and women as an indicator of ungodliness. As a contemporary observer of Restoration society despairingly commented 'was there ever more pride...in peoples apparel, gait, hair, habits, in their ranting, flanting, garish, immodest dresses and attires, alluring to wantonness, and contrary to sobriety, the fear of the Lord, and the profession of godliness?'<sup>106</sup> However, ranting or babbling speech was most commonly understood as a female characteristic indicative of whoredom. Just as the ranting seaman's wife revealed her irreligion and immoral intentions to cuckold her husband by seeking money for her 'coney', the nonconformity of seamen's wives in every sense was also remarked upon in *The Seaman's Wives Vindication*. The broadside was ventriloquised by a collective of sailors' wives who, having grown tired of being typecast as promiscuous money-grabbers, demanded to know 'why does the Poets abuse us, we that are Seamens

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<sup>105</sup> Anon., *The Seamans Wives ranting Resolution, OR, Make use of time, while time serves. It is a Proverb old some People say, While the Cat is gone the Mouse hath leave to play; Just so this witty Seamans wife, She is resolved to live a merry life: And while her Husband is abroad for gain, A loveing Friend she'll kindly entertain. Tune of Couragio, Or If by your good leave I may, etc* (1680-82) (1 page).

<sup>106</sup> Anon., *The Lords voice crying to England viz. speedily to prepare to meet him in the way of his judgments ... and that especially by reforming our ways ... summarily and succinctly compacted together for the easier subserviency to so great and necessary a work / by one heartily desirous and earnestly solicitous of the nations weal.* (1680), 17.



poor wives. Have they not cause to excuse us, knowing our sorrowful lives?’<sup>107</sup> Accused of being ‘Girls of the Game, who do delight to be Courted’<sup>108</sup>, the wives retorted ‘how could you say there was many wives that did drink, rant and sing; when I protest there’s not any of us that practice this thing: are we not forc’d to borrow, being left bare without Chink, ‘Tis in a Cup of cold sorrow if we often do Drink’.<sup>109</sup> Despite the protestations of fictional seamen’s wives that they were destitute rather than dissolute, however, the connections between corrupt commerce/consumerism and cuckoldry continued to hold cultural purchase in Restoration society, to the extent that they were embedded in the naval and trading geography of London.

Deptford, which was central to international trading and the location of a large naval dockyard, was the setting for cuckoldry in *The Deptford Frolick*, which recounted the tale of an old night watchman cuckolded by a young gallant. Having been caught in the act of adultery, the night watchman’s wife feigned illness as a means of explaining away her misconduct. The watchman described how ‘she told me she was wondrous ill and thus she did begin with shrieks and groans she made her moans cause she had let him in’.<sup>110</sup> Naively, he took her at her word and conceded to her demand for a cordial to ease her pains. In his haste to ease his wife’s predicament, however, the watchman pulled on the gallant’s breeches and went to the apothecary who, noticed ‘the Breeches I had on, and then he said full well he knew’.<sup>111</sup> The watchman wearing another man’s breeches revealed his cuckoldom not only to the apothecary, but also to himself and whilst his response was initially to stare disbelievingly at the apothecary, he eventually realised his wife’s deception and ‘at last thought I assuredly she let some Gallant in’.<sup>112</sup> Following this penny dropping moment, the watchman also discovered ‘gold in the pockets of his rival’s

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<sup>107</sup> Anon., *The Seamens Wives Vindication, or, an Answer to the pretended Frolick, which was said to be by them over a bowl of Punch. You writ that we drank Liquor free, but for your writing so; you are to blame, nay, blush for shame, since it was nothing so. To the tune of, O so Ungrateful a Creature.* (1685-88) (1 page).

<sup>108</sup> Anon., *The Seamens Wives Vindication, or, an Answer to the pretended Frolick*, (1685-88).

<sup>109</sup> Anon., *The Seamens Wives Vindication, or, an Answer to the pretended Frolick*, (1685-88).

<sup>110</sup> Anon., *The Debtford Frolick, or, a Hue and Cry after the Shag-Breeches. Young women all, both great and small, that handleth Pot or Pail. For some I hear and greatly fear do oft play with their Tayl. Tune of The fair One let me in.* (1672-96) (1 page).

<sup>111</sup> Anon., *The Debtford Frolick, or, a Hue and Cry after the Shag-Breeches.* (1672-96).

<sup>112</sup> Anon., *The Debtford Frolick, or, a Hue and Cry after the Shag-Breeches.* (1672-96).

breeches'<sup>113</sup>, yet this was apparently no compensation for the shame of being cuckolded and he lamented 'when I came with grief and shame the youngster he was gone, I had his watch and money too, and I the horns did win; but I am mad and monstrous sad that she had let him in'.<sup>114</sup>

Deptford was also where the East India Company docks were based, and although the Rotherhithe docks rather than those at Deptford were the location for cuckoldry in *The Seaman's Lamentation*, an East India captain was the cuckold maker who gained a monopoly on a boatswain's wife. The lowly boatswain adopted mariner's language to describe how in his absence on a voyage to the Indies, 'the Captain came, and ask'd if all were well, he with my wife did dance a jig, which I'm ashamed to tell: He took the helm, and steer'd a trick in mirth and wantonness, but now it is my fate to be a Cuckold, I must confess'.<sup>115</sup> *The Seaman's Lamentation* simply provided stereotypical social commentary on the usurpation of authority by men of differing social and naval ranks. Although the East India captain is portrayed as a corrupt cuckold maker rather than a cuckold, his sexual licentiousness was the main point of contention and served not as a demonstration of potency, but as an indication of immorality and a lack of self-governance.

This chapter began with an assessment of the Horn Fair ceremonial, which was an annual day of festivity held on the trading banks of the river Thames. A new, religious element to the fair has been discussed which reveals how the sermon held at Horn Fair included references to St Luke (who was often associated with bulls horns and oxen), whose teachings were flouted by those who attended Horn Fair. The tradesmen, seamen and London's Citizens who took the opportunity for socially rebellious revelry at Horn Fair were also those who appeared in ballads and broadsides as stereotypical cuckolds who had been cornuted because of their religious nonconformity. During the Restoration and beyond, cuckoldry was linked to both domestic and international trade to critique the conduct of those who were

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<sup>113</sup> Anon., *The Debtford Frolick, or, a Hue and Cry after the Shag-Breeches*. (1672-96).

<sup>114</sup> Anon., *The Debtford Frolick, or, a Hue and Cry after the Shag-Breeches*. (1672-96).

<sup>115</sup> Anon., *The Seaman's Lamentation: Or, The Captain at the Helm. Shewing how an East India Captain in Rederriff entertained his Boat-Swains Wife, in her Husbands absence, and sent him a voyage to Cuckold-Shire; whence every jovial and loving Seaman may learn Wisdome, and how to be wary, and not to trust his best beloved in his Captains Arms* (1683-5) (1 page).

most involved in the nation's trade. Contextualised within a wider popular political discourse which emphasised the necessity of men's loyalty to the crown and Anglican moralisation, the legacy of Civil War and religious nonconformity informed representations of cuckoldry to differing degrees. Within this discourse, however, these figuratively forked men of trade and commerce were stereotypes who performed an important role in reinforcing the geographical and cultural embedment of cuckoldry and commerce in the streets and docks of London.

## Conclusion

One of the central questions of this study has been how damaging being called a 'cuckold' actually was to men in early modern society. Was it the 'worst insult which could be directed against a man'?<sup>1</sup> The findings of this study are that it was a slander used locally and superficially, but it did not do any enduring damage to a man's reputation and honour. This is a significant contrast to the tropes of dishonourable cuckolds which were prevalent in popular printed texts, and suggests that our understanding of the damage able to be inflicted on a man's reputation has been exaggerated. The examination of law reports for the common law Court of Kings Bench revealed that when a man was alleged to have been cuckolded, it was his wife who was ultimately accountable in so far as legal means of redress were concerned. Accusing a man of being a cuckold implied that his wife was sexually incontinent and, whilst a cuckold (whether actual or simply alleged) committed no punishable offence, his wife's adultery/sexual incontinence was punishable under ecclesiastical law. This formed the basis for a matter of legal process known as a prohibition which dictated that defamation cases where a husband had been slandered as a cuckold fell within the remits of ecclesiastical law, but not common law. This explains why previous studies of defamation in the ecclesiastical courts have discovered that women frequently defended their husbands against accusations of cuckoldry, either alone or in joint actions brought by both a wife and her allegedly cuckolded husband.

The impact of being insulted as a cuckold also appears to have been limited because it was not considered a word which was actionable by men in its own right. Legal texts and treatises provided detailed information and guidance about which words were legally actionable as the basis for a defamation action (and the reasons and relevant legal precedents for this). However, even during the Restoration, when political partisanship influenced the redefinition and repurposing of various words, these texts did not include the insult of 'cuckold'. In addition, judicial commentary in law reports produced by the Court of Kings Bench shows that 'cuckold' was considered a word of heat, or spleen which was neither actionable, nor particularly

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<sup>1</sup> E. Foyster, *Manhood in Early-Modern England*, 7.

damaging. Therefore, whilst 'cuckold' was sometimes used within verbal disputes to add insult to injury, it was not damaging enough to be the injury itself.

This perception remained consistent in law reports produced throughout the seventeenth century where 'cuckold' was the slander at issue and suggests that the damage to men's honour by being insulted as a cuckold was somewhat limited. Conversely, whilst the power of 'cuckold' as an early modern sexual slander remained limited in the law courts, the cultural purchase and purpose of the cuckolded man in literature was expanded by the addition of a politico-religious role to his repertoire. This was given to him during the Civil War and reprised throughout the Restoration.

The figurative fusion of cuckoldry with spiritual corruption, financial misdeeds and anti-monarchical rebellion was forged in the heated ideological and theological conflicts of the Civil War. Although it has been asserted that 'religious developments in Restoration England facilitated a decoupling of religion and politics'<sup>2</sup>, religion was central to early modern life and was amalgamated into the symbolism and literary tropes which commonly appeared in popular political discourse. This can be seen in the new scriptural interpretation of the cuckold's horns which has been explored throughout this dissertation. It has been shown that during the Civil War, Anglican royalists gave the cuckold's horns the dual purpose of emasculating those who were considered opponents of the Church, whilst also indicating that their horns signified enmity towards God.

This interpretation was based on the texts of Revelation and Daniel 7 which featured anti-Christian beasts who raised their horns as weapons against God and his faithful followers. These were the biblical texts most frequently used by religious radical groups and millenarian prophets to justify their beliefs and practices, but they were weaponised by their Anglican opponents, who delegitimised and derided sectarianism in a rhetorical redeployment of the same scriptural points. From the Civil War up until the end of Charles II's reign in 1685, cuckoldry and cornution can be identified within popular discourse which continually retained this politico-religious purpose of condemning protestant dissent, and linked it directly to anti-monarchical insurrection.

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<sup>2</sup> D. Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 274.

Cultural tropes, including cuckoldry, provided a useful, ready-made means of disseminating ideas in a concise way. Tropes and stereotypes retained points of instantly recognisable consistency and continuity, which made them accessible for the popular audiences they were intended to reach, but they were also highly adaptable. Crucial differences and politico-religious dimensions in early modern depictions of cuckoldry and cornution have previously been overlooked because of an emphasis on what cuckoldry reveals about gender constructs and dynamics. But gender and politics went hand in hand: political ideologies frequently drew on gendered, familial and domestic analogies to explore and explain relationships between governments and the governed.<sup>3</sup> Families and households were therefore useful political paradigms. As such, they were continually used by Stuart loyalists to justify monarchical power. The 'metaphorical association between public and private power relationships...informed the governance strategies of all the Stuarts'<sup>4</sup> and survived the decapitation of Charles I, the state and Anglican Church in 1649. Recent scholarship has also emphasised the importance of exploring cultural congruencies between the Civil War and Restoration. This approach has demonstrated that at 'various moments in the Restoration there was a resurfacing of ideologies and genres formulated during the previous decades'.<sup>5</sup> The fictional cuckoldry which forms the basis of this study reveals an additional point of continuity.

Politicised cuckoldry and cornution retained its purpose of condemning dissent and disloyalty to the Church and state throughout the Civil War and Restoration (1642-1685). However, within these depictions different elements were emphasised, dependent upon who was being targeted. For example, cuckolded parliamentarians, Quakers, tradesmen and mariners tended to appear in bawdy ballads which followed the more traditional tropes and included woodcut imagery to illustrate their message. These men were typically emasculated by an unashamedly unruly and adulterous wife and often made some form of financial gain which they contentedly accepted as compensation for their lost manhood.

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<sup>3</sup> See A. Hughes, *Gender and the English Revolution*.

<sup>4</sup> T. Bowers, Seduction Narratives and Tory Experience in Augustan England, *The Eighteenth Century*, 40, 2 (1999), 128-154: 130.

<sup>5</sup> J. Clare (ed.), *From Republic to Restoration: Legacies and Departures* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 1.

Mariners in particular were usually depicted as being left holding the baby which resulted from their wives' illicit sexual affairs whilst they had been absent at sea. However, in addition to serving as cautionary tales about bad marriages and lost manhood, the disordered households of these stereotypical cuckolds signified more serious problems: households were politically analogised as mini commonwealths, and the cuckold's failure to maintain hierarchy and patriarchal order had implications which extended beyond domestic boundaries. Indeed, his lack of manhood was a threat to the stability of the state.

One of the main contentions arising out of this dissertation is that whilst the emasculation of political opponents through cuckoldry was an important weapon in the loyalists' literary arsenal, the gendered inversion of the cuckold's household also symbolised and signified the disorder to state and Church caused by the usurpation of monarchical authority and hierarchy. This can be seen in depictions of wilful Civil War parliamentarian wives who defied their husbands, just as their parliamentarian husbands rebelled against Charles I, the divinely appointed and paternal governor of the Church and state.

Cuckoldry was also directed against the Whigs, who were perceived as the successors of Civil War parliamentarians, during the Exclusion Crisis (1678-1682). At this time, when the next in line to Charles II's throne was his Roman Catholic brother James, Duke of York, there was a very real fear that a second Civil War was imminent. This fear was fuelled by a climate of vehement anti-Catholicism (heightened by Titus Oates' fabricated but frightening Popish Plot) and the perception that protestant pluralism, which was linked to sedition and rebellion, would ultimately result in the Stuart monarchy being overthrown and the destruction of the Anglican Church. However, the cuckoldry targeted at Whigs during this crisis was deployed differently to that used against religious nonconformists at other flashpoints during the Restoration. It most often appeared in one-page broadsides which contained no woodcut imagery, and did not always mention the sexual misadventures of the Whigs' wives. It is within these texts that the complexity of cuckoldry and cornution adopted for political purpose can be seen more clearly. The loyalist/Tory political use of cornution took female adultery out of the equation and focused instead on intra-gender dynamics and hierarchies within the Whig political faction. In addition, references to horns could be

interpreted as implying either cuckoldom, or the horns of rebellion against the Church and state. However, it is most likely that they were used to signify a combination of both.

These overtly politicised depictions of cuckoldry and cornution, which appeared at times of crisis, differed from other cuckoldry circulated in ballads, broadsides and pamphlets throughout the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. They were prompted by specific points of crisis when religion and politics chimed and clashed concurrently, and there was an immediacy to their publication and dissemination. This distinguished them from other portrayals of their forked brethren, who continued to provide satirical social commentary on the dangers of marriage, men's jealousy and the dangerously lustful nature of women, in ballads and pamphlets throughout the early modern period.

However, the gendered powerplay between men and women which featured in literary depictions of cuckoldry always involved some form of misconduct which had far-reaching, political consequences. Households were essential to the construction and stability of the early modern state, and for maintaining the authority of the Church. Therefore, even cuckoldry which was not tied to specific political and religious events contained some form of immoral (unchristian) conduct, or socio-economic corruption, which had wider implications for the stability of Church and state. Cuckoldry contained recurring themes which focused primarily on (mis)behaviours that threatened to erode the gendered moral, religious and socio-economic fabric which bound together patriarchal and governmental hierarchies. These forms of misconduct included: adulterous wives bearing illegitimate children who threatened the system of primogeniture (through which land, wealth and status were passed to the first-born male); male sexual impotence (when controlled, potent male bodies and masculine authority were considered essential); and, cuckolds' unruly wives trading their chastity as a convenient conduit and commodity through which they could further their own ambitions for social status and profit. These concerns formed part of wider discourses and debates about the nature and necessary subjection of women, as well as warning of the potentially disastrous consequences of failed manhood.

During the Civil War and Restoration, cuckoldry with the specific religious and political purpose of unmanning those perceived as destabilising the Church and



state appeared alongside these well-established stereotypes of cuckolded men and their wayward wives. This can be seen in the emergence of new cuckolds such as parliamentarians and Quakers. Yet there were also subtle but important shifts discernible in longstanding literary tropes of cuckoldry, which suggests that they too were shaped by political and religious events and changes. For example, London's Citizens had been stereotyped as cuckolds from the late sixteenth century because of their commercial dealings. But during the Civil War, their economic role took on a new significance when they funded the parliamentary cause against Charles I and helped to establish the City as a parliamentary military stronghold. Consequently, a cuckolded Citizen in a ballad or broadside published either during or after the Civil War was often explicitly referred to as disloyal to the Stuart monarchy. Cuckoldry also reflected the changing role of the City as a place of financial dealing and exchange, by satirising the distinct ways Citizens interacted with each other and elucidating the sexualisation of commerce.

In addition to London's Citizens tying cuckoldry and commerce to the capital, the cultural and geographical embedment of cuckoldry in London, particularly in the trading and commercial districts (including the City) was further entrenched in the annual ceremony of Horn Fair. The procession through London's streets and along the Thames culminated in a sermon, which reveals a further link between cuckoldry and Christianity which has previously been unexamined. From the Restoration onwards, the men summoned to this festivity were those who were stereotypically emasculated as cuckolds in literature which portrayed them as disloyal to the Stuart monarchy, and dissenting from the Anglican Church. They comprised London's Citizens, tradesmen and seamen and together these men constituted a rebellious rabble which took the opportunity offered by Horn Fair to overthrow authority, albeit only for one day.

By tracing the changes and continuities in literary cuckoldry from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth century, this dissertation demonstrates how the Civil War caused a politico-religious transformation in depictions of cuckoldry and cornution. This retained its cultural purchase into the eighteenth century because the impact of the Civil War continued to reverberate in the politics and religion of this period. According to George Southcombe, in the eighteenth century 'relationships between the church and dissent could still be refracted through the

lens provided by the Civil War. Some Anglicans could still discern the political and religious radical lurking beneath the exterior of the reforming dissenter.<sup>6</sup> The long-standing legacy of Civil War has also been remarked upon by Andy Wood who notes that the 'politics of later Stuart and early Georgian England were fought out under the shadow of the English Revolution'<sup>7</sup>, particularly during times of riot and social unrest. Because the Civil War cast such a long shadow, cuckoldry also retained its Civil War synonymy with anti-monarchical rebellion into the eighteenth century. Indeed, it was quite fitting that a trope associated with insurrection against the crown was used in 1724 to mock George I, when a riotous crowd began 'drumming a ridiculous tune of Roundheaded Cuckolds &c'<sup>8</sup> to express their derision of the king.

The re-examination of cuckoldry set out in this study has identified a pattern of partisan appropriation of cuckold tropes which were linked to religion and used for political purpose during the Civil War and evolved as part of Restoration party politics. In doing so, it has taken a different direction to previous studies of the political uses of gender which have looked more broadly at the use of effeminacy and scurrility in the bawdy politics of early modern England. Gender and politics were inextricably intertwined, and as our insights into early modern manhood and male honour continue to evolve, there are still gaps in our understanding. Tim Reinke Williams notes that the 'decades from 1660 to 1688 [are] a black hole as far as the studies of political masculinities are concerned'.<sup>9</sup> The re-examination of cuckoldry in popular political discourse set out in this dissertation aims to fill a small gap in this historiographical void. It has demonstrated how and why cuckoldry was used to characterise and castigate a specifically nonconformist manhood which was spiritually, politically and morally corrupt. In doing so, it has provided a basis for the closer analysis of other cultural tropes which may also have had a more serious political purpose in the paper conflicts of Civil War.

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<sup>6</sup> G. Southcombe, *Dissent and the Restoration Church* in G. Tapsell (ed.) *The Later Stuart Church, 1660-1714*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 210.

<sup>7</sup> A. Wood, *Coda: History, Time and Social Memory*, in K. Wrightson (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 386.

<sup>8</sup> A. Wood, *Coda: History, Time and Social Memory*, (quoting E.P. Thompson, *Customs in Common*, (London; Merlin, 1991), 96)) in K. Wrightson (ed.), *A Social History of England 1500-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 386.

<sup>9</sup> T. Reinke-Williams, 'Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England', *History Compass*, 12, 9 (2014), 685-693: 690.

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*Edwards's Case* (1608) 77.E.R.1421; (1608) 13 Co. Rep.9

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*Toser and his Wife v Davis* (1671) 2 Levinz 66 83.E.R. 452

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A.B., *The Saints freedom from tyranny vindicated, or, The power of pagan caesars and antichristian kings examined and they condemned by the prophets and apostles, as no magistrates of God to be obeyed by saints for the Lords sake : being the cobby of an answer to a private letter, wherein the civil power of Satan and antichristian states is soberly debated ... / by a lover of truth.* (1667).

Anderson, J., *Against Babylon and her merchants in England ... written by one that travels in spirit for Sions deliverance, John Anderson.* (1660).

Anon., *A conference between the ghost of the Rump and Tom Tel-Troth. Together with her sad complaint of that dismall and total eclipse that is like to fall out on the 20th day of April, 1660.*, (1660).

Anon., *A Most learned and eloquent speech spoken and delivered in the House of Commons at Westminster by a most learned lawyer, the 23th [sic] June, 1647*, (1680).

Anon., *A Parallel of Times, or: A Memento to the Whiggs*, (1683).

Anon., *Advice to the City, Sung to the King at Windsor, to a Theorbo*, (1682).

Anon., *An account of the tryals of William Ld. Russell, William Hone, John Rouse, and William Blake who took their tryals at the Old-Baley, on the 13th of July, 1683, for high-treason, in conspiring the death of the King, and raising rebellion in the land.* (1683).

Anon., *A Briefe Description or character of the religion and manners of the phanatiques in general. Scil. Anabaptists, Independents, Brownists, Enthusiasts, Levellers, Quakers, Seekers, Fifth-Monarchy-Men, & Dippers. Shewing and refuting their absurdities by due application, reflecting much also on Sir John Praecisian and other novelists. Non seria semper.* (1660).

Anon., *A full relation or dialogue between a loyallist and a converted phanattick since the time of the late rebellion, relating their wicked conspiracy, and barbarous intentions, whereby their divellish plots is more fully discovered then ever it was before: gently disputed between them both. Together with the phanatticks lamentation and farewell to that crew. Published as a warning-piece to all the rebellious sectaries.* (1660).

Anon., *A General Summons for those belonging to the Hen Peck-d Frigate, to appear at Cuckold's Point, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of this instant October, ...A New Song on Horn-Fair. Tune is Ladies of London.* (1672-1702).

Anon., *A Jobb for a Journeyman-Shoomaker, with a Kind Hearted Seamans Wife, his Landlady: She was his loving Landlady and she could well afford to give him Cloaths and Money too and also Bed and Board, to the Tune of Tom the Taylor*, (1671-1702).

Anon., *A letter from Amsterdam to M.C. in London Discovering the taking of Sr. Thomas Armstrong with the narrow escape of my Lord Gray and Mr. Ferguson at Leyden in Holland.* (1684).

Anon., *A merry new song how a bruer meant to make a cooper cuckold and how deere the bruer paid for the bargaine. To the tune of, In somertime.* (1590).

Anon., *A New Song, to the tune of the granadeers march*, (1685).

Anon., *A New Summons to Horn Fair: to appear at Cuckold's Point on the 18<sup>th</sup> of October, and from thence to march to the Gravel-Pits, to dig Gravel, to make a Path for your wives to walk on to the Fair.* (1700).

Anon., *A New Western Ballad, Of a Butcher that Cuckolded the Farmer. Good Husbands all be loving to your wives for that's the way to live contented lives; but if you'r negligent, you may be sure they'l n'er want that they can elsewhere procure.* (1685-88).

Anon., *A Short discourse upon the designs, practices, & counsels of France in a letter to a friend.* (1677);

Anon., *A well-resolved man; or, Good resolutions, & good endeavour,* (1600-1699).

Anon., *A Whigg Ballad, or, a Summons to a fresh Association,* (1682).

Anon., *All is Ours and our Husbands, Or the Country Hostesses Vindication. She Durst not Scold tis counted for an Evil. Sheel cheat and whore, and yet be counted civil; sheel fill her Pockets by poor Drunkards Losses, and send them all to Jayl by weeping Crosses, To the Tune of the Carmans Whistle, or High Boys up we Go,* (1672-96).

Anon., *An Excellent New Ballad between Tom the Tory, and Toney the Whigg, To the Tune of, Shittle-Come-Shite, etc.* (1678) (republished 1681)

Anon., *An Humble Address with some Proposals for the Future Preventing of the Decrease of the Inhabitants of this Realm.* (1677).

Anon., *Bank Credit: or, the Usefulness and Security of the Bank of Credit Examined; in a Dialogue between a Country Gentleman and a London Merchant,* (1683).

Anon., *Cuckolds all-a-row, or, A Summons Issued out from the Master-Cuckolds and Wardens of Fumblers-Hall, directed to all Henpeckt and Hornified Tradesmen in and about the City of London, requiring their appearance at Cuckolds-Point. Concluding with a Pleasant New Song, Humphrey Flounderkin, Master, Francis Fain-would, and William Would-do-more, Wardens* (1685-88).

Anon., *Cuckolds haven: or, The marry'd mans miserie who must abide the penaltie of being hornify'd: hee unto his neighbours doth make his case knowne, and tels them all plainly, the case is their owne. To the tune of, the Spanish gipsie.* (1638).

Anon., *Dregs of Drollery, or Old poetry in its ragges a full cry of hell-hounds unkennelled to go a king-catching: to the tune of Chevy-chace,* (1660).

Anon., *For the King and both Houses of Parliament, Being a Short Relation of the Sad Estate and Sufferings of the Innocent People of God called Quakers for worshipping God, and Exercising a Good Conscience towards God and Man,* (1661).

Anon., *Fumblers-Hall, kept and holden in Feeble-Court, at the sign of the Labour-in-vain, in Dee-little-Lane, wherein divers complaints & agrievances, out of the feminines in Cornucopia, are presented to the grave wisdoms of the masters of that company: concerning non-performance, want of due benevolence, deficiencie and corporal disabilities in man-kind, whereby poor distressed females languish under a pressing weight of misery, not only to the great decay of their trade and occupations, but to the destruction of generation it self. Whereunto is added the second part, newly discovered and set forth for information of delinquents that are to answer to these interrogations that shall be objected against them.* (1675).

Anon., *Halfe a dozen of good Wives. All for a penny. Kind Cozens or Countrey-men what ere you be, if you want a god penny worth, come buy it of me; Six Wives for a penny, a young one or old, a cleanely good huswife, a Slut or a Scold, to the tune of the cleane contrary way,* (1640).

Anon., *Have You any Work for a Cooper? Or, a Comparison Betwixt a Joyners Trade, Wherein rgeir Qualities are both Displayd: but Still the Cooper, as you here may find, the Joyner does Excell in Every Kind. The Tune, the Fryar and the Nun etc.* (1681).

Anon., *Heads of all Fashions, being a Plaine Detection or Definition of Diverse and sundry sorts of heads, Butting, Jetting or pointing at vulgar opinion. Allegorically shewing the Diversities of Religion in these distempered times. Not very lately written since Calves Heads came in Season.* (1642).

Anon., *Hey for Horn Fair: or, Room for Cuckolds, here comes a Company,* (1685).

Anon., *Hugh Peters Last Will and Testament, or The haltering of the divell. To the tune of the guelding of the divel,* (1660).

Anon., *I Father a Child that's none of my own, Being the Seaman's Complaint, Who took a Whore instead of a Saint, Shewing that whilst he was Trading Seven Years from Port to Port at Sea, and brought home great Wealth; his Wife in the mean time by Trading in the Low Countries, got a Mischance, fell down and broke her -----Elbow; above all praising the Innocence of a Country Life. To the Tune of, Cook Laurel: Or, Give me the Lass, etc.* (1672-96).

Anon., *Ignoramus, An Excellent New Song,* (1681).

Anon., *Love and Gallantry: or, a Noble Seaman's last adieu to his Mistris, at the time of his being unfortunately drowned in the last engagement,* (1672-96).

Anon., *Lucifers Lifeguard containing a schedule, list, scrowle or catalogue of the first and following names of the Antichristian, Anabaptistical, Atheistical, Anarchical and Infernal Imps who have been Actors, Contrivers, Abbettors, Murderers and Destroyers,*

*of the best Religion, the best Government, and the best King that ever Great Britain enjoyed... (1660).*

*Anon., Merry Tom of all trades. Or, A trick to get mony at every dead lift, made known by Tom of all trades that bravely could shift: From one place to another about he did range, and at his own pleasure his trade he could change: The tune is, Behold the man. &c. (1658-64).*

*Anon., Monmouth Routed and Taken Prisoner with his Pimp The Lord Gray. A Song to the Tune of King Jame's Jigg, (1685).*

*Anon., Observations on the last Dutch wars, in the years 1672 and 1673. with some reflections upon the city and country, (1679).*

*Anon., Proposals for the better management of the affairs of the poor, (1681).*

*Anon., Roome for Cuckolds: or, My Lord Lambert's Entrance into Sodome and Gomorrah (undated).*

*Anon., Summons to Horn Fair (undated).*

*Anon., The Academy of pleasure furnished with all kinds of complementall letters, discourses and dialogues : with variety of new songs, sonets and witty inventions : teaching all sorts of men, maids, widows, &c. to speak and write wittily and to bear themselves gracefully for the attaining of their desired ends : how to discourse and demean themselves at feasts and marry-meetings at home and abroad in the company of friends or strangers : how to retort, quibble, jest or joke and to return an ingenious answer upon any occision whatsoever : also a dictionary of all the hard English words expounded : with a poeticall dictionary : with other concests very pleasant and delightfull, never before extant. (1656).*

*Anon., The Bloody Bed Roll: or, Treason displayed in Scarlet Colours, being a discovery of notorious plotter and Grand Conspirators of a company of Rebellious Subjects, not to be paralleled in all ages. With a list of the Names of the chief Actors and the sentence of Terrour pronounced against them for their treasonable designs, (1660).*

*Anon., The Broken Merchants Complaint: Represented in a Dialogue between a Scrivener and a Banker on the Royal Exchange of London, (1683).*

*Anon., The Cabal, (1680).*

*Anon., The Catalogue of Contented Cuckolds: Or, a Loving Society of Confessing Brethren of the Forked Order &c. who being met together in a Tavern, declar'd each man his Condition, resolving to be contented and drown'd Melancholly in a Glass of Necktar, (1662-92).*

Anon., *The character of a phanatique*, (1660).

Anon., *The citizens vindication against the down right countrey-man. (alias Boobee) ...* (1672-80).

Anon., *The City*, (1643).

Anon., *The Complaisant companion, or, New jests, witty reparties, bulls, rhodomontado's, and pleasant novels*, (1674).

Anon., *The Debtford Frolick, or, a Hue and Cry after the Shag-Breeches. Young women all, both great and small, that handleth Pot or Pail. For some I hear and greatly fear do oft play with their Tayl. Tune of The fair One let me in.* (1672-96).

Anon., *The Dutch damnified: or, The butter-boxes bob'd. Being a brief and true account how Sir Robert Holmes, Sir Phillip Howard, and Sir William Jennings ... burnt and destroy'd near a hundred and sixty saile of Dutch ships ... and all this performed ... with the losse of ten men on our side. The tune is, A fig for France, and Holland too, &c.* (1664-1674).

Anon., *The dyers destiny: or, The loving wife's help in time of need. Two trades is better far than one, sweet husband, then, said she; then if thou wilt let me alone, I'll be a help to thee. To the tune of, Why are my eyes still flowing, &c. This may be printed, R.P.* (1685-1688).

Anon., *The Invincible Pride of Women, or The London Tradesman's Lamentation, for the Prodigality of his Wife, which doth daily pillage his Purse*, (1670).

Anon., *The London Cuckolds, An Excellent New Song, to an Old Tune*, (1682).

Anon., *The Londoners Petition to the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons now assembled in the High Court of Parliament*, (1642).

Anon., *The Lords voice crying to England viz. speedily to prepare to meet him in the way of his judgments ... and that especially by reforming our ways ... summarily and succinctly compacted together for the easier subserviency to so great and necessary a work / by one heartily desirous and earnestly solicitous of the nations weal.* (1680).

Anon., *The Lord Russels last farewell to the World a song.* (1683).

Anon., *The Merry Cuckold who Frolickly taking chance doth befall, is very well pleased with Wife, Hornes and all*, (1619-29).

Anon., *The New Courtier: the Tune is Cloris, since thou art fled away*, (1678-80).

Anon., *The Parliament of Ladies With their Lawes Newly enacted*, (1647).



Anon., *The praise of Nothing: Though some doe wonder why I write in praise Of Nothing, in these lamentable daies, When they have read, and will my counsell take, I hope of Nothing something they may make. To the tune of, Though I have but a marke a yeare, etc.* (1601-1640).

Anon., *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.* (1681).

Anon., *The Quaker's Wanton Wife; or, The Frolicksome Young Beauty of a Sanctified Brother, belonging to the Bull and Mouth, Tune of Let Mary long,* (1675-96).

Anon., *The Recanting Whigg, or John Thumb's confession being his sentiments on the present times, in a letter from Amsterdam to the fragments of that hypocritical, diabolical, fanatical association.* (1684).

Anon., *The Resolution of the Roundheads: Being a zealous Declaration of the Grievances wherewith their little wits are consumed to Destruction and what things they (in their Wisdome yet left them) conceive fit to be reformed,* (1642).

Anon., *The Resolution of the Women of London to the Parliament, wherein they declare their hot zeal in sending their husbands to the warres, in defence of King and Parliament, as also the proceedings of the King at York, with their full determination in maintaining this their Resolution to the admiration of the Reader.* (1642).

Anon., *The Rich and Flourishing Cuckold Well Satisfied,* (1674-9).

Anon., *The Saint Turn'd Curtezan: or, a New Plot discover'd by a precious Zealot, of an Assault and Battery Design'd upon the body of a Sanctify'd Sister who in her Husband's absence with a Brother did often use to comfort one another; Till wide-mouth'd Crop, who is an old Italian, took his Mare napping and surpriz'd her Stallion: who 'Stead of Entertainment from his Mistris, Did meet a Cudgelling not match'd in Histories,* (1681).

Anon., *The Seamans Folly In Marrying One so quickly; and for which he has Cause to Repent at Leisure,* (1672-96).

Anon., *The Seamans Lamentation: Or, The Captain at the Helm. Shewing how an East India Captain in Rederriff entertained his Boat-Swains Wife, in her Husbands absence, and sent him a voyage to Cuckold-Shire; whence every jovial and loving Seaman may learn Wisdome, and how to be wary, and not to trust his best beloved in his Captains Arms,* (1683-5).

Anon., *The Seamans safe Return, Or, An Answer to the Job for a Journeyman-Shoomaker: When he came here, it did appear she had the Wanton play'd, a broad she roul'd, and spent his Gold, and drove a Subtile Trade*, (1671-1702).

Anon., *The Seamans Wives ranting Resolution, OR, Make use of time, while time serves. It is a Proverb old some People say, While the Cat is gone the Mouse hath leave to play; Just so this witty Seamans wife, She is resolved to live a merry life: And while her Husband is abroad for gain, A loveing Friend she'l kindly entertain. Tune of Couragio, Or If by your good leave I may, etc*, (1680-82).

Anon., *The Seamens Wives Vindication, or, an Answer to the pretended Frolick, which was said to be by them over a bowl of Punch. You writ that we drank Liquor free, but for your writing so; you are to blame, nay, blush for shame, since it was nothing so. To the tune of, O so Ungrateful a Creature*. (1685-88).

Anon., *The Sence of the House, or the Opinion of Some Lords and Commons, concerning the Londoner's Petition for Peace*, (1643).

Anon., *The true characters of the educations, inclinations and several dispositions of all and every one of those bloody and barbarous persons, who sate as judges upon the life of our late dread sovereign King Charls I of ever blessed memory. Together with a true accompt of the horrid temptations and suggestions, by which the principallest of them did first draw in themselves, and afterwards their associates into the committing of that execrable murder*, (1660).

Anon., *The West Country Weaver: containing His Sorrowful Lamentation for the Hardship which he undergoes by a Proud Imperious Wife: Together with his Resolution to reclaim Her by the Well approved Oil of Holly*, (1683).

Anon., *The Whigg-Feast: A Scotch Ballad made to the Tune of a new and pleasant Scotch Dance*, (1682).

Anon., *Tis Money that makes a Man: Or, The Good-Fellows Folly. Here in this Song Good-Fellow thou mayst find, how Money makes a Man, if thou'rt not blind? Therefore return e're that it be too late, and don't on Strumpets spend thy whole estate. For when all is gone no better thou wilt be: but Laught to scorn in all thy poverty. To a pleasant new tune: Bonny black Bess: Or, Digby*, (1674-9).

Anon., *Whose There Agen: or, the 6 penny Cuckold of Shoreditch his Policy, policy Still the proverb saith; beyond strength it doth go; and if you mind, you'l surely find that it is even so*, (1664-1703).

A.P., *A Christian caveat to all loyal subjects, or, A looking-glass displaying the foul face of phanaticism ...* (1684).

Barclay, R., *Theses Theologicae: of the Theological propositions, which are defended by Robert Barclay, in his apology for the true Christian Divinity as the same is held forth and preached, by the people called Quakers*, (1675).

Barnard, J., *Censura cleri, or A plea against scandalous ministers, not fit to be restored to the churches livings in point of prudence, piety, and fame. By a true lover of the Church of England in doctrine, ceremony and discipline*. (1660).

Bartholomew, W., *The strong man ejected by a stronger then he. In a sermon preached at Gloucester, the 15th of May, 1660. Being the day his Royal Majesty, King Charles the second, was proclaimed. Shewing, how the strong man Satan is cast out of the palace of the heart, and the Lord Christ possessed thereof. With some application to the present ejection of the late usurper, Satans confederate, out of the royal palace, and the Lords Christ, King Charles the-second possessed thereof. By Wil. Bartholmevv, M.A. and Vicar of Campden in Gloucester-shire*. (1660).

B. E., *A new dictionary of the canting crew in its several tribes of gypsies, beggars [sic], thieves, cheats &c., with an addition of some proverbs, phrases, figurative speeches &c. : useful for all sorts of people (especially foreigners) to secure their money and preserve their lives ; besides very diverting and entertaining being wholly new / by B.E.*, (1699).

Birkenhead, J., *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).

Braithwaite, R., *The Devils White Boyes, or a mixture of malicious Malignants, with their much evill and manifold practices against the Kingdome and Parliament. With a bottomlesse Sack-full of Knavery, Popery, Prelacy, Policy, Trechery, Malignant Trumpery, Conspiracies and Cruelties filled to the top by the Malignants, laid on the shoulders of Time and now by Time emptied forth, and powred out to shew the Truth and Shame the Devill*, (1644).

Brokeman, J., *The tradesmans lamentation: or the Mechanicks complaint*, (1663).

Brome, A., *Ratts rhimed to death. Or, The Rump-Parliament hang'd up in the Shambles.*, (1659).

Brome, A., *Rump, or, An exact collection of the choicest poems and songs relating to the late times by the most eminent wits from anno 1639 to anno 1661*. (1662).

Brome., R., *The Northern Lasse a Comedie, as it hath often been acted with good applause, at the Globe, and Black-Fryers. By His Majesties Servants* (1632).

Cary, M., *The little horns doom & downfall or A scripture-prophesie of King James, and King Charles, and of this present Parliament, unfolded. Wherein it appears, that the late tragedies that have bin acted upon the scene of these three nations: and*

*particularly, the late Kings doom and death, was so long ago, as by Daniel pred-eclared [sic]. And what the issue of all will be, is also discovered; which followes in the second part. By M. Cary, a servant of Jesus Christ. (1651).*

*Charles II., Act of Council, for burning the Solemn League and Covenant, and several other traitorous libels. At Halyrudhouse, the fourteenth day of January, 1682, (1682).*

*Democritus Jr., Wit's Progresse: wherein are launc't the various crimes, are incident to these sad times. Chapmen quickly come and buy me, if y're are wise, youle not deny me. Wit is cheapned, wit is sought, but wits neare good till it be bought (1647).*

*Dormer, P., Monarchia triumphans, or, The super-eminency of monarchy over poliarchy or Of the government of one above any free-state or other kinde of soveraignty in many. (1666).*

*Dunton, J., Heavenly pastime, or, Pleasant observations on all the most remarkable passages throughout the Holy Bible of the Old and New Testament newly allegoriz'd in several delightful dialogues, poems, similitudes, and divine fancies / by John Dunton, author of The sickmans passing-bell. (1685).*

*England and Wales. Court of King's Bench., Narrationes modernae, or, Modern reports begun in the now upper bench court at Westminster in the beginning of Hillary term 21 Caroli, and continued to the end of Michaelmas term 1655 as well on the criminall, as on the pleas side : most of which time the late Lord Chief Justice Roll gave the rule there : with necessary tables for the ready finding out and making use of the matters contained in the whole book: and an addition of the number rolls to most of the remarkable cases /by William Style ... (1658).*

*Fennor, W., Cornucopiae, Pasquils night-cap; or Antidot for the head-ache (1612).*

*F.N.W., An historical review of the late horrid phanatical plot in the rise, progress, and discovery of the same. (1684).*

*Frank, M., LI sermons preached by the Reverend Dr. Mark Frank ... being a course of sermons, beginning at Advent, and so continued through the festivals: to which is added a sermon preached at St. Pauls Cross, in the year forty-one, and then commanded to be printed by King Charles the First. (1672).*

*Gayton, E., Wit revived: or, a new and excellent way of divertisement, digested into most ingenious questions and answers. / By Asdryasdust Tossoffacan. (1655).*

*Greene, R., A Quip for an Upstart Courier: or, a quaint dispute between velvet breeches and cloth breeches wherein is plainly set down the disorders in all estates and trades, (1592).*

Guy, R., *The Merry Old Woman; or this is a good old woman, this is a merry old woman, her counsell is good ile warrant, for shee doth wish ill to no man, to the tune this is my Grannams deedle.* (1640).

Hicks, W., *Apokalypsis apokalypseos, or, The revelation revealed being a practical exposition on the revelation of St. John : whereunto is annexed a small essay, entituled Quinto-Monarchiae, cum Quarto Omologia, or, A friendly compliance between Christ's monarchy, and the magistrates / by William Hicks ...* (1659).

Hutchins, A., *Caines Bloudy Race known by their fruits, or, a true declaration of the innocent sufferings of the servants of the living God, by the magistrates, priests and people in the city of Westchester, who lives in a profession of God, Christ and the Scriptures, as their forefathers did, who slew the prophets, persecuted Christ and Christ and the apostles, as is declared in the scriptures f truth, &c.,* (1657).

Janson, H., *Philanax Anglicus, or, A Christian caveat for all kings, princes & prelates how they entrust a sort of pretended Protestants of integrity, or suffer them to commix with their respective governments : shewing plainly from the principles of all their predecessours, that it is impossible to be at the same time Presbyterians, and not rebels : with a compendious draught of their portraictures and petigree done to the life, by their own doctors dead hands, perfectly delineating their birth, breeding, bloody practices, and prodigious theorems against monarchy / faithfully published by T.B.* (1663).

J.B, *Chirologia, or, The naturall language of the hand composed of the speaking motions, and discoursing gestures thereof : whereunto is added Chironomia, or, The art of manuall rhetoricke, consisting of the naturall expressions, digested by art in the hand, as the chieftest instrument of eloquence, by historicall manifesto's exemplified out of the authentique registers of common life and civill conversation : with types, or chyrograms, a long-wish'd for illustration of this argument / by J.B. ...* (1644).

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Prynne, W., *The first and second part of A seasonable, legal, and historicall vindication and chronological collection of the good old fundamentall liberties, franchises, rights, laws of all English freemen ... wherein is irrefragably evinced by Parliamentary records, proofs, presidents, that we have such fundamentall liberties, franchises, rights, laws ... : collected, recommended to the whole English nation, as the best legacy he can leave them / by William Prynne of Swainswick, Esquire.* (1655).

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