

Five Views of an Age



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Five Views of an Age

A Selection of Late
Seventeenth Century Pamphlets
from
Ellis Library's
Rare Book Room

Ellis Library
University of Missouri-Columbia
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1987

Contents

Foreword	iii
Introduction	v
THE VIEWS OF AN AGE:	
Trials of the Seventeenth Century <i>by Mireya del Castillo</i>	1
Women of Seventeenth Century England: Political Writers, Printers and Booksellers <i>by Alla Barabtarlo</i>	6
Restoration Satire <i>by Catherine Seago</i>	11
Broad­sides <i>by Martha Shirky</i>	16
Illustrations <i>by Martha Shirky</i>	19
Selected Bibliography	23

Foreword



To the extent that all research libraries are concerned with collecting and preserving the records of scholarship, it is not unusual to find a certain level of commonality among them. But most research libraries are also fortunate to have so-called special collections, and it is these resources which lend each library its distinctiveness and special character.

The titles described in this exhibition catalog are truly special. Spanning a period of some 200 years of British history, the works listed are indicative of significant political, religious or legal events. The scholarly value of the collection is underscored by the fact that federal grants in excess of \$350,000 were provided under Title II-C of the Higher Education Act to catalog and preserve this material for use by scholars throughout the world.

The University of Missouri-Columbia Libraries possess a long and distinguished record in meeting the needs of researchers and scholars. This catalog seeks to recall that tradition, and at the same time, to highlight one portion of the Libraries' rich collections.

Thomas W. Shaughnessy
Director of Libraries

February 25, 1987

Introduction



he titles selected for exhibition are part of a collection of over 20,000 seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century English imprints purchased in the 1940s and 1950s from Philadelphia rare book dealer, Ralph Howey. The library purchased these titles at the enthusiastic recommendation of University of Missouri-Columbia history professor emeritus Charles F. Mullett. Dr. Mullett, a specialist in seventeenth and eighteenth English politics and religion, had used similar material extensively as a Fellow of the Huntington Library.

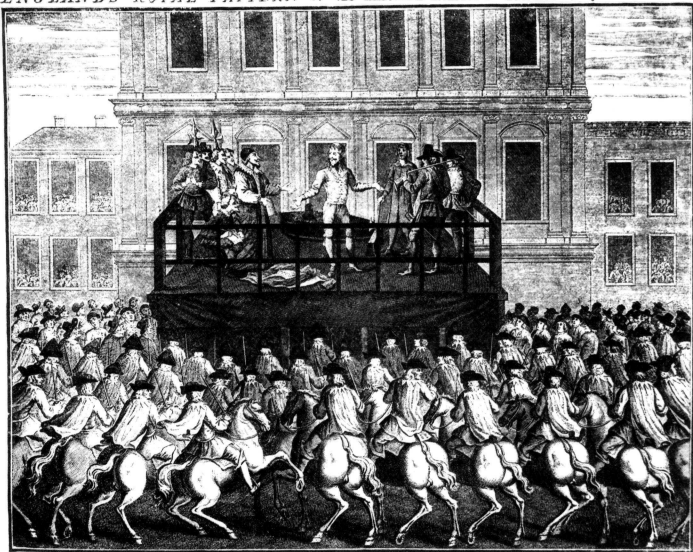
Most of the titles in the collection are sixteen to forty page pamphlets. Unlike the present day popular view that dismisses pamphlets as insignificant, ephemeral and trivial, pamphlets of the seventeenth through nineteenth century were viewed as a primary mode of communicating issues of the day, as a way to promote a point of view, to inflame, to inspire, to instruct and to amuse. Prominent literary figures escaped imprisonment by anonymously publishing their views, frequently in tract format. Divines published sermons to commemorate fast and feast days, eulogize the deceased and call parishioners to an exemplary life. Crimes were reported and sensationalized; trial proceedings were reported in full. In 1716 Myles Davies in his *Athenae Britannicae*, declared that "from pamphlets may be learned the genius of the age, the debates of the learned and the follies of the ignorant." The Popish plot, the Monmouth rebellion, the Rye House plot, the Sacheverell affair, the Bangorian controversy, nonconformity and dissent, indeed, every issue is treated. The collection contains the best from the golden age of pamphleteering.

The collection's richness is discovered anew by each person who uses it. However, it is an unfortunate fact that the collection has been underutilized because it was largely uncataloged and, thus, virtually unknown to scholars. Funding to correct this situation was provided by a U.S. Department of Education Strengthening Library Resources grant. The librarians hired to catalog the collection for local use and for inputting into a national database were no less enthusiastic than past users about the importance of the collection. Early into the grant project, the catalogers expressed a desire to make the collection known to the University of Missouri community via an exhibition and to the larger academic community through an accompanying exhibition catalog. A description of their selections follow.

The staff of the Special Collections Department invites inquiries about the collection.

Margaret A. Howell
Head, Special Collections

ENGLANDS ROYAL PATTERN or the Execution of *KING CHARLES* y^e 1st Jan^y 30.



EXECUTION OF CHARLES I., JANUARY 30, 1648
From a contemporary print. E. Gardner's Collection.

Trials of the Seventeenth Century



historical, political and religious events are linked to the important trials that took place in seventeenth century England. The legal system was based on absolutism of the church and sovereignty of the crown. Political and religious issues controlled and pressured courts and juries. Many irregularities hampered the legal process.

After 1688, the Glorious Revolution initiated a period of parliamentary supremacy. *Habeas corpus*, a writ to release a person from unlawful imprisonment, was not a common procedure. Many experienced imprisonment for years before being brought to trial, and many were tortured. Some committed suicide or died of sickness. Usually the accused never saw the indictment until it was read to them. The defendant lacked counsel and could not call for witnesses in his behalf. An accusation became, essentially, a conviction; acquittal was rare. In cases of treason, this treatment was intensified. It was not until 1695 that the accused in treason cases was allowed witnesses and counsel.

The protection of the accused was inadequate, even under a jury system, and rights of accused persons under the English legal system remained illusory. Most of the trials took place in Westminster Hall; the Tower imprisoned lords, members of the House of Commons, as well as common folk accused of various crimes. Executions usually took place in Whitehall.

Some of the trials became major attractions during this period. Seats for the hearings were often sold to spectators. As today, the public paid for the drama. A trial cost several thousand pounds sterling to prepare. Furnishing the area for the court increased the cost, and if the trial occurred in the winter, light and heating expenses had to be added. Some of the trials were of short duration, such as the famous, tragic trial of Charles I. Others lasted much longer, such as the trial of Warren Hastings with the East India Company, which dragged on for seven years.

If the accused were a nobleman, the arraignment was an impeachment by Parliament. The trials usually meant ruin for the accused, even if he were pardoned. The sentences appeared crude, and executions by beheading, hanging and quartering were common. Publishers took care to describe executions in great detail.

Besides political and religious trials, other common types of crimes were tried. The University of Missouri-Columbia has many trial proceedings from the seventeenth century. Following is a selection of proceedings important because of the personalities and subject matter involved.

The trial and execution of King Charles I amazed Europe in 1649, according to our present calendar. The startling event which occurred in England during the winter of 1648-1649 foreshadowed the turmoil to come. Many kings had been killed, deposed or murdered, but a sovereign had never been brought to trial by his own people.

By an act of the House of Commons, a High Court of Justice had been called for the purpose of trying the king. The accusation, brought by the House of Commons against the king, was simply stated. They referred to the calamities brought to the nation by the king's government because of his

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES I

The Charge of the Commons of England Against Charles, (sic) Stuart, King of England, of High Treason and Other High Crimes Exhibited to the High Court of Justice. London: R. Hartford, 1648.

A Perfect Narrative of the Whole Proceedings of the High Court of Justice in the Tryal of the King in Westminster Hall. London: J. Playford, 1648.

King Charles, His Speech Made Upon the Scaffold at Whitehall Gate, Immediately Before His Execution, on Tuesday the 30 of Jan. 1648. London: P. Cole, 1649.

THE TRIALS OF THE JESUITS

The Tryal and Condemnation of Thomas White, Alias Whitebread, Provincial of the Jesuits in England . . . London: H. Hills, 1679.

The Last Speeches of the Five Notorious Traitors and Jesuits. [London: 1679]

THE CENSORSHIP TRIAL OF BENJAMIN HARRIS

A Short but Just Account of the Tryal of Benjamin Harris Upon an Information Brought Against Him for Printing and Vending a Late Seditious Book. [London?: 1679]

tyrannical power to rule. The charges also mentioned the succession of events that brought discontent and opposition to his government.

The king constantly disputed Parliament and even governed without it from 1629-1640. His fiscal policies brought catastrophe to the nation. He financed the government by loans and heavy taxation known as poundage and tonnage. His ecclesiastical policies provoked the Scots to adopt the Solemn League of Covenant in February, 1638. The court tried the Earl of Strafford, the king's closest advisor, and sent him to the block to appease Parliament and the people of England. Civil war broke out. Parliament defeated the king after he had delivered himself to the Scottish army in 1647. These and other events resulted in the accusation of treason brought against the king by the Rump Parliament.

The king denied the authority of the court to judge him, nor did he answer the charges brought against him by the House of Commons assembled in Westminster Hall on January 20, 1648. The Prince of Wales did all in his power to save his father. The Dutch government was the only foreign power to intervene in favor of the king. On January 30, 1649, the king was beheaded at Whitehall.

In 1678, Titus Oates, "the English impostor," revealed a Catholic conspiracy in his publication, *A True and Exact Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party Against the Life of His Sacred Majesty and Government.* Fear and hatred of the Roman Catholics in England spread among the population. Oates and his friend, Israel Tonge, a London clergyman, became obsessed with the idea that a Jesuit conspiracy would take over the British government. Catholics became scapegoats for any real and imagined trouble in the nation. They received the blame for the London fire of 1666. Oates and his friend easily created the atmosphere for what is known in history as the Popish Plot.

Persecution of the Jesuits, the most aggressive religious order, resulted. The trials of Thomas Whitbread, Provincial of the Jesuits in England; William Harcourt, Rector of London; John Fenwick, Procurator for the Jesuits in England, and two more of the same order were among the most famous trials of the time. Accused of a plot to assassinate the king, they were the first of many tried for this reason. About thirty-five Roman Catholics were executed following farcical trials with evidence supplied principally by Oates.

Charles Blount authored some freethinking political pamphlets. He commissioned Benjamin Harris to publish his work, *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the Preservation of His Majesties Person, Liberty, Property, and the Protestant Religion.* This publication written by Blount under the pseudonym of Junius Brutus defended the Popish Plot. He argued that the Duke of Monmouth would be the best successor to the crown upon the death of Charles II.

The pamphlet was censored and condemned. Benjamin Harris was

brought to trial for printing and promoting the seditious book. Blount protested the suppression of his book and wrote two pamphlets: *A Just Vindication of Learning and of Liberty of the Press*, and *Reasons Humbly Offered for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*. For the latter, he took passages from Milton's *Areopagitica*. The court fined Harris and condemned and ordered Blount's writing burnt. This trial clearly indicated that liberty of the press did not exist in seventeenth century England.

There were many scandalous trials involving adultery, incest, abduction, and infidelity. These trials interested the public not only because of their subject matter, but also because of the personalities involved. The publishers exploited this interest and printed accounts with catchy titles. Some had several printings. Notable examples are the famous conviction of Robert Fielding for marrying the Duchess of Cleveland, Countess of Castlemaine, nee Barbara Villier, better known as the "royal whore." The trial of the Duke of Norfolk accused Lady Norfolk of adultery with John Germain. Lady Norfolk later became Mrs. John Germain. The famous trial of Elizabeth Cellier, discussed later in this catalog, was published with the title, *Malice Defeated*. There were many other printed trials.

SCANDALOUS TRIALS

The Arraignment, Tryal and Conviction of Robert Fielding, Esq. for Felony, in Marrying Her Grace the Dutchess of Cleveland, His First Wife Mrs. Mary Wadsworth Being Alive . . . London: J. Morphew, 1708.

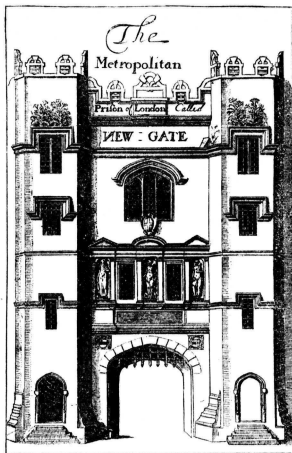
Ravillac Redivivus, Being a Narrative of the Late Tryal of Mr. James Mitchel, a Conventicle-Preacher . . . to Which Is Annexed an Account of the Tryal of That Most Wicked Pharisee Major Thomas Weir Who Was Executed for Adultery, Incest and Bestiality . . . London: W. Kettilby, 1682.

The Scotch-Mist Cleared Up, to Prevent Englishmen from Being Wet to the Skin . . . [London?: 1684]

The Tryal Between Henry Duke of Norfolk, Plaintiff, and John Jermain, Defendant. London: H. Hills, 1692.

The Tryal of Richard Hathaway, upon an Information for Being a Cheat and Impostor, for Endeavoring to Take away the Life of Sarah Morduck for Being a Witch . . . London: Isaac Cleave, 1702.

The Tryal of Spencer Cowper, Esq., John Marson, Ellis Stevens, and William Rogers, Gent. upon an Indictment for the Murder of Mrs. Sarah Stout . . . With the Opinions of the Eminent Physicians and Chyrurgeons on Both Sides Concerning Drowned Bodies . . . London: Isaac Cleave, Matt. Wotton, and John Bullord, 1699.



NEWGATE, 1650

From the Crace Collection in the British Museum.

THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM RUSSELL

The Late Lord Russell's Case.
London: Awnsham Churchill, 1689.

The Tryals of Thomas Walcot, William Hone, William Lord Russell, John Rous & William Blagg for High Treason for Conspiring the Death of the King and Raising a Rebellion.
London: Richard Royston . . . , 1683.

English statesman William Russell, known as "the Patriot," was usually given the courtesy title Lord Russell. An active member of the Country party, he became a leading opponent of the Duke of York, later James II.

Historians describe Lord Russell as a handsome, attractive man with charismatic leadership qualities. He dreaded Popery, feared France's power over England, and deplored the extravagances of court life. He supported the Exclusion Bill in Parliament, which attempted to bar the Duke of York from becoming king because he was a Roman Catholic.

Lord Russell was thought to be a leader of the conspiracy known as the Rye House Plot of 1683. The conspirators intended to murder the king and his brother, the Duke of York, and place Charles's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth, on the throne. The court accused Lord Russell of plotting to assassinate both Charles II and the Duke of York. While in Newgate, Russell refused the Duke of Monmouth's offer of assistance to free him.

Many personalities of this period interceded for Russell while he was on trial. Both the Earl of Bedford and the Duchess of Portsmouth offered to pay large sums for his pardon. Russell's sentence proved extremely cruel. Papers written by Lord Russell while in Newgate described his imprisonment and tortures.

James Scott, known as Fitzroy and Crofts, Duke of Monmouth and of Buccleuch was sometimes referred to as the "Protestant Duke." He was the natural son of Charles II by Lucy Walter, conceived during the king's stay at The Hague.

The realization that the Duke of York, heir to the British throne, had close ties with the Catholics, aroused anti-Popery feelings among some of the English population. The possibility that the Duke of Monmouth, although illegitimate, could be recognized as heir to the throne attracted the attention of the Whig party and the lower classes of England. The Rye House Plot of 1683 attempted to force recognition of Monmouth as heir.

When news of his father's death reached him in Holland, Monmouth embarked on an expedition to gain support among the people and claim the throne. The expedition was a fiasco. Many of his supporters, including some women, were apprehended and tried for their involvement. Monmouth was captured, tried, and beheaded on Tower Hill, July 15, 1685.



Titus Oates fabricated the hysteria of the Popish Plot and was arrested in 1684 on the charge of *scandalum magnatum*. He had accused the Duke of York, later James II, of being a traitor. Oates was sued and fined 100,000 pounds sterling, and when he could not pay, was sent to jail. James II came to the throne in 1685 and had Oates tried for perjury. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to be pilloried and flogged. William III pardoned Oates in 1689, but he spent the remainder of his life involved in various intrigues. He died in 1701 after expulsion from the Baptist church.

THE TRIAL OF JAMES SCOTT, DUKE OF MONMOUTH

An Account of What Passed at the Execution of the Late Duke of Monmouth. London: R. Horne, John Baker and B. Tooke, 1685.

The Tryals of Henry Cornish, Esq. for Conspiring the Death of the King and Raising a Rebellion in This Kingdom, and John Fernley, William King and Elizabeth Gaunt for Harboursing and Maintaining Rebels . . . London: G. Croom, 1685.

THE TRIAL OF TITUS OATES

The Account of the Manner of Executing a Writ of Inquiry of Damages Between His Royal Highness James, Duke of York and Titus Oates. London: Benj. Tooke, 1684.

The Tryals, Convictions & Convictions & Sentences of Titus Oates. London: R. Sare, 1689.



Women of Seventeenth Century England: Political Writers, Printers and Booksellers



It was generally assumed in the seventeenth century England that a woman's place was in the kitchen and her sphere was predominantly a household. Her virtues were modesty and silence; intellect and a strong personality were unexpected and undesirable. Not only tradition but also lack of education kept women from leading active intellectual lives. Poetry and literary translation were probably the most accessible means of self-expression for upper-class women.

Until 1640, women rarely published their works because society looked upon such activity with disapproval. Those who were so bold as to publish under their own names knew that they exposed not only themselves but also their families to hostility and at times ferocious criticism.

Rapid changes occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century with the outbreak of the Civil War. Hilda Smith has stated that the general social and political turmoil of the English Civil War created a favorable setting for people questioning traditional relationships. The number of educated women increased almost threefold during this period. They began publishing not only cookbooks and advice on good housekeeping, but also books on political, social, and religious matters.

Malice Defeated:

Or a Brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of

Elizabeth Cellier,

Wherein her Proceedings both before and during her Confinement, are particularly Related, and the Mystery of the *Meal-Tub* fully discovered.

Together with an Abstract of her Arraignment and Tryal, written by her self, for the satisfaction of all Lovers of undisguized Truth.



A 35. 21, 22. False witnesses did rise up against me, they laid to my charge things that I knew not: —
They rose and set me Enil for Good, to the spoiling of my Soul.
Psal. 7. 14, 16. Behold he Travelleth with Iniquity, and conceived Mischief, and bringeth forth Falshood.
His Mischief shall return upon his own Head, and his violent Dealing shall come down upon his own Part.

LONDON, Printed for Elizabeth Cellier, and are to be sold at her House in Arundel-street near St. Clements Church, 1680.

One of the most interesting figures of the time was Elizabeth Cellier, professional midwife and noted woman in London. A converted Catholic, she was assigned to visit prisoners at Newgate at the time when Titus Oates concocted his famous Popish Plot. On June 11, 1680, Mrs. Cellier was tried for high treason (the Meal Tub Plot) and acquitted. She then published a defense of herself, *Malice Defeated, or a Brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of Elizabeth Cellier*. Some passages in her book resulted in her being subjected to a second trial for libel. She hinted at the use of torture to extract confessions and she reported the treatment received by the prisoners. Some of her descriptions of court procedure and prison conditions were found unacceptable by the authorities. On September 3, 1680, she was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of 100 pounds sterling and to "be committed in execution till that be paid, to sit in the pillory three days in three places . . . and to have parcels of her books burned at each place before her." She was the author of two other books: *A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hospital, and Raising a Revenue of 5,000 L. or 6,000 L. a Year by and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of Skilful Midwives . . . as It Was Proposed and Addressed to His Majesty King James II in June 1687*, and *To Dr.- An Answer to His Queries Concerning the Colledg of Midwives*.

WOMEN WRITERS

Cellier, Elizabeth. *Malice Defeated, or A Brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of Elizabeth Cellier, Wherein Her Proceedings Both Before and During Her Confinement are Particularly Related, and the Mystery of the Meal-tub Fully Discovered: Together with an Abstract of Her Arraignment and Tryal. Written by Herself, for the Satisfaction of All Lovers of Undisguised Truth . . . London, Printed for Elizabeth Cellier, and are to be sold at her house . . .*, 1680.

James, Eleanor (Elinor). *Mrs. James's Vindication of the Church of England, in an Answer to a Pamphlet Entituled, A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.* London: Printed for me, Elinor James, 1687.

WOMEN PRINTERS

L'Estrange, Roger. *The Shammer Sham'd, in a Plain Discovery Under Young Tong's Own Hand, of a Designe to Trepann L'Estrange into a Pretended Subornation Against the Popish Plot.* London: printed for Joanna Brome, 1681.

L'Estrange, Roger. *Dissenters Sayings . . .* London: printed for Joanna Brome, 1681.

L'Estrange, Roger. *The Reformation Reform'd, or, A Short History of New-fashion'd Christians . . .* London: printed for Joanna Broom, 1681.

Eleanor James, political writer and printer, was the wife of well-known London printer Thomas James, who was characterized by Dunton as "a man who reads much, knows his business-very well, and is extremely obliging to his customers, and is sometimes the better known for being husband to that she-state politician, Mrs. Eleanor James."

Mrs. James was described as a lady of very extraordinary character, a mixture of benevolence and madness. On the other hand, she was a very charitable person. She gave a silver cup to William Bowyer when his printing office was destroyed by fire and was known as a generous benefactress to the church. She considered herself the counsellor of the reigning sovereigns from Charles II to George I, and was the author of numerous pamphlets, most of which were issued between 1685 and 1715. Her *Mrs. James's Advice to All Printers in General* was reprinted several times. It seems that she could not avoid the fate common to many printers, and on December 11, 1689 she was jailed at Newgate for dispersing scandalous and reflective papers. The date of her death is unknown.

Joanna Broome (Broom, Brome), whose printing house was at Gun, St. Paul's Churchyard, was the widow of the famous printer Henry Broome and carried on her husband's business after his death in 1591. She printed most of Roger L'Estrange's works.



Jane Curtis, printer at Goat Court on Ludgate Hill, near Fleet Bridge, was the political antagonist of Roger L'Estrange. Jane Curtis and her husband Langley Curtis were what Arber called "Radical Publishers." They published many things obnoxious to the government, as well as several papers in support of Oates and Bedloe. Mrs. Curtis accused L'Estrange of being a Roman Catholic. She printed a pamphlet entitled *L'Estrange a Papist, Proved by the Depositions of Miles Prance to Vindicate the King's Evidence*. In response, Joanna Broome published *L'Estrange no Papist; . . . in a Letter to a Friend with Notes and Animadversion upon Miles Prance, Silver-smith, cum Militis Aliis* (London, 1681). On February 6, 1680, Jane Curtis was put on trial for printing, a *Satyr Upon Injustice, or, Scroggs Upon Scroggs*.

An Impartial Account of the Tryal of Francis Smith, Upon an Information Brought Against Him For Printing and Publishing a Late Booke Commonly Known by the Name of Tom Tickelfoot, &c; as Also of the Tryal of Jane Curtis, Upon an Information Brought Against Her For Publishing and Putting to Sale a Scandalous Libel, Called A Satyr Upon Injustice, or, Scroggs upon Scroggs. London: 1680.

Dorothy Hutchinson Newcomb was the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb, King's Printer at the King's Printing House in the Savoy. Thomas Newcomb was sworn in as King's Printer on May 11, 1677. Mr. Newcomb died on December 26, 1681. His son, also Thomas, inherited the Patent but died in 1691, and from that time until January, 1710, the imprint "Charles Bill and the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb" remained unchanged. In December, 1692 in the "Calendar of Treasury Books" there were several references to the payments made to the King's Printers, among them was the name of Dorothy Newcomb. She died in 1718.

Anno Regni Gulielmi III Regis Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae & Hiberniae Decimo & Undecimo: at the Parliament begun at Westminster the Four and Twentieth Day of August Anno Dom. 1698. London: Printed by Charles Bill, and the Executrix of Thomas Newcomb . . . , 1699.

Elizabeth Crooke (Crook), printer at the Green Dragon without Temple Bar, was probably a relative of the noted printer and bookseller William Crook or his wife Mary. The collection contains two editions of the funeral sermon preached by Thomas Manningham on the death of Queen Mary and printed by Elizabeth Crooke. In 1696, the firm apparently ceased doing business, and the stock was remaindered.

Manningham, Thomas, 1651-1722. *A Sermon Preach'd at the Parish-Church of St. Andrew Holborn, the 30th of December, 1694. On the Death of Our Most Gracious Sovereign Queen Mary.* London: Printed for Sam Smith . . . and Eliz. Crooke, 1695.

Elizabeth Holt's shop was at Bishop's Head in St. Paul's Church Yard. She printed Randall Taylor's *Gazophylacium Anglicanum, Containing a Derivation of English Words* in 1689, and Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* for Thomas Basset in 1690. After the death of her husband, R. Holt, in 1688 she was ordered by the Company of Stationers "to lay down the trade of printing."

The Lay-man Religion: Humbly Offered as a Help to a Modest Enquiry For Every Man Into His Own Heart, Both as Being the Only Means to Judge and Save Himself, and the Best Way to Unite Us All Against Our Common Enemies. London: printed by Eliz. Holt for Walter Kettliby. [1690]

Mary Thompson, whose printing business was at the Entrance to the Old Spring Garden, near Charing Cross, was possibly a relative of the printer, Nathaniel Thompson. She published in 1688 an anonymous book on religious tolerance in Great Britain.

An Answer to the City-conformists Letter, From the Country Clergy-man, About Reading His Majesties Declaration. London: [Mary Thompson, 1688]

William, Lord Bishop of Chester.
A Sermon Preach'd Before the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Governors of the Several Hospitals of the City of London, in St. Bridget's Church, on Monday in Easter Week, April 25, 1709. London: Printed for Anne Speed, 1709.

William, Lord Bishop of Chester.
A Sermon Preach'd Before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the Parish-Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, February 18, 1708/9. London: Printed for Anne Speed, 1709.

William, Lord Bishop of Chester.
A Sermon Preach'd Before the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, at West Minster Abby, on March the Eighth, 1711. Being the Day on which Her Majesty Began Her Happy Reign. London: Printed for Anne Speed, 1712.

Anne Speed, printer at the Three Crowns in Exchange-Alley, over against Jonathan's Coffee house in Cornhill, published extensively at the beginning of the eighteenth century. She printed and sold most of the books of William, Lord Bishop of Chester.

Seventeenth and eighteenth century women printers found in the collection are Joanna Brome, Sarah Chauklin, Mary Clark, Mary Cooper, Elizabeth Crook, Jane Curtis, Mary Fletcher, Elizabeth Green, Eliza Haywood, Elizabeth Holt, Mary Kettlby, Dorothy Newcomb, Mrs. Oliver, Hannah Sawbridge, Anne Speed, and Mary Thompson.

Restoration Satire



English satire flourished during the latter half of the seventeenth century. There were imitators of the Roman satirists, Horace and Juvenal, writers of the traditional verse satire, and those writing in prose who used satire as a weapon in various political and religious controversies. This last is the major difference between Restoration satire and the earlier Elizabethan and Jacobean. There is a definite preference during this period for attacking the personalities of the day or one's adversary personally rather than holding up certain human types (for example, the fop) to ridicule.

This collection, because of its emphasis on the historical rather than the literary, lacks good examples of close imitators of the Roman satirists, although Gold's *Love Given Over* uses a theme common to the Roman satirists. Furthermore, many of the Restoration satirists use allusions from the Classical tradition in their works.

There are, however, several examples of the traditional verse satire. Many of these works are eighteenth century reprints rather than first editions. Dryden, Oldham, and Rochester are among those represented. Oldham's *Spenser's Ghost*, in fact, fulfills the narrowest definition of satire—a poem in which prevailing follies or vices are held up for ridicule. Oldham's folly is that of attempting to be a poet, despite all the difficulties listed.

The greater share of the seventeenth century satires are in prose and follow the broader definition of a satire as "biting wit, irony, or sarcasm used to expose vice or folly". These prose satires have no particular style. They can be mock wills, funeral sermons, or allegories veiling their point in a story, or even a vindication which ridicules rather than praises. These satires often have a bitter and violent edge to them since they are generally designed as attacks on specific individuals. For this reason, they are often difficult to understand since they assume the reader is acquainted with contemporary events and people. Some, like *The Sick Popes Last Will and Testament*, can be appreciated with little knowledge of the period, while others aimed at Titus Oates or Roger L'Estrange require some knowledge of the events of the time in order for them to be appreciated.

Satire in all of its various forms played a major role in England during this period. In addition, it influenced the English satirists of the next century, men such as Swift and Pope.

This pamphlet contains works by two of the better known satirists of the seventeenth century. The first work, *MacFlecknoe* by John Dryden, is written in a mock epic style and may have served as a model for Pope's *Dunciad*. In *MacFlecknoe*, Dryden attacks only one rival, Thomas Shadwell, a fellow author and one time friend of Dryden's whose support of the Whigs led to a bitter feud between him and Dryden.

The second work, *Spenser's Ghost*, is by John Oldham. Oldham was probably the leading satirist of his day and he demonstrates why in this playful satire on the profession of the poet. In this poem, Spenser's shade returns to warn Oldham against becoming a poet, and lists all the pitfalls of the profession such as lack of rewards and respect. The shade's words fall on deaf ears for, as he points out, a man who succumbs to the Muse is a lost cause.

Dryden, John. *MacFlecknoe, a Poem: with Spenser's Ghost, Being a Satyr Concerning Poetry* by J. Oldham. London: Printed by H. Hills, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1709.

Gould, Robert. *Love Given Over, or, A Satyr Against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy, &c.: with Sylvia's Revenge, or, A Satyr Against Man, in Answer to the Satyr Against Women.* London: Printed and sold by H. Hills, 1710.

Women have frequently been a subject of satirists. Gould's poem, originally published in 1680, is a biting, occasionally obscene diatribe against women reminiscent of Juvenal's sixth satire. Gould drew not only on Classical tradition, but also on Biblical tradition, using Eve as the first example of the faults women have. Nor was Gould the only seventeenth century satirist to use women as a subject. Rochester, Oldham and many others found the female sex a fertile topic for their caustic wit. This 1710 edition of Gould's work also provides an example of the other side of the coin: satires against men. *Sylvia's Revenge* written by Richard Ames in 1688 in essence reverses the traditional charges levelled against women, (for example, inconstancy), and applies it to men. Ames, although seemingly defending women in *Sylvia's Revenge*, was no feminist and would later write *The Folly of Love*, a vitriolic attack on women.

Rochester, John Wilmot, Earl of. *The History of Insipids, a Lampon . . . with His Farewell, 1680: Together with Marvil's Ghost, by Mr. Ayloff.* London: Printed and sold by H. Hills . . ., 1709.

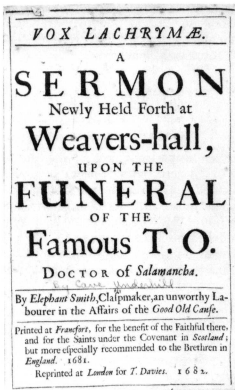
This title contains three poems originally written in the seventeenth century. The first two are attributed to John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester. Rochester in many ways epitomizes the dissolute, rakish courtiers who surrounded Charles II. Rochester's biting and often malicious wit earned him several enemies and occasionally his sovereign's disfavor. Here, Rochester has turned his brilliant wit on Charles II and the notables of his court.

The last poem, "Marvil's Ghost," is a satire on the Stuarts in general. Marvil refers to Andrew Marvell, a satirist of the period, who was an ardent republican and no friend of the Stuarts. John Ayloff, the author, was executed for his role in the Rye House Plot, an assassination plot against Charles II and his brother, the Duke of York.

The Sick Pope's Last Will and Testament: with His Several Legacies Left to His Dear Children the Jesuites and Others. [London: 1680]

A spectre which haunted seventeenth century England and caused many of the anti-Catholic outbursts was the fear that the Pope through some devious means would find a way to gain control over England, either by a Catholic succeeding to the throne or by an outright *coup d'etat*. The Pope was perceived by Englishmen to be a tyrannical foreign monarch who desired to enslave them. The will begins as follows: "Being very crasie in Body, but extremely sick in mind . . ." and continues with several bequests demonstrating many of the beliefs held about the Pope and the various Catholic Orders. It bequeaths to the Franciscans "six Fardels of hypocrisies, and seven chests of Franciscan lies," but to the hospitals within his jurisdiction a mere three half pence.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury had a long and illustrious career, serving not only as a councilor to Cromwell but also as Lord Councilor to Charles II. His championship of the Duke of Monmouth as a successor to Charles eventually led to his downfall. Nevertheless, the Earl of Shaftesbury whether holding office or not was a force to be reckoned with in politics for a large part of the seventeenth century. Shaftesbury's political involvement, particularly with Monmouth, gave the satirists ample material for their pen as these examples indicate. *Grimalkin, or The Rebel Cat* written in 1680 uses cat imagery to describe intrigues involving Charles II, Shaftesbury, and Monmouth. Shaftesbury is described as "the Cat as being believed by all a subtle, sly, shifting creature . . ." The last two also concern Shaftesbury's attempt to make the Duke of Monmouth the heir of Charles II. He is represented as the King of Poland, an empty title to the Englishmen of the period. Both satires also depict the men who supported Shaftesbury. For example, in *The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland*, John Dryden is depicted as his poet laureate.



Titus Oates was an unappealing man who styled himself D.D. of Salamanca. He came to prominence in 1678 as the man who uncovered a conspiracy among the Catholics to assassinate Charles II and establish a Catholic government. This so-called conspiracy and the hysteria it created became known as the Popish Plot. Although his testimony sent several to the gallows, Titus Oates was eventually shown to be a perjurer. His detractors used his invented title of Doctor of Salamanca as a means to ridicule him. They also turned to various forms of satire. In *The Modest Vindication &c.*, the satirist uses allegory to paint an unflattering view of Oates as a wandering hermit. Underhill, writing as Elephant Smith, the clasp-maker and unworthy labourer in the affairs of the good old cause, chose a funeral sermon as his method of attack. The sermon is complete with text (from *Hudibras Canto* rather than the Bible) and epitaph. Unfortunately, it was a bit premature as Oates did not die until 1705.

Grimalkin, or, The Rebel-Cat: a Novell Representing the Unwearied Attempts of the Beasts of His Faction Against Sovereignty and Succession Since the Death of the Lyons in the Tower. London: Printed for the author, 1681.

The Last Will and Testament of Anthony King of Poland. [London]: Printed for S. Ward, 1682.

A Modest Vindication of the Earl of S . . . y, in a letter to a Friend Concerning his Being Elected King of Poland. London: Printed for Smith, Bookseller in Chief to his Majesty Elect of Poland, 1681.

A Modest Vindication &c. (Not printed before 1678).

Underhill, Cave. *Vox Lachrymæ: A Sermon Newly Held Forth at Weavershall, Upon the Funeral of the Famous T. O., Doctor of Salamanca.* London: Reprinted for T. Davies, 1682.

L'Estrange, Roger. *A Hue and Cry After Dr. T.O.* London: Printed for Alex. Banks, 1681.

L'Estrange, Roger. *Discovery Upon Discovery: in Defence of Doctor Oates Against B.W.'s Libellous Vindication of Him, in His Additional Discovery and in Justification of L'Estrange Against the Same Libel in a Letter to Doctor Titus Oates.* The second edition. London: Printed for Henry Brome . . . , 1680.

Mowbray, Lawrence. *The Portraiture of Roger L'Estrange Drauen to the Life as it was Taken in the Queens Chappel.* London: 1681.

The English Guzman, or, Captain Hilltons Memoirs: with Several Other of the Grand Informers. London: Printed for R. Osweel, 1683.

Musae Ludentes in Ludovicum XIV, Galliae Regem Cogomine Magnum Hostem Imperii Romano Germanici Maximam: Ab Aliquot Retro Annis Collectae & in Scenam Productae an MDCLXXXIX. 1689.

Atwood, William. *A Speech According to the Answerer's Principles, Made for Parliament at Oxford.* London: 1681.

Roger L'Estrange was more of a controversialist than a satirist. In his feuds with various opponents, he often used satire as a means to make his opponent appear ridiculous. L'Estrange's most bitterly fought contest was with Titus Oates and his fellow informers involved in the Popish Plot. L'Estrange was one of the few who sought to expose Oates during the height of the Popish Plot. In his attempt to expose Oates, satire was a weapon he often wielded. The first example is a seemingly light-hearted wanted notice for Oates. *A Hue and Cry for Dr. T.O.* gives a description of the habits and haunts of Oates. The second satire is not quite so light-hearted. Although purporting to defend Oates against the 'detractions' of a vindication of him, this work succeeds in blackening Oates's character even further.

This satire is a by-product of L'Estrange's controversy with Titus Oates. Lawrence, in his work, turns the tables on L'Estrange and satirizes him. He accused L'Estrange of being Catholic and involved with the Popish Plot, and in fact borrows from Miles Prance's *L'Estrange a Papist*, one of several works written to malign L'Estrange's character.

Informers were an unpleasant fact of life during the Restoration, particularly during the hysteria of the Popish Plot in which several innocent people were prosecuted simply on the word of informers. This work is a bitter indictment against those who informed against Catholics and dissenters. In addition, the author of this work has followed a common practice of the period. He has modelled his work on someone else's. The Guzman in the title refers to Guzman de Alfarache, the hero of a romance by Mateo Aleman. Aleman, like his English copier, included a sarcastic commentary with his hero's adventures.

France, particularly during the latter half of the seventeenth century, was England's bitterest adversary, so it is not surprising to find Louis XIV the subject of a satire. The satirist, drawing on Suetonius's *Twelve Caesars*, created a mocking biography of Louis XIV, complete with fulsome and overdone praise.

Originally appended to Atwood's *Ius Anglorum ab Antiquo*, this work formed part of Atwood's defense of William Peyt's *Antient Right of the Commons of England Asserted* against an attack by Robert Brady. Brady's reply to Peyt revealed his anti-parliamentarian views, which are ridiculed in this mockery of a scholarly work which is characterized by many unnecessary citations and Latin phrases.

William III ruled England from 1689 to 1702 and gained the respect, if not love of the English, particularly after the chaotic reign of James II whose Catholicism and high-handedness lost him the crown. Although satirical works on rulers are by no means uncommon, this work is unique, since it is in fact a eulogy for William III, while stating on nearly every page its intention to satirize the king. It is certainly a telling tribute to William III—a satire that cannot ridicule, but praises instead.

A Satyr Upon King William: Being the Secret History of His Life and Reign. Third edition. London: 1703.

This satire, probably published at the very end of the seventeenth century, appears to be a small exhibition catalog listing works to be viewed. A closer look reveals that the artists are notables of Queen Anne's reign and the titles of their works are telling phrases about their character and accomplishments. For example, this exhibit includes *A Judas by L. B-TI---broke*. Bolingbroke was infamous for his wavering between the Jacobites and the Whigs. Although contemporary readers may have found this work easy to decipher, the author's penchant for initials instead of full names and the emphasis on Classical allusions make it challenging to present-day readers.

A Collection of Several Pictures by the Best Hands which were Lately to be Viewed Adjoining to the Court of Requests: And When the town Fills, Will Be Exhibited There Again to Publick View. [Great Britain: 17?].

Broadsides



roadsides were an important medium of popular culture in seventeenth century Britain. These single sheet publications allowed the government to promulgate official proclamations to the people, the people to convey opinion to the government, and the public to satisfy its curiosity about events both historical and scandalous. Broadsides were also a means of publicizing ballads, but this variety is outside the scope of this catalog.

The government used broadsides as a way of disseminating official proclamations because they could be posted easily in public places. Messengers of the Exchequer carried bundles of sheets printed on one side from London to the rest of the country to distribute them in locations where the population would be likely to read them. This was essential in Britain, since after 1365 citizens were held responsible for knowledge of a law as soon as it was passed in Parliament.

Another purpose of the broadside was to rally opinion to a cause and to petition the King and Parliament on its behalf. In a century noted for its religious and governmental turbulence, the various factions often used broadsides as a means of influencing public opinion. Anti-Catholicism was a common topic, and in a country which does not separate church and state, these documents have a political as well as a religious purpose.

Broadsides also conveyed news of historical events to the public. The "true report" was an important sub-genre of the broadside. These purported eye-witness accounts of newsworthy happenings of public interest are a forerunner of the British newspaper which developed in the seventeenth century. In fact, the first English-language newspaper, printed in Holland from 1620 to 1621, was a broadside.

Finally, the broadside served to slake the eternal human thirst for the sensational. Murders, adulterous affairs, and gory events were spelled out in meticulous detail for the satisfaction of public curiosity and the profit of the publisher. For those who could not be present at a public execution, of which there were many during this period, a full-blown description published in a broadside was the next best thing. News of improper behavior extended beyond the gossip-circuit, thanks to broadsides. In short, this kind of broadside must have served the same purpose that soap-operas and scandal sheets serve today.

It is fortunate that these seemingly ephemeral publications have survived through the intervening centuries to give us a more rounded view of society in seventeenth century Britain. They draw back the curtain a bit on the thinking of the ordinary British citizen who played an important part in the great social upheavals of this century, and who was the cousin by both blood and creed of our own seventeenth century ancestors.

Perhaps the most dramatic event in a turbulent century in Great Britain was the execution of Charles I. Soon thereafter, England declared itself a Commonwealth. After centuries of monarchy, the British people were ruled by commoners sitting in a Parliament which consisted of a House of Commons only. This broadside proclaims the establishment of the new political structure and reflects a revolution in thought about the source of power and authority in government.

*An Act Declaring and Constituting
the People of England to be a
Commonwealth and Free-State.*
London: Edward Husband, 1649.

This broadside served two purposes for the seventeenth century reader. It provided details about the prosecution of the "Popish Plot," and it painted a grisly picture for those with a taste for the macabre. William Staley, a Roman Catholic, was executed after his conviction for supposedly plotting against the life of Charles II. By a special dispensation, the King permitted Staley's relatives to bury the remains of his body on the condition that the burial be private. According to the authorities, the funeral was quite public and quite openly a Catholic mass. In retaliation, the government ordered the coroner to exhume the body and allow the sheriff to display the quarters on the city gates.

Partisan propaganda with a humorous tone characterizes this broadside. The dialogue form was popular in the seventeenth century as a way of representing various points of view. For the twentieth century reader, the form gives a flavor of colloquial language. For instance, the initial greeting is, "Well met, Neighbour Hodge. How do'st do?" In his reply, "Roger" swears, "By my brown cow, then, Numps, . . ." The serious content of this broadside is its opposition to "Popery and arbitrary power."

This broadside is an example of a petition to the king. It expresses the gratitude of the Huguenots who were welcomed in England so that they might escape persecution in France. Their numbers grew dramatically after 1685 when Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. *The British Library Catalogue* attributes this address to the King to Andre Lombard.

This proclamation relates to Monmouth's Rebellion which culminated in 1685. James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, illegitimate son of Charles II, challenged the succession of James II to the throne because of James' Roman Catholic sympathies. Monmouth represented the interests of the Protestant party. In 1683 he traveled throughout England, greeted by ever-more enthusiastic crowds, and began to plot an insurrection with his supporters. Charles II became alarmed by the possibility of a coup and ordered Monmouth's arrest, along with some of Monmouth's men. This broadside informed the British public of the King's order.

Roger L'Estrange wrote *The Observator* which was a serial publication that first appeared April 13, 1681. It was a vehicle for L'Estrange's anti-dissenter and anti-Whig views. In this issue the author attacks Sir Algernon Sidney who was executed for his role in the Rye House Plot. The subject is a paper Sidney gave to the sheriff just before he was hanged in which he denounces his trial and defends his republican principles.

An Account of the Digging up of the Quarters of William Staley, Lately Executed for High Treason, for That His Relations Abused the King's Mercy. London: Robert Pawlet, 1678.

Plain Dealing, or A Dialogue Between Humphrey and Roger About Chusing the Next Parliament. London: Francis Smith, 1681.

An Harangue to the King by a Minister of the French Church in the Savoy . . . London: R. Bentley and M. Magnes, 1681.

A Proclamation for the Apprehending of James Duke of Monmouth, Ford Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Knight, and Robert Ferguson, by the King. London?: John Bill, Henry Hills, and Thomas Newcomb, 1683.

The Observator. London: Joanna Brome, 1684.

*A Word to the Wise, for Settling the
Government.* London: Richard
Janeway, 1689.

Partisan politics inspired this broadside. The Revolution of 1688 brought about an active public debate about the legality, even the theological justification, of a people deposing their king and replacing him with another. One party, the Jacobites, believed that passive obedience to the process of royal succession through inheritance was the proper course. The other party, the supporters of William and Mary, believed that the Protestant revolution in England should be guaranteed at all costs. If James II were a Roman Catholic, he had forfeited his right to the throne. The anonymous writer of this pamphlet supports the latter view.

Illustrations



he illustrations in this exhibition are interesting because they are rare and because they typify the inferiority of book illustration in seventeenth century England in comparison with earlier and later periods. Few of the pamphlets have illustrations, probably because of the time and expense required for making a separate engraved plate.

Those pamphlets that have illustrations prove Edward Hodnett's assertion in *Image and Text: Studies in the Illustration of English Literature* that "The typical English illustrator (of the seventeenth century) was primarily a craftsman with a modest idea of himself, one that excluded passion and vision and concentrated mainly on technical proficiency." (p. 5).

The medium represented in the exhibition is copper engraving. Earlier in the seventeenth century, book illustrations were usually wood-cuts, but after the middle of the century, copper engraving became more popular. In this medium, the engraver incises the design into a copper plate with a burin, or engraver's tool. The plate is inked, then wiped, leaving ink only in the depressions to reproduce the design on the porous paper.

With the exception of Jeremy Taylor's religious works, the seventeenth century pamphlets in this collection have illustrations whose purpose is utilitarian. They are portraits, plans and tables which illuminate the text without concern for artistic decoration. Books about the controversial issues of the day, such as the question of the Prince of Wales' legitimacy or the Earl of Essex's suicide, often have diagrams which support the author's opinion. The pamphlets about military tactics of the War of the Grand Alliance sometimes have plans of battle lines. In spite of the good technical qualities of the engraving, these prints are without aesthetic merit.

Jeremy Taylor's two books do have engravings which demonstrate an attempt at artistic interpretation of the text. The illustrator has explored the dramatic tensions between good and evil and life and death. This anonymous artist has tried to depict the meaning of Taylor's text as a whole and create a visual effect which reinforces the spiritual goal of the author. As a result, the two engravings not only illuminate the text but enlighten the twentieth century viewer about seventeenth century standards of style and thought.



Taylor, Jeremy. *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living*. Thirteenth ed. London: Miles Flesher, 1682.

Jeremy Taylor was Anglican Bishop of Down and Connor in Ireland. This work is among his best known, reaching fourteen editions by 1686, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It has been reissued many times on both sides of the Atlantic.

The engraving represents the reward for following the rules of living outlined in the book and the penalty for transgressing them. The motto on the path leading to the Christ figure is "Ad te quodunq; vocas dulcissime Jesu," and the motto on the primrose-lined path to Hell is "Who can dwell with the everlasting burning?" (Isaiah 33: 14). The human figure is wearing the dress of a seventeenth century clergyman and bears the title of Mercurius Christianus, probably meaning "the messenger of the Christian God."

This work was even more popular than its companion piece, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living*. New editions appeared through the nineteenth century, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

The engraving is in the "memento mori" tradition. The clergyman points to the skeleton in the mirror to remind the family depicted in everyday dress of the period that death awaits them, and that they should prepare for it. The realism of the setting makes the contrast with the allegorical death figure more shocking. The drapery in the upper left corner adds movement to the otherwise static composition and demonstrates the engraver's skill with the burin in playing with light and shadow.



Taylor, Jeremy. *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying*, Thirteenth ed. London: Miles Flesher, 1682.

A Full Answer to the Depositions and to All Other the Pretences and Arguments Whatsoever, Concerning the Birth of the Prince of Wales . . .
London: Simon Burgis, 1689.

The Proceedings and Tryal in the Case of the Most Reverend Father in God William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. London: Thomas Basset and Thomas Fox, 1689.

Essex's Innocency and Honour Vindicated, or, Murder, Subornation, Perjury, and Oppression Justly Charg'd on the Murderers of that Noble Lord and True Patriot, Arthur (late) Earl of Essex. London: Printed for the author, 1690.

The plan of St. James's Palace illustrates the assertion in the book that James, Prince of Wales, was not the legitimate son of James II and Queen Mary. The anonymous author supports the claim of those who believed the real mother was Mary Grey who gave up her child so that the monarch could claim to have an heir to the throne. At that time, King James faced growing opposition to his supposed Roman Catholicism, and indeed, was forced into exile soon after the contested birth of the Prince of Wales. As an adult, the Prince was commonly called the Old Pretender, and participated in several abortive Jacobite rebellions, the most notable being in 1715.

The purpose of the plan is to demonstrate how the baby was smuggled into the palace and into Queen Mary's bedroom. It contradicts the testimony of those who appeared in court as witnesses of the Prince of Wales's legitimate birth.

This group of portraits is of the Archbishop of Canterbury and six other bishops who refused to read publicly James II's declaration of liberty of conscience. This declaration was widely viewed as favorable to Roman Catholics. Archbishop Sancroft justified his refusal on the grounds that "the declaration, being founded on such a dispensing power as may at pleasure set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, appears to be illegal." (*Dictionary of National Biography*). The seven bishops did not comply with a summons to appear in Westminster Hall, for which they were committed to the Tower of London. Their trial for seditious libel in June 1689 ended in acquittal. The case dramatically illustrates the tangle of church and state which so characterized the seventeenth century in England.

This engraving, although not without visual interest, demonstrates the utilitarian nature of most seventeenth century British pamphlet illustration. The purpose is to support the claim that the Earl of Essex did not commit suicide but was murdered in his jail cell. He had been incarcerated for his alleged role in the Rye House Plot against the life of James II. The captions in the upper left corner are quotations from Psalm 94 which are used to condemn the supposed murderers.

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