Politicians and Pamphleteers

Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum

Jason Peacey

POLITICIANS AND PAMPHLETEERS

To Mum and Dad

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Propaganda During the English Civil Wars and Interregnum

JASON PEACEY

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Abbreviations

A&O	C. H. Firth & R. S. Rait, eds, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642–1660* (3 vols, London, 1911)
Abbott, *Cromwell*	W. C. Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (4 vols, Oxford, 1988)
Add.	Additional Manuscript
AHR	*American Historical Review*
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*
BJRL	*Bulletin of John Rylands Library*
BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CCSP	O. Ogle, W. H. Bliss, W. D. Macray, and F. J. Routledge, eds, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers* (5 vols, Oxford, 1872–1970)
CJ	*Journals of the House of Commons*
CJH	*Canadian Journal of History*
Clarendon State Papers	R. Scrope and T. Monkhouse, eds, *State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (3 vols, Oxford, 1767–86)
Clarendon, *History*	E. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England* (ed. W. D. Macray, 6 vols, Oxford, 1888)
Clarendon, *Life*	*The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (3 vols, Oxford, 1827)
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
CP	C. H. Firth, ed., *The Clarke Papers* (4 vols, Camden Society, 1891–1901)
CSPD	*Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
CSPI	*Calendar of State Papers Ireland*
CSPV	*Calendar of State Papers Venetian*
CUL	Cambridge University Library

D'Ewes Diary, ed. Coates	W. H. Coates, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (New Haven, 1942)
D'Ewes Diary, ed. Notestein	W. Notestein, ed., *The Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (New Haven, 1923)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents*	S. R. Gardiner, ed., *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625–1660* (Oxford, 1979)
GCW	S. R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (4 vols, Adlestrop, 1987)
GL	Guildhall Library, London
Hartlib Papers	Sheffield University Library, Hartlib Papers
IHS	*Irish Historical Studies*
HJ	*Historical Journal*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
HLRO	House of Lords Record Office
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HPT	*History of Political Thought*
HR	*Historical Research*
IHR	Institute of Historical Research
JBS	*Journal of British Studies*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JHI	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
JMH	*Journal of Modern History*
Laud, *Works*	J. H. Parker, ed., *The Works of … William Laud* (8 vols, Oxford, 1847–60)
Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie	D. Laing (ed.), *The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1841–42)
LJ	*Journals of the House of Lords*
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
Ludlow, *Memoirs*	C. H. Firth, ed., *Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow* (2 vols, Oxford, 1894)
Madan, *Oxford Books*	F. Madan, *Oxford Books* (3 vols, Oxford, 1895–1931)
N&S	C. Nelson and M. Seccombe, *British Newspapers and Periodicals 1641–1700* (New York, 1987)
Nalson, *Impartial Collection*	J. Nalson, *An Impartial Collection* (2 vols, London, 1682)
NP	G. F. Warner, ed., *The Nicholas Papers* (4 vols, Camden Society, 1886–1920)

OPH	*The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* (24 vols, London, 1761–63)
P&P	*Past and Present*
Peacey, 'Henry Parker'	J. T. Peacey, 'Henry Parker and parliamentary propaganda in the English civil wars' (Cambridge University PhD, 1994)
Pepys, *Diary*	R. Latham and W. Matthews, eds, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (11 vols, London, 1970–83)
PER	*Parliaments, Estates and Representation*
PH	*Parliamentary History*
PHE	*Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England* (36 vols, London, 1806–20)
PJ	W. C. Coates, A. S. Young and V. Snow, eds, *The Private Journals of the Long Parliament* (3 vols, New Haven, 1982–92)
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
RO	Record Office
Rushworth, *Historical Collections*	J. Rushworth, ed., *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State* (8 vols, London, 1721)
SCH	*Studies in Church History*
SHR	*Scottish Historical Review*
SR	*A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers* (3 vols, London, 1913)
State Trials	T. B. Howell, ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (34 vols, London, 1809–26)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
TSP	T. Birch, ed., *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe* (7 vols, London, 1742)
Whitelocke, *Memorials*	B. Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (4 vols, Oxford, 1853)
Wood, *Athenae*	A. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. P. Bliss, 4 vols, London, 1813–20)

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Introduction

The subject of this book is the political and polemical literature of the English civil wars and Interregnum. This material is, in many ways, familiar enough. Most scholars and students are now aware of the vast numbers and bewildering variety of tracts and pamphlets, of all sizes and shapes, which emerged from the presses between 1640 and 1660. The most important sources are now thoroughly and routinely explored, and the authors – whether poets, clerics, journalists, or political theorists – are well known. Where this work differs from other books on the literature of the 1640s and 1650s is in its approach to such tracts and pamphlets, and to their authors. It is as much concerned with *why* books were written as with *what* was contained within them, and it is as much concerned with the processes by which works were conceived and executed, as it is with the ideas and theories developed, or the historical evidence incorporated. Based upon a recognition that there are a number of contexts in which polemical literature can be situated, it seeks to explore one such context which has largely been neglected by scholars of the mid-seventeenth century. This involves recognising that many political tracts combined elements which were timebound as well as timeless, and that in order to gain a full understanding of their nature it is necessary to explore the events to which such works were intimately connected.[1] The approach of this book is to cultivate the hitherto barren ground between historical analyses of political events on the one hand, and literary and intellectual studies of prose in an era of political unrest and upheaval on the other, not least by introducing into the history of the period some of the approaches adopted by scholars of the 'history of the book'.[2]

However, the book is concerned not merely to demonstrate that works can be understood by examining the political context in which they were written, and the local political debates to which they contributed, but also to outline the political forces which operated on the world of publishing during the period, and the exploitation of print by politicians. What this work seeks to do, therefore, is to explore the political history of the book, in terms of the interaction between politics and print, and in order to bring the insights of the 'new bibliography' to bear on the

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[1] D. Hirst and R. Strier, 'Introduction', in *Writing and Political Engagement in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1–2.

[2] R. Darnton, 'What is the history of books?', in K. E. Carpenter, ed., *Books and Society in History* (New York, 1983); J. Rose, 'The history of books: revised and enlarged', in H. T. Mason, ed., *The Darnton Debate* (Oxford, 1998).

study of the political life and political culture of early modern Britain.[3] The aim is to trace the processes by which propaganda came about; the means of detecting its existence; the ways in which it was produced, distributed and employed; and the nature of relationships between propagandists and politicians. More than merely being concerned to contextualise books, therefore, this work is concerned with propaganda in its strictest sense. This means not simply books produced with the intention of advocating, promulgating and propagating a political message to a public audience. This is what might be called political *polemic*. Rather, *propaganda* is taken to mean polemical works which appeared with the connivance of those political figures whose interests were best served by the existence of such books, tracts and pamphlets.[4] The term 'propaganda' is, of course, problematic, since it was not in general and widespread use during the early modern period. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is unmistakable. In the words of Bob Scribner, the 'extreme linguistic nominalism that asserts that we should not use words for historical phenomena that contemporaries of the time would not have used clearly founders on such an example'.[5] Furthermore, it is possible that the term 'propaganda' would not have confused contemporaries as much as we might assume. The OED dates the use of the word 'propagation' to 1588, the word 'propagating' to John Pory in 1600, and the verb 'to propagate', including beliefs and doctrine, to 1570. In some sense, the term propaganda itself was in circulation, and men such as William Prynne certainly interpreted the Catholic *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, founded in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, as a body involved in propaganda as we would understand it.[6] Contemporaries also appear to have begun to develop the use of the term 'manifesto', or more commonly 'manifest', in the way which we would recognise, and which the OED defines as 'a public declaration or proclamation usually issued by or with the sanction of a sovereign prince or state, or by an individual or body of individuals whose proceedings are of public importance, for the purpose of making known past actions, or explaining the reasons or motives for actions announced as forthcoming'.[7] One prominent pamphleteer of the 1640s, Nathaniel Ward, noted, for example, that 'it were good if states would let people know so much before hand, by some safe-woven manifesto'.[8]

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[3] For a recent study of political culture in the mid-seventeenth century, see: S. Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic* (Manchester, 1997).

[4] The term propaganda is often used to describe something which runs the two together: S. Murdoch, 'The search for Northern allies: Stuart and Cromwellian propagandists and protagonists in Scandinavia, 1649–60', in B. Taithe and T. Thornton, eds, *Propaganda* (Stroud, 1999); T. Harris, 'Propaganda and public opinion in seventeenth century England', in J. D. Popkin, ed., *Media and Revolution* (Lexington, 1995), p. 51; H. Rusche, 'Prophecies and propaganda, 1641 to 1651', *EHR* 84 (1969); L. B. Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's "appeasement" of Spain', *HLQ* 6 (1943).

[5] R. W. Sribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1994), p. 274.

[6] W. Prynne, *Canterburies Doom* (London, 1646), pp. 440–42.

[7] See: Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, i. 308.

[8] N. Ward, *The Simple Cobbler* (London, 1647).

No work has yet attempted to discuss the centrality of print to the political life of the central decades of the seventeenth century. There has yet to be a systematic study, in other words, of the role of the press and propaganda in the political life and political culture of the period. This is somewhat surprising, given the widespread recognition that the political and religious tensions in England in the decades after printing arrived with William Caxton ensured that printing quickly became employed for propaganda purposes, not least since insecure monarchs needed to project a favourable image. From that point on there are many well-known incidents of propaganda, and a significant amount of analysis has been undertaken concerning the extent to which subsequent regimes in the sixteenth century did, or did not, manipulate and exploit the press. Early modern governments were, to a greater or lesser extent, interested in the world of print, and historians have given recognition to the existence and importance of propaganda in England during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century.[9] Furthermore, recent studies of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century indicate a growing awareness that print was central to political life and political processes.[10] Nevertheless, scholarly attention to early modern propaganda has tended to assume a position of only tangential importance in wider studies of high politics or political literature. Thus, while, historians are alive to the use made of print by politicians, there have been few studies of the processes and practices of propaganda in the seventeenth century. This is particularly true of the historiography of the civil wars and Interregnum. Recent scholars have noted the importance of pamphleteering to the political process, and the fact that books have

[9] N. Wheale, *Writing and Society. Literacy, Print and Politics in Britain, 1590–1660* (London, 1999); T. Thornton, 'Propaganda, political communication and the problem of English responses to the introduction of printing', in Taithe and Thornton, eds, *Propaganda*; below, pp. 32–4.

[10] T. Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II* (Cambridge, 1987); M. Knights, *Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678–81* (Cambridge, 1994); T. Claydon, *William III and the Godly Revolution* (Cambridge, 1996), esp. pp. 64–89; P. Harth, *Pen for a Party. Dryden's Tory Propaganda in its Contexts* (Princeton, 1993); B. Harris, *Politics and the Rise of the Press* (London, 1996); J. A. Winn, *John Dryden and His World* (New Haven, 1987); M. Harris, 'Print and politics in the age of Walpole', in J. Black, ed., *Britain in the Age of Walpole* (Basingstoke, 1984); M. Harris, *London Newspapers in the Age of Walpole* (London, 1987); R. Harris, *A Patriot Press* (Oxford, 1993); T. O'Malley, 'Religion and the newspaper press, 1660–1685: a study of the *London Gazette*', in M. Harris and A. Lee, eds, *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1986); P. B. J. Hyland, 'Liberty and libel: government and the press during the succession crisis in Britain, 1712–1716', *EHR* 101 (1986); S. Targett, 'The premier scribbler himself: Sir Robert Walpole and the management of political opinion', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History* (1994); J. O. Richards, *Party Propaganda Under Queen Anne* (Athens, Ga, 1972); L. Schwoerer, 'Propaganda in the revolution of 1688–89', *AHR* 82 (1977); L. Schwoerer, *The Declaration of Rights, 1689* (London, 1981), chap. 5; L. Schwoerer, 'Liberty of the press and public opinion, 1660–1695', in J. R. Jones, ed., *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688* (Stanford, 1992); G. C. Gibbs, 'Press and public opinion: prospective', in Jones, ed., *Liberty Secured*; W. A. Speck, 'Politics and the press', in G. Holmes, ed., *After the Glorious Revolution* (London, 1969); R. B. Walker, 'The newspaper press in the reign of William III', *HJ* 17 (1974). For an exception, see: J. L. Malcolm, *Caesar's Due* (London, 1983).

both an intellectual and a historical context, and have also recognised instances of political manipulation of the press, but none has made the subject their prime concern.[11] It has, of course, become familiar to see preachers such as Stephen Marshall labelled as 'almost the official spokesman of the parliamentarians', and to recognise authors such as John Milton, Marchamont Nedham, William Prynne and Henry Parker as being parliamentarian propagandists.[12] Nevertheless, little attempt has been made to undertake a systematic study of the motives and methods of civil war propaganda, despite the fact that, as Tom Cogswell has argued, 'there is more than ample evidence to support such an investigation'. Cogswell has also suggested that 'there are few more alluring tracts of historiographical *terrae incognitae* than the role of public relations and propaganda in early Stuart politics', and that 'the dividends for exploration are potentially dazzling'.[13]

For the most important precedents in this area it is necessary to turn to the efforts of scholars of continental history, where much attention has focused upon France, and upon the role of Cardinal Richelieu in the development of propaganda. Jeffrey Sawyer has noted, therefore, that it was during the early seventeenth century that 'the manufacture and dissemination of royal propaganda in pamphlet form was becoming a routine government function'.[14] However, Sawyer is only one of a number of scholars of continental European history during the early modern period who have recognised the centrality of print and propaganda to political culture and the political system, and there are a number of other works which analyse the part which printing presses played in political life, and the processes by which politicians sought to gain control of, and exploit, the print media. Such works seek to identify authors and analyse their relations with politicians and patrons, and to understand how the political elite involved themselves in the mechanics of book production.[15] This book seeks to answer, with

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[11] W. Lamont, 'Pamphleteering, the Protestant consensus and the English revolution', in R. C. Richardson and G. M. Ridden, eds, *Freedom and the English Revolution* (Manchester, 1986). For example: T. Barnard, 'Planters and policies in Cromwellian Ireland', *P&P* 61 (1973), p. 43; T. Barnard, 'Crises of identity among Irish Protestants, 1641–1685', *P&P* 127 (1990), pp. 51–2, 59–70; B. Worden, *The Rump Parliament* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 345–63; A. Woolrych, *Commonwealth to Protectorate* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 110, 260; J. S. A. Adamson, 'The baronial context of the English civil wars', *TRHS*, 5th series 40 (1990), p. 108.

[12] C. Hill, *The Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution* (London, 1994), p. 303; W. Lamont, *Marginal Prynne, 1600–69* (London, 1963); M. Mendle, *Henry Parker and the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1995).

[13] T. Cogswell, 'The politics of propaganda. Charles I and the people in the 1620s', *JBS* 29 (1990), pp. 190, 215.

[14] J. K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison. Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth Century France* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 25.

[15] H. J. Martin, *Print, Power, and People in 17th-Century France* (trans. D. Gerard, London, 1993); C. E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987); J. M. Hayden, 'The uses of political pamphlets: the example of 1614–15 in France', *CJH* 21 (1986); T. Kaiser, 'The Abbe de Saint-Pierre, public opinion, and the reconstitution of the French Monarchy', *JMH* 55 (1983); J. Klaits, *Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV: Absolute*

regard to political literature produced in England, the kind of questions posed by Craig Harline in his study of pamphleteering in the Dutch republic:

> Who wrote pamphlets and why? For whom were they intended? How and by whom were pamphlets brought to press and distributed, and what does this reveal? Why did their numbers increase so greatly? Who read them? How were pamphlets different from other media?[16]

It is in the hope of providing a study of English print and polemic in the seventeenth century with which to complement such work that this book is undertaken.

Before outlining the strategy adopted in the chapters which follow, however, it is necessary to discuss in more detail the historiographical traditions and trends from which this work seeks both to differ and to learn. Scholarship regarding books and authors in the early modern period can be shown to fall into six more or less distinct strands, all of which have their strengths and weaknesses, and all of which can be incorporated in some way into this project.

Early modern historiography regarding political and religious texts has traditionally been dominated by analyses of political thought, and of intellectual and religious history, in terms of the ideas and theories developed. Scholars have been interested, therefore, in both the sermons and the political texts of the civil wars and Interregnum, and in the most prominent exponents of each form.[17] Attention has obviously been caught by canonical authors – such

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Monarchy and Public Opinion (Princeton, 1976); H. M. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science and Propaganda in Seventeenth Century France* (Princeton, 1972); H. M. Solomon, 'The *Gazette* and Antistatist propaganda: the medium of print in the first half of the seventeenth century', *CJH* 9 (1974); J. R. Censer, *The French Press in the Age of Enlightenment* (London, 1994); C. Todd, *Political Bias, Censorship and the Dissolution of the 'Official' Press in Eighteenth Century France* (Lampeter, 1991); L. F. Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce* (Rochester, NY, 1996); G. Ianziti, *Humanistic Historiography Under the Sforzas. Politics and Propaganda in Fifteenth Century Milan* (Oxford, 1988); N. Z. Davis, 'Printing and the people', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (London, 1987); B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999); D. B. Smith, 'Francois Hotman', *SHR* 13 (1916).

16 Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture*, p. ix.

17 J. W. Allen, *English Political Thought, 1603–1644* (London, 1967); J. P. Sommerville, *Politics and Ideology in England, 1603–1640* (London, 1986); C. C. Weston and J. R. Greenberg, *Subjects and Sovereigns* (Cambridge, 1981); D. Wootton, ed., *Divine Right and Democracy* (Harmondsworth, 1986); M. A. Judson, *The Crisis of the Constitution* (London, 1988); L. A. Ferrell and P. McCullough, eds, *The English Sermon Revised* (Manchester, 2000); P. Zagorin, *A History of Political Thought in the English Revolution* (New York, 1966); Z. Fink, *The Classical Republicans* (Chicago, 1962); W. H. Greenleaf, *Order, Empiricism and Politics* (Oxford, 1964); J. A. W. Gunn, *Politics and the Public Interest* (London, 1969); J. C. Davis, 'Radicalism in a traditional society: the evaluation of radical thought in the English commonwealth, 1649–1660', *HPT* 3 (1982); G. Schochet, 'The English revolution in the history of political thought', in B. Y. Kunze and D. D. Brautigam, eds, *Court, Country and Culture* (Rochester, NY, 1992); R. Eccleshall, *Order, Reason and Politics* (Oxford, 1978); G. Burgess, *Absolute Monarchy and the Stuart Constitution* (New Haven, 1996); G. Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution* (Basingstoke, 1992); R. Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories* (Cambridge, 1979);

as Henry Parker, John Milton, Henry Ferne and Charles Herle, as well as Thomas Hobbes and James Harrington – and by canonical texts such as the *Areopagitica* and the *Eikon Basilike*.[18] However, it is also true that a number of 'lesser' figures have received scholarly treatment, most recently and most notably Marchamont Nedham.[19] There is also a long tradition of exploring the

R. Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (Cambridge, 1993); B. Worden, 'Classical republicanism and the Puritan revolution', in H. Lloyd Jones, V. Pearl and B. Worden, eds, *History and Imagination* (London, 1981); R. Zaller, 'The figure of the tyrant in English revolutionary thought', *JHI* 54 (1993); J. M. Wallace, 'The Engagement controversy, 1649–1652', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 68 (1964); M. Mendle, 'The Great Council of Parliament and the first ordinances: the constitutional theory of the civil war', *JBS* 31 (1992); G. Burgess, 'Usurpation, obligation and obedience in the thought of the Engagement controversy', *HJ* 29 (1986); J. P. Sommerville, 'History and theory: the Norman Conquest in early Stuart political thought', *Political Studies* 34 (1986); J. H. Burns and M. Goldie, eds, *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450–1700* (Cambridge, 1991); N. Phillipson and Q. Skinner, eds, *Political Discourse in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 1993).

[18] Mendle, *Henry Parker*; M. Mendle, 'The ship money case, *The Case of Shipmony*, and the development of Henry Parker's parliamentary absolutism', *HJ* 32 (1989); L. B. Knight, 'Crucifixion or apocalypse? Refiguring the *Eikon Basilike*', in D. B. Hamilton and R. Strier, eds, *Religion, Literature and Politics in Post Reformation England, 1540–1688* (Cambridge, 1996); L. Potter, 'Royal actor as royal martyr: the *Eikon Basilike* and the literary scene in 1649', in G. J. Schochet, ed., *Restoration, Ideology and Revolution* (Washington, 1990); J. Sanderson, 'The *Answer to the Nineteen Propositions* revisited', *Political Studies* 32 (1984); M. Judson, 'Henry Parker and the theory of parliamentary sovereignty', in *Essays in History and Political Theory in Honour of Charles Howard McIlwain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); W. K. Jordan, *Men of Substance* (Chicago, 1942); R. Tuck, '"The ancient law of freedom": John Selden and the civil war', in J. Morrill, ed., *Reactions to the English Civil War, 1642–1649* (Basingstoke, 1982); D. Armitage, A. Himy and Q. Skinner, eds, *Milton and Republicanism* (Cambridge, 1995); J. P. Sommerville, *Thomas Hobbes: Political Ideas in Historical Context* (Basingstoke, 1992); R. Tuck, *Hobbes* (Oxford, 1989); G. Burgess, 'Contexts for the writing and publication of Hobbes's *Leviathan*', *HPT* 11 (1990); J. H. Franklin, *John Locke and the Theory of Sovereignty* (Cambridge, 1981); B. Worden, 'Harrington's 'Oceana': origins and aftermath, 1651–1660', in D. Wootton, ed., *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649–1776* (Stanford, 1994); B. Worden, 'James Harrington and the commonwealth of Oceana, 1656', in Wootton, ed., *Republicanism*; J. G. A. Pocock, 'James Harrington and the good old cause: a study of the ideological context of his writings', *JBS* 10 (1970); Q. Skinner, 'Conquest and consent: Thomas Hobbes and the Engagement controversy', in G. Aylmer, ed., *The Interregnum* (Basingstoke, 1972); Q. Skinner, 'The ideological context of Hobbes's political thought', *HJ* 9 (1966); J. P. Sommerville, 'John Selden, the law of nature, and the origins of government', *HJ* 27 (1984).

[19] F. S. Allis, 'Nathaniel Ward: constitutional draftsman', *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 120 (1984); R. E. Mayers, '"Real and practicable, not imaginary and notional": Sir Henry Vane, *A Healing Question* and the problems of the protectorate', *Albion* 27 (1995); N. von Maltzahn, 'Henry Neville and the art of the possible: a republican *Letter Sent to General Monk* (1660)', *Seventeenth Century* 7 (1992); D. Nobbs, 'Philip Nye on church and state', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 5 (1935); R. Greaves, 'William Sprigg and the Cromwellian revolution', *HLQ* 34 (1971); D. Woolf, 'Conscience, constancy and ambition in the career and writings of James Howell', in J. Morrill, P. Slack and D. Woolf, eds, *Public Duty and Private Conscience in Seventeenth Century England* (Oxford, 1993); J. Raymond, 'John Streater and *The Grand Politick Informer*', *HJ* 41 (1998); N. Smith, 'Popular republicanism in the 1650s: John Streater's "heroick mechanicks"', in Armitage, Himy and Skinner, eds, *Milton and Republicanism*; D. Wootton, 'From rebellion to revolution: the crisis of the winter of

radical literature and thought of the seventeenth century, and the writings of those on the fringes of political and religious debates.[20] More recently, attention has begun to become focused upon civil war political rhetoric.[21] In recent decades, of course, scholarship relating to authors and authorship in the early modern period has been profoundly influenced by 'new historicism', and intellectual historians have become much more sensitive to 'context', 'authorial intention' and the importance of contemporary reception and perception for establishing 'meaning'. Texts of political theory are no longer studied simply in terms of the ideas which they contain, and such ideas are no longer examined as if propositions of timeless truths.[22] Nevertheless, the context explored has tended to be an intellectual, rather than a political one, and authors' aims are assumed to have been intellectual, philosophical and theoretical, rather than

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1642/3 and the origins of civil war radicalism', *EHR* 105 (1990); B. Worden, 'Marchamont Nedham and the beginnings of English republicanism, 1649–1656', in Wootton, ed., *Republicanism*; B. Worden, 'Milton and Marchamont Nedham', in Armitage, Himy and Skinner, eds, *Milton and Republicanism*; B. Worden, '"Wit in a roundhead": the dilemma of Marchamont Nedham', in S. D. Amussen and M. A. Kishlansky, eds, *Political Culture and Cultural Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 1995); M. P. Weinzierl, 'Parliament and the army in England, 1659: constitutional thought and the struggle for control', *PER* 2 (1982); J. Coffey, *Politics, Religion, and the British Revolutions: the Mind of Samuel Rutherford* (Cambridge, 1997); J. Coffey, 'Samuel Rutherford and the political thought of the Scottish covenanters', in J. R. Young, ed., *Celtic Dimensions of the British Civil Wars* (Edinburgh, 1997); J. D. Ford, 'Lex, rex iusto posita: Samuel Rutherford on the origins of government', in R. A. Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons* (Cambridge, 1994); Jordan, *Men of Substance*; J. Daly, 'John Bramhall and the theoretical problems of royalist moderation', *JBS* 11 (1971); W. Epstein, 'Judge David Jenkins and the great civil war', *Journal of Legal History* 3 (1982); M. Nutkiewicz, 'A rapporteur of the English civil war: the courtly politics of James Howell', *CJH* 25 (1990); J. Sanderson, 'Phillip Hunton's appeasement', *HPT* 3 (1982); J. Sanderson, 'Serpent Salve, 1643: the royalism of John Bramhall', *JEH* 25 (1974); I. M. Smart, 'An interim period in royalist political writing, 1647–8', *Durham University Journal* 76 (1983); J. F. Wilson, 'Another look at John Canne', *Church History* 33 (1964).

[20] F. D. Dow, *Radicalism in the English Revolution, 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1985); C. Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down. Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (Harmondsworth, 1975); G. Aylmer, *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (London, 1975); H. Shaw, *The Levellers* (London, 1968); W. Haller, ed., *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638–47* (2 vols, New York, 1965); J. F. McGregor and B. Reay, eds, *Radical Religion in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1984); J. R. McMichael and B. Taft, eds, *The Writings of William Walwyn* (London, 1989); B. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men* (London, 1972); W. K. Judson, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England, 1640–1660* (London, 1938); P. Zagorin, 'The authorship of *Mans Mortalitie*', *The Library*, 5th series 5 (1950); B. R. White, 'Henry Jessey in the great rebellion', in R. Buick Knox, ed., *Reformation, Conformity and Dissent* (London, 1977); A. L. Morton, *The World of the Ranters* (London, 1970); G. Aylmer, 'Collective mentalities in mid-seventeenth century England III: varities of radicalism', *TRHS*, 5th series 38 (1988); T. Sippell, 'The testimony of Joshua Sprigge', *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 38 (1946).

[21] E. Skerpan, *The Rhetoric of Politics in the English Revolution, 1642–1660* (London, 1992); B. Donagan, 'Casuistry and allegiance in the English civil war', in Hirst and Strier, eds, *Writing and Political Engagement*.

[22] J. G. A. Pocock, 'The history of political thought: a methodological enquiry', in P. Laslett and W. G. Runciman, eds, *Philosophy, Politics and Society*, 2nd series (Oxford, 1962); J. Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context. Quentin Skinner and his Critics* (Oxford, 1988).

polemical and propagandistic.[23] The personal and political lives of authors have tended to be studied in a fairly cursory manner, and few works have sought to interpret non-intellectual motivations for the composition and publication of books and pamphlets, or the interaction of political writers with the day-to-day political life of the times in which they lived.[24] Even studies of political writers which have recognised that their subject was heavily involved in political machinations as well as political thought have arguably concentrated on the latter at the expense of the former.[25] Part of the problem with assessing polemical literature along intellectual lines, and in terms of intellectual contexts, is that the skills of theorists and propagandists were very different, and it would be misleading either to assess the importance of polemic, or to judge the quality of propaganda, in terms of its ideas and expression, rather than in terms of its ability to fulfil particular political functions at specific moments.[26] This has arguably been a less serious problem for scholars of early modern sermons, who have clearly been alive to both the political content and implications of sermon texts when considered within political contexts, and who have also been alive to the need to address the circumstances surrounding the preaching of particular sermons, in terms of their sponsors, timing, and the location in which they were preached.[27]

Aside from intellectual historians, the study of political texts during the early modern period has been dominated by scholars of literature, and the most important literary historians have fundamentally re-evaluated the complexity of literary forms in the seventeenth century. Their historicist sensibilities and sensitivity to context are reflected in the desire to detect topicality, and to analyse political messages in literary works. Furthermore, while studies of civil war literature continue to be dominated by Andrew Marvell and John Milton, there is a long tradition of exploring other less well-known authors, and works of both an

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23 D. Norbook, 'Levelling poetry: George Wither and the English revolution, 1642–1649', *English Literary Renaissance* 21 (1991).

24 R. Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and John Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Princeton, 1986); J. Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic, 1623–1677* (Cambridge, 1988); J. Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis, 1677–1683* (Cambridge, 1991); M. Goldie, 'John Locke's circle and James II', *HJ* 35 (1992).

25 Mendle, *Henry Parker*; 'M. Mendle, 'Henry Parker: the public's privado', in G. J. Schochet, ed., *Religion, Resistance and Civil War* (Washington, 1990). But, see: J. Gurney, 'George Wither and Surrey politics, 1642–1649', *Southern History* 19 (1997).

26 G. Aylmer, 'Collective mentalities in mid-seventeenth century England II: royalist attitudes', *TRHS*, 5th series 37 (1987), pp. 19–20; G. Bowler, 'Marian protestants and the idea of violent resistance to tyranny', in P. Lake and M. Dowling, eds, *Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 1987).

27 G. Davies, 'English political sermons, 1603–1640', *HLQ* (1939); J. F. Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament, Puritanism During the English Civil Wars 1640–1648* (Princeton, 1969); H. Trevor-Roper, 'The Fast sermons of the Long Parliament', in *Religion, the Reformation and Social Change* (London, 1973); Ferrell and McCullough, eds, *English Sermon Revised*; P. McCullough, *Sermons at Court: Politics and Religion in Elizabethan and Jacobean Preaching* (Cambridge, 1998).

ephemeral and a substantial nature.[28] As with intellectual historians, the textual studies of literary analysts are useful assistants in the process of attributing tracts to specific authors, and thus in enabling a better appreciation of their work, thought and careers.[29] Literary scholars have also proved more willing than most to unearth biographical information relating to their subjects, particularly figures such as George Wither and John Milton.[30] Furthermore, it is of unquestionable value to study the political status and functions of literature, given that, under conditions of heavy censorship, literature could be used to deliver coded messages.[31] However, as historians are only too willing to point out, literary scholars often have a rather inadequate understanding of the political contexts in

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[28] D. Norbrook, *Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge, 1999); D. Norbrook, '*The Masque of Truth*: court entertainment and international Protestant politics in the early Stuart period', *Seventeenth Century* 1 (1986); N. Smith, *Literature and Revolution in England, 1640–1660* (New Haven, 1994); D. Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (Cambridge, 1999); M. Wilding, *Dragons Teeth. Literature in the English Revolution* (Oxford, 1987); S. Zwicker, *Lines of Authority. Politics and English Literary Culture, 1649–1689* (London, 1993); S. Wiseman, *Drama and Politics in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1998); K. Sharpe and S. Zwicker, eds, *Politics of Discourse. The Literature and History of Seventeenth Century England* (Berkeley, 1987); T. N. Corns, *Uncloistered Virtue. English Political Literature 1640–1660* (Oxford, 1992); R. Wilcher, *The Writing of Royalism, 1628–1660* (Cambridge, 2001); J. Raymond, 'Framing liberty: Marvell's *First Anniversary* and the Instrument of Government', *HLQ* 62 (1999); C. Condren, 'Andrew Marvell as polemicist: his account of the growth of popery and arbitrary government', in C. Condren and A. D. Cousins, eds, *The Political Identity of Andrew Marvell* (Aldershot, 1990); W. Lamont, 'The religion of Andrew Marvell', ibid.; D. Hirst, '"That sober liberty": Marvell's Cromwell in 1654', in J. M. Wallace, ed., *The Golden and the Brazen World* (Berkeley, Ca., 1985); J. M. Wallace, *Destiny His Choice* (Cambridge, 1980); T. Healy, '"Dark all without it knits": vision and authority in Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*', in T. Healy and J. Sawday, eds, *Literature and the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1990); D. Norbrook, 'Marvell's 'Horatian Ode' and the politics of genre', ibid.; F. Barker, 'In the wars of truth: violence, true knowledge and power in Milton and Hobbes', ibid.; T. N. Corns, '"Some rousing motions": the plurality of Miltonic ideology', ibid.; N. H. Keeble, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution* (Cambridge, 2001); A. Pritchard, '*Abuses Stript and Whipt* and Wither's imprisonment', *Review of English Studies*, new series 14 (1963); A. Pritchard, 'George Wither: the poet as prophet', *Studies in Philology* 59 (1962); A. Pritchard, 'George Wither's quarrel with the Stationers: an anonymous reply to *The Schollers Purgatory*', *Studies in Philology* 16 (1963); D. Norbrook, 'Safest in storms: George Wither in the 1650s', in D. Margolies and M. Joannou, eds, *Heart of the Heartless World* (London, 1995). See also: J. Goldberg, *James I and the Politics of Literature* (London, 1983); V. J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971); J. N. King, *English Reformation Literature* (Princeton, 1982); D. Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

[29] L. H. Kendall, 'An unrecorded prose pamphlet by George Wither', *HLQ* 20 (1957); W. Lamont, 'Prynne, Burton and the Puritan triumph', *HLQ* 27 (1963–64); Mendle, *Henry Parker*. See: H. Love, *Attributing Authorship* (Cambridge, 2002).

[30] A. Pritchard, 'George Wither and the Somers Islands', *N&Q* 206 (1961); J. M. French, 'George Wither in prison', *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 45 (1930); C. S. Hensley, *The Later Career of George Wither* (The Hague, 1969); J. M. French, *Life Records of John Milton* (5 vols, New Brunswick, 1949–58).

[31] D. Hirst, 'The politics of literature in the English republic', *Seventeenth Century* 5 (1990), p. 133. See: K. Sharpe, 'The politics of literature in renaissance England', in *Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England* (London, 1989).

which to place their chosen texts.[32] Indeed, what is lacking is not merely detailed knowledge of political contexts, but also information relating to the circumstances in which individual authors were operating, and in which their works appeared.[33] So long as tracts and pamphlets are read, cited and employed without being contextualised, scholars will only be able to tell part of the story. Thus, John Pocock's recent analysis of the famous *History* written by Thomas May can be considered to be constrained by a lack of contextual evidence relating to May's involvement in factional parliamentarian politics during the 1640s. A more detailed awareness of the archival evidence relating to May could have been used, in other words, in order to solve some of the issues left unresolved in Pocock's account.[34]

A third strand in the scholarship relating to early modern polemic concerns literary patronage, and many scholars are clearly aware that authors were implicated in immediate social relations, and that it is necessary to examine the connections between writers, publishers and patrons.[35] Patronage of high art and literature was intrinsic to the lives of men schooled in humanism, and to the late renaissance in general, and has received much attention as a result, whether in terms of monarchs (and their consorts), ministers, or leading peers.[36] Furthermore, such scholarship reveals that there were well-established precedents for literary humanists turning their skills to the benefit of their patrons, and doing so in a political manner.[37] Although such forms of patronage were probably in decline, at least some figures who were to become prominent writers and pamphleteers during the 1640s and 1650s had received what might be regarded as a traditional form of patronage, in which a wealthy and powerful grandee sought to assist a talented author, and in which authors looked to grand patrons for support.[38] Perhaps the pre-eminent example of the survival of

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32 K. Sharpe, 'Religion, rhetoric and revolution in seventeenth century England', *HLQ* 57 (1995), p. 277.

33 see: G. H. Turnbull, 'John Hall's letters to Samuel Hartlib', *Review of English Studies*, new series 4 (1953).

34 J. G. A. Pocock, 'Thomas May and the narrative of the civil war', in Hirst and Strier, eds, *Writing and Political Engagement*.

35 A. F. Marotti, 'Patronage, poetry and print', in *Politics, Patronage and Literature in England, 1558–1658* (Yearbook of English Studies, 21, 1991) p. 1; P. Thomson, 'The literature of patronage, 1580–1630', *Essays in Criticism* 2 (1952), p. 277.

36 H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1603 to 1640* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 23–39; E. Rosenberg, *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York, 1955); J. A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons and Professors. Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (London, 1962); J. K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 44–75, 200–234; J. A. van Dorsten, 'Sidney and Languet', *HLQ* 29 (1966); D. Howarth, ed., *Art and Patronage in the Caroline Courts* (Cambridge, 1993); Parmelee, *Good Newes from Fraunce*, pp. 43–4.

37 D. R. Carlson, *English Humanist Books. Writers and Patrons, Manuscript and Print, 1475–1525* (Toronto, 1993), pp. 6–7.

38 P. J. Voss, 'Books for sale: advertising and patronage in late Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998); A. Fox, 'The complaint of poetry for the death of liberality: the decline of literary patronage in the 1590s', in J. Guy, ed., *The Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge, 1995); P. Lindenbaum, 'John Milton and the republican mode of literary production', *Yearbook of English Studies* 2 (1991).

literary patronage is provided by the poet, Thomas May, whose talents were nurtured under the care of the Earl of Dorset, whose favours May willingly acknowledged. May was a well-established writer by the time that Dorset recommended him to the Lord Mayor of London in 1637, as being an 'honest and deserving' candidate for the office of City chronicler.[39] Another leading member of the peerage, the Earl of Pembroke, has also been revealed as someone who was eager to advance his literary clients, by attempting to secure their appointment as Masters of the Revels.[40] The nature of 'patronage' in the early modern period is clearly essential to a study such as this, and it will obviously be necessary to analyse the nature of the relationships which existed between those individuals who became the pamphleteers of the civil wars and Interregnum, and those who acted as political leaders. It will be necessary to ascertain, in other words, whether they were 'clients' of 'patrons', and the basis on which patronage was given and received. It will be necessary to explore the social and cultural world of the author, and his/her connection with patrons and politicians.[41] It will also be necessary, however, to recognise that relationships were more complex than those of a 'patron' and his 'client'. Few individuals can neatly be categorised as being either a patron or a client, and most seem to have operated in a world in which individual relationships were only tiny parts of a wider nexus which incorporated networks based on family, friends and associates, and networks situated in local, national and international communities, and in the world of education, administration, government, the church and business. In order to understand the world of the polemical author in the seventeenth century, therefore, it is necessary to understand court culture and composition, gentry society, public administration, political life and the world of commerce. It is necessary to recognise that individuals were bound together by ties of mutual obligation, and that although there were many individual acts of patronage, such patronage was not always conferred upon an individual as part of a process in which they became a 'client', who subsequently served their 'patron'. Networks were based upon ideas of collegiality and reciprocity, mutual aid and mutual benefit.[42] Contextualising polemical authors, therefore, will require examination of their families, friendships and local communities, and acts of patronage from which they had benefited, as well as exploration of the arenas in which the operation of patronage networks can be detected, and in which contacts were forged, and relationships developed.[43]

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[39] D. L. Smith, 'The political career of Edward Sackville, 4th Earl of Dorset' (Cambridge University PhD, 1990), pp. 169–70.

[40] R. Dutton, 'Patronage, politics, and the Master of the Revels, 1622–1640: The case of Sir John Astley', *English Literary Renaissance* 20 (1990).

[41] R. Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), p. 2; E. H. Miller, *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp. 1–26.

[42] L. L. Peck, 'Benefits, brokers and beneficiaries: the culture of exchange in seventeenth century England', in Kunze and Brautigam, eds, *Court, Country and Culture*; T. Webster, *Godly Clergy in Early Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1997); BL, Add. 70002, fos. 80, 223.

[43] I. Morgan, *Prince Charles' Puritan Chaplain* (London, 1957); M. Dever, 'Richard Sibbes'

The perils and the pitfalls of scholarship which seeks to understand literature in terms of both its political topicality and aristocratic patronage can be demonstrated through recent examinations of early Stuart theatre. Attempts have been made not merely to detect political messages, both courtly and oppositional, in familiar works by authors such as Thomas Middleton and Philip Massinger, but also to contextualise such works in terms of the positions of authors and their patrons, and in terms of the motives for, and timing of, performances. However, as a number of historians have sought to stress, such work provides a 'cautionary tale' about the need for far greater thoroughness, particularly in terms of historical contextualisation.[44] However, those in the best position to understand the political context of polemical literature are not always interested in such works. While recent historical studies have revolutionised our understanding of the political machinations of the period, scholars such as Kevin Sharpe have 'wondered if the entire notion of an early modern government engaging in propaganda is not anachronistic', and even those more sympathetic to the idea of analysing texts in this way, such as Cogswell, have reflected that 'this question has never seriously been considered in early Stuart history'.[45] Indeed, it is possible that the tendency to ignore pamphlets and pamphleteering represents a particular failure of 'revisionist' scholarship, which is only now coming to be rectified. Scholars are only just beginning to demonstrate awareness that, since a somewhat different picture of political and religious consensus and conflict emerges from contemporary pamphlet literature than from high political sources, it is of profound importance to understand the nature and culture of polemical print in the period.[46] Nevertheless, while the best historians now exploit contemporary pamphlets as a valuable source of evidence relating to political events, and as a

(Cambridge University PhD, 1993), pp. 42–86; M. J. Condick, 'The life and works of John Bastwick (1595–1654)' (University of London PhD, 1983); K. L. Sprunger, *The Learned Doctor William Ames* (Urbana, 1972).

44 J. Limon, *Dangerous Matter. English Drama and Politics in 1623/24* (Cambridge, 1986); G. Parry, 'The politics of the Jacobean masque', in J. R. Mulryne and M. Shewring, eds, *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts* (Cambridge, 1993); M. Butler, 'Reform or reverence? The politics of the Caroline masque', ibid.; M. Heinemann, 'Drama and opinion in the 1620s: Middleton and Massinger', ibid.; M. Butler, 'Politics and the masque: *The Triumph of Peace*', *Seventeenth Century* 2 (1987); M. Butler, 'Politics and the masque: *Salmacida Spolia*', in Healy and Sawday, eds, *Literature and the English Civil War*; T. H. Howard-Hill, 'Political interpretations of Middleton's *Game at Chess* (1624)', *Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991); T. Cogswell, 'Thomas Middleton and the court, 1624: *A Game at Chess* in context', *HLQ* 47 (1984), p. 284. See also K. Sharpe, 'Court and communication', *HJ* 25 (1982), pp. 737–8, and the reviews of Heinemann by Robert Ashton and Christopher Haigh: *History* 65 (1980), p. 484; *EHR* 98 (1983), pp. 194–5.

45 K. Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 3–4; Cogswell, 'Politics of propaganda', pp. 190, 215.

46 Harris, 'Propaganda and public opinion', p. 48; P. Lake, 'Constitutional consensus and Puritan opposition in the 1620s: Thomas Scott and the Spanish match', *HJ* 25 (1982); E. Shagan, 'Constructing discord: ideology, propaganda and English responses to the Irish rebellion of 1641', *JBS* 36 (1997); Wootton, 'From rebellion to revolution'.

guide to political attitudes, too few are sensitive to the circumstances surrounding their appearance, and the possibility of political involvement in their production. Like any historical source, tracts and pamphlets need to be submitted to rigorous and sceptical scrutiny in terms of their reliability, and their message needs to be understood in the light of the reasons for their existence.[47]

Such comments notwithstanding, there is clearly a growing recognition of the importance of print in the early modern period, and a growing interest in pamphleteering and print culture.[48] Indeed, recent scholarship betrays a heightened awareness of the existence and spread of print in the early modern period, and an appreciation of the emergence of a variety of forms of popular literature, as well as an exploration of different forms of literary, political and religious books, pamphlets and broadsides.[49] These include astrological tracts and providential pamphlets, as well as apprentice literature, and murder stories, all of which have

[47] For use of pamphlet evidence: K. Lindley, 'Impact of the 1641 rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641–5', *IHS* 18 (1972); I. Gentles, 'The struggle for London in the second civil war', *HJ* 26 (1983); R. Clifton, 'The popular fear of Catholics during the English revolution', in P. Slack, ed., *Rebellion, Popular Protest and the Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1984); Adamson, 'Baronial context'; J. S. A. Adamson, 'The English nobility and the projected settlement of 1647', *HJ* 30 (1987); S. Kelsey, 'Legal aspects of the trial of Charles I' (forthcoming); S. Kelsey, 'The trial of Charles I' (forthcoming); S. Kelsey, 'The death of Charles I' (forthcoming); C. Holmes, 'Colonel King and Lincolnshire politics, 1642–1646', *HJ* 16 (1973); C. Holmes, *The Eastern Association in the English Civil War* (Cambridge, 1974); D. Cressy, 'The protestation protested, 1641 and 1642', *HJ* 45 (2002); N. Carlin, 'Extreme or mainstream? The English Independents and the Cromwellian reconquest of Ireland, 1649–51', in B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield and W. Maley, eds, *Representing Ireland* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 211–12; A. Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999); S. Barber, *Regicide and Republicanism* (Edinburgh, 1998). I am grateful to Sean Kelsey for showing me his forthcoming articles.

[48] D. Loades, 'Books and the English reformation prior to 1558', in J. F. Gilmont, ed., *The Reformation and the Book* (Aldershot, 1998); I. Green, *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2000); D. Freist, 'The world is ruled and governed by opinion. For formation of opinion and the communication network in London, 1637 to c.1645' (Cambridge University PhD, 1992), part 2.

[49] S. Clark, *The Elizabethan Pamphleteers. Popular Moralistic Pamphlets 1580–1640* (London, 1983); J. Barry, 'Literacy and literature in popular culture: reading and writing in historical perspective', in T. Harris, ed., *Popular Culture in England, c.1500–1850* (Basingstoke, 1995); T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge, 1991); M. Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1981); B. Capp, 'Popular literature', in B. Reay, ed., *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England* (London, 1985); A. Fox, 'Popular verses and their readership in the early seventeenth century', in J. Raven, N. Tadmor, and H. Small, eds, *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England* (Cambridge, 1996); A. Fox, 'Ballads, libels and popular ridicule in Jacobean England', *P&P* 145 (1994); P. Croft, 'The reputation of Robert Cecil: libels, political opinion and popular awareness in the early seventeenth century', *TRHS*, 6th series 1 (1991); A. Bellany, 'Raylinge rymes and vaunting verse': libellous politics in early Stuart England, 1603–1628', in K. Sharpe and P. Lake, eds, *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England* (Basingstoke, 1994); A. Bellany, 'Libels in action: ritual, subversion and the English literary underground, 1603–42', in T. Harris, ed., *The Politics of the Excluded, c.1500–1850* (Basingstoke, 2001); A. Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2002); Friest, 'The world is ruled and governed by opinion', part 4.

been shown to have been susceptible to exploitation for political and religious ends.[50] As such, this fourth strand of scholarship on early modern literary forms – the popular and 'pulp' press – must also be subjected to scrutiny in the chapters which follow, albeit only tangentially, and only to the extent that such works formed part of the interests of the political elite.[51] More pressing will be the need to address a fifth strand in early modern scholarship relating to print culture, namely the growing interest in the 'news revolution' of the seventeenth century. Crucial to this study will be the task of addressing the extent to which politicians sought to exploit the growing public interest in political affairs, both nationally and locally, which has been detected in recent historiography.[52] Indeed, it will also be necessary to draw upon and develop recent interest in pamphleteering as a cultural phenomenon, and as an increasingly important part of religious

[50] H. Rusche, '*Merlini Anglici*: astrology and propaganda from 1644 to 1651', *EHR* 80 (1965); Rusche, 'Prophecies and propaganda'; B. Capp, *The World of John Taylor the Water Poet, 1578–1653* (Oxford, 1994); B. Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press* (London, 1979); A. Walsham, '"The fatall vesper": providentialism and anti-popery in late Jacobean London', *P&P* 144 (1994); Walsham, *Providence*; B. Worden, 'Providence and politics in Cromwellian England', *P&P* 109 (1985); M. T. Burnett, 'Apprentice literature and the 'crisis' of the 1590s', in C. C. Brown, ed., *Patronage, Politics and Literary Traditions in England, 1558–1658* (Detroit, 1991); P. Lake, 'Puritanism, Arminianism and a Shropshire axe-murder', *Midland History* 15 (1990), esp. p. 55–6; P. Lake, 'Deeds against nature: cheap print, Protestantism and murder in early seventeenth century England', in Sharpe and Lake, eds, *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*; P. Lake and M. Questier, *The Antichrist's Lewd Hat* (New Haven, 2002).

[51] Watt, *Cheap Print*; J. Friedman, *Miracles and the Pulp Press During the English Revolution* (London, 1993).

[52] R. Cust, 'News and politics in early seventeenth century England', *P&P* 112 (1986); C. J. Sommerville, *The News Revolution in England* (Oxford, 1996); J. Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper*; A. Cotton, 'London newsbooks in the civil war: their political attitudes and sources of information' (Oxford University DPhil, 1971); J. Raymond, ed., *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999); J. Raymond, '*The Great Assises Holden in Parnassus*: the reputation and reality of seventeenth century newsbooks', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History* (1994); P. J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets* (Pittsburgh, 2001); J. Frank, *The Beginnings of the English Newspaper, 1620–1660* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960); J. B. Williams, *The History of English Journalism* (London, 1908); M. Frearson, 'The distribution and readership of London corantos in the 1620s', in R. Myers and M. Harris, eds, *Serials and their Readers, 1620–1914* (Winchester, 1993); L. Hanson, 'English newsbooks, 1620–1641', *The Library*, 4th series 18 (1938); S. Lambert, 'Coranto printing in England: the first newsbooks', *Journal of Newspaper and Periodical History* 8 (1992); M. Frearson, 'London corantos in the 1620s', *Studies in Newspaper and Periodical History* (1993); F. Levy, 'How information spread among the gentry, 1550–1640', *JBS* 21 (1982); Wright, 'Propaganda against James I's 'appeasement' of Spain'; J. Raymond, '"A mercury with a winged conscience": Marchamont Nedham, monopoly and censorship', *Media History* 4 (1998); J. Raymond, 'The cracking of the republican spokes', *Prose Studies* 19 (1996); D. Underdown, '*The Man in the Moon*: loyalty and libel in popular politics, 1640–1660', in *A Freeborn People* (Oxford, 1996); D. Woolf, 'News, history and the construction of the present in early modern England', in B. Dooley and S. Baron eds, *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe* (London, 2001); M. Mendle, 'News and the pamphlet culture of mid-seventeenth century England', ibid.; G. J. McElligott, 'Propaganda and censorship: the underground royalist newsbooks, 1647–1650' (Cambridge University PhD, 2000).

controversy and of the political process, which reflects appreciation of the extent to which politics took place outside of Parliament.[53]

One of the results of this growing interest in popular literature has been an enhanced understanding of the need to explore the circumstances of the author. The sixth strand of scholarship on early modern literature, therefore, involves a developing awareness of the emergence of the 'professional' writer, albeit merely in terms of men and women who made their livelihood from their pens, rather than being employed in a professional capacity.[54] It is possible that there was little political involvement in such literature, and there has certainly been little consideration of the possibility of its exploitation by politicians in the historiography on this subject. To the extent that politicians and political forces are crucial to the publishing industry in the seventeenth century, this book is concerned with something different from early modern 'Grub Street', which has been explored to such startling effects by Robert Darnton. The phenomenon with which this book deals is only tangentially interested in professional hacks seeking to make a living from their pens; those 'poor devils' who 'could not afford to be consistent', but who 'put themselves up for hire and wrote whatever was ordered

[53] A. Walsham, '"Domme preachers": post-reformation English Catholicism and the culture of print', *P&P* 168 (2000); G. Mattingley, 'William Allen and Catholic propaganda in England', in *Aspects de la Propagande Religieuse* (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 28, 1957); T. Kilburn and A. Milton, 'The public context of the trial and execution of Strafford', in J. F. Merritt, ed., *The Political World of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge, 1996); Holmes, 'Colonel King'; C. Holmes, 'Drainers and fenmen: the problem of popular political consciousness in the seventeenth century', in A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson, eds, *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985); M. K. Peters, 'Quaker pamphleteering and the development of the Quaker movement, 1652–1656' (Cambridge University PhD, 1996); K. Peters, 'The Quakers quaking: print and the spread of a movement', in S. Wabuda and C. Litzenberger, eds, *Belief and Practice in Reformation England* (Aldershot, 1998); Lindley, 'Impact of the 1641 rebellion'; K. Lindley, *Fenland Riots and the English Revolution* (London, 1982); Greaves, 'William Sprigg', p. 99; Shagan, 'Constructing discord'; S. Achinstein, 'The politics of Babel in the English revolution', in J. Holstun, ed., *Pamphlet Wars* (London, 1992); D. Scott, 'The Barwis affair: political allegiance and the Scots during the British civil wars', *EHR* 115 (2000); A. Hughes, 'Approaches to Presbyterian print culture. Thomas Edwards's *Gangraena* as source and text', in J. Andersen and E. Sauer, eds, *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2002); R. P. Stearns, 'The Weld-Peter mission to England', *Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications* 32 (1937); W. L. Sachse, 'English pamphlet support for Charles I, November 1648–January 1649', in W. A. Aiken and B. D. Henning, eds, *Conflict in Stuart England* (London, 1960).

[54] C. Nicholl, *A Cup of News. The Life of Thomas Nashe* (London, 1984); Miller, *Professional Writer*; Capp, *World of John Taylor*; A. Halasz, 'Pamphlet surplus: John Taylor and subscription publication', in A. F. Marotti and M. D. Bristol, eds., *Print, Manuscript and Performance. The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (Columbus, 2000); J. Loewenstein, 'Wither and professional work', ibid.; A. Walsham, '"A glose of godlines": Philip Stubbes, Elizabethan Grub Street and the invention of Puritanism', in Wabuda and Litzenberger, eds, *Belief and Practice*; V. F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey* (Oxford, 1979); Lindenbaum, 'John Milton'; P. Lindenbaum, 'Authors and publishers in the late seventeenth century: new evidence on their relations', *The Library*, 6th series 17 (1995); P. Lindenbaum, 'Authors and publishers in the late seventeenth century, II: Brabazon Aylmer and the mysteries of the trade', *The Library*, 7th series 3 (2002).

by the highest bidder, when they were fortunate enough to sell themselves'.[55] The following analysis will deal with both professional writers and those whose vocations lay elsewhere; with men who could afford to be principled as well as those who were forced to be mercenary hacks; and with those who formed an integral part of the aristocratic and gentry world, as well as those who eked out a living on the margins of the social and political elite.

The aim of this work is to blend these six strands of scholarship and historiography relating to the political and religious literature of the early modern period. The intention is to produce neither an '*Annal*-ist' history of the political book industry from below, nor high-political analysis. Rather, what follows is an exploration of the area where 'politicians' interacted with the 'people'.[56] The aim is also to recognise that there is no such thing as a single political message in any given work. The meaning of texts is not determined by authorial intention, and it is certainly not fixed, but rather is liable to change in different circumstances, and is highly dependent upon readership and reception.[57] It is necessary to explore the use to which texts were put, and the publishing – rather than merely textual – intention, and even their precise circulation within social networks. It is necessary to add material and political context to the 'Cambridge school' of political thought, and to new historicist literary scholarship.[58] Blending these six approaches, in order to understand message, author, medium, circumstances and audience, is essential in order to understand the politics of propaganda in the early modern period.

In part, this process has been undertaken by another important historiographical trend on which this project seeks to draw: the 'history of the book'. In order to achieve a greater understanding of the politics of print culture during the seventeenth century, it is essential to undertake analysis not just of authors and authorship, but also the nature of the publishing industry and book trade. There are a number of studies of the careers of individual printers and publishers, and their professional, political and confessional positions.[59] Recent work has also shown the

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[55] Darnton, *Literary Underground*, p. 115. See also: R. Darnton, 'Trade in the taboo: the life of a clandestine book dealer in pre-revolutionary France', in Paul J. Korshin, ed., *The Widening Circle* (Pennsylvania, 1976).

[56] D. Hirst and S. Zwicker, 'High summer at Nun Appleton, 1651: Andrew Marvell and Lord Fairfax's occasions', *HJ* 36 (1993); Hirst, 'That sober liberty'; Hirst, 'Politics of literature', p. 136.

[57] C. A. Edie, 'Reading popular political pamphlets: a question of meanings', in Schochet, ed., *Restoration, Ideology and Revolution*.

[58] J. Raven, 'New reading histories, print culture and the identification of change: the case of eighteenth century England', *Social History* 23 (1998); Limon, *Dangerous Matter*, p. 14; M. Dzelzainis, 'Milton and the protectorate in 1658', in Armitage, Himy and Skinner, eds, *Milton and Republicanism*, p. 201.

[59] L. Rostenberg, 'The new world: John Bellamy, pilgrim publisher of London', in *Literary, Political Scientific, Religious and Legal Publishing, Printing, and Bookselling in England, 1551–1700* (2 vols, New York, 1965); L. Rostenberg, 'The regeneration of man and trade: Michael Sparke, Puritan crusader', ibid.; L. Rostenberg, 'Republican credo: William Dugard, pedagogue and political apostate',

potential for contextualising and interpreting the work of particular – and sometimes short-lived – printing presses or publishing ventures.[60] Furthermore, scholarship concerning the Puritan literary 'underground' of the period before 1640, and regarding radical political pressure groups thereafter, has entailed valuable research into techniques by which the press was exploited for political ends, and the methods by which historians can employ historical, biographical and bibliographical skills in order to detect evidence of political involvement, and of patronage of polemical literature.[61] For much of the twentieth century, of course, work on publishing and the history of the book concentrated upon developing general histories of the industry, and upon how it worked.[62] It developed in different ways, however, in England and France.[63] French scholars have tended to look to the social world of the book industry, and in France the history of the book has always been cultural and social. Continental historians' primary interest, therefore, has been a socio-economic analysis of 'the milieu of those who manufactured and sold books'.[64] As Roger Chartier has written: 'the historian's chief concern has been to measure the unequal presence of the book in the various groups that made up the society of the *ancien regime*'.[65] The English approach, on the other hand, has tended

ibid.; L. Rostenberg, 'Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne. First "masters of the staple"', *The Library*, 5th series 12 (1957); L. Rostenberg, 'William Dugard, pedagogue and printer to the commonwealth', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 52 (1958); M. H. Curtis, 'William Jones: Puritan printer and propagandist', *The Library*, 5th series 19 (1964); M. Mendle, 'Putney's pronouns: identity and indemnity in the great debate', in Mendle, ed., *The Putney Debates of 1647* (Cambridge, 2001); A. E. M. Kirwood, 'Richard Field, printer, 1589–1624', *The Library*, 4th series 12 (1931); L. Spencer, 'The politics of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5th series 14 (1959); L. Spencer, 'The professional and literary connexions of George Thomason', *The Library*, 5th series 13 (1958); K. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism* (Leiden, 1982); P. Lindenbaum, 'John Playford: music and politics in the Interregnum', *HLQ* 64 (2001); C. L. Oastler, *John Day, the Elizabethan Printer* (Oxford Bibliographical Society, occasional publications, 10, 1975).

60 Mendle, 'Putney's pronouns'.

61 S. Foster, *Notes from the Caroline Underground* (Hamden, Ct., 1978); D. Loades, 'Illicit presses and clandestine printing in England, 1520–1590', in A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse, eds, *Too Might to be Free. Censorship and the Press in England and the Netherlands* (Zutphen, 1987); Condick, 'Bastwick'; Curtis, 'William Jones'; D. B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England, 1550–1640* (New York, 1973); A. F. Johnson, 'The exiled English church at Amsterdam and its press', *The Library*, 5th series 5 (1951); A. F. Johnson, 'J. F. Stam, Amsterdam and English Bibles', *The Library*, 5th series 9 (1954); D. A. Kirby, 'The parish of St Stephen's, Coleman Street' (Oxford University Blitt, 1968), p. 118; K. L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower. English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600–1640* (Leiden, 1994).

62 R. Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading 1450–1550* (Wiesbaden, 1967); M. Plant, *The English Book Trade* (London, 1939); H. R. Plomer, *A Short History of English Printing, 1476–1900* (London, 1915); H. J. Martin, *Print, Power and People in 17th-Century France* (trans. D. Gerard, London, 1993).

63 J. Feather, 'Cross-channel currents: historical bibliography and *l'histoire du livre*', *The Library*, 6th series 2 (1980).

64 L. Febvre and H. J. Martin, *The Coming of the Book* (London, 1976); R. Chartier, *The Order of Books* (trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, Cambridge, 1992), p. 26.

65 Chartier, *Order of Books*, p. 6; D. T. Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime 1500–1791* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

to be more technological. Its exponents have been concerned with printing costs, the logistics and mechanics of printing-house practices, and with the technical means of distinguishing between different editions of particular books, and between the work of different printing houses. This approach has been labelled 'scientific bibliography', and has been made possible by the survival of detailed documentary sources and large collections of early modern books and pamphlets.[66] Its approach is probably epitomised by the statement of Sir Walter Greg, who claimed that 'what the bibliographer is concerned with is pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs. With these signs he is concerned merely as arbitrary marks; their meaning is no business of his'.[67]

Both of these approaches to the history of the book have their limitations, as Michael Hunter has demonstrated:

> While bibliographers study the making of early books and can be accused … of devoting insufficient time to reading them, historians and literary scholars who spend their lives perusing such volumes are often alarmingly ignorant of physical and technical considerations which might affect their judgment of a work's background and impact.[68]

Indeed, dissatisfaction with such methodologies, together with the advent of 'new historicism', has led to a number of important changes in historical practice. In one sense, those interested in the 'history of the book' today are more concerned with 'attempting to trace the impact of the printed word on society'.[69] This approach is probably best represented by Marshall McLuhan and Elizabeth Eisenstein, as well as by Robert Darnton's exploration of the 'biography of a book' (the *Encyclopédie*). Studies have been written, therefore, in order to understand print 'as a force in history', from the Reformation to the cultural revolution of the late eighteenth century.[70] Moreover, there is also growing interest in what has been called the 'sociology of texts', based upon the idea that the meaning of texts is linked to the form in which they appeared, and that it is important to understand the history of 'reading'.[71] Donald McKenzie set out his opposition to 'analytical'

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66 K. I. D. Maslen, 'Printing charges: inference and evidence', *Studies in Bibliography* 24 (1971); D. F. McKenzie, 'Printers of the mind: some notes on bibliographical theories and printing house practises', *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969).

67 MacKenzie, 'Printers of the mind', p. 1.

68 M. Hunter, 'The impact of print', *Book Collector* 28 (1979), p. 335.

69 G. T. Tanselle, 'Printing history and other history', *Studies in Bibliography* 48 (1995), p. 272.

70 M. McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (London, 1962); E. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983); R. Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment. A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); M. U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (London, 1994); J. N. Wall, 'The reformation in England and the typographical revolution', in G. P. Tyson and S. S. Wagonheim, eds, *Print and Culture in the Renaissance* (New York, 1986); A. Pettegree, 'Printing and the reformation: the English exception', in P. Marshall and A. Ryrie, eds, *The Beginnings of English Protestantism* (Cambridge, 2002). See also: A. Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (Chicago, 1998).

71 Chartier, *Order of Books*; R. Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print* (1987); R. Darnton, 'First steps toward a history of reading', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 23 (1986); R. Chartier, *Frenchness*

or 'physical' bibliography, and to the internal analysis of books, in favour of an approach which recognises that medium affects message. As such, he contended, 'bibliography cannot exclude from its own proper concerns the relation between form, function, and symbolic meaning'. As a result, McKenzie called for 'history' and 'cultural history' to be added to conventional bibliography. He suggested that:

> any history of the book which excluded study of the social, economic and political motivations of publishing, the reasons why texts were written and read as they were, why they were rewritten and redesigned, or allowed to die, would degenerate into a feebly digressive book list and never rise to a readable history.[72]

Writing on the new historians of the book, G. Thomas Tanselle has noted that:

> although their subject is, in one sense, the spread of ideas, their approach differs from the traditional study of intellectual history through their focus on the role of printed books in the process. To them, the geography of the printing industry, the economics of the publishing business, the systems of book distribution, the demographics of reading, and the effects of book design on the reading process, are primary elements in social and intellectual history.[73]

Nevertheless, historians of the book have arguably played insufficient attention to the interaction between the publishing industry and the politics of print, either in terms of the impact of politics on print culture, or the effects of print on political culture, although there are hints of growing sophistication in this area.[74] It is the need for a detailed, strenuous, or 'deep' contextualisation of civil war authors and their works, together with the McKenzian insight regarding the need to blend history, bibliography and book history, which are of most importance to this study.[75] This book is not concerned with offering an economic analysis of the publishing business, or the social status of writers. Neither is it concerned with assessing the impact of print and the reception of texts. Rather, it concentrates upon the interaction of an historical or sociological bibliography with political and cultural history. The crucial idea is that books ought to be understood in terms of the purposes, aims and intentions of those involved in setting them before the public. This is not necessarily limited to the 'authorial intention' behind the message of the text, but rather concerns the intention behind the publication of a work on the part of all of those who were involved. More than merely looking to 'authors', therefore, this work seeks to look at the interaction between authors, publishers and 'patrons'. Most importantly, it looks to the involvement of those patrons who were also politicians, whether as individuals, members of sectional interests, or participants in government and public administration. Polemical and

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in the History of the Book: From the History of Publishing to the History of Reading (Worcester, Mass., American Antiquarian Society, 1988).

72 D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London, 1986), pp. 2, 3, 5.

73 Tanselle, 'Printing history', p. 272.

74 Hunter, 'Impact of print', p. 351; Pettegree, 'Printing and the reformation'.

75 R. D. Hume, 'Texts within contexts: notes towards a historical method', *Philological Quarterly* 71 (1992). The term 'deep' contextualisation is that of Hirst and Zwicker, 'High summer', p. 248.

pamphlet literature needs, in other words, to be placed in a local political context in order to tease out the political power embedded in books and pamphlets.[76]

In this sense, the purpose of the book chimes with the rise of interest in 'material culture', in terms of the 'the interrelations of thought and objects', and 'the material evidences of mental activity'. Indeed, one recent commentator has noted that 'there cannot be a history of ideas without a history of objects'.[77] My contention is that there cannot be a history of objects without a history of the influences, processes, and political forces behind their production. Books, therefore, are to be seen as a primary, rather than as a secondary source, and as embodying personal, social, cultural, and political relationships, and they can be used as a means of understanding those relationships.[78] Political texts ought to be regarded, in other words, as political events. This is true not just in the sense that books represent embodiments of contextual language and illocutionary force, nor even merely in terms of the importance of understanding them through their translation and reception by contemporary readers.[79] Texts were also 'events' in the sense of being encapsulations, expressions, and embodiments of political power. Pamphlets ought to be regarded 'not as repositories of historical facts but as a historical phenomenon in their own right'.[80] They need to be analysed in such a way as to reveal the forces at work behind their appearance, and to expose those political relationships. In essence, therefore, this book is concerned with exploring the political literature of the civil wars and Interregnum by means of an understanding of the conditions in which writers, journalists, and publishers operated.[81] As Nigel Smith has noted: 'at the centre of any attempt to understand the remarkable transformation of literary activity during the central years of the century must be the conditions of writing and the related issue of the nature of authorship'.[82] The 'conditions of writing' have generally been taken to mean the varieties of censorship which existed in the early modern period, and this remains a hotly debated area of study.[83] However, there are many more factors which need

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[76] Hirst and Zwicker, 'High summer'.

[77] Tanselle, 'Printing history', p. 271.

[78] Tanselle, 'Printing history', p. 279.

[79] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Texts as events: reflections on the history of political thought', in Sharpe and Zwicker, eds, *Politics of Discourse*.

[80] Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture*, p. ix; Davis, 'Printing and the people', p. 192.

[81] See: R. Silver, 'Financing the publication of early New England sermons', *Studies in Bibliography* 11 (1958).

[82] Smith, *Literature and Revolution*, p. 23.

[83] Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, chap. 6; Pottinger, *French Book Trade*, I. iv; C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, 1997); A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation. The Conditions of Writing and Reading in Early Modern England* (Madison, 1984); D. Loades, 'The theory and practice of censorship in sixteenth century England', in *Censorship and the English Reformation* (London, 1991); D. Loades, 'The press under the early Tudors', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 4 (1964); Miller, *Professional Writer*, pp. 171–202; A. Milton, 'Licensing, censorship and religious orthodoxy in early Stuart England', *HJ* 41 (1998); B. Worden,

to be taken into consideration. In essence, these concern the positive, rather than negative influence which patrons, public authorities and governments could exercise on the world of printing and publication.[84] Although there have always been hints of a more sophisticated approach to the complicated reality of authorship and textual formation, and of the political context of important polemical tracts, analysis has thus far been fragmentary in nature.[85]

In its scope, it will be necessary for this study to examine the printed word in all its forms: from the official declaration to the political tract and broadside, the sermon to the newspaper, as well as to almanacks and astrological works, and even to ballads and fictive literature. As such, it will be necessary to look at the works of well-known authors, such as Henry Parker, William Prynne, John Milton and Marchamont Nedham, as well as Henry Ferne, Peter Heylyn and Griffith Williams. It will also be necessary, however, to examine a host of less well-known authors, such as Payne Fisher and Cuthbert Sydenham, Edward Symmons and Joseph Jane. In its aims, on the other hand, this book has clear limitations. No attempt will be made to consider either the 'truth' or the 'impact' of propaganda, in terms of the extent to which it was believed, changed attitudes and influenced behaviour. Fascinating though such subjects are, they nevertheless lie outside the scope of this book, and would require greater research into practices of reading, and the reception of texts, than has been undertaken hitherto. Furthermore, no attempt has been made to develop a rigorous comparative analysis of the place of the mid-seventeenth century in the history of relations between politics and the press in England. The aim is not necessarily to argue, in other words, that the 1640s and 1650s represented an entirely new world in terms of propaganda and the

'Literature and political censorship in early modern England', in Duke and Tamse, eds, *Too Mighty to be Free*; C. S. Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001); S. Lambert, 'The printers and the government, 1604–1637', in R. Myers and M. Harris, eds, *Aspects of Printing From 1600* (Oxford, 1987); S. Lambert, 'State control of the press in theory and practice: the role of the Stationers' Company before 1640', in R. Myers and M. Harris, ed., *Censorship and the Control of Print in England and France, 1600–1910* (Winchester, 1992); S. Lambert, 'Richard Montague, Arminianism, and censorship', *P&P* 124 (1989); W. M. Clyde, *The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press from Caxton to Cromwell* (Oxford, 1934); F. S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476–1776* (Urbana, 1952); G. D. Johnson, 'The Stationers versus the Drapers: control of the press in the late sixteenth century', *The Library*, 6th series 10 (1988); J. Clare, *Art Made Tongue-Tied by Authority* (Manchester 1990); M. Bland, '"Invisible dangers": censorship and the subversion of authority in early modern England', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 90 (1996); Friest, 'The world is ruled and governed by opinion', part 1.

[84] Frearson, 'London corantos in the 1620s', p. 3.

[85] A. Milton, 'The creation of Laudianism: a new approach', in T. Cogswell, R. Cust and P. Lake, eds, *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain* (Cambridge, 2002); J. Morrill and P. Baker, 'The case of the armie truly re-stated', in Mendle, ed., *Putney Debates*; D. H. Willson, 'James I and his literary assistants', *HLQ* 8 (1944–45); J. E. Farnell, 'The Navigation Act of 1651, the first Dutch war, and the London merchant community', *Journal of Economic History*, 2nd series 16 (1964), pp. 441–2.

press, nor to claim that the developments of the mid-seventeenth century proved to have permanent importance.

However, there are a number of general aims and themes which will become clear throughout the body of this work. The overriding goal is to understand why and how print came to be exploited by politicians; how propaganda was produced; how it was deployed; and the dynamic of propaganda over the course of the 1640s and 1650s. The first requirement, therefore, is to understand the 'motor' of propaganda, and to understand something about the motives leading politicians to engage in the production of polemic, and to consider not just why they sought to engage with the people, but also how they regarded the nature of the process of communicating with the public. The aim of the first section of the book, therefore, is to gain an understanding of the variety of reasons motivating politicians and writers to engage in propagandising, and of differing views regarding the purposes of propaganda. Chapter 1 explores the attitudes of political grandees, and seeks to demonstrate why politicians turned away from officially written, produced and distributed propaganda in order to employ the services and skills of authors. Chapter 2, meanwhile, examines the motives leading authors to place their pens at the disposal of political grandees, in order to engage in the production of political and religious polemic.[86]

In order to understand the way in which print propaganda was conceived by contemporaries, however, it is necessary to explore not just the overt comments of those responsible for its production, but also to examine the ways in which print was employed, and the methods by which it was deployed, and to question the extent to which different political groups, interests, and factions proved adept at developing their skills. A study of propaganda in the mid-seventeenth century requires, therefore, the development of a methodology for recovering the processes which lay behind the publication of tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers. Such a methodology requires some subtlety, given that those who were engaged in the production of propaganda obviously sought to cover their tracks, and to work in ways which were not always visible to contemporaries. Inevitably, such processes, like all political action, are beyond full recovery by the historian, not least given the possibility that certain moves were orchestrated verbally, and that certain written evidence was destroyed, either immediately or at the Restoration. Nevertheless, it is possible to 'decode' tracts and pamphlets, in order to reveal evidence of political collusion in the process of composition, production and publication. The second part of the book, therefore, examines the 'mechanics' of propaganda, in order to display the ways and means of official involvement in the production of polemic.

In seeking to determine which works were produced with official backing and political involvement, it will be necessary to recognise a sliding scale of

[86] R. E. Giesey, 'When and why Hotman wrote the Francogalia', *Biblioteque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 29 (1967).

transparency, and a broad range of evidential sources. At one extreme will be those works still lost to historians, and at the other those works which would, should, or could have been immediately recognisable to contemporaries as having been officially inspired. Between these two extremes will be the bulk of the works with which this book will be concerned. Some will be shown to betray one or more from a variety of possible visible clues, some or all of which will have been obvious to readers. These would have been both biographical, in terms of the public fame of particular authors, as well as presentational, in terms of more or less coded messages contained on title pages and within texts, and in terms of bibliographical clues. Other works, however, will only be revealed to have been officially backed or inspired through historical detective work, with the benefit of hindsight, and via archival research. Ultimately, it will be necessary to develop a more subtle methodology for detecting propaganda than that which has been deployed hitherto. Historians such as Geoffrey Elton relied upon transparency, whether to the contemporary reader or later historian, and their analyses were restricted to works printed officially, and/or written by hired hands.[87] Elton's criteria cannot be ignored, and it will certainly be necessary to explore the work of official printers, and to look to the public and private archives of politicians and officials in order to seek evidence of the hiring of authors. However, it will also be necessary to take into consideration other evidence, and to examine the political literature of the mid-seventeenth century by a much more rigorous process of 'grubbing in archives'.[88]

Firstly, it will be necessary to take seriously the comments made by contemporaries, in both private and official correspondence, as well as in contemporary printed literature.[89] While contemporary perceptions on such a contentious topic as propaganda must be treated with great care, not least during a bitter struggle such as that witnessed in the civil wars and Interregnum, it is nevertheless possible to draw upon the notice taken of authors and their books, and of the connections between print and politics, in the words of the men with whom we will be interested, as well as of their friends and enemies. The part played by print in the civil wars was clearly recognised by contemporaries, whose ruminations upon, and allegations regarding, the nature of the publishing industry are too valuable, not to say colourful, to be ignored by the historian. Furthermore, a work of this sort, and this book in particular, must exploit the full potential of the remarkable Thomason Tracts in the British Library, which provide not just a more or less comprehensive collection of pamphlets from the 1640s and 1650s, but also a great deal of valuable contextual information from the hand of Thomason himself, above and beyond his invaluable method of recording the precise date on

[87] G. Elton, *Policy and Police: the Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 173.

[88] Darnton, *Literary Underground*, p. 1.

[89] McCullough, *Sermons at Court*, pp. 210–12.

which he acquired individual works. Other evidence will be contextual in nature. In order to explore the political and propagandistic function of texts, therefore, it is necessary to reconstruct the historical and political background of particular works.[90] This means exploring the circumstances surrounding publication, in terms of political events, and the needs and concerns of political and religious grandees at specific moments. Contextual evidence will also involve biographical information regarding writers and politicians, and regarding the relationships between authors and patrons, including memoirs, biographies and autobiographies. There are important biographies of a few political authors of the early modern period, such as Thomas Hobbes, John Selden and John Owen, although there are arguably few thorough case studies of civil war propagandists to match those of Tudor poets such as John Skelton, or Restoration luminaries such as John Locke and Algernon Sidney.[91] Nevertheless, it will be possible to draw upon the example set by contemporary memorials and scholarly analysis of journalists such as John Dillingham and John Berkenhead, clerical activists such as Hugh Peter and Peter Heylyn, and writers such as John Dury, John Milton and William Prynne, from which much can be learnt regarding the politics of print and propaganda.[92]

Chapter 3 demonstrates how it is possible to 'decode' individual works, by examining biographical evidence linking authors to political patrons, and the ties which can be shown to have existed prior to, as well as at the time of, composition and publication of tracts and pamphlets. Decoding can also be undertaken by examining the way in which such polemical works can be shown to have been used to promulgate messages which bolstered the positions and policies of political grandees at key moments during the 1640s and 1650s. Furthermore, this chapter will also draw attention to possible evidence of authors being rewarded for their literary services, and will explore bibliographical clues linking specific works to favoured printing presses and publishing houses. Such contextual evidence will also include information pertinent to the relation between the moment of publication and political events, and to the congruence of a work's message with the ideas of its author's patrons. Chapter 4, meanwhile, explores the way in which press licensing functioned as more than merely a means of enforcing

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90 Limon, *Dangerous Matter*, p. 131.

91 T. Hobbes, *The Correspondence*, ed. N. Malcolm (2 vols, Oxford, 1994); A. P. Martinich, *Hobbes, A Biography* (Cambridge, 1999); D. S. Berkovitz, *John Selden's Formative Years* (Washington, 1988); G. Walker, *John Skelton and the Politics of the 1520s* (Cambridge, 1988).

92 A. N. B. Cotton, 'John Dillingham, journalist of the middle group', *EHR* 93 (1978); J. Frank, *Cromwell's Press Agent* (Lanham, 1980); P. W. Thomas, *Sir John Berkenhead* (London, 1969); R. P. Stearns, *The Strenuous Puritan: Hugh Peter, 1598–1660* (Urbana, 1954); W. R. Parker, *Milton: A Biography* (2 vols, Oxford, 1968); J. M. Batten, *John Dury* (Chicago, 1944); E. W. Kirby, *William Prynne* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931); G. Vernon, *The Life of the Learned and Reverend Dr Peter Heylyn* (London, 1682); E. C. Walker, *William Dell, Master Puritan* (Cambridge, 1970); P. J. Wallis, *William Crashawe. The Sheffield Puritan* (Transactions of the Hunter Archaeological Society, 8, 1960–63). See also M. Eccles, 'Thomas Gainsford, "Captain Pamphlet"', *HLQ* 45 (1982).

censorship, in order to provide another key element in the mechanism by which political pressure was brought to bear on the substantive content of the output of the printing industry. Chapter 5, on the other hand, analyses more concrete evidence regarding the interaction between authors and politicians, in terms of archival material relating to the submission of book proposals and completed texts; the commissioning of individual works; the payment of authors and printers; and ultimately the hiring of salaried propagandists. Beyond this, it will also be possible to examine concrete evidence of political patronage and pressure, from private and public, unofficial and official manuscript sources, both in terms of correspondence and financial accounts. Analysis of the mechanics of propaganda concludes with Chapter 6, which analyses the ways in which political grandees involved themselves in the composition of propaganda, both in terms of providing intelligence, information, and official paperwork, as well as in terms of participating in the writing process.

In addition to outlining the various means by which political literature appeared, and the methods by which it was influenced by politicians, the third part of the book serves to stress the importance of recognising the 'dynamics' of propaganda over the course of one of the most important and dramatic periods in British history. This means analysing the ways in which propaganda was used and deployed by those within royalist and parliamentarian ranks, as well as the potential of propaganda as a political tool, in terms of its tactical deployment with respect to specific goals and audiences (Chapter 7). It also means scrutinising the ways in which specific relationships between authors and politicians operated and evolved. In order to understand the nature of the propaganda processes of the civil wars and Interregnum, therefore, it is necessary to understand the way in which the relationships between politicians and patrons on the one hand, and authors on the other, were regarded by all participants. It is necessary to establish the foundations of such relations, and their nature over time, not least in terms of the strains placed upon them by political events and changing political situations, as well as by the characters and requirements of individuals (Chapter 8).

Needless to say, exploration of the propaganda practices of the central decades of the seventeenth century will involve comparing parliamentarian and royalist attitudes towards print and polemic, and exploring also the differing views within parliamentarian and royalist camps. It will become clear that the exploitation of print involved more than just the development of 'parliamentarian' and 'royalist' propaganda machines. During the 1640s and 1650s, political rivalries were not confined to those between Parliament and the king, between Westminster and Oxford, and between Cromwellian and exiled courts. Factions existed within both parliamentarian and royalist ranks, and bedevilled both the parliamentarian and royalist causes from the very earliest phase of the troubles. Factionalism in the early 1640s partly reflected personal allegiance to political grandees, and the policies which they sought to pursue, but also represented conflicting attitudes towards the extent to which the constitutional reforms of 1640–41 provided the

terms for a lasting settlement.[93] From late 1642, meawhile, it is possible to detect clear divisions over strategies towards war and peace, the timing and terms of a negotiated settlement, and issues relating to the settlement of the church. Many of the seeds of disunity were sown by the involvement of the Scots, who were essential to enable the challenge to the king but who brought pressure for Presbyterianism, pressure for a negotiated settlement, and opposition to the army. It was the questions of Presbyterianism and Independency, of the involvement of the Scots, and of the role of the army, which would provide the issues underlying factionalism in the mid 1640s. Historians are still coming to terms with the nature of such factional divisions, however, and with mapping the changing fortunes of the various political groupings, and this study will be heavily reliant upon their analyses.[94] During the late 1640s, royalist divisions likewise centred upon the desirability of pursuing an alliance with the Scots, as opposed to forging a settlement with the political Independents and army grandees, and the political and religious concessions attendant upon either option.[95] Divisions over the best path towards confronting the commonwealth and Cromwellian regimes also caused bitter rivalries within the exiled royalist community in the 1650s.[96] Within England, meanwhile, the 1650s saw tension over 'republican' ideals, religious toleration and social reform, as well as over 'healing and settling' and religious comprehension, and the shape of the constitution. Eventually, this became manifest in proposals for the crowning of Cromwell and the reintroduction of an upper House of Parliament, and in the resurgence of both civilian and army republicans.[97]

A solid grasp of factional politics in the 1640s and 1650s is crucial to an understanding of propaganda in the period, since such factions came to recognise

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[93] D. Smith, *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, 1640–49* (Cambridge, 1994).

[94] See for example: D. Underdown, *Pride's Purge* (Oxford, 1971); D. Underdown, 'Party management in the recruiter elections, 1645–48', *EHR* 83 (1968); J. S. A. Adamson, 'The peerage in politics, 1645–9' (Cambridge University PhD, 1986); J. S. A. Adamson, 'Strafford's ghost: the British context of Viscount Lisle's lieutenancy of Ireland', in J. H. Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641–1660* (Cambridge, 1995); Adamson, 'English nobility'; I. Gentles, *The New Model Army* (Oxford, 1992); D. Scott, 'The "Northern gentlemen", the parliamentary Independents and Anglo-Scottish relations in the Long Parliament', *HJ* 42 (1999); J. Adamson, 'The frighted junto: perceptions of Ireland, and the last attempts at settlement with Charles I', in J. Peacey, ed., *The Regicides and the Execution of Charles I* (Basingstoke, 2001); M. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge, 1979); L. Kaplan, *Politics and Religion During the English Revolution* (New York, 1976); V. Pearl, 'Oliver St John and the middle group in the Long Parliament', *EHR* 81 (1966); V. Pearl, 'The royal Independents', *TRHS*, 5th series 18 (1968); M. P. Mahoney, 'The Presbyterian party in the Long Parliament, 2 July 1644–3 June 1647' (Oxford University Dphil, 1973).

[95] Smith, *Constitutional Royalism*.

[96] D. Underdown, *Royalist Conspiracy in England, 1649–1660* (New Haven, 1960).

[97] Worden, *The Rump*; L. H. Carlson, 'A history of the Presbyterian party from Pride's Purge to the dissolution of the commonwealth', *Church History* 11 (1942); A. Woolrych, 'Introduction', in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton VII* (New Haven, 1980); G. Davies, *The Restoration of Charles II, 1658–1660* (London, 1955).

the value of print for fighting internecine battles. The production of propaganda, in other words, was not necessarily about the struggle between royalists and parliamentarians, so much as about infighting on both sides. Propaganda of both parliamentarian and royalist hues needs to be understood in terms of being addressed to political enemies and factional rivals, and to the people who supported each. Moreover, factional politics will also prove vital in another sense, given that one of the central tasks of this book is to establish the ways in which attitudes towards the press, and the methods by which it was exploited, altered during the course of the two decades under consideration. What will emerge is that the 1640s and 1650s saw not just the print explosion with which we are all now so familiar, as well as a growing concern with the politics of the press and with manipulating opinion, but also the development and exploitation of sophisticated propaganda techniques, and the development of new kinds of relationships between authors and politicians, in terms of the movement away from aristocratic networks towards professionalisation and the emergence of a civil service. Throughout, it will be necessary not merely to observe such changes, but also to analyse the circumstances in which such developments occurred, and those who were responsible for them, and to consider the extent to which they were provoked and influenced by political and religious factionalism.

Such analysis will provide the foundation for the concluding chapter, which explores the importance of this book's findings, and the meaning of propaganda during the civil wars and Interregnum. The aim is to employ the conclusions regarding the attitudes towards print and propaganda, revealed through developments in its practical application over the course of this period, in order to obtain a better understanding of contemporary notions of the relationship between politicians and the public in the early modern period. As such, it seeks to contribute to a growing body of literature which seeks to break down barriers between scholarship on 'high' and 'low' politics, and between 'social' and 'political' history.[98] The purpose will be to set the findings relating to propaganda within the context of recent work on ideas of 'state formation' in the early modern period, and on the possible detection of the emergence of a Habermasian 'public sphere' in the seventeenth century, as well as to explore how the political print culture of the civil war period can be used in order to demonstrate conflicting notions relating to the way in which politicians engaged with the people, the legitimacy of public debate and rational discourse in a political press, and the role of the state in fulfilling such goals relating to communicative practice.

[98] A. Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 8; P. Collinson, *Elizabethan Essays* (1994), p. 11.

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PART ONE
THE MOTOR OF PROPAGANDA

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